Teaching World Music in the Netherlands 1983-2003. A cross-cultural investigation into concepts, ideas and practices of music transmission in culturally diverse environments
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Chapter Seven – APPLYING THE MODEL

– Four Case Studies

Introduction

As we have seen in the previous chapters, a study of the explicit and implicit choices in world music education enables us to look at music teaching and learning from a new perspective, encompassing a number of crucial choices in the transmission process. For the development of this model, examples have been drawn from many practices across the world. This final chapter is an exercise in applying the model in its entirety to a number of specific case studies. The data for these cases are a combination of observations, video recordings, interviews, curricula and reports. For each, a specific, well-defined and documented transmission moment or period has been selected.

Four specific traditions are addressed: 1) djembe (Mandinka percussion from West Africa); 2) (baglama) saz (folk music from Turkey); 3) gamelan (gong kebyar from Bali); and 4) bansuri (classical flute music from North India). The choice of these traditions over other possible examples has not been random. Between them, they represent a wide variety of approaches to musical structure, social context, and thinking about musical transmission. While each of the traditions has been well established in the Netherlands, with a history of some twenty years on Dutch soil, they all entered Dutch society through different channels. Djembe entered the country through a combination of recordings, interest from Africa travellers, and a number of West African musicians settling in the Netherlands, starting with the group Africa Djolé. Saz came to the Netherlands with a large number of Turkish immigrants attracted to strengthen the work force in the 1960s and 1970s (Schapendonk-Maas, 2000). The interest in gamelan in the Netherlands can be traced back to its colonial past (Heins, 1989). Indian music became established in the Netherlands after the immense popularity of the music in the West during the late 1960s (Farrell, 1997). In the end, however, these four forms of music are comparable in the sense that they have all remained distinct traditions that have become recontextualised, rather than mutating into new forms of musical expression through fusion. The relative continuity over decades in the Netherlands of these four traditions makes it possible to consider processes of teaching and learning in new environments over a longer period of time, and to compare them to these processes in the cultures of origin.
Another selection criterion has been representativity. In order to diminish the risk of idiosyncratic views, four musician-teachers were selected who are generally regarded to be amongst the leading specialists in their specific tradition in the Netherlands, as is borne out by their extensive track record as teachers and performers. Two are from the cultures (Turkey and India) from which the music is derived, while the other two are ‘outsiders’ (one Dutch, one Surinami) who have spent over twenty years studying the music and its culture. The latter two belong to the new breed of world music ambassadors who often form a bridge between the culture of origin and the new settings. For the purpose of this study, the reflections by these new representatives of ancient traditions can be of great value, although they may also be biased in a way contrary to what might be expected: like converts, Westerners tend to be more conservative than their counterparts from the culture.

A final consideration was dependability of the information. As I have witnessed numerous examples of classes in each of the traditions chosen, the risk of idiosyncrasies, incidents being interpreted as generalisations, and other misunderstandings clouding the picture was reduced substantially. Prolonged exposure also made it possible to use a variety of sources as background material: didactic methods, reports by learners, interviews with teachers, descriptions by scholars, observation of practice, sound recordings, and video registrations. With this number of sources and the ensuing opportunities for triangulation, the picture that emerges can be considered reasonably dependable, in spite of single researcher bias.

Key references for this chapter are video registrations of lessons in each of the four traditions discussed, and interviews with the four teachers referred to above. The latter appear in edited version in the text of the various case studies. Full-length recordings of both interviews and lessons on DVD form Appendix E of this dissertation.
Case study 1: Mandinka percussion for Dutch amateurs – O’Bryan

General references: Appendix E1 & E2 (enclosed on DVD): registration of advanced djembe lesson and interview. Recorded on July 3, 2003, in Melody Line Studios, Amsterdam. Specific references in text.

Introduction

One of the most widespread phenomena in world music education practices in the West is that of African percussion. The numerous genres and percussion ensembles of Sub-Saharan Africa have appealed to Western audiences for decades, much more than the many forms of subtle melodic music the continent has to offer. This appeal has led to a great deal of interest in actually learning to play. The relatively easy accessibility of West African drumming - real or assumed - has drawn thousands of students to workshops and series of lesson. This means there is a substantial practice upon which to base research.

As an example representing this phenomenon, the focus of this case study is the work of Ponda O’Bryan, a teacher of Surinami descent who is widely regarded as the central person in bringing djembe to music education in the Netherlands. The central point of reference is an advanced class which constituted part of his private practice. One key observation occurred in the evening of July 3, 2003 in Melody Line, a studio in Amsterdam. There were seven students: two men in their thirties and five women in their forties and early fifties. Main sources for this case study are a video registration of the class, and a video-interview with O’Bryan after the lesson. The conclusions that could be drawn from this concentrated object of study were checked against regular observation of O’Bryan’s work in his private practice, the Amsterdam Music School and several school projects over a period of twelve years, and a book and video on djembe learning by Famadou Konaté (1997).

In the observed lesson, O’Bryan taught “Tama,” a male dance which he characterises as a dundumba (dundum) rhythm from the Korusa region in Guinea. It is a fairly complicated rhythm, with seven different parts, played with three bass drums: dundum, sanbang and kenkeni, three accompanying djembes and a solo djembe. In a slightly simplified form, it can also be played with only five drummers. The students in O’Bryan’s studio have been learning drumming for four to seven years, and their teacher considers them quite advanced. They have been playing this particular rhythm for five weeks prior to the recorded lesson, with one 90-minute lesson a week (Interview O’Bryan, July 2, 2003, 0:20).

Background

While Africa is often conceived by outsiders as a (collection) of pure, traditional cultures, change is part of most aspects of African culture (cf Nketa, n.d.). What the Encyclopaedia Brittanica says of dance practice holds true for the closely related musical practices as well “Scholars studying the emergence of
new styles of dance in Africa have distinguished three related forms: traditional, neo-traditional, and contemporary.” It contrasts the gradual changes in traditional dance styles in the villages with changes stimulated by the introduction of formal education, transport and communication, and entertainment music through radios, leading to new expressive patterns (Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 2003).

Like in most cultures, there is no single system of music education in operation throughout West Africa, not even in traditional music. Different forms of music require different types of musicians, and consequently the training is dissimilar. In order to get a perspective, we will examine a few major strands in the music of one of the prominent ethnic groups, the Mandinka.

First, there is the well-known tradition of the griots or jalis, once the bards of Mandinka kings, and still praise singers and the voice of important people now. In Music in Africa—the Manding Context, Roderick Knight describes the learning process of these musicians, which is not dissimilar to the Indian guru-śisya-paramparā (see also case study 4): “Jaliya … is learned through apprenticeship. For the boy, who will most likely learn the instrument his father plays, this means between seven and ten years spent with a recognised master—usually from age ten, and usually not with the father, since a non-family member can deal more strictly and objectively with a student.” (Knight, 1984, p. 75). He continues: “The actual instruction on an instrument is done by observation and imitation, although if it is the balo [African xylophone], the teacher may reach over the student’s shoulder to guide his hands on the keys. Structured lessons, exercises and practice are largely foreign to the tradition. Instead, the student is encouraged to participate in actual performance in any way he can” (ibid., p. 76). In other words, the learning process is integrated into the actual performance practice to a large extent.

There are a number of observations one can make about the practice of jalis, who have been located at the great courts of the empire of Mali from as early as the 13th century (Knight, 1973). First, the practice and repertoire illustrate that an oral tradition without any use of notation can have an unbroken tradition of many centuries. Secondly, it introduces the idea that it is better to learn with someone outside of the immediate family, which is quite unlike the situation in other family traditions, where usually the father is the primary teacher. Next, we can distinguish various degree of dependence on directed instruction in learning the physical way of playing of the instrument: the balo allows for this type of help in playing, while the kora, the harp lute which is the principle instrument for the jalis, does not. Finally, it is striking to note that students commonly practice on out-of-tune koras. Tuning is one of the last things the student learns; possibly as a means of maintaining one’s dependence on the teacher up to the moment he decides the student is ready to be a musician in his own right (Knight, 1984, 76).
APPLYING THE MODEL

Knight continues to describe the learning process for drumming among the Mandinka: “Even though drumming is not regulated by family traditions, an apprenticeship is required for membership in a troupe.” This apprenticeship seems to follow a logical sequence:

A student begins on the kutirindingo. Of the two Kutiro drums, this smaller one is played with less variation than the other, and in performance it is the drum that usually starts the rhythm, the kutiriba coming in afterwards. Both of these factors make it easier to master as a beginner. The beginning drummer will spend all of his time for the first ten years on this drum. […] As with the learning of the jaliya, structured lessons and practice sessions are virtually unknown, but early participation builds confidence quickly, and the student can learn how variations are introduced. Thus flexibility is learned simultaneously with the basic repertoire. … Once the kutirindingo has been mastered, the student moves on to the kutiriba […] The drumming apprenticeship moves the drummer through the ranks of his troupe. (ibid., p. 84)

In this way, we can distinguish an organically organised system of music teaching and learning, which makes sense from both the perspective of professional practices of the musicians and the phases of learning of the student. Djembe drumming, which is the most widespread percussion tradition of the Mandinka, follows a similar pattern in West-Africa. O’Bryan describes the learning process of African musicians in this tradition, consisting of a basic ensemble of one to three dundumbas, and three to four goblet shaped wooden djembes, one of which serves as the solo instrument, usually played by the master drummer of the ensemble:

They start quite young. And they begin with the bass drums. The first is the kenkenni. That is the time-keeping instrument. When people are playing, they just look for a young kid around, and if the kid is intelligent, if he has the musical ear to understand the basic pattern in the music, they keep him on the kenkenni. This is the lowest level. Then, maybe after two years, bit by bit he can start changing to the other instruments. He can go to the sambaining, to the dundumba, then the accompanying djembes. Gradually, he can start going to the different festivities and ceremonies with his master, and finally become a master himself.

Students can start learning both formally and informally. Sometimes, when an ensemble is incomplete, they can just pick someone to assist. In that way, he can grow in the system if he likes it. The other way – when you really want to learn- is that the elder people that see a kid with intelligence for rhythm, they bring him to a master. Then he is given some cola nuts as a sign of respect, and he is asked if he wants to train the child. There is a natural selection. When a student does not have the particular type of intellect to understand the music, or is to slow to pick up, then the master will just ignore him. I know some people in the West think otherwise, but not everybody in Africa has the talent to become a good drummer. (Interview O’Bryan, July 3, 2003, 0:11)

Again, the relation to the master does not seem to be primarily a close blood relationship, there is a logical progression through the various instruments, and holistic skills in assimilating the music seem to be a key requisite for being considered for serious training.
Djembe in the Netherlands

The djembe, with its main proponents hailing from Mali and Guinee, has gained considerable popularity in the Netherlands over a period of less than two decades. The music of djembe is accessible and exciting to a broad audience, and the drum itself has a low initial technical threshold: while a conga or a tabla takes a substantial amount of practice to produce an acceptable sound, the response of the djembe is very direct. According to O'Bryan, who has links to most West-African percussion activities in the Netherlands, there must be many thousands of these drums on Dutch soil, creating probably the highest djembe density per square kilometre outside of West Africa. But the development towards great popularity has taken place across the West, as Polak states:

In Europe and North America, a market has existed since the mid-1980s for concerts and CDs with percussion based on *jenbe* music. Yet even more striking than this is the extent of instrument sales, *jenbe* classes, and amateur playing taking place in the industrial countries in the 1990s. The *jenbe* is about to replace the conga as the most widespread drum played without sticks but with bare hands. (Polak, 20000, p. 13)

A vast practice on a basic amateur level has emerged. In the Netherlands, O'Bryan has played a key role in training the trainers in this tradition. He has been teaching privately, at public music schools and as a guest teacher at several conservatoires. As of September 2003, he is involved in a professional training course in West-African percussion at the Amsterdam Conservatoire.

Written - oral

Djembe has always been transmitted without notation in West Africa. The lessons in the Netherlands generally reflect this practice. Occasionally, djembe students trained in Western music feel the need to write the rhythms as an *aide de mémoire*, but the general practice is to memorise the basic patterns and to learn the structures for improvisation. Recordings are often used as a means to support this process.

Ponda O'Bryan knows how to write music, but he sees limited use for it:

You can write how it is played theoretically, but there are certain things you can only learn from a master. For instance, you can write something down as a triplet, but it is never really played like a triplet. I know people who understand the structure, but to get the real feel takes a lot of time. It has to ripen, like an apple. There are a few students who can write, but I don't stop the class for them. I can also write music myself, as I went to Rotterdam Conservatoire for a few years, but I did not learn from my masters like that myself. In September [2003], I will start a class for rhythm notation for those that are interested. You don't need it to play African percussion, but it can be useful when you need to remember a lot of rhythms in a short time. On the other hand, I have children who play at the same level, and they never write anything. (Interview O'Bryan, 0:24)
In other words, O'Bryan chooses a method of transmission that strongly leans towards oral, although he does not exclude the use or usefulness of notation for particular settings of learning the djembe repertoire, particularly the non-traditional setting of learning many rhythms over a short span of time.

**Analytic - holistic**

While historically, the music is learned through immersion, with an absolute minimum of explanation, the lessons of O'Bryan in the Netherlands use the analytical capacities of both teacher and students. Playing remains the core of the lessons, but the pieces are built up step by step in a logical order. The teacher may not have a formal lesson plan, but he does have a very clear picture of how he expects students to develop:

In Africa, they don’t stop and explain what went well or wrong during the classes like I do. Most of the learning takes place during the ceremonies. So it’s happening during the playing. They just grow in the music. There may be some explaining at times. For instance, after playing at a ceremony, one of the accompanying djembe players can ask the master: what was this the solo drum was doing, or that. But the explanation will be very short.

A lot of the teaching we do in Europe is only short sounds in Africa, if I say, first do a tone and then a slap, they just say, tun tan, and if you play tan tun, they will tell you tun tan once more. By that time you’d better get it. They don’t have much patience with the students, sometimes they even beat them if they are not playing well. (Interview O'Bryan, 0:15)

While his lessons may seem very loosely organised, O'Bryan in fact structures his material quite carefully:

I already played some rhythms from the same family with them, so I first show them what’s the same. There are three patterns which are identical in the entire family. Then I show them the ‘melody’, which is played on the sambaing. Then I bring in the countermelody on the dumdum. We play that a while, and then I start to rotate, so that everybody gets to play and understand every pattern of the rhythm. Then we go to the solo parts. I do some explaining, but most of it is playing. (Interview O'Bryan, 0:23)

From the observation of the lesson, it becomes clear that there is very little spoken explanation. Barring quick shifts from instrument to instrument, O'Bryan keeps the rhythm going almost constantly, listens to the whole, but singles out individuals in order to correct them, by making eye contact and indicating patterns or emphases on his djembe or dumdum for the student to copy. In this way, the overall picture is one of holistic transmission with analytical accents in specific actions of the teacher and the general conception of the lesson.

**Tangible - intangible**

At beginning levels, the emphasis is on tangible aspects of playing, although aspects such as tonal quality emerge early on. At later stages, the deeper musical qualities of djembe music emerge.
O'Bryan mentions the important aspect of the 'flow' of the rhythm during the lesson, and afterwards comments further on this subject:

In the right combination, it got very close. It was the second or third combination [change of students over instruments], when the lady with the glasses was playing the sambaing. If we have trouble getting the flow, I leave out patterns until we get it in a simpler form, and then I add them again. When I teach, I hear all the different parts in my head, like a chord. If one is off, you hear it immediately and you try to correct it. (Interview O'Bryan, 0:30)

I work on sound quality from the beginning. But it is largely a matter of time. It takes quite long to get the right sound. And it's quite individual. It is related to the shape of the hands: some people have long, slender hands, others short ones. So they need to find their own sound. Adults seem to need more time than children; their hands are more flexible. (Interview O'Bryan, 0:33)

I also teach them how to improvise. But that also takes a lot of time. I give them standard phrases, and some of my own solos. Then they can see how they can approach the melody of the rhythm. Not everybody has the freedom to improvise; the kids are quite free, they will do something, even if it is wrong. (Interview O'Bryan, 0:35)

The reference for right and wrong in djembe music, as we have seen before, cannot be found in books, but it is very clear:

There is no written theory in Africa, and the tradition is too young in the West to have books on this. But the masters know exactly what is right and what is wrong. There are rules to improvisation. First, you deal with the melody of the music. Then, you deal with the dance. If there are dancers, there are certain appropriate traditional phrases and solo improvisation. There is freedom, but within restrictions. (Interview O'Bryan, 0:30)

A great deal of attention goes to playing the right pattern at the right time in the structure, which is quite tangible, but the aim of "getting in the flow" underlies many of the corrections and comments. From the observation of the lesson, a balance that leans slightly towards tangible aspects of transmission can be deduced.

**Static Tradition – constant flux**

A Mandinka djembe percussion tradition is characterised by a repertoire of traditional rhythms. Each of these has its fixed patterns in the cycle, its own name, appropriate ensemble and its own relation to social events. All but the last are maintained in djembe lessons of O'Bryan, who describes a number of varying characteristics of the tradition in West-African percussion.

There are several things. The rhythms that are being played are important. But sometimes the same rhythms have a different name, or different rhythms the same name in various regions. Then there are the instruments that are being used. Some use bells, some use no bells, sizes of djembe differ, and some use cow instead of goat skin: that gives a different sound. Next there is the technique of playing. For instance, where exactly on the skin the slap is played. Other factors are the sound, the tempo, and the improvisations. (Interview O'Bryan, 0:48) […] Each other region has its own styles and dialects. Particular
rhythms are played only in certain regions, and the ensemble can be different as well. (Interview O’Bryan, 0:19)

This suggests a considerable degree of variance and flexibility within the tradition. Most musicians learn in a single regional tradition, which may be defined less ambiguously. O’Bryan, as an outsider, is an exception, as he has branched out from his teacher Famadou from the Korusa region in Upper Guineee into various approaches to djembe playing. Considering the various traditions as a whole, O’Bryan sees them as stable, but not static:

No, they are not. For instance, the regions influence each other. First, only in Korusa they used three dumdums. Now, the other regions are copying that. Musicians meet and influence each other. So it is always evolving. But it goes very slowly. The old is greatly respected in Africa, so the tradition largely stays the same over time.

However, in the last 40 or 50 years, there is a new style, the African ballet. In this style, the tradition is made art. They make arrangements, choreographies with the dance, new steps to the dances. That changes very fast. I would not call it a tradition, but it is based on the tradition, and it is played in the African context. But this music is for the stage, while the traditional drumming is for the villages. Ballet drummers are not able to play in the ceremonies, and traditional drummers don’t know how to play with the ballet. They have become separate. One is the source, the other what came from it. The tradition is very fixed, ballet moves very fast, it constantly takes on new things. (Interview O’Bryan, 0:50)

In other words, we find a relatively static tradition and a form with a new identity existing side by side in contemporary West African settings, like in the description of developments in dance at the beginning of this chapter. O’Bryan’s approach would tend towards the former, but this is qualified somewhat by the fact that he emphatically does not present the music in association with the strong link of its original social function, as we will see in the next paragraph.

Original context – completely recontextualised

Djembe music is strongly linked to specific social events in African village life: weddings, naming ceremonies, circumcision. In the Netherlands, this context is mentioned, but no efforts are undertaken to reproduce it in any way. Still, O’Bryan asserts that context in quite important to him;

In my classes with Westerners, I always tell them what a particular rhythms is for, and often I show them videos. But for many of my students, just knowing where it comes from is enough. They come for the fun of playing and the beauty of the music itself.

With dance I don’t do so much. I tell my advanced students to try to play with dance classes in the Netherlands. That is very good for them. Also because the rhythms are often played faster. But you also get the energy from the dancers. So it is important when you are advanced. When you are a beginner, it can help you understand the beat of the music, but I usually just tell them where it is. (Interview O’Bryan, 0:40)
In the end, it appears the context is considered important, but in fact only referred to verbally. Considering the vast difference between the original context and the setting of O'Bryan's classes, the balance would go towards recontextualised.

(Reconstructed) authenticity - New identity

In O'Bryan's teaching practice, he tries to remain true to the authentic values of the music he learned from his teachers in West Africa:

I am attached to traditional playing. So the way you see us play in the classes is the same when you see it in the region where it is from. Only they will play it a little bit richer in the patterns of the sambaing, the dumdum, and the djembes; where there is freedom in the music. They have been playing these rhythms for many years, and often hours at a time, so they can put all kinds of subtle things inside.

I go back every year and see all the ceremonies, I can see how they play, and how it relates to the dance, so I can tell the students the truth about it. There are some rhythms I have learned there that I will not play in class. These are ritual and religious rhythms that are not played like that in Africa either. (Interview O'Bryan, 0:38)

O'Bryan indicates that his students often experiment with new settings for djembe:

We live in modern times, and there are many things happening. I think that is all OK, but I go to the source. It's fine when my students play with a band or something. But I don't teach that. Only if I see someone playing in a modern context, but they don't know the basics of the instrument, I don't like it. It's like playing free jazz without having learned to play the piano. You shouldn't try to reinvent the wheel. But once you have the skills, you are free. (Interview O'Bryan, 0:40)

O'Bryan indicates a strong tendency towards authentic in the sense of true to the original. However, the setting far away from Africa gives it aspects of a new identity.

Conclusions

Considering O'Bryan's practice as exemplified by the observed lesson as a whole, it can be concluded that he appears to have managed to successfully recontextualise a holistic, oral, tradition with a strong contextual bond to social and ritual events in a new teaching environment. This translates into the following picture on the SCTM:

Table 7.1: Djembe lesson Ponda O'Bryan in the Seven-Continuum Transmission Model

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<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Transmission</th>
<th>ANALYTIC</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>HOLISTIC</th>
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<tr>
<td>WRITTEN</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>ORAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>TANGIBLE</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>INTANGIBLE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

176
The positions on the continua in each cluster can be easily explained. While maintaining the attractive aspects of a holistic experience for the students, O’Bryan has elegantly added analytical aspects to it. The oral modes of transmission are maintained almost completely. There seems to be a fairly strong emphasis on tangible aspects of learning, which may be accounted for by the lack of familiarity with the basic rhythms amongst learners in the Netherlands. The concept and importance of the intangible ‘flow’ forms a counterbalance to this tendency.

Although he regularly checks up on recent developments in Africa, O’Bryan has a fairly static view of the tradition he feels he represents. This may be an expression of the ‘convert phenomenon,’ the tendency of newcomers to the tradition to be more inclined to adhere to time-honoured concept than those who have grown up in the tradition. He resolves the challenge to context practically: although he sees it as important, he also realises the impossibility to reproduce the context in the teaching and learning context of a private practice in Amsterdam, and compromises by at least pointing out the context of each rhythm. It is difficult to establish O’Bryan’s exact views on authenticity beyond following the musical use of the music of some of his students in fusion music.

In the lessons, no effort is made to connect African music to other aspects of musical life in the Netherlands. O’Bryan positions it as a separate culture within the culturally diverse landscape, which would qualify it as a multicultural approach, with minor overtones of intercultural because of the intended use of the music of some of his students in fusion music.
Case study 2: Turkish Folk Music in formal music education - Avci

General references: Appendix E3 and E4 (enclosed on DVD): registration of saz lesson by Ceylan Ulu at the Amsterdam World Music School (LOKV, 1995), and interview with Nahim Avci. Recorded on June 25, 2003, in Rotterdams Conservatorium, Rotterdam. Specific references in text.

Introduction

Along with classical, maqam-based art music, military music, religious and spiritual music, and a vast pop music industry, Turkish folk music has always had a solid place in the musical reality of Anatolia, the vast peninsula that forms the Asian part of Turkey. After briefly examining the traditional background and setting of this music, we will consider the practices that have arisen with this tradition in exile: in Dutch music schools and the conservatoire.

The main source for this case study has been an interview with Nahim Avci, saz teacher at the Rotterdam music school and coordinator of the Turkish music course at the Conservatoire. Source material included course descriptions of Turkish music classes in public music schools from 1990 to 2002, the curriculum description of the professional training courses at the Rotterdam Conservatoire, observations of classes in Amsterdam (1990-1997), informal discussions with several Turkish music teachers over a period of twelve years, and a study on Turkish music classes in the Netherlands by Conservatorium Alkmaar, commissioned by LOKV Netherlands Institute for Arts Education (Van den Bos, 1998).

Background

Wandering poet-minstrels known as asheq have been part of the musical landscape of Anatolia for hundreds of years, continuing a tradition of Dervish lodges dating back to the thirteenth century (Markoff, 2002, p. 796). These musicians accompanied their songs about daily, political and spiritual affairs on the long necked lute mostly referred to as saz (lit: instrument; the more precise reference to the most commonly used type of saz is baglama). Their tradition has undergone major changes over the past century. While the music had been handed down orally for centuries, the rise of awareness of the value of cultural heritage under Kemal Atatürk during the first decades of the twentieth century led to raising the music of the asheq to nationalist symbol, and the urge to write down the repertoire in Western staff notation, slightly modified to accommodate the ‘quarter notes’ of Turkish folk music (ibid., p. 794). Avci states:

From the 1920s, TRT, the national radio, started replacing the traditional system as the place where music is transmitted. It effectively took the role of the conservatoire. TRT was responsible for notating the folk music. The vision behind this was that folk music disappeared very rapidly. In an oral tradition, as soon as someone dies, you run the risk that his music disappears. So they started notating the melodies and the texts. I have to say it was done in a very amateuristic, clumsy way at first. But it has been the basis for
APPLYING THE MODEL

establishing a much better, new type of fieldwork that is being used to this day, also by the conservatoire. (Interview Avci, June 25, 2003, 0:09)

In 1923, the first volume of transcriptions from 15 different regions was published, the first of a steady stream of publications covering thousands of traditional compositions. Meanwhile, Turkish radio - the state radio in Ankara was established in 1937 (Markoff, 2002, p. 79) - rather than the villages became the centre of folk music practice, and radio musicians were expected and trained to play a prima vista. In 1975, the last of the great traditional bards, Ashik Veysel, died. By that time, saz music had gained a new identity as the symbol of the protest music of a generation of students, who followed the worldwide movement of critical reflections on politics and world affairs. Later, it also started playing a role in a number of pop music traditions, notably the style known as arabesk, which has dominated Turkish popular music for decades. This role persists to this day.

Although there had been a very modest interest in music from Turkey in the West for several decades, it is safe to say that the practice of Turkish folk music in Europe is strongly linked to the presence of over one million people from Turkey, most of whom were attracted to the region to fill the lower side of the labour market in the 1960s and 1970s. Saz music started to be present at Turkish weddings and other festivities, in Turkish restaurants and coffee shops, in community centres frequented by Turks, in public festivals and concerts, and finally in formal music education settings.

In the Netherlands, Turkish folk music was one of the first traditions to enter into formal music education. In the 1980s, Turkish cultural organisations came into contact with local public music schools, stimulated by intercultural Dutch government policies. A broad but fairly vulnerable practice emanated from this. A 1992 research project by VKV, the Dutch Association of Institutes for Arts Education, demonstrated a pattern of curricular development and management that was counterproductive to its stated objectives of integrating Turkish music in formal music education:

When the Amsterdam Music School introduced courses in Turkish music in 1982, they were specifically aimed at potential Turkish pupils. Similar projects in the "minority arts" were started in other parts of the Netherlands. It was basically the thing to do. After all, one had to show one's compassion and respect for minorities. Moreover, a minimum of commitment was required from the institutes. The projects could usually be funded externally, so they did not interfere with the Western classical music teaching.

Generally, no effort was made to integrate these lessons, the teachers, the students and the music into the system of the music schools. The courses were like small islands, completely isolated from the support they needed in terms of content, methodology, organization, and PR. No wonder most of the courses died a slow death (and occasionally a quick, violent one) after problems with teachers, pupils, subsidies, and especially the culture of teaching: problems that nobody seemed ready to tackle, for fear of trespassing on foreign cultural ground. The underlying principle seems to have been that Turkish music is particularly or even only relevant to people from Turkey, Arab music to Moroccans, etc. Everybody followed this idea without giving it too much thought. (Schippers, 1996a, p. 16)
A more substantial practice arose during the 1990s, both in volume (Schippers, 1997, pp. 69-70) and in approach (ibid., p. 13-25). It is at this practice that we will look in some more detail.

**Written – oral**

As has become clear from the introduction, Turkish folk music made a major shift from an entirely oral tradition to a tradition with a heavy emphasis on notation less than a century ago. The exact consequences of this shift in the long term can not easily be assessed. There are two reasons for this: there are no recordings from that long ago, and the tradition has actually still remained quite strongly orally based throughout the past century.

Before, in Turkey, people could not learn music with staff notation. That did not exist yet. All kinds of oral methods of transmission were used, such as hearing and copying the melodies, and the human memory served as the hard disk for those melodies. This traditional transmission did not immediately disappear with the introduction of staff notation. In fact, they started running a parallel trajectory, not only here [in the Netherlands] in the music schools and conservatoire, but also in Turkey itself. To this day, we distinguish two traditions: one the classical Western method with staff notation, and the traditional method of oral transmission. (Interview Avci, 0:01)

The range from oral to written is felt as a tension by Avci:

It is actually quite ambiguous. Over the past years, the conceived importance of notation has risen enormously, while the oral tradition of the past is despised [by scholars and educationalists]. But saz players and students actually don’t feel they need notation so much, they just want to play. These two attitudes exist parallel to each other. If the emphasis is too much on notation, it does not give satisfactory results. But you do need it. We need a combination of the two, side by side. (Interview Avci, 0:23)

In that way, notation is considered an essential tool in the transmission of a traditionally oral tradition. In the classes at the music school and the conservatoire, Nahim Avci works from written to oral, following the emphasis placed on notation by contemporary radio musicians, while the artistic leader of the department, Talip Özkan, organises his lessons around a song that he first presents in playing, and only writes at the end of the lesson (Interview Avci, 0:45). In that way, he works from oral to notation. In the end, however, both place considerable emphasis on notation as an essential feature in learning Turkish folk music. This conclusion is supported by research amongst other saz teachers in the Netherlands in 1997-1998 (Van den Bos, 1998, p. 45).

**Analytic – holistic**

There are folk stories (*hikaye*) that tell of supernatural inspiration as the way to becoming an expert musician: “Sometimes, the hero *asheq* in a *hikaye* also receives the gift of music. Upon awakening, he may play the *saz* masterfully, although he has never before even touched a *saz*.” (Erdener, 2002, p. 803). However, the traditional way of handing down Turkish folk music is one that would be identified towards holistic in our model. In the hierarchical relationship between *usta* and *çirak*
(teacher and student), comparable to the Indian guru-sísya-parampara system, the master plays, and the student has to copy immediately. Failure to do so will result in negative feedback: criticism, insults, or dismissal.

The teachers wouldn’t actually hit the students, but they would be verbally abusive: “You are no musician; you can’t even remember the lyrics”, that kind of thing. They showed no pity: you had to be able to play anything at once. If you had no talent, you dropped out immediately. When you wanted to learn from a particular asheq, you just started sitting close to him, and tried to play along. He would see immediately if you were sufficiently talented. The relationship is clearly hierarchical, it reflects other learning settings between usta (teacher) and çirak (pupil).

In the West this is often immediately considered a holistic system, but it is more then that, the interaction is more complicated I would like to refer to it as direct application, I don’t know how to give it a better name: this means that you learn, play and get feedback at the same time. I think this was the system in Eastern Turkey. You cannot compare it to the Western system, or the holistic system, as there feedback comes afterwards. Here, the asheq reacts immediately. (Interview Avci, 0:04)

In his own practice in the music schools and conservatoire, Avci chooses his own approach:

We work both analytically and holistically. We can’t use the traditional system, with the rude and abrasive teacher. We have made a Western-style teaching plan, which says what they should be able to do when. I give assignments, and notation, with or without recordings. With this combination the music is filled in. You can compare it to jazz: some parts are written, some are not.

The analytic part is working with notation and the recordings. For those who do not want to write they can record. I’m a computer freak. Nowadays, you can use a simple program that slows down the music without changing the pitch: that is great for analysing new songs. The holistic part is looking, applying, correcting, and virtuoso transmission. (Interview Avci, 0:44)

In 2002, a complete curriculum for the conservatoire training in saz was completed by Avci, which he claims to follow quite narrowly:

In the preparatory year, we work on notation, technique, fundamentals and introduction to the regions. In the first year, we work on virtuosity and technique, in the second year, we work on different types of saz and various tunings, in the third year we work on technique, interpretation and regions, and in the fourth year we work on virtuosity, fieldwork, and a final paper. It’s a lot of work in little time. (Interview Avci, 0:50)

Tangible - intangible

Technique and repertoire are major factors in the awareness of the teachers, particularly when it concerns saz. In their comments on singing, the references to quality become less direct. In both, however, some aspects of quality, such as the importance of subtle ornamentation, which is not written down, plays a major role. This is what they say distinguishes great musicians from mediocre ones.

Ornamentation ... is very important. It touches the heart of the listener. Unconsciously, people who know the music what they have heard: when to
ornament, when to insert a pause on a note. But those who do not know, for them, it is good to write the ornaments as well. (Interview Avci, 0:27)

Avci distinguishes between traditional musicians and the modern radio musicians in terms of sound, but he does not explain exactly how they sound different (Interview Avci, 0:30). In their professional training, students are exposed to music theory. However, Turkish folk music theory is still in its infancy. It started developing with the institutionalisation of the music from the 1920s to the 1940s, based on a division of types of music for saz, scales, and metres (Markoff, 2002, pp 79-87). There is also a lack of an authoritative history. But the importance attributed to these, and to technical skills and repertoire over interpretation and values brings the balance towards tangible.

Static tradition – constant flux

In the view of Avci, the tradition must have changed quickly and radically during the period of oral transmission, and much musical material was lost:

The tradition is very old. It is not clear how old exactly, but research shows that there was music like the present saz music in Asia Minor in the 8th or 9th century AD. But as it was handed down orally, we have no idea how it sounded exactly. I think it must have changed enormously. Whenever one musician dies, his music goes with him. It totally relied on memory. If I see that my own mother sings songs from 50 years ago, you can see people remember things, but I am sure they change by outside influences.

There is some early notation by Ali Ufki, a polish emissary, who was Turkified and became a musician. He wrote down some music in very basic notation. But I do not believe his music was necessarily more primitive then present day music, the notation merely sketched the lines, and they added all the ornamentation themselves.

But serious notation started with the radio. They wanted musicians who could play music from various regions, and as the asheq were region-specific, they needed to have a means to train musicians. In 1923, during the reign of Kemal Atatürk, Devlet Conservatoire published a collection of 15 volumes of songs from all over Turkey. With this notation, the musicians could play music from all the regions. From 1935 to 1940 this developed further, and many traditional musicians from the regions were employed by Radio Ankara to do this. As a consequence, the tradition also became static. (Interview Avci, 0:12)

This static, notated tradition, and not the probably more fluid oral tradition of the asheq, forms the reference for saz-education in the Netherlands.

Original context – completely recontextualised

The original context for Turkish folk music, a rural society that welcomed travelling musicians to its social events, has ceased to exist. As we have seen in the introduction, the context for Turkish folk music has changed several times over the past century.
In the conception of Nahim Avci, the Rotterdam Conservatoire does not train musicians for any specific setting. In a way, he argues the case for an almost completely ‘decontextualised’ approach:

The original context is performances in cafes and during weddings. And to some extent is still exists. But then technological advance came. First there were records, then the radio became the new context, then television, and nowadays even computers.

When teaching in the Netherlands, we concentrate on the actual playing. We want to create good instrumentalists, people who understand the music. Context is not our main concern. Where the students apply their skills is up to them. (Interview Avci, 0:39)

Avci believes Turkish music is viable detached from its context. The radical shifts in context of saz music over the past hundred years support this view. Quite strikingly, Van den Bos comes to a contrary conclusion after speaking to seven teachers throughout the Netherlands (1998, p. 45). This can possibly be explained by a tension between actual practice (teaching the music as music) and ideas deemed desirable (honouring the historical context).

(Reconstructed) authenticity – new identity

Avci proclaim that Ozkan and himself strive for an authentic approach. He defines this as being true to what they consider the core of the tradition, not straying towards modern applications of the music:

We try to continue the line of the melodies as they have been recorded as purely as possible. We want to create a solid foundation. Just the notation won’t do. The recording sounds different. Often, the notation is not correct, even the melodic lines. Transcribers then say: Oh, I must have used another recording, but I think they are just mistaken.

We don’t like the line of the populist songs. The authenticity is broken because people start playing with Western music and chords. That is OK, but keep it separate, don’t present in a context of: Turkish music is like that. (Interview Avci, 0:35)

Recordings –rather then experts or living practices- seem to be the reference for authenticity.

Monocultural – transcultural

Although he states that ultimately his goal is “to create a world musician” (Interview Avci, 0:54) with his approach to Turkish music in the Netherlands, Avci clearly considers his practice to be multicultural: It is a practice which is emphatically Turkish in content and approach, positioned in a society with which it has relatively little contact.

Conclusions

Turkish folk music in formal settings in the Netherlands shows a number of characteristics that seem to be in line with the developments of the musical tradition over the past eighty years in Turkey, since
the 1920s. Originally an oral tradition, it now appears to focus on analytical, written, tangible aspects of music making, creating a fascinating shift to the left of the continua. This also has its repercussions on authenticity and context, and its position in culturally diverse surroundings:

Table 7.2: Saz lessons Utlu/Avcı in the Seven Continuum Transmission Model

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<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Transmission</th>
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<td>ANALYTIC</td>
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<td>TANGIBLE</td>
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<td>HOLISTIC</td>
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<td>ORAL</td>
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<td>INTANGIBLE</td>
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<th>Issues of Context</th>
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<td>STATIC TRADITION</td>
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<tr>
<td>FLUX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORIGINAL CONTEXT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(RECONSTRUCTED) AUTHENTICITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONSTANT</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMPLETELY RECONTEXTUALISED</td>
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<td>NEW IDENTITY</td>
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<tr>
<th>Approach to Cultural Diversity</th>
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<td>MONOCULTURAL</td>
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<td>MULTICULTURAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTERCULTURAL</td>
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<td>TRANSCULTURAL</td>
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The shifts in the first cluster may be the most striking. From its original context, that depended virtually completely on holistic, oral transmission with implicit emphasis on intangible aspects, as we have seen from Avcı’s description of the traditional format of music teaching and learning, we now find a music where much of the transmission takes place through analysis and notation, with emphasis on the tangible aspects of the music. This does not necessarily imply the approaches chosen do not do justice to the full range of qualities in this music: much of the holistic, oral and intangible aspects may go without saying for a target group that has recent links (of one or two generations) to Turkey. However, there is no substantial group of Western students to test this assumption.

In the cluster on tradition, authenticity and context the most striking is the fact that the music has moved from an emphatically living tradition, in which new songs were part of the nature of the musical practice, to a static tradition, Cook’s ‘musical museum.’ This has occurred in combination with a balance just to the right between reconstructed authenticity and new identity, and a major shift in context: In Turkey from countryside to radio, and in the West into formal music education.

In terms of position on the continuum from monocultural to transcultural, finally, we can firmly place Turkish folk music in the Netherlands near multicultural, as it clearly positions itself as a cultural island within its culturally diverse surroundings, with only the slightest hint at possibilities of intercultural music making.
Case study 3: Balinese gamelan in professional music training - Ketut

General references: Appendix E5 and E6 (enclosed on DVD): registration Javanese gamelan lesson by Elsje Plantema in Amsterdam World Music School (LOKV, 1995), and interview with project organiser and Balinese gamelan specialist Dr. Henrice Vonck. Recorded July 2, 2003, at Rotterdams Conservatorium, Rotterdam. Specific references in text.

Introduction

This case study focuses on lessons in Balinese gong kebyar by the traditionally trained specialist in the genre I Ketut Gedé Rudita, to a group of percussion and music education students of the Conservatorium of Amsterdam between November 1998 and February 1999. Source material includes a reader for the students, personal observations of one of the lessons, a video of the final performance, and a final report by Vonck (1999). In the case study, the learning of gong kebyar is placed in the wider context of learning music in and outside of Bali.

Background

Broadly speaking, in gamelan music, we can distinguish between religious music and music for entertainment. While the former is sometimes translated into latter, the reverse movement does not occur. In Bali, the large orchestra known as gong kebyar is the principal reference for gamelan music. Although it is less than a hundred years old as a form with its own repertoire, it is firmly based in earlier traditions in the dynamic musical life of Bali. But even now, the repertoire changes quickly; only few pieces from more than a few decades ago are being regularly performed (Tenzer, 1991, pp. 77-79).

Several systems of learning gamelan in Indonesia exist side by side. There are the traditional systems of learning within a group or village, and a network of conservatories in major urban areas such as Den Pasar (STSI), Surakarta (ASTI), Bandung, and Jogyakarta. According to some consultants, these music institutes merely formalise what the students have already learned in the traditional settings, but they are certainly a force of considerable influence on current musical practice (Schippers, 1997, pp. 56-58).

Gamelan in the Netherlands

Because of the colonial links, gamelan has a history in the Netherlands going back well over a century. As early as 1857, Heins traced processions of gamelan groups through the city of Leiden (Heins, 1989, p. 7). During World War II, Bernard IJzerdraat managed to withhold a small bronze canon from the occupying Germans in order to melt them into the saron of the first gamelan made in the Netherlands. A practice was born (ibid., p. 6). This gamelan is still being played in the Netherlands. In the theoretical field, the inventor of the term ethnomusicology, Jaap Kunst, made his name with research
into the gamelan of Java and Bali, although, as we have seen in Chapter Two, he probably never played in an orchestra himself (ibid., p. 7).

While several gamelan ensembles were established in the Netherlands, notably around the University of Amsterdam, the Royal Tropical Institute, and the Indonesian embassy, it has not spread into education as it has in a number of other countries. Strikingly, gamelan has not entered into practices for school children with the frequency with which it is found in the UK, where major cultural centres such as the South Bank in London program gamelan lessons, as well as Colleges and Universities in Birmingham, Dartington, Aberdeen and York. Still, there is a steady interest in the music in the Netherlands. Most of the gamelans in the country are Javanese. Besides, there are a few players of the rare Surinami gamelans made from iron (the Javanese in Surinam resorted to melting train tracks to obtain the metal needed), and there is a modest practice of Balinese gamelan, mostly through the efforts of composer/performer Sinta Wullur and pianist/ethnomusicologist Henrice Vonck, who have both learned extensively in Bali.

**Written - oral**

During the lessons of Ketut, no notation was used. This corresponds to the practice in Bali. Vonck explains that: “In learning, it is not used at all, or anywhere else in the musical process. Everything is memorised. Composers say they use notation, but in fact even they only write down the core melody. The rest is reconstructed from memory” (Interview Vonck July 2, 2003, 0:10). This qualifies Balinese gamelan as an almost entirely oral tradition.

**Analytic - holistic**

In Bali, the traditional system of learning to play gong kebyar is entirely through absorption. This takes extreme forms in their perception of musical transmission and learning:

In Bali, people do not learn music. They just sit down and play. At least, this is what they say. In Bali children are taken to rehearsals from an early age. They sit on the lap of their fathers (or sometimes nowadays their mothers), and just absorb the music. After some years, when their father has to go to the bathroom during a rehearsal, for instance, they simply take over. It sounds like a very romantic story, but I have seen it to be true. So music learning in Bali is predominantly an unconscious process, quite unlike the conscious process in the West.

Only if you want to go beyond just playing in a gong kebyar orchestra, if you want to be a specialist, for instance on the kendang (drum), you go to an expert. You select this expert yourself. If you like his pukulan (strokes), you ask him to teach you. For instance, if you want to be a specialist in barong dances, in which the strokes have to be heavy and thick, you find someone who can do that. The normal system of learning is that you become part of his group. But you don’t have a single teacher, you can shop around for the styles and skills you like. (Interview Vonck, 0:00)
The tradition of learning holistically, of a leader of an ensemble taking for granted that the members actually know the music already, led to confrontational situations in Amsterdam:

It was a disaster. The transmission almost stopped. It was a major culture shock for Ketut, who had no teaching experience and had never experienced people before who did not know the music. Moreover, he basically spoke no English when he came over. And the Dutch students expected a lot of explanation. Instead, while he was teaching, he just looked into the air, and probably prayed that the students would get it. But if he gave a cue to an *angsel*, a break, to his surprise nobody followed. His teaching was completely holistic in the Balinese way. It didn’t connect at all. In the end, he was saved by his musicality and his charisma. (Interview Vonck, 0:17)

It is interesting to note that even when faced with non-comprehension, Ketut did not quickly shift to some form of analytical method of teaching. Holistic learning appears to have been his only frame of reference.

**Tangible - Intangible**

Because the learning process is so emphatically holistic, Vonck finds it difficult to determine a balance on the continuum from tangible to intangible. Yet she refers to aspects of both:

> This is hard to answer. As I said before, they already know the music when they start ‘learning’, so in a way it is just a matter of finding out where the notes are. In fact, the core of playing in a gamelan ensemble is something they call *seka*. This word is composed of two words, *sa* and *eka*, both meaning one. The idea behind this is that the entire group plays like one. In this unity, all aspects of the music, including the dynamics, are absorbed. I have never heard a teacher say: This part needs to be played soft, and that louder. In fact, most Balinese do not have a teaching system. In all my years in Bali, I have only met two or three teachers who had developed a teaching method. It is very rare. (Interview Vonck, 0:11)

On the basis of this, we can conclude that the ultimate goal of Balinese music teaching in this area is intangible. Of course, tangible aspects are learned, particularly in the field of the spectacular precision in timing and speed that is required to play, but emphasis on technique and theory seems to be absent from any explicit aspects of learning. In the situation in the Netherlands, however, tangible aspects had to be included as immediate goals in order to bring the students to some practical understanding of the music. This brings the balance to the middle for this specific teaching situation.

**Static Tradition – constant flux**

During the workshops, Ketut seems to work from a clear, fairly static concept of the tradition as he experiences it. But the music in Bali itself has a considerable degree of change:

> Every village or banjar (neighbourhood) has its own style. But they do not exist in isolation. In fact, they borrow things they like from other areas. This means quite a lot of changes. Pieces can also disappear completely. I went back to Bali with a piece that was recorded around 1930, and nobody knew it anymore. And
even gender wayang pieces I recorded 20 years ago in a particular regional style are not played anymore.

Balinese music is an uninterrupted tradition, but it changes constantly. The leader of the ensemble is the motor behind this change. If you want to learn something in an old style, you have to find an old master. The young people won’t know it.

The amount of change also depends on the type of music. Religious music, for instance the music for the wayang, does not change noticeably. But dance music and entertainment music, such as gong kebyar, does change quite a lot. Only at STSI, [the ‘gamelan conservatoire’] things become standardised, because it is linked to a single teacher. There the tradition becomes static (Interview Vonck July 2nd, 2003, 0:05).

From the point of view of this Case Study, being so short and introductory, the tradition can be perceived as relatively static. However, at more advanced levels flux does play a role of some significance, and this seem to be at the core of the musical practice that informs the teaching.

Original context – completely recontextualised
While Ketut himself did not even consider referring to a context that was completely obvious to himself, Vonck considers this a factor of major importance in teaching Balinese gamelan in the West:

Context is essential. This is my conviction and my experience. Recently, I went to Bali with some of my students, and when they saw the context, they asked me: why didn’t you explain these things before. But you can’t explain everything. You have to see and experience it. There are so many aspects to context: the days you honour your instruments, the ritual you do before every performance. These are aspects of the unity I mentioned before, creating an atmosphere. I also include correct behaviour, such as taking off shoes and not stepping over the instruments. These are important as well.

Context is inseparable from the music, but what you play is the music itself. It is important for the players, but less so for an audience, although we do often choose to work in thematic projects, so we get in as much context as possible. Religious music, such as gender wayang, requires more awareness of context. In that music, the dalang is like a priest. Gong kebyar needs less. In the end, it is viable without context, but better with. I think context also stresses the value of the music, and its equality to Western classical music. In Western music, we don’t need the context, because we have it. (Interview Vonck, 0:24)

A number of theoretical classes and reference to literature were included in the course structure in order to make the students in the Netherlands aware of it. However, little was done to actually try to recreate the context of the particular pieces being studied, conceivably because the original context might be experienced as too foreign. This, as we have seen in earlier examples, may lead to a sense of estrangement rather than connection with the music. The balance is towards recontextualised.
(Reconstructed) authenticity - New identity

Balinese gamelan could easily be considered one of the few remaining authentic traditions. Vonck comments on the different approach to authenticity between Bali and the West:

Balinese musicians claim they are authentic, but they are not, certainly not in the historical sense. I accept the way the Balinese deal with it. Authenticity is what they do when they do it right. There is not a single standard. The concept may play a role for Western learners. In the Netherlands, we try to stay close to the original. I don’t feel qualified to make changes when we play traditional music. (Interview Vonck, 0:33)

Here, we have a fascinating example of a Westerner defining authenticity in a more restricted manner than those for whom the music is the first reference. The living tradition seems to allow for a considerable degree of variation that is still considered authentic, rather than using as a reference some ancient model. So in spite of first impressions, the balance is in the middle rather than to the left.

Monocultural - transcultural

Vonck has a clear picture of where she places gamelan education in the Netherlands:

The main reference for the small group of about 30 people actively involved in Balinese gamelan is the tradition. In fusion projects, that is another matter. We played with Western musicians, and in multi-disciplinary settings. But that is not a part of the gamelan lessons here. First you have to know the tradition, then you can explore. This can be still linked to the tradition, or completely separate. (Interview Vonck, 0:37)

Although there are some examples of intercultural use of gamelan, such as the twelve tone gamelan used by Sinta Wullur, and suggestions exist of transcultural use in the sense of gaining transferable skills by participants from the Conservatoire, the musical reality of virtual all gamelan transmission in the Netherlands is aimed at realising a ‘pure’ Indonesian cultural product in the Netherlands, without significant interaction with the outside world. This would make this initiative qualify as multicultural.

Conclusions

The practice of teaching Balinese music in Bali itself provides us with a fascinating example of an extreme in holistic learning, to the point that it goes beyond any awareness of learning. When transplanted to a Western conservatoire, this caused a clash between different cultures of music teaching and learning. In a way, this case study represents a meeting of extremes: institutionalised Western music with its emphasis on analysis and notation with the almost entirely holistic/oral Balinese tradition.
Table 7.3: Gong Kebyar at a Conservatorium in the Seven-Continuum Transmission Model

Dimensions of Transmission

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<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Analytic</th>
<th>Written</th>
<th>Tangible</th>
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<tr>
<td>Holistic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oral</td>
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<td>Intangible</td>
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Issues of Context

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<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Static Tradition</th>
<th>Flux</th>
<th>Original Context</th>
<th>(Reconstructed)</th>
<th>Authenticity</th>
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<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
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<td>Completely</td>
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<td>Recontextualised</td>
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<td>New Identity</td>
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Approach to Cultural Diversity

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<th>Diversity</th>
<th>Monocultural</th>
<th>Multicultural</th>
<th>Intercultural</th>
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</table>

Particularly the first cluster offers us invaluable insights. Few of the traditions discussed so far are transmitted in a manner so purely holistic and oral. From the description of the practice in Bali, we may also assume that music making puts considerable emphasis on intangible aspects (including gods, demons, good and evil), although it may never be made explicit in the transmission of the music. This is a fascinating extreme example in which an analytical or even predictive application of SCTM could have anticipated a major clash between styles of teaching and learning, including assumptions about previously acquired knowledge and skills. The latter point raises interesting questions about degree of non-taught learning in all other cultures, including Western classical music: how much do we assume young learners in coming to public music schools or conservatoires to have learned by simply being exposed to the music?

The description of musical practice in Bali presents a picture of a tradition with a solid basis, but at the same time in a considerable state of flux. In Bali it is strongly linked to its context. However, it does not appear to strive for recreating an authenticity of the past. When moved to a conservatoire in the Netherlands with essentially total beginners, these qualities become somewhat obscured. The tradition can easily be taken to be static, the context is only recreated theoretically, and the attempt seems to be to make ‘authentic’ Balinese music in the sense of true to the originals in its culture of origin. In this way, the modest Balinese music practice in the Conservatorium van Amsterdam can be seen as a separate island of Indonesian culture in a sea of music from all over the world. Consequently, it is multicultural in the terminology of this study.
Case study 4: Indian music as a degree course in the West - Chaurasia

General references: Appendix E7 and E8 (enclosed on DVD): registration of advanced group lesson and interview with the teacher Hariprasad Chaurasia. Recorded May 8, 2003, at Rotterdams Conservatorium. Specific references in text.

Introduction
This case is longer in description than earlier ones, due to the sheer volume of relevant practices of westerners learning Indian music, the richness of source materials available, and the extent of my own studies and experience of Indian classical music in the West for over more than 25 years. A discussion will be presented on the classical tradition known as North Indian or Hindustani classical music and its approaches to music transmission in India and the West. The model will then be applied to a specific instance of music transmission, an advanced group lesson in Indian bansuri (flute) with Hariprasad Chaurasia within the context of the Indian music degree course at the Rotterdam Conservatoire in the Netherlands. Through general discussion and specific comments on the bansuri lesson, the model will be discussed as pertinent to the choices made in music transmission, and the outcomes of the generic and the specific will be compared.

Background
The system of music transmission has a prominent place in the discussions of those involved in North Indian classical music. The concept of guru-sisya-paramparā (GSP; which I will also use to refer to its Muslim counterpart ustad-sagird), which describes the relationship between master and pupil, is a popular topic of conversation in any gathering of Indian musicians or music lovers. As Neuman says: “Whether a musician is considered great, good, or even mediocre, he will (in the absence of anyone else) establish - so to speak - his credentials as a musician on the basis of whom he has studied with and whom he is related to” (Neuman, 1990, p. 44). Traditionally, this relationship has been almost exclusively within families of hereditary musicians, but over the past hundred years, we can witness an increase of students from outside.

The teacher features heavily in biographies and CVs. Any CV that does not mention the guru raises eyebrows – inventing famous gurus is common, especially after their death. Interviews with great musicians and books on Indian musicians also abound in references to the master, amongst them Shankar (1969), Bhattacharya (1979), Sorrell (1980), and Chaudhuri (1993). There is some justification for this dwelling on the source. Indian classical music has been successfully passed down as an oral tradition through GSP for many centuries. Consequently, it relies more heavily on the personal knowledge and insights of the teacher than notation-based traditions. In spite of global dangers of ossification through notation, recording, or other forms of rigorous formalisation of the repertoire, Hindustani music (and particularly the instrumental styles and vocal khyal) has remained a
truly living tradition, with a balance between time-honoured structures of melody and rhythm on the one hand, and impromptu individual creativity on the other.

While the status of musical transmission makes Indian classical music an eminently suitable subject for this study, it has some side effects that complicate the work of the researcher. The dependability of sources and consultants is often affected by the god-like status of the guru. Critical reflections on the teacher are virtually non-existent from Indian sources, as they are socially unacceptable. Myth-making is common. There are many examples one could quote. One of the great gurus of instrumental music of the twentieth century, Ustad Allauddin Khan, is reported to have lived until he was 109 or even 112. Research indicated that it is more likely that he was 89 at the time of his death in 1972 (Schippers, n.d.). Very few are ready to question the unlikely advanced age of this legend, however. His student Ravi Shankar, one of the most successful ambassadors for Indian music in the West, elegantly avoided the conflict by stating a few years before his death:

... what does it matter if he is over a hundred or nearing a hundred? What he has accomplished in his lifetime many others could not do if they had three hundred years to live. (Shankar, 1969, p.58)

Virtually all musicians who shaped the presence of Indian classical music in the West over the past five decades were trained in a traditional context, including Ravi Shankar, Ali Akbar Khan, Vilayat Khan, Bismillah Khan, and Bhimsen Joshi. They had learned music in the GSP-system, and those who came to the West believed that this was the only way to learn music. In many ways, their schools became a recreation of the Indian guru's household, with many students only showing up for their one paid hour a week, but the more serious ones spending many hours with their teacher every week, as I did with my sitar guru Jamaluddin Bhartiya from 1975 to 1985.

Given the situation that in most contemporary learning situations in India and abroad there are constraints on time, the necessity to look at the great institution of GSP more critically is becoming more pressing, as its limitations in contemporary societies are becoming more evident. Or rather, it poses very high demands on the people involved, especially the student. This challenges the relationship Neuman describes in its "ideal form and essential nature" as "devotion of the disciple to his guru and the love of the guru for his disciple" (Neuman, 1980, p. 45). If there is less time to spend with the guru, and there are more diversions, the guru must be extremely sensitive to the student's musical, temporal and emotional condition. He has to see what exactly the student's needs are at any particular time, how can he be motivated to the maximum of his capacities without breaking him, how he can learn humility and self-confidence, in short: how he can be guided to becoming a full-fledged, independent musician.
Although it is common to think of the guru as a person who achieves these goals as a matter of course, if we consider reports of learning experiences in India and abroad, most gurus find it difficult to live up to this semi-divine profile. In public and writing, students will exalt the source of their musical skills and understanding. From private, oral reports (several anonymous sources, personal communications, 1975 – 2000) one learns that many gurus behave like demi-gods, but in fact they have changing moods, weaknesses, and oversights: they are in effect human, in addition to being sometimes sublime musicians. Consequently, they may take on students without any concrete plan regarding the responsibility of teaching them by fitting them into their schedules or by appointing capable substitute teachers. Although gurus are idealised in public, on closer examination, few seem to be ready or capable of assuming the full onus the position implies. On the other hand, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, the system - with its intimate link for life with a personification of a specific tradition and the qualities examined below - has functioned well enough to make the music survive over centuries, so we may as well consider its weaknesses as an integral part of the tradition.

Although it is not possible to make an analysis of the system of guru-śisya-paramparā, as the reality displays a great deal of variation, examining its most common and key features through the SCTM can shed light on the system of teaching both in India and the West:

Written - oral

Indian classical music has essentially been handed down without any writing for centuries. Farrell describes how in the second half of the nineteenth century, inspired by an odd mixture of colonial influence and nationalism, attempts were undertaken to devise a system of notation that was based on staff notation, but capable of marking the “various slurs and wobbles,” as Charles Benson Clark, then inspector of schools in Bengal, referred to the distinguishing characteristics of Indian music in 1874 (quoted in Farrell, 1997, pp. 67-68). But notation was also seen as a great and necessary good by ‘enlightened’ Indians:

Notation was a solution that would work a kind of alchemy on the degraded state of Indian music. As long as music could be seen, it would attain validity as an art-form. It is not too far-fetched to view notation as symbol of the wider objectification that India was subjected to by the scientific rationale of colonial rule. Staff notation was like a musical Lamprey grid through which errant sounds could be captured, preserved, and measured, in the same way as the physical features of Indian people had been classified by photography. (Farrell, 1997, p. 71)

In the end, however, none of the proposed systems survived, due to the fact that only a limited number of parts of a raga performance can be transcribed with any practical use, such as the short compositions that are handed down as part of the tradition. Other parts are very difficult to transcribe, such as the exploration in free metre knows as alap, or almost useless to transcribe, as is the case with many extemporised improvisations. What remains is a basic system of notation that is used both in
oral and written form, called sargam (after sa re ga ma, the first four solmisation syllables of India), which has gained ground during the past century as a means of writing down short compositions in source books, and making notes during lessons. This practice has taken root most firmly in music schools, which train amateurs and knowledgeable listeners, not professionals. (cf Neuman, 1980, p. 49). Most musical transmission, and almost all of the training of professional musicians, takes place without any form of notation whatsoever, and the notation at best is a mnemotechnic instrument to remember compositions or examples of improvisations. It is never used as a score for performance.

The advancement of audio technique has a vast potential for the transmission and learning of Indian music after the era that great musicians were in one place and at least available in one place. Lessons can now be recorded and listened to over and over again, until the student understands every detail. The phrase 'Having the guru in one's pocket', popularised by sitar player Arvind Parikh, expresses this idea very graphically (personal communication, winter 1996). Moreover, it is within reach of most music students at any time to listen to a dozen vocal and instrumental interpretations of any raga by different past and present masters, thousands of miles or several decades apart. Fifty years ago, any musician would be lucky to get such a contribution to his musical education in a lifetime.

Analytic - holistic

What made GSP so successful over the centuries is the slow and thorough assimilation of the art by long-term, constant exposure to the source. In such conditions, the teaching does not have to be very structured. When there are no time constraints, it might sometimes even be desirable that the student finds out key aspects of the music through trial and error, because the knowledge will be truly his or hers.

Although there are notable exceptions, Magriel emphasises that in India, “music theory is taught via the music itself. There are many sophisticated musicians, with, for instance, very refined idiolects of rag-s who are not able to delineate the basics of rag grammar verbally, and there are others who although able to do so, would not recognise this to be a valuable part of the teaching process” (1998, 161). And through prolonged exposure, many of the unexplainable, intangible aspects of the master's art are transmitted: not only particular approaches to raga and composition, but many subtle variations in melody and rhythm, in tone and in timing (see also intangible).

Interestingly, through holistic learning, particularly in the case of a single major influence, the student is also likely to copy weaknesses or mistakes of the teacher. When the various components of a complex musical whole are not explained or reflected upon, only very mature students will be able to distinguish between characteristics of a specific sub-tradition and omissions in musical or technical knowledge or insight.
APPLYING THE MODEL

Tangible - intangible

Training any musician for a professional level of performance or teaching implies developing a wide variety of skills. Neuman summarises the essence which is transmitted through the guru, which he believes cannot be transmitted in formal music education: "a body of knowledge that is both secret and esoteric, and the way a musician must lead his life" (Neuman, 1980, p. 50). In the case of North Indian classical musicians, it is relatively simple to list a number of required qualities in random order, but paired up to demonstrate various aspects of every area: discipline of practice, structure of practice; knowledge of traditional material in one tradition, comparison material from various traditions; technique through hard work/trial and error, technique through explanation; insight into musical meaning, analysing musical structure; learning fixed compositions and improvisations, freedom in improvisation; playing complex structures, understanding complex structures; oral perception, analysis; learning to perform by doing, understanding structure of performance; humility, confidence; anecdotes about great musicians, historical background of the music; understanding tone, knowledge of swaras and srutis.

If we look at this list more carefully, there are subjects where GSP in the traditional sense generally scores high, and others where another, perhaps an institutional, approach might be more effective:

Table 7.4: Aspects of learning highlighted and underemphasised in GSP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GSP suitable for teaching</th>
<th>GSP less suitable for teaching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discipline of practice</td>
<td>Structure of practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of traditional material one tradition</td>
<td>Comparison material from various traditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique through hard work/trial and error</td>
<td>Technique through explanation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insight into musical meaning</td>
<td>Analysing musical structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning fixed compositions and improvisation</td>
<td>Freedom in improvisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing complex structures</td>
<td>Understanding complex structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral perception</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning to perform by doing (implicit)</td>
<td>Understanding structure of performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humility</td>
<td>Confidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anecdotes about great musicians</td>
<td>Historical background of the music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding tone</td>
<td>Knowledge of swaras and srutis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exact definition of these qualities, and especially their division over the two categories, could be the subject of a thesis in itself. But the basic point should be clear: if one spends many years around one great musician, one is most likely to learn with a bias to the left hand column: the more 'musical' aspects of learning, the intangibles, while the qualities in the right hand column tend towards the logical, analytical and skill aspects of learning music. Corresponding to what we have identified as
institutional learning, it is also interesting to note that the right hand column represents subjects that would be considered best learned at the beginning of one's training from a simple-to-complex perspective, while the GSP-subjects address more mature musicianship.

Static Tradition – constant flux

Indian classical musicians have a somewhat ambiguous attitude towards tradition, which echoes the discussions on the subject in Chapter Three. On the one hand there is an almost blind respect for the achievements and the masters of the past, who are attributed qualities that go far beyond those that can be demonstrated. In a negative interpretation of this approach, there are those who claim that Indian music deteriorates with every generation. On the other hand, many senior musicians express the view that Indian music only gets better, and emphasize the fact that Indian music is a living tradition.

While change is acceptable and in fact appreciated within certain limits amongst Indian musicians, Westerners learning Indian music tend to be very conservative. If we consider the generation of Western students after the initial confusion of the 1960s, i.e. coming to Indian music for its musical attraction, a striking feature in these musicians is that they value the 'pure tradition' very highly. This even influenced the revival of older musicians and ancient traditions in India, such as dhrupad. To this day, Western students tend to be more conservative than their peers in India when they perform in the tradition, although some also experiment outside the classical Indian framework.

A final factor to consider in this context is the development of the media and sound recording and reproduction, which has already led to a large degree of standardisation. In sitar, for example, a vast majority of young players follow the styles of either Vilayat Khan or Ravi Shankar, whether they have actually studied with these masters or not (cf Sharma, 1995, p. 50). This has drastically limited the diversity of approaches to sitar music. Another recent trend is the increased bias towards technical skill (at the expense of depth according to many Indian experts), which can partly be explained by changing demands by audiences, but is certainly also due to the fact that young musicians are taught less rigourously: technique is easier to copy and acquire than profound expression and knowledge of raga.

Original context – completely recontextualised

Indian classical music has gone through massive changes in the past century. From a court tradition for predominantly connoisseur audiences, and, in vocal music, also a significant courtesan tradition that was heard during festivities (Van der Meer & Bor, 1982, pp. 59-60), it has moved to much wider and more diverse audiences. In that process the position and lifestyles of successful musicians have changed drastically. The development of mobility through travel, amplification, broadcasting and the recording industry have created a new reality for musicians in India, and with it, affected the
possibilities for teaching. Various aspects of this process have been documented, for instance by Shankar (1969), Van der Meer, (1980), Neuman, (1980), and Farrell (1997).

Simultaneously, long-term patronage in one place virtually disappeared with the courts and the houses of the affluent zamindars. This created new challenges for the prolonged exposure traditionally associated with GSP. Famous musicians have busy schedules, and often move all over India, or even the entire globe. Trying to study on a day-to-day basis with any famous musician for extended periods would result in airfare bills of thousands of euros. And even with less mobile gurus, economic demands on young people in India and abroad have made it nearly impossible for most to stay close to one master for a number of years, without simultaneously pursuing other forms of income or formal education.

Although there have been several representatives of Indian classical music in the West from in the earlier decades of the twentieth century, the most notable being the Sufi-master Inayat Khan and the musicians in the company of dancer Uday Shankar (cf Farrell, 1997), the modern history of Indian music in the West begins in the mid-1950s. Sitar maestro Ravi Shankar, the younger brother of Uday, has played a dominant role in this era as accomplished musician and skilled ambassador in one. In 1955, through Shankar's mediation, the famous sarod master Ali Akbar Khan performed in the USA for the first time, and recorded the first LP of Indian classical music. Performances by other reputed musicians were to follow, with Ravi Shankar as a prominent presence throughout the process.

While these concerts were part of the 'serious music' and jazz circuit, the breakthrough came almost ten years later through the pop and rock circuit, when the interest of young people in all things 'Oriental' focused on music with the acceptance of George Harrison as a student of Ravi Shankar in 1967. This was part of a movement that marked the beginning of a fascinating example of drastic recontextualisation. While in India, respected musicians referred to as pandits and ustad enjoyed a status akin to that of Western classical soloists in the West, the music was now made part of the pop and rock circuit. But even more striking was the association with spiritual aspects of India that had entered the conscience of Western youngsters. This led to a confusion of the role of the Indian musician as spiritual guru. This does have a basis in Indian thinking about music. In Hindu philosophy, music is a possible path to a higher spiritual state, after many years of devotion and practice, and the Sufis also see music as a way to communicate with God and ultimately reach mystic union (cf Van der Meer & Bor, 1982). But these states are only attained by few, and require years of relentless practice.

(Reconstructed) authenticity- New identity

In a tradition that is not based on written sources, and with a recording history of just over a hundred years, reconstructed authenticity in the sense of recreating a practice of the past is almost impossible
due to a lack of musical sources. In the case of Indian music, we can approach the concept of authenticity in two manners. First, there is the awareness amongst older musicians of changing performance practice and aesthetic ideals. Several of my teachers have indicated that particular approaches or ornamentations that they were teaching me would not have been acceptable to their teacher/fathers. Conversely, there are traditional compositions that reflect melodic movements in ragas, which would not be acceptable in contemporary practice. It is also known that the masikani gats - a particular form of instrumental composition attributed to Masit Khan - were played much faster than they are now, or that question and answer between soloist and percussionist actually is reported to be borrowed from South India.

Very few musicians, however, try to reconstruct the performance practices of earlier decades. Old compositions are greatly respected, and remembered and performed as they have been handed down. However, the performance format of instrumental music has evolved significantly, unchallenged by a broad opposition based on inherent value of earlier performance practices. There is a strong sense of awareness of authenticity, but mostly in the sense of being true to the spirit of the tradition. Although this is rarely expressed directly, most musicians believe that there is a core of Indian music that should not be touched, which includes raga, tala, compositions and alap, the careful exposition of the tonal material of the raga, as well as the aesthetics and expression of every raga, referred to as rasa.

**Monocultural - transcultural**

In the terminology of this study, the traditional system of music transmission and learning of Hindustani music in India can be considered monocultural. Although the musical practices have been influenced over many centuries by musicians from Iran and Central Asia, the master-disciple system is firmly rooted in Indian culture and beliefs.

When Indian music education started travelling to the West at a large scale, from the 1960s, it found fertile grounds for establishing itself on its own values. There was great openness to the merits of Indian culture. Consequently, there was little incentive to mix extensively with the host culture. Although there are many unmemorable and a few memorable encounters of Indian and Western musicians, including those of Ravi Shankar with Yehudi Menuhi, Ali Akbar Khan with John Handy, and Zakir Hussain with John McLaughlin, the emphasis seems to have been on maintaining the pure tradition as an island in the new host culture, which would qualify as a multicultural approach within the terminology of his study.

The total picture that emerges from this general discussion of musical transmission in North Indian music leads to some interesting considerations on music education in East and West, if we allow ourselves to transgress temporarily into sweeping generalisations. As we have seen, formal music
education in the West tends to concentrate on the subjects in the right hand column, and forgets to teach the aspects that make music great. Recently, however, Western teachers have begun to look at systems of music teaching which are more holistic in approach, that take the musical sound and product as its basis, as does GSP. Reversely, Indian musicians and musicologists are beginning to consider a slightly more analytical approach to teaching the basics of music. There seems to be a need for structures of music education that are more time-efficient (through a more analytical approach, or by using technical aids – such as walkman or minidisk), especially in the initial stages, with an education modelled more on GSP at advanced levels.

Such an approach would make considerable sense. As a performing art, Indian music has so far maintained its status as one of the world's great musical traditions: trying to preserve what is great, but adapting to the circumstances of musical realities of the times. As a teaching art, Indian music needs to be flexible in the same way, continually seeking the balance between holistic and analytical approaches to teaching. That does not mean that the great institution of GSP needs to be abandoned; one does not want to throw out the baby with the bathwater. But it might be in need of some modification to preserve what is most highly valued in Indian music, both in India and in the West.

Table 7.5: Insiders' views on learning Indian music in the Seven Continuum Transmission Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Transmission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANALYTIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WRITTEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TANGIBLE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues of Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STATIC TRADITION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORIGINAL CONTEXT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(RECONSTRUCTED) AUTHENTICITY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach to Cultural Diversity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MONOCULTURAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ANALYSIS BANSURI CLASS WITH HARIPRASAD CHAURASIA

Setting

The Rotterdam Conservatoire of Music started its professional training course in Indian classical music in 1987, as a follow-up of the ISTAR School of Indian Music and Dance (Bor, 1996b). Indian music had enjoyed a modest, but constant level of popularity in the Netherlands after the Indian music craze of the late 1960s. By the mid 1980s, there were regular concert series in various halls across the country, recordings of Indian classical music were being imported from India and other countries, various accomplished Indian musicians had settled in the Netherlands or visited regularly, and a number of first and second generation learners had been steeped in the tradition for ten to twenty years. A few hundred students were actively involved in learning Indian music somewhere in the Netherlands. There seemed to be a modest but solid basis for beginning a degree course in North Indian classical music. Rotterdam Conservatoire opened its gate to this new initiative.

On paper, the curriculum that lies at the basis of this degree is shaped along the same lines as other subjects in Western classical music conservatoires. It is not clear if this has evolved from careful consideration of the needs of students in Rotterdam, the fortuitous coincidence that one-on-one teaching features heavily in both western conservatoire training and Indian classical music, or that gaining respectability by emulating the established curricula was a motivating force. In fact, the dominant conservatoire practice of on-on-one teaching prompted Chaurasia to change his teaching style, as he had been teaching predominantly in small groups. An interesting change to the learning process compared to the Indian system is constituted by regular exams in front of a committee, which in effect weakens the absolute power of the guru. In the end, all the subjects have been customised for Indian music students: Indian music history and raga analysis, tabla as a second instrument, Hindi as language, and Indian cultural history as background. This forms the basis of a curriculum over eight semesters, with a study load of 21 credits of 40 hours work each per semester.

Although this is the formal structure of the degree course, it is applied somewhat loosely in the training of Indian classical musicians according to the coordinator of the Indian music department (Ted de Jong, personal communication, May 2002). The case studied here fits quite unequivocally in the main subject category, with emphasis on interpretation rather than technique, and can be regarded as part of the regular curriculum of the Conservatoire. The degree course in bansuri leads to the Dutch degree in music, equivalent to the ones in Western classical music subjects. The current terminology used is First Phase; this is being transformed into a BA in Music in line with the Bologna Declaration of the European Ministers of Education (appendix A3).
Table 7.6 Schematic representation structure and content degree course Indian bansuri

Indian classical music

**First year bansuri, cello, sitar, sarangi, sarod, tabla, viool, vocal:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core subjects</th>
<th>Modules 1st semester</th>
<th>crd</th>
<th>Modules 2nd semester</th>
<th>crd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main subject</td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensemble</td>
<td>Technique</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Technique</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory</td>
<td>Sangat</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sangat</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indian music theory</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Indian music theory</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ear training</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ear training</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tala</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tala</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental side subject</td>
<td>Tabla and/or vocal music</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tabla and/or vocal music</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>General music history</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>General music history</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other subjects</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Survival strategies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Study skills</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Workshops</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Western music theory</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction to IT</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mentoring</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Third to fourth year bansuri, cello, sitar, sarangi, sarod, tabla, viool, vocal:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core subjects</th>
<th>Modules</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>4th Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main subject</td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technique</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specialisation, master class</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Studio production</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensemble</td>
<td>Sangat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory</td>
<td>Indian music theory</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tala</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raga analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Development psychology/</td>
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<td>Didactical planning</td>
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<td>Internship</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final assignment</td>
<td>Paper or presentation</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other subjects</td>
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<td>History</td>
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<td>Survival strategies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electives</td>
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<td>2</td>
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</table>

Hariprasad Chaurasia has been the artistic director of the Indian classical music course since 1990. As he is a touring musician with obligations in India as well, he concentrates his teaching during two periods in the year: a short stay in December, and a longer one in the period from April to June. During the rest of the year, the flute students are taught by Henri Tournier, the assistant teacher.

The recorded class took place on May 8, 2003, in the building of the Conservatoire known as the Loodswezen. Six students took part in the class: four regular students in the degree course with three to six years experience on the instrument, the assistant teacher Henri Tournier (also an established silver flute player), who has been playing for ten years, and a visiting, Indian long-term amateur student from the United States.

The presence of the video equipment and researcher may always be of some influence on the proceedings of the lesson. This had been agreed with the teacher, but not announced to the students. Although the former may have been slightly more motivated to present an inspiring, coherent lesson because of the presence of the camera, the latter seemed quite unaffected by the recording.

The choice for a single, static camera position contributed to an undisturbed, natural transmission process. Care had also been taken to emphasise that the researcher was not in a hierarchal position to the teacher —which he had been up to nine months before—, and to underline this, the imminent departure of the researcher from the institute had been discussed. All in all, observing and documenting the lesson is not likely to have influenced the process in any major way.

The lesson was followed by an interview with the teacher, investigating his views on what he just taught, and the underlying choices he made in relation to the model. During the interview, it became clear that some of the concepts and thought patterns in the model (such as intangible, multicultural, and even context) had not been part of his thinking on music in quite the same way, which made unambiguous answers difficult. However, by triangulating the observed lessons, the interview, common practice and views in India, and the curriculum of the Rotterdam Conservatoire, a coherent picture of the process could be formed.

The class consisted of a lesson dedicated to raga Bihag, a traditional late evening raga, which Hariprasad classifies loosely as 'a little complicated', and appropriate for a group of this mixed level to learn. Within the lesson, he dealt with alap, the introduction to the tonal material, jor, a continuation of alap with a pulse, and then a composition in medium tempo, going up to fast tempo. In schematic form, the recorded class proceeded like this:
### Table 7.7: Progression advanced bansuri lesson Hariprasad Chaurasia, Rotterdam Conservatorium, May 8, 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time (min:sec)</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:00 – 00:20</td>
<td>Checking the tuning of the flutes and electric tanpuras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:20 – 01:30</td>
<td>Playing the ascending and descending scale of raga Bihag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01:30 – 08:30</td>
<td>Playing alap, the slow introductory part to the tonal material of the raga, with the teacher showing a phrase, and the students copying him as exactly as is within their power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:30 – 10:00</td>
<td>Copying phrases one by one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 – 13:40</td>
<td>Playing together again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:40 – 29:17</td>
<td>Playing jor, an introduction with an added pulse, but no rhythmic structure yet. System of imitation continues. Chaurasia occasionally sings phrases in sargam (note names). Some phrases are repeated several times. Chaurasia indicates rhythm by ticking his ring against the flute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29:18 – 29:45</td>
<td>Setting the tabla machine to medium speed composition (about 5 seconds per cycle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29:45 – 33:20</td>
<td>Playing the composition (already learned during earlier lessons): asthayi, antara. <em>Tanay</em> one by one, then together, supported by Chaurasia singing the notes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33:20 – 40:25</td>
<td>Students are told to “improvise something” one by one. Chaurasia comments “very good” after both successful and less successful attempts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40:25 – 42:20</td>
<td>Speeding up the composition to approximately 3 seconds per 16 beat cycle and comes to an end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42:20 – 43:00</td>
<td>Chaurasia expresses being content with the achievement of the students, and briefly discusses the time of day the raga is played (late evening).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:00 – 45:30</td>
<td>Chaurasia introduces the researcher and asks each student to introduce himself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45:30</td>
<td>End of video recording</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From observing the footage and hearing the interview, and with the extensive background sketched in the introduction, it is relatively simple to describe the choices made in the music transmission process coherently:

**Written - oral**

The transmission process observed is entirely oral (if we ignore the inescapable visual impulses that occur in real life musical encounters of any kind). This is how Chaurasia prefers the music transmission to take place. But he does observe that Westerners take time to learn in this way, because they are not used to it. He relates memorising music to the way it is developed in performance, by stating that the remembered piece of music in the mind forms the basis for improvisation (Interview Chaurasia May 8, 2003, 0:24).

Chaurasia is also sensitive to the situation of the students at the conservatoire: “I don’t want anybody to use [notation], but I’m not here all the time, so they have to record and they have to write”
(Interview Chaurasia, 0:22). He indicates that he does attach value to writing as a means to ensure preservation of the material. Rather strikingly, he prefers writing to recording, because he ascribes greater longevity to written music than to sound recordings, presumably based on the vulnerability of tapes.

In general, this picture corresponds to the picture painted of Indian classical music at large in the introduction to this case study, with a heavy emphasis on oral transmission, but some use of notation as support. On the continuum, the balance is very much towards the right.

**Analytic - holistic**

The recorded lesson shows an almost entirely holistic approach. Hariprasad does not make any comments beyond a non-committing "very good" at the attempts of the students to follow him or improvise. Hariprasad expresses the same conception of this in the interview: "I don't explain much, but I am playing."

It would be too easy, however, to call his approach entirely holistic. Hariprasad consciously shows the development of the raga in slow motion. "When I teach them, I go very slowly. I show them how to go from note to note" (Interview Chaurasia, 0:22). This actually implies an analytic strategy. The same goes for the fast improvisations known as *tans*. Chaurasia indicated he does not explain the structure of these to the students, but gives them examples so they can work out the structure for themselves (Interview Chaurasia, 0:26).

Although it is not demonstrated in the lesson, in the interview Chaurasia indicates that he checks and corrects improvisations by the students, until they do not make certain mistakes, for instance in prescribed note order, when they create new free or fixed improvisations (Interview Chaurasia, 0:25). He also corrects mistakes in approach to sound, for instance when the quality of the tone is derived from Western music (Interview Chaurasia, 0:27).

In the interview, he makes clear that he explains theoretical aspects of music as well:

> Sometimes I explain about the raga. When I start teaching the raga, I explain: about the chalan, about asthayi and antara, about vadi, samvadi, about the timing of the ragas. (Interview Chaurasia, 0:02)

The latter occurs briefly at the end of the lesson, when he asks the group at what time of day this raga should be played. Although the picture is somewhat clouded by the structure of the curriculum, in which analytical aspects of the training of the musician have been delegated to specific modules, we can establish that in this case study, the emphasis is clearly on a holistic approach, to the right of the continuum, but it does display elements of analytical approaches.
Tangible - intangible

As Chaurasia spends most of the lesson showing the students the way through the melodic material of the raga, the emphasis seems to be on tangible aspects, but there are several pointers towards the intangible as well. Chaurasia indicates the reason for playing with the students is sound production and colour.

I play with them, so they can get the sound of the instrument, the beauty of the notes, and they can also watch me, how I blow. This is a very difficult part: how I blow and how I make my fingers move on the flute. [...] You have to lift half finger to get half notes and then to create microtones through your blowing. So they have to watch when I play. If I just sing, they will never have the idea of the technique of the instrument. (Interview Chaurasia, 0:05)

Chaurasia indicates the students also have to learn to control the colour of the sound, for instance when they play a note by covering half a hole, which does not naturally sound the same as a completely covered hole.

They have to find the way how to make the sound equal. Like they were playing two madhyams [the fourth step in the scale, which occurs both in natural and augmented form in raga Bihag]. If you play shuddha [natural] madhyam, then you have to cover half. It should sound the same when you open the note to get tivra ma [augmented madhyam]. The same quality of sound. (Interview Chaurasia, 0:08)

In the interpretation of raga, he uses the common metaphor of how one is allowed to take certain liberties when interpreting a raga: when you see the moon temporarily hidden from view by clouds, then it looks even brighter when it reappears. This is called avir bhav – tiru bhav (Interview Chaurasia, 0:16; cf Chapter Four, Expression).

In a further comment, he goes much further, into the metaphysical:

They also have to understand that you don’t have to tune the instrument, but you have to tune yourself. The instrument itself, the flute, does not need to be tuned, but if you are not tuned here (inside), then you cannot play in tune.” (Interview Chaurasia, 0:16)

Comments such as these are quite common in Indian classical music transmission. Like in many other traditions, the use of metaphor is used frequently in order to make the student understand aspects of the music that defy description. In India, Chaurasia spends time on discussing the background of the music in terms of stories on famous musicians. In Europe, he concentrates on the sound. He says the students get the background on Indian culture through television (Interview Chaurasia, 0:34). This may seem a somewhat meagre source of in-depth understanding; perhaps Chaurasia deems a modest understanding of Indian culture sufficient.

On the basis of this particular example, the emphasis seems to lie in the middle area between tangible and intangible.
Static Tradition – constant flux
Although he himself has been involved in musical projects mixing traditions, Chaurasia emphatically
does not use non-Indian cultural influences in his teaching. He perceives that students are coming to
him to learn pure classical music, which is also the music he learned.

However, he does not consider the tradition that he teaches static, but rather as in constant flux on a
firm basis of unchangeable aspects: the fixed parts of compositions, and the way of moving around in
the raga as established within each distinct tradition (or school). He has an uncommonly positive
approach to the music of the young generation for a senior musician: “It has very much changed, it is
becoming more and more beautiful. The younger generation are making it more and more beautiful
[...] They are creating their own thing” (Interview Chaurasia, 0:12). Chaurasia expresses the view that
merely repeating one’s predecessors is not enough: creativity is an essential aspect of the North Indian
tradition: “This is the beauty in classical music” (Interview Chaurasia, 0:14).

If we analyse the material he teaches, however, we find that it is very strongly traditional. His
movements in Bihag are the ones we find in renditions of most traditional masters, so it makes sense
to place his approach to this area in the middle area between static tradition and constant flux, with
perhaps a slight leaning to the right.

Original context – completely recontextualised
The class on the video bears some resemblance to any group teaching at a conservatoire, but it also has
some specific Indian aspects. On the superficial level, we see the students sitting on the floor. This is
necessity for some instruments –such as the sitar and the tanpura- and a reflection of the traditional
concert practice, during which the artists always sit on the floor. Chaurasia sits on a chair. It is not
uncommon for a guru to be in a slightly elevated position, such as a small dais, when he is teaching,
both improving the visual contact with a group of students and underlining his status. Although some
musicians are quite egalitarian in the way they relate to students, there is no question that the guru is
an equal. In this case, however, the elevated position seems to be attributable primarily to a knee
problem (Bor, personal communication, summer 2003). Although the setting is Western and
contemporary, Chaurasia chooses to refer to his system of teaching at the Rotterdam Conservatoire as
guru-śisya-paramparā (Interview Chaurasia, 0:22).

In the interview, Chaurasia gives strong hints of trying to recreate an Indian context, but he also seems
to be aware of new realities: “I’m trying to make them Indian. When they pick up the bamboo they
should look like Indian. There sound should sound like Indian. That’s what I’m trying to do.” But he
relates this less to context then to actual musical skills and properties. And he indicates that he spend
little time on teaching his students about behavioural codes amongst musicians, which he finds they
pick up themselves from being exposed to Indian culture away from the conservatoire (Interview Chaurasia, 0:10).

Chaurasia does not see any problem in one of the great questions and challenges of multicultural music practice: students from other cultures learning Indian music. He mentions that there are a number of Western musicians who have reached a high level of proficiency: "If you close your eyes, you will feel that this music is played by Indians" (Interview Chaurasia, 0:22), provided they have learned properly. Although it is not an extreme example, there is a definite leaning towards original context.

(Reconstructed) authenticity - New identity

Authenticity is a complicated issue in the context of Hindustani music. As we have seen from the comments of Chaurasia, there is very little impetus to try to reconstruct the music from the past. This is considered poor musicianship. On the other hand, great value is attached to remaining true to certain rules and values, particularly in early musicianship, with an emphatic personal stamp at more advanced stages of learning. In this way, North Indian music can be considered to take on a new identity with every new generation of musicians in a way that strives for ‘true to self’ authenticity more than ‘true to historical practice,’ so the balance would tilt to the right.

Monocultural - transcultural

The situation regarding the approach to cultural diversity is very clear. Chaurasia gives evidence of an emphatic attempt to recreate little India in Rotterdam. Within the idiom of this study that would be called a multicultural approach. Chaurasia does refer to his own intercultural musical experience, but this is not what the students are coming for, and it is allowed amongst students, but not especially stimulated. That indicates a position on the continuum just to the right of multicultural.

Conclusions

If we consider the picture that emerges from the seven continua is this specific situation, we would encounter a pattern as in the table overleaf:
Table 7.8: Learning Bansuri at Rotterdam’s Conservatorium in the Seven-Continuum Transmission Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of Transmission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANALYTIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WRITTEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TANGIBLE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Issues of Context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Static Tradition</th>
<th>Flux</th>
<th>Constant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Original Context</td>
<td>Reconstructed</td>
<td>Completely Recontextualised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>New Identity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Approach to Cultural Diversity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monocultural</th>
<th>Multicultural</th>
<th>Intercultural</th>
<th>Transcultural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

On the basis of this pattern and the discussions of each continuum, we can establish that:

- The system of musical transmission used by Hariprasad Chaurasia is quite close to the traditional system of music transmission used in India (see also table 7.5)
- The views advocated by Chaurasia demonstrate awareness of the new setting and type of students he deals with in the West
- The Conservatoire setting has not had a great deal of influence on the teaching practice, except for, ironically, the reinstitution of one-on-one teaching, considered an essential feature of guru-śisya-parampara.
- Indian classical music exists in relative isolation within the Conservatoire context. The specific musical characteristics of Indian classical music dictate separate modules for almost every subject. (While in Latin jazz and tango for example, some theoretical and practical subjects may be shared with jazz and western classical music, respectively). This may be strength and weakness, a chance and a threat at once.

In the end, North Indian classical music at the Rotterdam Conservatoire has retained its character as a musique savante, with a focus on one-to-one education by settling in a system that already supports this. A major difference with Western methods of teaching is the insistence on oral and holistic transmission, with less emphasis on tangible aspects. This is partly compensated by teaching support subjects, but it remains the essence of the transmission practice, which ironically, as we have established at the end of Chapter Five, is more in line with contemporary, constructivist thinking on education than much of the positivist approach that still can be found at the basis of organisation and curriculum in traditional Conservatoires.