University of Alberta

'Indo-Jazz Fusion': Jazz and Karnatak Music in Contact

by

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Abstract

An inherently intercultural music, jazz presents a unique entry in the catalog of interactions between Indian music and the west. This dissertation is situated in a line of recent accounts that reappraise the period of Western colonial hegemony in India by tracing a complex continuum of historical and musical events over three centuries. It charts the historical routes by which jazz and Karnatak music have come into contact in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, both in India and abroad. It presents a detailed account of the history of jazz in India, and Indian music in jazz, and examines jazz's contact with Karnatak music in three contexts—jazz pedagogy, intercultural collaboration, and the Indian diaspora in the United States—illustrating the musical, social and performative spaces in which these musics come into contact, and describing the specific musical and social practices, and political and social institutions that support this activity.

Case studies in this dissertation include an educational exchange between the Jazz and Contemporary Music Program of the New School University (New York, NY) and the Brhaddhvani Research and Training Centre for Musics of the World (Chennai, India), directed by the author in December 2003 – January 2004; a 2001 collaboration between Irish jazz/traditional band Khanda and the Karnataka College of Percussion; and analyses of recent recordings by pianist Vijay Iyer, saxophonist Rudresh Mahanthappa and drummer Ravish Momin.

These accounts are situated in historical, political and social contexts to serve as a case study of jazz in contact with the non-Western world. This research contributes to the

body of ethnomusicological research on Karnatak music, which has been under-represented in Indian music studies. It also serves as an important addition to literature concerning Indian music and the West and forms a substantial contribution to existing accounts of jazz in India. This research provides a nuanced and comprehensive account of jazz's international character, explicating the musical, social and performative features which sustain its identity and cultural permeability. Ultimately, this account aims to go beyond interpretations which characterize the West's relationship to non-Western music as oppressive, highlighting important sites of collaborative potential despite global inequity.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not be possible without the performers whose work and words has inspired it. I am grateful to Dr. Karaikudi Sambasiva Iyer Subramanian. As teacher and mentor, Dr. Subramanian inculcated in me an awareness of the fundamentals of Karnatak music and provided me with a set of musical tools that continue to inspire and aid me in learning and performing a broad range of musics. As the founder and leader of Brhaddhvani, Dr. Subramanian has enriched the lives of countless musicians from all walks of life. The exchange program would not have been possible without the dedication of considerable resources by Dr. Subramanian and the staff of Brhaddhvani, who provided all of the participants with a musical home and an unforgettable introduction to South Indian hospitality.

I am grateful to Ronan Guilfoyle for inspiring this project by providing me with my first introduction to Karnatak music, and for introducing me to Ramesh Shotham, whose extended family provided me with my first home in Chennai. Ronan Guilfoyle, Conor Guilfoyle, Vijay Iyer, Rudresh Mahanthappa, R. A. Ramamani, T. A. S. Mani, Ravish Momin and Ramesh Shotham each contributed musical and personal narratives with candour and generosity. Claudia Atkinson, Evan Herring-Nathan, Kristina Kanders, Sankiri Krishnan, Arun Luthra, Nicholas Menache, Usha Narasimhan, Woody Shaw III and Johannes Weidenmuller each contributed this project by dedicating themselves to intercultural exchange on the level of the local and personal. David Liebman and Martin Mueller contributed valuable administrative and artistic support to the exchange program. Although their words and music are not represented directly in the text, I wish to thank Sean Carpio, Oene van Geel, Mark Haanstra, Ned McGowan, Chander Sardjoe, Rafael Reina, Eero Haminiemi, Fabrizio Cassol, Madhav Chari, and B. C. Manjunath, whose perspectives have informed much of this work.

This project has also depended on an extended family of scholarly supporters. My supervisor Regula Qureshi has patiently supported me in a slow and sometimes painful transition from performer to performer-scholar, challenging me to question my assumptions and urging me to deeper levels of inquiry with her timely and insightful suggestions. I am especially grateful to her for never expecting that my career as a performer and work as a scholar could be anything less than compatible, even if the challenges prove to be more enduring than I had anticipated. Committee members David Gramit and Michael Frishkopf have each contributed practical and supportive suggestions on my scholarly work and progress in professionalization. Finally, I am grateful to Hank Stam and Lorraine Radke of the Department of Psychology at the University of Calgary both for creating in me an awareness of the potentials of intellectual inquiry, and providing me with essential conceptual, analytical and practical skills.

This dissertation has been a steady companion through considerable change. It has been written, revised, plotted and protested at homes in six cities on four continents, and on the road in Europe, Central Asia and across North America. Just as a musical performance depends as much on the performers as on the actions of a cast of unseen players who create the context for performance. Accordingly, I would like to

acknowledge the invaluable support of innumerable friends, colleagues, and strangers who have contributed their encouragement over the past several years at various homes and on the road. Here, I name but a few of them. In India Clair Ludenbach, Robert Grace and Simon Irvine contributed drinks, meals and much-appreciated companionship. In Boston and New York, Allan Chase, Lara Pellegrinelli and Niko Higgins have offered valuable scholarly, professional and moral support. Forteini Samatzi and Jane Wilson coordinated a language proficiency exam across great distance and at short notice. Sean Carpio and Madalay Fleming edited musical and verbal texts with accuracy and alacrity. Michael and Seamus Durney, Pamela Habibovic, Claudia Wigent, Stafford Horne, Nick Menache, Katy Maddox, Janet Benton and Aryeh Kobrinsky each helped to keep body and mind in the same place. Finally, a diffuse but profound wave of appreciation goes out to the many individuals who have patiently accepted the deferral of musical projects and social invitations that were no less valuable to me for my unavailability.

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Introduction

In June 2004 the *New York Times* published a feature on South Asian performers making their mark on the city's cultural scene. Among turntablists, stand-up comics, electronic musicians and other popular entertainers, jazz musicians were prominently – if anomalously – represented. The first years of the twenty-first century have seen an explosion of interest in Indian culture and its diaspora in North America and the United Kingdom. The trend is manifest in fashion and cinema, and especially prominent in literature. From the current visibility of South Asian-American jazz musicians in *DownBeat, Time Out New York*, and *The Village Voice*, jazz would seem to be a viable site for a vigorous and highly visible articulation of South Asian diasporic identity. New York City, long an important site to the Indian diaspora in the United States, and the acknowledged international centre of jazz, has recently seen the premiere of a number of projects led by highly visible South Asian American bandleaders, among them guitarist Rez Abassi, pianist Vijay Iyer, saxophonist Rudresh Mahanthappa, and drummers Sunny Jain and Ravish Momin. These artists deploy elements of Indian classical, folk and popular music in the context of contemporary jazz. Band names, song titles, aesthetic conception, and the contexts of production and reception make explicit their concern with the representation of ethnic identity. Quoted in the *New York Times*, Vijay Iyer said: "It's very trendy right now to be associated with all things South Asian. I don't know how long that's going to last. But I can't escape it; this is what I am. And I'm going to be with this forever."[1]

If the *New York Times*' discovery of Indian music rings any familiar—exotic—bells, it is because the West had been discovering and re-discovering Indian music for over three hundred years. In his analysis of the reception of Indian music from colonialism to the present, Gerry Farrell wrote: "No other oriental culture has had as much influence on the West as that of India, whether in the realms of academia or the romantic imagination."[2] Through the well-known persons of Ravi Shankar and George Harrison, Indian music played a brief starring role in western popular music in the mid-1960s, which continues to resonate today. Jazz's connection to Indian music, however, displays deeper, continuous, and arguably more complex roots. Saxophonist John Coltrane's engagement with Indian music serves for many as an enduring icon of spirituality and universality in jazz. Prominent jazz-rock fusion bands led by Miles Davis and John McLaughlin in the 1970s featured *tabla* and *sitar* alongside electric guitar and saxophones. Following Coltrane's early example, a number of jazz musicians – including such noted performers as Charlie Mariano, Steve Coleman, Jamey Haddad, Myra Melford, Don Cherry, Sonny Rollins, John McLaughlin, Don Ellis, David Liebman and James Newton – have traveled to India to study music and collaborate with Indian musicians. Jazz, in other words, is predisposed to ascribe a special depth of meaning to Indian music. In the South Asian diasporic arts scene, Indianness and jazz can connect in post-modern and post-colonial multiplicity.

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[1] Jon Pareles, "Critic's Notebook; India Resounding in New York," *New York Times* 25 June 2004, 28 June 2006 <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html>.

[2] Gerry Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 2.

The ever-changing manifestations of Indian music in Western culture – from nineteenth century parlor songs to twentieth century popular music to twenty-first century *bhanghra* dance parties – reflect ongoing shifts in the configurations of power relationships between India and the West. In the twenty-first century, India's influence on Western culture has been compounded by globalization, and new configurations of power and identity brought about by the increased movement of peoples, India's growing economic power, and the maturation of successive generations of the Indian Diaspora. In the story of Indian music and the West, we can read not only how the technical or aesthetic features of Indian music were received by Western music, and not only how Western musicians have variously reshaped Indian music for their own purposes, but also the unique and enduring influence of Indian culture on the West. Recent scholarship examines the story of Indian music and the West from the opposite direction, examining how Western influence has been received and reshaped in Indian music, both in India[3] and its Western diaspora.[4] Karnatak music, the "classical" music of South India, is of particular interest in this project because of the politics of its re-formation in the last decades of colonial rule, into a canon patterned on that of Western classical music. Jazz, itself the subject of an intensive neo-classical campaign in the last decades of the twentieth century, owns a particular intercultural transparency and a legacy of resistance. Considered separately and together, the stories of jazz and Karnatak music tell us much about the postcolonial politics of music and culture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The relationship of jazz and Karnatak music presents several possibilities for new readings of the zone of contact between India and the West. Both jazz and Karnatak music have undergone comparatively recent "revivals" – Karnatak music in the first decades of the twentieth century, and jazz in the last – that have re-positioned them as conservative "classical" musics and symbols of nostalgic, national identities. In the story of how such heterogenous, geographically diverse musical traditions were manoeuvred into singular metropolitan canons, we can read the shifts in the internal politics and international positions of India and the United States in the modern and post-modern eras. Both jazz and Karnatak music have been historically marginalized in their countries of origin: jazz, by its "low other" status relative to to the European classical music institutions erected as expressions of America's emerging imperial power, while Karnatak music has been shadowed by the Hindustani music of India's northern centres of power. In the movement towards Independence, a re-historicized Karnatak music gained authority as an authentically Indian music, free from the taint of Muslim influence. In the past decade, South Indian cities have come to play a central role in India's economic ascent: accordingly, Karnatak music, as a symbol of an empowered South India, is gaining increasing prominence at home and abroad. Finally, in the twentieth century, both jazz and Karnatak music underwent significant changes in patronage, changing the conception of their status as "art" musics has carried significant

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[3] Amanda Weidman, *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music in South India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

[4] Sandhya Shukla, *India Abroad: Diasporic Cultures of Postwar America and England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

implications for the status of performers.

Over the past 40 years, the zone of contact between Indian music and the West has expanded considerably through transculturalism, both in the realm of diaspora and through the development of a "world music" industry. This expansion poses serious challenges to a contemporary ethnography of "Indian music and the West." A growing middle class in India, and the maturation of the South Asian diaspora have broadened the means by which Indianness can connect with Westernness, and vice versa. The Indian diaspora introduces new means by which a myriad of Indian identities are constructed, and in which they come into contact with the West. The diffuse geographic character of the Indian diaspora poses further challenges. Increased social mobility within India has resulted in the diversification of Indian populations in the diaspora: it is no longer possible to speak of a singular Indian diasporic identity. The impact of change and cultural transformation in the Diaspora's "second generation" (itself a problematic term) highlights the important implications of generational difference in defining the diasporic experience.[5] In short, the Indian diaspora marks the formulation of "India and the West" as vague at best, and essentialist at worst: it is precisely these complications that makes Indian diasporic communities a vital consideration in this project.

Since the 1980s, the "world music" industry has introduced an unprecedented degree of dissemination and popular awareness of Indian music. Along with this movement has come changing consumerist expectations: as Steven Feld describes: "the phrase swept through the public sphere first and foremost signifying a global industry, one focused on marketing danceable ethnicity and exotic alterity on the world pleasure and commodity map."[6] World music has challenged the academy's status as curator of musical difference; performers, audiences and the music industry engage with musics in a variety of ways, which are not always based in the concern for public interest that has characterized ethnomusicology's project.[7] In response to the perception of an urgent threat to local musical "difference," ethnomusicology's literature on globalization has focused overwhelmingly on popular music and the "world music" industry. Scholarly treatments have shown how music is especially transparent in manifesting the "increasingly complicated pluralities, uneven experiences, and consolidated powers" that characterize globalization at the beginning of the twenty-first century.[8] The genre of world music, moreover, "participates in shaping a kind of consumer-friendly multi-culturalism, one that follows the market logic of expansion and consolidation."[9]

Critical narratives have frequently cohered to narratives of anxiety over the cost

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[5] Carla Pietevich, introduction, *The Expanding Landscape: South Asians and the Diaspora*, ed. Carla Pietevich (Delhi: Manohar, 1999) 13.
[6] Steven Feld, "A Sweet Lullaby for World Music," *Public Culture* 12.1 (2000): 151.
[7] Jeff Todd Titon, "Introduction: Music, the Public Interest, and the Practice of Ethnomusicology," *Ethnomusicology* 36.3 (1992): 315-322.
[8] Feld, "A Sweet Lullaby" 146.
[9] Feld, "A Sweet Lullaby" 168.

of globalization, or celebratory narratives which seek to normalize it.[10] A foundational premise of this project, however, is that jazz poses a particularly fruitful perspective from which to consider musical transculturalism. The shift in jazz's status from popular music to "art" music—a move that arguably began in the years following World War II but accelerated through different channels and different aims through the 1980s and 1990s—places it in a uniquely liminal position. The canonization of jazz as "America's classical music," and specifically one which speaks a language of resistance from its African roots, challenges a ternary concept of "music" (Western classical music), "popular music" and "world music." Jazz's marginal place in the music marketplace is contrasted by its considerable cultural capital, as a symbol of national identities (American, and increasingly, that of other nations), and as a music that speaks increasingly to highly educated and upwardly mobile audiences. A study of jazz in contact with Indian music, it follows, carries the potential to challenge existing narratives which either valorize plurality, or decry the commodification of "difference." Finally, as Ingrid Monson has argued, jazz, and more generally the set of multilayered musical and cultural practices it shares with other forms of African-American and African diasporic music, introduces the possibility of new, specifically musical, models by which to understand "multilayered intercultural syntheses, human agency and the role of musical and social emergence" in many contexts.[11]

In this project, I seek to update the history of "Indian music and the West" through examining the relationship between jazz and Karnatak music in its transcultural context. Although fieldwork took place largely in India, this project is primarily concerned with jazz. At heart, this project is an ethnography of the ways in which jazz connects with Indian music and culture. As such, I seek to ground my discussions in the frames of reference of individual performers, and in the multiple historical and geographical contexts in which Indian music is constructed in jazz. The musical subjects of my research are situated in the margins of the music industry: accordingly, the products of the intersection of jazz and Karnatak music merit an analysis which considers them apart from popular "world music" hybrids. Thus, one central question of this project interrogates the persistent tropes of exoticism in jazz, and the function of jazz's marginality in upholding and resisting the market logic of globalization. The answers, as I will elaborate in the following chapters, offer ample material for both anxious and celebratory narratives.

The ambivalent status of jazz with respect to high culture makes some aspects of the encounter between India and the West visible with particular clarity. The jazz musicians I have interviewed in this project have largely come of professional age during the rapid development of the world music industry, and report a general dissatisfaction with the limited models of musical interculturalism it presents. They work from within a deeply oral musical tradition that facilitates citation, mimesis and intertextuality on multiple levels, and prioritizes the discovery and articulation of individual and collective

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[10] Feld, "A Sweet Lullaby" 150-152.

[11] Ingrid Monson, "Riffs, Repetition and Theories of Globalization," *Ethnomusicology* 43.1 (1999): 61.

voices in social performance. They approach interculturalism with an avowed desire for deep and reciprocal musical engagement and with a sincere concern for economic parity. These factors, along with an increased trend towards framing musical activity as discrete "projects" which can be supported by private foundations and public agencies, creates possibilities for mutually empowering, non-oppressive inter-cultural musical activity in which, generally speaking, all participants are equally paid, properly credited and equally celebrated. Thus a second main goal of this research is to examine the manner in which jazz performance might serve to facilitate non-oppressive interactions across asymmetrical power relations.

Central to this arrangement, however, is the formulation of both jazz and Karnatak music as "classical" musics, which makes them eligible for forms of non-commercial patronage that are rooted, to varying degrees, in colonial formulations of power and authority. A consideration of the actions and interests of patrons, as well as the reception of certain kinds of intercultural projects given by the jazz industry, reveals the outlines of an anxious narrative. The performers I consider here are by now firmly established among an international elite. Vijay Iyer and Rudresh Mahanthappa, in particular, are regularly profiled in the New Yorker and the New York Times, and are leading figures in a new movement dubbed by one Village Voice critic as "identity jazz," [12] a form of avant-garde jazz that is explicitly concerned with formulations of race and ethnicity.

Identity is a fairly recent concept that needs to be situated in time and place. Christopher Shannon (2001) has traced the emergence of the term from developmental psychologist Erik Erikson's 1950 book *Childhood and Society* into the mainstream of American intellectual discourse, where "the concept of identity provided the language for a broader discourse on the self. To have an identity was to be a full, complete mature person."[13] Timothy Taylor has argued that the current ubiquity of the term identity reflects its status as a largely middle class project that gained momentum through the latter half of the twentieth century through changing consumerist practices and the forging of new alliances based on ethnicity.[14] The concept of "identity jazz" speaks with particular insistence to both the ubiquity of 'identity' in the first years of the twenty-first century, and to the inseparability of the process of identity formation from middle class consumerist culture. In this project, I use the term identity in a variety of contexts, referring variously to national identities in the context of globalization, South Asian identities in the context of India and its diaspora, African-American racial identities in jazz, and the personal identities of performers aligned with various ethnic groups and various jazz sub-genres. Particularly in the last example, the discourse of identity reflects a privileged degree of cultural capital.

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[12] Francis Davis, "Beyond the Melting Pot: Vijay Iyer and Rudresh Mahanthappa sure are tough-minded—and also Indian Americans," *Village Voice* 17 May 2005, 11 Feb. 2007 <http://www.villagevoice.com/music/0520,davis1,64045,22.html>.

[13] Christipher Shannon, *A World Made Safe for Differences: Cold War Intellectuals and the Politics of Identity* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001) xii.

[14] Timothy Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007) 120.

Sustaining a career as a professional jazz performer also involves a significant degree of cultural capital. The shift in structures of patronage—from music performed for social events and entertainment to art music—have resulted in a sharp decrease in opportunities to earn revenue from public performances. All of the performers I consider in this project subsidize their performance careers through teaching music, and all but one of the musical texts analyzed in this project were commissioned by private and state foundations. The marginal economic impact of these performers' music obviates narratives of large-scale Western economic imperialism, and highlights the ambivalent function of other forms of authority in the business of cultural production. By considering questions of representation (Who gets funded? What kinds of projects get funded? Who can afford to be a jazz musician?) and reception (Who gets reviewed in important publications? Who performs in prestigious venues? Who merits a booking agent and a record label?) I propose to outline the nature and function of new formulations of race, ethnicity and social class as forms of authority in 21st century jazz. Thus, a third goal of this research is to examine how jazz, especially in its construction as an internationalized "art" music with an intellectual pedigree and a legacy of resistance, may function to uphold market logic by creating not just consumer-friendly, but also intellectually- and politically-friendly multi-culturalisms that appease the anxieties of an educated Western elite.

This project is situated in a continuum of musical accounts, such as those by Oliver (1988), Farrell (1997) Weidman (2006), that reappraise the period of Western colonial hegemony in India by tracing a complex continuum of historical and musical events over three centuries. Jazz has been given scant attention in these accounts: given the recent emergence of South Asian diasporic performers in the jazz community, the scarcity of critical treatments of jazz in the context of Indian music and the West, and the relative marginalization of Karnatak music in the academic formulation of "Indian music," this dissertation is intended to lay the groundwork for future research. Jazz has also been absent from musical studies of globalization: accounts emerging from the disciplines of popular music studies and ethnomusicology have largely concerned with narratives of appropriation in the context of commercial music. An account of intercultural collaboration in the relatively economically marginalized context of jazz performance carries the potential to obviate narratives of wide scale economic and cultural appropriation. This dissertation could not possibly represent an exhaustive study of the topics it raises. At heart, this dissertation is concerned with a project that Paul Oliver described as "staking out ... the landmarks" in the evolving relationship of Indian music and the West.[15] By introducing an awareness of the connection of Karnatak music and jazz in the contexts of pedagogical, intercultural performance, and cultural production in the Indian diaspora, I hope to open new sites of awareness for future inquiry.

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[15] Paul Oliver, "Introduction: Aspects of the South Asia/West Crossover,"*Popular Music* 7 (1988): 119.

Following the example of Steven Feld's mapping of representations of "pygmy" music in various levels of the "world music" industry, [16] I seek to map the circulation of South Indian classical music among communities of jazz performers in a particular moment, corresponding to the first years of the twenty-first century, in which pervasive concepts of globalization and identity interact to prompt the construction of "identity jazz". I explore the musical, social, and performative spaces in which intercultural collaborations and transcultural hybrids take place, to illuminate the specific musical and social practices, and political and social institutions, that support this activity. My study is multi-sited and ethnohistorical in nature. I begin by examining jazz's initial diffusion to India as a popular music in the early decades of the twentieth century, to its manifestations in American and European jazz in the decades following the Second World War. I then examine the ways in which jazz and Karnatak music come into contact in a range of current cultural contexts: in the context of European national jazz genres in Ireland, in the context of European and American jazz pedagogy, and finally, in the emergence of a community of Indian-American jazz performers based in New York City.

Such a multi-sited approach is mandated by the many locations in which jazz's connections to Indian music are produced. George Marcus described how multi-sited fieldwork methodologies arose in anthropology in the 1970s and 1980s in response to the manner in which globalization and diaspora transformed the locations of cultural production. [17] Multi-sited ethnography:

> Moves out from the single sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research designs to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space ... This mobile ethnography takes unexpected trajectories in tracing a cultural formation across and within multiple sites of activity that destabilize the distinction, for example, between lifeworld and system, by which much ethnography has been conceived. [18]

In this project, I combine insider ethnography – experience gained as a professional jazz performer in New York City and various European cities, as a student of Karnatak music in Chennai, India, and as a participant and observer in several jazz-Karnatak collaborations—with musicological analysis of the products of these collaborations. Perhaps as an inevitable consequence of this multi-sited approach, my ethnography is somewhat thinner than I might desire. This is compensated, I hope, by the depth of understanding I have gained in my ongoing work as a professional jazz

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[16] Steven Feld, "A Sweet Lullaby " 145-172; Steven Feld, "Notes on World Beat," *Public Culture* 1 (1998): 31-37; Steven Feld and Charles Keil, "From Schizophonia to Schismogenisis: On the discourses and Commodification Practices of 'World Music' and 'World Beat'," *Music Grooves* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) 257-289; Steven Feld, "Pygmy POP: A Genealogy of Schizophonic Mimesis," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28 (1996): 1-35.

[17] George Marcus, "Ethnography In/Of the World: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 97.

[18] Ibid., 96.

performer.

My status as a peer provides me with an insider status and concomitantly familiarity with, access to, and engagement with both the aesthetic and professional features of the musical field. Although I consciously avoid inserting my own experiences in these accounts, practical insights inevitably qualify my perspective as a scholar. My own musical and professional understandings make both deliberate and invisible contributions to my research. They shape the kinds of questions I ask and the manner in which I illustrate their answers, and in some cases, my professional and ethnographic experience has resulted in a decision to suspend treatment of relevant issues. My own musical and professional understandings make both deliberate and invisible contributions to my research. They shape the kinds of questions I ask and the manner in which I illustrate their answers. In some cases, my professional and ethnographic experience has resulted in a decision to suspend treatment of relevant issues. Such is the case with gender, an issue that permeates all domains of music-making and is especially trenchant in jazz, where girls and women make up a small minority of students, educators and professional performers. My experience as a female jazz performer and jazz ethnographer needs to be framed and discussed in this project. To do this, however, I would be required to insert myself into the project to a degree that would substantially alter its focus.

The genesis and development of this project is closely linked to a set of pragmatic, professional and personal concerns as a performer. I began violin studies in 1973 in Edmonton, North America's northernmost metropolis. My mother saw music lessons as one strategy by which she might promote her children's progress from the poverty of her childhood on a subsistence farm in rural Manitoba, to a comfortable and secure middle-class urban life. As an adolescent, I became attached to performance as a potent mechanism for self-articulation, but my parents and music teachers saw little future for me as a professional performer. Independently, I pursued opportuities for advanced training and undergraduate training, eventually securing a scholarship to study viola at the Juillliard School in New York. I first encountered jazz as an adolescent,in the midst of these struggles: jazz struck me as the sound of liberation, an experience common to inhabitants of other geographic and political frontiers. As an undergraduate in New York, I often frequented jazz clubs. I asked the musicians I met there for advice about learning jazz, but most musicians advised me to 'just listen'. I felt alienated from jazz culture by virtue of my gender and instrument: there were few models for non-standard instruments in jazz, and even fewer for young women. At Juilliard, I never felt as though my position in the bastions of high art was secure. I felt distanced by virtue of my lower class and ethnic origins from my wealthier and more cosmopolitan classmates. My interests in improvisation further alienated me from administrators and teachers at Juillliard. Upon graduation, I experienced the validation of my unusual path when I was hired on a trial basis by a prominent jazz string quartet, but when two of the members decided that they no longer wished to work with a woman, I became discouraged and quit performing altogether.

At 25, while pursuing graduate studies in theoretical psychology at the University of Calgary, I began performing as a side musician in a variety of commerical contexts to

supplement my graduate stipend. Although I enjoyed the informality of working in country and western bars, recording studios, and ersatz Irish pubs, I gradually became dissatisfied with the lower performance standards and limited aesthetic range of my work. I became aroused to the possibility of reviving my career as a jazz performer, and began to acquire the conceptual and musical vocabulary to define where I wanted to situate myself aesthetically. I knew, foremost, that I needed to insert myself in a larger and more cosmopolitan musical community. My decision to enrol in a PhD program in ethnomusicology was largely propelled by this directive. Academic stipends freed me from the necessity to support myself through musical freelancing, allowed me to pursue a rigorous course of independent jazz study, and gave me the financial security I needed to release and tour three recordings and ultimately to establish a performing career in New York City. My coursework gave me a conceptual vocabulary by which to appreciate and understand the social and cultural forces that shaped my negative musical experiences. My academic studies provided me with the means by which to accomplish greater social and professional mobility, and a narrative by which to understand my struggle to attain it.

As a Ph.D. student, I had little experience of Indian classical music and a natural skepticism for the various exoticisms in the Western gaze to India, but the prospect of extended fieldwork in India appealed to me for a variety of pragmatic, professional and personal reasons. India is the site of a great violin tradition, and a site of considerable interest in jazz: in Indian music, I pereived possibilities for strengthening elements of improvisation I was acquiring through my jazz practice. In engaging with the classical tradition of Indian music, I sought to reconcile my background in Western classical music and to mitigate my feelings of marginalization in jazz. In India, I imagined a community of classical performers also struggling to develop a relationship to jazz. In Dr. Subramanian, I hoped to find a "real" teacher, whose clear aim was to assist me towards musical growth. Through travel, I hoped to detach myself from relative cultural isolation of the Canadian prairies, and assume a place in the global musical community. Moreover, I knew that teaching would form an important pillar of my professional life as a jazz performer, and perceived a basic knowledge of Karnatak music as a valuable form of professional currency.

My 2002 trip to India was a series of firsts: my first in-depth encounter with a non-Western musical tradition, my first travel outside of the West, my first experience of daily life as racially and culturally 'different' person, and my first experience of sexism as a deeply embedded feature of daily life. It was also the first time I had travelled for the sole purpose of enriching my musical knowledege and enhancing my creative and professional potential. In subsequent fieldwork in 2003-2004, I often felt isolated and alienated: some of this had to do with the experience of being a woman living alone in a socially conservative Indian city. Some of this had to do with my ambivalent stance towards my academic pursuits: my insecure status as a "performer" led me to frequently polarize academic and professional approaches to music, privileging performance as a means of engaging with music, and cutting me off from the support of a community of people asking similar questions and encountering similar problems in similar places.

I also encountered unexpected commonalities. I resonated with accounts of Indian classical musicians who struggled to establish performing careers against the significant pressures of their families to pursue more lucrative and respectable forms of employment. In the narratives of performers who broke new ground within and outside their traditions, I could better understand my own struggles to establish myself as a female performer on a non-standard instrument. My experience living and working in India led me to consider more closely the largely unspoken effects of gender, ethnicity and coloniality in my own experience as the child of Polish and Ukrainian agricultural workers in a frontier land strongly marked by the structures of British colonialism. I awakened to the complex and multiple constructions of privilege, and could better understand the privileges I enjoyed, and those I lacked. I approached my fieldwork with a naive belief in the potential of jazz as a site to reconcile difference: I emerged confused by the resilience of difference and the persistent constraints of tradition and authority. Gradually, through the process of writing this dissertation and also as a result of the maturation of my own performing career, my confusion has deepened into a more complex appreciation of the problems and potentials of artistic expression as a means of addressing complex formulations of tradition and change. Although these themes are investigated in any number of other domains of cultural and intellectual inquiry, my status as a jazz performer has led me to experience them as especially trenchant concerns: jazz is a site where difference is negotiated.

The influence of my status as a performer is evidenced in my commitment, marked throughout this dissertation, to musical narratives and musical analyses grounded in musicians' own perspectives. Recent scholarship in jazz has adopted what I might characterize as an assertive approach to locating aspects of cultural theory in musicians' discourse and performances. The abstract nature of the musical product, the relative lack of emphasis given to musical texts, and the elusive temporal frame of improvisation can sometimes facilitate the advancement of theory over musicians' own perspectives. Improvised music becomes a social screen upon which any number of theoretical accounts can be projected. The anxious state of ethnicity and identity in Western society, coupled with the economic marginalization of jazz performers, can function to highlight formulations of identity over the highly relevant particularities of individual difference. For this reason, I argue that a focus on musicians' particular explanations of their experience is especially important to this project, and that a multi-disciplinary approach is necessary to locate broader themes in the context of performance, reception, and the particulars of musicians' lived experience.

The performer-as-scholar is a rare figure in jazz studies, but a familiar one in ethnomusicology: the discipline's strong departmental ties to music performance and commitment to ethnographic methodologies has produced a number of scholars for whom performance is an especially important aspect of musical research.[19] As a professional jazz performer I negotiate multiple frames of reference that occasionally

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[19] The "classic" study of performer/ethnographer is Mellonee Burnim's, "Culture Bearer and Tradition Bearer: An Ethnomusicologist's Research on Gospel Music," *Ethnomusicology* 29 (1985): 432-47.

come into conflict. The term "music," has been thoroughly problematized by ethnomusicologists and others since the 1950s, and by now an understanding of the manner in which music can influence thinking about culture is foundational to nearly every discipline of musical studies (and a number of non-musical disciplines). But for many performers, "music itself" endures as an adequate, even ideal, site for profound explorations of broader social narratives. This is not to suggest that music and ideas about music exist in opposition or in isolation, but to comment that the conversation between musical performance and academic discourse about music is often lop-sided.

Performance, writes David Ake, creates new possibilities for scholarship, "ideally joining the insights of a player writing about his [sic] experiences in music with those opened by working through a variety of academic discourses."[20] In my experience, the inverse is also true: scholarship has informed my musical practice, requiring me to think deeply about my own professional, musical and personal identities. But full participation in academic conversations about music requires a level of interest, education and experience that is not shared equally among performers. The performers I consider here take different stances in this conversation. For some, academic discourse has served as a vital role in articulating a musical and personal identity. For others, academic discourse serves a peripheral role, or no role at all, in their understandings. I comment on this because I wish to highlight an awareness of the manner in which academic discourse about music—for all its potentials—can seem to privilege certain kinds of musical works and musical discourses, a problem that becomes apparent in the final case studies in this dissertation.

I have structured the chapters of this dissertation so that broad theoretical and historical narratives give way to case studies of contemporary representations of the connections between jazz and Karnatak music. Chapter I situates jazz as an inherently transcultural music, tracing jazz's engagement with musical differences from its inception, to the reception of its recent "canonization" in both American and European contexts. I then survey musicological and ethnomusicological discussions about globalization and transculturalism to show how neither musicological discourses about exoticism or ethnomusicological discourses about world music are wholly adequate to the complex representations of difference in jazz. Finally, I consider how race and ethnicity interact with a relatively recent concern with identity in the specific context of the representation of Indian music and culture in jazz.

Chapter II explores the historical relationships between jazz and Indian music and culture. The material presented here joins a line of recent scholarship that has reappraised the period of Western colonial hegemony in India by tracing a complex continuum of historical and musical events over three centuries. These accounts have tended to overlook jazz, or to deal with it in a somewhat cursory manner. Here, I present a more detailed history of the performance of jazz in India, by Indian musicians, in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. I then address the history of the representation of Indian music and culture by American and European jazz performers to challenge existing accounts in

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[20] Ake, *Jazz Cultures* 5.

jazz studies that have tended to valorize the accomplishments of "great men" in developing transcultural "fusions" of jazz and Indian music.

Chapters III and IV develop an anatomy of the transcultural connections between jazz and Karnatak music through analyses of case studies from two loose groups of performers. Among the first group are various Europeans and Americans who follow as they perform and prepare to perform with Karnatak musicians in India and Europe. Forming the second group are jazz performers who were born in India or in the United States to Indian parents, and who make their careers in New York City's jazz scene. In Chapter III I present a detailed account of a bilateral academic exchange I coordinated between the Jazz and Contemporary Music program at New School University in New York City, and the Brhaddhvani Research and Training Centre for Musics of the World in Chennai (December 2003-January 2004). Touching on the sphrere of "applied ethnomusicology,"[21] this report documents the first bilateral exchange between a postsecondary jazz program, and illustrates the problems and potentials of intercultural collaboration in the context of music pedagogy.

In Chapter IV I examine the Irish jazz/traditional group Khanda's collaboration with percussionist Ramesh Shotham and T. A. S. Mani and R. A. Ramamani Karnataka College of Percussion. A detailed musicological analysis of *Five Cities*, a suite written by Khanda bassist and bandleader Ronan Guilfoyle, illustrates both the written and unwritten musical structures that make possible a conversation among three musical languages. Chapter V analyzes representations of Karnatak music in the work of three Indian-American jazz musicians: pianist Vijay Iyer, saxophonist Rudresh Mahanthappa, and percussionist Ravish Momin. Each of these performers has adopted a different stance with respect to the politics of representation of musical—and racial, ethnic, and cultural—difference. An account of their music and musical discourse complicates jazz studies' enduring disciplinary divisions that bifurcate black and white racial identities and aesthetics, European and American jazz cultures, and "experimental" and "canonic" performative practices. By connecting musicological analysis to musicians' discourse, and music and musical discourse to the larger cultural and historical contexts in which these performers are heard, I open questions about the interaction of ethnicity, social class, identity and aesthetics as they intersect in musical globalization.

Throughout this study, I touch on four central themes: the historic status and function of Indian music in Western popular and high culture; the impact of new forms of patronage for jazz in sustaining new formulations of ethnic and national identities; the function of music pedagogy as a site both for inventing and preserving tradition; and the function of jazz as a site for articulating new formulations of South Asian identity in the diaspora. I connect these broad, suprapersonal narratives to the lived experiences of performers. This should permit me to connect complex themes of colonialism, nationalism, transnationalism and globalization to the day-by-day and year-by-year decisions faced by musicians in the pursuit of creative expression and professional development, the products of which form the subject matter of this project.

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[21] Jeff Todd Titon, "Music, the Public Interest" 315-322.

Chapter I
Situating Jazz and the Exotic

Situating Jazz

Accounts of Indian music's reception in the West since 1947 have focussed on its role in Western popular culture in the 1960s.[1] Less prominent in popular and scholarly representations are American and European jazz musicians, whose connections to Indian music pre-date popular music's and have more complex musical and cultural roots. Ethnomusicologists and jazz studies scholars have focussed on jazz culture's representation of African diasporic identites in America[2] but the aesthetic, national, racial and ethnic character of contemporary jazz resists simple delimitation. From its inception, jazz has been shaped by its African and European parentage, and defined by its tense proximity to Western classical music and its shifting relationships to range of ethnic musics. In its origins, and in its significant aesthetic and social innovations throughout the 1960s, jazz is explicitly an African American music. Throughout the twentieth century, it has been marked by the structures of racism and exoticism: African American influence is variously celebrated and obscured by different groups, to different ends.

Disseminated from America in the 1900s though the 1930s as a popular music borne along the trade routes of colonialism, then more specifically during the Cold War as an explicit tool of American foreign policy, a racialized jazz concept quickly became an international emblem of progress, peace and prosperity. In the early decades of the twentieth century, African American performers were touted as an exotic emblem of an emergent industrial power; jazz spread to distant continents through routes charted by centuries of European colonialism. During the Cold War era, jazz and its African American performers were deployed by the United States Information Service as "ambassadors" of a socially progressive and prosperous nation. Over the course of the twentieth century, jazz's international margins developed increasingly complex relationships to their American metropole. By the beginning of World War II, professional jazz performers in Asia, Europe, Australia, and South America had adopted and adapted jazz in their own countries. The impact of these early localizations of jazz can also be seen to have laid the groundwork for the "globalization" of American music in the 1980s. Widely touted at the time as a revolution bringing together disparate sounds, "world music" fusions of American and non-American music had in fact been taking

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[1] Jonathan Bellman, "Indian Resonances in the British Invasion, 1965-1968," *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997) 292-306; David Reck, "Beatles Orientalis: Influences From Asia in Popular Song Form," *Asian Music* 15 (1985): 83-150; Gerry Farrell, "Indian Elements in Popular Music and Jazz," *Indian Music and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 168-200; Bonnie Wade, "Indian Classical Music in North America: Cultural Give and Take," *Contributions to Asian Studies* 12 (1978): 29-39.

[2] Charles Keil and Steven Feld, *Music Grooves* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Ingrid Monson, *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

place since the beginning of the twentieth century, as performers adapted and incorporated jazz into local musical forms. A range of national and ethnic identities have encountered and impacted jazz, and jazz has served as the site of articulating local identities and resistance to local and international hegemonies.

Since the 1980s, a trend towards conservatism in American jazz has effected its repositioning as "America's classical music."[3] Figures at the vanguard of jazz's neoclassical revival have lobbied to increase the institutional and political position and public awareness of jazz in the United States. In 1987, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution declaring jazz "a rare and valuable treasure."[4] Jazz repertory orchestras have since been established at the Smithsonian Institution, Lincoln Centre and the Hollywood Bowl, and jazz has assumed a place in the nation's bastions of high art. These powerful institutions function in tandem with a swiftly expanding industry of jazz education to administer the character of jazz.

At the heart of the neoclassical revival is a claim that African American musicians have been the genre's leading innovators and most authoritative practitioners, reinforcing a racial polarization in which African American musicians are seen as innovators, and European American musicians as appropriators. Bebop, the jazz form around which the jazz canon is organized, is claimed to represent a pinnacle of anti-commercial modernism in which African American musicians cast off the shackles of the culture industry and staked a claim as serious artists and intellectuals. In *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History,* historian Scott DeVeaux identified two master narratives of the emergence of bebop: a narrative of evolution, which stresses continuity among communities of performers and their musical languages, and a narrative of revolution, which stresses social upheaval and black nationalism.[5] Central to both narratives is a concept of jazz as an art music of social liberation. In the first case, bebop is celebrated as a music so aesthetically elevated as to transcend profound racial tensions; in the second, bebop is cast along economic and racial lines as a movement expressive of black subculture so technically and formally complicated as to be invulnerable to appropriation by white musicians and the white-controlled music business. Conservative, popular histories such as Burns' follow both lines, foregrounding the contributions of African-American musicians. Scott DeVeaux advances a third explanation:

> As the Swing Era inevitably cooled off, competition stiffened and the underlying inequities of race were felt with renewed force. Entrenched patterns of segregation, both in the music industry and in society at large, automatically gave white musicians a nearly insuperable advantage in the mainstream market, blunting black ambition and forcing it into new channels. Bebop was a response

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[3] This was the title of Grover Sales' popular introduction to the history of jazz. See Grover Sales, *Jazz: America's Classical Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1984).
[4] House Concurrent Resolution 57, passed by the United States Senate on December 4, 1987.
[5] Scott DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) 3-4.

> to this impasse, an attempt to reconstitute jazz—or more precisely, the specialized idiom of the improvising virtuoso—in such a way as to give its black creators the greatest professional autonomy *within* the marketplace.[6]

DeVeaux notes that narratives of evolution and revolution fail to address important issues that can be answered only through frame of reference of the individual professional performer.

The narrow scope of the jazz canon poses a serious challenge to the notion of jazz as the music of liberation. The jazz canon has been critiqued for concealing the significant contributions of non-African American and female performers, and for denigrating the innovations of radical African American free improvisers in the 1960s. Ingrid Monson notes that this is pervasive throughout the jazz revival:

> The hostility towards free jazz expressed by many advocates of jazz neoclassicism—most visibly, Wynton Marsalis —created in the 1980s and 1990s a climate in which expressions of African-American aesthetic principles that refused to be confined by tonality or traditional formal structures were regularly demonized as incompetent, not black enough, or overinfluenced by a European concept of avant-garde.[7]

In the "creative music" movement of the 1960s and early 1970s, African American improvisers reinforced a strong symbolic and practical relationship between improvisation and social practice. "Creative music" was one of many terms that emerged by composer-improvisers who used it to describe a set of related methodological, ethical, cultural, and political practices. Saxophonist John Coltrane's "free jazz" in the early 1960s was a result of his search for musical "universals" of deep expressive power, and a spiritual and political urge towards liberation. Inspired by the Black Arts and Black Power movements, working class African American musicians sought to actively transform societal power relations by advancing both a "Black aesthetic" and the social and political structures for self-representation. A continuation of bebop's radical transformation of musical aesthetics and material conditions, the creative music movement developed a number of musical collectives—for example, the Association for the Advancement of Creative Music in Chicago, the Creative Arts Collective in Detroit, the Black Artists Group in St. Louis—which put the mode of representation and production under the control of African American musicians. Recent studies have begun to document these musicians' activities, which placed the powerful legacies of systemic racism in the United States in sharp focus, interrupting the silence of the issue of race and the musical avant-garde.[8]

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[6] Scott DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop*, 27.

[7] Ingrid Monson, preface, *The Other Side of Nowhere: Jazz, Improvisation and Communities in Dialogue,* ed. Daniel Fischlin and Ajay Heble (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2004) xi.

[8] See for example, Eric Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz? African American Musicians as Artists, Critics, and Activists* (Berkeley: University of California Press,

In formal terms, creative music represented a musical liberation from the European structures of rhythm and tonality. Central to the Black aesthetic was a diffuse transculturalism, and in particular the construction of a pan-African consciousness, which embraced the music and spiritual traditions of Africa, even those parts of Africa to which jazz has no historical connection. The aesthetic and performative structures of creative music emphasized inclusivity, notably in its focus on collective improvisation over "heroic" individual solos, in the use of novel and handmade musical instruments, and in the embrace of performers regardless of instrumental proficiency. The influence of this movement expanded beyond African American communities. The Creative Music Studio in Woodstock, NY became a nexus for composer-improvisers from a wide range of backgrounds who situated African American traditions in the centre of a broader conversation about musical experimentalism. Performers and audiences in Europe, particularly behind the Iron Curtain, invested free improvisation with considerable ideological power. In the subsequent development of a European free improvisation community, its African American antecedents were concealed. Despite significant aesthetic and social connections to experimentalism in Western classical music, prominent composers such as John Cage publicly refused African American experimentalism. In these embracings and refusals of radicalized and politicized forms of African American music, the racial character of jazz is repeatedly used to reinforce its difference.

The dismissal of African American experimentalism from the canons of jazz, contemporary improvised music, and European free improvisation, ultimately highlights the relationship of canon production to the marketplace. In his now-notorious essay "On Jazz," Theodor Adorno, concerned himself not with jazz itself, so much as with the commercial production and consumption of jazz in 1930s Europe. Adorno's idea that "Jazz is not what it 'is' . . . it is what it is used for"[9] points to a potentially fruitful means of understanding the contemporary relationship between the new jazz canon and the business of cultural production. Adorno critiqued the manner in which the culture industry packaged jazz as an African American music, deploying notions of African primitivism to present opportunities for the liberation of the white European psyche, a liberation, as he concluded, that was a dream that could never be fulfilled. In its new canon, the relationship of jazz to the commodification of culture can be seen with particular clarity. Wynton Marsalis gazes coolly from his portrait in print ads for a luxury watch brand Movado. Jazz at Lincoln Center's premier venue, Dizzy's Club Coca-Cola,

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2002); George E. Lewis, "Gittin' to Know Y'all: Improvised Music, Interculturalism and the Racial Imagination," *Critical Studies in Improvisation* 1.1 8 Sept. 2005, 18 June 2006<http://journal.lib.uoguelph.ca.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca//index.php/csieci/article/view/6/0>; Michael Dessen, "Asian Americans and Creative Music Legacies," *Critical Studies in Improvisation* 1:1 8 Sept. 2005, 18 June2006 <http://journal.lib.uoguelph.ca.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/csieci/article/view/56/89>.

[9] Theodor W. Adorno, "On Jazz," trans. and intro Jamie Owen Daniel *Discourse* 12 (1989-1990): 47.

is located on the fifth floor of the new Time Warner buildings at Columbus Circle. The stage is set before a gleaming set of un-curtained windows: the audience is compelled to look beyond the performers, to the edge of the Trump Plaza hotel, and over Central Park where their gaze rests on the lights of the luxury hotels and elite apartment buildings of Manhattan's Upper East Side. The view celebrates African American musical achievement, but obscures the real and ongoing problems of race, social class and gender in jazz[10] and in contemporary American life.

As jazz takes on the mantle of legitimate music, it also assumes its problems. In *Aesthetic Theory,* Adorno wrote how: "The authoritarian effect of great artworks . . . both legitimates and indicts them. Integral form is inseparable from domination, though it sublimates it. Greatness is the guilt that [art] works bear."[11] In enshrining the "greatness" of bebop, and in ending the story of jazz at the moment of bebop's consolidation, the jazz canon fails to acknowledge jazz's vexed relationship to the culture industry. It presents instead, a linear, historicist model colored by nostalgia and nationalism. The new jazz canon sells freedom by enforcing concepts of law and mastery in musical style. By excluding significant communities of performers who have advanced the boundaries of jazz and improvised music—such as the musicians of the Association for the Advancement of Creative Music in the 1960s and 1970s, the M-Base collective of the 1980s and 1990s—the jazz canon omits important cases where marginal musicians succeed in realizing jazz's potential as a site of resistance and social critique. Very recent developments, such as the March 2007 double bill of bands led by Cecil Taylor and John Zorn, might "show Jazz at Lincoln Center in a favorable light, unafraid to move into more contentious musical waters"[12] but exist as only a belated first step towards acknowledging the significant developments in jazz and social practice in the second half of the twentieth century.

Jazz is Dead

The past several years have heard rumblings of a backlash against the American jazz hegemony from jazz's European margins. Since the 1930s, European performances have formed a crucial source of revenue to performers and the jazz industry. In the words of the American impresario George Wein: "If it weren't for Europe, there would be no jazz."[13] After the Second World War, several decades of sustained economic planning and development resulted in strong economies and state support for the arts in many European nations. This fostered the development of a European jazz industry of record

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[10] In 2000, ethnomusicologist and journalist Lara Pellegrinelli exposed Marsalis' sexist hiring practices at the Lincoln Center Jazz Orchestra in an article in the *Village Voice*. See Lara Pellegrinelli, "Dig Boy Dig: Jazz at Lincoln Center Breaks New Ground, but Where Are the Women?" *Village Voice* 8 – 14 Nov. 2000: 46.

[11] Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory,* trans. and ed. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) 187.

[12] "Jazz and Standards," *New Yorker* 12 Mar. 2007.

[13] Quoted in Dave Liebman, "Jazz in Europe: My Own Impressions," *Jazz Educator's Journal* (May 1999).

labels, festivals, clubs, and print and broadcast media. Jazz, accordingly, continues to be supported by greater audiences in Europe than in the United States. While jazz's status as a popular music sharply declined after 1945, its European popularity only increased.

In the last years of the twentieth century and the first years of the 21st, many European markets entered a period of economic decline, resulting in sharply decreased performance opportunities for all but the most prominent names in American jazz. At the same time, the enlargement of the European Union and the introduction of a common currency have reinforced a European identity and accordingly, a heightened role for European jazz. Sustained economic support, combined with Europe's close geopolitical configuration of highly differentiated national and cultural identities, has resulted in the emergence of several distinct—loosely national—jazz styles. Grouped under the genre label "European jazz" (a term roughly corresponding in concept to the notion of a "European identity"), these are marked by a syncretic approach to the intersection of jazz and disparate musical languages such as rock, popular music, electronic music, Western classical music, and especially national folk music traditions. This reflects trends of musical nationalism, folklorism, and exoticism that have been stable features of European art music for several centuries.

Since the 1960s, European jazz has consolidated a narrative of "emancipation" from the dominance of American jazz.[14] This resistance, as is implied in the title of British journalist Stuart Nicholson's book *Is Jazz Dead? (Or has it moved to a new address)*, suggests that American jazz is stagnant, and jazz's true creative potential has since flowered in Europe.[15] Better funded than all but the most prominent of American performers, emerging and mid-career European performers can command larger audiences, with lower costs. The patronage of national bodies results—at least for some musicians in some nations—in a climate where musicians can focus on their artistic development, while national bodies underwrite the business of promotion. Many European nations offer free or heavily subsidized professional training in jazz, and European Union-sponsored mobility programs make it possible for musicians to undertake basic training and pursue subsequent professional development in a number of European centres, thus "European jazz," as Nicholson constructs it, is at once more cosmopolitan, and more true to jazz's experimental roots.

Generally absent from the discourse on European jazz is a critical examination of its considerable folklorism and exoticism, both with respect to its purported independence of its African American antecedents and its representation of a range of musical others. Absent too is any interrogation of the manner in which national patronage may serve to qualify cultural products and enforce strictures on professional development based on performers' ethnic, national, and class origins. As European multiculturalism poses new challenges to nationally funded professional training programs for musicians, jazz pedagogy assumes a new importance as a site for practical training and of a pluralistic

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[14] George Lewis, *"Gittin' To Know Y'all"* 3.

[15] Stuart Nicholson, *Is Jazz Dead? (Or Has it Moved to a New Address?)* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

"resolution" to persistent inequalities. This function of jazz depends upon a de-racialized concept of jazz as a "universal" musical language, a "lingua franca" unmoored of its American influences that can be endlessly reconfigured to represent local identities. Jazz is used discursively to stand as a friendly face for globalization, as Stuart Nicholson suggests: "The emergence of glocal jazz dialects represents a way that allows the global village to participate in the music, a global village that loves and enjoys American jazz but at the same time seeks to find meaning in its local musical communities."[16] While referencing the obvious and significant permeability of jazz's roots in oral tradition, the linguistic metaphor masks the many significant ways in which inequality persists.

Theoretical Referents

In this project, I consider processes of globalization and the persistent tropes of Orientalism and exoticism, as they are manifest in the specific connection of jazz and Karnatak music at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Discussions of globalization in ethnomusicology have tended to examine the manner in which Western cultural imperialism is asserted upon non-Western cultures through the transnational recorded music industry, or in which musical transculturalism opens new sites for local resistance to cultural imperialism. Musicology's discourse on exoticism has tended to critique Western composers' representation of foreign musical cultures as appropriative. The field of cultural studies, while considering a wide range of intercultural phenomena, has focused its study on cultural products refracted through mass media and popular culture. Meanwhile, jazz scholars have tended to restrict their focus to issues of African American race and identity in the United States. None of these approaches are wholly adequate to the complex formations of identity and authority manifest in the zone of contact between jazz and Karnatak music in the globalized world.

"Globalization" is a contested term, often used to stand at once for a process—the means by which changes in the world are brought about—and the conditions resulting from these changes. The considerable variance in the local contexts and conditions mandates a multi-sited ethnography. Similarly, my analysis requires a multidisciplinary approach. I will attempt to reconcile two typically parallel modes of analysis—the close reading of musical texts and performances on one hand, and ethnographic concerns with performers' voices on the other—with theoretical and historiographic approaches drawn from ethnomusicological studies of musical hybridity, and musicological studies of exoticism. Music studies today invoke a range of theoretical perspectives, and in this project I will draw upon discourses of globalization, postcolonial analysis, postmodern theory, theories of sociocultural identity, and diaspora studies. By grounding broad narratives in both an analysis of musical products, their creators' own discourse about their music, and the reception of this music in the cultural industry, I hope to be able to advance an understanding of the manner in which jazz functions at once to open new structures for non-appropriative intercultural collaboration, while upholding certain structures of imperial and neo-imperial power. The liminal status of jazz both with respect to the transcultural music industry and the business of high art, offers a new

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[16] Nicholson, *Is Jazz Dead?* 193.

window on musical transculturalism and exoticism in the twenty-first century.

I wish to pursue these questions on two levels: on the level of individual performers and their production of musical works, and on the level of the reception of this music by audiences and the music industry. I will show how musicians imagine, interpret and context exoticism in their work, how performers participate in the production of global discourse, and which narratives about globalization are advanced in their musical and extra-musical discourse. Similarly, I will examine which narratives of globalization are advanced by audiences, music writers, and the music industry in their reception of these works, and which demands are placed on musicians in representing authenticity. Thus, the main task of this project is to provide the groundwork for a theorization of the intersections of jazz and Karnatak music with respect to globalization, postcolonial analyses of power, the persistent tropes of exoticism and orientalism, and the function of jazz in articulating existing and emerging identities.

Defining Globalization

The term "globalization" refers to processes of change that unfold at different speeds, in different forms, at different places in the world and for different people. Accordingly, there is no scholarly consensus on what kinds of processes constitute its essence, and globalization theory has yet to find a single disciplinary home. Globalization has been taken on as a topic by disparate fields such as literary studies, postcolonial studies, communications studies, cultural studies, political economy, history, philosophy, anthropology and sociology, resulting in varied, often conflicting academic accounts with scholars variously privileging political, economic, environmental, religious or ideological explanations. Arjun Appadurai has characterized twenty-first century globalization studies as "dangerously dispersed, with the language of epistemic communities, the discourse of states and interstate fora, and the everyday understanding of global forces by the poor growing steadily apart."[17] To Appadurai, the proliferation of contradictory discourses reflects long-standing disciplinary debates and internal struggles for representation and recognition, to the exclusion of the needs of the people who are most directly and badly, affected by globalization. Jeffrey Di Leo comments: "at this point in its history, globalization studies probably raise more questions than provide adequate responses"[18] one must ask "which globalism" is being advanced.[19]

Jan Arte Scholte has described five broad definitions advanced in the discourse of globalization. First, globalization is described as *internationalization*, roughly used as a synonym for cross-border relations, and stands for growing flows of international investment and trade. Second, globalization is described as *liberalization*, as in the loosening of emigration and trade restrictions towards the creation of a "borderless"

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[17] Arjun Appadurai, "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination" *Globalization*, ed. *Arjun Appadurai* (Durham and London: Duke UP, 2001) 2.
[18] Jeffrey R. Di Leo, "Whose Theory, Which Globalism? Notes on the Double Question of Theorizing Globalism and Globalizing Theory," *Symploke* 9.1-2 (2001): 9.
[19] Di Leo, "Whose Theory, Which Globalism?" 6-7.

world economy. Third, globalization is used to stand for *universalization*, in which the pervasiveness of new objects and experiences (for example, television) reinforces a concept of "worldwide awareness." Fourth, globalization is described as a process of *modernization* and *westernization,* whereby the social structures of modernity especially in an "Americanized" political, economic and cultural forms, are spread globally. Fifth, globalization is described in terms of *deterritorialization*, a reconfiguration of geography in which social space is not wholly mapped by political borders and territorial distances.[20]

According to Scholte, only this fifth notion of supraterritoriality provides a way to understanding what is new, and truly global, in globalization. Internationalization and universalization describe processes that have been ongoing for centuries, for Scholte, no new theoretical insights can be obtained by renaming these processes as globalization. Similarly, existing economic discourse on "free trade" adequately describes the concept and effect of breaking down trade barriers. The concept of globalization as westernization has been developed in the context of post-colonial imperialism and neocolonialism, recasting these analyses in the language of globalization cannot contribute anything new. For Scholte, only a definition of globalization as the growth of "supraterritorial" relations between people allows for an exploration of profound changes in the way that social space is understood and experienced: "The proliferation and spread of supraterritorial... connections brings an end to what could be called "territorialism," that is, a situation where social geography is entirely territorial. Although... territory still matters very much in our globalizing world, it no longer constitutes the whole of our geography."[21] Martin Shaw has argued that Scholte's focus on supreaterritoriality obscures the fact that this new sense of place has been brought about by the recent changes in the scale and scope of processes Scholte labels as universalization and internationalization, these should therefore not be dismissed.[22]

The result, either way, is that it is now possible—at least for some of the world—to talk about being in a qualitatively different situation. Globalization has resulted in a new concept of "place" that does not rely only on geography, and it is this concept that I find the most useful in understanding the manner in which music represents and participates in globalization. I am interested in the discourse on globalization in as much as it describes shifting frames of reference, which I argue as critical to understanding the production and reception of intercultural musical works. Intercultural projects in jazz are referred to as "identity jazz" (anxiously) and "global jazz"[23] and

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[20] Jan Arte Scholte, *Globalization. A Critical Introduction* (London: Palgrave, 2000) 15-17.

[21] Scholte, *Globalization* 46.

[22] M. Shaw, rev. of *Globalization. A Critical Introduction*, by Jan Aart Scholte, *Millenneum A Journal of International Studies* (2001), 22 May 2006 <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Users/hafa3/scholte.html>.

[23] Mark Stryker, "Global Jazz: Pianist Vijay Iyer's cutting-edge music draws on the Indian rhythms of his heritage with post-bop, hip-hop and more," *Detroit Free Press* 14 Dec. 2006.

"future jazz" [24](celebratorily). Certainly, critics situate this music within the realm of what Stuart Hall has termed the "global postmodern," and the performers I consider have access to its full range of possibilities. What is curiously absent, both in performers' discourse and in the discourse of reception, is any engagement with the persistent and obvious tropes of exoticism and Orientalism that emerge in "global jazz."

Musical Studies of Globalization

Summarizing the discourse on musical globalization at the end of the twentieth century, Steven Feld described four "commonplaces" of musical globalization. First, "Music's deep connection to social identities has been distinctly intensified by globalization"; this intensification is due to the acceleration of transnational flows of information, resulting in more audible forms of "fission and fusion." Second, contemporary technology makes all musical worlds portable, and potentially audible by others, resulting in a new form of sonic consciousness: "As sonic virtuality is increasingly naturalized, everyone's musical world will be felt and experienced as both more definite and more vague, specific yet blurred, particular yet general, in place and in motion." Third, the primacy of the recorded form as it circulates commercially, in defining "the authenticity of musical globalization," and the "triumph" of the music industry in aligning technologies of recording and reproduction and dissemination to accomplish "the key capitalist goal of unending marketplace expansion." Fourth, "Musical globalization is experienced and narrated as equally celebratory and contentious because everyone can hear equally omnipresent signs of augmented and diminished musical diversity."[25]

These commonplaces correspond neatly with the dominant narratives on the processes of globalization. Feld argues that the "now ubiquitous phrase" world music played an integral role in representing and constructing globalization. Feld defines the genre of world music as a "marketplace creation and commercial desire for authentic (and often nostalgic) musical elsewheres" [26] which within a short time frame, emerged and was rapidly naturalized in public spheres. The semantic history of "world music" begins with its introduction in the 1960s as a friendlier term for anthropologically-driven documentary recordings, and continues through the 1980s when pop stars displaced academics as musical curators of the exotic (with academics complicit as guarantors of authenticity), to the late 1990s when the world music marketplace was well enough established to operate authoritatively and autonomously. Musical studies of globalization have been undertaken by ethnomusicology, musicology, popular music, and cultural studies, each of these has tended to view the phenomenon through characteristic disciplinary concerns.

In the late 1980s through the mid-1990s, a number of publications in ethnomusicology charted the emergence and impact of the world music genre. Consistent

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[24] Nicholson, *Is Jazz Dead?* 2006.
[25] Feld, "A Sweet Lullaby" 145-146.
[26] Feld, "A Sweet Lullaby" 148.

with its orientation "down" and "out," ethnomusicology has tended to focus its study from the margins to the centre, to document Western influences in local contexts and to chart the legacy of colonialism. Ethnomusicological studies have tended to focus on popular music and related genres, and deal mainly with the impact of corporate interests on local musical difference.[27] Scholars exposed the complex networks of inequalities, appropriations, and (mis)representations of musical others that lay beneath the commercial rhetoric of global interconnectedness. To Feld, these publications "present stories of how music's forms of local, regional, and social distinction are more and more tensely poised, living the contradictions encountered through embracing and resisting dominant hegemonic trends in the global popular music industry." [28]

Two narratives of musical globalization emerged from this project: a narrative of anxiety that deals with musical losses; and a celebratory narrative that speaks of musical global possibilities. Celebratory narratives chart the emergence of new musics as countering musical loss under globalization, and affirm their potential to assert politics of difference.[29] Anxious narratives assert that commercial activity is somehow indicative of lower levels of authenticity, and that the commodification of music results in something less pure, or diluted. These narratives ask why and how musical loss is countered by the proliferation of new musics. World music is seen as complicit in commodifying ethnicity, leaving little possibility for resistance, and occupying a hegemonic location within globalization practices. Now, nearly 20 years after the first studies on the world music genre, narratives of anxiety and celebration seem increasingly intertwined in the space of a cautious optimism embracing musical plurality. As Feld comments: "the anxious and

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[27] Veit Erlmann, "The Politics and Aesthetics of 'World Music'," *The World of Music* 35.2 (1993); Veit Erlmann, "The Aesthetics of the Global Imagination: Reflections on World Music in the 1990s," *Public Culture* 8 (1996): 467-87; Steven Feld, "Notes on World Beat" 31-37; Steven Feld and Charles Keil, "From Schizophonia to Schismogenisis" 257-289; Steven Feld, "Pygmy POP" 1-35; Reebee Garofalo, "Whose World, What Beat: The Transnational Music Industry, Identity, and Cultural Imperialism," *The World of Music* 35, vol.2 (1993): 16-32; Philip Hayward, *Music at the Borders: Not Drowning, Waving and Their Engagement With Papua New Guinean Culture* (London: John Libby, 1998); George Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism, and the Poetics of Place* (New York: Verso, 1994); Tony Mitchell, *Popular Music and Local Identity: Rock, Pop and Rap in Europe and Oceania* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996); Karl Neuenfeldt, ed., *The Didjeridu: From Arnhem Land to Internet* (London: John Libby, 1997); Sanjay Sharma, John Hutnyk, and Ashwani Sharma, eds., *Dis-orienting Rhythms: The Policies of the New Asian Dance Music* (London: Zed Books, 1996); Timothy Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

[28] Feld, "A Sweet Lullaby" 152.

[29] Andrew Goodwin and Joe Gore, "World Beat and the Cultural Imperialism Debate," *Socialist Review* 20.3 (1990): 63-80; Jocelyne Guilbault, "On Redefining the 'local' Through World Music," *The World of Music* 35, vol. 2 (1993): 33-47; Jocelyne Guilbault, "Interpreting World Music: A Challenge in Theory and Practice," *Popular Music* 35, vol.2 (1997): 31-44.

celebratory both embrace musical plurality as a dialectical necessity in a world where world music circulation is increasingly dominated by predictable musical commodities."[30]

"Schizophonia" and "Pastiche": The Aesthetics of World Music

Ethnomusicological literature on musical globalization provides me with two particularly useful windows on musical transculturalism. Steven Feld has traced representations of ethnomusicological field recordings of music of the "pygmy" peoples of the Solomon Islands and Central Africa through various musical adaptations and many levels of the music industry. His analyses make clear the various strategies by which musicians, record companies, journalists, and audiences deploy and make sense of these disconnected sounds in new spaces. By paying constant attention to the particulars of circumstance and context, he traces the social history of these sounds, clearly illustrating how unequal power relations are inscribed and amplified as fragments of music circulate as popular commodities. He labels the separation of musical sounds from their sources "schizophonic mimesis", a term adapted from composer R. Murray Schafer. "Schizophonia" stands for a set of interrogatory practices which Feld uses to examine how sound recordings, split from their sources, "stimulate and license renegotiations of identity."[31] Musical recordings open possibilities for new ways of configuring identity; a process that is further intensified and accelerated through the distribution channels of the world music genre, and especially through online digital distribution.

In two articles, "The Politics and Aesthetics of Transnational Musics" (1993) and "The Aesthetics of the Global Imagination" (1996), ethnomusicologist Veit Erlmann outlined an aesthetics of the "world music" genre. In both articles, Erlmann states that world music is a "new aesthetic form of the global imagination,"[32] and proposes that pastiche emerges as "the key principle of world music."[33] Erlmann draws his concept of pastiche from Frederic Jameson, whose analysis claims that pastiche in postmodern culture is a "dead language" devoid of political or historical context.[34] For Erlmann, pastiche represents "an attempt at coating the sounds of the fully commodified present with the patina of use value in some other time and place."[35] In his later article, Erlmann describes how "elements of world music have now crossed over into a vast range of other musics"[36] (to list a few of his examples, New Age, avant-garde jazz, and hip hop). The broadening of the world music phenomenon reinforces world music's role as a "way of

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[30] Feld, "A Sweet Lullaby" 154.
[31] Feld,"The Poetics and Politics" 263.
[32] Veit Erlmann, "The Aesthetics" 467-487.
[33] Erlmann,"The Aesthetics" 482.
[34] As discussed in *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism,* ed. Frederic Jameson and Stanley Fish (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991).
[35] Veit Erlmann, "The Politics and Aesthetics of Transnational Musics," *The World of Music* 35 (1993): 3-15.
[36] Erlmann, "The Aesthetics" 467.

capturing the present historical moment and the total reconfiguration of space and cultural identity characterizing societies around the globe" and suggests to Erlmann a new urgency to the task of developing an analysis.[37] Erlmann argues that homogenization and differentiation are two sides of the same coin, "the production of difference is inherent in the logic of capitalism itself."[38] Accordingly, he disputes celebratory narratives of musical globalization that uphold the notion that certain forms of world music are able to give voice to local resistance to Western cultural imperialism.

Erlmann's totalizing concept of an omnipresent capitalist system leaves little room for human agency or for the possibilities of the creative arts. He conceives of musical globalization as "the most ramified, all-encompassing environment ever in the history of artistic production."[39] New spaces for creativity brought about through globalized music are described "simply" as loops in the "circuits" between the machine of the system of late capitalism and its global musical subsystems, and dismissed, fatally, as "inner metastasis."[40] Erlmann's aesthetic of world music might be succinctly described as an argument for "historicity" over "pseudohistory," he writes:

> Different phases in the evolution of world music...are to be distinguished by the degree to which the meanings of the past, the tradition, overlap with the overwhelming present or, by the extent to which certain social relations and cultural practices are unhinged from concrete spatial conditions and recombined in ever-changing, 'disembedded' time-space relationships.[41]

The performers he cites as examples of the former can be readily located as members of the historical/traditional cultures their music inscribes through categories of ethnicity, national identity, and musical style. He argues that certain musical forms—namely Zimbabwean *chimurenga,* Pakistani *bhangra* and Nigerian *fuji*—cannot adequately be described as "world music" because they are constructed and expressed from subject points located at the time and place of the sudden, "more or less violent," juxtaposition of the local, traditional, non-Western life-world and the world of late capitalism. He argues: "What separates such musics...from a fully developed postmodern music production on a global scale is...the way in which history itself is inscribed in them, how they synchronize the experience of individual lived time with the myriad collective histories and voices elsewhere in the region, nation and the world at large."[42]

By taking the industry's own term "world music" as a category for analysis, Erlmann fails to adequately differentiate the many musical practices and discourses it subsumes. His account cannot fully explain the musical differences—both commodified and un-commodified—that nonetheless continue to emerge. Erlmann sets up an aesthetic

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[37] Erlmann, "The Aesthetics" 468.
[38] Erlmann, "The Aesthetics" 472.
[39] Erlmann, "The Aesthetics" 473.
[40] Erlmann, "The Aesthetics" 473.
[41] Erlmann, "The Aesthetics" 476.
[42] Erlmann, "The Aesthetics" 476.

dualism between history and tradition on one hand, and post-modern globalization on the other, which carries a significant culturalist assumption. In order for a "world music" to act as a product and agent of historical process, performers have to be embedded in, and inscribed in their music, a specific kind of time and place that presumes membership in a traditional society. His aesthetics privilege a certain kind of historicity, and thus cannot adequately account for a genre such as jazz, which was spread across the globe before popular music (as it is disciplinarily defined), and the histories of its performers, which also cannot be clearly delineated in cultural, ethnic, or temporal terms. Although Erlmann claims that the broadening of "world music" fuels the importance of his project, the avant-gardist world music performers he cites (with the exception of John Zorn who is mentioned only in passing in his introduction) are all firmly situated in the heavily commodified New Age genre.

Nonetheless, I wish to retain certain features from Erlmann's aesthetics which I consider to be productive lines of inquiry. Erlmann's analysis does not assume that difference poses a challenge to commodification, instead, it permits me to examine the manner in which difference is created and deployed at different levels of the culture industry. Erlmann's analysis departs from the trend of world music studies that have focused on postcolonial economics and power dynamics and that have tended to privilege the politics of global mass culture. Although the economic strategies of multinational mass media are important features for analysis, such analyses cannot fully account for the case of "art" music, which is governed by authoritative institutions that assign value unequally according to a different set of concerns. The pervasiveness of a world music concept in the popular imagination has preconditioned performers, audiences, and the culture industry to receive a certain form of musical globalization. Erlmann's analysis prompts me to suggest that jazz exerts a legitimizing force in musical interculturalism. With its primacy on autonomous creative expression and minimal commodification, jazz takes on world music might serve as a rallying site for a coalition of intellectually sophisticated listeners who seek to embark upon "musical journeys" without being taken for passive consumers.

Finally, Erlmann suggests that the new space of world music challenges scholars to conceive of new ways of mapping the choices musicians make in moving about the spaces between the system and multiple environments. For Erlmann, the tropes of authenticity, individuality and identity emerge increasingly from an enigmatic "hyperspace" which defies conventional analysis.[43] Jazz performers' conceptions and construction of difference can emerge from concerns that diverge, at times significantly, from those of the dominant cultural industries. A study which examines the choices musicians make in moving between an omnipresent system of globalization and the various environments of the music industry, should permit me to understand how (if) difference is autonomously produced by performers, and how difference serves as a point for contesting, or engaging with, musical commodification and globalization.

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[43] Erlmann, "The Aesthetics" 484.

Studies of Musical Exotica

In a 1995 essay describing musicology's frontiers, Regula Qureshi commented: "Musicology has, over the course of its academic existence, been deemed exclusively historical almost by default."[44] Musicology's disciplinary character has been strongly marked by conservatism and positivism, nearly dealing exclusively with musical texts as its subject matter. A recent disciplinary rapprochement between musicology and ethnomusicology, and music studies more generally with cultural theory, has seen musicology open its conversations to accommodate both new subject matter, and the new epistemological and methodological tools with which to consider it. The recent publications of musicological analyses of exoticism are one result of this movement towards resolving the split of musical texts and contexts.

Exoticism, primitivism and Orientalism have been stable features of Western music since the sixteenth century. In the simplest formation, exoticism describes the representation of a distant place or culture through musical or extra-musical features. Many of the styles and forms of the European musical canon display direct roots in exoticism – for example the *polonaise* of Chopin, Bach or Telemann; the *style hongrois* in the work of Schubert, Brahms and Liszt, or Mozart's *alla turca* – and by now a substantial body of musicological research has catalogued the use of musical and extra-musical signifiers of the exotic, and the recurring narratives of invigoration, renewal and nostalgia that propel composers' attempts to represent musical others. Much work in exoticism rests on a binary of the West and its others, the foreign and the familiar.[45] Jonathan Bellman describes the characteristic stamp of exotica as projecting "a bemused and excited visitor's unspoiled reactions to a new place and pace of life" and reminds us that "for all the unmistakable musical codes...much depends on who is doing the composing and who the listening." [46] In the case of the Western classical music that has traditionally served as the subject of exoticist critique, the composer and the listener have been rooted in the subject point of the Euro-American geopolitical area that has dominated much of the world's politics and culture. Jonathan Bellman suggests that musicologists have tended to take a broadly admonishing approach to evocations of the exotic, "freeze-drying [a] complex matrix of cultural dissonances into a crude, unidirectional hatred."[47] Broad or obvious references to the exotic have tended to be castigated as imperialistic or unauthentic, and thus as politically or aesthetically

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[44] Regula Burkhardt Qureshi, "Musical Anthropologies and Music Histories: A Preface and an Agenda," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* vol. XL VIII.3 (1995).
[45] Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh acknowledge the difficulties of a binary of "Western" and "other" while arguing for its retention: "given that this is a book about music, we need to refer to the longstanding concept of 'Western music' while distancing ourselves from those traditions of analysis which have taken such a category for granted, or which have privileged it, or both." Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) footnote 1.
[46] Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music* x.
[47] Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music* xi.

objectionable. Assimilation and submersion of exotic materials are important, often necessary, conditions for a work to be considered aesthetically valid.[48]

In a postmodern, globalized society, in which all musics are potentially audible, and thus potentially familiar, the tropes of exoticism and primitivism have proved surprisingly resilient. Far from a historical phenomenon, exoticism is a prominent feature of modernist and postmodernist classical music, and for the past two decades has been visible with particular clarity in classical "crossover" projects as Yo-Yo Ma's Silk Road Project and the Kronos Quartet's recordings inspired by the music of Argentina, South Africa, Persia, Latin America, and Bollywood.[49] The heightened visibility of exoticism in Western classical music has largely escaped critical attention. Two recent edited volumes – Jonathan Bellman's *The Exotic in Western Music* and Georgina Born and Desmond Hesmondhalgh's *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music* – have consolidated a complex and nuanced approach to exoticism. In these volumes the study of exoticism in Western music is expanded beyond the classical canon to include the popular music of the twentieth century, including music written to accompany popular entertainment forms such as musicals and films, and new genres of classical crossover. This scholarship takes a broader view, not just in the music taken on as subject matter, but also in the theoretical lenses through which it is viewed. Born and Hesmondhalgh take on the task of theorizing cultural difference in music, extending analyses of musical "difference" into the broader realm of cultural theory, and extending musicological analysis to include experimental and popular music. Their introduction to *Western Music and its Others* outlines an ambitious multi-part theoretical program for the analysis of musical differences, spanning postcolonial analysis, postmodern cultural theory, globalization theory, and theories of sociocultural identity. Their insights on the application of postcolonial analysis, postmodern theory and identity are particularly useful to this project.

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[48] Submersion is presumed to lend a valued "timeless quality" to a composer's work is implied in an excerpt from Ralph P. Locke's entry on exoticism in the Grove Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians: "Debussy, for instance, often used non-Western styles (including echoes of Indonesian gamelan music) in such a way as to minimize their specific geographical and cultural associations. Florid melodic lines and non-tonal modes … permeate his works, often giving them a timeless quality." Ralph P. Locke, "Exoticism," Grove Music Online, ed. L. Macy, 13 Dec. 2006 <http://www.grovemusic.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca>.

[49] Kronos Quartet, "Kevin Volans: Hunting: Gathering," Elektra/Nonesuch 9 79253, 1991; "White Man Sleeps," Elektra/Nonesuch 9 79163, 1987; "Pieces of Africa," Elektra/Nonesuch 9 79275, 1992; "Astor Piazzolla: Five Tango Sensations," Elektra/Nonesuch 9 79254, 1991; "Kronos Caravan," Nonesuch 79490, 2000; "Nuevo," Nonesuch 79649, 2002; "You've Stolen My Heart - Songs from R.D. Burman's Bollywood," Nonesuch, 79856-2, 2005; "Mugam Sayagi: Music of Franghiz Ali-Zadeh," Nonesuch 79804-2, 2005.

Postcolonial Analyses of Power

The work of Edward Said has laid the groundwork for much recent scholarship that is concerned with understanding the postcolonial power dynamics inherent in the representation and appropriation of exotic-sounding musics by Western composers, and in the reception of exotic-sounding works by audiences at various points in time and in various places. Musical borrowings are examined in the context of the relations of culture, power, ethnicity and social class, and are further compounded by the dynamics of sexuality and gender. Postcolonial analysis is productive for music analysis because it refuses to treat cultural products as innocent or autonomous of social life. Postcolonial analyses take cultural texts seriously, but the project of textual analysis is subsidiary to the larger project of understanding asymmetrical power relations, particularly in the area of race and ethnicity.

Despite the avowed influence of Said, and despite its substantial productivity in other areas of cultural analysis, rigorous postcolonial analysis has received relatively little attention in musical studies. While advocating its productivity as a means of analyzing power relations in Western music, Born and Hesmondhalgh suggest that it be qualified by an understanding of its limitations. They suggest that postcolonial analyses have tended to avoid questions of agency. While "constantly alert to the racialized nature of cultural power," postcolonial analyses tend to foreground textuality and epistemology at the expense of sociological, political and economic issues.[50] Recent work in ethnomusicology, consistent with its disciplinary concern with how music represents and is represented, has contributed substantial analyses about appropriation, globalization and hybridity (some of which were surveyed in the previous section). Such work has redressed postcolonial theory's tendency to privilege "high art" discourse at the expense of a more systematic account of the role of popular culture, and has brought together the issues of material conditions and agency, in the context of colonialism and neocolonialism. Ethnomusicology moreover, has traditionally been more willing than musicology and music theory to consider the political dimensions of musical cultures and music scholarship. Postcolonial power analyses are thus useful in explaining the relationship of Western classical music to its others, which others are taken on and subsumed, and which are excluded. Jonathan Bellman is concerned with defending exoticism against its critics in the musical academy. He writes: "The greatest danger inherent in approaching musical exoticism from a rigorously postcolonial perspective ... is the breezy facility with which it may be judged and subsequently dismissed."[51] An analysis of exoticism thus depends on understanding the considerable variance in the contexts of production and reception of exotic works, as well as the composers' own purposes and intentions.

The specific productivity of postcolonial analysis in this project revolves around exploring the relations between structured inequalities of race, class, and power in the encounter of jazz and Indian music. The postcolonial history of jazz in India that forms

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[50] Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and its Others* 6.
[51] Bellman, *The Exotic* xiii.

the chapter of this dissertation argues that in music, when "East Meets West" and "West Meets East" – to borrow the titles of two recordings documenting the collaboration of Yehudi Menuhin and Ravi Shankar starting in the early 1950s—it is rarely for the first time. A central concern of postcolonial historiography is demonstrating continuity under colonialism. As historian Nicholas Dirks has shown, patterns in the administration of property transfer under colonial rule meant that Western musicians were under the patronage of Indian royalty resulting in a long series of encounters between Western and Indian musicians. These encounters resulted not only in an enduring impact on Indian classical music, but also created patronage structures for Indian musicians performing the Western popular music of the day. Moreover, jazz and other Western popular musics posed a substantial category of employment for subaltern classes in India. Such a historical context disrupts the notion of Western "discovery" and admits narratives of self-determination and agency to Indian musicians.

Postcolonial analysis is equally germane to understanding the social, political, institutional, and intellectual contexts in which Indian classical music was received in the United States in the latter half of the twentieth century. Bonnie Wade has described how Indian classical music was introduced to North Americans in the 1950s and 1960s through two celebrity "mediators," classical violinist Yehudi Menuhin and Beatles rock guitarist George Harrison.[52] Pre-figuring world music's "celebrity curators" of the 1980s, Menuhin and Harrison made an awareness of Indian music part of the general arts scene for knowledgeable members of their respective audiences. Wade describes how Indian classical music became part of the general American arts scene at a time when American society was shaking off the conservatism of the Cold War era. In the Cold War era, US foreign policy focused on India as a neutral power and the world's largest democracy. Under Public Law 480, government funds resulted in the foundation of South Asia studies centres in Universities, and programs sponsoring American individuals studying in India. The influx of funds by public institutions and private foundations tied in with a trend towards new modes of spirituality. Indian music, seen at once as legitimately classical and sublimely exotic, "legitimized and encouraged America's new involvement with the 'exotic.' A generation of students...was eager to act differently, talk differently, do differently, if not be different. In music 'different' meant primarily folk music revivals and Indian classical music." [53]

Wade argues that the longevity of Indian classical music in North America after the so-called "raga rock" fad of 1965-1968 can best be explained by a pattern which was set into play by its prior introduction to Western classical music audiences, Indian performers simultaneously exposed audiences to their music while satisfying their interest for deep information. The popular dissemination of Indian music in the United States coincided with its rapid institutionalization, which saw the establishment of performer-led schools (such as the Ali Akbar Khan College of Music and Ravi Shankar's Kinnara School, both in California) and the adoption of Indian classical music by several American universities, notably Wesleyan University. Ethnomusicology was quick to

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[52] Wade, "Indian Classical Music" 30-32.
[53] Wade, "Indian Classical Music" 30.

adopt Indian classical music because, as Amanda Weidman argues, its canonic status served as a legitimizing force in ethnomusicology's efforts towards disciplinary recognition.[54]

Postcolonial analyses of travel and tourism have much to offer in locating the expectations of personal and musical transformation that attend Euro-American jazz musicians' journeys to study and perform in India. The Western student of Indian music invokes both the spectre of Orientalist music scholarship, as well as that of John Urry's "post-tourist,"[55] whose anxiety in the face of the disorienting experience of modern globalization fuels a search for authenticity. Pedagogy emerges as a form of cultural tourism, and the materials of Karnatak music as authoritative and authentic souvenirs.

Jazz, Musical Modernism, and Their Others

As a means of understanding jazz's ambivalent position with respect to high art music and popular music, it is useful to consider the exoticism of musical modernism and postmodernism. The musical modernism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries involved a move from romanticism to formal abstraction and atonality. A range of non-serialist composers (among them Bartók, Milhaud, Poulenc, Debussy and Stravinsky) drew upon eclectic strategies in representing musical others. Common to this latter group of modernist composers was a drive to reinvigorate the present by referring to the past, and a desire to renew musical language by drawing upon non-art musics. Born and Hesmondhalgh observe that as the serialism of the Second Viennese School became the most institutionally and ideologically dominant form of modernism, all art music production was increasingly informed by "an omnipotent fantasy of aesthetic autarchy —the fantasy that one could invent a new musical language without reference to other musics, without recourse to syncretism, stripped of representational intent, and through a process of pure conceptual invention."[56] The exoticism of early modernist composers was taken up again in the work of later composers such as Ives, Cowell and Cage, whose experimentalism drew on vernacular, non-Western, "primitive" and "oriental" musics and philosophies to challenge and negate the complex abstractions of serialism and other high modernist approaches, involving the creation of distance and the intention to transcend musical difference. Thus the structure of representation of the other constructed an unequal relationship between composers and their audiences, and the exotic music represented.

In the postwar period, experimental music expanded into different streams (such as minimalism, ambient music) that have existed "in tense proximity with avant-garde developments in jazz and improvised musics."[57] This "tense proximity" holds one key to understanding the current ambivalent position of jazz in the discourse of "art" music, both jazz and classical. Recent studies have considered jazz's status as an exotic

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[54] Weidman, *Singing the Classical* 23.
[55] As developed in *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) and *Consuming Places* (1995).
[56] Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and its Others* 16-17.
[57] Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and its Others* 18.

importation in modernist classical music,[58] but the ongoing dismissal of an African-American avant-garde from the twentieth century classical canon has not been extensively examined or theorized. Likewise, the considerable exoticism in American jazz of the 1960s, in which eminent performers like Duke Ellington and John Coltrane imported exotic references to music from the Near East, India, China, Japan and the Australian aborigines, have not been extensively mapped.[59] Jazz has been briefly discussed in treatments of the reception of Indian music in late-twentieth century classical and popular music,[60] but its relationship to Indian music has not been subject to extended analysis. The binary opposition of self and exotic other emerging with the rise of European modernity and the beginning of colonialism—with its recurrent tropes of discovery, renewal, and spiritual invigoration—informs much of the encounter and reception of Indian music and jazz. Thus, one important contribution of the current project is to provide a preliminary analysis of Indian exoticism in jazz, particularly in the context of collaborations between European and American jazz performers and performers of Indian classical music.

George Lewis presents a strong circumstantial case for the influence of bebop and other influential African American improvisational forms on contemporary art music in the latter half of the twentieth century, which "provided an impetus...to come to grips with some of the implications of musical improvisation."[61] Many of the distinguishing elements of post-war American and European experimental music (for example small ensemble performance, improvisation, and musical collectivism) were prefigured by developments in African-American improvised music. However, the confrontation has been played out "amid an ongoing narrative of dismissal."[62] Western music history texts addressing American music after 1945 routinely use the term "experimental music" to denote the work of European and European-American composers, with only glancing reference to the significant conceptual and temporal overlap in the aesthetic concepts of the jazz avant-garde. Lewis observes:

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[58] In the early decades of the twentieth century jazz was referenced by Gershwin, Poulenc, Milhaud, Stravinsky, Bartok, Copland, and others, For accounts, see Gunther Schuller, "Jazz and Musical Exoticism," *The Exotic in Western Music,* ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998)281-291; Petrine Archer-Shaw, *Negrophilia: Avant-garde Paris and Black Culture in the 1920s* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000); Frank Salamone, "Jazz and Its Impact on European Classical Music," *Journal of Popular Culture* 38.4 (2005): 732-743.

[59] Gareth Osmond, "Eric Dolphy's Africa: Avoiding the Exoticism of Jazz in the 1960s," *Music Research Forum* 13 (1998): 22-34.

[60] Jonathan Bellman, "Indian Resonances" 292-306; Gerry Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* ; David Reck, "The Neon Electric Saraswati: Being Reflection on the Influences of Indian Music on the Contemporary Music Scene in America," *Contributions to Asian Studies* 12 (1978): 3-19; Bonnie Wade, "Indian Classical Music" 29-39.

[61] George Lewis, "Improvised Music After 1950: The Changing Same," *The Other Side of Nowhere: Jazz, Improvisation, and Communities in Dialogue,* ed. Ajay Heble and Daniel Fischlin (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2004) 132.

[62] Lewis, "Improvised Music After 1950" 132.

> Coded qualifiers for 'music' (such as 'experimental', 'new,' 'art,' 'concert,' 'serious,' 'avant-garde,' and 'contemporary,' are used in these texts to delineate a racialized location of this tradition within the space of whiteness, either erasure or (brief) inclusion of Afrological music can then be framed as responsible chronicling and 'objective' taxonomy.[63]

Lewis quotes African-American composer/improviser Anthony Braxton, who advances the view that the Cageian terms "aleatory" and "indeterminism" are used in place of "improvisation" as a means of disavowing a non-white influence. Lewis argues that the motive to conceal African-American influence, and the ongoing dismissal of African-American experimentalism from the canon of modern classical music, can be understood in terms of racialized power relations.[64]

Born and Hesmondhalgh comment on the high modernist assertion of absolute difference from popular musics has the characteristic of a defensive maneuver against the vitality of jazz and other popular forms. Its dominance involved the "denial, under the claim of formal autonomy, of the vagaries of its existence: competition with the market; the struggle for legitimacy and to gain cultural hegemony and an audience; and non-recognition of other musics."[65] The exclusion of post-bebop experimentalism from the jazz canon might be understood along similar lines. Through refusing the connections between bebop and radical experimentalism, the jazz canon re-inscribes its status as classical music's other (a discursive practice which is evident in the construction of jazz as "America's classical music"), maintaining an authoritive difference through enforcing a tightly structured jazz concept involving heroic (black, male) figures, stylistic mastery, and technical authority.

Structures of Representation and the Curious Resilience of Exoticism

Given that the structure of representation of the other constructs an unequal relationship between the subject and object, Born and Hesmondhalgh question "the extent to which this relation of musical representation must inevitably involve the attempt aesthetically and discursively to subsume and control the other."[66] When examined on the level of the perspectives of individual performers, the answers to this question exhibit considerable variability. The musicians I consider in this project variously refuse and engage with exoticism in their public personae as creative artists, and in the rather more private struggle to gain a foothold in a competitive and under-funded profession. Given that their professional activities take place within structures that replicate the inequalities of colonialism, such as saxophonist Rudresh Mahanthappa's performances at the Asia Society in New York, performers can find themselves in an uncomfortable position of decrying exoticism from a bandstand that proclaims it.

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[63] Lewis, "Improvised Music After 1950" 141.
[64] Lewis, "Improvised Music After 1950" 139.
[65] Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and its Others* 16.
[66] Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and its Others* 16.

Postmodern cultural theory has often used musical examples to demonstrate the collapsing divisions of postmodernity. Born and Hesmondhalgh identify three common assertions in the discourse of musical postmodernity. First, that in postmodernity, we are witnessing the end to the hierarchies of musical value and authority characteristic of high modernism. Second, that due to the collapse of public subsidies for the arts, all musics have to find ways to exist based on substantial markets and there is increasingly little basis for distinctions between the economic and institutional foundations of commercial and art music. Third, that the transglobal movement of musicians and sounds has resulted in an unparalleled development of aesthetic crossovers. These assertions imply that hybrid aesthetics and movements are free of the asymmetrical power relations of representation and the "seductions" of the exoticism characteristic of colonial and neocolonial relations.[67]

These assertions have been unpacked by ethnomusicological and popular music studies' treatments of hybridized music. Contemporary art music, by contrast, exhibits a marked absence of political or ideological critique of the musical and cultural appropriations broadly apparent in its canon and in its many crossovers. The economic and institutional structures of contemporary art music reproduce unequal value as they direct the legitimization and canonization of certain musical forms over others. This is visible with particular clarity in the case of improvised music and jazz. Jazz performance programs co-exist with classical performance within university "music" programs, but resources and status are unequally distributed, and performances rarely mingle the two. Bodies administering subsidies for "art" music routinely reinforce strict divisions between classical music and jazz, and the presentation of Lincoln Center, as I have already argued, depends upon a tightly administered jazz canon. The relationship of jazz and contemporary art music thus illustrates one manner in which contemporary art music's celebratory discourse of postmodern inclusivity conceals the continued reproduction of structured inequality. Born and Hesmondhalgh argue that pluralism is essential to the sustained attractiveness of exoticism in the twenty-first century, as it is:

> central to the way that postmodern intellectuals experience the aesthetic imaginatively as progressive; aesthetic pluralism is divorced from extant socioeconomic differences and held to be an autonomous and effective force for social change...In this sense, cultural postmodernism can be seen as an ideology *tout court* in the classic sense of a cultural system that conceals domination and inequality.[68]

Discourses Resolving Inequality

Discourses of "crossover" involve a rhetorical strategy that "resolves" vexed and complex issues of appropriation and inequality into an unproblematic pluralism. In

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[67] Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and its Others* 19.
[68] Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and its Others* 21.

"crossover", high modernism's refusal of musical others gives way to a cheerful embrace which can be experienced by audiences as both continuous with, and more authoritative than, the world music industry's. The "plural-universalism" of postmodern musical culture simultaneously upholds the possibilities of globalization while concealing its' closures. Jazz, as an oral musical tradition, has unique aesthetic features that make it permeable to musical others; these features can also function to conceal appropriation and discourses of unequal value. As Steven Feld observes: "Because the jazz aesthetic of citation can be orally constituted at any point in improvisation and composition, the term 'theft' doesn't apply when taking from yourself, when revitalizing your own tradition...players all tend to either nonchalantly note or defensively argue that appropriation is 'in the tradition.'"[69] The considerable exoticism of African-American jazz in the 1960s and 1970s can be located, as Feld has shown, "in the recycling of oral tradition as an African American ethic and aesthetic," as Herbie Hancock explained his appropriation of *hindewhu* on his album *Headhunters* (1973), "it's just a brothers kind of thing."[70]

The invocation of oral tradition is implicated again when performers make claims for jazz's status as a universal "lingua franca" or a politically charged music of "liberation." In both the African American and European communities, features of jazz's oral tradition have been used to significant effect as strategies towards political emancipation. Subsequently, however, a conception of "plural-universalism" has effectively de-racialized jazz and its legacy of resistance. Jazz has been reconstituted as a "universal" language by the orthodoxy (as in, for example, the largely American membership of the International Association for Jazz Education) and by the avant-garde. The de-racialization of jazz discourse is further reinforced by changes in the class and race structure of communities of jazz performers. A stream of mainly white, mainly male, middle-class students fuels the phenomenal growth in North American and European jazz education. Membership in the middle class, meanwhile, is virtually a prerequisite for pursuing the economic and professional vagaries of a jazz career.

The jazz aesthetic's imperative to self-expression and assimilation is resilient. Norwegian saxophonist Jan Garbarek told *DownBeat* magazine "jazz is very open. It invites all sorts of people of any background to take part. You can apply any personal input, coming from whatever part of the world, and it's possible to find a way that will work in the jazz idiom."[71] Garbarek's own appropriation of music from the Baegu community in the Solomon Islands became the subject of rancorous debate in Norway, chronicled by Feld in his 2000 article, "A Sweet Lullaby for World Music."[72] Jazz musicians, as Feld has observed, typically refuse exoticist critiques of their representations of musical others by way of citing an aesthetic self-determination based on jazz's oral tradition, which stresses the importance of "finding one's own sound." But the closures concealed in these discourses, and the context in which they should be

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[69] Feld,"The Poetics and Politics of Pygmy Pop" 261.
[70] Feld,"The Poetics and Politics of Pygmy Pop" 258.
[71] Jan Garbarek, cited in Nicholson, *Is Jazz Dead?* 175.
[72] Feld, "A Sweet Lullaby."

understood, vary considerably depending on who is doing the talking, and from what social and historical location, "Self-determination" exists in a line with "artistic autarchy." Understanding the difference depends on a clear understanding of the complexity of musicians' subject positions.

Jazz and Identity

The question of how social and cultural identities are evoked, articulated, and represented in music is the subject of a number of recent musical studies in popular music, cultural studies, and ethnomusicology. In answering the question of the degree to which representation of difference involves the desire to subsume and control the other, much depends on who is doing the representation, and which what means, and to which end.

In order to account for agency on the part of individual musical workers, it is important to elucidate a distinction between individual self-identity and collective identities. Multiple musical identities might inhabit a "self." Indeed, Stuart Hall has argued: "the problem of reconciling/conceiving the relationship between individual subjectivities and dominant cultural systems remains the main challenge to theories of identity."[73] Hall suggests thinking in terms of "routes" instead of "roots" as a means of avoiding essentializing tropes in examining the different points by which we come to be, allowing us to understand identities as the sum of our differences, rather than the product of essential difference.[74] Born and Hesmondhalgh propose four structural articulations of musical identity. The first is a purely imaginary identification, such as the exoticism that concerns much musical study. Second, music can prefigure emergent forms of identity (this is the process model articulated by Martin Stokes in his phrase: "music reflects nothing; it has a formative role in the construction, negotiation and transformation of sociocultural identities."[75] Third, music can reproduce existing identities (homology model). Fourth, musical representations come after the fact to the reinterpreted and re-inserted (macrohistorical model).[76]

The discourse on jazz has been tightly bound to concepts of race, ethnicity, and to a lesser extent, social class and gender. Each of these components are highlighted or concealed in particular times and places, and to different ends. Jazz historians have tended to frame discussions of identity around a monolithic, binary ("black and white") concept of race. The linear, generationalist performer histories characteristic of jazz

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[73] Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs Identity?," *Questions of Cultural Identity,* ed. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage, 1996).
[74] "A Conversation with Stuart Hall," *Journal of the International Institute* University of Michigan 3 Mar. 2007 <http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/journal/vol7no1/Hall.htm>.
[75] Martin Stokes, "Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music," *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Contruction of Place,* ed. Martin Stokes, Berg Ethnic Identity Series, ed. Shirley Ardener, Tamara Dragadze, and Jonathan Webber. (Oxford and Providence: Berg, 1994).
[76] Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and its Others* 35-36.

studies, generally fail to address the complex and fluid constructions of race and ethnicity that inhabit individual musicians and emerge in musical communities. Complicated histories of confrontation, avoidance, negotiation and reconciliation along racial and musical lines are generally absent from the scholarly literature, a fact which George Lewis observes is curious, given jazz (and more generally free improvisation's) avowed standing as a music of liberation.[77] There is a clear bias in jazz scholarship towards a homologous construction of identity and musical meaning: membership in identifiable racial, ethnic or national groups are presumed to determine aesthetics; this is particularly apparent in the nationalist discourse surrounding "European jazz," which has tended to erase racial difference in favor of nationalist difference. The analysis of race in experimental and improvised music is, as Lewis calls it, a "stunted discourse" that has remained unquestioned.[78]

Perhaps one reason for the racial aporia is the inadequacy of the term "race" to the particularly charged American context. The racial character of jazz scholars provides a living picture of the diversely constituted constructions of jazz. Many jazz scholars, and in particular those upholding the "new canon" of jazz, write from the subject position of the white American, middle class male. "Race," in the context of jazz, is used in its American sense, where it is the only identifier of otherwise unhyphenated Americans for whom ethnicity is a non-issue. A European focus further glosses over the fundamental construction of race in jazz; blacks, in the European perspective, are always Americans. Radical scholars (such as Ajay Heble, Ingrid Monson and George Lewis) write from various perspectives informed by gender, racial and ethnic "difference," providing a living picture of the diversely constituted constructions of jazz in its literature.

As a means of restoring nuance to the complex issues of race and ethnicity in jazz, African-American performer and writer George Lewis proposes the constructions "Afrological" and "Eurological" as emergent categories that refer to social and cultural location, rather than skin color. He writes: "these constructions make no attempt to delineate ethnicity or race, although they are designed to ensure that the reality of the ethnic or racial component of a historically emergent socio-musical group must be faced squarely and honestly." "Race" is a historical construct that is contingent upon social class and historic and geographic place: "The fluidity that marks this intersection produces complex, mobile identities that do not respect traditionally monolithic taxonomies that assume race as a necessary precondition of musical method, infrastructure and materials."[79]

While I do not consider African American performers in this project, the jazz tradition's "Afrological" structures, as well as the political, social, economic, and aesthetic features of 1960s experimentalism and self-determination laid the foundation upon which this music is constructed today. The African American "creative music" movement of the 1960s and early 1970s used racial identity to advance a particular

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[77] Lewis, "Gittin' to know Y'all" 1.
[78] Lewis, "Gittin' to know Y'all" 1-2.
[79] Lewis, "Gittin' to know Y'all" 2.

agenda for social change. Its aesthetics and structures were adopted and adapted by a range of other groups, including Asian and Pacific American improvisers in the Bay Area of California and various communities of "free improvisers" in Europe, with different aims and outcomes. The influence of African American experimentalism has been variously valorized or refused. Asian American improvisers have been inspired and mobilized by the influence of African American improvisation and social practice, as a form of racial (non-white) solidarity. The "emancipation" of European free improvisation from the "hegemony" of American jazz, by contrast, has been convincingly argued by Lewis as a de-racializing strategy that replaced race with nationalism, refusing significant connections among social movements and musical communities and reinforcing a middle class cultural elitism.

Thus the assertion of *Village Voice* critic Francis Davis of a new category of "identity jazz"[80] represents a new, anxious entry in the contested history of race in jazz. A *Village Voice* preview of a performance by Hyderabad-born bandleader Ravish Momin's group Trio Tarana by naming the surnames of its members: "With names like Hwang, Blumenkrantz and Momin, how can you go wrong?"[81] In a later *Village Voice* review critic Tom Hull claimed "Indian percussion, Chinese violin, Middle Eastern oud—released in Lisbon, but recorded in that old melting pot Brooklyn ... That none of the three are too deeply rooted in their ethnicity lets them join together as a distinctive jazz group rather than limiting them to exotic fusion."[82] These quotes locate "identity jazz" in a cross-cultural arena in which external markers of ethnicity (surnames and instruments) are celebrated as markers of musical authenticity. At the same time, ethnicity is conflated with musical practice; musicians are variously criticized or celebrated for "transcending" their ethnic origins, conforming or contesting cultural stereotype.

In Francis Davis' feature on recent performances by Vijay Iyer and Rudresh Mahanthappa, a glowing review of Iyer's *Reimaginings* is intruded by non-sequitur asides describing Iyer's educational history and his parents' occupations and social class.[83] Jazz, like Brooklyn, is imagined as an American "melting pot" where the persistent social problems of race and ethnicity can be authentically transcended, at the same time, the assertion of social and musical difference is reinforced. Arguably, all jazz has always been "identity jazz," but the African American identity inscribed in jazz is accorded unequal value, while emergent identity formations are celebrated and erased in the same sentence, reflecting an ongoing disease and uncertainty with concepts of race and ethnicity. Vijay Iyer and Rudresh Mahanthappa speak of the perils of "pigeonholing," both on the part of the culture industry which views jazz played by

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[80] Davis, "Beyond the Melting Pot."
[81] Ravish Momin, personal interview with author, 17 Dec. 2006.
[82] Tom Hull, "Bush Medicine: All Sorts of Big Ideas About How Today's Jazz Fits Into History and Maybe Into Popular Culture," *Village Voice*
30 Aug. 2005, 13 Feb. 2007
<http://www.villagevoice.com/music/0534,jazzguide,67277,22.html>.;
[83] Davis, "Beyond the Melting Pot."

Indian Americans as a "wild card," and by musicians themselves, who are pressured to self-exoticize as a means of asserting a marketable identity in the music industry.[84] Iyer and Mahanthappa locate their efforts in a historical moment, from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, of the changing status of ethnicity and identity in the United States. They hope that their status as Indian American musicians is increasingly irrelevant, both as a result of their professional efforts and in response to changing social attitudes. Iyer says: "I think one of our main contributions will be complicating the picture enough to make it easier for subsequent generations to just be themselves and not worry about it—not even know that it was something to worry about."[85] At the same time, the reception of their music has been tightly bound to persistent influence of exotic concepts of India rooted in colonialism, and subsequent layers of commodification and intellectual authority. Iyer suggests: "I find that when people are listening to music, they're not listening with their ears, even seasoned jazz listeners...Because they are subject to all these prejudicial influences that have nothing to do with what's being played, and they think they're right."[86]

The Indian Diaspora in the United States

Part of the changing social fabric in US conceptions of ethnicity is due to the recent emergence and consolidation of the Indian Diaspora in the United States. Although the literature of the Indian diaspora has formed a significant concern in postcolonial literary theory, the diasporic production of cultural meaning—particularly those products of artists among the first generation of children born to Indian parents abroad—form a relatively new area of concern in the field.[87] Indianness in the United States—with its associations of ambition, economic success and educational achievement—can be seen in many ways as the epitome of immigrant experience in America. At the same time, the inherent plurality of Indianness, with its diversity of language, ethnicity, religion and class formations, poses a challenge to a unitary concept of "America," with its linear concept of progress through assimilation, the presumed unidirectionality of immigration, and its binary, black and white, concept of race.

In her book *India Abroad* (2003) Sandhya Shukla argues for the special nature of the India diaspora and for its larger relevance in the global era. Shukla introduces Immanuel Wallerstein's concept of "the construction of peoplehood," a process which, as she writes, "results in fluid and entangled discourses of 'race,' 'nation' and 'ethnicity.'" The tremendously powerful lived and particularized experience of any one of these categories as a form of identity or community can often obscure the integrated nature of the development of all three."[88] This can prove to be a productive framework for thinking about Indian diaspora, as it permits us the necessary latitude and to appreciate complex,

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[84] Vijay Iyer, "Sangha: Collaborative Improvisations on Community," *Critical Studies in Improvisation* 1.3 (2006): 6.
[85] Iyer, "Sangha" 17.
[86] Iyer, "Sangha"18.
[87] Ashcroft et al, *The Empire Writes Back* 218.
[88] Shukla, *India Abroad* 6.

ambivalent, and at times contradictory formulation of diasporic identities. Since the 1980s, there has been an increased visibility of Indian youth cultures, particularly in the northeastern United States and Great Britain. This development coincides with a dominance of "identity politics," as a way of thinking about the place of ethnic and other groups within the whole. "The monikers—Indian, South Asian, Hindu, Asian—are a key to the specific content of ethnic identification, yet these too render open fields of signification."[89]

Postcolonial literary theory has tended to privilege the transnational migrant experience – typically individuals with access to sufficient resources to attain success and visibility – while neglecting local struggles. Since access to greater education and economic power is often a necessary precondition to migration, class emerges as a new area of concern. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, in an expanded and updated edition of *The Empire Writes Back,* urge that care be given not to privilege the diasporic subject, as "opportunities offered by class, wealth and migration to the metropolitan centre, give the diasporic subject access to the sort of cultural capital favored by the 'global' marketplace that is not available to the colonial 'subject in place,' and in a lower class position."[90]

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[89] Shukla, *India Abroad* 233.
[90] Ashcroft et. al., *The Empire Writes Back* 219.

Chapter II
Situating Karnatak Music in Relationship to Jazz

Introduction

Indian culture has played a central discursive role in delineating jazz's difference from Western classical and popular music. Despite this, little has been written about the historical relationship of jazz and Indian music.[1] Jazz studies has tended to treat jazz's relationship to Indian music uncritically, with features of Indian culture and religion standing as central to the articulation of jazz's presumed spiritual and universal qualities. As I will argue in this chapter, the reciprocal impact of jazz and Indian music is considerably more complex.

As an internationalized popular music prior to the Second World War, jazz served as a vehicle for social mobility for performers throughout the world, including African American and Indian performers. Western, Anglo-Indian and Goan Christian jazz musicians were patronized by both Indian elites and British colonial institutions. Throughout the 50 years following the Second World War, jazz, Indian music and Indian culture have functioned in America to convey voices of resistance. In the United States, Indian music assumed a new spiritual significance in the "free jazz" movement that linked improvisation with struggles for civil rights and social justice. Inspired by the pan-culturalism of the influential saxophonist John Coltrane, African American performers looked backwards in history, and outwards to various musical others for sources of inspiration in articulating their difference from the dominant white aesthetics, the white-controlled music industry, and systemic racism in American society. At the peak of the Western raga-rock fad of 1966, Indian instruments and melodies briefly captured the public imagination as a fashionable adjunct to Western popular music. In subsequent developments in jazz, however, India played a central role in connecting socially charged articulations of a Black aesthetic, politically charged Black Muslim identities, and a broader cultural movement that would conflate creative improvisation with social practice, spirituality, and popular culture. During the Cold War era, jazz formed an important arm of the United States' foreign policy. African American "jazz ambassadors" were deployed throughout the world as potent symbols of political progress and economic prosperity.[2] In India, these efforts were well received by a Westernized cosmopolitan elite for whom jazz represented an intellectually sophisticated alternative to Western classical music, and a symbol of India's growing internationalism and political and economic power.

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[1] Warren Pinckney addressed the history of jazz in India in an article in *Asian Music*. The otherwise comprehensive entry for India in the *Grove Encyclopedia of Music* includes several paragraphs on jazz authored by Pinckney based on the same research, and Farrell treated jazz to a limited extent in *Indian Music and the West*. See Warren Pinckney, "Jazz in India: Perspectives of Historical Development and Musical Acculturation," *Asian Music* 21.1 (1989-1990).

[2] This program continues under the auspices of Jazz at Lincoln Center.

In this chapter, I seek to update the work of Gerry Farrell (1997) by extending the analysis of Indian music and the west to the context of jazz. I will attempt to unravel the tightly bound associations of jazz, Indian music, and spirituality through a historical and musicological evaluation of the relationship of jazz to Indian music. Because my case studies focus on contemporary contact of jazz with Karnatak music, I begin by situating Karnatak music historically within India over the past century, to explain its cultural and political significance as a symbol of an independent India. Karnatak music was re-historicized as an ancient, authentically Hindu music form, free from the marks of successive Muslim and British rulers. Within this account, I address the persistent nature of Western influence on Karnatak music under colonial rule and in the present day.

Second, I will situate the current meeting place of jazz and Karnatak music within the social and cultural history of India in the twentieth century; the reception of Indian music in "high art," popular and jazz cultures in North America from the 1950s through the 1980s; and discuss the emergence of a genre of Indian-jazz "fusion" in the 1970s and 1980s, in which jazz and Karnatak musicians increasingly appeared as collaborators in musical transculturalism. At the heart of this account is a musicological and historical critique of the widely held concept of a central Indian influence in the music of John Coltrane, a major figure in the jazz canon and the progenitor of the jazz avant-garde. Through Coltrane, India came to play an important part in representing "the spiritual" in jazz, and differentiating the philosophical, moral, and artistic content of jazz, from that of popular music.

Situating Karnatak Music

As is the case in jazz, Karnatak music came by the label "classical" comparatively recently.[3] In the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth century, Karnatak music underwent a profound shift in patronage, from village temples and royal courts throughout South India, to that of the musical institutions of the colonial city of Madras, established by an upper-caste elite which sought to preserve and revive South Indian classical music. In maneuvering a heterogeneous range of

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[3] The terms "Karnatak" and "Hindustani" were used to designate the classical music forms of North and South India, respectively, as early as the thirteenth century. The musical traditions share common roots, but in the twelfth century North Indian music began to display a more pronounced influence of the Muslim rulers in the North. The term "Indian Music" as it is understood both in India and in the west through popular culture and the academy, does not typically represent both North and South Indian music. Until recently, "Indian" music has been generally understood to stand for Hindustani music. Scholarly literature, which would be expected to elaborate these differences, has tended to either downplay the distinctions in an attempt to elaborate a unified Indian music (as is the case with Indian nationalist musicology), or further reify the distinctions by treating the two traditions as entirely distinct (as is the case with contemporary American and European ethnomusicology). In both cases, Hindustani music has been better represented in Western performances, recordings, and literature.

repertoires, performers, and performance styles into a singular "classical" canon, this elite shaped a particular definition of, and role for, Karnatak music that continues to reverberate in both the concert halls of South India and its diaspora and in the Western academy.

Karnatak music is generally seen as having retained its ancient Indian character, undiluted by the impact of centuries of North Indian-centered Muslim rule. Or, if Karnatak has been seen as changing, then it is considered to have been in a state of decline until rescued and revitalized in the early twentieth century, and charged with its central role in defining India as a modern nation. As is the case in jazz, the twentieth century revival of Karnatak music was accomplished on the template of Western classical music. This was necessary both to align Karnatak music with the status and prestige associated with Western classical music, and to uphold it as distinct from – and in certain unassailable respects, superior to – western classical music. The use of the term "classical" itself, as Amanda Weidman has argued, had no other referent but the West itself: "To be considered 'classical,' Karnatak music had to be modeled on the classical music of the West, with its notation, composers, compositions, conservatories and concerts."[4] Thus, many of the conventions of contemporary Karnatak music – from the concert halls in which it is performed, the instruments on which it is played, the repertoire and the standard order in which it is performed – date from the past 100 years and bear the distinct marks of Western influence. Today, a "traditional" Karnatak concert is likely to: be performed on a proscenium stage in a large hall, bolstered by amplification; the instruments are likely to include violins, electric guitars, mandolins, or saxophones; and the repertoire is likely to prominently feature the works of a "trinity" of composers from the "golden age" of Karnatak music, an era which corresponds to the classical period of Western music.

The manner in which Western elements were appropriated to construct an authentic Indian music, designed to carry India into modernity, aptly demonstrates the complex, reciprocal and often contradictory nature of the East-West equation. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Indian music became a place where the interests of colonial and national elites could briefly converge. In order to understand how competing aims could rest on the site of music, it is useful to understand the "societal-functional," paradigmatic context of Indian nationalist and British Orientalist music scholarship.[5] Both the nationalist and orientalist paradigms reflect the ideologies and purposes of successive ruling elites in India, and both projects, despite their different aims, proceeded by way of movement towards an imagined, pure past.

The fashioning of Karnatak music as a tool for Indian nationalism took place on scaffolding erected by British orientalist scholarship. The term "orientalism," originally a

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[4] Amanda Weidman, *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music in South India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006) 5.
[5] Regula Qureshi, "Whose Music? Sources and Contexts in Indic Musicology," *Comparative Musicology and the Anthropology of Music*, ed. B. Nettl and P. Bohlman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991) 154.

label for British colonial studies of Eastern and Middle Eastern culture, language, and archeology, was transformed in 1978 in Edward Said's book of the same name, one of postcolonial studies' foundational texts. Orientalism—described variously by Said as:

> A way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience, a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident' [and] a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient.[6]

Orientalism, accordingly, can be understood "as less a representation of the Orient, but rather a will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate even incorporate, what is a manifestly different world."[7]

Orientalist scholarship produced a continual stream of reports aimed mainly at improving colonial administration and enthralling Western readers. Although Indian music came in and out of Western fashion during the three centuries of British rule—manifesting in various forms of popular music such as the "Hindustani Airs" popular in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that were recomposed into parlor songs in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—it did not initially appeal to the orientalist project. The music performed by Indian musicians in centres of colonial activity such as Calcutta and Delhi in the late eighteenth century, bore obvious marks of Islamic influence. European scholars in pursuit of the ancient and exotic, looked elsewhere, such as language, religion, and visual arts and crafts, for desired authenticity. Music found a marginal place in Indian studies through scholarly translations of Sanskritic texts and a few surveys of Hindustani music that, as Regula Qureshi has commented: "mostly lack cultural appropriateness."[8]

As struggles between the colonizer and colonized escalated in the late nineteenth century, music became a topic of invigorated interest and of new political importance for both Indian and British scholars. As an English-educated Indian elite developed an increasing interest in freedom from British rule, music became a symbol for an incipient Indian, specifically Hindu, nationalism and a site of ideological contest. Regula Qureshi described how music was ideally suited to be the bearer of "authentic" Hindu culture in modern India in two respects: first that it owned an unassailable position of significance in Hinduism, and second that it had been neglected by British elites.[9] A re-invigorated (re-historicized, re-spiritualized) Hindu music could stand at once against both Muslim and Western hegemonies, and a unified Indian music could stand for a unified, independent India.

Initially, Karnatak music did not figure prominently in scholarly accounts of

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[6] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978) 3.
[7] Said, *Orientalism* 12.
[8] Qureshi, "Whose Music?" 157.
[9] Qureshi, "Whose Music?" 153.

Indian music. The impact of both Muslim and Western rule, were felt more strongly in the northern cities of Calcutta and Bombay, the centres of pro-British Indian nationalism and the most internationalized of India's cities. Political power was further entrenched in the north in 1911, when the capital of British India was moved to New Delhi. Accordingly, most scholarly activity focused on the music of North India. Scholars sought to identify an Indian music free of the "taint" of Muslim influence, which would return India's music back to the purity of its Sanskritic roots. "Indian music" was constructed as the composite of Hindustani music and its ancient, historical Hindu antecedents. The emerging Indian music theory in the early twentieth century was patterned after Western forms of scholarship and shared many of its concerns: notation, collection, preservation, taxonomy, and classification. Western musicologists, meanwhile, shifted their interest from an essentially exoticized collection of Indian musical mementos, to a project of consolidating colonial knowledge. Attempts to fix theories of musical notation and intonation can easily be seen, as Farrell has argued, as analogues to colonial photography and museology.[10] Since each has been driven by the need to represent colonial knowledge and to maintain prestige, these can be understood as an exercise of colonial control.[11]

As scholars became increasingly occupied with the task of delimiting a unified Indian national music, South India assumed a new ideological and functional potential. In the imagination of British musicologist H. A. Popley (1921, reprinted 1950), the south of India was bucolic, slow to change, unscarred by Muslim conflicts, and inhabited by "cultured, peace-loving Dravidians,"[12] the ideal site in which to locate an ancient, pure Indian culture. In looking to South India, musicologists could foreground Hindustani music's Sanskritic origins, and conceal its Muslim influence. As Popley argued: "we must not make the mistake of thinking of these as distinct types of music. There is one Indian music."[13] In the earliest British survey of Indian music, A. H. Fox Strangways' *The Music of Hindostan* (1914, reprinted 1965), the author appropriated Sanskrit terminology and other materials from Karnatak music to describe Hindustani music – even in those cases, such as musical instruments, where there is no correspondence – to reinforce a concept of a singular Hindu music.[14]

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[10] Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* 48-49.

[11] Late 20th century ethnomusicology's claim to impartial, transcultural authority – evidenced in the recent publication of references such as the Garland Encyclopedia of World Music – nevertheless continues to reify certain basic assumptions set up early in the 20th century in colonialist and nationalist discourse.

[12] H. A. Popley, *The Music of India,* 2nd ed. (Calcutta: YMCA Publishing House, 1950) 1.

[13] Popley, *The Music of India* 1.

[14] For example, Strangways uses the term *vina* (an instrument used only in Karnatak music and elsewhere in the book found generally inferior to the North Indian *sitar*) to stand generally for "musical instrument," as in the following passage: "the *vina*, with its congeners the *satar* and *surbahar*, is only a younger brother of the '*vina* of the body,' the voice" (183). Elsewhere, the generic name for drum is given as *mrdanga* (fn 10). In his chapter on rhythm, he appropriates the Karnatak *tala* (rhythmic) system in its entirety, claiming that it forms in any case the authentic basis of the Hindustani system: "These

Indian musicologists were similarly aware of Karnatak music's importance. Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande, a key figure in the revitalization of Indian musicology, clearly saw Karnatak music as a source of authentic Hindu music, and sought to unify the traditions in the interests of preserving Indian music. The objectives of his first All-Indian Music Conference in 1916 reveal a strong movement towards the consolidation of a national Indian music along the lines of the Western classical music, complete with a "scientific and systematic" accounting of the *ragas* and *talas*, a fusion of Hindustani and Karnatak musics, a uniform notation system, performance series, a journal, and a National Academy. Bhatkhande made a close investigation of Karnatak music, traveling to Madras for several months at a time to study. The 1967 syllabus of the Bhatkhande College in Lucknow, bears the imprint of Bhatkhande's concern with Karnatak music; senior students were expected to be familiar with the Karnatak tala system and the exposition of Karnatak ragas and instruments then associated exclusively with Karnatak music, such as the *mridangam* and violin.[15]

As the Karnatak music revival of the twentieth century gained momentum, accounts of Karnatak music written by South Indian authors began to foreground a historicized and explicitly spiritualized Karnatak music, making claims not only for its commensurability with Western art music, but also for its superiority to Hindustani music. P. Sambamoorthy described two kinds of *Desi sangita* (Indian music) – Hindustani and Karnatak – but specified that the term "Karnatak" represented both old (pre-Mughal) Indian music and South Indian music.[16] Hindustani, by contrast, represents northern music, which by 1300 had become "almost *Persianized* ... the music of South India was called Karnatak music, meaning southern music and old music."[17] In *Euphony: Indian Classical Music* authors/performers L. Subramaniam and V. Subramaniam, advance the supremacy of Karnatak music on both spiritual and rational grounds—"[Karnatak music] has a very strong spiritual undercurrent, yet it is one of the most sophisticated, scientifically and logically complete systems"[18]—and remind us of the differences between western and Karnatak composers:

> A composer in the Indian tradition is very different from his Western counterpart. Many of the leading composers in the Karnatak traditions were true saints and led a strict, spiritually disciplined life. Almost all their compositions were in praise of some god or goddess ... They were composed mostly not with the intention of performing, but as a musical offering and a prayer to the deities. Some composers

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are South Indian names; the things are common enough in Hindustani song and probably have specific names, though I was unable to make sure of them" (206). A. H. Fox Strangway, *The Music of Hindostan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

[15] *Bhatkhande College Syllabus*, 1967-1968.

[16] P. Sambamoorthy, *South Indian Music,* 11th ed., vol. 1 (Madras: Indian Music Publishing House, 1982) 21.

[17] Sambamoorthy, *South Indian Music* 21-22.

[18] L. Subramaniam and V. Subramaniam, *Euphony: Indian Classical Music* (New Delhi, India: Affiliated East-West Press, 1995) 4.

> refused patronage from kings since they did not believe in singing the praise of men.[19]

Here, Indian music is truly a *Hindu* music, heavily loaded with historical and spiritual significance. It is both more elaborate and pure than Hindustani music, and more ancient and spiritual than Western classical music.

The manner in which Western instruments and performance conventions have been enthusiastically adopted in the Karnatak canon seems to belie this purity of spiritual focus, but western instruments have served a crucial and paradoxical role in upholding Karnatak music's distinction. Karnatak music has been remarkably permeable to the use of western instruments, in particular the violin, which from its introduction in the eighteenth century, rapidly came to displace the *vina* as the instrument of choice for vocal accompaniment. Musicologists writing from colonial, nationalist, and ethnomusicological perspectives have each tended to justify the violin's presence in Karnatak music in terms of presumably indisputable, "natural" qualities. Ludwig Petsch claims that the case of the violin: "dispels any doubt as to the integrity of most Karnatak musicians. Its widespread use rests solely on its perfection as an instrument. Musicians from different cultures have adapted this instrument without having to compromise in terms of stylistic or aesthetic integrity."[20] B. C. Deva, while acknowledging the violin as a colonial import, ascribes a pre-colonial authenticity to the violin by postulating that the instrument's roots may ultimately lay in Indian soil.[21] This is at odds with the reception given to Western instruments in Hindustani music, particularly the harmonium, which was excoriated with particular vigor, by Indian and British musicologists alike.[22]

Central to the Karnatak music revival was the distinction of Karnatak music from Western music by virtue of its "spiritual" and "vocal" qualities. As Amanda Weidman has argued extensively: "the voice – the vocal nature of Indian music and its ties to oral tradition – came to stand for this essential difference."[23] Contemporary importations –

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[19] Subramaniam and Subramaniam, *Euphony* 140.

[20] Ludwig Pesch, *The Illustrated Companion to South Indian Music* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999) 17.

[21] B. C. Deva wrote: "It is certain that the ancestors of the violin came from central Asia, if not from India ... The advent of the violin [in Karnatak music] is one of the best examples of cultural absorption in music. We have had bowed instruments for at least 10 centuries now ... Undoubtedly, it is the finest gift from modern European musical culture. The rich sound and the great versatility of the violin have made its adaptation to Indian music easy and beneficial." B. C. Deva, *Musical Instruments of India: Their History and Development* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1978) 171.

[22] Elsewhere in his book, Deva laments the popularity of the harmonium: "It has spread like wild fire and destroyed much that is beautiful in Indian music." Deva, *Musical Instruments* 24. A. H. Fox Strangways argued for the immediate removal of all foreign instruments: "To dismiss from India these foreign instruments would not be to check the natural, but to prune away unnatural growth." Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan* 16.

[23] Weidman, *Singing the Classical* 5.

notably the violin, but also the saxophone, and fretless electric guitars and mandolins—are chosen for, and modified to enhance, their vocal mimetic abilities. Among these Western instruments, only the violin has been recognized by purists, arguably because its use predates the early 20th century reformation of Karnatak music as a classical tradition. Through violin accompaniment, a modern "classical" performer could simultaneously connect the power and prestige of the "modern" with the historical and ideological importance of the "spiritual."

The values and aims of a new class of patrons had a considerable impact in shaping the character of Karnatak music, both in its official history and as it would be carried into the future. Karnatak music was re-historicized to reflect the interests and aims of a new class of patrons. The goals of preservation and purification were intimately linked in social reform movements, from the late nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century, which had radical implications not only for the definition of "art," but for the employment and welfare of caste-based categories of professional performers. *Devadasi* singers and dancers, female performers who were traditionally employed by temples, were abolished in 1947 at the conclusion of a decades-long campaign conflating performance with prostitution. A 1932 resolution by the Music Academy of Madras, re-named *devadasi* dance "Bharata Natyam," a name that conferred both pure Sanskrit origins and importance on a national scale.[24] Diverse categories of professional musicians employed under traditional patronage were gradually stripped of their eligibility for new forms of patronage, so that by the 1950s, the Brahminization of the profession of music was virtually complete. The flowering of Karnatak music in its "golden age" was re-historicized; the excesses of 19th century patronage decried, and the celebrated Brahmin composers of the day were conferred with saintly qualities, such as the composer of the Karnatak "trinity." Preservation and purification were evident in the aims of All-India Radio, which since its inception had an explicitly reformatory mission. Radio had the effect of democratizing the dissemination of classical music – receivers and speakers were placed in public parks and school – but also of administering and enforcing new concepts of propriety in music. Under B. V. Keskar's directorship in the 1950s, a strict policy of auditions and graded performers introduced a new, tightly administered, patronage structure.

With increased globalization in the last decades of the twentieth century, Karnatak music has begun to take on a transnational character, while retaining and even intensifying the practice of "tradition." Since the 1980s, Karnatak music and Bharat Natyam dance have become markers of a socially mobile, English-educated, middle class Brahmin identity. In South India's burgeoning middle class – itself a result of increased industry and foreign investment in South India – a new market in music and dance education is rapidly developing, providing opportunities to a new class of professional performers. In 2000, the year of the most recent United States census, 1.7 million people living in the United States claimed Indian descent.[25] This largely middle class, but otherwise largely heterogeneous population emigrated comparatively recently, with large

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[24] Weidman, *Singing the Classical* 120.
[25] U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 figures.

numbers arriving after the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act, which loosened racial restrictions on immigration to the United States. In the decades that followed, Indians and Indianness became increasingly visible and locally recognized, particularly in the northeastern United States where diasporic communities concentrated in larger numbers. As South Indian diasporic communities become deeply rooted throughout the world (particularly in Australia, Europe, and North America) a new form of international patronage has emerged in the form of festivals and touring circuits[26] as well as new audiences for "crossover" projects fusing Karnatak music with elements of jazz and popular music.

Jazz in India before Independence

As in much of the non-western world, jazz and African-American music found its way into India along routes paved by European colonialism. African-American minstrel troupes appeared in India as early as 1849, when William Bernard's minstrel show stopped in India on the way back from Australia, introducing African-American music and musicians to urban Indian culture.[27] As minstrelry gave way to ragtime, and ragtime to jazz, successive waves of North American and European entertainers passed through India. In the first half of the twentieth century, jazz was patronized by westernized Indian upper classes and those Europeans and North Americans living in India in business and diplomatic capacities. Jazz flourished in the most internationalized Indian centres such as Calcutta and Bombay.[28] Wealthy Indians traveling to Europe, particularly to Paris, met African-American jazz musicians living and performing there and brought them to perform in India.[29]

In India, as elsewhere in the world, jazz was an internationalized music. Discs recorded by Canadian trumpeter Jimmy Lequime's Grand Hotel Orchestra in Calcutta in 1926, featured a core of California musicians augmented by jazz musicians from Russia, the Philippines, South Africa, and Austria.[30] Throughout the 1930s, bands led by Herb Flemming and Joseph Ghisleri played long-term engagements at the Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay and at Calcutta's Grand Hotel. Musicians moved in and out of India as contracts were signed and expired. The pay and working conditions were favorable, and the luxurious lifestyle afforded under the British Raj was unavailable to African-American musicians in the United States.[31] Some musicians, like saxophonist Roy Butler and pianist Teddy Weatherford, settled in India for long periods of time.

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[26] Kathryn Hansen, "Singing for the Sadguru: Tyagaraja Festivals in North America," *The Expanding Landscape*, ed. Carla Pietevich (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999).
[27] Naresh Fernandes, "Remembering Anthony Gonsalves," *Seminar* 543 Nov. 2004, 17 Dec. 2005 <http://www.india-seminar.com/2004/543.htm>.
[28] Warren Pinckney, "Jazz in India" 37.
[29] Warren Pinckney, "Jazz in India" 36.
[30] *Jazz and Hot Dance in India—1926-1944*, Harlequin Records, HQ2013.
[31] Peter Darke and Ralph Gulliver, "Roy Butler's Story," *Storyville* 71 June-July (1977): 178-190.

The Indian patronage of jazz musicians has a significant precedent in the patronage of Western classical musicians in the princely courts of India. Historian Nicholas Dirks (1986) has discussed how the resistant nature of precolonial relational concepts of land ownership impacted the British empire's developing legal system as colonial authorities struggled to incorporate and accommodate it. When kings were converted to landlords under British land reforms, the "cultural logic of the gift"[32] prevailed despite other radical changes of the 19th century. Colonial discourse stressed the simultaneous salvation and dismantling of tradition, and colonial law came to facilitate a "curious combination of continuity and change," serving as a site for upholding tradition while enforcing authority. The contradictions embedded therein shaped the British colonial encounter with Indian society and culture. This ambivalent character of colonial rule in South India, along with the notion of the complex, multiple, and reciprocal relationships in Indian culture and colonial rule, are manifest in Karnatak music's patronage, instrumentation, and musicology. By the middle of the 19th century, most of the southern princely states had been taken over by the British crown, but the musical patronage continued, and indeed flourished, throughout this time. Numerous scholars of Indian music have documented how Western musicians came under the patronage of Indian courts,[33] when "East Met West" in Ravi Shankar's popular recordings of the 1950s and 1960s, it certainly was not for the first time.

The subaltern status of Indian jazz performers offers the potential for a different reading on the history of jazz in Indian music. Early Indian jazz musicians came largely from mixed ancestry populations that emerged as the result of colonial strategies that promoted marriages among European men and Indian women as a means of consolidating colonial presence. As was the case for African American musicians, jazz presented a means of social mobility. Anglo-Indians, descendents of the marriages between English men and Indian women specifically encouraged by the British East India Company, sometimes received preferential treatment over other Indian-born nationals. British education and key posts in government and civil service were reserved for light-skinned Anglo-Indians, creating a middle class acculturated to British colonial life. The Bombay Swing Club, founded in the 1940s, featured mainly Anglo-Indian jazz performers. For the wealthy Anglo-Indians who patronized the club and these musicians, it was a status symbol to hire an Anglo-Indian jazz band for social functions.[34]

Goa, a state on India's west coast, was held by the Portuguese from 1510 until 1961. During the Inquisition (1560 – 1812), many Goans were forced to convert to

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[32] Nicholas Dirks, "From Little King to Landlord: Property, Law and the Gift under the Madras Permanent Settlement," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28.2 (1986): 324.

[33] Kathleen L'Armand and Adrian L'Armand, "Music in Madras: The Urbanization of a Cultural Tradition," *Eight Urban Musical Cultures: Tradition and Change,* ed. Bruno Nettl (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978) 126; Gerry Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 47-48; or as Amanda Weidman has illustrated in the case of the violin: Weidman, *Singing the Classical* 25-58.

[34] Pinckney, "Jazz in India" 62.

Catholicism. In the seventeenth century, when the British and Dutch overtook many of Portugal's holdings, Goa became strategically significant as one of the last and largest Portuguese colonies along India's west coast. Portuguese men were encouraged to immigrate to Goa and to marry local women, developing a large Eurasian population. The Catholic Church played a significant role in spreading western music in the area. Catholic-run schools provided an education in European classical music and instrumental performance, which in turn, provided one of the few reliable employment options available to Goans. As Naresh Fernandes writes: "Music had always proved a dependable avenue for Goans to make a living."[35]

A lack of local opportunities impelled many Goan musicians to seek employment elsewhere. Nearby Bombay, with its strong international presence, served as a stepping-stone for many musicians. Through the 1920s and 1930s, Goan musicians became established in police and military bands throughout India and East Africa. Others were engaged to perform in English clubs and gymkhanas, and in the courts of the Maharajas. Goan dance bands were established in most major Indian cities and hill stations by the end of the 1930s, performing a range of western styles including ragtime, Viennese Waltzes, and polkas, alongside emerging popular jazz and swing styles.[36] Major hotels in Indian cities hired fashionable African-American leaders like Teddy Weatherford and Cricket Smith, who in turn hired Indian musicians for their bands. Indian jazz musicians like Josique Mezies, Karachi-born Mickey Correa, Johnny Baptist, trumpeter Chick Chocolate, bassist Tony Gonsalves, saxophonist Paul Gonsalves, saxophonist Rudy Cotton, and trumpeter Franz Fernand, received a traditional jazz education, on the bandstand.

The American government evacuated most American musicians in India after the outbreak of the Second World War. Some chose to stay, leading bands subsequently composed mainly of Indian jazz musicians. In an interview in the 1970s, American saxophonist Roy Butler recalled:

> My short stretch as a bandleader in India was not too earth-shaking. For one thing, I had only Indian musicians to work with, all the Americans having departed, and the local musicians were not too familiar with jazz at the time. I understood that there are some very good jazzmen out there now, but the time was too short for anything to develop, good or bad.[37]

The departure of American bandleaders created opportunities for Indian musicians, some of whom were able to make the transition from side musician to bandleader. Chick Chocolate patterned himself in sound and image after his idol, trumpeter Louis Armstrong, copying closely Armstrong's film performances in *High Society* and *Hello Dolly*. By the mid-1940s, Chocolate was praised in the local media as Bombay's top bandleader. Leading an 11-piece band at the Taj Mahal Hotel, he was able to install his

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[35] Fernandes, "Remembering Anthony Gonsalves."
[36] Teresea Albuquerque, "Bombay's Early Goan Musicians," *Goa Now* 5 July 1999, 3 June 2005 <http://www.goacom.com/goanow/99/july/look.html>.
[37] Peter Darke and Ralph Gulliver, "Roy Butler's Story" 178-190.

wife and five children in a flat in the wealthy Bombay neighborhood, Colaba, three of his daughters would later marry jazz musicians.

There is little to suggest that the jazz played in India in the first half of the twentieth century bore any syncretic relationship to Indian music. Surviving recordings, such as those re-issued on a Harlequin Records compilation, show the music to be similar to that played by dance bands and small groups in the United States and Europe.[38] The performance context likely neither inspired nor condoned resistance. Jazz did not figure into the Indian nationalist project in music. Rather, it occupied an ambivalent place in between the enduring status accorded to high western art, and the exotic, low art connotations of African-American culture and popular music. As was the case for African-American performers in the United States, jazz was a means by which marginalized Anglo-Indian and Goan musicians could achieve greater levels of status and mobility. It also presented an unprecedented opportunity for cultural expression of hybrid Indian and Western identities. As trumpeter Franz Fernand told interviewer Naresh Fernandes: "Jazz gave us freedom of expression. You played jazz the way you feel – morning you play differently, evening you play differently."[39]

Jazz in India after Independence

After India gained independence in 1947, it became increasingly difficult for Indian jazz musicians to earn a living through performance. In his survey of the history of jazz in India, Warren Picnkney suggests that the demand for dance bands decreased both with the British population and with the general decline of the popularity of the big band genre.[40] The triumph of Independence was followed in short order by the devastating tragedies of partition and civil war. The prohibition movement of the 1950s, prompted many jazz venues such as The Bombay Swing Club, to close. Drinking establishments – such as those bars and nightclubs where jazz was performed – were considered morally low, as were the Anglo-Indian women and men employed by them. More generally, an anti-Western sentiment following independence changed the way jazz was received. Indian jazz musicians from Anglo-Indian or Goan Christian backgrounds came to occupy a marginal position with respect to the prevailing Hindu nationalist sentiment. During India's independence, Anglo-Indians were subject to discrimination, and many, identifying strongly with the British, chose to emigrate to the United Kingdom.[41]

The years following Independence also saw the beginnings of a new era of Indian economic and social development. India's first general elections in 1951-52 involved an electorate of 200 million, a globally unprecedented scale. The following two decades,

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[38] Various Artists, *Jazz and Hot Dance In India 1926 - 1944*, Harlequin, HQ2013, 1984, LP record.
[39] Fernandes, "Remembering Anthony Gonsalves."
[40] Warren Pinckney,"Jazz in India: Perspectives on Historical Development and Musical Acculturation," *Jazz Planet* ed E. Taylor Adkins (Jackson MP: University of Mississippi Press, 2003) 62. (full citation 59-80)
[41] Pinckney "Jazz in India" 62.

sometimes called the "Nehru Era" after Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of the Indian Republic, were a time of optimism and idealism. A modern India was to be forged out of democracy, nationalism, and economic expansion. A new style of Bollywood film captured the expansive mood and economic self-sufficiency of the Nehru Era; optimistic, patriotic, and buoyant, these films celebrated a new India in which liberal and democratic institutions would shape a better future for all.[42] An influx of black market money in the post-war years transformed the industry from a studio system to a star system, and massive expenditures prompted producers to adhere to a standardized formula of entertainment. The typical post-war Indian film reflected middle class values, professing patriotism, nationalism, and traditional family values. Progress, with its blend of materialism, internationalism, and patriotism, is extolled in the lyrics to *Mera joota hai Japani,* the hit song from Raj Kapoor's film, *Shree 420* (1955):

> *Mera Joota Hai Japani Yeh Patloon Englistani*
> *Sar Pe Laal Topi Roosi Phir Bhi Dil Hai Hindustani*
> *Upar neeche neeche upar, chale lehar jeevan ki*
> *Nadaan hai jo baith kinare, pooche raah watan ki*
> *Chalna jeevan ki kahani, rukna maut ki nishani*
>
> My shoes are Japanese, these pants are English
> The red hat on my head is Russian, still, my heart is Indian
> Up and down, down and up, moves the wave of life.
> Those who sit on the riverbank and ask the way home are naïve.
> Moving on is the story of life, stopping is the mark of death.[43]

The age of the singer-actor gave way to the "playback system" with separate and equal roles for singers and actors. The demand for star vocalists and music directors increased, and many Goan jazz musicians found employment in Bombay's developing film music industry.[44] Their training in western musical theory and performance, coupled with the internationalized repertoire from professional dance bands, lent them skills that were uniquely useful to a film industry that wished for music to match the increasingly international flavor of middle-class Indian life. Goan "arrangers" mediated between composers (most often Hindu musicians trained in North Indian classical music), lyricists (often Urdu-speaking Muslims), and directors. The arranger would transcribe melodic fragments that the composer would hum or play in response to the director's narration and instructions. After the composer would produce the verse and chorus, the arranger would write melodic interludes, orchestrate the music, and write background and incidental music. Goan musicians could draw upon their unique set of musical skills to mediate between multiple identities of cosmopolitan Indian life. As Naresh Fernandes writes: "Goans drew on their bicultural heritage to give Bollywood music its promiscuous

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[42] Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 234.
[43] *Shree 420 ("Mr. 420"),* dir. Raj Kapoor, music Shankar Jaikishen, lyrics Shailendra and Hasrat Jaipuri, 1955.
[44] Peter Manuel, "Popular Music in India: 1901-86," *Popular Music* 7.2 (1988): 157-176.

charm, slipping in slivers of Dixieland stomp, Portuguese *fados*, Ellingtonesque doodles, *cha cha cha*, Mozart and Bach themes. Long before fusion music became fashionable, it was being performed every day in Bombay's film studios."[45]

The Voice of America and the Jazz Ambassadors

In the mid-twentieth century, two major American initiatives brought jazz to an international audience: The Voice of America (VOA) radio broadcasts starting in 1942, and the United States Information Services' Jazz Ambassadors program which sponsored American jazz musicians on tours of areas of strategic importance throughout the world. The Voice of America began broadcasting jazz in 1952 with Leonard Feather's *Jazz Club USA*. Feather's program was replaced in 1955 by Willis Conover's *Music USA,* which continued hour-long, nightly broadcasts for more than 30 years. Conover's *New York Times* obituary proclaimed him to be "the most famous American virtually no American had ever heard of"; he became a household name in many parts of the world, except the United States, where by law Voice of America broadcasts could not be heard.[46] By the mid-1960s, Voice of America's *Music USA* was reaching over 100 million listeners worldwide, and Conover himself was an important diplomatic force. Historian Penny M. Von Eschen suggests that Conover's rapid rise to fame depended on both the prior international presence of African-American jazz musicians and the infrastructure of U.S. global dominance:

> Too impatient to wait for the market to work its magic, the United States Information Agency (USIA) accelerated the process by distributing thousands – perhaps hundreds of thousands – of transistor radios throughout Asia, Africa and the Middle East so that people could tune into defenses of U.S. Foreign policy, along with such radio broadcasts as Conover's *Music USA*. This USIA decision was critical in producing the enormous audience for Conover's jazz programs.[47]

To Conover, jazz embodied American political ideology, a shining example of freedom of individual expression in the context of a joint endeavor. In Conover's jazz portrait of America, powerful and charismatic black musicians stood for a color-blind nation where democratic ideals were realized, rather than aspired to (even as these remained unrealized for the African-American musicians who were the subjects of Conover's broadcasts). By the mid-1950s, the success of cultural programming was widely touted by the American media. "Jazz has succeeded where American diplomacy has floundered,"[48] claimed *Billboard*. Jazz critics and the State Department were united in their view that jazz held an appeal that transcended race, culture, and social class.

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[45] Naresh Fernandes, "Remembering Anthony Gonsalves" 543.
[46] Robert McG. Thomas Jr., "Willis Conover Is Dead at 75; Aimed Jazz at the Soviet Bloc," *New York Times* 19 May 1996.
[47] Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up The World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004) 16-17.
[48] Burt Korall, "Jazz Speaks Many Tongues, Vaults National Barriers: Wider Jazz Market a By-Product of American Diplomatic Policy," *Billboard* 19 Aug. 1957: 1.

Conover, with his measured, mellifluous cadence, inspired an almost reverential devotion in his audience. His broadcasts featured not just recorded music, but musicological commentary, historical context, authoritative analysis, and interviews with musicians. This blend of didacticism, democratic ideology, and exotic music was especially well received by an educated, internationally minded, Indian middle class. Conover's broadcasts fueled the growth of a small but dedicated jazz audience. Essayist Gita Mehta described Conover as: "...*the* Voice of America. The guru who had led them by high-frequency wave from a distance of several thousand miles through the many intricacies of jazz, interpreting the riffs, decoding the scat."[49] Engineer and amateur jazz journalist Max Babi described his early exposure to jazz through the radio:

> I grew up listening to the radio, and those days in the 1960s the Voice of America Jazz Hour, presented in a priestly somber manner by the unforgettable Willis Conover. That was the highway to discovery for me. I did listen to great jazz on the BBC and many Asian radio stations later on, but it was the VOA-JH which provided me the primary education and distinctly formed my personal taste in jazz ...perhaps due to the fact that millions of non-English-speaking listeners sat glued to the radio for one full hour listening to Conover, he used to talk at an agonizingly slow speed, annunciating [sic] the names and facts very clearly indeed. Precisely chosen nuggets of information, those used to be. These were the 'online courses' in Jazz to my mind – each program was a masterpiece in holistic presentation, just the right mix of information with the brightest selections of jazz from a galaxy of stars from the world of jazz.[50]

In post-war India, an effort to build a national, state-controlled public radio system also used music for strategic, nationalist purposes. Under the direction of Dr. B. V. Keskar, All India Radio promoted Indian classical and folk music to the exclusion of popular music. The movement to restore an imagined unified Indian music saw educated middle-class and high-caste Hindus as the appropriate guardians for India's national musical heritage.[51] As Gita Mehta claims that it was this same audience that embraced jazz on the radio: "[Conover's] disembodied voice had been so seductive that it had turned many of those who might have otherwise patronized the *sitar* and the *mridangam*, to the patronage of the music of black America. These patrons kept alive numerous Indian jazz combos whose only dream was to play with the American greats."[52] Keskar famously tried to squelch film music in the 1950s and 1960s, only to find that audiences sought it out on stations from Pakistan and Ceylon. Similarly, dedicated Indian jazz audiences would seek out their favorite music through any means available.

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[49] Gita Mehta, *Karma Cola: Marketing the Mystic East* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1979) 116-117.

[50] Max Babi, "My Journey Into Jazz: June 2002," *All About Jazz* 4 June 2005 <www.allaboutjazz.com/articles/jour0602.htm>.

[51] David Lelyveld, "Upon the Subdominant: Administering Music on All-India Radio," *Social Text* 39 (1994): 111-127.

[52] Mehta, *Karma Cola* 116.

Realizing the success of cultural programming in accomplishing its foreign policy aims, the United States Department of State began its "Jazz Ambassadors" program, sponsoring American jazz musicians on overseas tours to areas of strategic interest. Beginning in 1956, and continuing until the program was transferred to the United States Information Agency in 1978, jazz musicians served as "secret weapons" in the Cold War.[53] They acted as a humanizing and legitimizing public face for United States foreign policy. The Jazz Ambassadors program capitalized on the musicians' international reputations, and on an especially knowledgeable, loyal (often captive) audience gained through the VOA broadcasts. The American civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s was followed closely by other movements for political freedom; black musicians and the vitality of African-American culture were potent symbols of freedom worldwide. Black musicians were thus especially useful in presenting the United States as a place of harmony and democracy, projecting an image of the country as a benign and benevolent force, and as a symbolic corrective for the challenge that racism presented to the U.S.' claims to democracy and freedom.

India did not factor significantly in the United States' Cold War-era foreign policy. At this time the world's largest democracy, India was determined to be the master of its own fate in an international system dominated by Cold War political alliances and Western capitalist economies. Nehru introduced a strict policy of nonalignment with any bloc or alliance, and especially any alliance led by the Soviet Union or the United States. Concomitant with the policy of nonalignment was an opposition to colonialism and racism, a commitment to peaceful coexistence and international cooperation to alleviate poverty and promote economic development. These principles would remain a consistent feature of Indian foreign policy through the 1990s, retaining strong support among India's elites.

Although India was of limited strategic importance in American foreign policy of the Cold War era, the United States government's support nonetheless, played a key role in developing and maintaining an Indian jazz audience. Conover's broadcasts had kept Indian jazz musicians and audiences informed of the latest musical developments. The State Department supported tours by Dave Brubeck (1958), Duke Ellington (1963, 1972), Mahalia Jackson (1971), and Lookout Farm (1975). From the mid-1960s, a number of American and European jazz musicians (among them leading American saxophonist Sonny Rollins) traveled to India for personal and musical reasons, where they frequently met with local musicians.[54]

Throughout the 1970s, the American Information Centre in Calcutta sponsored a weekly jazz listening club. About 20 people gathered every Sunday morning at eleven o'clock to listen to the latest jazz recordings supplied by the American government. Jazz recordings were either prohibitively expensive or entirely unavailable in India, and the meetings held a great attraction for jazz fans. The members of the listening club aspired

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[53] The program continues to operate today under the name "American Arts Abroad," administered by Jazz at Lincoln Center.

[54] Pinckney, "Jazz in India" 41.

to be both comprehensive and up-to-date in their musical knowledge, listening to historical greats such as Duke Ellington, as well as the latest developments in modern jazz and free improvisation.[55] Among the members of the listening club was Clair Lüdenbach, a German journalist living in Calcutta with her Anglo-Indian husband, a classical music composer. Lüdenbach recalls that the members of the club were generally young – typically in their twenties – and came from Bengali, Anglo-Indian, or other Eurasian backgrounds. Most of these jazz enthusiasts worked in advertising, fashion design, management or engineering, and were searching for new ways to express ties to Western culture in the generation after Independence.[56] Young, urbane Calcuttans felt ambivalent towards western culture. Upper class Bengalis had often been trained in Western classical music, Bengalis and Anglo-Indians whose parents and grandparents had been schooled in Britain prior to Independence looked down on their elders' nostalgia for England. American Jazz, with its associations of freedom, progression, modernity, and internationalism, presented an appealing place to assert a new identity. Ludenbach suggests that:

> Some of those people were into consumer culture, something very new in India. They copied something which they thought was western...One could say that the jazz consumers were 'modern people' who looked towards the west. A trip to the west was at that time unthinkable, much too expensive although these people earned good salaries.[57]

Jazz was attainable, but not so immediately accessible as to lose its currency. Jazz was socially exclusive; an appreciation of jazz depended on coming to grips with a rich and detailed collection of insider knowledge and associations. Invitation to the American Information Center meetings came by word of mouth; in order to know about the meetings, one had to have cultivated connections to European and American ex-patriates.

At the time, Calcutta was also the center of a thriving jazz, pop, and cabaret scene. Active jazz musicians included Goan saxophonist Braz Gonsalves, Nepali pianist Louis Banks (born Dambar Bahudar, son of Nepalese jazz guitarist George Banks), and Anglo-Indian vocalist Pam Crain. Calcutta had long been the center of internationalized music activity, attracting musicians from all over the world. Pianist Anto Menezes recalled: "All the top hotels had foreign bands, class musicians from all over the world. The Grand Hotel on Chowringhee [known today as The Oberoi Grand] itself had five bands."[58] At least one Indian jazz musician, pianist Madhav Chari, can trace his early development in jazz to attending meetings and concerts with his parents in Calcutta. Occasionally, a European or American jazz ensemble would perform in Calcutta. These concerts were major events, attracting 1500-2000 listeners, even where the bands were relatively unknown. David Liebman, recalling a 1975 USIS-funded tour with his band

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[55] Ashok Gupta, personal interview with author, 2 May 2004.
[56] Clair Lundenbach, email to author, 5 Aug. 2006.
[57] Clair Ludenbach, email to author, 5 Aug. 2006.
[58] Ian Zachariah, "All That Jazz," *Harmony Magazine* Mar. 2005, 30 Nov. 2005 <http://www.harmonyindia.org/hportal/VirtualPageView.jsp?page_id=1169>.

Lookout Farm, described the concerts in Calcutta as "some of the heaviest vibes I ever felt."[59]

Jazz Yatra Festival

Foreign national funding has played a crucial role in the success of arguably the most important and lasting institutions in Indian jazz, the biennial Jazz Yatra festival. The festival debuted in 1978, was founded by the Jazz India society that had been created three years earlier by a group of businessmen with a passion for jazz. The directors expanded on the existing model for United States support of touring jazz artists. By involving the support of many nations, the Jazz India Society was able to present an ambitious international program with relatively low overhead, with Willis Conover himself presiding over the first festival. Gita Mehta describes the Jazz India directors at the first jazz Yatra:

> The people who had conceived the idea were mostly Parsis and Gujeratis: by day, captains of industry, big wheels on the stock exchange and textile market. Middle-aged, powerful and erudite men, they had succeeded in transporting sixteen jazz bands from all over the world to play Bombay for free, and they now spent their evenings arguing the merits of a Polish tenor sax against those of a Japanese bass guitar, while the Poles and the Japanese spent their mornings discussing the merits of the raga form.[60]

Among these men was Niranjan Jhaveri, co-founder of the Jazz Yatra Society and its Honorary Secretary General.

Born in Mumbai, Jhaveri is the son of a diamond merchant who has continued in his family trade. He spent his childhood in Antwerp and Mumbai. First exposed to jazz in Europe in his early 20s, Jhaveri has cultivated relationships to American and European jazz performers throughout his life. In the early 1950s, he founded *Blue Rhythm,* India's first jazz periodical, as well as a foundation that sponsored performances by foreign jazz musicians. A dedicated jazz enthusiast, he served as a reviewer for *DownBeat* from 1984 to 2002, and travels frequently to international jazz festivals on journalist credentials. Although he is not a musician, he has presented workshops on Indian vocal performance at jazz conservatories throughout Europe, North America, Australia, and Japan, and is the author of the book, *New Vocal Techniques for Jazz and Modern Music.*[61] As the director of the Jazz India Vocal Institute, he organizes educational programs in Hindustani vocal performance for Western jazz vocalists, who are accommodated in Mumbai's five star hotels in exchange for their nightly performances. Much of the history of jazz in India from this time is represented in Jhaveri's extensive personal archives, where he collected

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[59] David Liebman, email to author, 6 August 2006.
[60] Mehta, *Karma Cola* 115-116.
[61] Niranjan Jhaveri, email to author, 14 July 2003.

over 50 years of interviews with Sonny Rollins, Alice Coltrane, Don Ellis, Don Cherry, Maynard Ferguson, Max Roach, and others.[62]

Over its history, Jazz Yatra has attracted an impressive international roster of artists spanning generations and cultures. A number of international journalists have also covered the festival, including Ira Gitler, Michael Bourne, Phil Schapp, and Mike Zwerin.[63] At least part of the festival's ongoing success depends on a programming strategy in which a number of performers from a single nation are invited as a bloc, which can be presented to the performers' national funding bodies as an opportunity for international exposure and cultural exchange.[64] India's continued exotic appeal as a travel destination plays a role as well, a number of musicians who have performed at Jazz Yatra have explained to me that they performed at cost, or at a loss, in order to have the opportunity to visit India. In India, the Jazz Yatra has placed jazz firmly on the concert stage, rather than relegated to nightclubs and hotel lounges. It has also stimulated the international careers of several Indian musicians who have collaborated extensively with European and American jazz musicians in an emerging genre of "Indo-jazz fusion."

The History of Indian Music in Jazz

The manner in which Indian music is represented in jazz reveals the peculiar resilience of the Indian exotic in the zone of contact between India and the West. The career and creative works of the legendary American saxophonist John Coltrane (1926 – 1967) serves a crucial purpose in binding concepts of Indian classical music and culture with a diffuse "spirituality" and commitment to social justice. American saxophonist Arun Luthra, studying in Chennai in December 2003, comments that John Coltrane continues to inspire him in seeking to unify his musical and spiritual concepts:

> Great art is timeless and it speaks to us across the generations, and anyone can be touched by it and moved by it. In India, a lot of people feel like that about music. [My time in India] reinforced that value in me and carried it further – that this is what music can be ... Think how revolutionary Coltrane was in his spiritual approach to jazz. You can be that kind of musician in the jazz tradition, and musicians have been that kind of musician in the Karnatak tradition forever.[65]

Indian music and culture has played an important role in representing the spiritual in jazz

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[62] Jhaveri is currently consolidating these archives into two volumes: one on the history of jazz in India, the other an autobiography. He has requested that I do not document our discussions on this history of jazz in India, as he wishes to ensure that the impact of his own books will be undiminished.

[63] Niranjan Jhaveri, email to author, 13 Jul. 2003.

[64] This model is not limited to developing economies. Canadian jazz festivals rely on funding from a variety of nations to present international programming as well as national artists.

[65] Arun Luthra, personal interview with author, 9 Dec. 2004.

and in delimiting the ideological and aesthetic intent of jazz from that of other forms of Western music. This is due, in part, to Indian music's prominent association with Coltrane, its favorable reception in the art music and academic institutions in North America, and more generally to India's exotic place in the Western imagination.

John Coltrane's position as one of the "great masters" of the jazz canon is undisputed. David Ake has noted that in the relatively short time since Coltrane's death, Coltrane's name has become a robust brand: "the name 'John Coltrane' has come to take on a kind of life of its own. It serves as a 'shorthand' for a variety of musical, ethical and spiritual attributes that may or may not correspond to all or even part of 'the real' John Coltrane."[66] In jazz, as well as in popular Western culture, the name "Coltrane" stands for an uncompromised musical integrity, undisputed technical mastery, and a deep "mystical" connection to music as a spiritual undertaking. Coltrane's music, name, and image are used in Hollywood productions such as *Mister Holland's Opus, Malcolm X, The Fabulous Baker Boys,* and *Jerry McGuire* to impute characteristics of integrity, intelligence, and strength to fictional characters.[67] Indian music was only one facet of Coltrane's exotic interests, but Indian music and culture play an essential role in the construction of Coltrane as a musical and spiritual icon. Through bebop, musicians of Coltrane's generation reconfigured both jazz's aesthetics and material conditions to establishing a vigorous, original musical language and a stake in the music industry. This same process set into play a number of other developments in form and style, such as the "modal" improvisation of the late 1950s, and the free jazz and creative music movements of the 1960s and 1970s which linked improvisation and social practice with various forms of exoticism, mysticism, and folklore.

The canonical[68] Coltrane - the probing, expressive and humble genius of the popular imagination - is a composite portrait drawn from the last years before his untimely death in 1967. Among those who claim or aspire to musical literacy, Coltrane stands for the highest level of technical mastery and artistic accomplishment. Coltrane's landmark recording *A Love Supreme* (1957) stands at number 47 – between Bob Marley and Public Enemy – on *Billboard* magazine's "Top 500 Albums of All Time." The editors at *Billboard* praise Coltrane's emotional intensity and purity: "Coltrane's majestic, often violent blowing ... is never self-aggrandizing. Aloft with his classic quartet ... Coltrane soars with nothing but gratitude and joy. You can't help but go with him."[69] Coltrane also stands as a symbol of pure spiritual energy, a construction which hinges

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[66] David Ake, *Jazz Cultures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) 128.
[67]For a detailed discussion of Hollywood's representation of Coltrane, see Michael Bruce McDonald, "Training the Nineties, Or the Present Relevance of John Coltrane's Theophany and Negation," *African American Review* 29 (1995): 275-82.
[68] I use the term both metaphorically and literally: for many years, San Francisco's St. Johns African Orthodox Church—more commonly known as the 'Church of John Coltrane'— offered three hour services every Sunday dedicated to Coltrane, using Coltrane's poetry from the liner notes of *A Love Supreme* as liturgy.
[69] "The Top 500 Albums of All Time," *Rolling Stone* 1 Nov. 2003, 17 Oct 2005 <http://www.rollingstone.com/news/story/_/id/6598705>.

upon his legendary "spiritual re-awakening" which he describes in his liner notes to *A Love Supreme*. A consumer comment on the Amazon.com website for this album ascribes clear spiritual and therapeutic qualities to the recording:

> His music is so extraordinarily powerful - it can make one laugh, cry, get angry, beam in utter rapture, and love and fear God. ... When John Coltrane created this album with his quartet, it almost sounds as if he were possessed by God and became everything the human soul embodies...Every time I listen to that album, I am put in a trance, a state so indescribably euphoric that I could exist like that forever.[70]

Historian Lewis Porter comments that in his last years, Coltrane found a wider, younger, and multi-racial following, for whom civil rights, world peace, and spirituality were primary concerns.[71] Idealized representations of African race and religions joined a diffuse mix of Eastern-inspired spirituality and political activism.

Coltrane played a central role in the two events in the history of American jazz that are generally, and erroneously, considered to signal the beginning of the relationship of Indian music and American jazz: Coltrane's recording of "My Favorite Things" (1960) from the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical *The Sound of Music*, and Miles Davis' recording *Kind of Blue* (1959).[72] Common to both recordings is a departure from the ii-V7-I based harmonic progressions characteristic of the bebop vocabulary, in favor of open harmonic structures, typically referred to as "modal." Coltrane's performances on these recordings reveal a new, harmonically expansive approach to improvisation in which harmony is realized horizontally, within a scalar form, rather than through vertical chord changes. By systematically exploring permutations and combinations of the diatonic scale system, Coltrane could build harmony within a solo line. Famously described by critic Ira Gitler as "sheets of sound,"[73] Coltrane's new approach was explicitly linked to a "spiritual reawakening" he experienced in May 1957.[74] Historian Ashley Kahn suggests that Coltrane's spiritual epiphany was part of a larger plan that

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[70] "A Love Supreme," *Amazon* 18 Nov. 1999, 16 Oct. 2004 <http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/tg/detail/-/B0000A118M/qid=1130736413/sr=8-1/ref=pd_bbs_1/002-2342381-1749618?v=glance&s=music&n=507846>.

[71] Lewis Porter, *John Coltrane: His Life and Music* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999) 259.

[72] Pinckney, "Jazz in India" 41. Pinckney goes so far as to suggest that "the success of Coltrane's various recordings inspired by North Indian classical music may have contributed to Ravi Shankar becoming interested in jazz" (47). By Shankar's own account, his interest in jazz was limited to those recording sessions and meetings that were set up for him by trusted colleagues. Shankar remained skeptical of the aesthetic value of these projects.

[73] Ashley Khan, *A Love Supreme: The Making of John Coltrane's Masterpiece* (New York: Viking, 2002) 29.

[74] Coltrane, liner notes to *A Love Supreme*. GRP Records, reissued 1995, Original release 9 Dec. 1964.

connected his music, physical health, and life's mission with a return to his religious roots. Giving up drugs and alcohol in the summer of 1957, Coltrane entered into a period of intense musical practice, delving deeply into the function of his music as an expression of the human spirit.

Returning to professional life in early 1958, Coltrane re-joined Miles Davis' band. At this time, Davis was exploring single scales and using fewer chord changes. His previous blistering bebop tempos were slowed down, and new metres – such as 6/4 and 3/4 – were introduced. His new compositions were simple, with free-flowing lines leaving ample room for expansive, melodically inventive, improvisation. In Davis' *Kind of Blue*, bebop's tightly constructed unison melodies, stated at the beginning and ending of the piece, gave way to more extended, open improvisational forms affording soloists a broader range of expression. Many of the modal developments thought to be entirely novel to *Kind of Blue* reflect artistic developments well in place a decade earlier. The structures on *Milestones* (1958) and *Kind of Blue* are prefigured in the Miles Davis Quartet's mid-1950s Columbia recordings, and in Davis's 1949 *Birth of the Cool* sessions. The first statement of a modal concept for jazz improvisation is well documented in the work of Davis' friend and collaborator George Russell. Russell completed most of the work for his seminal book *The Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization* in the late 1940s.[75] When the book was published in 1953, it introduced the concepts of modal improvisation to a broader audience. There is therefore little to suggest that modal improvisation was influenced by concepts of Indian music. By 1956, when Ravi Shankar made the first of his visits to the United States, introducing Indian music to American art music audiences, Russell's book had already been in print for three years.

Throughout the 1950s, as jazz musicians had already become more interested in scales than bebop formulations, exotic musics gained a new importance as a source of inspiration. Coltrane, along with many other musicians, developed a fascination with scales other than the major and minor scales of Western music. Jazz musicians sought inspiration from European classical music[76] as well as the classical and folk traditions of other, more exotic musics. Both the exotic works of modernist classical composers and ethnomusicological field recordings served as key resources.[77] American musicians traveling throughout the world on "Jazz Ambassador" tours encountered foreign cultures and exotic musics, which were sometimes reflected in musicians' later works. Perhaps the most famous examples are Dave Brubeck's *Jazz Impressions of Eurasia* (1958) and

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[75] George Russell, ed., *The Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization*, 1st ed. (New York: Concept Publishing, 1953).

[76] Nicholas Slonimsky, *Thesaurus of Scales and Melodic Patterns* (New York: Holiday House, 1947) was used by a number of jazz musicians – among them Coltrane and Freddie Hubbard – as a comprehensive vocabulary of melodic patterns.

[77] Drummer Elvin Jones, whose driving polyrhythmic swing propelled Coltrane's *My Favorite Things* into best-seller status, first became aware of African polyrhythm when exposed to anthropological field recordings that pianist Bobby Timmons purchased at the United Nations gift shop.

his top-selling album *Time Out* (1959) which were both steeped in the rhythms and tonalities that Brubeck and his quartet encountered on an extended United States Information Service tour of Europe and Asia in 1958.[78]

Coltrane's "spiritual reawakening" happened in the midst of jazz musicians' fascination with exotic sources of inspiration. Attuned to the possibilities of universal sound, Coltrane developed an omnivorous appetite for the world's musical cultures. By the early 1960s he was taking harp lessons, and would often play the flute, bagpipes, acoustic guitar, and drums in his home.[79] The explicitly spiritual and transcultural focus of Coltrane's pan-musical explorations was shared by many of his colleagues, as he described in a 1960 *DownBeat* interview:

> From a technical viewpoint, I have certain things I'd like to present in my solos. To do this, I have to get the right material. It has to swing, and it has to be varied...I want it to cover as many forms of music as I can put into a jazz context and play on my instruments. I like eastern music, Yusef Lateef has been using this in his playing for some time. And Ornette Coleman sometimes plays music with a Spanish content as well as other exotic-flavored music. In these approaches, there is something I can draw on and use in the way I like to play.[80]

For Coltrane, Indian music formed one of many avenues of musical exploration through which he sought to uncover presumed universals of sound and creative consciousness. Through a broadly comparative approach, Coltrane sought to advance his understanding of an elemental or universal musical source. As he described in an interview:

> There's a lot of modal music that is played every day throughout the world. It's particularly evident in Africa, but if you look at Spain or Scotland, India or China, you'll discover this again in each case. If you want to look beyond the differences in style, you will confirm that there is a common base ... The popular music of England is not that of South America, but take away their purely ethnic characteristics—that is, their folkloric aspect—and you'll discover the presence of the same pentatonic sonority, of comparable musical structures. It's this universal aspect of music that interests me and attracts me; that's what I'm aiming for.[81]

In a 1990 interview, Alice Coltrane confirmed that her husband was not influenced by one musical style more than any other: "I cannot say which one he would state 'this is my favorite, this is my highest inspiration.' He listened to so much music...he investigated all the musics of the world, because he knew that everyone had something."[82]

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[78] Penny M. von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows UpThe World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004) 49.
[79] Lewis Porter, *John Coltrane* 138-139.
[80] John Coltrane, "Coltrane on Coltrane," *DownBeat* 29 Sept. 1960: 27.
[81] John Coltrane, quoted in Porter, *John Coltrane* 211.
[82] Alice Coltrane, interview with Robert Palmer, heard as a voice-over in *The World According to John Coltrane,* 1990, quoted in Porter, *John Coltrane* 273-274.

Despite Coltrane's clear universal intent, successive generations of biographers, journalists and critics over-represent the importance of Indian music and religion in Coltrane's later works. There is little, however, to suggest that Coltrane held Indian music and culture to be more important than the others he studied. Coltrane was first likely exposed to Hindustani music through the recordings of Ravi Shankar. In 1961, Coltrane told interviewer François Postif that he would like to record with Shankar: "I collect the records he's made, and his music moves me. I'm certain that if I recorded with him I'd increase my possibilities tenfold, because I'm familiar with what he does and I understand and appreciate his work."[83] That same year, he told another reporter "I've been listening more and more to Indian music—I've been trying to use some of their methods in some of the things we're doing."[84] Producer Richard Bock arranged a meeting between Coltrane and Shankar in December 1961. Coltrane was moved by his encounter with Shankar; he named his second son Ravi, but died in 1967 before he was able to travel to India for a planned course of study with Shankar.

It is difficult to locate Indian musical materials in Coltrane's compositions and improvisations. Coltrane never performed publicly with Indian musicians. Consistent with a widely-held assumption that conflates Indian *ragas* and a Western concept of mode,[85] Coltrane's fixed mode compositions are frequently assumed to be inspired by Indian classical music. His composition "Naima" (originally recorded on *Giant Steps* in 1959) features improvisations based over a tonic and dominant drone (pedal) that some writers have interpreted as influenced by the *tanpura* in Indian classical music.[86] However, Coltrane stated in an interview that although he was listening to Indian music at that time, any influence was "more or less subconscious."[87] Biographer Lewis Porter sees an Indian influence in Coltrane's composition "India" on *Live at the Village Vanguard* (1961): "a chant in G that never moves from the G pedal point."[88] Porter goes on to cite jazz researcher Bill Bauer, who claims to have located a Vedic chant upon which Coltrane's melody seems to be closely based. For most jazz writers, however, a fixed tonic and the explicit titular reference to India constitute evidence of a profound Indian influence.[89]

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[83] John Coltrane, quoted in Porter, *John Coltrane* 209.
[84] John Coltrane, quoted in Khan, *A Love Supreme* 58.
[85] For a detailed discussion of the concept of "mode" as distinct from "raga" see Harold Powers, "Modality as a European Cultural Construct," *Secondo Convegno Europeo di Analisi Musicali*, ed. Rossana Dalmonte and Mario Baroni (Trent: Università Degli Studi di Trento, 1992) 207-219.
[86] John Coltrane quoted in BillCole, *John Coltrane* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1976)110.
[87] Porter, *John Coltrane* 209.
[88] Porter, *John Coltrane* 209.
[89] It is misleading, however, to attribute too much importance to the title of a jazz composition in the absence of other evidence. In this time, titles were often appended as an afterthought, after recording at the behest of record producers who required an identifying title in the studio.

Perhaps in ignorance of generations of Indian jazz performers, Coltrane is frequently credited for creating a link between jazz and India. Indian music serves as a crucial component to the construction of Coltrane's posthumous mystical identity, a construction that conflates Coltrane's earlier modal improvisation with the spiritual and musical universalisms that characterized his last years. Writing in 1987, German jazz critic Joachim-Ernst Berendt claimed:

> It was John Coltrane who really built the bridge between Jazz and India—a bridge that was initially based more on Indian spirituality than on Indian music—and who made all of us, far beyond the jazz realm, aware of this bridge...The fact that today thousands of rock and pop groups all over the world play modally, is inconceivable without Coltrane.[90]

Journalist Larry Blumenfeld led a 2005 article on Vijay Iyer and Rudresh Mahanthappa by situating them in line with Coltrane's legacy: "Saxophonist John Coltrane delved deeply into the modal scales of Indian music as well as its spiritual core, which changed his music and inspired generations to come."[91]

The resilience of the modal/spiritual trope can be attributed to a number of converging historical events. At the peak of the raga rock fad of 1966, Coltrane was the second highest earning jazz musician, after Miles Davis, with an international reputation for uncompromised artistry.[92] Coltrane's association with Ravi Shankar could be seen in a similar light to George Harrison's, with both men appearing in the public eye as musical celebrities of the highest order promoting ancient Indian music and culture. Indian classical music was enthusiastically received in American high art circles in the 1950s, paving the way for its naturalization in the North American academy, and coinciding with an incipient institutionalization of jazz education. Through the hagiographic lens of jazz history, Coltrane's spiritualism and untimely death were fused with a popular exoticizing concept of Indian spirituality. Coltrane's earlier shift to a linear harmonic conception could now stand for his spiritual stance.

After Coltrane: Playing Modally, Playing Spiritually

In the years immediately following Coltrane's death, the pervasive cultural connections between popular music, drugs, and hippie cosmology had reached the public at large. Playing "modally" came to represent a pluralistic spirituality in jazz. American saxophonist Nathan Davis speaking in 1976, put it thus: "Playing modally has to do with spirituality. What we really mean by saying spirituality is religiousness. Only we don't use that word, because we don't mean what the Christian world means by

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[90] Joachim-Ernst Berendt, *Nada Brahma: Music and the Landscape of Consciousness* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1983) 206-7.
[91] Larry Blumenfeld, "Between Riffs and Ragas," *Jazziz* May 2005: 48.
[92] Ted Gioia, *The History of Jazz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 305.

religiousness."[93] Religion, rather, stood for a belief in a non-specific set of religious philosophies strongly linked to Buddhism and Hinduism, and marked by existential, mystical, and spiritual themes. Musical theory, astrology, and quantum physics could be equally understood within a framework of fundamental "vibrations" and "energy." In a cosmological perspective such as this, cultural specifics can be blunted, and playing modally could come to signify a non-specific, non-Western, exoticized other.

While Indian elements in popular music quickly became a cliché, jazz and Western classical music became a repository for longer-form explorations of the robust East-meets-West trope. Indian music was a prominent note in the jazz-rock fusion that captured much of the jazz audience in the 1970s, and played a significant role in the exoticism of the experimental and creative music movements as well. Part faddishness, part extension of earlier musical developments, the modal/spiritual nexus in jazz largely bypassed the substance of Indian music while making visible other features of Indian culture. It was fashionable to include a *tabla* or *sitar* in performances, and connections with Indian performers were frequently made on an ad hoc basis. Pakistani *tabla* player Badal Roy, for example, came to New York in 1968 with a Master's degree in Statistics. While waiting to continue his graduate studies at New York University, he found a lucrative steady job performing in an Indian restaurant. This restaurant was the showcase from which the English guitarist John McLaughlin, chose Roy to record and perform with on *My Goal's Beyond* (1971). Roy went on to record with Miles Davis *On the Corner* (1972), Chick Corea, David Liebman's group "Lookout Farm," Herbie Hancock, and many others.[94]

The speed and facility with which Roy climbed the ranks of the leading jazz musicians in the 1970s, despite having no plans to pursue a performing career in the United States, would suggest that he happened to be in the right place at the right time. By the late 1970s, Indian spirituality was a popular urban pursuit shared by many jazz musicians. Saxophonists Pharoah Sanders and Sonny Rollins both claim that yoga has informed their physical approach to playing their instruments. Paul Horn and Don Cherry meditated. Trumpeter Freddie Hubbard was regularly "persecuted" by Buddhist chants several times a day while on tour with Herbie Hancock's band VSOP; the band members would chant before and after each performance, much to Hubbard's chagrin, who clung to his black gospel roots.[95] Much as playing modally came to stand for playing spiritually, the incorporation of Indian themes in tune names, album titles, costume, or pre- concert rituals could come to directly stand for playing – and living – spiritually. 1970s jazz culture's pervasive engagement with Indian music and culture reflects both changing aesthetic and social values, and reflects the prevailing popular culture that informed the musicians and their music, and which continues to resonate today.

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[93] Nathan Davis, quoted in Berendt, *Nada Brahma* 160.
[94] Jerry Duckett, "Badal Roy Among COTA Jazz Headliners," *The Easton Express-Times* 9 Sept. 2005.
[95] Berendt, *Nada Brahma* 208.

Among the many jazz musicians who found a way into Indian music through John Coltrane is the English guitarist John McLaughlin. A prodigious talent who toured with Miles Davis' jazz-rock fusion bands while still in his twenties, McLaughlin's professional and personal engagement with Indian music – as presented in his ensembles the Mahavishnu Orchestra and Shakti – in turn exposed another generation of jazz musicians to Indian music. McLaughlin lived in London during the peak of the raga-rock fad of the 1960s. Living in the United States while in his 20s, he was involved in the vogue for Indian culture and spirituality. Dubbed "Mahavishnu" by his spiritual *guru* Sri Chinmoy, McLaughlin lent his adopted name to a series of jazz-rock fusion bands operating under the name the Mahavishnu Orchestra.

To Gerry Farrell, the Mahavishnu Orchestra was the first structurally meaningful fusion of jazz and Indian music, and the first fusion of jazz with elements of both North and South Indian classical music.[96] The original Mahavishnu Orchestra was a five-piece ensemble, featuring McLaughlin on double-necked electric guitar, violinist Jerry Goodman (later replaced by Jean-Luc Ponty), keyboardist Jan Hammer, bassist Rick Laird, and drummer Billy Cobham. McLaughlin, the sole credited composer for the project,[97] favored additive rhythmic cycles in odd metres, such as various groupings of 10/8, 18/8 and 7/4. The compositions showed relatively little emphasis on harmony, soloing generally occurred over open modal structures. Gerry Farrell notes that in an introduction to a published score of compositions from his Mahavishnu Orchestra oeuvre, McLaughlin specifies which modes should be used in various solos.[98] McLaughlin made extensive use of extended unison passages with complicated shifts in metric subdivision typical of Karnatak music. Instrumental solos were often interspersed with pre-composed exchanges between musicians typical of Indian music, such as the Karnatak *korraippu* (exchanges of repeated melodic material between soloists that are systematically reduced by half until the participants are playing in unison) and complex rhythmic cadences resolving to the first beat of the metric cycle, as in the *tihai* or *korvai* of Hindustani and Karnatak music, respectively.

Many jazz musicians I have spoken with have mentioned that the Mahavishnu Orchestra was their inspiration for careers in jazz and the seeds of an enduring interest in Indian music.[99] Irish bassist and composer Ronan Guilfoyle recalls that the Mahavishnu Orchestra was very popular in his youth in Dublin, performing in major venues and rock

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[96] Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* 196.

[97] This would later become a point of contention among the band members, resulting in the dissolution of the group.

[98] Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* 196. McLaughlin's solo albums displayed an Indian influence as early as the 1971 recording *My Goal's Beyond*. The ensemble featured jazz musicians with *tabla* and *tampura* players, and the compositions displayed an Indian influence.

[99] Ronan Guilfoyle, email to author, 13 May 2003; Kevin Eubanks, email to author, 12 May 2003; Mark Feldman, email to author, 19 Oct. 2003; Lindsey Horner, email to author, 4 Nov. 2005; Rob Thomas, email to author, 10 Nov. 2005.

festivals. American saxophonist Allan Chase recalls that as a teenager working in a record store in college town Tempe, Arizona:

> Mahavishnu Orchestra records ... were found in all sorts of teenagers' collections, especially the collections of anyone who played the electric guitar. Someone who owned a Johnny Winter album, some Eric Clapton, Hendrix, etc., might well own a Mahavishnu Orchestra LP and go to see them in a rock concert setting.[100]

Despite critical acclaim, the band remained something of a specialized taste, a connoisseur's band, above all a jazz band rather than a populist rock band. Guilfoyle recalls bringing *Birds of Fire* to his music appreciation class in his Dublin high school in 1977 "to the bafflement of all – teachers and students."[101] As the band became increasingly more successful, keyboardist Jan Hammer and violinist Jerry Goodman became dissatisfied with McLaughlin's role as sole composer for the group. In composing for the ensemble, McLaughlin relied heavily on recordings of the band's rehearsals, in which all members contributed ideas. McLaughlin disbanded the group after matters came to a head and the Mahavishnu Orchestra separated in 1975, by which time McLaughlin had already begun work with Shakti, a new acoustic quartet.[102]

Shakti was a radical departure from the Mahavishnu Orchestra, which McLaughlin himself describes as "The loudest and fastest group on the Planet!" [punctuation in original].[103] In 1971, during the flush of his considerable success with the first of his Mahavishnu bands, McLaughlin enrolled as an extra-curricular student at Wesleyan University to study Karnatak music on the *vina* with Dr. S. Ramanathan. At Wesleyan he met Karnatak violinist Lakshminarayana Shankar, a PhD student in the ethnomusicology program. They played later that year with Zakir Hussein, son of Ravi Shankar's accompanist Alla Rakha.

While previous fusions of jazz and Indian classical music tended to focus mainly on modal improvisation and maintained clear performative distinctions between the western and Indian performers, Shaki was syncretic both with respect to repertoire and performance style. A pronounced Karnatak influence was both musically and visually apparent. The musicians were seated onstage in modern Karnatak performance style, and the ensemble performed acoustically. McLaughlin played an acoustic guitar that had modified to resemble the South Indian *vina,* with sympathetic strings and raised, curved frets that permitted him to render the *gamakas* characteristic of South Indian raga performance. Joining him were violinist L. Shankar, tabla player Zakir Hussein and percussionist T. H. Vinayakram. The group's first album *Shakti* was released by

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[100] Allan Chase, email to author, 14 May 2003.
[101] Ronan Guilfoyle, email to author, 13 May 2003.
[102] A recent revival of the Mahavishnu Project, led by American drummer Greg Bendian, has achieved modest success playing to the same audiences a generation later. The project has been endorsed by McLaughlin.
[103] John McLaughlin, Official John McLaughlin Website, 18 May 2003 <http://www.johnmclaughlin.com>.

Columbia Records in 1975, followed by *Natural Elements* (1977) and *A Handful of Beauty* (1977). McLaughlin collaborated closely with L. Shankar to develop a body of short, *kriti*-like compositions for which L. Shankar was given co-authorship credit.[104] Zakir Hussein performed mainly using the vocabulary of Hindustani music, although he related meaningfully both to the Karnatak rhythmic tradition underpinning much of the repertoire, as well as to the Western content of McLaughlin's solos.

McLaughlin has admitted that in the project, he was "preoccupied with Indian music."[105] Mumbai-based jazz guitarist Louis Banks has criticized Shakti as "totally South Indian Carnatic music," suggesting that McLaughlin failed to adequately represent jazz in the group performance. Gerry Farrell suggests that Shakti represents an unprecedented degree of syncretism: "the overall effect sounds quite unlike a conscious attempt to fuse two disparate musics. On the contrary, the music is one at all times, and in this sense is quite different from the Indian-jazz fusions that preceded it. The musicians understood each other's musical systems well enough to allow a new musical form to emerge."[106] McLaughlin has described his time playing with Shakti as idyllic, sullied only by the disapproval of agents, radio stations, and his record label; the project was a commercial failure.[107] The group has enjoyed considerably greater commercial success since its reformulation as "Remember Shakti" in 1997.

"Fusion" or Confusion?

By the early years of the twenty-first century, the concept of "fusion" as a specifically Indian musical genre is well established.[108] Record stores in major Indian cities have a "fusion" section that includes recordings from the current catalogs of major American and European labels (such as L. Shankar and Jan Garbarek's recordings on ECM, and McLaughlin's recordings with Shakti and the Mahavishnu Orchestra), as well as out-of-print recordings from defunct American labels re-released by Indian labels for their domestic market. In other cultural products such as cuisine, fashion, and interior design, "fusion" is used to describe the deliberate blending of a broad range of Indian and Western styles, but in music, the fusion genre refers almost exclusively to the relationship

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[104] I have not been able to determine whether any of these compositions are drawn from the existing Karnatak repertoire. Given the contested nature of McLaughlin's authorship of the Mahavishnu Orchestra repertoire, the question of appropriation bears examination.
[105] John McLaughlin, quoted in Joachim Ernst Berednt, trans. Helmut Bredigkeit, *Nada Brahma* 135.
[106] Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* 197. Farrell's enthusiasm may be related to his own interests: he was both a sitarist and jazz guitarist.
[107] The group has enjoyed considerably greater commercial success since its reformulation as "Remember Shakti" in 1997. Regardless of their popular success, McLaughlin's fusions of Indian music and jazz had an enormous impact within the jazz community.
[108] The genre is known under various formulations such as "Indo-jazz fusion." "Indo-Western fusion" but commonly abbreviated as "fusion."

of Indian classical music and jazz. Prominent Indian classical musicians such as Ravi Shankar, Zakir Hussein, L. Shankar, and L. Subramanian have collaborated with a range of Western rock, popular, and classical musicians, and the Indian film music industry stands as a more prominent and pervasive example of Indian musical transculturalism. Despite this, jazz nearly exclusively represents the West in the fusion genre. An extended analysis of the fusion genre is both overdue and beyond the scope of this project. In the concluding section of this chapter, I will outline a brief history of the genre and describe the role of jazz in its genesis, and in its ongoing development.

None of the musicians I have interviewed for this project have been able to identify the origins of the term "fusion." It seems likely that the genre evolved from musical relationships set into play by crossover projects led by American and European musicians in the 1970s. If the contents of the "fusion" bin and Landmark, Chennai's largest book and record store, can be taken as a capsule genre history, then a case might be made for Indian "fusion" as a musical and semantic elision of the 1970s jazz-rock "fusion" genre. Jazz-rock fusion projects led by Miles Davis and John McLaughlin frequently represented India through musical and extra-musical features, and set into play a number of relationships between Indian classical musicians and American and European jazz performers documented on record. Perhaps following his fellow guitarist John McLaughlin, Larry Coryell recorded a number of collaborations with violinist L. Subramanian, and following the example of Yehudi Menuhin's recordings with Ravi Shankar, L. Subramanian recorded with French jazz violinist Stephane Grapelli.

As the preceding section on the development of jazz in India makes clear, Indian musicians have performed Western musical styles both under colonialism and after Independence. The fusion genre reflects movements that were well underway before the "East Meets West" recordings that characterized Indian classical music's entry into Western cultural life in the 1950s: Indian performers of Western music have long served to represent Western music to Indian audiences. But in the decades after Independence, local jazz performance was disconnected from jazz's encounter with Indian classical music.

Promoter Niranan Jhaveri sought to redress this disconnection by sponsoring the formation of the Jazz Yatra Sextet in 1980. Approaching a genre he termed 'Indo-Jazz Fusion' from a specifically post-colonial Indian perspective. Working with saxophonist Braz Gonsalves, Jhaveri worked with saxophonist Braz Gonsalves to form a sextet composed entirely of Indian performers: vocalist R. A. Ramamani, pianist Louis Banks, saxophonist Braz Gonsalves, percussionist Ramesh Shotham, *ghatam* and *mridgangam* player N. Rajagoalan, and bassist Karl Peters.[109] Here, jazz provided a new extension for India into the global world, both conceptually as well as sonically. For Jhaveri,"Indo-Jazz" involved a more extensive interaction between Indian music and jazz, in which the

[109] Pinckney, *Jazz in India* 36.

Indian voice emerged as an icon of national culture and ancient tradition and as a source of innovation in jazz.[110]

The group's debut at the 1980 Jazz Yatra in Bombay was received with considerable acclaim by local audiences and visitng international jazz performers. R. A. Ramamani recalls:

> It became very big hit. The first concert in Bombay itself it became so big. ... everybody came to the stage. Ah, so many musicians. I thought everybody same, I did not know they were famous. 'This is Dizzy Gillespie.' I thought 'OK.' 'This is Wayne Shorter.' 'OK.'[111]

The sextet later embarked on three month of major European festivals, where the performers were again received with considerable enthusiasm. Ramamani recalls being unprepared for the reception she received: "I used to close my [dressing room] door. So many people used to come to my room and I was afraid ... Such a huge crowd, and when I sing, people go mad. It's so loud, and then they come to me. I am from very traditional and orthodox family. So many men come and are shaking my hand and hugging!"[112] The Sextet's recording *Sangam* (1980) was re-released in Europe as *City Life* (1981).[113]

Despite Jhaveri's claims to artistic directorship in the Jazz Yatra Sextet, his role was that of an impresario, organizing concerts, tours and recordings for the group. Relationships among the performers pre-dated the Sextet's formation. And although Ramamani was surprised at the reception she received, she had already gained experience in collaborating with Indian and Western performers of pop and jazz music. Percussionist Ramesh Shotham, in particular, played a key role in popularizing Indian classical music, and Karnatak music specifically, among European jazz audiences in the 1980s. Born in Chennai, Shotham drifted into a professional performing career in the early 1970s after completing a degree in Zoology at the University of Madras. He recalls, "During my high school days I started to pick up the guitar, and then one thing led to another and I started

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[110] Jhaveni's dedication to the Indian voice in "Indo-Jazz" is reflected in his major project, the Jazz-India Vocal Institute, which sponsors Western jazz vocalists for periods of Indian vocal training in exchange for performances at Bombay's five star hotels. On the Jazz India Vocal Institute website, Jhaveri proclaims the potential of the Indian voice to invigorate American jazz: "Innovations in jazz are very difficult these days, the instrumentalists have explored nearly all possibilities, everything under the sun seems to have been tried already, But there is a bright ray of hope for the future of jazz. Vocal jazz remains highly underdeveloped...In India we have a very highly developed ancient method of systematically training the voice, which can be learnt and used in jazz to lift vocal jazz to the same high levels—and beyond—of technical virtuosity as those attained by the musicians." Niranjan Jhaveri, "Jazz India Vocal Institute" http://education.vsnl.com/vocaljazz/, 28 Feb 2008.

[111] R. A. Ramamani, personal interview with author, 8 Nov.2003.

[112] R. A. Ramamani, personal interview with author, 8 Nov.2003.

[113] Ramehs Shotham, 8 Jan. 2008 <http://www.shotham.org/bio.php>.

playing drums in a rock-and-roll band."[114] This band, Human Bondage, was founded with his brother, guitarist Suresh Shotham. Human Bondage, found its audience among the educated, upwardly-mobile Indian youth.[115] Human Bondage toured throughout India in the 1970s, performing the standard repertoire of 1970s American rock to mixed Indian audiences, among which would appear "freaks, peace-corps workers, and 'disillusioned' youth from North America and Europe ... pleasantly surprised to discover not only Gurus, Swamis, elephants and snake charmers, but also genuine Rock music played by Human Bondage and other such bands gigging in clubs in Bombay, Delhi and Goa."[116]

Shotham's introduction to Indian classical music came through dual Indian and Western channels. Ramesh and Suresh had grown up in an environment where Karnatak music was always part of the landscape: "My mum was a very enthusiastic Karnatak listener...So the music was always there somehow. But we never took it like in terms of studying it."[117] In the mid-1970s, while on the road in Delhi, Suresh Purushotham heard Ravi Shankar and Zakir Hussein perform. Shotham recalls that his brother "freaked out" and urged them to investigate Indian classical music: "Look! What are we doing here? We have this great musical tradition!"[118] Around the same time, Shotham purchased a collection of records from a departing tourist, among them "Birds of Fire" by the Mahavishnu Orchestra: "So [Indian classical] music came through the Western influence in that sense. And of course that also opened up our eyes ... and that's when we started

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[114] Ramesh Shotham, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.

[115] Bangalore music critic C, K, Meena offers a portrait of Bangalore's rock scene in the 1970s: "Rock is part of this city's history and those who've lived here long enough will recall its local groups, all of them dead serious about music, most of them successful. But before we name names, let's flash back to the early Seventies when flower power wafted gradually towards Indian shores and settled in the vast wooded acres of India's premier institutes of higher education. Some sociologist should examine why rock and the hippie cult found hardcore fans in the IIMs, IITs, and soon. Grinding pressure of tests and grades? Wistful hopes of rebellion? Bangalore had a faithful following who would religiously attend Friday jam sessions. No self-respecting rock band would begin its concert on time. The stage would show signs of a life a good 60 minutes after the appointed hour, while checking of mikes and tuning of instruments would take another half-hour at the very least. Long hair, guru shirts, batik T-shirts, denim jackets and vividly colored headbands could be barely discerned in an all-pervasive cloud of nirvanic smoke. Atomic Forest was far out, man. Human Bondage, abs fab—Babu Joseph, dig? ... Well, Babu made good in Spain with the blues, and his band-mate percussionist Ramesh Shottam is a big name in jazz and fusion today." C. K. Meena, "Deep Purple and Deeper Memories," *Music Magazine* 1 Apr. 2001, 16 Nov. 2006 <http://www.themusicmagazine.com/deeppurpcurt.html>. See also Shonali Muthalaly, "Best of Both Worlds: Percussionist Ramesh Shotham Talks About His Latest Album and More," *The Hindu* 20 Feb. 2006.

[116] Ramesh Shotham, 12 Nov. 2007 <http://www.shotham.org/bio.php>.

[117] Ramesh Shotham, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.

[118] Ramesh Shotham, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.

looking towards studying Indian music, or using Indian instruments."[119] He began studying the *tabla* but became discouraged when his teacher was unable to take into account Shotham's existing skills as a professional performer. Shortly after, he engaged in six months of study of the *pakhwaj* (a North Indian drum similar to the *mridangam)* with Arjun Shewal in Bombay.

Soon afterwards, visiting his parents in Madras, Shotham recalls hearing a *tavil* played in the street: "tavil was a sound that was always; practically you can't escape it in South India. It's part of celebrating, weddings, temples, festivals. But that afternoon it hit me. Like 'Wow, what a sound.' ... From that point on, the *tavil* was always part of my stage kit."[120] Actively searching for a teacher who could support his career as a professional performer, he met *mridangam* player T. A. S. Mani in Bangalore, beginning studies on *tavil*, *ghatam, kanjira* and *morsing* in 1977. Mani, a fourth generation professional performer, had founded the Karnataka College of Percussion in response to what he perceived as a "too rigid" traditional teaching system. Following a six-month European tour, he founded the percussion ensemble Tara Tarangini ("Waves of Rhythm") with students and former students. Mani and his wife, vocalist R. A. Ramamani, performed Karnatak music abroad and in India, where both performers are A-graded artists of All India Radio.[121]. Shotham joined the group on drum set, beginning a professional association that has lasted to this day. Through Shotham, the Manis were introduced to many Western and Indian jazz and rock musicians. The three musicians collaborated with jazz pianist Louis Banks to form the group "Sangam."[122] Ramamani recalls the reception the group received at its first performance in Calcutta in 1978: "As soon as we finished the concert, everybody wanted to talk to us ... and then it suddenly started, everybody wanted to collaborate and do something."[123] In 1979, the Karnataka College of Percussion performed with the German rock-jazz fusion band Embryo. Their collaboration was documented in two popular recording and documentary film concerning the band's visit to India.[124] Their collaboration with American-born, Cologne-based saxophonist Charlie Mariano was documented in 1980 on *Jyothi*, a release by the prominent German ECM label: their further collaborations have been documented on a number of other recordings.[125]

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[119] Ramesh Shotham, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.
[120] Ramesh Shotham, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.
[121] World Music Central, "Karnataka College of Percussion", 8 Jan. 2008 <http://worldmusiccentral.org/artists/artist_page.php?id=4824>.
[122] R. A. Ramamani, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.
[123] R. A. Ramamani, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.
[124] Embryo, Embryo's Reise, Schneeball 0020, 1979; Werner Penzel, dir. *Vaganunden Karawane* , Werner Penzel Filmproduktion, 1979; Embryo. Charlie Mariano, and the Karnataka College of Percussion, *Life,* Schneeball 0023, 1980.
[125] Charlie Mariano & The Karnataka College of Percussion, *Jyothi*, ECM 1256, 1983; Charlie Mariano and The Karnataka College of Percussion, *Live,* VeraBra Records CD 2034-2, 1990; Charlie Mariano, *Charlie Mariano's Bangalore featuring Ramamani*, Intuition INT 32462, 2000; WDR Big Band Köln, Charlie Mariano, and the Karnataka College of Percussion, *Sketches of Bangalore,* Permission Music/Keytone, 2002;

Following the Jazz Yatra Sextet's1981 European tour. Shotham moved to Cologne, where he has since lived. His work as been documented on over 120 recordings, and he teaches and performs frequently throughout Europe with his own groups and as a side musician. In addition to his extensive collaborations with Guilfoyle, he has appeared with Steve Coleman, Carla Bley, Steve Swallow and Charlie Mariano. Under the label Permission Music Productions, co-founded with his wife, he has released recordings by his own group Madras Special as well as a collaboration of the Karnataka College of Percussion and the WDR Big Band. The Manis continue to live in Bangalore, where the Karnataka College of Percussion attracts a steady flow of Indian and Western students of Karnatak music.

During the last several years, fusion has become increasingly visible in the Karnatak music community in Chennai. Increasingly, fusion concerts are presented during Chennai's winter music festival season, though not often under the official banner of the organization's festival programming. At classical concerts during the 2004 festival season, presenters frequently approached me—visibly a Westerner—to inform me of upcoming fusion concerts. The curious resilience of jazz in the fusion genre likely rests on a series of intersecting historical causes. In fusion, jazz's role as a popular music in the first half of the twentieth century intersects with the legacies of colonialism and resistance, and in the latter half of the twentieth century, with American neo-imperialism and growing internationalism in India. Western music literacy in mixed ancestry communities, patronage structures for Western performers, the appeal of jazz to cosmopolitan Indian audiences seeking new ways to connect to the West, and the extension of financial support for touring performers from former colonial powers, have all sustained the presence of jazz in India. American initiatives in the Cold War Era, which advanced an ideologically-driven view of jazz as blind to race and deaf to social class, intersect with an idealized Indian nationalist concept of a unified, spiritually-charged Indian music.

Despite the vigor of the fusion genre, many Indian and Western performers in transcultural projects have strong reactions to the genre label. In general, the term "fusion" seems to create a palpable dis-ease in performers, either because of its populist, "low art" connotations in which fusion emerges as a marketing strategy, or because of the perceived limitations of its binary structure. Mridangam player Trichy Sankaran urges caution, suggesting that in order for a project to be aesthetically successful, all participants must be familiar with both musical languages, otherwise, it is "not fusion, but confusion" (a formulation which was echoed many times by a number of other Karnatak performers, that it began to take on the status of a cliché).[126] The members of the Dutch quintet Osmosis, in an extended residency with *mridangam* player B. C. Manjunath, claimed that their music was emphatically not fusion, but rather was music that reflected

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Karnataka College of Percussion, *KCP 5 Featuring Charlie Mariano: Many Ways*, Double Moon Records DMCHR 71506, 2007.

[126] Trichy Sankaran, lecture at Brhaddhvani Centre, 18 Dec. 2003.

equally the artistic concerns of all participants.[127] Indian-American diasporic musicians in New York frequently exhibit a vexed relationship to the term because of the problematic confines of the "East Meets West" trope evoked by the term. Saxophonist Rudresh Mahanthappa, speaking with WNYC interviewer David Garland, said: "There's nothing worse than a band that has a *tabla* for the sake of *color*."[128]

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[127] Osmosis, personal interview with author, 18 Feb. 2004.

[128] David Garland, interview with Rudresh Mahanthappa, WNYC, New York, 22 Sept. 2007.

Chapter III
Jazz and Karnatak Music: Intercultural Collaboration in Pedagogical Perspective

Introduction

This chapter reports on an educational exchange project between the Jazz and Contemporary Music Program of the New School University (New York, USA) and the Brhaddhvani Research and Training Centre for Musics of the World (Chennai, India).[1] I directed the venture, which took place from December 2003 – January 2004, in collaboration with Dr. Karaikudi S. Subramanian (Brhaddhvani Research and Training Centre for Musics of the World), Martin Mueller (New School University) and Ronan Guilfoyle (Newpark Music Centre, Dublin, Ireland). The exchange program was designed as a pilot scheme for a proposed five-year international exchange between Brhaddhvani and member schools of the International Association of Schools of Jazz.

Our primary goal was to develop a model for educational exchange between an Indian school and a Western school that was both equitable and reciprocal. Inherent in our concept of exchange was an emphasis on mutual learning as expressed in collaborative performance. In designing the project, Subramanian, Guilfoyle and I aimed for Indian participants to learn as much about jazz as jazz participants were to learn about Karnatak music, to better enable all parties to engage in meaningful musical discourse. We hoped that lasting relationships would be formed between institutions and individuals, and that the exchange would heighten Brhaddhvani's reputation as a destination for Western students of Karnatak music. We expected, finally, to articulate the aesthetic, curricular and organizational terms of such an exchange so that member schools of the IASJ could make use of our model, resulting in lasting relationships that would yield greater musical, cultural, and historical understanding.

Underpinning our enterprise was a shared commitment to musical pedagogy as a fundamentally moral enterprise. This was reflected both in our aesthetic goals, and in the administrative structures and relationships that emerged between the participating institutions. By setting up an education context in which Indian and American participants passed equal time learning one another's musical languages, we hoped to redress the persistent exoticism of "East-West" fusions. We were concerned with elucidating the pedagogical foundations of what Dr. Subramanian termed "real fusion": a musical middle ground in which the musical and performative structures of Karnatak and jazz musics would be equally represented, and equally understood by performers. This was an important goal, both because it represented one way to bypass the facile exoticism of intercultural fusion, and because it would redress the unidirectional nature of pedagogical exchange between India and the West. Western musicians traveling to India for musical study are more common than Indian musicians studying in the West. Indian

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[1] A previous version of this chapter was published as "Jazz and Karnatic Music: Intercultural Collaboration in Pedagogical Perspective," *The World of Music* 47.3 (2005): 135-160.

study of Western music also carried the potential to offer enhanced creative and professional opportunities for Indian performers and pedagogues.

By advancing the pilot exchange under the auspices of the International Association of Schools of Jazz, we hoped to build structures that would foster ongoing relationships between the Brhaddhvani Centre and the international jazz education community. Founded by saxophonist David Liebman in 1989, the IASJ has a membership of 84 schools in 30 countries in North and South America, Asia, Europe, and Australia. Central to the IASJ's mandate, is an educational and aesthetic philosophy which holds jazz and contemporary improvised music to "serve as the context and rationale for the fostering of cross-cultural communication and inter-cultural creativity." [2] At the core of the IASJ's philosophy is the concept of international student exchange. The heart of its annual meetings are ensembles formed by students of member schools. Over the course of a week, students rehearse original music across significant linguistic and cultural barriers. Our model called for administrative support from both the IASJ and its member schools, which we hoped would redress the economic inequity that has prevented Brhaddhvani's faculty and students from entering into reciprocal study relationships with Western conservatories.

Ultimately, the program was a mixed success. Our collaborative performances were well received by audiences in Chennai and New York City, but the music we performed was strongly marked by either Karnatak or jazz influences, falling short of the "true fusion" we had envisioned. The New School participants were able to fund their own travels to India, but in the absence of external funding, Brhaddhvani's faculty and students were unable to travel to New York and Dr. Subramanian's residency at the New School was attenuated. Ultimately, our participants traveled on a unidirectional path of study that we originally sought to avoid. Four years later, however, some of the participants report that the exchange was a signal moment in their artistic and personal development.[3] Brhaddhvani has continued to develop its reputation as a destination for Western students, but the board of directors of the IASJ withdrew its support and the model has not subsequently been adopted by another institution.

The non-commercial, pedagogical context of this project highlights its participants' desires for meaningful and mutually empowering exchange. Against the optimistic backdrop of musicians imagining that difference can be resolved on musical grounds, the enduring problems of cultural, economic, and musical difference emerged with particular clarity. In examining how our initial goals were met or unmet, two fundamental conflicts emerge. The first of these is a conflict between a belief in music's potential to resolve significant differences, and the very different individual and institutional contexts in which these differences are experienced and music's power is

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[2] David Liebman, "Proposal to Form the International Association of Schools of Jazz, 1987," *Self-Portrait of a Jazz Artist,* 2nd ed. (Rottenburg, Germany: Advance Music, 1996) 198.

[3] Arun Luthra, personal interview with author, 7 Nov. 2007; Nicholas Menache, personal interview with author, 9 Nov. 2007.

imagined. The second conflict emerges between the utopian goals shared by the participants, and the significant resources required to overcome the obstacles of cultural and economic difference. Ultimately, this case study tells a story of what happens when these conflicts go unresolved. It illustrates the persistent problems and potentials of intercultural exchange, and describes the social, economic, aesthetic, and institutional concerns that function to promote or inhibit mutual and equitable exchange.

Goals of This Chapter

Despite the prevalence of "study abroad" programs in North American colleges and universities, and despite a disciplinary-wide call to "global education,"[4] education literature evaluating intercultural exchange is scant. A review of the educational literature yields little in the way of disciplinary discussion of the theory and practice of international educational exchange. Articles published in educational journals consist mainly of reports of case studies of single initiatives.[5] Frequently these reports concern unilateral "study abroad" programs, or distance learning exchanges, rather than the bilateral exchange. Perhaps because the development of pedagogical theory is closely linked to its practice, reports of conflict are scarce; the case studies I reviewed, conformed to a celebratory narrative, advancing cultural understandings over misunderstandings. While a critical analysis of the literature on educational exchange is beyond the scope of this chapter, I wish nonetheless to question the assumption that cultural understanding is possible in brief exchanges such as the one reported here and those reported elsewhere in the literature.

In this chapter I have chosen to retain a documentary framework, both because I believe this exchange program to be the first bilateral exchange between an Indian and a Western music school, and because I believe a more extensive theorizing of the program to be beyond the scope of this thesis. Accordingly, the bulk of this chapter is devoted to a detailed description of the program's curriculum, the organization of study and

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[4] L. F. Anderson, "A Rationale for Global Education," *Global Education: From Thought to Action*, ed. K. A. Tye (Alexandria, Va.: ASCD, 1991); S. Ramler, "Global Education for the 21st Century," *Educational Leadership* 48.7 Apr. 1991: 44-46; I. Urso, "Teacher Development Through Global Education," *Global Education: From Thought to Action*, ed.K. A. Tye (Alexandria, Va.: ASCD,1991); M. Byram, *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence* (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1997).

[5] Nick Eastmond and Olivia Lester, "Exploring Important Issues Through Keypal Connections: South Africa and the USA," *TeachTreds* 45.6 (2001): 15-21; Kathleen Juhl and Sue Mennicke, "The Intersection of Performance Studies and Intercultural Learning," *Theatre Topics* 16.2 (2006): 131-145; Robert O'Dowd, "Evaluating the Outcomes of Online Intercultural Exchange," *ELT Journal* 61.2 (2007): 144-152; Thomas J. Scott, "Thai Exchange Students' Encounters With Ethnocentrism," *Social Studies* 89.4 (1998); J.A. Belz and A. Muller-Hartmann,"Teachers Negotiating German-American Telecollaboration: Between a Rock and an Institutional Hard Place," *Modern Language Journal* 87.1 (2003): 71–89.

performance, and a narrative account of the conception, development, and execution of the exchange program in Chennai and New York City.

In order to better situate the nature, structure, and interests of the institutions participating in the exchange, I will begin by describing the history and structure of jazz education since its inception in the early 1970s, and the development of institutional models for Indian classical music training in the twentieth century. In order to redress the celebratory tone of existing accounts of intercultural educational exchange programs, I will focus on narratives of conflict, arguably at the cost of under-representing the understandings that were gained. The analysis and discussion of the program is organized around our two major program goals: fostering reciprocal exchange in musical pedagogy, and promoting a "true fusion" between jazz and Karnatak music in performance. In evaluating our program against these goals, I rely extensively on notes from observing and participating in classes, rehearsals, and performances in Chennai and New York, recorded interviews with program participants, and musicological analysis of our performances. As much as possible, I strive to ground my analysis in the perspectives of the program's participants. Ultimately, I hope that the information provided in this chapter will serve as the basis for future educational exchanges that are both aesthetically and critically engaged.

The Character of Jazz Education

The rise of jazz pedagogy in the United States beginning in the 1970s, and subsequently in Europe in the 1980s, has given birth to successive generations of professional performers at a time when performance opportunities have sharply declined. From 1972 to 1998, the number of degree-granting jazz programs in the United States rose from 15 to 97.[6] Jazz is effectively the only choice for students wishing to receive professional training for careers as performers outside of classical music. Despite the significant orality of the jazz tradition, jazz education repeats the structures of classical music education. Jazz programs commonly share departmental homes with classical music programs, frequently in an imbalanced and uneasy power relationship. The significant growth of professional jazz education is likely in response to pressure for a music curriculum more relevant to increasingly diverse student populations. Re-historicized as a narrative of racial struggle, "jazz" has come to stand for "diversity."[7]

In the twenty-first century, jazz education is emerging as the largest market for the jazz industry and a significant form of patronage for its musicians. When the United States' Music Educators National Conference amended its National Standards for Music Education to mandate improvisation as a part of the music curriculum at every level of

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[6] David Ake, *Jazz Cultures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) 115.

[7] In contemporary American culture, "diversity" is used as a euphemism for "race," which as it is constructed in the United States, and especially in the context of jazz, stands for a largely binary concept of black and white. I have not been able to find a scholarly treatment of the use of this word, but it is common knowledge.

public schooling in 2001, it marked the consolidation of the significant industry of jazz education. The International Association for Jazz Education lists associate (business) members in the following categories, providing a snapshot of stakeholders in the jazz education industry: institutions (including colleges), recording companies, music stores, instrument and equipment manufacturers, association and societies, music publishers, music services (agents, transcribers, music software publishers), festivals, music camps, professional bands, professional musicians/educators, radio stations, artist managers and producers, travel agents, and foundations. Each of these stakeholders stands to profit directly from increased activity in the educational market. New quasi-genres of ensemble jazz performance such as "vocal jazz" and "string jazz" are emerging at the level of primary and secondary public schools, posing additional opportunities for market diversification. Most recently, classical music pedagogy has turned to jazz to solve the question of its relevance in a multicultural world. Since its introduction in 2003, the American String Teachers Association's "Alternative Styles" theme has become its most popular offering at its annual conference. Here, jazz (along with a range of traditional folk music styles) are clearly presented as an alternative to the dominance of European art music.

The growing jazz education industry has a direct influence on how jazz is constructed as art music, how its history is told, and how it is administered and enforced. Textbooks aimed at the growing college market re-historicize jazz, as Scott DeVeaux observed: "On these pages, for all its chaotic diversity of style and expression and for all the complexity of its social origins, jazz is presented as a coherent whole, and its history as a skillfully contrived and easily comprehensible narrative."[8] David Ake has argued against the centrality of notation in the jazz education enterprise, stressing the transformations this has enacted upon a formerly entirely aurally -transmitted tradition). American jazz pedagogy is heavily structured and thickly notated. The widely prescribed "chord-scale system" divides the 12 tones of the chromatic scale into a binary of "right notes" and "avoid notes." The immediate consequence is the erasure of much of the vital history of jazz. Bebop and all subsequent aesthetics made frequent use of chromaticism, clusters, motivic development, and other techniques which cannot be represented under the vertical structures of the chord-scale system. The areas of erasure, as Ake observes, correspond to those aspects of jazz that cannot be subsumed into the social, aesthetic, and administrative features of the Eurocentric conservatory model.[9]

Jazz schools have a mandate to produce skilled graduates, and require curricular competencies that can be measured against a set of objective criteria. In North America and elsewhere, this has comprised a narrow repertoire, a standard set of performance practices, and a readily explainable means of executing these. This has resulted in a burgeoning market for pedagogical materials that present complex formulations of jazz laws and rules, while simultaneously de-mystifying the music. Mark Levine begins his

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[8] Scott DeVeaux, "Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography," *The Jazz Cadence of American Culture*, ed. Robert G. O'Meally (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) 198.

[9] Ake, *Jazz Cultures* 121-127.

best-selling text *The Jazz Theory Book* with the claim: "A great jazz solo consists of: 1% magic, 99% stuff that is Explainable, Analyzable, Categorizable, Do-able."[10] Or, as Jamey Aebersold, original author of the chord-scale theory and owner of the largest-selling jazz education publishing company frequently exhorts: "Anyone Can Improvise!"

Indian Music in Contemporary Jazz Education

Against the conservative and deterministic backdrop of contemporary jazz education, Indian music and culture sounds a clear difference. A number of the United States' more aesthetically progressive conservatories – among them Cal Arts, New England Conservatory of Music, and the New School – have included some form of Indian music in their curriculum for over 30 years. Workshops on Indian classical music are received enthusiastically at jazz conservatories. Through its association with legendary figures such as John Coltrane, Indian music connects the authority of the jazz canon with current aesthetic and pedagogical concerns, serving both to uphold tradition and to signal progression

In prevailing Western models of study of non-Western music – typified by the standard participant-observer methodologies of ethnomusicology – the Western student aspires to the status of "insider." Jazz musicians, by contrast, make explicit their desire to retain a unique artistic identity while incorporating features of Indian music into performance. Looking outside for inspiration is seen as "in the tradition." Consistent with the structured nature of jazz pedagogy, Indian classical music is represented only selectively in jazz education. Rhythmic elements of Hindustani and Karnatak music are readily represented in notation, but the complex melodic and microtonal aspects of Indian classical music are either grossly simplified, or omitted.

With its comparatively more elaborate *tala* (rhythmic) system, and its relatively low profile in the West, Karnatak music has presented an ideal site of "discovery" by jazz musicians, and the past decade has seen an increase in jazz performance and pedagogy touching on aspects of Karnatak music. The specific utility of Karnatak rhythmic systems for Western professional musical education – as formalized in jazz educator Ronan Guilfoyle's book *Creative Rhythmic Concepts for Jazz Improvisation*[11], drummer Jamey Haddad's articles in *Modern Drummer*[12] and composer Rafael Reina's class *Contemporary Music through Non-Western Techniques* at the Conservatorium van

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[10] Mark Levine, *The Jazz Theory Book* (Petaluma, CA: Sher Music Company, 1995) vii.
[11] Ronan Guilfoyle, *Creative Rhythmic Concepts for Jazz Improvisation* (Dublin: Newpark Music Centre, 1995).
[12] Jamey Haddad, "Strictly Technique: South Indian Rhythmic System (Part I)," *Modern Drummer* 10 (1986a): 76-79; Jamey Haddad, "Strictly Technique: South Indian Rhythmic System (Part 2)," *Modern Drummer* 10 (1986b): 56, 58.

Amsterdam in the Netherlands[13] – provides jazz musicians with both the aesthetic framework and specific tools to incorporate Karnatak elements into their improvisation and composition. As graduates of jazz programs turn increasingly towards education, rather than performance, as the focus of their professional lives, these tools provide a means by which musicians can distinguish themselves in a crowded and competitive market.

As a specifically South Asian diasporic presence is being consolidated worldwide, Karnatak music has assumed a new prominence as "instrument and icon ... providing structural and ideological unity to the community that identifies itself as South Indian."[14] Expatriate South Indian musicians (e.g. Trichy Sankaran in Toronto) and students of Karnatak music (e.g. Rafael Reine in Amsterdam) have been establishing important distal sites of South Indian musical awareness and activity, creating diverse new communities of Karnatak music literacy, and Western students in these communities can choose from an unprecedented range of options for Karnatak music study. Prominent young jazz performers of South Indian heritage, such as Vijay Iyer and Rudresh Mahanthappa, regularly top jazz critics' polls. Thus Karnatak music's recent emergence into jazz has both an aura of timelessness and the allure of the avant-garde.

Classical Music Training in India

At the turn of the 21st century, both Hindustani and Karnatak music are taught in a variety of urban, institutional contexts: from degree-granting programs in universities, to neighborhood music schools operated by individual performers, to contemporary music schools offering instruction in Karnatak music alongside a range of Western instruments and styles. The master-disciple relationship that has been the traditional form of training for classical musicians in the Indian subcontinent for over two thousand years persists as the dominant (and most prestigious, and practical) mode of training for professional performers. In its orthodox form, the master-disciple relationship is a saturated, extended period of study. Living with the guru over a period of years, the sisya absorbs musical information gradually through a range of musical and extra-musical activities: the Sanskrit term gurukulavasam is translated literally as "living with the guru's family".[15] Since the late nineteenth century, the master-disciple relationship has been adapted, interrogated and re-imagined in the context of institutionalized music education.

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[13] Rafael Reina, "Can Karnatic Music Change the History of Western Music?" (Unpublished Manuscript, 1997); Rafael Reina, "Can Karnatic Concepts Produce Only Karnatic Music?" (Unpublished Manuscript, n.d.).

[14] Kathryn Hansen, "Singing for the Sadguru: Tyagaraja Festivals in North America," *The Expanding Landscape,* ed. Carla Pietevich (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999) 104.

[15] Amanda Weidman, *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music in South Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), footnote 1.

The proliferation of institutionalized music training is a direct outcome of twentieth century movements towards the "modernization" of Indian classical music, which was reflected in shifts towards an urban patronage, the establishment of a canon of Indian classical music, and a renaissance in Indian classical music as the bearer of an 'authentic' Hindu culture in modern India.[16] In pedagogy, as was the case in musicology and performance, Western models were turned into Indian practice: the establishment of institutions for Indian music training was a crucial step in elevating, invigorating, and preserving a deeply Indian form of musical and cultural practice. The efforts of early proponents of institutionalized music education—such as Western-educated middle class musicologists and princely rulers such as the maharajas of Gwalior and Baroda—were closely tied to both Western sympathies and nationalist sentiment. As Amanda Weidman has argued extensively, the colonial discourse of Indian classical music and its modernization is pervaded by ambivalent structures that articulate both Indian classical music's commensurability with, and essential difference from, European classical music.[17] Western models for musical knowledge—in the contexts of musicology, notation, repertoire and performance patronage—each played important roles in legitimizing Indian music, but music schools served as a crucial site for formalizing and regulating musical knowledge under the control of an educated Indian (and specifically Hindu) middle class.

The first Indian music schools were established in the late nineteenth century in northern regions where forces of Westernization, modernization and nationalism operated strongly on elites, and where Western education appealed to aspiring elites as a mechanism of social advancement. In northern centres of power, music carried symbolic weight as a site of liberation from the influence of successive Muslim and British rulers. In Hindustani music, lineages of professional Muslim performers exhibited considerable musical variance: musical information was guarded closely and passed from teacher to pupil. In the early twentieth century, musicologist V. N. Bhatkhande undertook the process of consolidating Hindustani repertoire and instrumental and vocal technique into a canon of musical performance and training in what Daniel Neuman has described as "a self-conscious attempt at revolutionizing Indian music."[18] The first five of the "Aims and Objects' of Bhatkhande's First All-India Music Conference in 1916 make clear his objective to elevate and refashion Indian music as a tool for incipient nationalism:

1. To Take Steps to uplift our Indian Music on National Lines.
2. To reduce the same to a regular system such as would be easily taught to and learnt by our educated countrymen and women.

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[16] Regula Qureshi, "Whose Music? Sources and Contexts in Indic Musicology," *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music*, ed. B. Nettl and P.V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 160.

[17] Weidman, *Singing the Classical* 29.

[18] Daniel M. Neuman, "Patronage and Performance of Indian Music" in T*he Powers of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture*. Ed. Barbara Stoler Miller. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), fn 20.

3. To provide a fairly workable uniform system of Ragas and Talas, (with special reference to the Northern system of Music.)
4. To effect if possible such a happy fusion of the Northern and Southern systems of music as would enrich both.[19]

Many of these goals were met through the 1920s and 1930s, but Bhatkhande's concerns with ownership, authenticity and orthodoxy persist in various forms through the present day. Often these concerns have focused on the figure of the guru, interrogating the master's authority and independence as guardian of a newly national musical tradition. B. V. Keskar, India's minister for Information and Broadcasting from 1952-1961, clearly saw the guru as responsible for the disintegration of Indian classical music:

> What is the position today in India? Any musician can claim anything to be correct...Why? Because the only proof of anything being correct is for him to tell us that his guru has taught him so. Now we do not know whether his guru was a competent musician and whether he has learnt it correctly from his guru. Therefore, the time has come when we must devote a sufficient amount of time to learn the shastra [science of music].[20]

As music colleges proliferated in most Indian cities, syllabi, notation, and standardized pedagogical practice served as the mechanisms by which ownership of a newly canonized Indian music was transferred to a Western-educated Indian middle class.

Karnatak Music Training Today

Prior to its twentieth century urbanization, Karnatak music flourished in the temples and courts of South India. Three performance traditions—devotional and court music, temple ritual music performed by a nagaswaram party, and temple dance accompaniment—each had distinct musical forms, patronage structures, occasions for performance, and categories of hereditary performers. In all three traditions, the gurukala method served as a common mechanism for professional training and transmission of tradition across generations of performers.[21] The modernization of Karnatak music shifted the context of performance from the temple and the court to the concert stage, introducing a new class of patronage, the sangita sabha (musical association); a new split between the contexts of learning about music and performing music; a new category of amateur students and performers; and a new professional category of "music teachers".

Over 26 Indian universities currently offer Karnatak music training in the context of a university music department, where the curriculum is divided between practical courses in Karnatak performance and courses in music history and music theory leading

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[19] V. N. Bhatkhande, reproduced in Neuman, *The Powers of Art*, 251.
[20] B. V. Keskar, *Indian Music: Problems and Prospects* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1967) 53.
[21] L'Armand and L'Armand, "One Hundred Years" 411.

to a terminal degree, or in fewer cases, a diploma or certificate.[22] Despite the authority vested in university music departments, institutionalized music education is viewed with skepticism by Karnatak music's orthodoxy; the most common criticism of institutionalized music training is that it produces "trained ears" rather than concert artists.[23] N. Ramanathan suggests that universities promote uneven performance standards and privilege research at the expense of performance "due to the appointment of faculty members who hold degrees but are not skilled performers."[24] Many serious performance students pursue a hybrid program of university studies and modified gurukala studies, but Karaikudi S. Subramanian suggests that "ordinary students who enter the portals of an institution suffer on account the near impossibility of competing with those 'blessed' with gurus outside of the institutions."[25]

Non-degree granting schools run by sabhas and individual performers occupy a middle ground between the traditional gurukala system and formal university training. Non-degree granting schools are not accorded the same prestige as university programs. Teachers are retired concert artists, or those who have not established a reliable source of income from performance, and students are school-aged children and young middle-class women who do not expect to pursue careers as professional performers.[26] The effects of the popularization of Karnatak music among an urban middle class and the creation of amateur forms of musical participation is especially marked in the relationship of women to Karnatak musical performance. Although increasingly visible in the late twentieth century as concert performers, female professional musicians were scarce since the social reforms of the early twentieth century resulted in the legislated eradication of a hereditary caste of female professional musicians. In their study of Madras musical culture published in 1983, L'Armand and L'Armand noted that young males learned Karnatak music in a modified version of the gurukala system, visiting the guru's home for daily instruction. Girls and women, by contrast, made up the majority of the student population in university music programs, non degree-programs, or received instruction from a new professional class of "music teachers" that teach in students' homes.[27]

N. Ramanathan comments that institutionalized music institutions "have rarely benefited from a clear definition of goals and roles. Are they expected to shape concert artists? Should all institutions set this as their goal?"[28] Most celebrated professional performers have pursued non-musical degrees in addition to gurukala training. Extra-

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[22] N. Ramanathan, "Institutional Music Education: Southern Area," South *Asia: The Indian Subcontinent, Garland Encyclopedia of World Music,* ed. Alison Arnold, vol. 5 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1999) 450. (full citation is 449-56)
[23] Ramanathan, "Institutional Music Education" 454.
[24] Ramanathan, "Institutional Music Education" 455.
[25] Subramanian, "Continuity and Change" 82.
[26] Tanya Kalmanovitch, notes from meeting with Claudia Atkinson, Evan Herring-Nathan, Kristina Kanders, Arun Luthra, Nicholas Menache, Woody Shaw, Karaikudi S. Subramaniam and author, 31 Dec. 2003.
[27] L'Armand and L'Armand, "One Hundred Years" 432.
[28] Ramanathan "Instituional Music Education" 454.

musical professional training is not concealed from the musical public, and is often noted in performer's biographies and in interviews. Vocalist Tripunithura Viswanatha Gopalakrishnan (b. 1932) began studying at the age of 4 with his father, a palace musician in Cochin and a disciple of Palakkad Anantarama Bhagavathar. Although his father was a professor in the music department at Sri Kerala Varma College, T. V. Gopalakrishnan undertook a B. Comm, degree in response to social and familial pressure. In a 1993 interview in The Hindu he recalled, "It was a firm belief in those days that the eldest son in the family must get a degree and start earning to augment the family income. My father too desired that I join an office ... but I did not give up practicing."[29] Violinist Lalgudi G. J. R. Krishnan (b. 1960) trained in the lineage of the Karnatak 'saint-composer 'Tyagaraja as a disciple of his grandfather, Lalgudi Gopala Iyer and his father, Lalgudi Jayaraman, received post-graduate training in commerce and accounting.[30]

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the gurukala method is considered by the orthodoxy of Karnatak music as the only legitimate means of training a professional performer. Amanda Weidman suggests that the term gurukulavasam "has acquired a certain semantic density; not only does it refer to a specific sense of fidelity, that of the disciple to the guru, but the enactment of gurukulavasam signifies...a fidelity to 'tradition,' an adherence to the element that makes this music truly Indian."[31] The gurukala system is practiced in a modified form today. Typically, a student will visit a teacher's home for lessons: only in "exceptional" cases does a guru accept a student to live with his or her family.[32] Lessons normally consist of foundational exercise drawn from the guru's tradition, which must be mastered before proceeding to repertoire and improvisations. Karaikudi Subramaniam argues that while the gurukala system served as an effective mechanism for oral transmission in the past, it was nonetheless "monarchic": the focus on imitation had the effect of attenuating students' individuality: "Creativity and achievement would be attributed more to divine intervention rather than to individual contribution."[33] He believes that the contemporary gurukala system suffers unevenness and uncertainty: "How and when teaching takes place still depends on the mood of the master...on account of the uncertainties in this system, some serious students drop out."[34]

N. Ramanathan's suggestion that performer-led schools are run by those teachers who "never really made it to the stage" reflects the privileging of professional

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[29] Tripunithura Viswanatha Gopalakrishnan, "Experimenting is his forte," *The Hindu Speaks on Music*(Chennai: Kasturi and Sons Ltd, 1999) 209-10.

[30]"Lalgudi G. J. R. Krishnan Profile" http://www.musicalnirvana.com/carnatic/lalgudi_krishnan.html#Profile, 29 Feb 2008.

[31] Weidman *Singing the Classical* 3-4.

[32] Karaikudi S. Subramanian, "Continuity and Change in Musical Transmission in Contemporary South India: The Case Study of Bhraddhvani," in Gabriele Berlin and Artur Simon, eds., *Music Archiving in the World: Papers Presented at the Conference on the Occasion of the100th Anniversary of the Berlin Phonogram-Archiv* (Berlin: Verlag fur Wissenschaft und Bildung, 2002) 80.

[33] Subramanian, "Continuity and Change" 82.

[34] Subramanian, "Continuity and Change" 80.

performance over professional teaching in contemporary Karnatak musical culture.[35] Over the past several decades, a number of successful concert artists have established their own schools in response to the perceived limitations of the existing models of Karnatak music education. These schools serve as sites for transferring knowledge associated with the performer's lineage to new generations, consolidating new technologies with musical traditions, and inaugurating new forms of musical and social relationships. Vocalist R. A. Ramamani described how her husband, mridangam player T. A. S. Mani established Bangalore's Karnataka College of Percussion in response to a gurukala system that he perceived as "too rigid," controlling, and unsupportive: "when he started teaching [it was] not like old masters in the distant way. He started like they are his children, they are his friends...when they play good, he is taking them for coffee and masala dosa."[36] Vocalist Tripunithura Viswanatha Gopalakrishnan started the Academy of Indian Music and Arts in Chennai with the objective "to impart in-depth musical training using hi-tech methods with the sole aim of creating professional performers."[37]

Performer-led schools such as Brhaddhvani have become attractive destinations for Western students, who see these schools as offering the best of Indian and Western modes of teaching. Students are immersed in Indian music through a version of the traditional guru-sisya relationship, but are exempt from its extensive time commitment and profound social contract. Instructional fees are frequently quoted at a flat rate, reducing an often-tense ambiguity over the nature of the relationship between Indian teachers and Western students, and the issue of fair compensation. Schools that have received a number of Western visitors can provide both a manageable curriculum and a logistical support such as meals and accommodation. As is the case with private study, Indian music schools receive prestige in having Western students, as well as significantly higher compensation than with Indian students.[38]

The Pilot Exchange Program

Background: Dr. Karaikudi S. Subramanian and Brhaddhvani

Dr. Subramanian is a ninth-generation vina player in the lineage of Karaikudi Vinai Sambasiva Iyer. He received early musical training from his mother, but the age of 13 he was separated from his family and adopted by his grand uncle, Karaikudi Veenai Sambasiva Iyer, who sought an heir to his musical lineage. He pursued a Bachelor's

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[35] Ramanathan "Instituional Music Education" 455.
[36] R. A. Ramamani, personal interview wth author, 8 Nov. 2003.
[37] Tripunithura Viswanatha Gopalakrishnan, "Experimenting is his forte," *The Hindu Speaks on Music* (Chennai: Kasturi and Sons Ltd, 1999) 211.
[38] In 2002, making initial inquiries for study in India, I contacted R. A. Ramamani of the Karnataka College of Percussion requesting fee information. Her correspondence made it clear that she was aware that I might be funded by a grant, which would present a significant source of income to her at no cost to me. The fees quoted were accordingly, much higher.

degree in chemistry and a Masters' degree in English literature and lectured in English at the Vivikenanda College and Madura College while establishing a performing career. As an emerging concert artist, the responsibilities of his artistic lineage weighed heavily on him: he performed regularly as an A graded artist on All India Radio, but eventually chose to perform fewer public concerts in favor of searching for "new meaning in tradition" through travel and research.[39] From1975-1985, he was enrolled in the Ph.D. program in ethnomusicology at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, where he completed a dissertation that documented and analyzed Karaikudi and Mysore *vina* styles in close detail, situating them within the broader historical context of shifts in Karnatak musical performance styles.[40] Subramanian used both prescriptive svarasthana notation, as well as Emotional Graphic Representation (EGR), a descriptive graphic notation he developed to convey more directly the variance and direction of pitch shifts in gamakas. This research, and more generally the context of his extended residency in the United States, led him to reconsider his native tradition, "not as a compelled or deliberate acquisition, but as a worthwhile search to discover my identity in whatever context I find myself."[41]

Upon his return to India in 1986, Subramanian took up a position as a professor in the Department of Music at the University of Madras. He became concerned with what he perceived to be the uneven state of music education in both the contexts of the traditional gurukala system and modern institutional settings. He observed that oral transmission had become less effective due to changes brought about by the urbanization of Karnatak music, and that the institutional context of the music department was not a suitable alternative. He became concerned with developing a model "with the right balance between gurukala and the institution" which he believed would be the best strategy to promote and preserve the Karnatak tradition.[42] In 1989, he founded Braddhvani in conjunction with Subramanian Seetha, the head of the department of Indian music at the University of Madras, as a site to implement this model. In 2002, Subramanian retired from his position at the University of Madras to focus on his work at Brhaddhvani.

Brhaddhvani

Brhaddhvani is located on a quiet street in Raja Annamalai Puram, a prosperous neighborhood in central Chennai. Brhaddhvani is a non-profit, tax-exempt institution supported by the Ford Foundation, with additional grants from a range of Indian foundations. Its Board of Trustees and Advisory Council has included eminent personalities from industry, performance and academia, including violinist Lalagudi Jayaraman, Enfield India Chairman Viswanathan, and ethnomusicologists David Reck and David Nelson.

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[39] Subramanian, "Continuity and Change" 79.
[40] Karaikudi. S. Subramanian, *South Indian Vina Tradition and Individual Style* (Diss: Wesleyan University, 1986).
[41] Subramanian, "Continuity and Change" 79.
[42] Subramanian, "Continuity and Change" 80.

Subramanian describes his vision for Brhaddhvani as "a new global context for the study of process of change" in Karnatak music: "a serious attempt to investigate and exploit...technology from a different angle."[43] The main building features classrooms, an open-air auditorium, a recording studio, rehearsal space, a library and offices. It employs a small staff of administrators, caretakers, a computer-audio technician, and a teaching staff made up mainly of program graduates. Brhaddhvani's simultaneous commitment to tradition and to technology provides striking juxtapositions: in the courtyard, *vina* maker P. Natarajan builds an instrument according to the principles learned over three generations, while inside Dr. Subramanian illustrates the use of "FruityLoops," a sequencing software tool most often used to generate loops for electronic music, as a practice tool for learning Karnatak rhythms.

Central to Brhaddhvani's mission—and highlighted by the phrase "musics of the world" in its name—is a commitment to fostering collaborations across music traditions, and across disciplines, both within India and internationally. Brhaddhvani is a founding member of India's Archives Resource Community (ARC), a national network of archives supported by the Ford Foundation. Among its archival projects has been the documentation of *sopanam*, the temple music of Kerala, using Subramanian's EGR notation. The school offers foundational training in Karnatak music designed for Western performers, as well as Indian performers from Hindustani and folk traditions.[44] Foundational training is also offered in the form of short and long term courses for dancers, actors, music therapists, and primary school teachers. The institute regularly hosts international musicians and composers (some, like Finnish composer Eero Hameenniemi, return regularly); and international students from Western classical and jazz backgrounds have studied there for short and extended periods. Since 1998, Brhaddhvani has participated in an exchange program with the classical music program at the Sibelius Academy in Helsinki, Finland.

Integral to all of Brhaddhvani's educational programs is Subramanian's "Correlated Objective Music Education and Training" (COMET) methodology, which balances traditional and institutional approaches in a global perspective and organizes the principles of Karnatak musical performance into a systematic pedagogical approach. The COMET methodology is used for the school-aged children as well as senior performance students. Subramanian describes the principle features of COMET as:

1. Scientific understanding of the principles of music, musical instruments, breathing control (yoga), voice production, musical aesthetics, the ability to transcribe music in its several dimensions, linguistic capabilities, and a historical awareness.
2. A new set of objective exercises to free the mind fro prejudices, to develop self-awareness and to prepare a congenial mental state for creative work.

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[43] Subramanian, "Continuity and Change" 80.

[44] *Brhaddvani Online,* 8 Oct. 2007 <http://www.brhaddhvani.org/auAcademicCourses.html>.

3. Exploration of chants to stabilize breathing, to focus on the tonal centers within the body, and as a charging device through repetitions.
4. Meaningful interactions with other music cultures as an exercise to understand the essence of one's own tradition through comparison and contrast.
5. Training in musical transcription at the prescriptive and descriptive levels using the new svarasthana notation as well as a new graphic notation called "Emotional Graphic Notation" (EGR).[45]

The COMET methodology is implemented of series of technological and administrative structures designed to facilitate depth and speed of learning, while providing opportunities to tailor programs to each students' needs. In addition to group and individual instruction for school-aged children, Brhaddhvani offers three year" graduate" and two year "post graduate" in Karnatak music performance. Students do not live on campus, but are encouraged to spend their time in the facility. Many students continue their studies after graduation: the end of the degree is not the end of the relationship to their teacher. All students are evaluated upon their entry to the school, and progress is tracked through periodic performance assessments, and programs are customized to address students' strengths, weaknesses and individual learning styles. Self-instruction techniques are promoted both as a means of empowering students and as a means of streamlining program delivery: here, technology is embraced as an inherent part of the learning process.

Each of Bhrhaddhvani's classrooms feature audio recording and playback facilities that are wired to a master control room from which recorded exercises can be centrally transmitted to a group of students for simultaneous private study. Students of all ages and levels acquire the standard material of Karnatak music using prepepared recordings, with which they can prepare for individual lessons as long as needed. Notation is foregrounded as analytical tool that focuses close listening, and as a means of engaging in and preserving tradition. Analytical engagement with the "micro" and "macro" levels is encouraged to help students "on the one hand, find their place within a particualr tradition, and, on the other, not to be narrowly bound by the particularities of their master's tradition."[46] Composition and improvisation are taught from the earliest stages of development as fundamental skills that promote the capacity to situate peformance styles within the broader context of the Karnatak tradition, and to relate Karnatak tradition to other musical traditions in India and in the world. Finally, diploma students are trained in pedagogy: "As teachers, they disseminate musical knowledge to the next generation. The trainees are thus a "human archive" of the tradition."[47]

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[45] Subramanian, "Continuity and Change" 80-85.
[46] Subramanian, "Continuity and Change" 87.
[47] Subramanian, "Continuity and Change" 88.

Brhaddhvani's vision

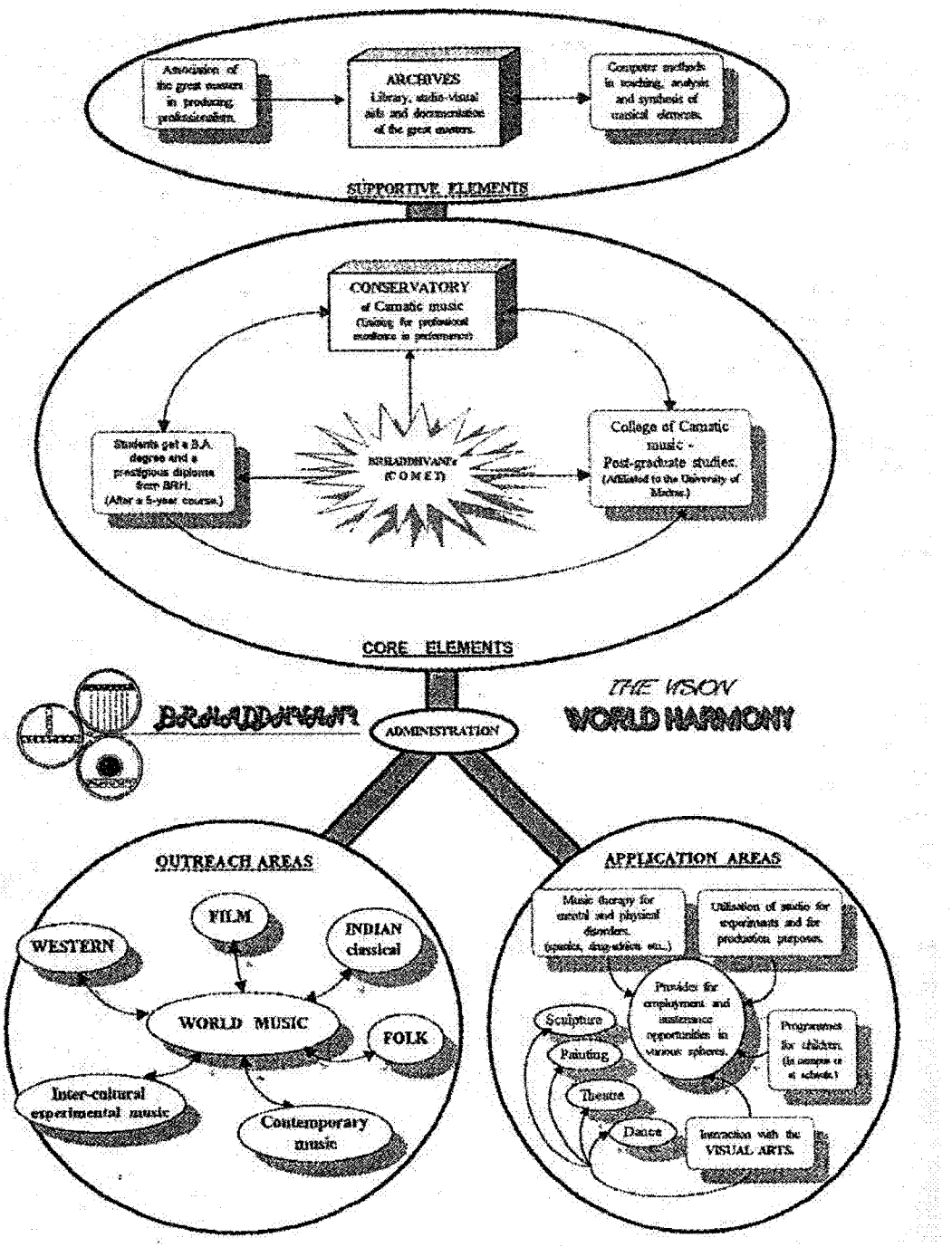

Fig.1. Graphic of Brhaddhvani's institutional goals.

Origins of the Exchange Program

My own experience with Brhaddhvani began in May of 2002, when I arrived in Chennai for two months of study with Dr. Subramanian, funded by a grant from the Canada Countil for the Arts. I was introduced to Dr. Subramanian through percussionist Ramesh Shotham, whose brother Naresh Purushotham had been a student of Dr. Subramanian's and serves as an executive member of the school's Board of Trustees. As a 32-year-old classically trained violist in the process of intensive career reformation as a performer of jazz and improvised music, there was much in my experience that resonated with Dr. Subrmanian's. Our lessons often involved long conversations about our musical histories and our concerns with pedagogy as a site for resolving tradition and change. We shared a dual perspective from our musical travels outside classical traditions, and from our experiences as performers in ethnomusicology programs. Although we approached our traditions from different perspectives—as a child he was removed from his home and inserted into an intensive classical training, while as an adolescent I struggled mightily for the right to acquire it—we both shared a preoccupation with making sense of tradition in a changing world. We shared a perspective of looking at tradition from the outside and the inside, an expereince he descrivbes as "hard to obtain, and...hard to develop."[48]

In our lessons, Dr. Subramanian would often ask me to describe how the materials he was teaching me could be applied to my own practice as a jazz and Western classical violist and violinist. I was frequently struck by the similarities between Dr. Subramanian's pedagogical philosophy – one that saw music education as a democratic and spiritual undertaking concerned with articulating identity and self-expression in society – and that which I shared with a number of my colleagues in jazz education. Out of these discussions, we began to articulate the basis for a collective aesthetic of intercultural collaboration. I shared notes from my lessons with my colleague, Irish bassist, composer. and pedagogue Ronan Guilfoyle. In consulation with Dr. Subramanian, Guilfoyle and I developed a proposal for a pilot exchange program which we presented to the members of the IASJ at its meeting in Helsinkin in July 2002. The proposal was adopted and a number of schools expressed interest in participating. Returning to India in December 2002, I engaged in a number of further discussions with Dr. Subramanian about the nature and content of the program, and potential sources of project funding. The following month Martin Mueller confirmed the participation of students and faculty from the New School University's Jazz and Contemporary Music Program.

Pedagogical and Philosophical Rationale

We took, as our starting point, the assumption of the increasingly transcultural character of modern musical life. Both jazz and Karnatak musicians are called upon to engage with music outside the sphere of their own culture or training. As IASJ founder and Artistic Director David Liebman wrote in 1987: "The fact that [jazz] groups regularly

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[48] Subramanian, "Continuity and Change" 80

integrate music from all cultures and styles is taken for granted by contemporary improvising musicians... it follows that the educational philosophy offered to young students should be similar."[49] More recently, the Association of European Conservatories has questioned the relevance of European-based musical training in a multicultural society through its Connect Initiative, a European Union–funded project which recommended a range of initiatives promoting transcultural musicianship and cultural diversity.[50]

In our lessons, Dr. Subramanian and I discussed the manner in which artistic collaboration between Indian and Western musicians frequently fell short of a genuine exchange. Due to a variety of factors (among them lack of exposure, lack of opportunity, and economic barriers) jazz education has not been readily acessible to Indian musicians; as a result, artistic collaborations led by Western musicians have tended to assume a unidirectional character, in which Indian musicians' contributions are aesthetically compartmentalized. Shared musical vocabulary, we agreed, was a necessary condition for free musical conversation among all participants. With this in mind, the program was designed so that participants from each country spent an equal time as host and as visitor. To complement Dr. Subramanian's methodology, we developed a basic curriculum to guide jazz educators in teaching the fundamentals of jazz to the Karnatak participants.

Finally, the partners in this project shared a strong belief in the potential of improvised music as a device for spiritual and social change. We believed that the intersection of jazz and Karnatak music held particular potential for mutually empowering collaborations across cultural boundaries. In both jazz and Karnartic music, individual expression is sustained through co-operative social and performative practices. Improvisation, in this context, can be seen as a zone for the articulation of difference and even dissent. Compared to the soloist-centred North Indian classical performance, Karnatak music's ensemble concept clearly articulates active roles for rhythmic and melodic accompaniment. The accompanists are responsible for the same musical material as soloists, and are required to improvise extensively within a concert performance. In both jazz and Karnatak music, a musician's unique "sound" – a complex mix of instrumental tone, timbre and technique, as well as the use of characteristic melodic patterns and idiosyncratic expressive devices – is a prized quality.

Benefits to Jazz Musicians

Guilfoyle and I believed the study of Karnatak music could be beneficial to jazz students' musicianship in three primary ways. First, a study of the Karnatak rhythmic (*tala*) system could strengthen jazz musicians' fundamental rhythmic technique. Second, a study of Karnatak music's *melakarta* (melodic) system could provide students with an expanded melodic palette and an enhanced awareness of the relationships of scale tones

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[49] David Liebman, "Proposal to Form" 198.

[50] George Caird and Richard Shrewsbury, "Music Education in a Multicultural European Society," *Association of European Conservatories* (2001), 24 Nov. 2004 <http://www.aecinfo.org/connectconc.html>.

and tensions. Third, the oral transmission of information and the primacy of the voice could strengthen jazz musicians' pitch discrimination, intonation, and ability to represent music vocally. We believed that primacy of the voice in Indian musical culture carried the potential to bring jazz vocalists and instrumentalists together, addressing an enduring divide in jazz education that is frequently split along gender lines. Other significant benefits of Karnatak music study we identified, included exposure to its compositional forms, and the philosophical and the spiritual framework underpinning classical music practice in South India.

The benefits of jazz study by Karnatak musicians, we believed, rested primarily in providing Karnatak musicians with a store of practical experiences and theoretical knowledge that would allow them to enter into more dynamic collaborations with Western musicians. These concepts included an introduction to chord changes, the concept of polyrhythm, the concept of four- and eight- bar forms, an introduction to the concept of swing, and the ethos, history, and aesthetics of jazz as an intercultural music.

In jazz, Subramanian saw a certain potential for invigorating Karnatak performance. In conversation with me, he described his dissatisfaction for a contemporary Karnatak performance style which relies on pre-conceived patterns drawn from the rhythmic language of the mridangam. This vocabulary of rhythmic techniques and characteristic rhythmic vocabulary – in effect, miniature compositions that are cited in the course of improvisation – can be readily recognized by accompanists. He outlines the curent performance practice, and the potential for its invigoration by jazz in the following quote:

> What is happening in accompanying now, the vocalist or instrumentalist gives something which they already understand. In other words, what they understand, these people will play. It's nice, it's very good, it's thrilling. But it is not exciting to me in another way...When I listen to jazz music I am inspired. The jazz music, there are so many things that are just free. It seems not to have a discipline but it has a discipline. Here it is more restricted. I thought of giving that kind of a freedom you have in jazz music to our music...What is normally done, the aesthetics of the mridangam is thrown into the singing. So it's nice but that's what everybody does now. And what I wanted to do is to really break that. There is a structure, already, but you are free to do within that in your own way. And the mridangist will not act as a playback... they will still be within a certain system. They can work within. But they cannot anticipate what I [as a soloist] am going to do.[51]

Subramanian's COMET curriculum emphasizes exercises to develop fundamental musical skills which he sees to be equally applicable to Western and Indian performance in a range of styles:

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[51] Karaikudi S. Subramanian, personal interview with author, 18 Apr. 2004.

> Basically, the exercises teach you general musicianship, and not specifically for South Indian music . . . what we are thinking about fusion...is different from what normally exists as fusion over here. We are looking at collaborative composition. We contribute together. If you're going to have more of jazz here, or more of Karnatak there, they are still separate...My ultimate goal is that there be mutual understanding. There is a strong mutual foundation on rhythm and scales...[but] real fusion is my educational goal. And this can come about only through consistent work together.[52]

Working on exercises based on Karnatak rhythmic techniques such as korraippu (regularly metred rhythmic and melodic exchanges) promotes the ability to quickly recognize and repeat musical material. If musicians from two traditions "keep working on these patterns, in a dialogue, [...] gradually what develops is an ability to exchange."[53]

Curriculum

Guilfoyle and I developed a document outlining a curriculum for the exchange program, which we presented to the members of the IASJ in July 2002, and distributed to the participants in the exchange program. In designing this curriculum we attempted to represent as many useful topics as could be covered in the span of one months' study. In designing the curriculum for Western students of Karnatak music, we relied on exercises developed by Dr. Subramanian. In designing a jazz studies curriculum for the Indian participants, Guilfoyle and I drew on our experiences as jazz musicians collaborating with Karnatak musicians. In addition to the exercises described in our curriculum, we encouraged jazz musicians to think critically about their own assumptions as Western performers, and to use their experiences as students of Karnatak music to generate homologous terms and concepts. For example, a major scale could be very roughly described as raga *Sankarabaranam*, or 4/4 time described as *adi tala*. We asked that jazz participants illustrate all points both through their own performance, and by involving the Indian musicians in performance at every possible occasion.

Curriculum for Jazz Musicians

Rhythmic Technique

The contemporary performance of Karnatak music makes use of concepts such as metric modulation and odd metres in a highly developed and clearly articulated fashion. Used to generate tension and release, these techniques can add another dimension to the improvising and composing musician's creative palette. Rhythmic training in Karnatak

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[52] Tanya Kalmanovitch, Notes from meeting with Claudia Atkinson, Evan Herring-Nathan, Kristina Kanders, Arun Luthra, Nicholas Menache, Woody Shaw, Karaikudi S. Subramaniam and author, 31 Dec. 2003.

[53] Karaikudi S. Subramanian, personal interview with author, 24 Nov. 2003.

music generally proceeds by way of a flexible vocal *solfeggio* system called *konnekol* that can be used to strengthen students' rhythmic technique regardless of genre or instrument. We presented a number of Dr. Subramanian's exercises that teach an awareness of various subdivisions of pulse. In his "Displacement Exercise," the student is taught to perform a series of rhythmic patterns over an 8 beat cycle (*adi tala*) subdivided in 4 (*caturasra gati*), in which the pattern is sequentially displaced by one subdivision in each of four cycles (see Figure 2).

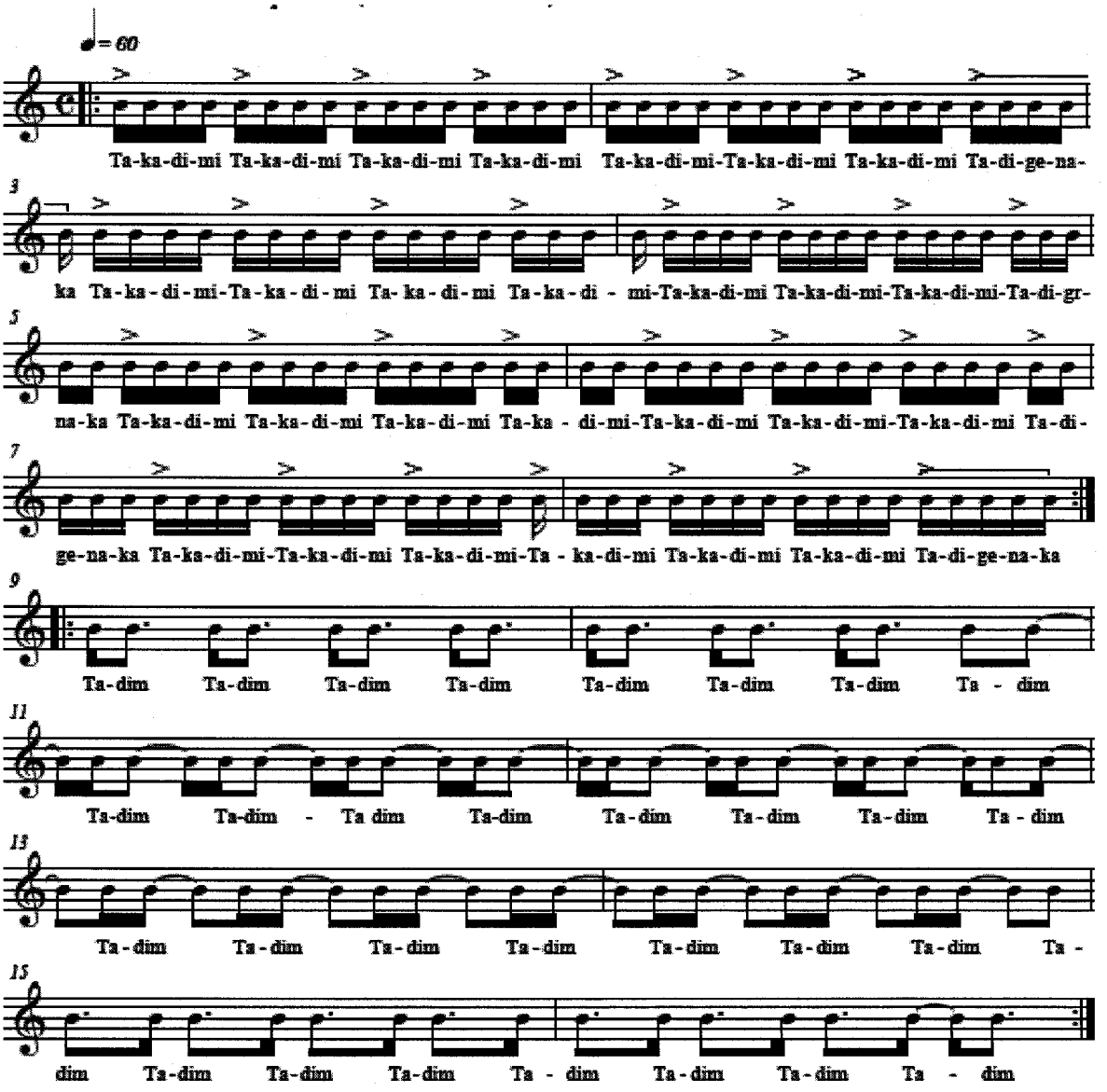

Fig. 2. Displacement exercise.

Students could also benefit from learning a range of Karnatak rhythmic techniques:

korvai (also known as *mora*): a contrasting or concluding pattern, repeated three times and resolving to the first beat, that marks the end of a section, a percussion solo, or a melodic improvisation;

koraippu: literally, "reduction:, the systematic reduction of a melodic or rhythmic phrase. *Koraippu* is frequently performed as a dialogue between soloist and accompanists in which improvised phrases are repeated in call-and-response style, and progressively halved until the performers reach unison leading to a final *mora* or *korvai*;[54]

gatibheda: substitutions in the regular subdivision (*gati)* of the beat. For example, the most common subdivision of 4 (*caturasra gati*) can be substituted by subdivisions of 3 (*tisra gati*), 5 (*khanda* gati), 7 (*Misra gati*) or 9 (*sankirna gati*)[55]; and

trikala: literally, three 'speeds', in which the pulse remains constant, but a rhythmic or melodic pattern is executed in double, triple or quadruple time; referred to commonly as slow (*prathama kala*), medium (*dritiya kala*) and fast (*tritiya kala*).[56]

Melodic Concepts

The modern Karnatak *raga* system (*melakarta* system*)* comprises 72 *mela* (parent scales) organized by six scale types. Each scale is composed of seven notes (*svara*) chosen systematically from 12 pitch positions (*svarasthana)*, which correspond to the 12 tones used in Western classical and jazz harmony. Of the 72 *melas*, approximately 24 are used significantly in contemporary Karnatak performance.[57] Most of these are different from those encountered in jazz harmony; a study of the *melas* has the potential to expand the jazz musicians' melodic palette. Karnatak *ragas* are derived from the 72 *melas*, which are reference scales devoid of the musical features embedded in the concept of *raga*. Harold Powers suggest a *raga* is neither a scale nor a melody, "but rather a continuum with scale and tune at its extremes."[58] *Ragas* can be described by their tonal qualities (pitch order or intervallic structure in ascending and descending formations) and melodic qualities (notes which receive emphasis, notes which are used transitionally, and melodic patterns which are highly specific and which characterize a given *raga*).

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[54] L. Subramaniam and Viji Subramaniam, *Euphony: Indian Classical Music* (Madras: East West Books, 1995) 89.

[55] Ludwig Pesch, *The Illustrated Companion to South Indian Classical Music* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999) 309.

[56] Pesch, *The Illustrated Companion* 368.

[57] Harold Powers, "India, Subcontinent of," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2000) 177.

[58] Powers, "India, Subcontinent of"178.

The melodic characteristics of individual *ragas* are elaborated by a system of *gamakas*. The usual conceptualization of *gamaka* as "ornament" is incomplete, as the term denotes every aspect of the performance of a given *svara* in the context of a *raga*. The *gamaka* concept incorporates which pitch a note is to be approached from, how it is to be attacked, how it is to be held and released, and which motifs are to be applied to it. These vary further still by the speed of performance. Instruction in the methods of developing improvisations in the *melakartas* provides the jazz student with a new way to look at developing melodic material of any sort. Study of *raga* and *gamakas* offers a range of expressive devices and extended techniques, and challenges students to think deeply and differently about the relationship of notes in melodic context. To facilitate close listening, analysis and the acquisition of foundational repertoire, students would be taught to interpret both svarasthana and Emotional Graphic Representation notation (see Figure 3).

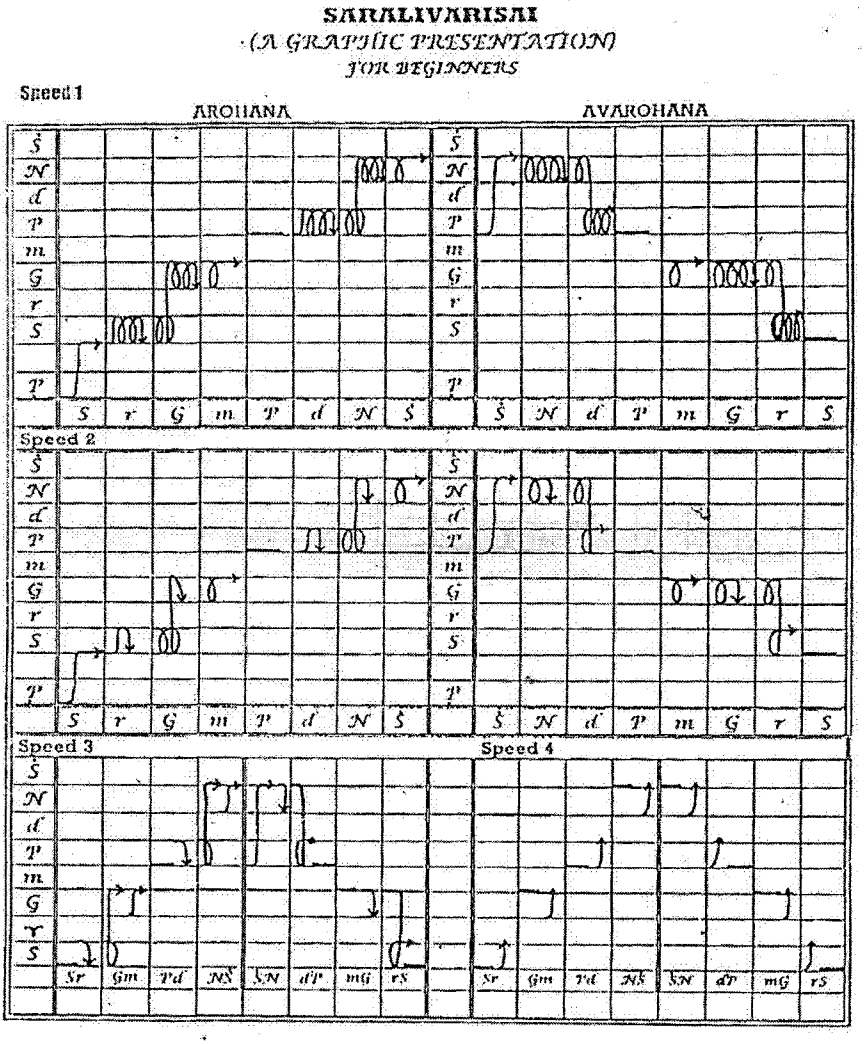

Fig. 3. Emotional Graphic Representation notation.

Curriculum for Karnatak Students

Introduction to Chord Changes

Indian classical music is performed over a fixed tonic, and Indian musicians perceive melodic structures in relationship to the tonic. The movement of root notes in Western harmony can therefore be difficult for Indian musicians to understand, execute, and respond to. We proposed that the jazz participants introduce Indian participants to harmonic movement in jazz through the study of basic forms such as the three chord blues. While the jazz teacher played or sang an improvisation, the Indian participants could be guided in singing the moving roots. As they become familiar with this, the teacher could sing or play the roots and have the Karnatak participants improvise over the moving tonic. Additionally, the jazz participants could demonstrate concepts of chord/scale substitutions over a fixed tonic, such as Coltrane-style tension and release patterns over a form such as "Impressions."[59]

The Concept of Polyrhythm

The Indian rhythmic concept is linear, not polyrhythmic; as a Karnatak soloist modulates into a new subdivision (*gati*) of the pulse, the accompanying musicians follow suit. By contrast, polyrhythm is used extensively in jazz, both within the context of an individual performance and in group performance. We proposed to explain the concept of polyrhythm through two-handed rhythmic exercises, such as learning to play a rhythm of three in one hand against a rhythm of two in the other. To visually document these examples, we suggested alternate notational aids, such as the Time Unit Box System (TUBS) notation of 4 over 3 (Figure 2*)*.

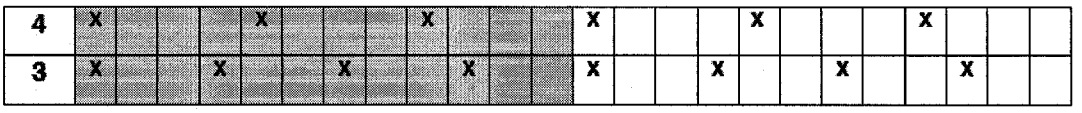

Fig. 4. Two cycles of 4 over 3 polyrhythm in Time Unit Box System notation

We also suggested that a jazz drummer demonstrate typical Afro 6/8 drumset rhythms, so that the Indian musicians could try improvising in turn over the pulses of 3 and 2 that are simultaneously represented in the groove.

The Concept of Four- and Eight-Bar Forms

[59] John Coltrane, "Impressions," *Live at the Village Vanguard: The Master Takes* (Impulse B0000065KK, 1998).

The concept of four- and eight-bar forms directs the structures of nearly all jazz melodies, forms and improvisations. In Karnatak composition, by contrast, phrases vary in length according to the dictates of the melody. In Karnatak improvisation, soloists do not necessarily organize *tala* cycles into any particular groups. Jazz musicians performing with Indian musicians often build solo lines towards a resolution point at the end of a 4-bar or 8-bar phrase, only to find the accompanying Indian musicians do not respond. Likewise, jazz performers without prior experience in Karnatak music frequently fail to recognize Karnatak soloists' methods of building and resolving tension in improvisation.

In order to address this concern, we suggested that jazz instructors present a standard 32-bar progression in AABA form, and have the Karnatak musicians clap on the downbeat of every four bars as they listen. Next, the Karnatak musicians should learn to identify the A and B sections of the form, calling out the names of the sections as they are performed both in melody, and in improvisation. The jazz participants should demonstrate the methods by which rhythm sections and soloists mark off four- and eight-bar phrases.

Introduction to the Concept of Swing

Swing, whether in melodic lines, bass lines, harmonic accomaniment, or percussion, is a rhythmic practice unique and integral to jazz performance. It is a specialized performance practice, developed by an individual performer over years of study and close imitation. We proposed providing a simple technical model upon which the Indian participants could later build a deeper understanding. We suggested that the jazz instructor lead the Indian participants in clapping along with a jazz recording on the 2nd and 4th beats of a 4/4 bar. After this, the instructor could demonstrate the basic jazz ride cymbal beat, then have the Indian musicians repeat it on the cymbal. Finally, she or he would set up a metronome – or ask some participants to keep *adi tala* – and lead the group in a call-and-response pattern of syncopated rhythms.

Introduction to the History and Aesthetics of Jazz

One of the most important things we felt jazz participants could give to the Indian participants was an understanding of the history, ethos, and aesthetics of jazz from the practitioner's perspective. We suggested that an instructor from the jazz school lead a discussion of the history of jazz as an intercultural music, including a treatment of the history of jazz in India and Indian music's impact on jazz. We also recommended that the following topics be addressed in discussion and illustrated by live performance or by recorded example: What makes a good jazz solo? How free is the jazz soloist to deviate from the harmonic form and the structure? What, if any, hierarchies are present within jazz ensembles? What is a jazz rhythm section? How does interaction function within the rhythm section and within the ensemble?

The New School in India

Jazz and Contemporary Music Program at New School University

The Jazz and Contemporary Music Program at New School University offers an undergraduate curriculum based on the tradition of artist-as-mentor; faculty are drawn from the diverse pool of active jazz musicians who live and perform in New York City. A large percentage of the student body comes to study from outside of the United States, and numerous classroom courses and ensembles focus on musical traditions outside of jazz, providing students with exposure to a diverse musical and cultural education. Prior to the exchange program, Indian music had not been a formal part of the curriculum, but was touched upon in classes on rhythmic analysis and world music.

New School students and faculty indicated their interest in the program in response to a memo memorandum circulated in the fall of 2003. Martin Mueller, executive director of the jazz program, chose six participants through in-person interviews. Participants were selected based on an expressed interest in Karnatak music, a willingness to participate in an equitable exchange, and their ability to finance their own travel and accommodation. Three faculty members, bassist Johannes Weidenmuller, saxophonist Arun Luthra, and percussionist Kristina Kanders, were joined by staff member/vocalist Claudia Atkinson, and three students: saxophonists Nicholas Menache and Evan Herring-Nathan, and drummer Woody Shaw III.

The New School participants reported varying levels of prior awareness of Indian classical music. Arun Luthra had traveled to India twice before with his Indian father and remembers Hindustani music as part of the soundtrack of his childhood. He was interested primarily in what he describes as "the over-arching spiritual focus" of Indian classical music, as well as in developing the Karnatak rhythmic concepts he had first encountered as a student at the New School.[60] German-born, New York-based bassist Johannes Weidenmuller, was aware of Indian music mainly through Zakir Hussein. He had been working on metric modulation in his own performance, and had been planning to study in India for some time. He was not specifically aware of Karnatak music until the exchange provided "the needed push."[61] Kristina Kanders, too, reported a long-standing dream of studying in India. She had been exposed to Hindustani music while growing up in Germany, and had been exposed to Karnatak rhythmic concepts by a fellow drummer. Claudia Atkinson was interested in the exchange program because important musicians she admired, like Coltrane and the Beatles, had been influenced by Indian music. She was interested in learning Indian vocal technique, though she had little idea what to expect.[62] Drummer Woody Shaw III, possessed an undergraduate degree in ethnomusicology and had previously traveled to New Delhi to study Hindustani music. He wanted to study the *mridangam* and translate its language to the drum set. Saxophonists Evan Herring-Nathan and Nicholas Menache had each been exposed to

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[60] Arun Luthra, personal interview with author, 3 Jan. 2004.
[61] Johannes Weidenmuller, personal interview with author, 24 Dec. 2003.
[62] Claudia Atkinson, personal interview with author, 11 Jan. 2004.

Indian music through their own musical explorations, though never through formal study. Nick Menache commented: "I had listened a lot to the music, so I expected something to happen. It's such a rich scene, and there's a wealth of information there—there was clearly something to be gained from going."[63] All of the participants were drawn to the opportunity to study in India within the advantage of a structured and organized group setting.

Organizational Challenges

Even before it began, the exchange program faced significant organizational and administrative challenges due to a lack of external administrative and financial support. I carried out the majority of the program planning and administration in Canada while completing doctoral coursework. Among my responsibilities during this time were: extensive consultation with Subramanian and Guilfoyle to develop the program; preparing the program proposal and subsequent report; preparing submissions for a panel discussion and performance at the International Association for Jazz Education Conference in New York; and consulting with administration, faculty, and students at the New School to provide logistical support and travel advice.

During the period between the approval of the initial report in Helsinki in July 2002 and my return to India in early October 2003, planning was conducted through emails and phone calls between Martin Mueller, Dr. Subramanian, and myself. During this time, a misunderstanding arose concerning the nature of the funding efforts to support Brhaddhvani's visit to New York. In April 2003, shortly after I submitted the proposals for the panel discussion and performance at the IAJE conference, I had a phone conversation with Dr. Subramanian in which I reiterated my offer to assist him in preparing an application for funding to the Ford Foundation, coordinating with Martin Mueller and the Executive Director of the IASJ to provide evidence of these institutions' participation in the initiative. I received no further request from Subramanian for this assistance, and I assumed that he had been successful in locating funding independently.

Arriving in Chennai to begin doctoral fieldwork in October 2003, I was surprised to learn that Dr. Subramanian had held me responsible for locating funding for Brhaddhvani's visit to New York. In the absence of external funding, Dr. Subramanian wished to cancel the exchange program. Since the New School participants had already booked their travel, the performance and panel discussions at the IAJE conference in New York had been confirmed, and Ramesh Shotham and Ronan Guilfoyle had committed to travel to New York for these performances, Dr. Subramanian decided to continue the program in a modified fashion. He agreed to fund his travels to New York through a combination of his personal savings and arranged workshops and performances at University of Massachusetts Amherst and York University in Toronto to help defray his expenses, and arranged a visit to his daughter in California. He would travel to New York without his student and faculty member Sankiri Krishnan, and his residency at the New School would be considerably shorter than the four weeks we had initially planned.

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[63] Nicholas Menache, personal interview with author, 20 Nov. 2004.

As the arrival of the New School participants approached, the exchange program grew to consume most of my available time, and the bulk of Brhaddhvani's administrative resources. Brhaddhvani's staff: secured hotel accommodations and local transportation; booked instructors and provided space for instruction and rehearsal; arranged additional private instruction and workshops; arranged group dinners and excursions to musical events; purchased a drum set for the use of participants; and planned and publicized a performance to coincide with the end of Brhaddhvani's year-long celebration of Karnatak composer and violinist Lalgudi Jayaraman. I worked with Brhaddhvani and the New School to coordinate class and rehearsal schedules, and provided daily support to New School participants in advance of their departure. With the arrival of the New School participants, I spent all of my time observing and participating in the program, as well as coordinating their extracurricular activities.

Conflicting Expectations

The New School's visit to Brhaddhvani was scheduled to coincide with the school's winter break and Chennai's busy music festival season. Normal classes are suspended so that faculty can participate in rehearsals and concerts, freeing the school's facilities for the exchange program. For the first two weeks Dr. Subramaniam presented daily morning classes covering the fundamental materials, aesthetics, and philosophy of Karnatak music. Students were also given daily instruction in the *tala* system by *mridangamist* Ramakrishna and in *raga* and vocal technique by vocalist Usha Narasimhan. Dr. Subramanian also arranged visits from a number of guest artists, including *mridangamist* Trichy Sankaran, "fusion" percussionist S. Murali Krishnan, and Tamil folk singer Kuppuswamy Pushpavanam. Field trips were organized to a temple dance performance, several Karnatak music concerts, and a special audience in the home of the celebrated Tamil film composer Ilayaraja. Participants were able to arrange additional instruction according to their interests, with *mridangamists* T. A. S. Mani and B. C. Manjunath in Bangalore and in Chennai with saxophonist Kadri Gopalnath. In the final two weeks, the program shifted towards preparation for a collaborative performance with Karnatak and Tamil folk musicians on January 10, 2004.

In the initial two weeks, long delays to the start of rehearsals and frequent changes to the schedule of events – not uncommon occurrences in India – frustrated many of the participants. The New School students were accustomed to a rigid class and rehearsal schedule, and unaccustomed to Dr. Subramanian's preference for early morning classes. When morning sessions didn't begin promptly on schedule, students' arrival times drifted successively later with each day. Rehearsal and performance sessions were delayed while we waited for local musicians or the necessary equipment to arrive. It became clear that the New School participants had arrived with different—occasionally conflicting—expectations of the exchange program. While some expected to participate fully in the program, others saw the program as a base from which they might pursue independent studies and travel. Since their travel to India had been booked individually, participants arrived and departed at different dates and the New School musicians were

without a rhythm section for the final performance in Chennai. Ronan Guilfoyle arrived in Chennai on vacation with his wife and children, while I had assumed that he would share my responsibilities in coordinating the exchange program, he felt that his responsibilities to his family superseded his role in the program.

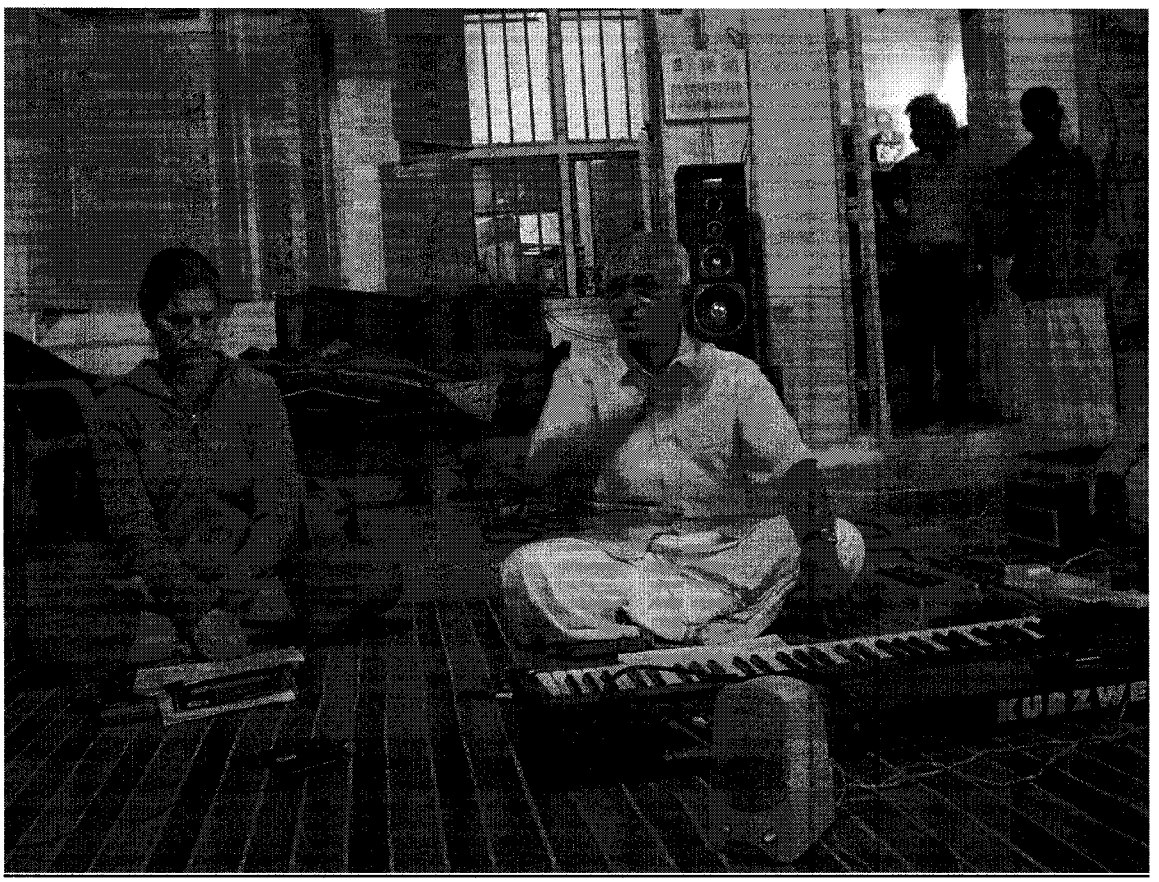

Fig. 5. Dr Karaikudi S. Subramanian instructing New School students at Brhadhhdvani.

My role in the exchange program had never been clearly defined, and none of the New School staff or faculty was willing to undertake a position of authority. At times when authoritative action was required (for example, to mandate punctuality, help diffuse personal conflicts or make decisions at a deadlock) no clear line of responsibility could be identified. In an undocumented conversation at the beginning of the second week of the program, Dr. Subramaniam conveyed his dismay with the New School participants' uneven attendance. In response, I organized a meeting between Dr. Subramanian, myself, Brhaddhvani's senior administrator, and all New School participants. In this meeting, we were able to clarify the nature of the relationship and responsibilities between the participants, and to establish clear expectations for the remaining two weeks. I also scheduled a meeting between Dr. Subramanian, Ronan Guilfoyle, and myself in which we clarified the nature of the relationship between the New School, the IASJ and the IAJE, and outlined plans for the program's future development. These meetings had the

effect of clearing the air, and the remaining days of the program passed in preparation for the final concert on January 10th 2004.

Performance in Chennai

A concert, titled "Beyond Boundaries: A Dedication to World Harmony," was held on January 10th at the Image Auditorium in Chennai. It was the second in a series of two concerts marking Brhaddhvani's 14th anniversary, as well as the end of Brhaddhvani's "Lalgudi Year," commemorating eminent Karnatak violinist and composer Lalgudi Jayaraman. Intended as a fundraiser to help defray Brhaddhvani's exchange program expenses, the concert was a well-produced event held in a large hall, and extensively publicized in the local media. Posters were hung throughout the city, and a commemorative program book was produced. The days leading up to the performance were given entirely to rehearsal of the concert program. With the amount of activity leading up to the performance, the students "couldn't help but pick up on the importance of the event."[64]

The program was organized by Dr. Subramanian under the categories, "Folk Music of Tanjore" (performed by Thiru Kuppaswamy Pushpavanam and his ensemble); "Jazz Music from America" (performed by students from the New School); "Folk and Jazz" (Kuppaswamy and his ensemble joined by percussionist Kristina Kanders on drumset); "Classical Music of South India" (performed by Lalgudi Jayaraman's son and daughter, violinists Lalgudi G. J. R. Krishnan and Vijayalakshmi); and a series of "Cross-Cultural Compositions" by Trichy Sankaran, David Reck, Karaikudi Subramanian, and Eero Hameenniemi (performed by students and faculty from Brhaddhvani, the composers, and the New School musicians).

Rehearsals stretched from the morning, long into the afternoon, according to a loose schedule that was nonetheless tightly supervised by Dr. Subramanian. In Subramanian's "Cross-Cultural Compositions," the jazz performers were limited to the performance of memorized, monophonic passages which were rehearsed exhaustively. The first of Subramanian's compositions, *Title Song*, consisted of the stepwise placement of the notes of raga *mayamalavgaula* over the rhythm of the *adi tala* displacement exercise presented earlier in this chapter. *Nirnaya*, originally composed by Subramanian for piano and *vina*, called for students to play only the melody. In a meeting held on December 31st, Evan Herring-Nathan raised a concern with the balance of jazz and Karnatak music represented in the "fusion" pieces for the performance, suggesting that pre-composed Karnatak music seemed to dominate those pieces. Luthra suggested that "it's just a matter of expediency. It's much easier for us to adapt to the folk and classical sound, than it is for the folk and classical musicians to adapt to our sound. We have limited time."[65] Subramanian agreed: "The timing is very short, too short for a real

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[64] Nicholas Menache, personal interview with author, 20 Nov. 2004.

[65] Tanya Kalmanovitch, notes from meeting with Claudia Atkinson, Evan Herring-Nathan, Kristina Kanders, Arun Luthra, Nicholas Menache, Woody Shaw, Karaikudi S. Subramaniam and author, 31 Dec. 2003.

fusion...*Nirnaya* also has a lot of chance for improvisation, but the time is too limited for us to explore."[66]

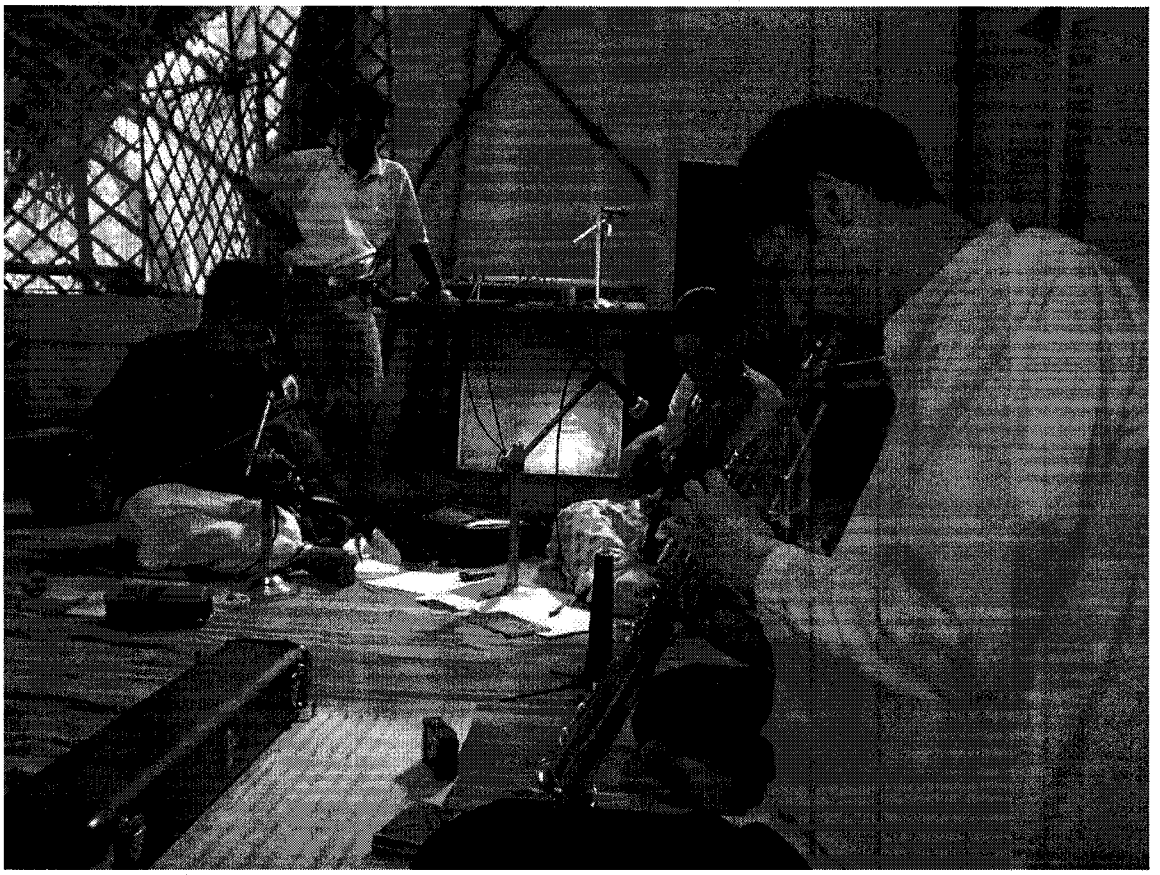

Fig. 6. Arun Luthra rehearses with Lalgudi G. J. R. Krishnan and Vijayalaxshmi

Rehearsals for pieces led by Pushpavanam Kuppaswamy and Trichy Sankaran proceeded considerably more smoothly. In the collaboration with Kuppaswamy, there was little alteration to the form or content of the music. Kanders learned the compositions aurally, imitating the rhythms performed by the other percussionists and complementing them in her drum set performance. Arun Luthra, Evan Herring-Nathan, and Woody Shaw's rehearsals with Trichy Sankaran unfolded smoothly under Sankaran's guidance. Experienced in collaboration with Western musicians, Sankaran had chosen a composition that could accommodate improvisation from the jazz soloists. Luthra described Sankaran's concept of jazz as "pretty much play whatever you want."[67] Sankaran taught them his composition aurally, and taught them how to keep the *tala*, and

[66] Tanya Kalmanovitch, notes from meeting with Claudia Atkinson, Evan Herring-Nathan, Kristina Kanders, Arun Luthra, Nicholas Menache, Woody Shaw, Karaikudi S. Subramaniam and author, 31 Dec. 2003.

[67] Arun Luthra, email to author, 4 Nov. 2007.

together they agreed to an introduction, solo order, and ending: "We didn't discuss solos much during rehearsals, but the basic vibe was that, as the master, Sri Pandit Sankaran would be the star of the show ... he didn't expect us to adhere to the tala or that our solos would be structured in any particular way."[68] Beyond that, Sankaran left the jazz musicians to use their own judgment.

Rehearsals for the jazz portion of the program were fraught with intensity and uncertainty. Working without a bass player or harmony instrument proved to be a strenuous challenge for the students, mainly undergraduates with little experience of working outside of the realm of the jazz canon. The faculty members present lacked the initiative or the experience to propose creative solutions. "When left to our own devices, rehearsals dissolved into bickering and we lost all productivity,"[69] commenting a year later, Nick Menache suggested that: "It was as if we jazz musicians were suffering from an identity crisis that impaired our vision and our skills...We were suddenly hyper-aware of our own otherness, self-conscious to the point of losing touch with how to play jazz."[70]

At the venue, a large backdrop proclaimed the school's and the sponsor's names, and photographers, a camera crew, and sound technicians moved throughout the stage area, documenting the event. Production delays caused a late start to the long program, and a series of speeches and presentations honoring the performers and special guests further stretched out the proceedings. The hall, half full despite considerable promotion, began to empty after two hours. After four hours, the concert was called to an end, despite the fact that compositions by David Reck and Subramanian (including *Title Song*, the composition that the ensemble had spent most of their time rehearsing) had not yet been performed.

Brhaddhvani in New York

Where the Indian leg of the exchange program relied on the existing resources at Brhaddhvani, the New York leg of the exchange was comparatively less defined. As New School student Woody Shaw III previewed in our meeting on December 31, 2003, the differences in the relative size of the cities, the nature of the institutions, and culturally-based assumptions about the nature of hospitality each played a role: "I can't honestly say that if you came to the west it would be as comfortable as it has been for us here. I can't say that I would support you and...I'm kind of impressed with that element. Whatever you consider lack of facilities and lack of funding, it's extremely organized."[71]

Dr. Subramanian arrived in New York on January 21, 2004. His visit to New York was attenuated due to financial constraints; he departed by the end of the month to

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[68] Arun Luthra, email to author, 4 Nov. 2007.
[69] Nicholas Menache, personal interview with author, 20 Nov. 2004.
[70] Nicholas Menache, personal interview with author, 20 Nov. 2004.
[71] Tanya Kalmanovitch, notes from meeting with Claudia Atkinson, Evan Herring-Nathan, Kristina Kanders, Arun Luthra, Nicholas Menache, Woody Shaw, Karaikudi S. Subramaniam and author, 31 Dec. 2003.

pursue engagements elsewhere in the United States. The New School rented an apartment close to their Greenwich Village campus for Subramanian's use, and provided him with limited material support for local travel expenses. Students arranged to pick Dr. Subramanian up at the airport and to take him to meals, and were able to meet with one another during the scheduled events of the IAJE conference. The scale of both the conference and New York City functioned to prevent the intimacy that had developed in Chennai, where students met daily in Brhaddhvani's building, at meals, and at various events organized by Brhaddhvani and among the participants themselves.

Dr. Subramanian was featured in two events at the annual conference of the International Association for Jazz Education. The first of these was a panel discussion, moderated by David Liebman and titled "Jazz and Indian Music: The Global Conversation Continues." Participating in the discussion were Subramanian, Ramesh Shotham, Ronan Guilfoyle, Rudresh Mahanthappa, Vijay Iyer, and myself. The second was a performance with an ensemble of the New School participants and guests, named "The Jazz and Indian Music Collective." The featured guest soloists were David Liebman and Dr. Subramanian. Joining the New School faculty and students were Cologne-based *tavil* player Ramesh Shotham, musical director Ronan Guilfoyle, and myself. Appearing under the name "The Jazz and Indian Music Collective," we performed Dr. Subramanian's composition *Title Song*, two compositions by Karnatak vocalist R. A. Ramamani, and one unattributed Karnatak composition.

In contrast to the Chennai performance, rehearsal and performance unfolded with little complication. Guilfoyle had led the New School musicians through a reading of the compositions in Chennai, and we had a rehearsal with the full ensemble, bar Liebman, in New York. The musical program was less ambitious. In Guilfoyle, the ensemble found both a bassist and a single, vigorous musical director with extensive experience collaborating with Karnatak musicians. Ramesh Shotham, whose musical experience spans both Karnatak and jazz performance, served as a reliable fulcrum between the two traditions, spurring the rhythm section to greater degrees of dynamic variance. Liebman, something of a celebrity performer and pedagogue at the IAJE meetings, infused the jazz participants with added energy. The compositional forms were simple, allowing for improvisation from all participants over open forms. The performance was received with great enthusiasm by a standing-room-only audience.

Both the concert and panel discussion were featured as highlights in coverage of the conference in *All About Jazz New York*[72] and the *New York Times*. The enthusiastic reception to the New York concert was gratifying to all participants. New School student Nick Menache commented: "The hall was packed, the band was tight and we all had a blast...The audience really seemed to enjoy itself."[73] Dr. Subramanian fielded inquiries for further study and workshops from jazz musicians and educators. Later, Ronan Guilfoyle, Martin Mueller, and I presented an oral report on the exchange program in a

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[72] Laurence Donohue-Green, "New York at Night: February 2004," *All About Jazz New York* 24 Nov. 2004 <http://www.allaboutjazz.com/php/article.php?id=1126>.
[73] Nicholas Menache, personal interview with author, 20 Nov. 2004.

meeting with members of the IASJ and requested that the board consider a permanent level of involvement to sustain the program.

Dr. Subramanian's New School residency coincided with the first week of the spring 2004 semester. With the late conformation of his travel dates, and with students returning from the semester break, New School Jazz director Martin Mueller found it difficult to arrange an extensive schedule for Dr. Subramanian's residence at the New School. As a consequence, there were fewer opportunities to engage in workshops, and in a collaborative teaching and pedagogical exchange than in India. Arun Luthra reported that Subramanian's workshops at the New School were well attended, but that because he covered things that had already been taught in India, they were of comparatively little interest to the students who had participated in the exchange.[74]

Follow-up With the IASJ

In the spring of 2004, I consulted with the administration at Brhaddhvani and the New School to prepare a detailed report and set of program recommendations. This report was presented to the board of the IASJ in June 2004 at their meeting in Freiberg, Germany. The board resolved to take on the exchange program as a core activity, recommending financial sponsorship for Dr. Subramanian and his students. The board suggested that Subramanian's expenses be paid to attend the 2005 meeting in Warsaw, where he could be introduced to the membership. However, in the intervening months the IASJ lost a major part of its operating support when the Koninklijk Conservatorium in Den Haag, the Netherlands, which had been providing the IASJ with office space and a part time staff member, decided not to renew its agreement. In response to increased financial pressure, the IASJ board determined that it was unable to extend its support to the exchange initiative. In a meeting with Martin Mueller in November 2004, he outlined the New School's intention to further help the program by applying for support within the University to bring Subramanian to New York as a visiting guest artist and instructor. The IASJ initially agreed to print our program report and distribute it to all IASJ member schools, which would have brought a higher level of awareness of Karnatak music in general and Brhaddhvani's program in particular. As of the time of this writing, this has yet to happen.

Discussion: Evaluating the Program

On January 1, 2004, Guilfoyle and I met with Dr. Subramanian in his office at Brhaddhvani to evaluate the pilot program's progress. We agreed that the lack of external financial and administrative support, combined with the brevity and timing of the visits to New York and Chennai, had resulted in our falling short of our goal of reciprocal exchange. Nonetheless, as Guilfoyle concluded: "it's clear that the artistic ethos is beyond any kind of questioning. I mean, these kids have got the experience of a lifetime...In the end, no matter what difficulties might have arisen, we have shown artistic

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[74] Arun Luthra, personal interview with author, 7 Nov. 2007.

success."[75] We discussed a number of strategies for our next steps, with Guilfoyle asserting that "the ball is in the IASJ's court." [76] "Next time," as Subramanian said in the previous day's meeting, "it will be different."[77] Ultimately, the IASJ did not adopt the program, and there was no "next time."

In the absence of a reciprocal New York residency for students and faculty from Brhaddhvani, the New School participants' visit to Chennai assumed something of the character of cultural tourism, albeit a form of tourism in which the pedagogical and financial burden fell heavily on the side of the hosts. Brhaddhvani spent considerable financial and administrative resources hosting the New School: the cost of instruction, equipment purchase, and production for the final concert were not matched by the New School's expenditures on Dr. Subramanian's brief visit. Significantly, the jazz curriculum for Karnatak musicians was never implemented.[78] Many of the New School participants were aware of this imbalance, and took steps to redress it. In their anxiety, one might read another echo of imbalance, that of the self-conscious "post-tourist" whose search for authenticity and erasure of difference manages to repeat it. Underlining my evaluation of our program, then, is the question of whether our intentions for bilateral exchange, and whether participants' efforts to introduce some measure of reciprocity, were sufficient to redress the main inequalities that it repeated.

Enduring Exoticism

For many of the New School participants, this program was their first in-depth exposure not only to Karnatak music, but also to non-Western music and culture. The chance to encounter a musical tradition firsthand in the culture that created and sustained it, then to perform with some of its greatest contemporary exponents, presented a rich opportunity for musical and personal development. India was imagined as an exotic "other," a place of danger and rare opportunities. Participants were attracted by the opportunity to visit India in the safety of an organized educational program, paradoxically, it was an awareness of danger that seduced them into their travels. Speaking towards the end of her visit to Chennai, Kristina Kanders commented: "India seemed, oh, like a faraway, exotic country – who knows if I can make it back alive … but now all the fears are gone, and now it has become real. I've been here, I've managed to

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[75] Ronan Guilfoyle, meeting with Karaikudi S. Subramanian and author, 1 Jan. 2004.
[76] Ronan Guilfoyle, meeting with Karaikudi S. Subramanian and author, 1 Jan. 2004.
[77] Tanya Kalmanovitch, notes from meeting with Claudia Atkinson, Evan Herring-Nathan, Kristina Kanders, Arun Luthra, Nicholas Menache, Woody Shaw, Karaikudi S. Subramaniam and author, 31 Dec. 2003.
[78] The pilot program was not without benefit to Brhaddhvani. Having identified foreign students as an important potential source of revenue, the administration was then in the process of designing a short-term course of study for Western and Non-Resident Indian musicians. The pilot exchange provided Brhaddhvani's administration with an opportunity to refine its infrastructure for hosting foreign students. Due to our presentations at the IAJE and IASJ meetings, a number of new foreign students came to study at Brhaddhvani.

survive for a month, and I made some wonderful contacts and learned so much. So I'm extremely happy about this experience."[79]

The experience of a month-long residence at Brhaddhvani replaced exotic anxieties with perspectives grounded in daily experience and social relationships. India's presumed "difference" provided some participants with a means to self-discovery. Kanders, a German citizen resident in New York, described to me how her mother's profile as a well-known classical singer had previously eclipsed her desire to sing. Under the "therapeutic" embrace of Indian instruction, she discovered her own voice: "In Europe, I wouldn't have even dared to pick up singing ... it just always crushed my singing ambitions. And so here it's been very therapeutic for me to sing ... I've learned to use my voice for the very first time ever, in a public setting, and feel comfortable about it."[80]

Arun Luthra was attracted to the study of Indian music primarily for its presumed spiritual qualities:

> Western musicians are trained to have more of a technical and virtuosic focus on the music rather than a spiritual one. Even your relationships with your teachers are not necessarily spiritual ones, they way they are here [in India] ... That kind of overarching principle that exists in the Indian music tradition, whether North or South, is probably the thing that really attracted me, more than any technical or specific musical element. So coming here to study is just another way to develop that.[81]

Fur Luthra, India was suffused with a sense of spirituality and history—from the seventh century stone carvings at Mahabalipuram to the living history of Dr. Subramanian's *vina* performances—not otherwise available in his daily life as an American jazz musician:

> Great art is timeless and it speaks to us across the generations, and anyone can be touched by it and moved by it. In India, a lot of people feel like that about music. It reinforces that value in me and carries it further. Think how revolutionary Coltrane was in his spiritual approach to jazz. You can be that kind of musician in the jazz tradition, but musicians have been that kind of musician in the Karnatak tradition forever.[82]

For Luthra, India's history remained the signal experience: "One of the things I take with me is the idea of being around stuff that's *that* old. I find being close to that sort of thing incredibly powerful."[83]

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[79] Kristina Kanders, personal interview with author, 11 Jan. 2004.
[80] Kristina Kanders, personal interview with author, 11 Jan. 2004.
[81] Arun Luthra, personal interview with author, 3 Jan. 2004.
[82] Arun Luthra, email to author, 9 Dec. 2004.
[83] Arun Luthra, email to author, 9 Dec. 2004.

The process of acquiring knowledge about Karnatak music was described by some participants in terms that seemed to equate portable packets of musical information with souvenirs, to be brought back to jazz and employed. Nick Menache commented—in part in jest—that he could impress his colleagues back home with his new stash of rhythmically tricky *moras*.[84] Johannes Weidenmuller describes a lesson with T. A. S. Mani in terms that could just as easily describe a trip to a music shop: "I just went in there and basically said I wanted some *korvais,* and I didn't really have to ask them much because they just sat down and well, they just went. Cause they've been doing it so long now with Westerners, you know, they sort of just went for a couple of hours."[85] Luthra carefully transcribed Ramakrishnan's mridangam lessons for use in his own teaching practice. He still finds the lessons he learned to be useful in his jazz performance, "Like being able to use *solkattu* to work out a tricky rhythmic subdivision. That's in my back pocket whenever I need it."[86]

Anxieties Over Mutual Exchange

New School participants attempted to address the unbalanced nature of the exchange program through various strategies of reparation and exchange. In private conversations with me, students and faculty expressed their disappointment over the circumstances that had prevented Dr. Subramanian from bringing Sankiri Krishnan to New York. Kanders, an experienced and outspoken administrator, prepared a document identifying a number of areas where the program could be improved. Upon learning that Brhaddhvani had purchased a drum set for their use, the New School participants collected a cash gift to the school equal to the cost of purchase.

In the December 31 meeting, a number of students publicly expressed their gratitude to Brhaddhvani's staff and faculty, and expressed their desire to give something back to the school. Woody Shaw said: "I would like more of an opportunity to make an exchange, and share with your students. Not just musicians, but anybody. The learning process would be more balanced. I think it would make it easier to learn, if we're learning and we contribute something."[87]Subramanian responded by explaining that their visit was poorly timed, due to the festival season: "The musicians here are ambitious to go to the concerts, to perform, we can't blame them."[88] He also hinted at a relative lack of interest in Western music training among the male artists of the faculty: "I wish more men would come here to learn. There should also be a balance between men and women here. Men

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[84] Nicholas Menache, personal interview with author, 20 Nov. 2004.
[85] Johannes Weidenmuller, personal interview with author, 24 Dec. 2003.
[86] Arun Luthra, email to author, 9 Dec. 2004.
[87] Tanya Kalmanovitch, notes from meeting with Claudia Atkinson, Evan Herring-Nathan, Kristina Kanders, Arun Luthra, Nicholas Menache, Woody Shaw, Karaikudi S. Subramaniam and author, 31 Dec. 2003.
[88] Tanya Kalmanovitch, notes from meeting with Claudia Atkinson, Evan Herring-Nathan, Kristina Kanders, Arun Luthra, Nicholas Menache, Woody Shaw, Karaikudi S. Subramaniam and author, 31 Dec. 2003.

have more structured time. Women have certain freedom...I am the only one truly excited about the whole thing, all the time."[89]

Ultimately, the most effective reparations arose among musicians as they rehearsed and learned from one another. Kristina Kanders and Claudia Atkinson met frequently with their vocal teachers Sankiri Krishnan and Usha Narasimhan. Krishnan was busy with the festival concerts, but Narasimhan was able to devote time to a daily exchange in which Kanders and Atkinson taught her Western notation and drum set technique. Narasimhan's daily work with Kanders and Atkinson provided her with both the satisfaction of sharing her own tradition, and the reward of learning about another. She viewed the process as a collaborative and mutually beneficial one: "If true musicians come, there won't be a clash when learning. [It] is mutual, they also like us, and we also like them. And this is a nice feeling when you teach and are sharing with each other, from another culture. It's nice to hear directly from the people."[90] Narasimhan reported drawing confidence from Dr. Subramanian's training as a departure point for encountering new challenges, both in Karnatak music and in other musics: "You have to have one thing strong. Then you can catch anything. That strength is my music. Because of this methodology I can learn anything. I am not afraid of learning anything."[91]

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[89] Tanya Kalmanovitch, notes from meeting with Claudia Atkinson, Evan Herring-Nathan, Kristina Kanders, Arun Luthra, Nicholas Menache, Woody Shaw, Karaikudi S. Subramaniam and author, 31 Dec. 2003.

[90] Usha Narasimhan, personal interview with author, 28 Apr. 2004.

[91] Usha Narasimhan, personal interview with author, 28 Apr. 2004.

Chapter IV
"...because we share the same colonial master": Khanda with the Karnataka College of Percussion

Introduction

In January 2001 Khanda, an ensemble of six Irish jazz, classical, and traditional musicians, toured India in a series of collaborative performances with percussionist Ramesh Shotham, Karnatak vocalist R. A. Ramamani and her husband, *mridangam* player T. A. S. Mani. The centerpiece of their musical program was *Five Cities,* an extended suite composed by Khanda's bassist Ronan Guilfoyle. This suite lent its name to a recording by the musicians, as well as a documentary film by director Cormac Larkin, whose cameras followed the band through rehearsals and performances in Bangalore, Chennai, Trivandrum, Hyderabad, and Delhi.[1]

In the film's opening sequence, titled "Prologue," Larkin reveals his anxiety over the possibility of musical accord between Irish traditional music, Karnatak music, and jazz:

> For the music's composer, bassist Ronan Guilfoyle, the challenge is considerable. To find a way to blend each of the different musical traditions in the band into a new musical language. When I hear *Five Cities*, the suite which Ronan has composed, rehearsed in the cold of a January morning in Dublin, it sounds strange and disjointed. I think it's over-ambitious. And I have my doubts that it will ever work. And I get the feeling I'm not the only one[2]

Over the course of the film's 50 minutes, Larkin's narration traces an arc from skepticism, through an exposition of the two nations' many similarities, to an appreciation of music's ability to resolve cultural differences. In the "Epilogue," underscored by the polyphony of flute, uilleann pipes, accordion, and Karnatak voice, Larkin narrates the resolution of his initial doubts: "Back in Dublin a few days later, I stood with an Irish audience listening to this fusion that I had come to know so well, and I wondered how I had ever doubted it. As the Vicar Street audience rose to its feet . . . I thought I had never heard such sweet music."[3]

The documentary film *Five Cities* is as neat an example as any of the celebratory narrative of the world music "crossover" in which the persistent and troubling inequities of globalized world are effaced in a cheerful, pluralistic embrace. But it also documents a particular cultural moment in the history of India and Ireland, two nations with a significant history of cross-colonial affiliation. The "success" of this musical meeting was

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[1] Khanda and the Karnataka College of Percussion, *Five Cities,* CD and DVD, Improvised Music Company, IMCD, 1018, 2003.
[2] *Five Cities*, dir. and narr. Cormac Larkin, Improvised Music Company, IMCD, 1018, 2003.
[3] Larkin, *Five Cities*.

virtually mandated by the contexts of its production and reception, which were closely linked to the interests of a range of national bodies in Ireland and India. In an *Irish Times* article, Khanda's flautist Ellen Cranitch explained that the project's origins came "with the Cultural Relations Committee in Ireland seeking an appropriate artistic accompaniment to an official trade visit."[4] Khanda's tour of India was funded jointly by the Cultural Relations and the Cultural Affairs Committee of the Republic of Ireland and Indian Council for Cultural Relations, and the Karnataka College of Percussions' subsequent visit to Dublin for a performance and recording session was funded by the Improvised Music Company, a Dublin-based not for profit organization funded by the Irish Arts Council. The explicitly diplomatic context of *Five Cities* alone would seem to mandate musical agreement. It would be an uncomfortably small world, after all, if this musical meeting between Ireland and India were to result in discord.

Despite the marked reciprocity of the musical, performative, and social relationships among its musicians, *Five Cities* is an Irish project, owned by Irish bodies, produced for an Irish audience, and received with enthusiasm by the Irish media.[5] The *Irish Times* named "Ronan Guilfoyle's Khanda"[6] as a highlight of the 2001 jazz season, and Honor Heffernan, in a column on RTE's website, commented, "This [performance] proved beyond all doubt Ronan's talent and ability to get into the soul of different musical styles and create a brilliant piece of music which crosses all barriers."[7] As such, the spectre of exoticism—including autoexoticism—is never far away, and both the film and the recording *Five Cities* stand as contemporary examples in a history of Irish Orientalism that stretches back to the early middle ages. Recent literary scholarship has advanced an understanding of Irish Orientalism as both historically predating Imperialism, and as distinct from the dominant colonial discourses of French and British Orientalism. As Joseph Lennon introduces his major study *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History*: "Long before it was treated as Celtic, Irish culture was linked to the 'Orient.'"[8]

For authors and scholars of Ireland's twentieth-century Celtic Revival, India assumed particular symbolic importance as the locus for the construction of an authentic pre-colonial Celtic identity, and as a focus for discourse of decolonization through cross-

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[4] Ellen Cranitch, "Spicing the Rhythm," *The Irish Times* 3 Feb. 2001, 2 Jan. 2008 <http://www.ireland.com/newspaper/weekend/2001/0203/01020300197.html>.
[5] *Five Cities'* Dublin performance served as the inaugural concert for the IMC's *ESB Routes in Rhythm*, a world music series funded by the Electric Supply Board, a national utility company. Broadcast rights to the documentary film were purchased by RTE, Ireland's publicly owned national broadcaster, which aired the documentary and concert footage national television. The CD and DVD were released in Ireland by IMC in 2003.
[6] Ray Comiskey, "Triumphs and Turkeys 2001," *The Irish Times* 18 Dec.2001, 4 Jan. 2008 <http://www.ireland.com/newspaper/features/2001/1218/01121800064.html>.
[7] Honor Heffernan, "Electric Jazz", 29 Mar. 2001, 2 Jan. 2008 <http://www.rte.ie/arts//2001/0329/esbjazz.html>.
[8] Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2004) xv.

colonial identification. In poems, plays, and essays, writers "mingled the Indian and the Irish"[9] positing fictive connections in re-tellings of ancient narratives, much as Larkin does in *Five Cities*, when he describes T. A. S. Mani's *mridangam:* "this instrument was being played here in India when Cuchulain was playing hurling for Louth."[10] Cross-colony identification was reflected in the mutual regard of nationalist poets Rabindrath Tagore and W. B. Yeats, whose essays and poems reflected "a mutual and surprisingly personal (if not entirely factual or equitable) cross-colony identification."[11] Cross-colony identification was an important feature in the development of the Indian independence movement. From at least the 1870s, until the emergence of Mohandas Ghandi's model of nonviolent noncooperation, Ireland served as an important model for Indian self-determination. H. V. Brasted has described how Indian nationalists evaluated Irish strategies of resistance in terms of their outcomes in Ireland, and deployed them in India accordingly.[12] Ghandi's model, in turn, later influenced the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland.

As is the case more generally in Irish Orientalism, expressions of Irish-Indian affiliation, have historically drawn both from the cultural and intellectual products of India as well as their British Orientalist approximations. Thus Irish Orientalism, argues Lennon, has functioned historically as both a means of participating in Imperialism and a mechanism for its denial, functioning ambivalently as "a path of resistance (disguised or obvious) as well as, at times, a path of collusion."[13] Larkin's film, like the music it documents, is a celebratory narrative of Irish-Indian affiliation which has undertones of ambivalence. The film makes glancing references to the politically charged history of cross-colony identification, focusing instead on capturing an image of two ancient civilizations in contact in the globalized world.[14] He comments on the "chaos" of traffic, but not the considerable poverty that is readily visible in Indian urban life. Doubt over the

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[9] Lennon, *Irish Orientalism* xxi.
[10] Larkin, *Five Cities*.
[11] Lennon, *Irish Orientalism* xxvi.
[12] H. V. Brasted, "Irish Models and the Indian National Congress, 1970-1922" *South Asia* 8.2 June-Dec. (1984): 24-25.
[13] Lennon, *Irish Orientalism* xiii.
[14] Even the term "Celtic Tiger," deployed prominently in the 1990s to describe Ireland's invigorated economy, echoes the ambivalence of Irish-Indian affiliation. One of the film's only direct mentions of economic disparity happens when Larkin visits Hyderabad's HITEC City, a technology complex in the city's suburbs. Larkin allows his camera to rest on the gleaming surfaces of Cyber Towers as he narrates, "Hyderabad is a city of contrasts, and it shares a lot with Dublin ... it's one of the centres of India's burgeoning software industry which ranks along the US and Ireland in terms of output." He continues, "Here, India's technology entrepreneurs earn Western salaries when the people who clean the buildings and live in the surrounding shantytowns earn a few pounds a day and aren't even allowed to use the lift." Notable here is the anachronistic use of "pounds" (Ireland adopted the European Union's common currency in 1999) and Larkin's overestimation of the relative value of Indian managerial salaries. Both of these I take as rhetorical moves of distance and "othering."

significant negative consequences of globalization for the developing world[15] is sublimated into doubt over the outcome of the musical proposition, which is swiftly resolved in the course of the film's narrative arc.

It seems reasonable to propose that the film's many closures stem from its intended public audience on national television, and not to the privately held opinions of its commentators. When I asked Khanda's drummer Conor Guilfoyle how he received Larkin's narrative of doubt (it was his sour face that the cameras cut to when Larkin said "I get the feeling I'm not the only one") he replied:

> That was just for the narrative. I never had any doubts. That shot of me looking nonplussed was at my own inability to play something and not at any skepticism on my part, that the piece was workable. However I didn't mind him using that out of context shot: he had to make a storyline, starting with a bleak rehearsal and finishing with a glorious concert. [16]

As much as the context of production and reception indicates exoticism, the musical participants generally refuse the political ramifications of their intercultural collaboration. The film, the music, and the tour could scarcely be imagined before Ireland became the "Celtic Tiger," a fact which musicians raised in a still-traditional monoculture, do not fail to appreciate[17]. But the Indian and Irish commentators of *Five Cities* allude to weighty political and historic events with a deft comic touch. Filmed at a dinner in Bangalore following the ensemble's first Indian performance, Indian Ambassador to Belarus B. R Muthu Kumar, an old school friend of Ramesh Shotham, explains to the camera, "Trinity College has been a home to many Indian freedom fighters. And we have the tricolor." He continues, impishly, "You have it vertical, we have it horizontal. That's a better position. And that's why we're a billion strong. Vertical you do it less!"[18] And when Ramesh Shotham explains that "maybe the reason why we [musicians] understand one another so well is that we had the same colonial masters," audiences in Delhi and Dublin erupt alike in laughter, cheers and applause.[19]

I have dwelled here on the film *Five Cities* both because it sets up the context of production and reception for the music performed by Khanda and the Karnataka College of Percussion, and because it illustrates the divide between performers' motivations and the concerns of the institutions that support their activities. Rehearsed and performed on colonial stages in India, blending musics that have served as potent symbols in nationalist

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[15] For an overview of the manner in which the developing global economy has impacted ongoing problems in the provision of social services, and prevented developments in human rights, see Fifty-sixth General Assembly, Third Committee, 7th Meeting, , <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2001/gashc3631.doc.htm.>

[16] Conor Guilfoyle, email to author, 11 Jan. 2008.

[17] Indeed, even this term, broadly deployed during the 1990s to designate Ireland's economic growth, pays tribute to the significant ties between Celticism and the Orient

[18] Larkin, *Five Cities*.

[19] Larkin, *Five Cities*.

struggles for self-determination, sponsored in the interests of diplomacy and international trade, and offered to affluent audiences in India and Ireland, the music of *Five Cities* also illustrates the character of postcolonial affiliation between India and Ireland. Both the film and recording *Five Cities* certainly offer many possibilities for new readings of nationalism, postcolonialism, and globalization for scholars who seek to investigate their musical instantiations. But by grounding my analysis in the music, and the perspective of its performers, a different picture emerges. Consistent with my conceptual and methodological intents, however, I will focus my discussion on the representation of Indian music, as it is manifest in the context of jazz performance. Despite the prominent contribution of Irish traditional musicians in this project, I focus on the nature of interaction between Karnatak musicians and jazz musicians. I address the problems and potentials posed by the compositional, improvisational, and performative features of the jazz context, which function at once to open pathways for mutual dialog, while selectively "representing" Ireland and India to one another.[20] Specifically, I wish to illustrate what it is, exactly, about the jazz context that carries the potential to allow musicians from three different languages to speak together.

The significant orality of Irish traditional music, Karnatak music, and jazz requires special consideration of the roles of authorship, ownership, representation and authenticity, and carries consequences for any analysis along existing lines of musicological inquiry. Accordingly, I will begin my discussion by situating this collaboration in the economic, cultural, and social context of jazz in Ireland. As Lennon has argued, representations of India by authors in Ireland's Celtic Revival rested on "a firm belief in the shared sensibilities between Celtic and Oriental peoples."[21] Similarly, *Five Cities* assumes these nations' affinity and parity, an assumption that is underlined by the project's joint Indian and Irish national sponsorship. Themes of Irish Orientalism and nationalism are considerably more prominent in the film than in the music and musicians' discourse about it. This reflects a disconnection between the means of production and reception, and the musicians' own perceptions. These disconnections are generally viewed with tolerance on the part of the musicians, who see these as strategies necessary to securing the financial support to make the performance and tour possible.

The context of national sponsorship both introduces the possibility of parity among the performers and restricts the outcomes of their public conversations. In order to better situate *Five Cities* with respect to the current discourse on the ambivalent nature of Irish Orientalism, I will advance an understanding of the economic and cultural context of jazz in Ireland through providing a biographical sketch of Guilfoyle's development as a jazz performer and composer of classical and jazz music. Guilfoyle's role as a major figure in Ireland's jazz and classical music depends in part on his liminal and provocative status in each of these spheres. The economics of jazz being what they are, this project depended as much on his profile and his skills as a bandleader.

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[20] From this point on, when I refer to *Five Cities* I refer to Guilfoyle's composition, or the recording of the same name.

[21] Lennon, *Irish Orientalism* 352.

I will extend this to a musicological analysis of ambivalence in *Five Cities*. As composer and bandleader, Guilfoyle uses a range of devices drawn from jazz composition and arranging to authoritatively but selectively "explain" Indian and Irish musics to its performers and their audiences. Composition scripts performers' actions and interactions, make possible this conversation among three disparate musical languages. Much as Irish Oriental scholars sought out similarities between India and Ireland, Guilfoyle identifies analogous structures in Irish traditional music, Karnatak music, and jazz that he uses to script a coherent conversation. However, the most important feature of *Five Cities* functions transparently to its audience, and is invisible in its musical text, and carries significant impact for analyses of exotica. Musical "accord" is scripted by the composition, but its execution depends heavily on a shared body of musical, social, and performative knowledge, both intrinsic and extrinsic, to Karnatak and Irish traditional music. This knowledge—gained through the Irish and Indian musicians' prior professional collaborations with jazz musicians—is essential to both the execution of the scores, and to the significant degree of interaction and individual expression in the musical performance. An understanding of how performer-held musical knowledge functions to facilitate intercultural performance, carries the potential to obviate narratives of appropriation. I will argue that these substantial performative features of *Five Cities* requires both the consent and collaboration of its' performers, a feature which mitigates the exoticism inherent in the content and context of the musicians' performances.

Throughout, I will ground my analyses in performers' own perspectives on the aesthetics and pragmatics of intercultural collaboration. As a professional performer collaborating frequently with Guilfoyle from 2000-2004, I participated in many discussions with him about the development of *Five Cities*. I was present at the CD release performance by the full ensemble in Bray, Ireland in November 2003, where I interviewed many of the performers. I have performed and recorded with Martin Nolan, Conor Guilfoyle, Tommy Halferty, Peter Browne, and Ramesh Shotham, and my analysis of their understanding of the aesthetics of intercultural collaboration, while supported throughout with direct quotations, is also informed by my experiences with them as friends and musical collaborators.

Ownership and Authorship

Analyses of exoticism in Western classical music presume that the composer, as author of a musical work, functions autonomously in representing musical others. Existing critiques of exoticism in popular music, which have tended to focus on the works of prominent and powerful performers, likewise assume the performer's aesthetic autonomy. A focus on celebrity performers makes the unequal relationship between Western music and its others visible with particular clarity, but the economic marginalization of the jazz context complicates the picture. Steven Feld has documented the manner in which prominent jazz performers have used the orality of the jazz tradition to justify appropriation. To my knowledge, though, the nature of power, representation and appropriation has not been addressed in the case of lesser-known jazz performers, whose projects carry little if any economic incentive, and require substantial personal investment.

Jazz performances rest upon an unequal division of labour between the "bandleader" (or "leader") and "side musician."[22] The jazz bandleader's role is made visible to the audience through a band's billing and through a performance convention in which the leader alone speaks to the audience from the stage. A leader assumes responsibility not only for the aesthetic concept of a project and the quality of musical performance, but also for a considerable array of administrative and managerial tasks that are necessary to create the context for performance but are largely invisible to audiences.[23] The jazz leader functions not only as composer, arranger, contractor, and conductor, but also as booking agent, travel agent, and road manager. Leaders also typically assume financial liability for projects, preparing grant applications and incurring financial losses in order to realize a project. The payoff, for leaders, is twofold: the opportunity to realize a specific artistic concept, and the opportunity to reap the benefits of autonomous professional development. Given the breadth and weight of responsibilities, jazz musicians typically identify as a leader or side musician, but rarely as both.

Although Khanda was originally a cooperative group, Guilfoyle functioned unambiguously as the group's leader.[24] He was responsible for the conception of the collaboration and the tour, negotiating the terms of tour support with the ICCR, the CCR and the IMC, handling the finances of the tour and the recording, leading rehearsals, producing the recording, and acting as road manager throughout the tour. Although the band was billed as "Khanda with the Karnataka College of Percussion," and although many of the musicians shared the responsibility of introducing the musical selections, reviewers in Ireland cited the project in terms of Guilfoyle's ownership.[25] The Irish media's misattribution of Guilfoyle's leadership has much to do with his national prominence as a composer of both jazz and classical music, and as a prolific leader and performer in a stream of jazz projects.

Guilfoyle's career straddles both jazz and classical worlds, and has been marked by an outspoken ambivalence with regard to the authorial privilege he has been accorded as a composer of classical music. He is the first composer with significant ties outside classical music to be elected to membership in Asodána, an elite guild of Irish artists recognized for having made "an outstanding contribution to the arts in Ireland,"[26] but is outspoken in his criticism of a peer-nomination system that privileges classical

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[22] Commonly "sideman," reflecting the enduring gendered nature of the jazz community.
[23] Due to the jazz industry's economic marginalization, the infrastructure of booking agents and managers is insubstantial and unreliable. As David Liebman comments: "Although there are so-called 'managers' in jazz, many jazz musicians have to do everything themselves." David Liebman, *Self-Portrait of a Jazz Artist: Musical Thoughts and Realities* (Rottenburg, Germany: Advance Music, 1996) 55.
[24] "A situation," comments his brother Conor, "that I don't think he was too happy about. He wanted more input from everyone." Conor Guilfoyle, email to author, 11 Jan. 2008.
[25] Comiskey, *Triumphs and Turkeys*; Heffernan, *Electric Jazz*.
[26] Arts Council of Ireland, "Aosdána," 3 Jan. 2008 <http://aosdana.artscouncil.ie/>.

composers over the substantial creative achievements of musicians in oral traditions, including jazz and Irish traditional music. Guilfoyle identifies strongly as a jazz instrumentalist, but is most frequently recognized for his work as a composer, a fact which he attributes to the ongoing privileging of high art in Ireland. In an essay titled "Contemporary Music?" he writes:

> Contemporary composers often spend a lot of time bemoaning the lack of support they get, yet they get vastly more funding than the jazz community does. For example, here in Ireland, RTE - the national broadcaster - has been lambasted for their lack of support for contemporary music yet they commission compositions by Irish composers, have funded various festivals and programmes - however sparsely - pieces by Irish composers. RTE have never funded a jazz festival of any sort, nor commissioned specifically jazz pieces from any Irish jazz composers. There is no Irish Arts Council support of any jazz ensemble by the Arts Council here in the way that the Irish Chamber Orchestra, a classical ensemble, is supported. I make these comparisons not to start a campaign for more funding for jazz - welcome as that would be - but to put in perspective the disparity in resources given to jazz in comparison to contemporary music.[27]

As Guilfoyle's prominence as a creative artist has increased, so has the income he has received from composition commissions, including a monthly stipend attached to his membership in Aosdána. His prominence in Ireland's cultural community is both tempered by, and in some respects attributable to, his liminal position with respect to the dominant institutions of contemporary music.

Ronan Guilfoyle Biography

Self-taught as both an instrumentalist and composer, Guilfoyle (b. 1958) grew up in a middle class family in the southern suburbs of Dublin at a time when Ireland was very much a traditional society. He attributes much to the influence of his father, who "raised us all on a steady diet of contemporary classical music and jazz."[28] Beginning his studies on the acoustic bass guitar at age 19, he was ineligible for admission to Dublin's music conservatories by virtue of age, inexperience, and his interest in jazz.[29] His early study followed the lines of many jazz musicians, learning through oral tradition (imitating recordings, rehearsing and performing frequently with his closest brother Conor, and learning "on the job" in performances with Louis Stewart), practicing in the early morning hours before leaving for his day job at a delicatessen through which he helped to support his young family. His studies in classical composition proceeded along similar lines: he learned to read, compose, and orchestrate music by reading textbooks and studying scores and recordings.

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[27] Ronan Guilfoyle, "Contemporary Music?" 27 Aug. 2006, 8 Jan. 2008 <http://ronanguilfoyle.com/press-group-18.html>.

[28] Ronan Guilfoyle, email to author, 17 July 2000.

[29] At the time, there was no formal jazz training program in Ireland.

If Guilfoyle now speaks from a position of authority within the structures of the classical music world—as he does from stages at Dublin's "Composer's Choice" festival in 2001, or as artistic director of RTE's "Living Music" festival in 2007—it is a position which is qualified by his early experiences as an autodidact, and the marked self-determination of his early professional development. The unusual circumstances of his professional development meant that he was marginalized with respect to both the jazz and classical communities in Ireland, which gives him a perspective on the representation of marginalized musical communities.[30]

Guilfoyle composes from a dual awareness of the aesthetics and performative structures of jazz and classical music. He writes: "For me, the process of composition and improvisation are essentially the same . . . The essential difference between composition and improvisation is the speed at which they take place."[31] As a jazz composer, he frequently makes use of extended compositional techniques, departing from what he characterizes as jazz's "rudimentary" approach in which "the composition is a necessary evil ... something that can be disposed of as quickly as possible in order to get to the real business of performance, improvisation."[32] He argues that in classical music, "the composer is God, while in jazz it is the performer who fulfils this role"[33] but his aesthetics are marked by a desire to refuse the centrality of this role in either genre. For him, avowedly, the most important thing is the interaction between musicians and musical scores, and among the musicians performing them. Writing any music for improvisation requires "surrender to the performers some of the responsibility for the success or failure of the piece." He continues, "Not only does this not bother me, but I actually find it an extremely attractive proposition . . . This is human nature, and what is music if it is not an expression of our humanity?"[34]

Equally important to Guilfoyle's aesthetics is the integration of improvisation into the fabric of the composed music:

> Too often the few people who do use improvisation in their composition do so in such a way that the extemporized sections, instead of being an organic part of the piece, sound like they've been stuck onto the written sections as an afterthought. I always try to write the music in such a way that it is difficult for the listener to discern which passages are written and which are improvised.[35]

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[30] In the absence of opportunities for contemporary jazz performers and composers in Ireland, he created institutions. He was a founding member of the Improvised Music Company, and created the Jazz Studies program at Newpark Music Center, which recently became the first degree-granting institution in Ireland for jazz performance.
[31] Ronan Guilfoyle, "Composition and Improvisation," Apr. 2001, 9 Jan. 2008 <http://www.ronanguilfoyle.com/press-group-12.html>.
[32] Guilfoyle, "Composition and Improvisation."
[33] Guilfoyle, "Composition and Improvisation."
[34] Guilfoyle, "Composition and Improvisation."
[35] Guilfoyle, "Composition and Improvisation."

Crucial to the success of this strategy, is the fact that Guilfoyle composes mainly for performers, and "not for posterity":[36]

> In the pieces I have written in extended form, which involve improvisation, I have been very familiar with the improvising abilities of the performer to whom I assigned the extemporised sections. Thus when I am writing the piece, I can picture in my inner ear the general direction the improvisation is likely to take and try to hear that in the context of the overall composition.[37]

Jazz influences are prominent in Guilfoyle's classical composition, in the omnipresence of "groove" which is central to his musical concept in both jazz and classical music. He understands groove as a kind of "rhythmic template" in which the configuration of the relationship between a polyrhythmic pulses gives a unique character. Situating his concept of groove within a sweeping historical understanding of the West African diaspora, the 20th century dissemination of African-American derived musical forms, and the ubiquity of African-American forms in transnational popular music industry, he argues that "groove" has become an international lingua franca. Guilfoyle attributes the popular acclaim his compositions receive to "a feeling of relief from audiences who, expecting to be punished by the contemporary piece on the concert, are instead given something very rhythmic and lively that they can relate to."[38]

Musicological Analysis of "Five Cities"

Khanda Biography

The name Khanda, meaning "five" in Sanskrit, was adopted by the group to represent its interests in bridging the musical languages of Irish traditional music and jazz with a range of world musics. The ensemble was formed in 1995 by Ronan Guilfoyle (bass, *saz*, *def*), Conor Guilfoyle (drums, tabla, dumbek), Tommy Halferty (guitar), Ellen Cranitch (flutes, tin whistle, zils), and Martin Nolan (uilleann pipes, tin whistle, low D whistle). When accordionist Peter Browne joined the group in 2000, the members elected not to change the band's name. Khanda, formed at the peak of world music's consolidation as a musical genre, was formed to give its members "an opportunity to play music which we enjoy but wouldn't normally have an opportunity to play."[39]

Khanda's members each have significant experience working across the boundaries of their musical traditions. Flautist Ellen Cranitch, a classical musician, performs Irish traditional music and jazz-based improvisation, and was well known in the Irish jazz scene through her performances in the Irish ensemble, The Young Lions. Martin Nolan, a traditional Irish musician, began improvising in and beyond traditional music through his participation in Khanda, and remained the most active of the group's

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[36] Guilfoyle, email to author, 12 Aug. 2000.
[37] Guilfoyle, "Composition and Improvisation."
[38] Guilfoyle, email to author, 15 Jan. 2008.
[39] Khanda Website, 8 Jan. 2008 <http://homepage.eircom.net/~msnolan/>.

members in bringing new material to band rehearsals. Peter Browne completed a diploma in Jazz Performance at Newpark Music Centre in South Dublin, where he began experimenting with improvisation in Irish traditional music and extending the composition of traditional forms by adapting a range of harmonic, rhythmic, and melodic techniques from contemporary jazz and classical music. Tommy Halferty, Ronan Guilfoyle, and Conor Guilfoyle, though jazz musicians, have carried out significant interests in other musical styles. Guilfoyle comments, "within the group there was a huge range of skills: reading...jazz improvisation, multi instrumentalism...there was a huge amount one could do with the group."[40]

On its first, self-titled recording, the band collaborated with Ramesh Shotham (thavil, ghatam, kanjira, konnekol) on their debut recording, featuring arrangements of Irish traditional music, fused with elements of Karnatak, Turkish, and Balkan traditional musics.[41] The Indian influence in Khanda's music came from Ronan Guilfoyle's interests in the music, and from a professional association with Shotham. Guilfoyle first became aware of Indian classical music in the late 1970s through the Karnatak influences in the band Shakti. The recordings of Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan distributed on Peter Gabriel's Real World label in the late 1980s revived this interest. In 1990, Guilfoyle's friend and colleague, Cologne-based jazz pianist Simon Nabatov visited Dublin, and demonstrated Karnatak rhythmic techniques he had learned in Cologne from Ramesh Shotham. Guilfoyle collaborated with Shotham in projects in 1991 and 1992, pressing him for more information. In an exchange between Guilfoyle and Shotham recorded in November 2003, Guilfoyle recalled: "When you came with Simon, I was always asking questions. And the same thing when we did that tour with Madras Special, with you and Naresh. I was always asking you 'show me more *korvais*!'"[42] Guilfoyle's association with the Karnataka College of Percussion came about through Shotham.[43] He first collaborated with Shotham, T. A. S. Mani, and R. A. Ramamani in 1995, and the quartet recorded an album with the Turkish percussionist Okay Temiz.[44]

Representation and Collaboration

In their live performances in India and Ireland, Khanda and the Karnataka College of Percussion performed Karnatak compositions by T. A. S. Manu, Sri Tyagaraja, and Mysore Sri Jayachamaraja; compositions written in the style of Irish traditional music by Martin Nolan, and the members of Khanda, and music fusing Karnatak and jazz influences written by R. A. Ramamani and Ronan Guilfoyle. At just over 34 minutes in length, Guilfoyle's suite *Five Cities* takes up more than half of the CD that bears its name. Authorship and arranger credits are equally divided among the Indian and Irish participants, duly acknowledging these musicians' contributions. Of the composers

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[40] Ronan Guilfoyle, email to author, 15 Jan. 2008.
[41] Khanda, *Khanda* Improvised Music Company, IMCD, 1007, 1997.
[42] Ronan Guilfoyle, personal interview with author, 8 Nov.2003.
[43] The Karnataka College of Percussion's long association with Ramesh Shotham has been described in detail in Chapter Two.
[44] Karnataka College of Percussion and Okay Temiz, *Mishram,* Raks Müzik 4055, 1995.

whose works were performed, Guilfoyle alone was paid for composition, which was commissioned by the Irish Cultural Relations Committee. Notably, only Guilfoyle's work is listed as affiliated with the Irish Music Rights Organization, Ireland's national performing rights organization that administers royalties for performance and recording of Irish music.[45] The disparity in terms of income from commission and performance revenues can be seen as an instance of authorial privilege. Tempered by an understanding of Guilfoyle's considerable investment as bandleader (for which he remained uncompensated), however, it can be seen as a means of subsidizing the projects.

General Overview of "Five Cities"

Five Cities consists of four composed movements (Charukesi, Jig, Air and Kriti/Reel) performed continuously. Each movement is named for a Karnatak or Irish musical form that provides the basic inspiration for the composition or improvisation. "Charukesi" is prefaced by an improvisation between vocalist R. A. Ramamani and piper Martin Nolan. "Jig" and "Air" are linked by a solo bass improvisation (both of these are titled "Alap" on the recording). Compositional and performative models from jazz inform the bulk of this music. With the exception of the two "alap" movements, the notated material and improvisations performed by the voice, uilleann pipes, flute and accordion are suspended over an interlocking polyrhythmic and harmonic texture provided by the rhythm section (drum set, acoustic bass guitar and guitar). The Karnatak percussionists (on *tavil* and *mridangam*) join the jazz rhythm section selectively throughout the performance.

The melodic instruments' parts are densely notated, while the rhythm sections' parts are represented through chord symbols, sample drum set patterns, textual designations, and rhythmic "hits," according to the conventions of jazz notation (see Figure 3). Although the vocal melodic line is notated, and although bars are blocked off for Indian percussion solos, the Karnatak participants are largely invisible in the score. Because T. A. S. Mani and R. A. Ramamani do not read Western notation, the music was transmitted to them by means of a CD recording of MIDI files, and a detailed verbal description of the music in terms of *raga* and *tala* form.[46] Ramamani transcribed her parts in *sargam* notation, and memorized them before the first rehearsal.

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[45] Anthony McCann has extensively theorized the commodification of Irish traditional music and the administration of its character by the IMRO in his doctoral thesis, *Beyond the Commons: The Expansion of the Irish Music Rights Organization, the Elimination of Uncertainty, and the Politics of Enclosure*, diss., University of Limerick, Feb 2002.

[46] During my interview with Guilfoyle, Shotham, Ramamani, and Mani, the musicians related a humorous anecdote about T. A. S. Mani mistaking his son's Megadeth CD for the CD documenting Guilfoyle's rehearsal files, and expressing his doubts over the quality of the music.

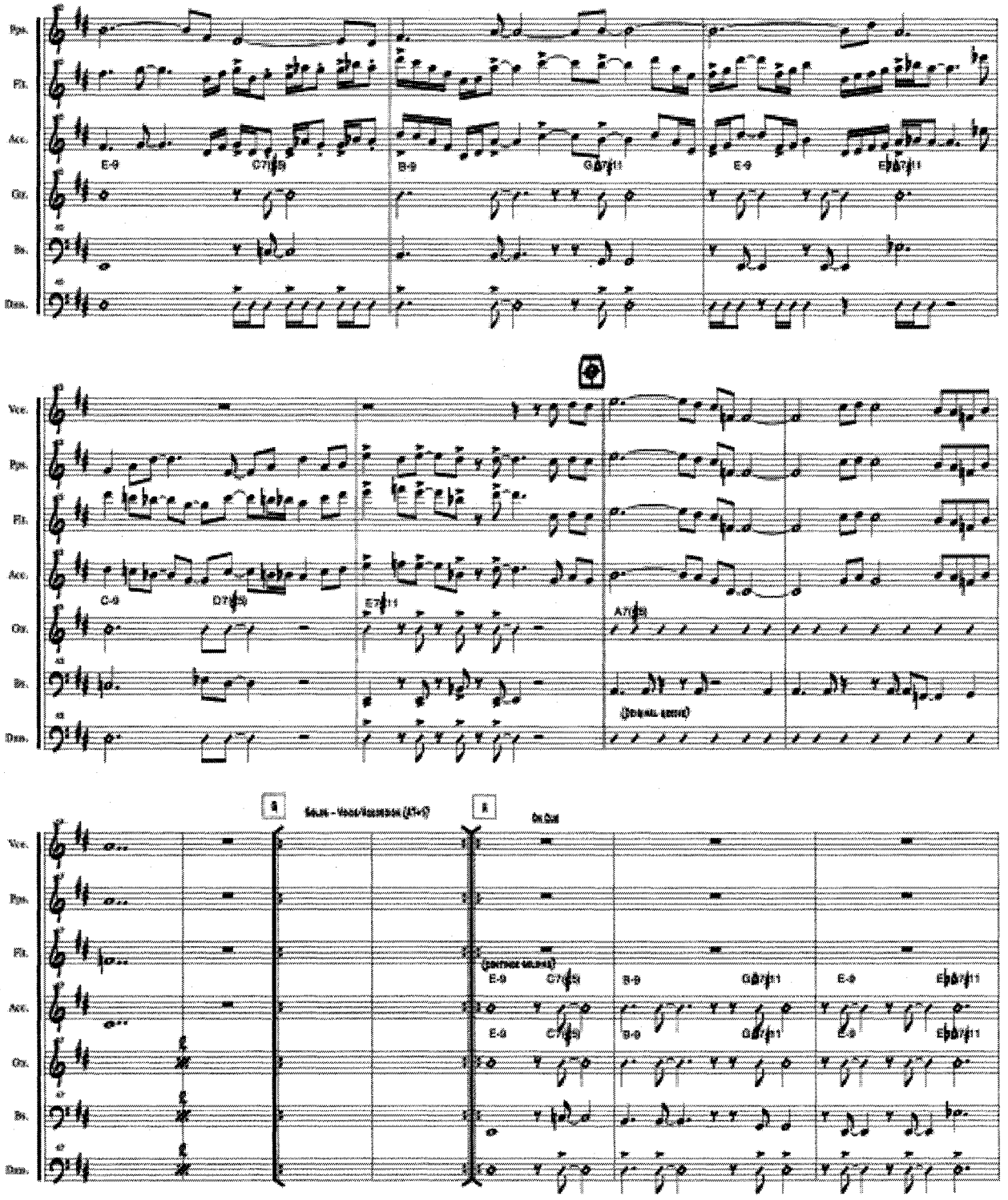

Fig.7. Extract of Charukesi, *Five Cities* (page three of original score)

In his musicological analysis of the jazz-Karnatak fusion project Shakti, Gerry Farrell commended John McLaughlin for "creating a new music that was neither self-consciously jazz or Indian, but a clever fusion of both."[47] McLaughlin's success rested on the judicious choice of elements from Indian music, jazz, and rock that have structural affinities with each other. Guilfoyle adopts a similar approach to composing for the mixed ensemble, but his aesthetic range is considerably broader than the music recorded by Shakti, including elements foreign to Karnatak performance such as the use of Western grooves, modal, functional and chromatic harmony, and polyphonic melodic lines. Guilfoyle uses three primary techniques to bridge the three musical languages: the use of repetitive rhythmic structures from African-American and Indian music; stylistic enclosure; and the use of analogous musical and performative features in jazz and Karnatak music.

Repetitive Rhythmic Structures

Guilfoyle makes prominent use of repetitive rhythmic and structural features drawn from jazz—notably groove, riffs, call-and-response patterns and AABA forms—that are characteristic of the African diasporic aesthetic. These repetitive structures create a layered set of musical and social practices that make possible numerous interrelationships among performers of different musical languages. Guilfoyle depends on certain structural and performative affinities between jazz and Karnatak musical practices. He locates analogous forms in Karnatak composition and performance practice—*pallavi* and *sangati*, *mridangam* and *tavil* accompaniment patterns, and the use of *tihais* as end-markers of compositional and improvisational passages—which function as points of connection.

The substantial continuities between the musical organization of many West and Central African traditional musics and interaction in the jazz rhythm section has been substantively analyzed by Ingrid Monson, among others.[48] Monson, moreover, has illustrated the striking similarities in terms of collective musical processes and uses of repetition among West and Central African traditional musics and musics of the African diaspora as diverse as jazz, Afro-Cuban, zouk, and Haitian voudou drumming:

> Repeated parts of varying periodicities are layered together to generate an interlocking texture . . .which then serves as a stage over which various kinds of interplay (call and response) and improvisational inspiration take place. If the layered combination generates a good flow (hits a groove) a compelling processual whole emerges that sustains the combination through time and also the people interrelated through playing it . . . The similarity in the principles by which

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[47] Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* 196.

[48] Ingrid Monson, "Riffs, Repetitions and Theories of Globalization," *Ethnomusicology 43.1* (1999). See also Ingrid Monson, *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Paul Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

> repetitions are combined from this perspective provide a material basis for a free flow of particular rhythms and riffs across cultural and national boundaries.[49]

For Guilfoyle, the familiarity of African diasporic forms through the broad international dissemination and commodification of African-American derived music provides him with an opportunity to also connect with audiences. Music of substantial harmonic and rhythmic ambiguity, he feels, can connect with audiences through the common language of groove.

Groove in "Five Cities"

Melodic and harmonic development in *Five Cities*, whether composed or improvised, is laid over a constant texture of interlocking grooves within which a considerable degree of interaction occurs, both among the rhythm section, and between the rhythm section and improvising soloists. Groove, composition and improvisation are not separable elements; they function together to create the environment for mutual expression and interaction. Shotham was critical of typical approaches to fusions of Indian classical music and jazz in which groove and melody are maintained as separate functions: "usually it's a question of blowing; I mean it's what they all do. They have a quartet with John Handy; everybody's just blowing on top of a groove, and there's no structured form."[50]

In rehearsal, relatively little effort and discussion was needed to establish rhythmic grooves. Drummer Conor Guilfoyle explains: "There was actually very little discussion on the grooves. We all just jumped in. My approach was to play minimally, stay away from the toms, so not to bury the hand drums. They taught me a few simple breaks which we used."[51] To illustrate the manner in which the three percussionists layered their sound in creating groove, I provide a transcription of the three percussionists' introduction to "Charukesi" (see Figure 7). The introduction begins with 4 measures of drum set groove. The *tavil* then enters and the *mridangam* joins in two measures later. Conor Guilfoyle assumes the responsibility for establishing the majority of the groove, with Shotham playing tones rather than attacks. Mani focuses on the high tones of the *mridangam*, with an eight note feel that has a skip and is slightly bouncier than Guilfoyle's, distinguishing the instruments not just sonically, but through the characteristic placement of eighth notes. All three musicians divide the bar into a grouping of 4 + 3 (see Figure 8).

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[49] Monson, *Riffs, Repetition and Globalization* 36-44.
[50] Ramesh Shotham, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.
[51] Conor Guilfoyle, email to author, 11 Jan. 2008.

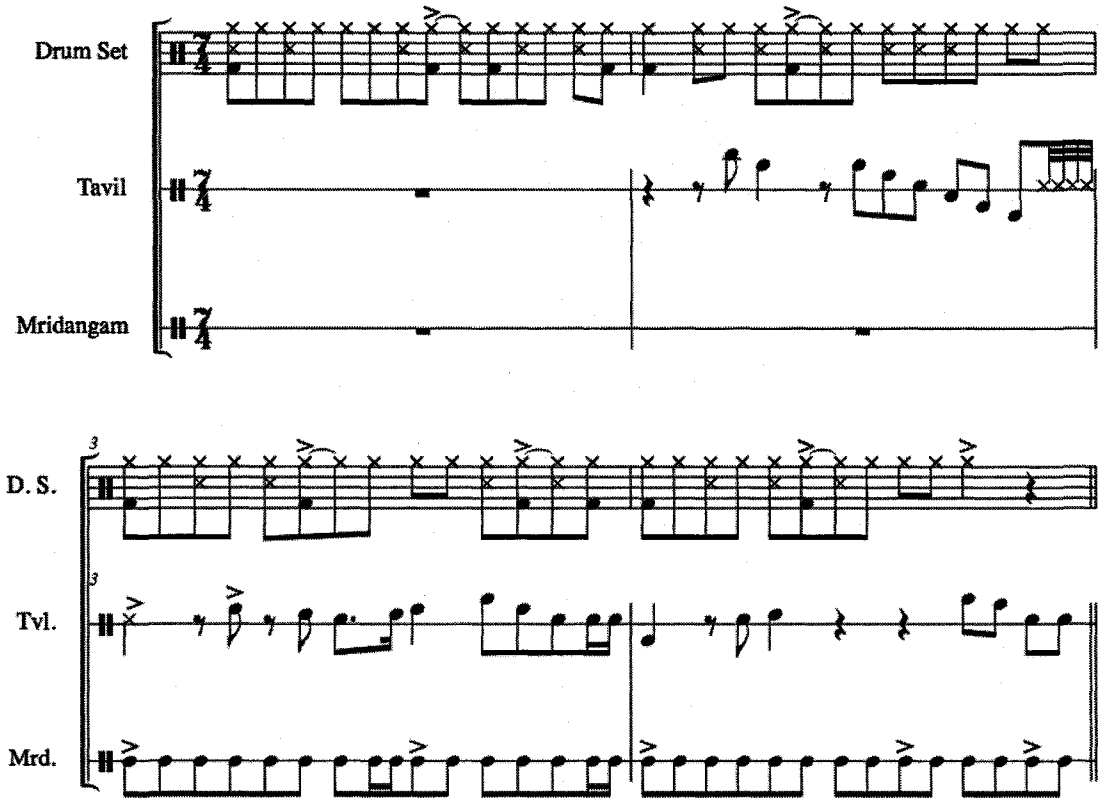

Fig. 8. Transcription of percussion introduction to Carukesi, *Five Cities*

To illustrate the manner in which the musicians collaborated to produce this multilayered texture, I also include the same passage extracted from Guilfoyle's original score (see Figure 9).

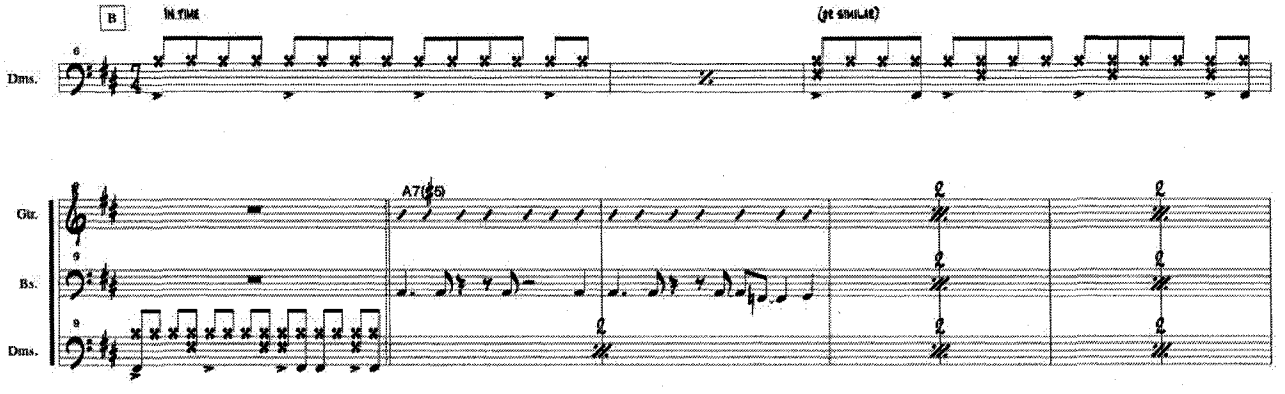

Fig. 9. Percussion introduction to Carukesi, *Five Cities* reproduced from original score

Both Conor and Ronan Guilfoyle describe Ramesh Shotham as a key figure in establishing the groove between the Indian and western musicians. Shotham suggests that Karnatak percussion is more amenable to collaboration with jazz drumming because of basic structural differences in the rhythmic concept. *Adi tala*, a Karnatak cycle comparable to the popular 16-beat *teentala* of Hindustani music, is half as long. Shotham suggests that therefore, "Karnatak grooves are more accessible. You have shorter rhythmic patterns that can repeat. Whereas the 16 beat cycle in itself is already 4 bars long. And the *tihai* then goes three times longer.[52] More important, though, is his experience working with musicians in both traditions. Through performing the *tavil*, a louder instrument to the others, he was able to communicate to both sides. Describing the impact of Ramesh's arrival to the band's rehearsals on the third day of the group's rehearsals in Bangalore, Ronan Guilfoyle comments:

> Having Ramesh in the band has really tightened it up rhythmically. He's a great conduit because he's a guy who they [the Manis] trust so much. And Mani is really happy to have him there. And of course Ramesh has worked with us many times ....I could really feel the difference when he came in today. Just general confidence of the group, and the general grooves, both coming from the Indian side and from our side.[53]

Similarly, Shotham's history working in various collaborations with the Manis and with the Guilfoyles was important. Conor Guilfoyle describes their collaboration: "Ramesh was the key between Mr. Mani and me. Mr. Mani trusted him and since Ramesh and I worked well together, he was happy that the overall sound was god. This was never stated explicitly, but this is what I felt."[54]

Repetitive Formal Elements

Each of the four movements of "Five Cities" are organized around the 32 bar AABA form characteristic of the popular songs of the 1920s-1950s that form the core of the jazz repertoire, referred to as "standards." In *Five Cities*, Guilfoyle extends the AABA form using various compositional devices common to modern jazz composition, including the use of odd meters, sections of uneven length, subdivision of even meters into odd metrical patterns, metric modulation, the use of backgrounds as exit cues for improvised solos, and the use of repetitive bass lines and "riff" structures. He also locates analogous structures in the compositional forms of Karnatak music and Irish traditional music, such as the AABB form typical of Irish jigs and reels, and Karnatak rhythmic cadences (*tihais* or *mora*), call-and-response forms (*korraippu*) and expressions of themes and variations. Although the social function of riffs and repetition has most frequently been theorized from the point of view of African Diasporic aesthetics, these

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[52] Shotham, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.
[53] Ronan Guilfoyle, quoted in Larkin, *Five Cities*.
[54] Conor Guilfoyle, email to author, 11 Jan. 2008.

features function in much the same way, as "multilayered, stratified, interactive, frames of musical, social and symbolic action."[55]

AABA Form

In jazz performance, the AABA form (or, "head") represents four layers of repetition: the recapitulation of the A section material in a single "chorus" (one 32 bar cycle through the form), the repetition of harmonic material through multiple choruses of improvisation; the repetition of the AABA form after the solos have ended, and the use of material from the A section as an introduction ("intro") and conclusion ("outro" or "tag") to the performance. Guilfoyle extends each of these layers of repetition compositionally. Melodic material is transformed and developed through rhythmic displacement, reharmonization, harmony and countermelody. An additional layer of repetition is located in a tendency, throughout the piece, to alternate between sections of modal and functional or chromatic harmony. While A sections are typically harmonically static (modal), subsequent sections feature intensified harmonic action (both in faster harmonic rhythm, and either functional or chromatic harmony), before returning to harmonic stasis in the A section.

Riffs—brief repeated melodic fragments—function both as a form of repetition and a source of variety.[56] In African Diasporic musics, riffs function as invitations to musical exchange, improvised, or collectively. In *Five Cities,* Guilfoyle uses these devices to call musicians into collective action. Guilfoyle locates similar structures in Karnatak music, and makes use of them to collect musicians at various points in the proceedings. The most marked importation of Karnatak music is Guilfoyle's pervasive use of the tihai (even though this term properly belongs to Hindustani performance, it is used frequently by the musicians in this collaboration to stand for the Karnatak tirnaman, or arudi, or korvai, or mora[57]). A korvai is a rhythmic pattern that is repeated three times to resolve on the first beat of a new tala cycle. They serve thus to mark the end, or the end of a section of an improvisation or composition. Karnatak musicians build up a vocabulary of korvais, as well as the ability to recognize the beginning of one, and to rapidly calculate the correct note to begin a given korvai in order to resolve it both melodically and rhythmically.

In jazz, as is more generally the case in Western traditional and classical music, improvisations and compositions are organized around the concept of 4- and 8-bar forms. Karnatak participants have no similar frame of reference, inasmuch as the phrase length in Karnatak compositions is dictated by the composer's wish, and organized with reference to *tala* cycles that can recur at any length. In *Five Cities*, the *mora* serves a particularly useful purpose of demarcating the ends of compositional sections. Guilfoyle

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[55] Monson, "Riffs, Repetition and Globalization" 32.
[56] Monson, "Riffs, Repetition and Globalization" 36.
[57] Pesch says that a pattern marked by greater rhythmic complexity is known as a *mora*, but I have heard this phrase used to designate any rhythmic pattern repeated three times to mark the end of a section.

uses *mora* frequently throughout the composition in two approaches. First, he uses *mora* to ground his melodic concept in a rhythmic concept in much the same manner as the *kriti* form in Karnatak music. He also reverses their order in the 4 bar cycle, beginning a 4 bar cycle with a *korvai* (this functions like a reverse clave in jazz). Second, he uses them in more traditionally Karnatak ways, to begin and end movements of the composition, and to signal transitions from one section of a composition to another. This use of *mora* serves an important role in unifying Mani and Ramamani, who do not read Western notation, with the other musicians who do.

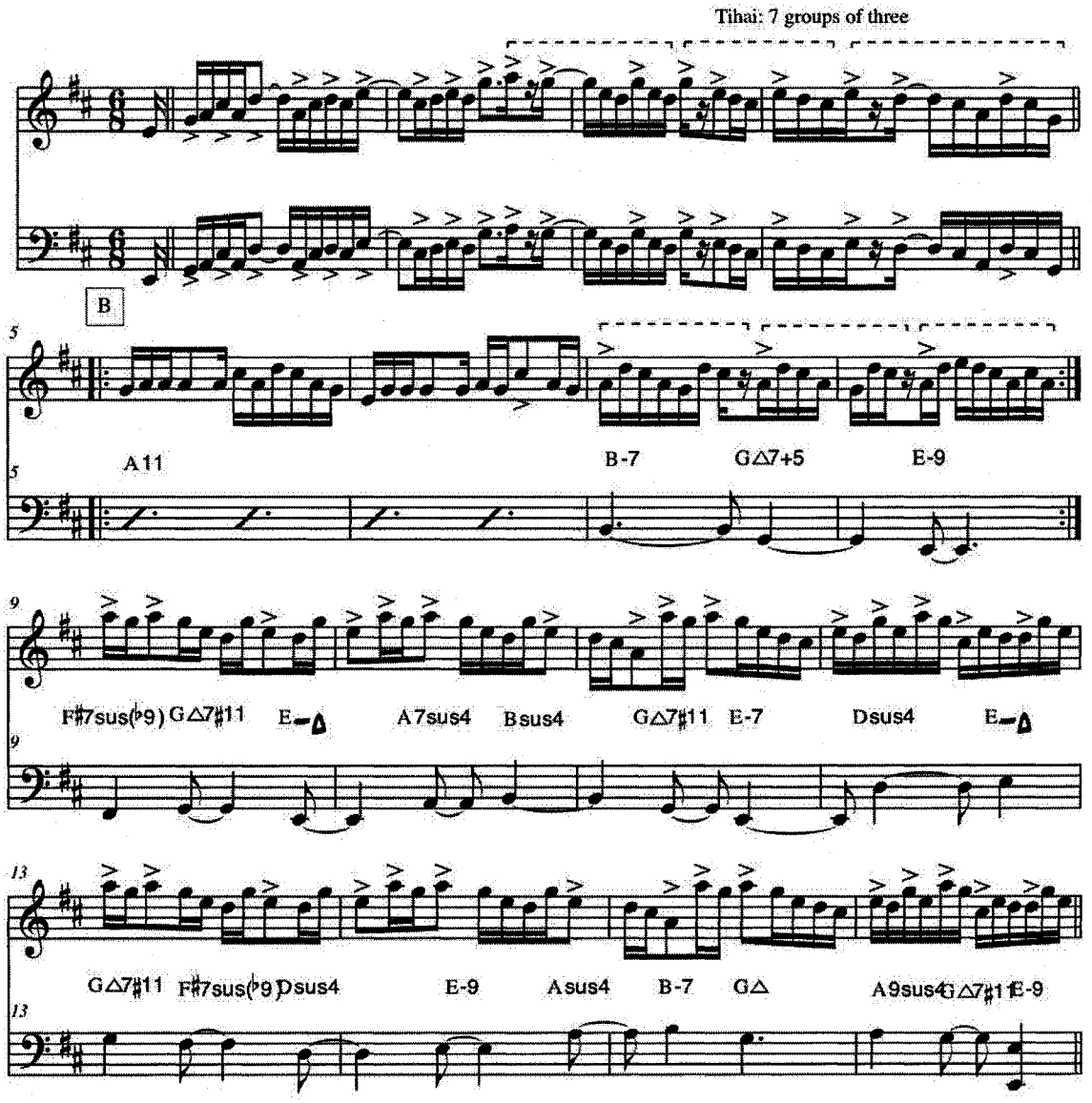

Fig. 10. *Korvai* figures in Jig, *Five Cities*

Call and Response Structures

Guilfoyle uses various call and response structures in his composition and improvisation. The suite opens with an exchange of improvised melodic lines, in which Ramamani introduces the raga Carukesi using techniques characteristic of Karnatak *alapam* performance, while piper Martin Nolan improvises melodic lines reminiscent of the slow air of Irish traditional music. Nolan does not respond directly to Ramamani's use of melodic phrases and *gamaka* characteristic of the raga, nor does it seem that he is expected to. Rather the exchange serves to set up the terms of the musical meeting that unfolds. Later in the movement, when Ramamani improvises in raga *carukesi* over the rhythm section's accompaniment, Guilfoyle interpolates melodic "fills" on his bass, responding to her vocal lines and returning to the written bass line.

In the suite's final movement titled "Kriti/Reel," Guilfoyle imitates the *pallavi-sangati-anupallavi-caranam* structure typical of the Kriti form in Karnatak composition.[58] In the "Kriti" section, theme and variation are closely notated. Scored in the melody, *korvai and sangati* lose the immediacy of Karnatak performance, where composition can be elaborated with improvisation at any point, and where a close, sympathetic bond between improviser and accompanist maintains a constant tension among performers and between the performers and their audience. When the extended 6-bar *korvai* resolves into an Irish-sounding jig, with its reassuringly Irish phrasing and a bass line reminiscent of Calypso, it strikes my ears as manipulative. A "burning" guitar solo follows, leading into an extended Karnatak percussion solo that provides the dramatic peak of the suite. Here, the interaction between Karnatak performers (Mani on *mridangam,* Shotham on *ghatam* and Ramamani singing *solkattu*) restores the immediacy of improvised Karnatak performance.

In the concert footage from the *Five Cities* DVD, the dramatic manipulations of kriti to reel to electric guitar serve to set up a moment that illustrates the heart of this musical exchange. In an exchange of *korvais* of escalating complexity among Mani (playing the *mridangam*), Shotham (playing *ghatam*), and Ramamani (singing *solkattu*), the Irish musicians stand to the side of the stage, smiling as they follow the elastic tension of call-and-response among the Karnatak performers. At one point, having thrown off a particularly complex *korvai* to his student, Shotham responds with one of equal

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[58] The Kriti is the most important form in Karnatak music, used in concert, devotional music and dance performance. A typical kriti has three parts, an opening *pallavi* theme that recurs later as a refrain for variations *(sangati)*, a second theme (*anupallavi*), and a concluding theme (*caranam*). The composers of Karnatak music's "Trinity," particularly Tyagaraja, composed elaborate variations for the *pallavi-sangati*, which provide models for improvisation. In concert performance, and particularly in *ragam-tanam-pallavi* performance, the variations are extended greatly. Compositions exist not as fixed on paper, but as a dynamic body of knowledge representing the composer, information about the composition provided to the performers by his or her *guru,* and the performers own individual interpretation. Accomplished accompanists may not know the kriti, but can still perform admirably, knowing the tala and raga and paying attention.

complexity. Seeming to forget he was on stage, rather than in his teaching room, Mani bursts out "Very good!" and beams a radiant smile.

Enclosure

Guilfoyle explains that his rationale in this was the model of the French-Vietnamese guitarist and composer Nguyen Le, whose projects blending jazz and Vietnamese folk and classical music Guilfoyle admires as "genuinely lovely music in which all the different musical traditions are clearly identifiable yet don't feel grafted on to each other."[59] Guilfoyle strives towards "seamlessness" by suspending musical differences in groove. Extended composition functions to create differentiated musical contexts for improvisation, and to ensure that the various musical languages are represented equally by providing each improviser with the support particular to his or her abilities.

Consistent with Guilfoyle's policy of composing for performers rather than for posterity, he does not require performers to act outside of the range of their abilities. With the exception of the interaction between jazz rhythm section and Karnatak percussionists, there is little of the interjection, mimicry, and intertextuality that characterize a jazz performance. With the exception of Peter Browne, neither the Karnatak nor the Irish traditional musicians are required to improvise melodic lines over harmonic changes. Ramamani joins the other melodic instrumentalists only during unison passages, and not in polyphonic passages. The Irish musicians are not required to function within the performative structures of Karnatak music. Harmonic development is limited during soloing for all members: the spontaneous reharmonization characteristic of a jazz rhythm section is held to a minimum.

At times, this policy of enclosure seems to lend the project an almost curatorial quality in which the individual participants are selectively "represented" to one another, and in which something of the vital interactive and communicative potential of each tradition is lost. Speaking from my experience as a performer, however, I weigh my aesthetic concerns against my experience of the magnitude of musical difference represented among the performers, and the pragmatic concerns of rehearsing a concert program over the course of two days. In this context, composition plays an essential role in ensuing both parity of representation, and the quality of aesthetics.

Zones of Mutuality

Karnatak music, in its contemporary performance, is an ensemble tradition with a clearly defined set of musical and performative guides for rhythmic and melodic accompaniment. Most Karnatak concerts feature a soloist (vocalist or instrumentalist), a melodic accompanist (typically a violinist, which replaced the *vina*), and a percussion

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[59] Ronan Guilfoyle, email to author, 15 Jan. 2008.

accompanist, most often a *mridangam* player. Ensembles are often augmented by a second percussionist playing the *kanjira*, the *ghatam*, or the *morsing*.[60] Ludwig Pesch argues that instrumental accompaniment is a comparatively more elaborate proposition in Karnatak music than in Hindustani music: "During a regular music concert, a South Indian percussionist always has the twin tasks of being an accompanist as well as a soloist. Unlike his North Indian counterpart, he or she is expected to perform an extensive solo."[61] Ramamani, commenting on the contribution of a specifically South Indian ensemble practice offered:

> Tabla player, his job is just explained. Just take the rhythmic structure and keep the rhythm, that's all. Here, it's each is inspiring, and the composition. As I'm singing he [T. A. S. Mani] won't [simply] keep the tempo. He can do some more things to beautify it or inspire it or elevate it ... Mutually it is all inspiring it. It has to be like that. And if you listen to some people, it may not be like that. But it's possible.[62]

The primacy of the composer and compositions in contemporary Karnatak practice serves as another important point of connection. As T. S. Visnawathan and Matthew Allen explain: "Karnatak musicians, like jazz performers, come to the stage with a knowledge of repertoire of musical compositions, a set of processes by which these are interpreted in performance, and ears wide open."[63] Karnatak musicians are accustomed to learning large stretches of music from memory, working both from *sargam* notation, but more important, learning orally. Ramamani suggests "the compositions are very strong in South Indian music. And the speed, everything comes to you from the beginning. The student has to learn."[64] The composition, learned orally, becomes a "fixed but flexible core" which a mature performer adds individual touches through interpretation and improvisation.[65] Irish traditional music performance likewise depends on a shared repertoire that is transmitted orally and interpreted by individual performers. The implications for *Five Cities* are twofold: all participants approach the performance with an understanding of a relationship between composition and interpretation; the performers have a set of processes by which they can learn music, and a willingness to participate in what is perceived as a mutually empowering individual and collective expression facilitated by the structures of composition.

Guilfoyle describes a shared understanding of the function of music that is shared by performers in both traditions:

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[60] T. Visnawathan and Matthew Harp Allen, *Music in South India: The Karnatak Concert Tradition and Beyond* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2004) 29.
[61] Ludwig Pesch, *Music in South India* 47.
[62] R. A. Ramamani, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.
[63] Visnawathan and Allen, *Music in South India* 60.
[64] R. A. Ramamani, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.
[65] Visnawathan and Allen, *Music in South India* 60.

> The ensemble situation, the democracy of the ensemble, and the improvisation based on composition are all things that jazz musicians understand, and they're all things that Karnatak musicians understand. And that's why I think jazz and Karnatak music collaborations are much easier to make work [than collaborations with Hindustani musicians]. Because you're working from a basic understanding of these three principles.[66]

Discussion

Both the film and the music of *Five Cities* deal from time to time in kind of exoticism that is standard of optimistic intercultural fusions, and an analysis of the musical text and recording might easily cast the project in terms of appropriation. The recurring pentatonic motif of the flute's melody in the movement "Air" betrays a hint of *chinoiserie*. The segue of an ersatz *kriti* into an ersatz reel can readily be cast as pastiche. That Conor Guilfoyle's drum solo was titled *Tani Avartanam*—when by the performer's own admission, its content was informed entirely by the jazz tradition[67]—could be read as an appropriation. These features, especially when considered in the context of presentation to an enthusiastic Irish audience of a concert explicitly framed as "world music," provide ample material for the anxious narrator of Western appropriations of non-Western music. These are very real concerns. To tell that tale, however, would involve omitting many salient sites of mutuality that inform the music and function invisibly in the score and on the stage.

Five Cities is less a story about musical representations of difference, than it is a story about the musical representation of relationships: social relationships formed between performers across significant cultural boundaries; relationships between musical practices that are internal to performers, formed not because of, but in spite of the musical globalizations that set them in play; and relationships between two nations whose history of cross-colony identification created the stage for this music to be created and performed. An analysis based on musical text alone cannot make these relationships visible. Much as Conor Guilfoyle displays a tolerance to the imperative of narrative in Larkin's film, so am I tempted towards a certain tolerance for *Five Cities'* occasional exotic cliché: the performance itself speaks louder than its notes.

Jonathan Bellman suggests that: "musical exoticism seeks above all to state the otherwise unstatable...inherent in the compositional choice to use a foreign language is

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[66] Ronan Guilfoyle, personal interview with author, 8 Nov. 2003.

[67] Conor Guilfoyle wrote: "My solo had nothing to do with Karnatak rhythm techniques. I really didn't need to go there, as we already had a master of that style in our group. I brought in what I had to offer as a jazz drummer to the solo. It was done as drop-in at the studio, basically a freeform solo, starting from a ballad tempo and bringing in the groove to the final sequence ... The only reference to the Karnatak is my set up groove where I apply an application of a mridingam type groove to help make it obvious for Mr. Mani and Ramesh." Guilfoyle, email to author, 11 Jan. 2008.

the desire to evoke something titillatingly out of the ordinary."[68] In *Five Cities*, exoticism is tempered by social and musical familiarity. If *Five Cities* says something unstatable, it is not through composition so much as it is through its performance, which requires the ability and desire of all performers to go beyond the limits of their musical languages. In the 1970s, McLaughlin's dazzling performances with Shakti depended mainly on McLaughlin's detailed study of Karnatak music, and the music performed was patterned closely on contemporary Karnatak performance practice and repertoire. Guilfoyle, by contrast, composed with working knowledge of Karnatak compositional and improvisational technique, and its performers work as much out of their traditions as they do within them.

A narrator might use *Five Cities* as grounds upon which to advance a celebratory tale about the resilience of nationalism and tradition in the context of globalization. I do think this is a tale worth telling, but I was unable to locate its narrative in the musicians' discourse. As Conor Guilfoyle explained to me: "I suppose the Irishness did have its part (how could it not), but from a personal view I came to this project as a jazz musician, not as an Irish Jazz Musician. The fact that we have the same colonial masters as Ramesh pointed out maybe had something to do with how well we got on. You'll need someone more qualified than me to look at that."[69] Ronan Guilfoyle was more assertive than his brother in framing his engagement with Irish music in terms of his Irish identity:

> I certainly never thought of Irish traditional music in terms of nationalist sentiments until recently. I grew up in a society where trad was considered incredible unfashionable—rustic, unsophisticated, music for simple country people ... Now I see it as something vitally Irish. I don't think my own experiments with trad were coming from this feeling of Irishness though, it was much more to do with the music itself.[70]

Setting aside for a moment the problem of "music itself," I would argue that an analysis of nationalism in *Five Cities* would have to come to terms with Guilfoyle's assertion of a lack of nationalist intent.

The context of *Five Cities'* production and reception is anchored in a history of Indian-Irish affiliation. Then Irish Ambassador to India Philip McDonagh, introducing Khanda and the Karnataka College of Percussion to the diplomatic community gathered at their performance at the Irish embassy in New Delhi, commented:

> We imagine that our role is to bring Ireland and India, and Europe and India closer together, but when you hear a group like Khanda and their Indian colleagues you realize that what they do in achieving a genuine affinity and

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[68] Jonathan Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern Univeristy Press, 1998) xii.
[69] Conor Guilfoyle, email to author, 11 Jan. 2008.
[70] Ronan Guilfoyle, email to author, 15 Jan. 2008.

> rapport and pollenizing of Irish and Indian traditions represents in some way what we're all trying to do here in our diplomatic life.[71]

Nothing in their discourse, however, suggests that the musicians of Khanda and Karnataka College of Percussion had a diplomatic mission in mind. The Irish trade mission to India provided an opportunity they would not otherwise have been able to afford. Nor did the diplomatic context of the tour affect the music performed by the musicians, which corresponds to their previous output as documented on Khanda's debut CD and Guilfoyle's previous recoded collaborations with Ramesh Shotham and with the Karnataka College of Percussion.

McDonagh's framing of the collaboration as *performing* diplomacy—even as it trades in "small world after all" clichés—illuminates an important feature of this collaboration. Music can embody complex social relationships and globalization to a level of specificity and depth that speech about music cannot adequately convey. As such, I argue for the consideration of performance—as well as the performer's voices—as a primary mode for articulating meaning. Foregrounding the importance of performance is hardly a new discourse in ethnomusicology. Mantle Hood's notion of "bi-musicality" was aimed at scholars who wished to inform their "descriptive and analytical" studies with understandings gained from proficient in various modes of musical discourse.[72] Steven Feld has affirmed both speech and music modes in his conception of music as a "feelingful" realm of experience: "its generality and multiplicity of possible messages and interpretations brings out a special kind of 'feelingful' activity and engagement...that unites the material and mental dimensions of musical experience as fully embodied."[73]

By foregrounding musicians' own vernacular perspectives, I do not mean to suggest that these should be closed to interpretation. By arguing for the significance of musical performance, I do not mean to say that improvisation and its musical texts cannot be critiqued. Admitting performance into discourse of exoticism allows me to speak about those invisible and inaudible musical relationships that exist between and among the performers in this collaboration. It restores some measure of the current of trust, respect and mutual empowerment that ran among these performers as they performed and prepared to perform. On the site of a profound engagement with performance, arguably, we could reconcile the sort of schism between performing music and writing about music that prompts Conor Guilfoyle to suggest that I find someone "more qualified" than him to comment on his Irishness.

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[71] Philip McDonagh quoted in Larkin, *Five Cities*.
[72] Mantle Hood, "The Musical Mode of Discourse," *The Ethnomusicolgist* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971) 230.
[73] Steven Feld, "Communication, Music and Speech about Music," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 16 (1984) 9.

Chapter V
Improvising, Identity, and Hybridity in the New York Scene[1]

Introduction

In a 2005 feature on Indian-American jazz musicians Vijay Iyer and Rudresh Mahanthappa, *Village Voice* jazz critic Francis Davis posited, with mixed feelings, a new category of "identity jazz" to locate their music in a nexus of identity politics, musical marketing, and the charged racial history of American jazz. He states: "My only argument with what I'm tempted to call identity jazz is the mistaken belief of some promoters that the way to lure more people to jazz is to convince audiences that it's about them ... and African American musicians are suddenly the ones left out in the cold.[2] Discourse on race in American jazz has always been charged by the polarization of "black" and "white" aesthetics and authority. The emergence, over the past decade, of a small and visible cohort of South Asian-American jazz performers in New York has altered the discourse on race in American jazz, both by complicating its racial polarization, and by problematizing the relationship of jazz and its exotic, Indian other.

This cohort comprises a small group of bandleaders —guitarist Rez Abbasi, drummer Sunny Jain, saxophonist Rudresh Mahanthappa, pianist Vijay Iyer, and drummer Ravish Momin— born in the United States and abroad, in the early 1970s. As the first generation of American-raised Indians, they have improvised identities in this most American of art forms. Each has released a series of recordings that make explicit—by virtue of titles, instrumentation, liner notes, and by representation of the materials of Indian music—their concern with the formation and representation of an Indian-American identity in jazz. Rez Abbasi has released recordings titled *Third Ear* and *Snake Charmer*.[3] On *Avaaz* and *Mango Festival* the Sunny Jain Collective, performs compositions titled "Baraat" and "Blu Vindaloo."[4] Ravish Momin's Trio Tarana, locates India in a range of ethnicities: "Ragalaya" joins "Dai Genyo" and "Peace for Kabul."[5]

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[1] A version of this paper was presented at the conference "New Directions in U. S. Ethnic Studies." Rudresh Mahanthappa and Vijay Iyer were performing during the Burlington Jazz Festival, which was held in conjunction with this conference. I invited them to join my paper presentation for an "improvised" discussion before the audience of academics and members of the general public. Tanya Kalmanovitch, "Improvising, Identity, and Hybridity in the New York Scene," New Directions in U. S. Ethnic Studies, University of Vermont, 6 June 2006.

[2] Francis Davis, "Beyond the Melting Pot: Vijay Iyer and Rudresh Mahanthappa sure are tough-minded—and also Indian Americans," *Village Voice* 17 May 2005, 11 Feb. 2007 <http://www.villagevoice.com/music/0520,davis1,64045,22html>.

[3] Rez Abbasi, "Third Ear," Feroza Music, 1997; Rez Abassi, "Snake Charmer," Feroza Music, 2005.

[4] Sunny Jain Collective, "Avaaz," Sinj Records, 2006; Sunny Jain Collective, "Mango Festival," Zoho Music, 2004.

[5] Ravish Momin's Trio Tarana, "Climbing the Banyan Tree," CleanFeed Records, 2004; Ravish Momin's Trio Tarana, "Miren," CleanFeed Records, 2007.

Vijay Iyer and Rudresh Mahanthappa have been more circumspect in representing Indianness in their titles: of their 14 releases, only two—Mahanthappa's *Yatra* and Iyer's *Blood Sutra*—make titular reference to India.[6]

With the exception of Ravish Momin, each of these musicians undertook extensive professional training in jazz performance, and their professional careers are deeply invested in the mainstream professional culture of jazz performance and education. Despite this, their music is often described by jazz critics and other commentators as unhesitatingly "Indian," and their orientation to jazz as "mixing," "blending," and "fusing." Such descriptions situate these performers, by virtue of visible ethnicity, as foreign to the American jazz tradition. As is evident in the choices musicians make in naming their albums—a rough but public barometer—South Asian-American jazz musicians occupy an ambivalent position with respect to their identification as "Indian" in the jazz context. They occupy different positions with respect to the emergence of a popular Desi[7] culture in the United States, and the means by which, the extent to which, and the degree to which they experience their ethnicity as central to their aesthetic identities.

Nonetheless, since I began this project in 2001, South Asian jazz performers have gained considerable professional momentum and visibility. Part of this rests on the trend, as identified in the New York Times article I quoted in the opening chapter, for cultural products of and representing India. Whether one chalks up the trend, like Vijay Iyer, to temporary "collateral damage from the opening of [Andrew Lloyd Webber's musical] *Bombay Dreams,*" or whether one takes it as a sign of the emergence *en masse* of a first-generation of Indian-born Americans into professional life, the timing was propitious for Indian-Americans emerging into public cultural life. As Vijay Iyer concedes, "we all got some attention from the mainstream."[8] But these performers are not passive recipients of public attention who simply seem to emit music. As middle class American men possessed of significant degrees of educational capital, they have each engaged with this moment in different ways as a means of propelling careers as solo artists in an increasingly challenging economic climate for jazz. This chapter examines the provenance, formation and articulation of a specifically South Asian identity in the context of American jazz and the turn of the twenty-first century, and seeks to elucidate some of the mechanisms by which a specifically Indian identity invigorates American jazz, and propels the careers of Indian-American jazz performers.

Downtown Moves to Brooklyn

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[6] Vijay Iyer, "Blood Sutra," Pi Recordings 2003; Rudresh Mahanthappa, "Yatra," 1994.
[7] The word "desi" means "of the country" in Hindi, Urdu, and several other languages of the Indian subcontinent. Since the late 1960s it has been used colloquially by non-resident Indians to refer to people and things of Indian origin.
[8] Vijay Iyer,"Sangha: Collaborative Improvisations on Community," *Critical Studies in Improvisation* 1.3 (2000): 15.

The emergence of Indian-American jazz into the "mainstream" can also be situated in a context of jazz production that is preoccupied with representations of ethnicity and identity. In the "downtown scene" of the early 1990s, non-black performers responded to the canonization of jazz, with its aggressive and nostalgic marketing of black "young lions," with a range of projects that echoed the increased circulation of global sounds. Trumpeter Dave Douglas explored Balkan traditional music in the Tiny Bell Trio, Indian music in Satya, and contemporary classical music in Parallel Worlds.[9] Saxophonist John Zorn began an expansive compositional project under the name of Masada, in which various bands interpreted a range of "Jewish" inspired compositions, released on his own label Tzadik under the heading of "Radical Jewish Culture."[10] These and other actions by highly successful white performers served to consolidated the concept of the musical "project," a term which quickly displaced "band" and which located music of previously un-hyphenated white musicians in a zone of ideology and identity.

A "project" is more than a band: it is an aesthetically-, thematically- and temporally-bounded body of compositions and performative approaches in which extra-musical features give music a narrative frame. Thus, Zorn's Masada project is "about" "bringing Jewish identity and culture into the 21st century."[11] A project's thematic, temporal, and aesthetic boundaries invoke difference which is crucial in making a name for a bandleader, marketing a musicians' recording, and consolidating his or her reputation by setting the stage for both sequels and new projects.[12] By the first years of the twenty-first century, representations of ethnicity have become a commonplace of the downtown scene, now displaced by gentrification to the New York City borough of Brooklyn. Brooklyn, long a bastion of the working-class borough from which artists sought to escape, has become the site of a vigorous intercultural life. In its gentrification, it is imagined as an American "melting pot" where persistent cultural and social differences are simultaneously celebrated and erased.[13] Barbès, a Brooklyn bar and

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[9] Tiny Bell Trio, *Songs for Wandering Souls,* Winter & Winter, 1999; Dave Douglas, *Parallel Worlds* Soul Note, 1999; Tiny Bell Trio, *Tiny Bell Trio* Arabesque Records, 1997.

[10] John Zorn, *Radical Jewish Culture,* www.tzadik.com.; John Zorn, *Bar Kokhba*, Tzadik 7108-2,1996; John Zorn, *The Circle Maker*, Tzadik 7122-2, 1998.

[11] John Zorn, *Radical Jewish Culture,* www.tzadik.com.

[12] In many ways, the "project" is analogous to the "concept album" in popular music, but it departs from the existing model in the manner in which personnel are specific. In the 1990s jazz, like classical music, frequently turned to the marketing models of popular music in the ambiguous wake of the restructuring of major record labels.

[13] A recent mass email publicizing an upcoming performance by Brooklyn-based jazz violinist Skye Steele neatly encapsulate the "21st Century Brooklyn" soundscape: "The Skye Steele Quintet has collected a menagerie of musical creatures from around the world and let them cross-breed to create a brood of exotic and enchanting new species only to be found in 21st-century Brooklyn. Erik Satie and John Coltrane discuss American politics, a Turkish wedding band ransacks Sesame Street, an olde Irish bard

performance space, features bands like Slavic Soul Party and the Brooklyn Qwaali Party, which perform transcriptions of traditional music performed mainly by white jazz musicians for educated young white audiences in search of danceable, socially responsible alterity.

Jazz musicians join these projects for various reasons: for most, out of a sincere desire to connect with "authenticity." But as Simon Frith has observed in world music, "the authentic" replaces "the exotic" and hybridity is advanced as a newer form of authenticity.[14] For jazz performers, these groups present opportunities to perform imaginary identifications with ethnicity, and provide access to larger and more enthusiastic audiences. There is much evidence of what Jason Stanyek refers to as "the unflinching lauding of all things hybrid, the propensity for musicians and critics to view the syncretic and the plural with unchecked adoration."[15]

That Francis Davis' formulation of "identity jazz" was used intentionally to describe the work of Iyer and Mahanthappa and not the work of unhyphenated white jazz musicians representing their own or others' ethnic identities, points out an essential difference faced by South Asian jazz performers. In jazz, Indianness makes visible—if not always audible—the differences between black and white and brown. Jazz audiences, critics, and scholars project many things on to Indian performers—a sign of the jazz genre's vigorous hybridity, a sign of jazz's enduring spirtualism, a marketable form of racial difference, a site of exotic alterity—each of which serves to re-inscribe their difference. Sandhya Shukla argues that the "porousness and inclusivity" of public discourse of India and Indianness, particularly that which is shaped through postwar diaspora allows these concepts to be configured endlessly, and that India in particular has served as a ready sign for globalism: "One can project a great many possibilities, without coherence, onto national spaces like "India."[16]

In this chapter, I consider the work of three of these performers—pianist Vijay Iyer, alto saxophonist Rudresh Mahanthappa, and drummer Ravish Momin—whose negotiations of difference have followed different paths, to different aesthetic ends. Indian music and jazz have served as important sites for the construction, negotiation, and continual transformation of Indian-American identities. Rudresh Mahanthappa has addressed his South Indian ethnicity directly in projects such as the Dakshina Ensemble (a collaboration with Karnatak saxophonist Kadri Gopalnath) and the Indo-Pak Coalition (a trio with Rez Abassi and *tabla* player Dan Weiss) but his projects as a bandleader are

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falls in love with a Persian princess, and much more." Skye Steele, email to author, 15 Jan. 2008.

[14] Simon Frith, "The Discourse of World Music" (2000), In Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, eds. *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) 308.

[15] Jason Stanyek, "Articulating Intercultural Free Improvisation: Evan Parker's Synergetics Project," *Resonance* 7.2 (1999): 44.

[16] Sandhya Shukla, *India Abroad: Diasporic Cultures of Postwar America and England*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) 17.

strongly rooted in the jazz tradition and post-bebop aesthetics. He uses complex compositional layers to encrypt Indianness and to reflect a multiply constructed nature of identity. Of the three, Vijay Iyer has been the most assertive in terms of locating his musical project in the ideological territory of race and jazz. Ravish Momin, by contrast, constructs the musical representation of his Indianness by engaging explicitly with a broad range of the world's folk musics in the context of free and collective improvisation, situating Indianness as a fluid, inherently transcultural and performative construct. I consider these musicians in terms of their own discourse in their diasporic identities, and their strategies for constructing and representing identity in their music. Finally, I consider the context of their music's reception over a span of nearly a decade to illustrate how an emergent identity is impacted by its reception, and how ethnicity, the politics of identity, class and classicism function as forms of authority in this transcultural space.

American Diasporic Identities

In 2000, the year of the most recent United States census, 1.7 million people living in the United States claimed Indian descent.[17] This otherwise largely heterogeneous population emigrated comparatively recently, with large numbers arriving after 1965, following the passing of the Immigration and Naturalization Act, which loosened racial restrictions on immigration to the United States. This was a largely educated, professional-class population, many of whom would have already been familiar with a construction of the United States as a place of limitless potential for success, and who were prepared to work hard to realize it. In the decades that followed, Indians and Indianness became increasingly visible and locally recognized, particularly in the northeastern United States where diasporic communities concentrated in larger numbers.

Vijay Iyer, Rudresh Mahanthappa, and Ravish Momin, all currently in their mid-30s, came of age in the United States among the first generation of children born to Indian parents abroad. Their process of identity formation has involved negotiating the relationship of a broad category of visible Indianness against an otherwise unhyphenated white Americanness; as well as the process of negotiating an Indian-American identity that comes to terms with the specific ethnic, class, and linguistic contexts of their parents' origins. Carla Pietevich has observed that forms of cultural expression in the Indian diaspora do not reflect territory, as much as they do generational shifts in milieu:[18] they resist "efforts of various groups to inscribe into them any particular definition of 'Indian-

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[17] U.S. Census Bureau 2000 figures.

[18] On his website, Pakistani-born jazz guitarist Rez Abassi elides nationality in publicly identifying with the "Indian sub-continent" and Indian classical music. His biography begins, "Born on the Indian sub-continent, removed at the age of four to the driving sounds of Southern California, schooled at the University of Southern California and the Manhattan School of Music in jazz and classical music, as well as a pilgrimage in India under the tutorial of master percussionist, Ustad Alla Rakha, Rez Abbasi is a vivid synthesis of all the above stated influences and genres." Rez Abassi, "Biography," 24 Jan. 2008 <www.reztone.com/bio.html>..

ness'...the term 'South Asian' seems to be more comfortable."[19] For each of these performers, Indian music and jazz have served as the sites through which they continually construct an emergent form of identity.

Vijay Iyer

Born to South Indian parents in Albany, New York in 1971, pianist Vijay Iyer grew up in Rochester as one of the handful of Indian families there in the mid-1970s. He began studying the violin at the age of 3 in a local Suzuki program, while his sister began piano lessons. Iyer recalls beginning to teach himself the piano around the age of 6 or 7, by imitating the sounds he heard on the radio. The violin remained his "serious" instrument throughout his early college years, but he was able to develop his skills as a pianist enough to serve as both his high school orchestra's concertmaster, and as a keyboard player for the school's jazz and rock bands. He credits his development as a jazz pianist to the intersection of his rigorous classical training on the violin and the relative freedom with which he could approach the piano: "I wasn't caged in by classical training on the piano. No one was telling me what to do on the piano and it set me free."[20]

Iyer continued self-directed musical studies while undertaking an undergraduate degree in math and physics at Yale University, where he occasionally led jazz bands in performances of standards and original compositions. Following his graduation from Yale, he moved to Berkeley, California to pursue a master's degree in physics and an interdisciplinary Ph.D. in Technology and the Arts from the University of California. While living in the Bay Area, Iyer connected with a number of musicians who influenced his connection of aesthetics to ideology, among them trombonist and scholar George Lewis, saxophonist Steve Coleman, and the musicians of the Asian Improv collective. Formed on the model of the Chicago's AACM, the musicians of Asian Improv sought to assert Asian identity and ethnicity through musical improvisation. Iyer recalls "there was something very politicized about that act [of connecting improvisation with identity politics] that really appealed to me ... it was also connected with the African American tradition of sort of looking back into one's past and connecting with African music."[21] Iyer credits his education at Yale for providing him with the tools to think critically about race and power. Framing his identity as "brown skinned" and as a "person of color"—categories which are both more ambiguous and more specific to his experience growing up "growing up brown and different and marginal"[22]—served a crucial role in connecting his ethnicity and identity to his music.

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[19] Carla Pietevich, ed. "Intertwining Religion and Ethnicity: South Asian Cultural Performance in the Diaspora," *The Expanding Landscape: South Asians and the Diaspora* (Delhi: Manohar, 1999) 167.
[20] Vijay Iyer, interview with Fred Ho, <www.jazzweekly.com/interviews/VIYER.htm>.
[21] Vijay Iyer, panel discussion at the International Association for Jazz Education, New York, NY 22 Jan. 2004.
[22] Vijay Iyer, public interview with author, 6 June 2006.

Iyer's process of identification with Indian music was "gradual and organic and sort of spontaneous." As he grew up, Indian classical music was a regular feature of Iyer's home life. His parents often played Karnatak music recordings and sang *bhajans* in the home, and as he recalls "[I] wasn't so conscious of it or particularly in love with it or anything, it was just sort of there in the same way that my mother's cooking was there. It was *there*." While living in the Bay Area, Iyer taught himself the fundamentals of Karnatak music through books, recordings, attending concerts, and speaking to knowledgeable listeners. He describes his awakening to South Indian music in his early twenties as important to his process of self-discovery as a musician: "part of that involved really connecting with my heritage and my ancestry ... connecting with Indian music was really about connecting with myself at some deeper level." Iyer was conscious of the manner in which his ethnicity might inscribe authority in his connection to Indian music: "I guess my relationship to Indian music necessarily had to be more complicated ... I would never presume to say that I can be a Karnatic musician and play Karnatic music. That takes a lifetime of study."[23]

In his first recordings as a bandleader, released while he was living in the Bay Area, Iyer made explicit his perspective as a jazz musician of the South Asian diaspora, connecting his autodidacticism to the history of African American musical leaders.[24] Moving to New York in the late 1990s, he rapidly ascended to a position of prominence as a performer, composer, and academic. Named the #1 Rising Star Jazz Artist of the Year and #1 Rising Star Composer of the Year in the Downbeat Magazine International Critics' Poll for both 2006 and 2007, and has been widely regarded as one of "the new stars of jazz" (U.S. News & World Report) and one of "today's most important pianists" (The New Yorker). He currently tours worldwide with the Vijay Iyer Quartet, in multidisciplinary projects with Mike Ladd, Fieldwork, and a longstanding duo with Rudresh Mahanthappa. As a composer, Iyer has received commissioning grants from Meet The Composer, the New York State Council on the Arts, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Mary Flagler Cary Charitable Trust, the American Composers Forum, and Chamber Music America. He is a fellow of the New York Foundation for the Arts, maintains teaching appointments as both a performer and scholar at New York University and the New School University, and publishes academic writings in journals and edited volumes.[25]

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[23] Vijay Iyer, personal interview with author, 26 Jan. 2004.

[24] Vijay Iyer, liner notes, *Memorophilia*, 1995.

[25] Vijay Iyer, "Unlocking the Groove," *Journal of the Society for American Music*, forthcoming 2008; Vijay Iyer, "Sangha: Collaborative Improvisations on Community," *Critical Studies in Improvisation*, 1.3 (2006); Vijay Iyer, "Exploding the Narrative in Jazz Improvisation," *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies*, eds. R. O'Meally, B. Edwards and F. Griffin (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Vijay Iyer, "Improvisation, Temporality, and Embodied Experience," *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 11.3-4 (2004): 159-173; Vijay Iyer "Being Home: Jazz Authority and the Politics of Place," *Current Musicology* 71-73 (2002): 462-476; Vijay Iyer, "Embodied Mind, Situated Cognition, and Expressive Microtiming in African-American Music," *Music Perception* 19.3 (2002): 387-414;Vijay Iyer, *Microstructures of Feel, Macrostructures of*

Rudresh Mahanthappa

Alto saxophonist Rudresh Mahanthappa was born to South Indian parents in Trieste, Italy in 1971 and was raised in Boulder Colorado. Like Iyer, Mahanthappa received an early exposure to Western music though public school music programs and studied jazz through junior high and high school band programs. At the age of 14, he knew that he wanted to pursue a life as a jazz musician, knowledge that he describes as "a complete anomaly on so many levels."[26] Few of his peers were interested in jazz, but moreover, he was certain that his parents would not approve of a life as a professional musician: "it was so taboo in Indian-American culture.... that was never something my parents said, but they didn't have to say it; it was kind of implicit."[27] Despite their strong reservations, Mahanthappa's parents ultimately supported his decision.

Mahanthappa initially attended the top-ranked jazz program at the University of North Texas, but left after a year, disappointed by what he refers to as the "militaristic" atmosphere. In Texas, for the first time, he experienced "an overwhelming sense that I was *not white*. Not that I thought I was white, but I guess I thought I could hang with white."[28] He transferred to the Berklee College of Music where both the student profile and city's demographics were racially and ethnically diverse.

Like Iyer, Indian classical music was a regular feature of home life in Boulder, but he experienced an awakening to Indian music after he left home. Growing up, his parents regularly took him to concerts, and he recalls "sort of a ritual Sunday morning of reading the paper and listening to a lot of South Indian religious music, *bhajans*."[29] In 1994, Berklee assembled an ensemble of primarily Indian students to perform at the Jazz Yatra festival in Bombay, where Mahanthappa had his first sense of connecting Indian music and identity to his deep engagement with American jazz:

> That was the first time I was going back to India in almost 10 years, and it was riddled with all sorts of issues of identity ... I'm going to see my relatives, I don't speak their language and I know they're going to harangue me about that, and plenty of people are going to harangue me about not knowing enough about Indian music. But I remember we were taking a bus outside of Madras to get to this venue, and someone put Bismillah Khan on the CD player...and also on the

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Sound: Embodied Cognition in West African and African-American Musics, diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1998; Iyer, V., Bilmes, J., Wright, M., and Wessel, D. "A Novel Representation for Rhythmic Structure," Proceedings of the 1997 International Computer Music Conference, San Francisco: International Computer Music Association, 1997: 97-100.

[26] Ruderesh Mahanthappa, quoted in Iyer, "Sangha" 2.

[27] Mahanthappa, quoted in Iyer, "Sangha" 2.

[28] Mahanthappa, quoted in Iyer, "Sangha" 2.

[29] Mahanthappa, panel discussion at the International Conference for Jazz Education, 22 Jan. 2004.

> same trip I heard Parveen Sultana, this great Hindustani vocalist. And I bought a couple of CDs and sat with those for a couple of years, actually. And those have to be as influential as *Impressions* or *Giant Steps* or the Bird Savoy recordings or anything for my musical repository.[30]

Traveling in India on the strength of his own musical accomplishments, rather than on a family visit, Mahanthappa was able to connect to Indian music on his own terms. Hindustani music, in particular, served a crucial role in developing an awareness of his South Indian identity, as he was better able to understand how the Karnatak music he was exposed to as a child differed aesthetically from the North Indian music he was discovering as an emerging jazz artist.

Unlike Iyer, who was self-taught as a jazz musician and as an emerging professional aligned himself with a radical community of experimental improvisers, Mahanthappa was immersed in the mainstream of American jazz education, an environment which he describes as laden with pressure to conform. Following graduation from Berklee, he moved to Chicago to pursue a Master's degree in jazz performance at DePaul University. In Chicago, he began to explore the possibilities of representing Indianness in his music. At first, he experienced the politics of representation in terms of the aesthetics that he rejected, for example, resisting other jazz musicians' assumptions that as an Indian-American, he must be interested in *ragas* or a fan of the Mahavishnu Orchestra.[31] Mahanthappa describes his Indian-American identity as fully hybridized, and expected that his eventual musical expression would be the same: "I rarely refer to myself as an Indian, or as an American, because I feel like both of those things are very crucial to who I am. And musically, the same is true."[32]

Since moving to New York in 1997, Mahanthappa has become recognized as one of the most innovative young musicians in jazz. The Downbeat International Critics Poll regularly cites him as a Rising Star of the alto saxophone, and The Village Voice, Jazztimes, Jazz Review, and Jazzman regularly name his releases among the top albums of the year. Mahanthappa regularly tours internationally as a leader of the Rudresh Mahanthappa Quartet, as co-leader of the duo Raw Materials with Vijay Iyer, and as a sideman. As a composer, Mahanthappa has received commission grants from the Rockefeller Foundation MAP Fund, American Composers Forum, Chamber Music America, and the New York State Council on the Arts. He is a Fellow of the New York Foundation for the Arts, and the Guggenheim Foundation, and a member of the faculty at New York University.

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[30] Rudresh Mahanthappa, panel discussion at the International Conference for Jazz Education, 22 Jan. 2004.
[31] Rudresh Mahanthappa, panel discussion at the International Conference for Jazz Education, 22 Jan. 2004.
[32] Rudresh Mahanthappa, panel discussion at the International Conference for Jazz Education, 22 Jan. 2004.

Ravish Momin

Percussionist Ravish Momin was born to middle class Muslim Indian parents in Hyderabad, India in 1973. He spent his early childhood in Bombay before his father, an investment banker, moved the family to a succession of posts in Bahrain, Hong Kong, Australia, and the United Kingdom. The family settled in New Jersey in 1987. The peripatetic quality of his early life provided Momin with an early experience of multiculturalism—in Bahrain he counted children from Iran, Egypt, and Holland among his friends—but it wasn't until he settled in the United Kingdom and the United States, that he experienced his Indianness as a target for "classroom racism."[33] Beginning high school in the United States, he was keenly aware of his difference—visible in the color of his skin and audible in his accent—but found some measure of social acceptance by excelling academically.

Indian music was a constant feature of Momin's childhood in India and abroad. His family's home in Bombay adjoined a fishing community, and the sounds of fishermen's work songs joined the street music of Hindu festivals, Islamic religious chants, and religious observations to form a constant soundtrack to his early life. At home and abroad, Momin recalls his mother singing popular songs from Bollywood films and light classical Hindustani songs, but classical music was not foregrounded. Unlike Iyer and Mahanthappa, Momin received no childhood musical education, and when the family settled in the United States his parents advanced academic achievement over cultural affiliation. His parents advanced science and mathematics as "the only serious subjects that would lead to jobs in engineering, medicine, and so forth."[34] Entering Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh as a major in elementary particle physics, he switched to its engineering program and graduated with a B.S. in Civil/Environmental Engineering in 1995.

At university, Momin encountered a "stigma" to admitting his Indianness. Although there were other Indian students at Carnegie Mellon, he sensed that "they didn't want to be considered Indian. They wanted nothing to do with it."[35] During his second year of studies, he began private *tabla* lessons, a project that he undertook as a means of connecting privately with his heritage. He began teaching himself the drums, but with no previous training in Western music, he was frustrated by his inability to copy the African American-inflected grooves of popular music on the radio. Furthermore, he was frustrated by the Indian influences that he'd "unconsciously" begun to express on the drum set:

> For me, literally, when I first started playing music, it wasn't like "How can I successfully integrate my cultural backgrounds? It's like, I just tried to play a funk beat and it came out all screwed up ... I was playing in a band, and somebody said "Wow, that sounds very Indian." But I genuinely did not want to do that. I

[33] Ravish Momin, email to author, 21 Jan. 2008.
[34] Ravish Momin, email to author, 21 Jan. 2008.
[35] Ravish Momin, personal interview with author, 17 Dec. 2006.

> genuinely wanted to play a funk beat the way I heard it on the radio. And I fought it for a long time.[36]

Part of Momin's "fight" involved undertaking a rigorous course of private lessons on drum set with Bob Moses, an influential jazz drummer and faculty member at Boston's New England Conservatory. While still a student and later, while working as an engineer for a private firm, Momin regularly drove nine hours from Pittsburgh to Boston for private lessons. He describes Moses' instruction as disheartening: "he completely discounted all of that [Indian] stuff because to him, all of these rhythmic experiences were invalid except for that African American experience of rhythm as it pertains to jazz ... to him, jazz was closed. It couldn't have had all these other things in it."[37] Momin later found a mentor in AACM drummer Andrew Cyrille, whose influence he describes as pivotal in teaching him to treat his "innate musical instincts" as a foundation to which he could add African-American and other Western rhythmic approaches: "that the two were not mutually exclusive."[38]

As his musical interests intensified, Momin began to come to terms with both his Indianness and his lack of formal Western musical training. In New York's "free jazz" scene, heavily inflected by the legacy—if not the same ethos of openness—of the 1970s Creative Music movement, Momin located a potential site for the open expression of his identity and aesthetics. He saved money from his job and planned to move to New York City to pursue a career as a professional performer. Momin's parents tolerated his initial musical studies, seeing them as a hobby peripheral to his career, but his move to New York in 1998 caused his father to stop speaking to him for nearly four years. Momin explains, "As a new middle-class immigrant who'd worked hard to put his son through college, he had extremely different expectations of me, and one of them was providing for the family financially ... I chose to pursue music, which pays marginally, and therefore could not fulfill that role, and consequently had let the 'family down.'"[39]

After moving to New York in 1998, Momin toured with AACM saxophonist Kalaparush Maurice McIntyre, appearing on several of his recordings. The primary focus on Momin's musical life, for the past several years, has been his group Trio Tarana. Trio Tarana has toured extensively in Europe, Eastern Europe, India, and North America and has released three recordings. He is a part-time teaching artist in New York City public schools, and supports himself primarily, if tenuously, through performance revenues.

The Politics of Representation

In a 2005 conversation published as an article in the journal *Critical Studies in Improvisation*, Vijay Iyer and Rudresh Mahanthappa traced the changes in the American intercultural landscape over the past decades, and how these changes have impacted their

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[36] Ravish Momin, personal interview with author, 17 Dec. 2006.
[37] Ravish Momin, personal interview with author, 17 Dec. 2006.
[38] Ravish Momin, email to author, 21 Jan. 2008.
[39] Ravish Momin, email to author, 21 Jan. 2008.

decisions to represent Indian music in their work. Preparing their first recordings in 1994 and 1995, both Iyer and Mahanthappa were keenly aware of the lack of precedent. Mahanthappa felt pressured by the rich legacy of jazz connections to the Indian exotic:

> Being Indian American and playing jazz, say more than 10 years ago—not often, but enough to get under my skin I was asked, "Do you listen to Indian music? Do you use any ragas?" And I felt like I was so confused as to how to explore Indian music on my own terms and at my own pace, and just in a way that made sense to me, being Indian American and already having a strong foundation in jazz. I didn't quite know how to go about it. And also, at that point, if I *was* going to deal with it, how to feel like I wasn't doing it just for the sake of doing it, or just doing it blatantly in this kind of emblematic, superficial way.[40]

Iyer and Mahanthappa improvised both their identities as jazz performers and Indian-Americans. They knew of no precedent for Indian-American performers in jazz, and often collided with stereotypes. Mahanthappa recalls a meeting with a Chicago entertainment lawyer, who suggested he could be best promoted as a jazz artist in an Indian themed project with *sitar* and *tabla*: "first of all," he responded, "I'm *South* Indian, so those aren't even the instruments of my folks."[41] Mahanthappa recalls that listeners would project Indianness onto his performance where none was intended, or conversely, ask why they couldn't hear the Indianness in his music.[42]

Experiences such as these prompted Iyer and Mahanthappa to develop strategies to control the context of representation and reception of their Indianness. In the liner notes to his debut recording *Memorophilia* (1995), Vijay Iyer introduces himself as a "person of color," aligning himself racially and politically with the artist-activists of the Asian Improv scene and by race and autodidacticism with the "Pantheon" of revolutionary African-American jazz artists:

> As a person of color in America, I identified readily with their revolutionary forms of self -expression. To my ears, these artists possess a certain "cry," an incisive, ironic stance with respect to conventional musical forms, practices, and discourses. Often supporting and enriching this approach is a critical sociopolitical outlook, a desire to change the world, that many artists of color cannot help but share. This dimension carries utmost importance for me, and it ought to be heeded generally as a musical reality—as a governing concept in the 'jazz tradition.'[43]

On *Memorophilia*, Iyer introduced a "mediated" form of representation of Karnatak and African-American elements, an aesthetic that remains a constant feature of his work. By

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[40] Rudresh Mahanthappa, quoted in Iyer, "Sangha" 5-6.
[41] Rudresh Mahanthappa, personal interview with author, 26 Jan. 2004.
[42] Hermant Sereen, "Rudresh Mahanthappa: Between Kadri and Coltrane," 2 Aug. 2007, 15 Oct. 2007 <http://www.allaboutjazz.com/php/article.php?id=26506>.
[43] Viay Iyer, liner notes, *Memorophilia* 1995.

"coding" Karnatak elements, Iyer sought to complicate the task of representation. By foregrounding rhythmic over melodic representation, he sought to support "multiple readings, compound states of awareness, internal dialogues, and decetered musical spaces."[44] A year earlier, Mahanthappa had also adopted a similar strategy on his debut recording "Yatra," in which he dealt with Indian musical materials in an "almost hidden way that was comfortable for me."[45] Coding functions as an act of agency and resistance.

Iyer's next album *Architextures,* continued to situate him as an outspoken cultural critic. In his liner notes, he wrote "[this music] depicts what I have learned as a member of the post-colonial, multicultural South Asian diaspora, as a person of color peering in critically from the margins of American mainstream culture, and as a human with a body, a mind, memories, emotions, and spiritual aspirations."[46] Speaking 10 years later, he suggested, "It ought not to have been necessary to say that. But frankly, at the time it *was* necessary — in a way that it maybe isn't today — to use the opportunity to say, I am a fact. Look at me as just a fact, as part of reality, not as part of your fantasy or your dreams about The East; just try to deal with me on my terms."[47] By framing the discourse of his music in his own language, he sought to avoid misrepresentation. Both Mahanthappa and Iyer requested that they be accepted on their own terms.

Momin's first recording, by contrast, situated his Indianness ambiguously in the realm of the transcultural. Here, Indian influences appeared alongside a range of other world musics that representing—if primarily symbolically—the multicultural nature of his upbringing:

> For me, I wasn't even trying to say I was Indian. For me, it was literally, [about] being in all these different places... Just trying to express all of that together and try to like stand out in this country, to try to show people this is what I am. Not to try to show people that I'm Indian, or to try to reclaim some lost heritage that I never really had.[48]

Momin was initially unaware of the discourse on ethnicity and identity that had helped Iyer to critically frame his own experience. As a latecomer to musical performance, he was more concerned with establishing an identity as a musician, than an as Indian-American musician: "I hadn't met people like Fred Ho or Jason Hwang at the time, I didn't know about this Asian American ethos ... I was just trying to express my identity in jazz."[49] Momin lacked the technical prowess and command of jazz vocabulary necessary to establish himself as an instrumentalist in New York's crowded and competitive jazz scene. He also lacked the musical literacy necessary to framing his Indianness compositionally in coded, concealed forms.

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[44] Viay Iyer, liner notes, *Memorophilia* 1995.
[45] Mahanthappa, quoted in Iyer, "Sangha" 6.
[46] Vijay Iyer, liner notes, *Architextures*, 1996.
[47] Iyer, "Sangha" 6.
[48] Ravish Momin, personal interview with author, 17 Dec. 2006.
[49] Ravish Momin, personal interview with author, 17 Dec. 2006.

Momin's compositions for *Climbing the Banyan Tree* were inspired by diverse non-Western musical influences. His representations of these musics were broad and allusive, hinting at the exotic without directly representing non-Western materials. His compositions were spare: the task of "complicating the picture" fell to individual and collective free improvisation. Trio Tarana's original line-up included violinist Jason Hwang, a Chinese-American violinist and composer prominently associated with the Asian Improv collective, and Shanir Blumenkrantz, a Brooklyn-born bassist with strong ties to John Zorn's "Radical Jewish Culture" project. These performers—whose redolently ethnic surnames prompted one Village Voice critic to declare, "With names like Momin, Hwang and Blumenkrantz, how could you go wrong?"—were crucial to the music's production and reception. Trio Tarana's exoticism defined location, and in what reviewer Tom Waxman described as its "amiable mystification," listeners could inscribe a surprising range of exotic locales. One reviewer located the sounds of the Chinese erhu, clawhammer banjo, Iranian kemanche, and Eastern European klezmer music.[50] Another heard "a 'desert-bred' Stephane Grappelli" and "a muezzin's wordless cry."[51] Still another described Hwang's violin as "slippery and acerbic, a quality that imbues much Indian and Chinese string playing" and wondered "if [Hwang] plays the instrument between his knees, in traditional gliss-friendly fashion."[52] As Village Voice critic Tom Hull neatly summarized, "Indian percussion, Chinese violin, Middle Eastern out—released in Lisbon, but recorded in that old melting pot Brooklyn...That none of the three are too deeply rooted in their ethnicity lets them join together as a distinctive jazz group rather than limiting them to exotic fusion."[53]

Momin received these enthusiastic reviews with disappointment. He was particularly disappointed by the Village Voice's glowing but exoticizing praise for *Climbing the Banyan Tree*: "It was depressing ... I was shocked. The Village Voice! New York! You expect something a little more informed. I was just disappointed. This was not how I wanted to make my New York debut."[54] Iyer and Mahanthappa were not exempt from such mixed praise, but they had both been circumspect in how their music invoked images of the East. Concealed and coded in successive levels of structural elements and lacking the familiar sonic or textual references that Western or Indian audiences could readily identify as "Indian," the Indian influences in Iyer and Mahanthappa's music functioned inaudibly.

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[50] Tom Waxman, rev. of *Climbing the Banyan Tree*, *JazzWeekly* 15 Dec. 2006 <www.jazzweekly.com>.
[51] Peter Margasak, rev.of *Climbing the Banyan Tree*, *Chicago Reader* 15-21 Oct. 2004.
[52] Clifford Allen, rev. of *Climbing the Banyan Tree*, *All About Jazz* <http://www.allaboutjazz.com/php/article.php?id=16942>.
[53] Tom Hull, "Bush Medicine: All Sorts of Big Ideas About How Today's Jazz Fits Into History and Maybe Into Popular Culture," *Village Voice* 30 Aug. 2005, 13 Feb. 2007 <http://www.villagevoice.com/music/0534.jazzguide.67277.22.html>.
[54] Ravish Momin, personal interview with author, 17 Dec. 2008.

As Iyer and Mahanthappa have gained increasing visibility in the jazz mainstream, their music is less frequently identified in terms of its "Indianness" and more frequently in terms of their specific artistic identities. As Mahanthappa explained in 2006, "I just feel like we're at this level where we both have to explain less and less, and the music will just be listened to on whatever people perceive its own merits to be."[55] Still, as new listeners come to discover their music through mainstream channels, the question "what's Indian about this?" still comes up. At the Vijay Iyer Quartet's performance at the 2006 Burlington Jazz Festival, a well-known jazz pianist and composer, familiar with Iyer's name but hearing him for the first time that night, leaned over to me and whispered loudly: "I just don't get what's supposed to be so *Indian* about it!" Iyer suggests that such questions are increasingly rare in cosmopolitan New York, a vigorous site for South Asian diasporic cultural production. Citing his reviews in newspapers in smaller American markets, however, he suggests, "it's still repeatedly said that I'm mixing Indian music and jazz, or I'm playing jazz with an "Indian flavor." That depiction never really gets complicated. And I don't know how long it will take before it ever is. Will it ever be, in terms of this *really* mainstream discourse?"[56]

Modes of Representation

To illustrate how these identities and issues emerge in sound, I address selections from three recent recordings—Rudresh Mahanthappa's *Mother Tongue* (2004), Vijay Iyer and Mike Ladd's *In What Language?* (2003), and Ravish Momin's *Miren* (2007) to illustrate the specific conceptual, compositional, and performative representation of Karnatak music and Indian-American identity in jazz. Using musicological analysis, I will connect a musician's discourse on identity to their representations of identity in music.

Rudresh Mahanthappa: "Mother Tongue: Do You Speak Indian?"

In his 2004 recording *Mother Tongue* Rudresh Mahanthappa restores complexity to a "ubiquitous" North American concept of India as a nation with one culture and one language. In his liner notes, he explains "In response to having been repeatedly asked 'Do You Speak Indian?' or 'Do You Speak Hindu?' throughout my life as a son of immigrants, my goal was to somehow musically convey the fact there is no single Indian language."[57] Like Mahanthappa's 2006 release *Codebook,* in which he uses cryptography and composition to comment obliquely on America's post-9/11 surveillance culture, *Mother Tongue* is a "concept album" concerned with social commentary.

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[55] Mahanthappa, quoted in Iyer, "Sangha" 9.
[56] Iyer, "Sangha" 9.
[57] Rudresh Mahanthappa, *Mother Tongue,* Pi Recordings P114, 2004.

Most of the music on *Mother Tongue* comes from an extended suite titled "Mother Tongue: Do You Speak Indian?" which was sponsored by the New York Foundation of the Arts. As with his other jazz quartet projects, *Mother Tongue* shows Mahanthappa as emerging from the contemporary American post-bebop aesthetic. Mahanthappa's thick, muscular and slightly tart tone, complex, intertwined chromatic lines, unusual phrase shapes and lengths, and emotional intensity dominate the sound. The influence of John Coltrane and Michael Brecker is clearly audible, but his compositions are anything but nostalgic. Unlike bebop and post-bop styles, the material over which the soloists are to improvise is both complex and highly specific with respect to rhythmic organization. Harmony, typically valorized in post-bop composition and improvisation, is rendered open to individual interpretation. He often locates compositional inspiration outside of jazz, incorporating his fascination with mathematics, encryption, and other non-musical sources.

In the suite "Mother Tongue," Mahanthappa used melodic transcriptions of voice samples of native speakers of six Indian languages, and one native English speaker, as the source material for composition. Each of the speakers was taped responding to the question, "Do you speak Indian?" The suite's seven movements are named for the speaker's language. In "Gujarati" speaker Kamal Bakri responds to the question with the following (approximate translation provided by Rudresh Mahanthappa):

> No, I do not speak Indian! There is no such language. I speak Gujarati. This is the language that is spoken in the state of Gujarat in the North of India. There are many different languages in India and Gujarati is only one of them. Having lived in America for almost 20 years, I also speak English.[58]

Mahanthappa used computers to process the speech sample in two successive layers of encoding. He initially transcribed the speech samples by hand and ear. To resolve interpretive questions and check for accuracy, he compared his own transcriptions to those generated using the MIDI sequencing features of Melodyne, an audio editing program[59] Mahanthappa used Melodyne's quantize function to make the speech sample more rhythmically even. Mahanthappa's original raw and quantized MIDI transcriptions are reproduced below as Figures 7 and 8.

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[58] Kamal Bakri, quoted and trans. by Rudresh Mahanthappa, 21 Dec. 2007 <http://www.pirecordings.com/features/mother_tongue.html>.

[59] MIDI is an acronym for Musical Instrument Digital Interface, which encodes auditory information as a standard set of commands used to trigger a remote instrument, such as a MIDI synthesizer. MIDI control commands do not carry sound or digitized sound information.

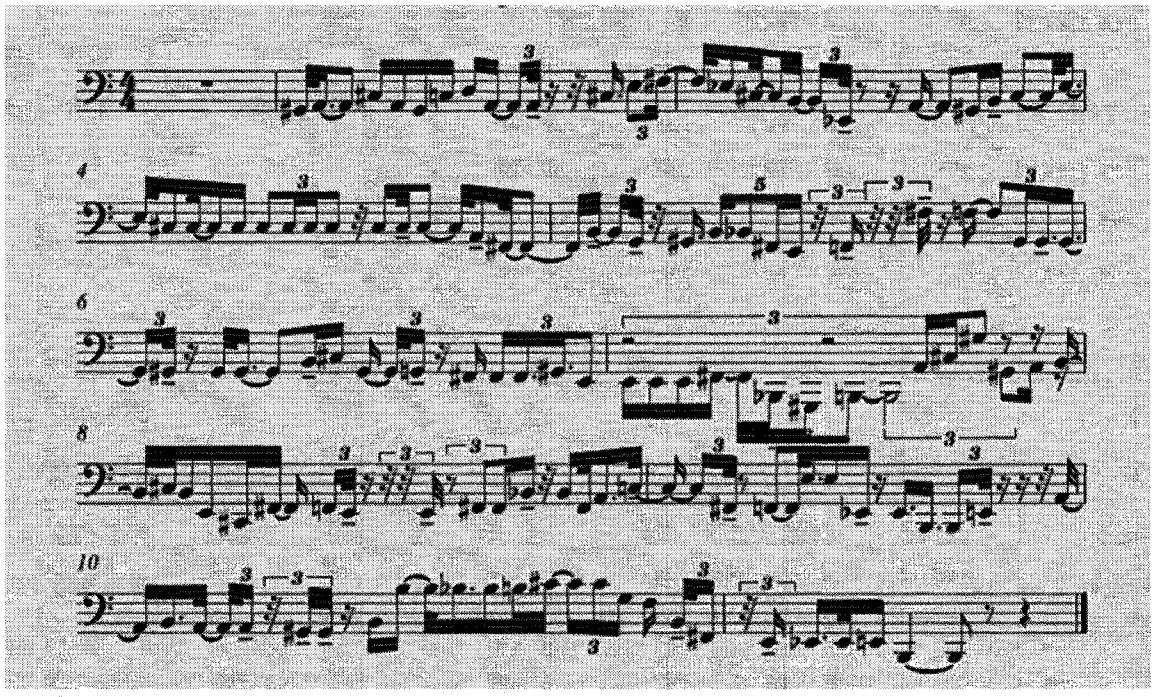

Fig. 7. Raw MIDI transcription of Gujarati Speech Sample

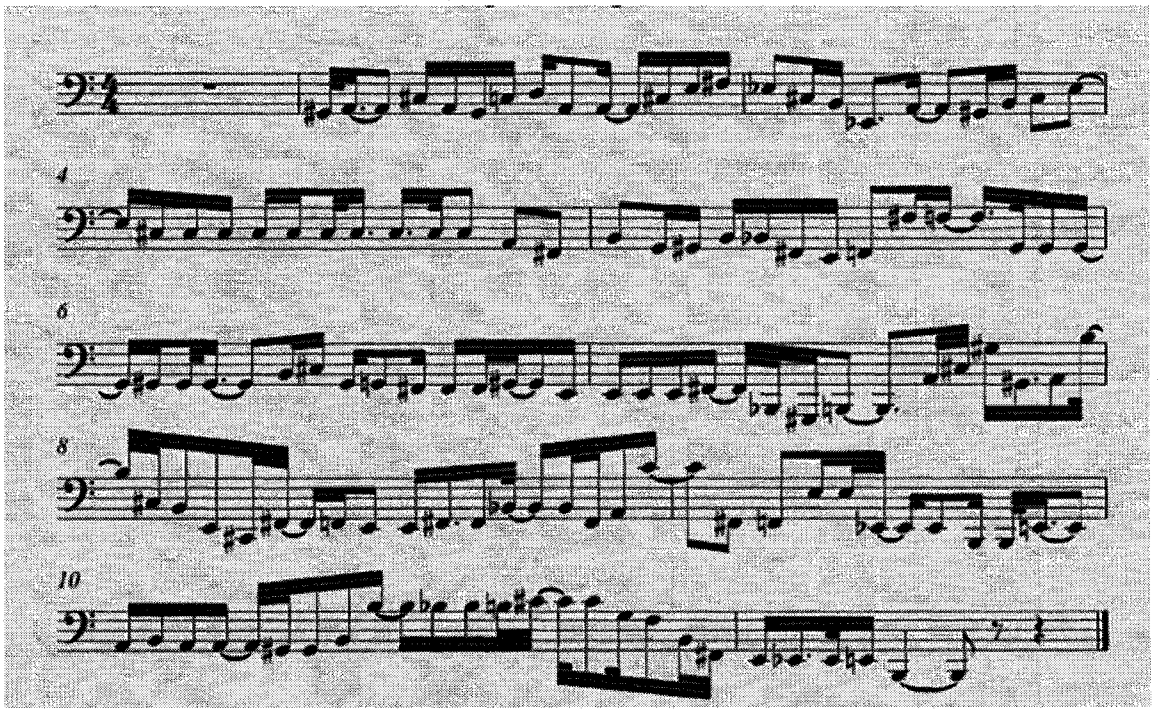

Fig. 8. Quantized MIDI transcription of Gujarati Speech Sample

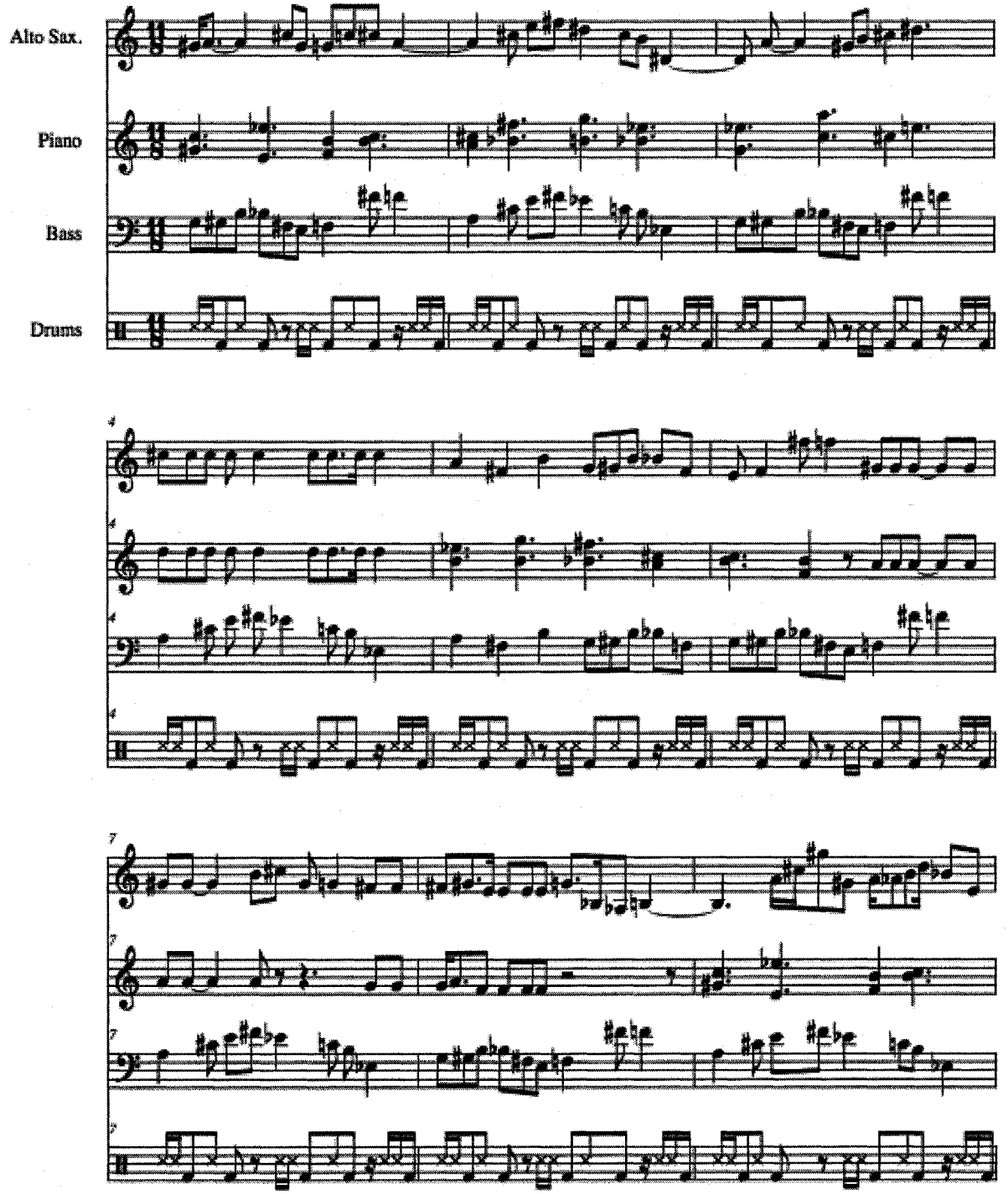

Fig. 9. Selection from "Gujarati," measures 1-9 (concert pitch)

The quantized transcription was used as source material for the final composition. Mahanthappa deliberately avoided direct representation of the speech. He discarded the approaches of including the audio recordings in the musical performance, or of forcing tonality onto raw transcriptions of speech samples. He felt these approaches had already been extensively explored in jazz and contemporary classical music. In scoring this music for the quartet, he attempted to represent both the source material using his own compositional sensibilities including several techniques drawn from Indian classical music that are stable features of his compositional technique.

"Gujarati" is structured in two parts: a 16-bar A section in 11/8, and a mixed-meter B section which serves as the springboard for solos by the saxophone and pianist Vijay Iyer. Solos take place over alternating cycles of B and A. Consistent with the practice of jazz performance, the A section is repeated at the conclusion of the improvised solos. Mahanthappa uses a time cycle concept drawn from Karnatak music to structure complex layered, polyrhythmic interactions between the instruments. The A section consists of 16 bars of 11/8. The bass line consists of three 5-bar cycles subdivided in AAB form, which Mahanthappa describes as "a *mora* of sorts."[60] In the bass and drum parts, the 11 eighth notes of each measure are divided into groups of 2 and 3, reflecting a subdivision characteristic of a Karnatak *tala*. In the bass line, the first two bars of each 5-bar cycle are grouped || 3+3+3+2 | 3+2+3+3 ||, while the last measure section is grouped as || 2+2+2+3+2 ||, forming a 55-beat time cycle. The drums play an 11-beat (single measure) groove that is repeated throughout the composition, grouped in || 3 + 3 + 3 + 2 || (see figure 9).

Mahanthappa's saxophone line stretches over this form, seeming to "start" and "stop" at irregular intervals. Mahanthappa directly quotes the quantized transcription in his saxophone line (represented in Figure 9 in concert pitch) with minimal alterations in pitch (as in the 9th beat of the first measure). The material is cast over an 11/8 meter (so a 16th note in figure Y is equivalent to a 8th note in figure 9). In the 5th measure of the composition, Mahanthappa departs from the quantized transcription, using a repeated C# to generate a rhythmic cadence. The piano part is constructed to alternate between groupings of 2 and 3 pulses that differ from the rhythmic organization of the bass line (as in measures 1 through 4 of Figure 9), and passages that join the saxophone line in homorythmic, harmonized fashion (as in measure 5 of Figure 9).

Mahanthappa also locates an Indian classical music influence in the bass line of the B section, which alternates between the pitches of E and F, implying both E and F tonalities: "[this is] something that I've always liked about ragas. You can tip them over by changing the bass note and thus implying more than one tonality at once to our Western ears."[61] He also tried to evoke the sound of the *nagaswaram* (a double-reed instrument of South India) in his solos, particularly on the B section, and was consciously using both tonalities in constructing his melodic lines.

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[60] Rudresh Mahanthappa, email, 23 Jan. 2008.
[61] Rudresh Mahanthappa, email, 23 Jan 2008.

The ideological premise of *Mother Tongue* was made clear in liner notes, publicity, and stage announcements; its audiences knew about the project's nature and genesis. In performance, the speech-inflected melodic lines are audibly "foreign" to the rhythmic and melodic language of jazz, and discernibly different from one another. The use of Karnatak rhythmic concepts functions imperceptibly in the context of performance, consistent with Mahanthappa's desire to represent Indian music on his own terms. The difficulty and complexity of the composition is perhaps inaudible to all but the most knowledgeable listeners, but the intensity and emotion and intent of the performance is readily apparent.

Vijay Iyer: "In What Language?"[62]

Like Mahanthappa, Vijay Iyer makes use of multiple levels of coding to submerge Karnatak musical materials in his composition and improvisation. He is both more assertive and prolix, however, in locating his musical projects in broader narratives about race and identity, and in connecting his Indian-American identity to jazz through the standpoint of subalternity. Describing his stance to me in 2004 he said, "It really ha[s] a lot to do with being American and being brown and connecting that to this history of what I see as a fundamentally black music...it isn't just art for it's own sake, it's very much art in spite of something."[63]

In What Language? is the title of a 2003 recording by Iyer and African-American poet Mike Ladd, which carries a clear ideological premise. The project's impetus is the story of Iranian filmmaker Jafar Panahi, who was detained by the United States Department of Homeland Security at New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport en route from one film festival in Hong King, to another in Buenos Aires. After refusing to submit to photography and fingerprinting, Panahi was detained in a holding cell for 10 hours and eventually sent back to Hong Kong in handcuffs. In a story widely circulated on the Internet, Panahi later wrote about how he wished to explain to his fellow passengers that he was neither thief nor murder, "I am just an Iranian, a filmmaker. But how could I tell this, in what language?" Iyer and Ladd claim, "as fellow brown-skinned travelers, we could not ignore this tale."[64]

The story served as the departure point for a 17-part "song cycle" which critiques modern migration, surveillance, and globalization through the site of the modern airport. As Ladd and Iyer explain in their liner notes: "The airport is not a neutral place. It serves as a contact zone for those empowered or subjugated by globalization. It is a center of commerce and a crossroads of cultures, as well as a place that enforces its own globo-

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[62] I am indebted to Niko Higgins, whose formal and conceptual analysis of "Taking Back the Airplane" forms the basis of this analysis. See Niko Higgins, "Representing Complexity: Vijay Iyer, Resistance, and *In What Language?*" Conf. on Music, Performance and the Racial Imagination, New York University, New York, 4 Mar. 2005.
[63] Vijay Iyer, personal interview with author, 24 Jan. 2004.
[64] Iyer and Ladd, *In What Language*?

consumer culture. It is a frontier, a place of conflict and quarantine, reception, departure, and detention."[65] The use of "brown-skinned" is a discursive move that admits the complexity of formulations of identity.[66] By positing himself and Ladd as members of and commentators for an immensely heterogeneous global category, he can address broad themes of identity, globalization, race and power.

In What Language? is scored for seven instrumentalists and four voices, and was designed both as a commercial recording and as a multimedia concert production. Ladd's libretto presents the interior monologues of 16 passengers in transit at an international airport. The characters are portrayed by four actors, including Ladd himself, and include a Trinidadian security guard who misses "the touch of warm concrete / painted smooth under my toes"; a Calcuttan employee of a New York pornography shop who lives for his eventual return to India and his "pious" wife; an Indo-Muslim from Mumbai driving a New York City taxi; and an asylum seeker from Sierra Leone.[67] Reflecting the transnational character of the narratives, Iyer's music draws on a broad range of influences including experimental jazz, hip-hop, American minimalism, African and South Asian rhythms. Each of these are each deeply coded rather than broadly manifest.

To make plain the seriousness of their intent, Ladd and Iyer appropriate the Western art music term "song cycle," even though the texts are spoken. Niko Higgins has suggested that this rhetorical move can be read doubly as a critique of the Orientalist Western art music establishment, and as a strategic exploitation of the "the very elitism they are critiquing."[68] The work was commissioned by and premiered at the Asia Society in New York in May 2003 (itself an institution with considerable Orientalist weight), and designed to be performed in concert halls. Iyer explains that framing the work in the terms of Western art music constitutes a "demand that our work be considered on those terms ... even if we are associated with the so-called 'jazz world' or so-called 'hip-hop world'."[69]

The composition *Taking Back the Airplane* is introduced by Ladd and Iyer as a "hyphenated ghazal." Ladd's poem is a loose interpretation of the ghazal form: airplanes are used as metaphors for bodies, family, love, and distant homes. The title implies that the metaphor itself is an act of resistance. Iyer conceives of his musical settings as "environments" for the texts. Reflecting the lyrical romanticism of Ladd's text, "Taking Back the Airplane" is scored as a flowing jazz ballad organized in 7/4, divided in groupings of 3 + 2 + 2. Over a recurring 2-bar bass line, Iyer uses loosely arpeggiated

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[65] Iyer and Ladd, *In What Language?*
[66] Sandhya Shukla, *India Abroad: Diasporic Cultures of Postwar America and England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) 8.
[67] Iyer and Ladd, *In What Language?*
[68] Niko Higgins, "Representing Complexity: Vijay Iyer, Resistance, and *In What Language?*" Conf. on Music, Performance and the Racial Imagination, New York University, New York, 4 Mar. 2005.
[69] Vijay Iyer, quoted in Nermeen Shaikh, "AsiaSource Interview with Vijay Iyer and Mike Ladd," <www.asiasource.org/arts/language.cfm, 2003>.

chords to outline a *mora*: three groups of five, spanning two 7-beat cycles (see Figure 10). Chords are played on the first, fifth and sixth beats of first cycle, and the third and fourth beats of the second cycle, which each *mora* resolving on the same beat where the next one begins. Throughout the piece, the ride cymbal "keeps" the *tala*.

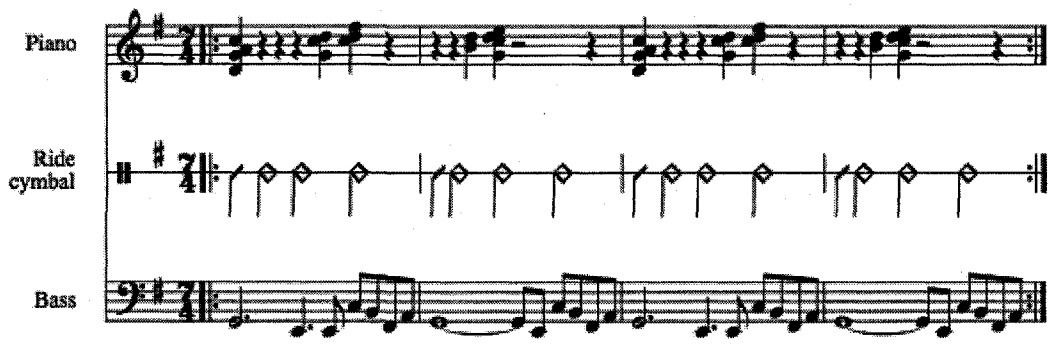

Fig. 10. Underscoring for opening refrain, "Taking Back the Airplane"

Iyer uses cyclical Karnatak rhythmic logic to structure instrumental parts and relationships throughout the piece, and throughout the album, attenuating the rhythmic density of the patterns so that they function transparently.

The "coding" of Karnatak elements serves as a means of organizing relationships among instrumentalists and creating a multi-leveled, polyrhythmic environment, in Iyer's words, "symbolizing a multi-voice of space—multiple dialogs with each other."[70] It is a compositional system that is characteristic of much of his music over the past decade, and a technique that he shares with his collaborator Rudresh Mahanthappa as well as other composers (for example, as we saw in Chapter 4, Ronan Guilfoyle). The transparency of the Karnatak materials—accomplished by the use of spare outlines here, but elsewhere in his work accomplished through the use of very complicated structures—functions to complicate the task of representation. Iyer also suggests that the use of cyclical forms also serves as a means of telling the story "in a way that is not necessarily linear. It can be told just in the details of how we put music together: the form itself can reveal something about this hybrid space that we live in."[71]

In choosing to represent subjects from disparate cultural and economic subject positions (the majority of whom emerge in the narratives as victims rather than victors of globalization) Iyer and Ladd, seem to "speak for" those who are less privileged. The construction of a "brown skinned" identity carries the risk of eliding significant differences in culture, class, and privilege. Foregrounding race in the American context

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[70] Niko Higgins, notes from interview with Vijay Iyer, 21 Mar. 2004.
[71] Vijay Iyer, quoted in Nermeen Shaikh, "AsiaSource Interview with Vijay Iyer and Mike Ladd," 2003 <www.asiasource.org/arts/language.cfm>.

carries the risk of concealing the considerable distance between Ladd and Iyer, each possessed of significant cultural capital, and the fellow travelers whose stories they tell. Iyer claims that in advancing "brown skinned" as a category, he does not mean to imply that it is more stable as a category than any other, to him, it reflects "the possibility of community but not necessarily the reality of community."[72] His engagement with race reflects its formative role in defining himself as an Indian-American, in connecting his identity to performance, and through performance, engaging in multiple histories and contemporary experiences of subalternity. Asked by an audience member at the Burlington Jazz Festival how class, rather than race, figures into his self-concept and work, he replied:

> I really do feel that in America, race often trumps class more than we're willing to admit ... being a person of color in America, it's incumbent on me to really address issues that have to do with race, and being in a privileged position because of my education which is very much linked to my economic background, I feel like that gives me the privilege to speak on these matters. Not necessarily with my words, but with my actions.[73]

Iyer admits to the privilege of his social class, but refuses further reflection on its impact: it almost seems as though further reflection threatens to lay bare the nature of the construction and acquisition of a "brown skinned" identity acquired through study in a climate of considerable privilege. It seems likely that further public reflection on the impact of social class would historicize the construction of an identity acquired in the heightened identitarian climate of elite American universities in 1990s, perhaps taking with it something of Iyer's authority as an artist whose work claims to 'speak for' the global subaltern.

Ravish Momin: "Ragalaya"

Ravish Momin does not conceive of his recordings as "concept albums," nor is he especially concerned with representing an Indian-American identity through the use of Indian musical materials. He considers his primary performing group, Trio Tarana, as a site for processing and performing transcultural identity. As he commented to me in an interview, "Call it 'Indianness' or 'Asianness' or 'Worldness' or whatever. I'm not interested in the label."[74] Momin was not enculturated to Indian classical art forms. Although he often listens to classical music, in composing for Trio Tarana he gravitates towards the folk, devotional and light classical music forms that dominate his childhood musical memory.[75] In performing transculturalism, Momin comments indirectly on the contemporary movement of sounds and peoples, and directly on the experience of growing up Indian in multiple cultures. Momin's experience of Indianness in multiple

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[72] Vijay Iyer, quoted in Higgins, "Representing Complexity" 4.
[73] Vijay Iyer, public interview with author, 6 Jun. 2006.
[74] Ravish Momin, personal interview with author, 17 Dec. 2006.
[75] Ravish Momin, email to author, 25 Jan. 2008.

contexts has led him to believe that "class unites people more than race."[76] Thus folk music, in its global heterogeneity, serves an important ideological role. By constructing "an imaginary folk music of the mind,"[77] he seeks to cut through complex dialogues about nation, race, ethnicity, and identity to access a common human experience. He summarizes his aesthetic nearly in the tagline on his MySpace webpage: "Folk music from Nowhere!"[78]

On Trio Tarana's most recent recording, *Miren: A Longing* (2007), Momin continues to develop the aesthetic traced in the trio's previous two albums.[79] The liner notes are written not by Momin, but by the jazz critic Clifford Allen, and give little clue as to the provenance of Momin's musical influences. All but one of the compositions feature oblique references to non-Western musical forms. He does not "encode" non-Western influences, but suggests them allusively though melodic construction, instrumentation, and groove. His compositions are spare, notated on "lead sheets" which provide a single melody line and suggested bass line. Arrangements are negotiated collaboratively in rehearsals and performance. Solos orders, formal structures, and endings frequently change from performance to performance. Improvisations are structured loosely over groove and modal structures, but Momin encourages performers to bring their own aesthetics to the interpretation. Collective improvisation is privileged over hierarchical solo structures.

Among the loosely-referenced African, African-American, Japanese and North Indian folk musics represented on *Miren*, the track "Ragalaya" stands out for being clearly credited as "traditional South Indian." Momin first heard the composition performed by Karnatak violinist A. Kanyakumari in Bangalore in 2002, when his trio performed in the 7th East West Encounter in 2002.[80] The composition appears on Kanyakumari's recording "Strings of Harmony, Violin on 3 Octaves" which Momin later acquired.[81] "Ragalaya" is a *bhajan*, a genre of devotional hymns sung not only by professional *bhajan* singers, but also by individual worshippers and communities of worshippers in a variety of contexts. *Bhajans* serve a central role to the ideology of *bhakti*, a non-hierarchical, non-coercive mode of worship that stresses the role of the performing arts. The *bhajan* is a relatively new importation to the Karnatak performance, until recently not well tolerated in bastions of classicism such as the Madras Music

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[76] Ravish Momin, personal interview with author, 17 Dec 2006.
[77] Ravish Momin, email to author, 25 Jan. 2008.
[78] MySpace is a social networking website that many musicians use for professional networking. Ravish Momin, "Trio Tarana MySpace," <http://www.myspace.com/triotarana>.
[79] I have served as a substitute violinist in Trio Tarana since October 2006, and appear on this recording as a guest soloist.
[80] Ravish Momin, email to author, 23 Jan. 2008.
[81] A. Kanyakumari, *Strings of Harmony: Violin on 3 Octaves,* Living Media Inc, 2000.

Academy.[82] Group *bhajan* singing and solo *bhajan* concerts serve an important role in expressing South Indian culture in diasporic communities.[83]

Momin was unaware of the composition's devotional nature or social history. Hearing it for the first time, he responded to what he identifies as a "'universal' folk-y feel."[84] Its melodic structure (in *revathi,* a five-note *raga* that in Kanyakumari's *sruti*, roughly corresponds to a C minor pentatonic scale with a lowered second degree) reminded him at once of Indian, Japanese and Central Asian folk motifs. The lilting 12/8 feel of *adi tala tisram gati* seemed open to interpretation in a "West-Africanish, call-and-response, 6/8 groove".[85] Momin transcribed "Ragalaya" from the recording, producing a lead sheet with no instruction as to groove, harmony, formal structure, or structures for improvisation. Omitted were the specific interpretive features of Kanyakumari's interpretation, as well as the characteristic *gamakas* of *revathi.*

Despite Momin's credit as "arranger" in the liner notes, "Ragalaya" was arranged in successive rehearsals and performances with Terzic and Bardfeld.[86] In performance, as on the recording, "Ragalaya" is treated as a "head" that brackets improvisation, prefaced by an un-metered improvisation by violin and oud, and ended with a vamp that fades into silence. In my experience rehearsing and performing with Trio Tarana, Momin prizes group interplay and is not particularly concerned with enforcing outcomes through cuing sections of a performance, structuring solo orders, or enforcing other musical arrangements arrived at in rehearsal. His is a loose aesthetic that privileges group interaction in the moment of performance over the predetermination of musical content.

The relationship of this performance to its source material can be described chiefly in terms of its omissions: the performers are unable to replicate the range of interpretive devices, such as *gamakas*, that are characteristic of Karnatak instrumental performance. Nor does Bardfeld's violin solo adhere to the characteristics of *raga* performance, which in Kanyakumari's brief *alapanam,* serves to illuminate the connections between the structures of *raga* and composition. In my experience

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[82] O. S. Arun, whose career has famously spanned playback singing, *bhajan* singing and is one of Karnatak music's most popular vocalists, received the Madras Music Academy's 2007 award for "Best Ragam-Tanam-Pallavi" performance. In an interview with *The Hindu*, he recalled that in his early years in Chennai he was criticized for maintaining a career as singer for dance, devotional, and classical music: "People said, 'He sings for dance, he sings bhajans...' Now they say, 'He is versatile'!" Anjana Rajan, "Of melody and Man," *The Hindu,* 5 Jan. 2007 2007<http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/fr/2007/01/05/stories/2007010501630200.htm>.

[83] Kathryn Hansen, "Singing for the *Sadguru,*" *The Expanding Landscape: South Asians and the Diaspora*, ed. C. Pietvich (Delhi: Manohar, 1999) 110-111.

[84] Ravish Momin, email to author, 23 Jan. 2008.

[85] Ravish Momin, personal interview with author, 17 Dec. 2006.

[86] I also participated in rehearsals and performances of this piece with Terzic and Momin from October 2006-2007.

performing with Momin, however, it was clear to me that Momin does not expect band members to represent ethnic source material with any measure of authenticity. To the contrary, in rehearsals he frequently exhorted us to play more "outside" (of time, tonality and melody), responding with shouts of vocal support whenever our improvisations departed in a particularly striking fashion from the prevailing metrical, melodic and tonal fabric.

The most striking feature of Momin's performance of "Ragalaya" is the 12/8 drum groove (see Fig. 13). Consistent with his aesthetic, it an ambiguously "ethnic"-sounding groove that is not directly rooted in standard jazz drum vocabulary. Its "ethnicity" comes from the use of internal repetitions. A repetition with displacement in the open hi hat sound of the second and third measures might suggest a basis in clave or konnekol. A palindromic pattern implied in the repetition and reversal of the triplet and quarter note figures on the third and fourth beats of the first bar and last bars frames the groove as a kind of rhythmic cycle. Ethnicity is also ambiguously represented by vocalizations. Momin mixes North Indian *bols* (onomatopoeic syllables used in *tabla* instruction) with "non-idiomatic nonsense syllables."[87] The distinction between "sense" and "nonsense" is both deliberate and particular to Momin's aesthetic, but is likely lost on audiences who tend to be "world music" consumers rather than knowledgeable consumers of Indian classical music.

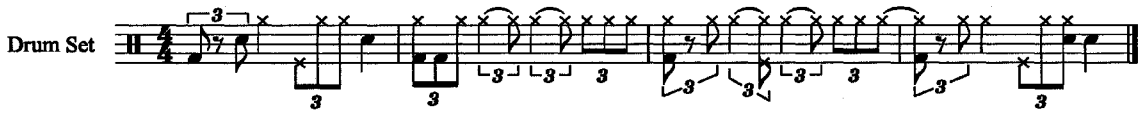

Fig. 13. *Ravish Momin's drum set groove,"Ragalaya"*

The performance elides of "inside" and "outside" approaches in collective improvisation. The melodic soloists stay close to the pentatonic scale outlined by the composition, and textural improvisation is favored over the construction of solo melodic lines. Non-scale tones appear in improvisation, but not in a manner that suggests an intentionally chromatic approach or an informed departure. Bardfeld and Momin both make prominent use of extended techniques in their improvisation. The violin uses natural and false harmonics, flautando, arpeggiated chords, and elongated glissandi that never rest on a fixed pitch. Momin incorporates a range of techniques common to contemporary practice of free improvisation, such as the placement of found objects on the drum set, and combinations of stick and hand technique.

Central to Momin's intercultural concept is an ideational universal "folk music" that links disparate musical traditions and their performers. In conversation, he speaks often about the importance of "natural" and "organic" syncretism: but he searches for his sounds in the world music marketplace. While I do not mean to suggest that Momin's elision is innocent of the history of the troubled social history of "world music" sounds, I

[87] Ravish Momin, email to author, 18 Jan. 2008.

do wish to foreground how the context of the imaginary, folk music serves a central role as a site for inscribing his identity. Momin's performative interculturalism bears the hallmarks of what Jason Stanyk has termed "musical pan-Africanism," a specific kind of interculturalism central to the politically engaged work of black improvisers after bebop. Its hallmark, as Stanyk suggests, is "its reliance on improvisation to activate the links between subcultures in the diaspora."[88] Here, improvisation represents a collective mode of consciousness that is at its heart, interpersonal, and communal. It represents the attachment musicians have both to the process of collaborative music making and to the heterogeneous results of that process.[89] Control over composition and musical outcomes is ceded in favor of the advantages that spontaneous interpersonal and intercultural contact can provide.

Discussion

Jonathan Bellman has observed that the discourse on exoticism in classical music has traditionally privileged submersion over direct representation. Paraphrasing Ralph P. Locke, he suggests that in classical music "regardless of craft, inspiration, or even popularity, so long as the local color is not assimilated almost past recognition, the music is somehow considered too politically charged to be 'clean enough to praise'."[90] In the critical reception of jazz and the Indian exotic, however, the role of submersion is reconfigured. Here, submersion functions in tandem with performers' racial identities and discourse steeped in postmodern cultural theory to advance a form of identity that reflects, and amasses, cultural capital.

Over the course of a decade of engagement with the aesthetics and politics of the representation of Indian-American identity, Iyer and Mahanthappa feel they have managed to cut across the issue of exoticism. As Mahanthappa comments, "[exoticism] kind of doesn't apply anymore because our careers and our insight and our knowledge and out body of work has evolved beyond that ... It's become its own individual and special thing."[91] This process has depended as much on their critical and aesthetic engagement as it has on a context of production and reception that reflects the intersection of a number of orthodoxies. The jazz that Iyer and Mahanthappa play is sharply marked by its encounter with Western classical musical knowledge. And the Karnatak music they represent confers expressions of Indian identity with a specific classical authority.

The embrace of Indian classical music by American universities in the mid-twentieth century cemented an intellectual understanding of Indian classical music as

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[88] Jason Stanyek, "Transmissions of an Interculture: Pan-African Jazz and Intercultural Improvisation," *The Other Side of Nowhere: Jazz, Improvisation and Communities in Dialogue,* eds. Ajay Heble and Daniel Fischlin (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2004) 94.

[89] Stanyk, "Transmissions of an Interculture" 95.

[90] Jonathan Bellman, "Introduction," *The Exotic in Western Music,* xii.

[91] Rudresh Mahanthappa, public interview with author, 6 Jun. 2006.

commensurate with—if exotically different from—Western classical music. Both Iyer and Mahanthappa had access to professional training along Western classical models that provided them with the compositional skills to control how their Indian identity is produced in their music, and the performative skills to assert their authority as jazz performers. By virtue of their instrumental virtuosity and musical literacy, Iyer and Mahanthappa are eligible for forms of patronage that privilege musical texts: both their projects analyzed in this chapter were commissioned by foundations that award funding primarily to composer-performers, rather than unhyphenated improvisers. By virtue of their professional standing as performers, instrumental proficiency and post-graduate degrees, both Mahanthappa and Iyer are eligible for patronage in the form of academic appointments. Text is also privileged in the discourse surrounding music and identity. Iyer's fluency in the intellectual discourse of American race, ethnicity, and identity has helped him to create a resilient and flexible frame for complex issues of identity. It also makes him attractive as a commentator in scholarly and public discussions on these issues.

Iyer, Mahanthappa and Momin each claim to have turned to the music that formed the soundtrack of their childhoods in seeking to establish connections between their aesthetic and sociocultural identities. Their claim begs further analysis—surely Indian music was not the sole soundtrack to childhoods spent outside of India—and suggests a more complicated set of motives for using Indian music, specifically, as a vehicle by which to advance an Indian identity in improvised music. The classical music that Iyer and Mahanthappa represent has a different status—both within Western institutions and in the Indian diaspora—than the folk musics of Momin's memory, but all forms of 'Indian' music carry authority to the Western ear. Momin did not have access to the musical and intellectual discourses that Iyer and Mahanthappa used to negotiate complex issues of identity formation and representation, but he is cogent in adopting the conceptual language of identity as a means through which to advance a professional identity as a performer. Momin's broad and relatively less coherent representations of Indian and other non-Western musics might easily be analyzed as "world music" exotica, but I argue that his aesthetics is better understood as emerging from a racial imagination specific to jazz and the African-American avant-garde, which has provided a site through which both compositional submersion *and* obvious representation of non-Western influences can be advanced as acts of resistance. Both Momin and Iyer rely on ideational, universalizing constructions to represent their experiences, connect them to shared histories, and create possibilities for extended dialogues. Because Momin is less able to dictate the context in which his music is to be received, his is commonly received as generic exoticism.

Chapter VI
Conclusion

The primary goal of this dissertation has been to contribute to the examination of India's musical encounter with the West through the specific site of jazz and its representations of Karnatak music. This project is situated in a continuum of musical accounts, such as those by Oliver (1988), Farrell (1997) Weidman (2006) of this dissertation is to advance an understanding of why jazz—in various contexts—serves as a productive vantage point from which to consider the musical history of India and the West. David Ake suggests "Jazz stands as one of the twentieth century's earliest and most successful activities for bringing disparate racial and cultural groups together, engendering new identities along the way."[1] The case studies I've presented here suggest that this statement needs to be qualified: Which cultural groups? Which identities? For whom? How? The case studies presented here suggest that jazz is best understood not as a site for the resolution of difference, but as a site in which multiple forms of difference are continually negotiated.

In its ethnohistorical dimension, this project makes two primary contributions to understandings of Indian music and the West. First, it advances a more detailed understanding of the routes by which jazz and Indian music have come into contact in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. By tracing the history of Indian performers of jazz and Western music, it contributes to the evolving understanding of the continuity and reciprocity of the relationship between Western and Indian music and cultures. This dissertation also challenges existing accounts of jazz's connection to Indian music, which have valorized American performers and failed to represent the contributions of Indian jazz performers in forming a genre of "Indo-jazz fusion". This dissertation's second, and arguably more important contribution is to an ongoing project that Paul Oliver described as "staking out...the landmarks" in the evolving relationship of Indian music and the West.[2] The case studies I consider open new sites of inquiry in the connection of Karnatak music and jazz, albeit ones that are limited both temporally and spatially.

Both the historical investigation case studies presented here require further theorization and historicization, as well as investigation from subject positions rooted in other points in time and other places. A detailed history of jazz in India is long overdue, as is a scholarly treatment of the recent consolidation of "fusion" as a distinctly Indian genre of instrumental performance with considerable popular appeal among the Indian middle class.[3] The case studies of jazz-Karnatak collaborations presented in Chapters III and IV could certainly benefit from an extended consideration of the perspectives of Indian collaborators whose voices are comparatively under-represented in this text. Extending the scope of the investigation to other temporal and cultural spaces would

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[1] David Ake, *Jazz Cultures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002): 175.
[2] Paul Oliver, "Introduction: Aspects of the South Asia/West Crossover,"*Popular Music* 7 (1988): 119.
[3] Columbia student Niko Higgins is currently completing fieldwork in Chennai for his doctoral dissertation on this topic.

further complement my analyses of jazz-Karnatak collaboration. An analysis of Indian diasporic jazz performers in European, Canadian and Australasian communities carries the potential to illustrate the aesthetic consequences of different configurations of culture, multiculturalism and diaspora. Studies of communities of jazz performers oriented around Indian classical music—such as Amsterdam's nationally-funded Karnatic Lab, or Toronto bands Autorickshaw and Tasa—carry the potential to illustrate how different national histories and cultural policies shape performers day-to-day decisions and aesthetic choices.

The concept of choice emerges as a central consideration in the identity project in jazz. Its ubiquity —evident in Francis Davis' construction of "identity jazz"—needs to be more thoroughly situated with respect to the social and intellectual history of late twentieth and early twenty-first century North America. A preoccupation with ethnicity reflects a degree of privilege that is at odds with claims, such as Vijay Iyer's, to speak from and for the margins. If identity production and formation is understood as inextricably linked to consumerist practices of post World War Two American culture, then it stands that "identity jazz" could be theorized as a product of, rather than as a process of, the identity project. By now, the impact of shifts to multiple economic engines—in particular the patronage of national and private bodies—has resulted in the textualization of jazz's oral tradition and the privileging of musical compositions and recordings. Educational capital and "brown-skinned" identity intersect with these texts to produce a potent form of authority that deserves deeper analysis. Indeed, the manner in which social class, cultural capital, and American intellectualism shape "identity jazz" needs to be interrogated to better illuminate the multiplicity of musicians' positionalities. In this project, I have sketched out "how" jazz texts reproduce a particular form of South Asian-American identity. The questions "For whom?" "Why?" "When?" and "Where from?" remain important sites of inquiry.

As a multidisciplinary project, this dissertation also contributes to a range of musical discourses. It contributes to the evolving nature of jazz studies, challenging enduring disciplinary divisions that bifurcate black and white racial identities and aesthetics, European and American jazz cultures, and experimental and canonic performative practices. It contributes to the discourse on musical exoticism in music in several respects. First, it extends the analysis of exoticism in Western music, and the analysis of transculturalism in ethnomusicology, to the context of jazz. Both discourses have made important contributions to understanding the processes of transculturalism, but each model tends to obscure certain kinds of historical and transcultural dynamics and processes. The case study of Khanda and the Karnataka College of Percussion presented in Chapter Four illuminates the importance of performative knowledge, and makes manifest the historical continuity and mutuality of jazz and Indian music in the twentieth century. The historical and ideological context of cross-colonial identification adds another layer to the narrative, and opens discussion as to the impact of national forms of patronage in non-commercial music, uniting musicological and ethnomusicological discourses on transculturalism with larger social and historical structures. All of the case studies presented here could be fruitfully reconsidered from a

perspective informed by recent work by Timothy Taylor on exoticism in the relationship of Western music and the world.[4]

The exchange program reported in Chapter Three remains, to the best of my knowledge, the only example of a reciprocal exchange between a Western postsecondary music performance program and an Indian music school. In providing a detailed account of the obstacles we faced in negotiating and achieving reciprocal exchange, I contribute practical understanding valuable to Western musical scholars, educators and performers seeking to inaugurate relationships with their Indian peers. Such exchange programs carry significant potential to answer calls to cultural diversity in music education, resolve departmental divisions between performance and research, and to illuminate the transcultural dynamics and processes that inhabit the Western study of non-Western music. As a case study in intercultural contact, this exchange program, and more generally the movements of Western performers studying non-Western music "in the field," could be productively extended through an analysis rooted in the disciplinary perspective of tourism studies. This chapter in particular could benefit substantially from an analysis rooted in gender and embodiment.

Ten years after Momin, Iyer and Mahanthappa first moved to New York, the Indian-American jazz performer is no longer a pioneer in the city's musical landscape. A new wave of performers in their twenties is emerging onto a scene that has indeed been sufficiently "complicated" by the cultural products of the children of the first wave of South Asian immigrants, now in their mid-30s. The case studies presented here could be usefully extended by considering both the work of young performers in New York, as well as performers in diasporic centers that are peripheral to jazz's metropoles. Shifts in the temporal and spatial frame of reference may help to qualify the historical and cultural construction of identity—specifically personal identity as impacted by ethnicity—in jazz.

The broad historical and geographic reach of this project has necessarily introduced certain limitations. Perhaps as a consequence of a multi-sited approach, the ethnography of this dissertation is somewhat thin. Similarly the network of relevant theoretical frameworks I outlined in the introductory chapter remains underdeveloped in my musical analyses. Given the paucity of academic treatments of jazz in the contexts of musical transnationalism and exoticism, however, it is my hope that the material presented here will stand as groundwork for future investigators. In linking these musical landmarks to their performers' personal narratives, and by situating music and musical discourse to broader themes of colonialism, transnationalism, race and identity, I hope to invite further inquiry that will theorize these sites more extensively.

By way of an explanation, or perhaps an apology, I would like to conclude with an observation that the ubiquity of the term "multidisciplinary" masks its significant challenges. Multidisciplinarity is not a simple matter of comparing the view through a range of disciplinary lenses: rather, it involves the somewhat uncomfortable task of

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[4] Timothy Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

inhabiting the space of disciplinary intersections to glean the unique perspectives such places can offer. In addition to the challenges of developing parallel musical projects in performance and academia, my multiple positions have offered divergent perspectives that I have struggled to reconcile. In particular, my orientation towards music as a site for self-expression and self-actualization has posed a challenge to the task of reconciling theory about music with "music itself." My status as a peer of the musicians I consider here has made me timid at times to insert cultural critique where none was offered or intended, or to extend analysis based on gender when such an analysis necessitates inserting myself as a woman into both this project, and my professional life. Ultimately, identity and community are enacted every time a note is struck, and every time a note is heard. There is an infinite multiplicity of ideas and viewpoints about music—from standpoints of performers; listeners; critics; scholars; historians and others. Divergent perspectives cannot always be reconciled, but when considered in various relationships, they offer a deeper perspective on music's relationships to history, society and cultural practice.

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