Abraham Pandither's *Karunamirtha Sagaram* (1917):
A Twentieth-Century Genealogy for Karṇāṭak Music as Tamil, Scientific, and Christian

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Acknowledgement

I enrolled for my MA degree with the intention of studying the present concert repertoire of South Indian classical or Karṇāṭak music in order to answer my own lingering questions related to caste, gender and modernity. I soon realized, however, that an involved study of the past was necessary if I was even to begin to think through some of these issues. It was Davesh Soneji's verbally subtle but intellectually profound questions, some of which were regarding Rao Sahib Abraham Pandither, which ultimately encouraged me to embark on this study. He has been the perfect scholar, teacher, and friend who guided me through the subtleties of a new mode of scholarly thinking about the arts in India that has been crafted by a mere handful of intellectual voices.

The other teachers who have generously supported my intellectual ambitions are A.R. Venkatachalapathy who taught me to be sensitive to the region I study, Andrea Marion Pinkney, who taught me throughout the years to be a responsible student, and Indira Viswanathan Peterson whose works and words have inspired me from a distance. Then there are B.M. Sundaram, Hari Krishnan, and Yashodha Thakore who re-educated me in my aesthetic sensibilities when it comes to the performing arts in South India. They visually and aurally confirmed that there are indeed "unfinished gestures" and sounds, and that the courtly aesthetic present in hereditary art forms will always stand apart majestically.

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There is also my family in Singapore – *Ammā*, *Appā*, *Akkā*, *Attai* and *Aṇṇī* – whom I would like to thank for absolutely everything. Thank you Ryan McAlear for being a supportive partner in this project and travelling with me to its end. Thank you Bessie and family for being my family. Finally, my closest friends whom I would like to thank in particular: Vasugi Kailasam for seeing me through this even before it began, and Siti Hazariah for keeping our home-away-from-home smelling like home. *Naṉri* Stephanie Duclous-King and Henria Aton for all the conversations through all the two seasons in Montréal. And Vithya Subramaniam…we made it!

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the figure of Rao Sahib Abraham Pandither (1859-1919), a Tamil Protestant musician and scholar, who composed a monumental treatise on South Indian (Karṇāṭak) music entitled *Karunamirtha Sagaram* (1917). I argue that Pandither and his work represent significant counterpoints to mainstream, dominant genealogies of Karṇāṭak music, which usually foreground and privilege Sanskritic, upper-caste, and markedly Hindu histories and individuals. Articulated and systemically supported by the nation-state through organizations such as the almost exclusively Brahmin-dominated Madras Music Academy (est. 1928), an armslength organization of the Indian National Congress, these histories circulate widely as the normative narrative about South Indian music. These histories also posit "golden-age" Hindu narratives of antiquity for music that move away from the cosmopolitan, multi-caste, and distinctly modern contexts under which music was produced, studied, disseminated, and consumed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Pandither and his Karunamirtha Sagaram offer alternative visions for the history of Karṇāṭak music that squarely locate it in the realm of Tamil, and not Sanskrit textual pasts, Biblical and Protestant theological ideas, and Science, both Western and Indian. As a poet, musician, musicologist, teacher, builder of institutions, and practitioner of traditional Tamil medicine (known as citta vaittiyam), Pandither mobilized a distinctly modern and multi-sited approach to the study of music that drew from a range of cultural and pseudo-historical sources. I contend that Pandither's vision for music was not only non-Brahmin and hence relatively caste-inclusive, but that it also definitively focused on music as fundamentally compatible with the post-enlightenment style colonial modernity of his South India. Protestantism, science, institutions, and print culture, were the signposts of this modernity, and Pandither deftly mobilized each in his discourse about Karṇāṭak music.

Cette thèse porte sur la personne de Rao Sahib Abraham Pandither (1859-1919), un musicien protestant tamoul et savant qui composa un traité monumental sur la musique sud Indienne (Karnātak), intitulé *Karunamirtha Sagaram* (1917). Je soutiens que Pandither et son travail représentent des contrepoints importants aux généalogies dominantes de la musique Karnātak, qui privilégient habituellement des histoires et individus Sanskritiques, de hautes castes, et nettement Hindous. Articulées et soutenues systématiquement par l'Etat à travers des organisations telles que la presque entièrement brahmane Académie de Musique de Madras (est. 1928), une organisation dépendante du Congrès Indien National, ces histoires circulent en tant que récits normatifs sur la musique de l'Inde du Sud. Elles postulent aussi un récit Hindou sur « l'âge d'or » et l'antiquité de cette musique, qui est loin des contextes cosmopolites, multi-castes, and distinctement modernes dans lesquelles la musique a été produite, étudiée, diffusée, and consommée dans les XIXe et XXe siècles. Pandither et son Karunamirtha Sagaram offrent une vision alternative pour l'histoire de la musique Karnātak en la localisant dans le domaine de textes tamouls et non sanskrits, dans des idées bibliques et protestantes, and dans la science, à la fois occidentale et indienne. En tant que poète, musicien, musicologue, professeur, fondateur d'institutions, et praticien de médecine traditionnelle tamoule (connu sous le nom de citta vaittiyam), Pandither mobilisa une approche distinctement moderne et multi-située pour l'étude de la musique, qui tire sur une gamme de sources culturelles et pseudo-historiques. Je soutiens que la vision de Pandither pour la musique était non seulement non-brahmane et donc relativement inclusive, mais qu'elle était également concentrée sur l'idée que la musique est compatible avec la modernité coloniale de l'Inde du sud. Le protestantisme, la science, les institutions, et la culture de l'imprimé étaient les signes indicateurs de cette modernité, et Pandither mobilisa habilement chacun de ceci dans son discours sur la musique Karnātak.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on the figure of Rao Sahib Abraham Pandither (1859-1919), a Tamil Protestant musician and scholar, who composed a monumental treatise on South Indian (Karṇāṭak) music entitled *Karunamirtha Sagaram,* "The Ambrosia of the Ocean of Compassion"(1917). I argue that Pandither and his work represent significant counterpoints to mainstream, dominant genealogies of Karṇāṭak music that usually foreground and privilege Sanskritic, upper-caste, and markedly Hindu histories and individuals.[1] Articulated and systemically supported by the nation-state through organizations such as the almost exclusively Brahmin-dominated Madras Music Academy (est. 1928, hereon MMA), an armslength organization of the Indian National Congress, these histories circulate widely as the normative narrative about South Indian music (Allen 2008; Subramaniam 2006, 2008, 2009; Weidman 2006; Soneji and Peterson 2009). These histories also posit "golden-age" Hindu narratives of antiquity for music that move away from the cosmopolitan, multi-caste, and distinctly modern contexts under which music was produced, studied, disseminated, and consumed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Pandither and his *Karunamirtha Sagaram* (hereon *KS*) offer alternative visions for the history of Karṇāṭak music that squarely locate it in the realm of Tamil, and not Sanskrit textual pasts, Biblical and Protestant theological ideas, and Science, both Western and Indian. As a poet, musician, musicologist, teacher, builder of institutions, and practitioner of traditional Tamil medicine (known as *citta* or *siddha vaittiyam*), Pandither mobilized a distinctly modern and multi-sited approach to the study of music that drew from a range of cultural and pseudo-historical sources. I contend that Pandither's vision for music was not only non-Brahmin and hence relatively caste-inclusive, but that it also definitively focused on music as fundamentally compatible with the post-enlightenment style colonial modernity of his South India. Protestantism, science, institutions, and print culture, were the signposts of this modernity, and Pandither deftly mobilized each in his discourse about Karṇāṭak music.

[1] See, for example, the work of Ayyangar (1972, 1977), Durga (1984, 1998), Sambamoorthy (1969, 1982),

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Methods and Materials

This project is based on a close and critical reading of a number of Tamil texts, a small amount of ethnographic data collection, and archival work in Chennai, India. The text I will be primarily focusing on is Pandither's *KS* (1917), written in both Tamil and English. In March 2015, I travelled to Thanjavur (sometimes anglicized as "Tanjore") in Tamilnadu, to conduct interviews with Pandither's descendants, who still live in the house (known locally as "*Paṇṭitar Illam*") that he built with his earnings as a *citta* medical practitioner. Since primary information on Pandither's life and his representation in early twentieth-century histories of South Indian music is lacking, aside from a few publications (mostly authored by his family members) I also conducted archival work at the Tamil Isai Sangam Library and Rojah Muthiah Library in Chennai, India, with an eye to acquiring early print materials and newspaper clippings in Tamil from this period.[2]

Literature Review

Secondary sources on Pandither are few and far between, and it is for this reason that I will be relying on primary data for most of this project. However, I would like to briefly outline some of the secondary materials, none of which, I believe, could be understood to be critical readings of Pandither. I will begin by briefly listing works produced by Pandither's descendants. These include a brief biography in Tamil by Tu. Ā. Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ entitled *Āpirakām Paṇṭitar* (1984) and a summary of the *KS* by Amutha Pandian entitled *Karunamirtha Sagaram: A Brief Critical Edition* (2007).

The biography in Tamil by Tu. Ā. Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ is based on an earlier work by Pandither's grandson (Tavapāṇṭiyaṉ 1968). It comprises of eight chapters and they highlight Pandither's fields of interest.[3] In describing his life from childhood to adulthood the biography explains how and under what circumstances Pandither was exposed to Protestant Christianity, Śaiva traditions (example, Śaiva Siddhānta and *citta* medicine) and Karṇāṭak music, the three fields that would come to dominate his intellectual pursuits. Taṉapāṇṭiyan dedicates an entire section to describe Pandither's encounter with Karuṇāṉanta Mahāṛṣi – the

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[2] While there was some information on Pandither available at the Rojah Muthiah Library, there was none at the Tamil Isai Sangam.

[3] (1) "Iḷamai Paruvam" or "Youth", (2) "Illaṟamākiya Nallaṟam" or "The life of a Householder is Ethics and Morality," (3) "Piṇi Tīrkkum Paṇi" or "The Occupation that Eliminates Ailments," (4) "Kaṇkavar Tōṭṭam" or "The Garden that is Pleasant to the Eyes," (5) "Iṉiya Icait Tamiḻ" or "Pleasant Tamil Music," (6) "Icai Ārāycci" or "Reaseach on Music," (7) "Aruḷmaṟai Ārāicci" or "Research on Theology," and (8) "Toṭarumpaṇi" or "Continuing Research."

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citta sage who revealed knowledge of alchemical recipes to Pandither, and was also supposedly a source of inspiration for his musicological and theological pursuits (Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ 1984, 13). The encounter between Karuṇāṉanta Mahāṛṣi and Pandither is iterated in other works as well (Playne 1914-1915, Rajagopalan 2000).

Taṉapāṇṭīyaṉ also lists and briefly explains the content of Pandither's other writings apart from the *KS*, for example, the Tamil text *Naṉmaṟai Kāṭṭum Naṉṉeri* or *Good Ethics that Illuminate the Good Path* (1918). Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ explains that Pandither intended for this text to be a commentary on the *viviliyanūl* or Bible, but also made accessible to non-Christians.[4] Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ claims that because the text explained the Bible, it could also be called a *siddhānta* text, and because it focuses on the ethics of devotion it could be considered a devotional composition (Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ 1984, 48). In describing this text published a year after the *KS*, writing seven decades later, Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ iterates Pandither's stance that Christianity, (Śaiva) Siddhānta, and Hindu devotional traditions were fundamentally compatible.

The second work by one of Pandither's descendants is Amutha Pandian's recent book entitled *Karunamirtha Sagaram: A Brief Critical Edition* (2007) which was published at Pandither's very own printing press, "Abraham Pathipagam." Pandian's work is at best a "critical appreciation" of the text and not an analysis that positions Pandither at the center of South Indian modernity. Her work provides a concise summary of Pandither's *KS* in English that includes brief translations and paraphrases from the original text. Pandian also includes anatomical diagrams, graphs and charts from the *KS* that substantiated Pandither's argument for Tamil music's historicity, religious orientation, and "scientific" nature. During my interview with Pandian in March 2015 she shared that she was currently working on a project focused on re-emphasizing Pandither's argument for twenty-four *śrutis,* a point that we will discuss later in this thesis.

Apart from works by members from Pandither's family there are colonial officials, historians, and musicologists who have taken a keen interest in writing about Pandither in the twentieth century. The earliest available source – published in London at the Foreign and Colonial Compiling Company press – is *Southern India: Its History, People, Commerce and Resources* (1914-1915), complied by F.R.G.S. Somerset Playne with the assistance of J.W. Bond, and edited by Arnold Wright. This impressive work documents significant commercial

[4] *Tiruviviliyam* is one of the Tamil names used for the bible. In 1995 this became the standard term "to avoid Sanskrit terms" because prior to this Vetam (Sanskrit) or Ākamam (Tamil) was being used. – Anchimbe, Eric. A. 2011. *Contributions to the Sociology of Language: Postcolonial Linguistic Voices : Identity Choices and Representations*. Walter De Gruyter. Pg., 173

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activities in South India by surveying industry and fiscal growth in its major cities (for example Madurai and Thanjavur), and comprehensively details the contributions of popular public figures, one of which is Pandither. It is noteworthy that the colonial government had taken interest in Pandither during his lifetime. Pages 486 to 491 provide details of Pandither's family, his medical, botanical and musical endeavors. It notes that "his grandparents on both sides of his family were medical practitioners, and were well versed in Tamil literature", creating a family genealogy to explain his professional interests (Playne 1914-1915, 486). It even describes his relationship with Karuṇāṉanta Mahāṛṣi, labeling the *cittar* as "an anchorite… who was so well impressed with the views and high ideals of the youth to serve humanity, that he immediately selected him for work in alleviating suffering by the administration of the now world-famous Karunananda medicines" (Playne 1914-1915, 486). This demonstrates the colonial government's acknowledgement of Pandither's training in medicine from a religious ascetic and also connects him more broadly to religion and society in twentieth century Tamil South India. The write-up in *Southern India: Its History, People, Commerce and Resources* has subsequently been copied by several later authors and journalists word-for-word or rephrased (Sriram 2004).

It also includes details on the awards and public recognition he received for endeavors related to botany and medicine:

> In recognition of his public services the title of 'Rao Sahib' was conferred upon him on the 25th of June 1909. In presenting the *sanad* of 'Rao Sahib' to Mr. Pandither, Mr. J.F. Bedford, I.C.S., said that "he had much pleasure in handing to Mr. Abraham Pandither the *sanad* conferred upon him by the Government of India. He was a man of exceptional practical energy and ability, and his career had been a phenomenal success, his chief claim to distinction being his agricultural farm, which bore witness to his industry and enterprise.' In recognition of his public benefactions the undermentioned certificate and Durbar medal were presented to him. (Playne 1914-1915, 491)

The title "Rao Sahib" subsequently becomes a permanent prefix to his name. Notably it was conferred because of his contributions to botany, medicine or "agriculture" as Playne describes it. On the day the award was conferred, "every section of the community was fully represented, and more than 7,000 people gathered from the town to see the picturesque garden, while fully 3,000 poor people were sumptuously fed and clothed." (Playne 1914-1915, 491). The award ceremony was thus a significant public event in colonial Tanjore, and Pandither is described as a charitable entrepreneur who "has been very much encouraged in his undertaking by visits from many influential persons to the farm" (Playne 1914-1915,

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490).[5] Pandither's botanical and medical projects take precedence in this section because the work focuses on largely on commerce. It is only in the closing paragraphs of the section that details of his musical endeavors are listed.

According to Playne, Pandither's endeavors were meant "to resuscitate the Carnatic music from the low position to which it has fallen, and being convinced that this national culture must be preserved at by the people if it is to be preserved at all, he established the Tanjore Sangeetha Mahajana Sangam in 1912" (Playne 1914-1915, 490). This description from a colonial source clearly shows how culture had become a politicized subject in the early twentieth century and had entered discourses on Indian nationalism. Playne's description cites Mr. V.P. Mahadeva Row, C.I.E., Dewan of Baroda and Chairman of the Fourth [All-India Music] Conference as saying "he (Pandither) had, practically, created the opportunity and the means for the study and practice of the Indian system of music, which in this country, was once the duty of kings to patronage" (Playne 1914-1915, 490). Together, these passages by Playne and Mahadeva Row clearly indicate that music was in a transitionary stage, but they also suggest that the exact direction of music in the first decade of the twentieth century was unclear, because it had "fallen" and was without traditional forms of "patronage." In these accounts, Pandither emerges as both a rescuer and patron of music, and indeed by the end of Playne's narrative, he is cast as somewhat of a national hero:

> Mr. Pandither's views are cosmopolitan, seeing that he was helped the various religious communities, and his consideration for the poor and afflicted is shown by his readiness to help in the cause of charity. (Playne 1914-1915, 490)…Abraham Pandither is an example for Young India. 'Be ever active and strive to do good' is the message of his life. (Playne 1914-1915, 491)

Playne thus characterizes Pandither as a modern, philanthropic citizen of a newly emerging nation. Playne's *Southern India* is an important source on Pandither precisely because it is a colonial account published during his lifetime. The information it provides ranges from detailing the various projects Pandither was involved in to the accolades he received from dignitaries. While it does not explore the sociological and political implications of his motivations besides creating connections between his pursuits and those

[5] "Their Excellencies Sir Arthur and Lady Lawley, the Lord Bishop of Madras, the French Governor of Pondicherry; the Hon. Sivaswami Iyer (Avl.), C.I.E., C.S.I.; the Commissioner of Agriculture, the Rajah of Ramnad; Prince Sri Narayanan Thambi of Travancore; Messrs. Benson, Sampson, and Coachman, Government Agricultural Directors; Mr. N. Kunjan Pillai, M.A. Director of Agriculture, Travancore; Mr. R. Cecil Wood, Principal of the Agricultural College, Coimbatore, and others." (Playne 1914-1915, 490)

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of his family members, it captures the nature of his pursuits within the framework of South India seen through the eyes of the British.

Modern Indian scholarship has shown a keen interest in historicizing Pandither in relation to the "Tamil Icai Movement," a movement that eschewed Sanskritic elements in South Indian music, and was part of a wider form of Tamil nationalism that took in Tamilnadu in the first four decades of the twentieth century. A key example is Nambi Arooran's chapter entitled "The Tamil Icai Movement, 1935-44" in his book *Tamil Renaissance and Dravidian Nationalism: 1905-1944* (1980). According to Arooran, Pandither is "generally considered to be the forerunner of the Tamil renaissance in the sphere of music (and) he took up a systematic and scientific study of Tamil music within a larger frame work of Carnatic music" (Arooran 1980, 252-253). Arooran however concludes that Pandither's "contribution(s) was mostly confined to the theoretical side of the Tamil Icai Movement" and it had little effect in "popularising Tamil songs" for the movement (Arooran 1980, 253). It provides some cursory information on his deliberations on *rāgas*, his inauguration of the TSVMS in 1912, and his involvement in the All India Music Conference held in Baroda in 1916, but does not provide any information on the broader contexts from which Pandither's ideas and projects were arising (Arooran 1980, 253).

Indian musicologists have slightly different takes on the figure of Pandither. T.V. Kuppuswami, in *Cārnatic Music and the Tamils* (1992) for example, introduces Pandither as a "pioneer in the field who undertook [an] investigation" of Tamil music (Kuppuswami 1992, xiii). Kuppuswami first describes Pandither's multi-faceted personality and interests by listing his non-music related undertakings then presses that "the last ten years of his life were entirely devoted to music" (Kuppuswami 1992, xiii).[6] He mentions that Pandither had interacted with court musicians to arrive at his deliberations on *śrutis* and *rāgas* and therefore creates a connection between courtly music and contemporary performances that were taking place in public venues.[7] Kuppuswami mentions "he learnt violin playing from Śadayāṇḍi Aśāri of Diṇdukkal (and) learnt church-music from the Christian missionaries (then) began to compare and contrast the two systems which laid the foundation for his scientific study of music" (Kuppuswami 1992, xiii). In four succinct pages he summarises the *KS*, the TSVMS conference proceedings and Pandither's participation in the Baroda conference. Another

[6] "Abraham Panditar who started his life as an elementary school-master, became rich as a physician and manufacturer of medicine. He tried his hand in agriculture, painting, photography, soap-making, engineering and handicraft. It is for his outstanding contribution that he is remembered." (Kuppuswami 1992, xiii)

[7] "Pandither secured the services of distinguished artistes of the day Muthia-Bāgavatar of Harikéśanallur (Gāyaka-Śikhāmaṇi), Śeṣaṉṉa, the Vīṉa expert of Mysore palace, Venkataramaṉa Doss, the Vīṉa expert of Vijayanagar court and others." (Kuppuswami 1992, xiii)

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musicologist, Caralā Rācakōpālaṉ, writing in Tamil, provides kinds of information about Pandither. In *Muttamiḻ Vaḷartta Mūvar* (1997), "The Trinity that Propagated Three-Fold Tamil," Rācakōpālaṉ casts Pandither alongside Māyuram Vētanāyakam Piḷḷai[8] and Paṟitimāṟ Kalaiñar[9] as a "trinity" (*mūvar*) of significant contributors to Tamil literature, music and drama. She mentions that Pandither's contribution to Tamil is incomparable and that he is the foremost contributor to the field in the twentieth century (Rācakōpālaṉ 1997, 76). She also details some of his contributions to the socio-religious and political life of Thanjavur and commits to an analysis of Pandither that comfortably maintains a celebration of the primordial nature Tamil culture and civilization.[10]

Contemporary critical writing on Tamil cultural history has also marginally taken notice of Pandither's *KS*. In one of her seminal works entitled *The Lost Land of Lemuria: Fabulous Geographies, Catastrophic Histories* (2004) Sumathi Ramaswamy references Pandither's *KS* twice in Chapter Four to compellingly explain how lost lands that were "discovered" through the distinctly modern ideologies and technologies of science were ultimately mobilized in the service of nation-building processes.

Finally, Pandither also makes brief appearances in critical new scholarship on Karṇāṭak music in the twentieth century. Amanda Weidman (2006) and Davesh Soneji (2012) have provided the most substantial, albeit brief, analysis of Pandither. And although none of the essays in the edited volume provide any critical information on Pandither, Indira Viswanathan Peterson and Davesh Soneji introduce him in their "Introduction" to *Performing*

[8] This is Samuel Vedanayagam Pillai (1826–1889), also known as Mayavaram Vedanayagam Pillai, was a Tamil poet and music composer, and author of *Piratapa Mutaliyar Carittiram*, generally glossed as the "first Tamil novel." His music compositions were in the *kīrtaṉa* genre, but were non-denominational (some might say "secular") in nature. They were published as a collection during his own lifetime in a collection titled *Carva Camaya Camaracak Kīrttaṉaikaḷ* ("Kīrtaṉas on the Equality of All Religions," first published in 1877).

[9] This is V.G. Suryanarayana Sastri (1870-1903) a Brahmin scholar of Tamil who galvanized and radicalized the Tamil nationalist movement in the early decades of the twentieth century. He composed literary and political works under the pen-name Paṟitimāṟ Kalaiñar and was Professor of Tamil at the Madras Christian College.

[10] In one section, Rācakōpālaṉ, like Pandither, provides an interesting analysis of Śaivism as the primordial monotheistic religion of the Tamils. She begins by quoting a section from the *KS* that relates the Biblical deluge and the deluge mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Rācakōpālaṉ 1997, 86). She follows this up with a reference to Āvuṭaiyār Kovil, a Śaiva temple located in the princely state of Pudukkoṭṭai. She explains that according to the Purāṇās three hundred sages called "Coḻiyars" were sent to the current location of Āvuṭaiyār Kovil by Śiva to spread "Brahmin religion" after the deluge (Rācakōpālaṉ 1997, 86). She continues by stating that there is also a Native American "folk tale" that narrates the emergence of the "human race" from a "root race" following a cosmic deluge (Rācakōpālaṉ 1997, 86), which clearly draws from Madame Blavatsky's ideas about root races (Blavatsky 1972). Throughout her inquiry she does not name the Purāṇā that is being referenced, nor does she specify the context of the Native American folk tale. Rācakōpālaṉ comments that there were "oral narratives" among fishermen about submerged temples during Pandither's lifetime and follows that with quotes from the *KS* about similar incidents. In essence, Rācakōpālaṉ extends and elaborates the fantastical narratives about Tamilnadu as the cradle of human civilization that are put forth by Pandither himself.

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Pasts: Reinventing the Arts in Modern South India (2008). Although Lakshmi Subramanian continuously mentions Pandither in her essays and monographs, these remain as cursory references, and her work evinces no sustained engagement with the figure of Pandither, who otherwise would seem central to many of the arguments she presents in her work on music. In her recent essay entitled 'Music Revivals: Major and Minor' (2014) Lakshmi Subramanian compares the rivaling undertakings of the MMA and the Tamil Icai Movement to argue that they "shared a set of conventions and aesthetics" and were not fundamentally different (Subramanian 2014, 249). Subramanian begins her essay quoting British musicologist C.R. Day (1860-1900) and Pandither. The quote from the *KS* is supposed explain how "the ideas of revival and authenticity of music practice (were) squarely… located in caste and its social practices and subsequently in language" (Subramanian 2014, 247). However, there is no explanation for how the quote speaks to the ideas of revival and authenticity. And although the essay is focused on the two major movements that shaped the field of Karṇāṭak music, apart from the introductory quote, absolutely no attention is given to Pandither's important contributions. Finally, there is also a very brief, descriptive entry on Pandither in the recent *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Music of India* (2011) edited by Pandit Nikhil Ghosh.

Chapter Descriptions

The focus of the first chapter in this thesis, as the first chapter of the *KS,* is Pandither's argument that Indian music is Tamil and Christian because it is historically rooted in the lost land of Lemuria.[11] Pandither examines contemporary conversations among geoscientists, botanists, Theosophists and Dravidian language enthusiasts centered on locating Lemuria *as* the Tamil-speaking regions of South India. To support these widely circulating developments, Pandither mobilizes the geological sciences, the narrative of the deluge from the Book of Genesis and the fifth-century Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram* as sources of evidence for "Tamil Lemuria" as *the* originary place of Karṇāṭak music. In my analysis of Pandither's ideas about Lemuria, I look to Benedict Anderson's notion of "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1983) and in greater detail to Sumathi Ramaswamy's exhaustive study on the subject entitled *The Lost Land of Lemuria: Fabulous Geographies, Catastrophic Histories* (2004). They provide both a theoretical framework and historical context for Pandither's

[11] "Lemuria" refers to a supposedly "lost continent," the origins of which can be attributed to nineteenth-century pseudo-scientific and occult writers. In India, the idea was mobilized by Tamil nationalists to claim the primordial status of Tamil culture as the cradle of human civilization, and consequently, of Tamil as primordial language of the Indian subcontinent. The most thorough and innovative critical work on Lemuria has been by Sumathi Ramaswamy (1997, 2000, 2004).

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deliberation on the lost land. For Pandither, Lemuria was a way of connecting the local histories of music with early global, albeit imperial, circuits of discourse about civilizational history, which included European Christian men who were engaged in the search for Atlantis in Europe. As a Protestant Christian from Tanjore, where Lutheran pietism and the Halle Mission were well anchored, Pandither's views on the sciences, as fields representing rationality, were aligned with those of European colonizers and missionaries. This chapter analyses how Pandither, as a Tamilian in this milieu, has a "double-reed" commitment to both the Tamil literary past *and* scientific rationality through Protestant theology, one of the primary mechanisms of colonial modernity itself. The seemingly discordant cultural bricolage at work in Pandither only emphasizes that colonial modernity was therefore not solely the purview of the colonizer. Pandither embodies the very hybrid nature of this modernity by creating a historiography for music by self-reflexively appropriating theories from a range of sources.

Chapter Two of this thesis focuses on the nature of religion and discourses of modernity in Pandither's *KS*. In his earlier years, prior to settling on music as a subject of research, Pandither was a practitioner of Tamil medicine or *citta vaittiyam* (Taṉapāṇṭiyan 1984; Rācakōpālaṉ 1997, Rajagopalan 2000). Although *citta vaittiyam* was being popularly identified as a Śaiva tradition in the nineteenth century, Pandither viewed Śaivism as a subsect of Christianity. His view aligns with those of Protestant missionaries like Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719) who attempted to forge connections between Tamil religion (which he identified as Śaiva traditions) and Christianity a century earlier.[12] Science in the form of *citta vaittiyam* made its entry in the nineteenth century to validate Tamil culture as an "authentically ancient heritage" that was also pan-Indian (Weiss 2009, Zvelebil 1993). This also identified Śaiva traditions and literature as *the* religion of the Tamils and Śaivism was singled-out as the religion of the *citta* practitioners of the past (Vaitheespara 2015; Venkatachalapathy 1995; Weiss 2009).[13] Thus, while Indian nationalists were locating an inherent "science" in what they commonly identified as the national religion, namely Brahminic Hinduism, the Tamil patriots saw Śaivism as an inherently Tamil religion. For Protestant Christians like Pandither, Śaivism was in fact a branch of Christianity, and it was a reconstituted notion of scientific rationality (Prakash 1999; Baber 1996). Biblical narratives interpreted as history and Śaiva Siddhānta metaphysics and notions of the *yogic* body

[12] Irschick (2003, 6).

[13] The relationship between *citta vaittiyam*, Śaivism, and the history of Tamil people is not as farfetched as it might appear. It was rather, being systematically developed by Tamil proto-nationalists and others throughout the early twentieth century (Little 2006; Weiss 2009).

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established the scientific rationalism of Saivism.[14] Homi K. Bhabha defines the appropriation of foreign ideas through misappropriation as "hybridization", but in Pandither's case we might term this a "doubled hybridization," because Pandither locates Western science in Tamil literary texts and *citta vaittiyam*, which he then places within a (Tamil) Christian (Biblical and theological) framework (Bhabha 1994).

Pandither's method(s) of appropriation and application of ideas from various fields quintessentially represents an engagement with post-enlightenment style modernity. His *KS* and TSVMS conferences (which will be discussed in chapter three) are the first efforts by an Indian to provide modern arguments that incorporated scientific, religious and literary evidence to argue for the antiquity of music, and used the media of print technology and European-style "conferences" to disseminate these ideas in the public sphere. The manner in which Pandither normalized the merging of medical science with *citta* traditions, and easily conflated Śaiva traditions with Christianity is what classifies his text and conferences as befitting the socio-political climate of twentieth century colonial Tamil South India. By relating religious ideas drawn from both Hindu and Christian contexts, traditional Tamil alchemy (Tamil *citta*, Sanskrit *siddha*) and anatomy, and by allegorizing the design of musical instruments (for example, the *yāḻ,* as we will see in this chapter); science emerges as the rational subject in Pandither's work. It is precisely the rationality accorded by science that allowed Pandither to construct a compelling argument for the origins and primordial nature of Tamil music.

Even though Pandither did not explicitly politicize his arguments in either the *KS* or during the TSVMS conferences, the bulk of his arguments clearly run against the grain of caste-Hindu nationalists, and Tamil nationalist movements were easily able to mobilize Pandither for their politics later in the twentieth century. Pandither's arguments around Tamilnadu as the cradle of civilization benefitted non-Brahmin ("Dravidian") political assertion in the public sphere, which began around 1905, and matured into the well-known Self-Respect Movement (*cuyamariyātai iyakkam*) of E.V. Ramasami Naicker (1879-1973) in the 1920s, which has ultimately given shape to the Tamil political present. Non-Brahmin "Dravidian" political assertion also later nurtured a movement to cleanse South Indian music of its non-Tamil elements, and this movement was known as the "Tamil Icai Movement,"

[14] In another essay, Prakash describes this misappropriation as the "compulsion that drove Hindu intellectuals to reinterpret the rationality of classical texts in the light of modern science's authority, describing Hinduism as a body of scientific knowledge and practice, and as the defining heritage of all Indians." (Prakash 1997).

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which spanned roughly from 1935 to 1944.[15] Reacting in part against the discourses of the MMA and congress-supporting Brahmins, the "Tamil Icai Movement," in a mirroring of Pandither, also mobilized Saivism, Tamil literature, and even *citta vaittiyam* in their defense of the forging of a "purely Tamil" legacy for Karṇāṭak music which had by the 1930s become politicized as "Dravidian" music (Ramanathan 1979, Aṇkayarkanni and Mātavi 2000).

Having examined Pandither's preoccupation with locating the origins of Tamil music in Lemuria and in scientific rationalism, in the final chapter of this thesis I turn my attention to Pandither's list of names of "Experts" in the *KS* and his other major contribution to Karṇāṭak music, namely the formulation of the "Tanjore Sangeetha Vidya Mahajana Sangam" (TSVMS, est. 1912). And in doing so, I contend that Pandither was consciously arguing against caste-Hindu, exclusionary narratives for Karṇāṭak music which were gaining prominence through the politics of the Indian National Congress and their armslength organization the MMA. Today, the historical significance of hereditary musicians and Pandither's TSVMS conferences have diminished, and are overshadowed by the MMA, sealing all subsequent discussions on Karṇāṭak music within the perimeters of upper-caste, Hindu-Sanskritic theories and narratives. But in fact, the TSVMS, created by Pandither in 1912, was the first musicological organization in India, and held the first ever "conferences" on the study of music in South India.

This chapter focuses on the TSVMS as an institution in order to examine the following: (1) the syncretic and multi-caste, multi-religious composition of practitioners of Karṇāṭak music in this period; and (2) the process of creating a new pedagogy for studying music through the very Protestant medium of print. Drawing upon both the proceedings of the TSVMS' conferences and the *Karunamirtha Sagaram*, I argue that the constitution of the TSVMS itself and the musicians that Pandither himself includes in his appendix entitled "The Names of Experts in South Indian Music with a Few Remarks on Each" (pages 152-205) include men, women (*devadāsīs*), Brahmins, non-Brahmins, "Hindus," Christians (both Catholic and Protestant), and Muslims. This presents a direct counterpoint to a far more popular Telugu work on music produced in the same period, the *Saṅgīta Saṃpradāya Pradarśini* (*SSP*, "Illuminator of the Tradition of Music") by Subbarāma Dīkṣitulu in 1904, in which only upper-caste, Hindu male musicians are represented. This of course has a

[15] Karṇāṭak music, as it was practiced in courts, homes, and sometimes temple spaces, was necessarily polyglossic and mixed in terms of repertoire and cultural influence. The majority of compositions that were circulating in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were, for example, in the Telugu language, and not in Tamil. The "Tamil Icai Movement" found the prominence of Telugu repertoire problematic, and instead attempted to "reclaim" classical Tamil text and set them to music so that the new "Dravidian" musical repertoire would now be full of compositions in Tamil.

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significant impact on the ways that Karṇāṭak music and its histories are represented and reproduced in the twentieth century, when, through Dīkṣitulu's book, a "trinity" of nineteenth-century Brahmin composers are fixed as the central points of reference for both the repertoire and technique of music in the Tanjore region. When it comes to the issue of pedagogy and the transmission of music, the TSVMS and the *Karunamirtha Sagaram* itself represent significant interventions. The earliest person in South India to actively promote music through the medium of print culture was another Tamil Christian musician, A.M. Chinnaswamy Mudaliar (c. 1855-1900), who began to print songs (*kīrtanas*) of South Indian music in Western staff notion as early as 1892, but unlike Pandither, only focused on music produced by Brahmin composer-musicians. The TSVMS resolves to adapt the use of printed texts in the dissemination of and pedagogy for South Indian music, and for Pandither this provides a space for serious deliberations on the emergence of the practice of music as a new professional practice in early twentieth-century India. It also cements the notion that deliberations on music and its future were not solely taking place in the urban metropolis of Madras, but rather in conversations that may have originated in Tanjore and later imported to Madras by musicians who traveled between urban and rural sites of musical production.

Pandither's list of experts thus includes the names of courtly patrons (for example Jagadīśvara Rāmakumāra Eṭṭappa Rājā of Eṭṭayapuram), *naṭṭuvaṉārs* or non-Brahmin dance-master (for example, the famous "Tanjore Quartet [*tañcai nālvar*]") and non-Hindus (for example, T.C.R. Johannas), and this more holistically represents the community of people who were responsible for musical production in South Indian until the twentieth century. The participants and patrons of the TSVMS conference provides further evidence of the diverse and multiple nature of social identities that formed the world of South Indian music, a world that is largely lost in discourses on music in today's Tamilnadu.

Contemporary works on Pandither are few. While he occasionally resurfaces in contemporary popular writing on South Indian culture (such as "Sruti") even these are almost always reiterations of Somerset Playne's *Southern India: Its History, People, Commerce and Resources* (1914-1915). On the other hand, for many South Indian elites, Pandither's significance is usually dismissed; his contributions are belittled as a set of fantastical arguments from a man who was overzealous and undertrained (Sriram 2004). Ironically, many of these interpretations come from people who are amateur "cultural historians" or musicians themselves. Pandither's *KS* and TSVMS conferences provide intimate insights into early twentieth-century Tamil South India at a time music was emerging as a national subject that was being debated by both Indian and Tamil nationalists. Even though today the legacies

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of both of the movements have forgotten, it is imperative and timely that Pandither's work must resurface in new critical narratives on the social history of the performing arts in nineteenth and twentieth century South India.

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CHAPTER 1

Chapter 1: Pandither's Philological and Paleogeographical Endeavors

This chapter focuses on Pandither's argument in the *KS* for Lemuria as the cradle of Tamil civilization and as the site of the Biblical deluge. It also focuses on how Pandither mobilizes Tamil philology to understand how science, the occult, and politics to ultimately produce new discourses on music in the twentieth century. Pandither's argumentation around the idea of Lemuria and the etymology for languages represents a confluence of European post-enlightenment thinking and intellectual discourses produced by Indians that emerged as a result of colonialism. His arguments brought the developing fields of paleogeography and philology into conversation with Theosophical occultism. Moreover, he intermittently brought elements of nascent Tamil and Indian forms of nationalism into dialogue with his own South Indian Protestant understandings of Christian theology, with the aim of producing a new discourse around culture in early twentieth century Tamilnadu.

Pandither's ideas in the *KS* are evidence of a distinctly localized form of European post-enlightenment thinking. The fields of study he deployed in his arguments were understood as rational because they mobilized the contemporary idiom of "quantitative data" analysis. The objective of this kind of analysis was to ensure that "objectivity" was achieved through modes that were not wholly reliant on cultural dispositions or religion. Pandither's ideas in the *KS* conform to this new mode of analysis because they draw from emergent disciplines that self-consciously present themselves as the result of "observations and experiments" – namely, paleogeography, etymology, anatomy and botany.

Hybridized Knowledge and the "Madras School of Orientalism"

In their introduction to *Social History of Science in Colonial India* (2007) Habib and Raina explain that "the encounter between metropolitan sciences of the West (had) prompted numerous projects of cultural redefinition and engagement with European modernity and Indian culture" and this involved "recuperating elements of reason and rationality from within the resources of Indian culture" (Habib and Raina 2007, xv). Likewise, Pandither deployed "rational" subjects of disciplines, and did so by incorporating local (non-Western) subjects or disciplines that closely resembled them (for example, Western medicine was brought into discourse with Tamil *citta* medical traditions). Homi. K Bhabha calls this

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phenomenon "hybridization" in *The Location of Culture* (1994), and the overall result of such hybridization is a distinctly colonial cultural modernity.

Although Bhabha's theory explains the particular outcome of knowledge being transmitted to and received in India, it does not particularly elucidate the situation in colonial Tamil South India. In the Madras Presidency, hybridized subjects had a distinct identity. Thomas R. Trautmann in his edited volume *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India* (2009) calls this unique knowledge system the "Madras School of Orientalism" (MSO). He uses the phrase to "name a kind of scholarship emanating from certain intellectual projects of early nineteenth century British-Indian Madras" (Trautmann 2009, 1). Trautmann expands on Edward Said's notion of Orientalism (1979) to specify this particular colonial intellectual enterprise. While Saidian "Orietalism" refers broadly to the "Western style of dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said 1994, 3), the MSO indexes responses to the Occident through the use of hybridized versions of occidental knowledge or "rational" disciplines. Bhabha's and Trautmann's theories are thus useful modes for thinking through the arguments made by Pandither in the *KS* because they explain the complexities of knowledge production in twentieth century colonial South India.

Etymology

European technologies of knowledge brought the idea of Lemuria to India. Apart from paleogeography, the other modern discipline responsible for this was philology; one historicized lost lands, and the other lost languages. In the nineteenth century, Tamil literary enthusiasts and nationalists appropriated the discoveries made by European philologists to argue for the antiquity of the Tamil race and its roots in Lemuria. The mobilization of philology in this manner had an impact on Pandither who self-consciously adopted their arguments for his history of Tamil music.

The philological "discovery" of South Indian languages was introduced in Alexander D. Campbell and Francis Whyte Ellis's hypothesis. The duo introduced the idea that South Indian languages shared a different root language to North Indian languages in *A Grammar of the Teloogoo Langauge* (1857) in Fort St. George in the Madras Presidency. [16][17] However

[16] "In the first stage, about the beginning of the nineteenth century, the prevailing view was that expressed by H.T Colebrooke in his pioneering essay 'On the Sanscrit and Pracrit languages' (1801), namely that all the 'polished' languages of India descend via the Prakrits from Sanskrit." (Trautmann 1999, 38-39)

[17] "… The little resemblance between Tenoogoo or Teloogoo, and Telindam may induce an English reader to question this derivation: but, as I have remarked in a subsequent part of this work, great deference is due by a

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it was the missionary grammarian Robert Caldwell (1814 – 1891) who later established that Tamil belonged to a different language category and was not "derived from Sanskrit." Caldwell introduced the Dravidian category of languages as distinct from the Proto-Indo-European languages and was old if not older. This is particularly significant when we think about the link drawn by Orientalists between Indo-European languages and Abrahamic religion. William Jones' philological claim, in his "Third Anniversary Discourse" to the Asiatic Society in 1786 is a case in point. Jones "place(d) the nations of Asia within universal history... (claiming) that the Indians, Greeks, Romans and other Indo-European speaking nations were sons of Ham, son of Noah" (Trautmann 1999, 46-47). Jones based this on his belief that Sanskrit, Greek and Latin came from the "same source" (Jones 1799, 26). Caldwell, by contrast, was reporting differences.

Both Jones and Caldwell claimed an objective hermeneutic understanding of the colony's languages. Jones' "intellectual colonialism" deployed imperial power to create a history of language that privileged his Euro-centric views. Jones' theories on language provide some preliminary explanation for Pandither's claims in the *KS* because he makes similar linkages to the Noachian deluge two centuries later. Under the section entitled "The Antiquity of Tamil" (*KS*, 31-47) Pandither provides evidence from colonial and native sources to contend that Tamil is the root language of Indo-European languages. In the introduction he locates Lemuria as a period-marker to differentiate a time when only one primordial civilization – the Tamil civilization – existed. Following its demise, others arose: "historians say that the inhabitants of the destroyed continent of Lemuria were highly civilised long before the historic period and quite prior to the period of the dawn of civilisation in other countries" (*KS*, 31). In doing so Pandither orients his narrative to include both the fields of paleogeography and philology.

Pandither compares evidences from the "Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency," Ciṅkāravēlu Mutaliyār's *Apitāṉa Cintāmaṇi*, V.G. Suryanarayana Sastri [Paritimar Kalainar]'s *History of the Tamil Language*, Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Monier-Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* and Winslow's *Tamil-English Dictionary* to demonstrate the antiquity of the Tamil language. The myriad sources are of course

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foreigner to the testimony of Native authors; and when it is considered that many words have passed into Teloogoo, through the medium of the Pracrit, or other corrupted dialects of the Sanscrit, and have been nautralized in it for ages, the little connexion now to be traced between some original words, and their corruptions, ought not alone to invalidate the established etymologies of successive grammarians." (Cambell, 1849, vii)

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contradictory at times, and so Pandither includes a disclaimer in the introduction to this section:

> As the remarks that we are about to make are but the good or evil to the Tamil language derived from the comparison of different languages and different countries by different scholars, we earnestly implore our readers not to imagine that we have any special motive for decrying any language or any nation. (*KS*, 30)

Pandither creates a compelling argument by specifically mentioning that his argument is deduced from comparing "remarks" made in "different languages and different countries and by different scholars." This creates somewhat of a cosmopolitan appeal for his narrative. Following this introduction, Pandither quotes from Volume 1 of the *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency* to establish "that the language spoken in India before the advent of the Aryans, was Tamil" (*KS*, 31). Pandither goes on to explain how the author "is at a loss to derive the Tamil characters from any other language (and) the Tamil language stands by itself." He also quotes "it is the Aryans who gave the name 'Dravidian' to the oldest Tamil words" (*KS*, 31-32). This is followed by a quote from Mutaliyār's *Apitāṉa Cintāmaṇi* that again confirms the antiquity of the Tamil language but also argues that the "upholders of Sanskrit" – Aryans – reiterated aspects of Tamil literature and culture to create for themselves an image of matching superiority.[18] Pandither then qualifies the legitimacy of this statement by saying:

> We have to accept the above statement as it comes from a learned Sanskrit scholar who is himself an Aryan. There is every reason to suppose, judging from what the Pandit says, that many of the Tamil works were written out in Sanskrit, and that alterations were made here and there to make them appear that they were prior in time to the Tamil works. (*KS*, 35)

Having compiled a selective band of quotes from sources that highlight the superiority of the Tamil language by comparing it to an inferior Sanskrit, Pandither then brings the discussion to bear on music:

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[18] "upholders of Sanskrit (Aryans) learnt the manners and customs of the Tamilians and wrote works in Sanskrit to be in conformity with them… They copied into Sanskrit many precious things found amongst the Tamilians, and boasted that they had knowledge of them before the Tamilians and made out that they copied from their own literature into the Tamil language." (1917, 35)

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> The ancient Tamil musical works also shared the same fate. They have been so cleverly manipulated as to make people think Indian musical treatises were derived from Sanskrit literature. But experts would clearly see the difference between Indian Music as expounded by Sanskrit writers and the Music of the Carnatic country. Through the rules of music given by Sanskrit writers were not used in the South, yet the different musical terms of the North are found here. (*KS*, 36)

This is followed by more quotes from the *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency* and Caldwell's *Dravidian Comparative Grammar* to establish that "the large introduction of Sanskrit words into the (Tamil) language can be attributed to the influence of Jains and Aryans of the period of the last Sangam" (*KS*, 36). This discloses Pandither's belief that both Jains and Aryans were considered foreigners to (Tamil) India. From the former source Pandither deduces that "it is a well-known fact that the Aryans, who were interested in the Sanskrit language, wrote many works having the Tamil words and ideas for a basis but clothing them with the Sanskrit garb" (1917, 36). And from the latter he cites a reference made to Professor Wilson's doubt regarding "the facts that Sanskrit was prior to Tamil, that the spoken languages of the South were cultivated as rival languages, that the Dravidian literature are but paraphrases of translations of Sanskrit and that their style betrays the original" (1917, 36). Pandither then evokes the "legendary grammar" *Akattiyam* to confirm that the Tamil language existed prior to the arrival of the sage Agastya (Ramaswamy 1997, 86). The subsequent four pages list quotes from the preface of Winslow's and Monier-Williams' dictionaries that again describe how Sanskrit "borrowed" (if not stole!) from the Tamil language. He than provides tables that index this pattern of "borrowing" from Tamil. It is significant for Pandither, that he extends this "borrowing" not merely to Sanskrit, but also, in a move that echoes William Jones' quote earlier, to all Indo-European languages, especially Hebrew and Scythian. This is in keeping with his logic of integrating Biblical narratives into his version of Tamil Lemurian mythology. Thus, we find in the *KS* a very unique claim in which Pandither states that Hebrew shares linguistic affinity with Tamil.

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The following quotations are also in point.

List of Sanskrit words borrowed from Tamil.

I

1. அக்கா (Sister)
2. அத்தா (Mother)
3. அடவி (Jungle)
4. ஆணி (Nail)
5. அம்பா (Mother)
6. அம்மா (Mother)
7. அடே (Interjection)
8. ஆளி (A Female friend)
9. கடு (Sharp)
10. கலை (Learning)
11. காவேரி (Cauvery)
12. குசம் (Female breast)
13. கூச்சல் (Din)
14. குடி (House)
15. கூன் (Hunchback)
16. குளம் (Tank)
17. கோட்டை (Fortification)
18. கட்டில் (Cot)
19. சவம் (Corpse)
20. சா (Die)
21. சாய் (Lean)
22. நானு (Several)
23. நீர் (Water)
24. பட்டணம் (City)
25. பொன் (Gold)
26. பள்ளி (Village)
27. பாகம் (Part)
28. மீன் (Fish)
29. வெள் (Silver)
30. வளை (Bend)
31. வளையம் (Ring)

II

Words Common to Sanskrit and Tamil.

1. அடி (Beat)
2. உதை (Kick)
3. அடை (Obtain)
4. என (To speak)
5. ஊர (To creep)
6. கட (Cross)
7. கழுதை (Ass)
8. சின்ன (Little)
9. குதிரை (Horse)
10. கீறு (To cut)
11. கிழி (Tear)
12. கெடு (Spoil)
13. சிரை (Shave)
14. சிலிர் (Shiver)
15. செ (To be red)
16. தடி (Rod)
17. தூவு (Sprinkle)
18. தூறு (Shower)
19. நட (Walk)
20. பாடு (Sing)
21. பால் (Division)
22. பிற (Other)
23. பால் (Milk)
24. பேசு (Speak)
25. பூ (Flower)

Figure 1: 'How the Hebrew, Scythian, European and the Sanskrit languages have borrowed from Tamil' (1917, 43)

III

Tamil words found in the Indo-European languages.

1. அசை (Shake)
2. அருவி (Brook)
3. அலை (Wave)
4. அவா (Desire)
5. ஔவை (Mother)
6. ஆவி (Vapour)
7. இழு (Pull)
8. இரும்பு (Iron)
9. ஈனு (Bring forth)
10. உயர் (High)
11. எரி (Burn)
12. உழு (Plough)
13. உளை (Mire)
14. ஊளை (Howl)
15. எய் (Shoot)
16. எழு (Rise)
17. எல்லாம் (All)
18. ஓரம் (Edge)
19. கடிதல் (Reproving)
20. கண் (Eye)
21. கரடி (The bear)
22. கழுகு (Eagle)
23. களவு (Theft)
24. கெபி (Cave)
25. காய் (To burn)
26. செய் (Do)
27. கிண்டு (Stir up)
28. கிழம் (Old)
29. கிழமை (Day of week)
30. கிளை (Branch)
31. குப்பை (Dust)
32. குறு (Short)
33. குருடு (Blind)
34. குளிர் (Cold)
35. கேள் (Hear)
36. கொல் (Kill)
37. சாக்கு (Sack)
38. சாத்து (Shut)
39. சாடி (Jar)
40. சால் (Water pot)
41. சீறு (Hiss)
42. சுடு (Burn)
43. செப்பு (Speak)
44. செல் (Proceed)
45. தகு (Fit)
46. தயிர் (Curd)
47. தின் (Eat)
48. திற (Open)
49. தீண்டு (Touch)
50. தெள் (Clear)
51. தொலை (Distance)
52. திருப்பு (Turn)
53. நசுக்கு (Squash)
54. நரம்பு (Vein)
55. நினை (Think)
56. நீந்து (Swim)
57. நெய்ய (To weave)
58. படு (Suffer)
59. படு (Lie down)
60. பண்ண (To make)
61. அனுப்பு (Send)
62. பழ (Old)
63. பழு (Get ripe)
64. பல (Many)
65. பள்ளி (Town)
66. பிய்க்க (To tear)
67. பிரி (Divide)
68. பிள்ளை (Child)
69. புகழ் (Praise)
70. புறம் (Side)
71 பூசை (The cat)
72. பெரு (Big)
73. பெறு (Bring forth)
74. பேய் (Devil)
75. பையன் (Boy)
76. பொறு (Bear)
77. பொழுது (Time)
78. பொவ்வு (To be puffed up)
79. போ (Go)
80. போடு (Put)
81. விழு (Fall)
82. மகன் (Son)
83 மயிர் (Hair)
84. மற (Forget)
85. மா (A Male)
86. மாழ்கு (To die)
87. மிகு (Much)
88. முழுகு (Immerse)
89. முகில் (Cloud)
90. முயலு (Endeavour)
91. முறுமுறு (Murmur)
92. மூக்கு (Nose)
93. மெத்தை (Cushion)
94. மெல் (Fine)
95. வலி (Strength)
96. வளர் (Progress)
97. விண் (Heaven)
98. விறை (To be numb)
99. வீண் (Vain)
100. வேண்டு (Want)
101. வேறு (Other)

IV

Tamil words found in Hebrew and other languages.

1. அப்பா (Father)
2. அம்பா (Mother)
3. ஆறு (River)
4. அல் (Not)
5. அவா (Desire)
6. இரு (Sit)
7. இறங்கு (Descend)
8. எரி (Burn)
9. ஊர் (Village)
10. எறி (Throw)
11. எரு (Manure)
12. கூர் (Point)
13. சாக்கு (Sack)
14. சால் (Bucket)
15. சாய் (Recline)
16. சினம் (Anger)
17. சீறு (Hiss)
18. சுமை (Load)
19. கவர் (Seize)
20. செவ்வை (Straightness)
21. நாட்டு (Plant)
22. நீட்டு (Produce)
23. நோக்கு (Notice)
24. பழு (Ripen)
25. பால் (Milk)
26. பெறு (Receive)
27. வா (Come)
28. மாய் (Die)
29. மாறு (Change)
30. மிசுக்கன் (A vile person)
31. மெத்தை (Cushion)

Figure 2: 'Tamil words found in the Indo-European languages' and 'Tamil words found in Hebrew and other languages' (1917, 44)

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V

Scythian words borrowed from Tamil.

1. அக்கா (Sister)
2. அத்தன் (God or Father)
3. ஆத்தாள் (Mother)
4. அன்னை (Mother)
5. அப்பன் (Father)
6. அம்மாள், அம்மை, அம்மன் (Mother)
7. அரு (Formless)
8. அல், எல் (Negative Suffixes)
9. ஔவை (Mother)
10. அலை (Wave)
11. ஆறு (River)
12. ஆம் (Yes)
13. இரும்பு (Iron)
14. நீஞ்சு (Swim)
15. உயர (To rise up)
16. உள் (In)
17. எழுது (Write)
18. எலும்பு (Bone)
19. ஒக்க (Together with)
20. கத்தி (Knife)
21. கடி, கறி (Bite)
22. கட்டு (Bind)
23. கண்ணீர் (Tear)
24. கப்பல் (Ship)
25. கரு (Black)
26. கரடி (The bear)
27. கழுகு (The eagle)
28. கழுத்து (The neck)
29. கல் (Stone)
30. கள்ளம் (Guile)
31. காற்று (Air)
32. காய்ச்சு (Boil)
33. கால் (Leg)
34. கிழ (Old)
35. கீழ் (Under)
36. குதிரை (Horse)
37. குடில் (Hut)
38. குளிர் (Cold)
39. கை (Hand)
40. கெபி (Cave)
41. செவி (Ear)
42. கேள் (Hear)
43. கொல் (Kill)
44. கோ, கோன் (King)
45. கோழி (Fowl)
46. சாரல் (Spray)
47. சா (Die)
48. சேறு (Mud)
49. தலை (Head)
50. தீ (Fire)
51. தூசி (Dust)
52. தோல் (Skin)
53. நக்கு (Lick)
54. நகை (Laughter)
55. நாய் (Dog)
56. நெற்றி (Brow)
57. நெய் (Ghee)
58. நோக்கு (Notice)
59. ஞாயிறு (The Sun)
60. பசமை (Greenness)
61. பையன் (Boy)
62. பழமை (Antiquity)
63. பல் (Tooth)
64. பால் (Milk)
65. பிடி (Catch)
66. பிறகு (After)
67. பிள்ளை (Child)
68. புகை (Smoke)
69. பெண் (Girl)
70. வயிறு (Belly)
71. வாழ் (Prosper)
72. மனை (House)
73. மரம் (Tree)
74. மறி (Check)
75. மலை (Hill)
76. முறுமுறு (Murmur)
77. முட்டை (Egg)
78. வானம் (Sky)
79. வாய் (Mouth)
80. விழி (Wake)
81. வெளிச்சம் (Light)

The words in the above five tables are words very commonly used in the Tamil country by the illiterate masses, and not classical words. There is reason to believe that these words must have been carried to other countries and there became changed by various processes. Tamilians know very well that a number of new words have been formed, with these words as the root, by the processes of prefixes, suffixes and other changes. There is no doubt that the above words are all Tamil. It is said that the words common to Tamil and Sanskrit, derived from a third language, are 25 in number. So it goes without saying that these words must have been in the Tamil language from time immemorial and that the same were found in Tholgaupiam. Scholars must admit that the above 25 words are Tamil words.

On further investigating into the existence of many Tamil words in a changed form in other languages also, we shall be able to conclude that the common Tamil words must have been the root from which they have been derived.

A few instances of Tamil words which exist in other languages in various shapes.

The natural cries of some of the animals resemble the sound of Tamil letters and words. Hindus are familiar with the cry of the calf 'amma'. The cuckoo or the Akka bird makes the sound 'Akka' or 'Akki'. We are also familiar with the cries of animals beginning with the letters ka, ki, ku, koo, chu, ee, oo, ma, ma, and nga.

Figure V: 'Scythian words borrowed from Tamil' and 'A few instances of Tamil words which existed in other languages in various shapes' (*KS*, 45)

Pandither does not of course provide a clear analysis to explain *how* these words were in fact borrowed from Tamil, for this would be the work of a philological expert, and Pandither was far from this. In a brief paragraph following the tables, however, Pandither explains that:

> The words… are commonly used in the Tamil country by illiterate masses, and [are] not classical words. There is reason to believe that these words must have been carried to other countries and there became changed by various processes… There is no doubt that the above words are all Tamil. So it goes without saying that these words must have been in the Tamil language from time immemorial and that the same were found in Tholgaupiam [*Tolkāppiyam*]. Scholars must admit that the above 25 words are Tamil words. (1917, 45)

Thus Pandither does not actually provide a detailed *etymology* of the words. He instead continues to mention "a few instances of Tamil words which exist in other languages in various shapes" (*KS*, 45). Some of these words include *ammā* (mother), *appā* (father), *akkāḷ* (sister), *nīr* (water) and *mīṉ* (fish).

Pandither's method of compiling varied sources from modern fields of study is thus characteristic of the eclectic nature of knowledge production in the early twentieth century. In *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970,* Sumathi

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Ramaswamy similarly describes Tamil nationalists' endeavors to reinstate the superiority of Tamil language with "the help of the secular sciences of comparative philology, archeology, ethnology, and history" which allowed for the usage of literary sources "completely outside the horizon of contemporary scholarly awareness" (Ramaswamy 1997, 34). Pandither's method of argumentation was therefore not an isolated phenomenon, but rather participating in modes of thinking that were common among intellectuals in early twentieth-century South India.[19]

Paleogeography: Lemuria's Journey *to* India, and Lemuria *in* India

Pandither's discourse on the etymology of Indo-European languages reveals that by the late nineteenth century, the economy of knowledge production and the political economy were co-dependent. Lemuria appeared as a product of hybridized knowledge production in the Madras Presidency. Languages and lost lands were commodities supporting colonial expansion but also supporting emergent nationalisms: Indian, Tamil and for Pandither, a rather unique form of Tamil cultural nationalism.

Lemuria was first discovered by paleo-geographers who were in search of lost lands to explain the evolution of life forms in the nineteenth century. In her seminal work entitled *The Lost Land of Lemuria: Fabulous Geographies, Catastrophic Histories* (2004) Sumathi Ramaswamy interprets the interest in Lemuria in the nineteenth century as "not vestiges of the archaic (but) outcomes of and responses to various projects of scientific and colonial modernity as these come to be conducted across the inhabited world" (Ramaswamy 2004, 9). The project to locate Lemuria, or "labors of loss" as Ramaswamy describes them, were quintessentially modern enterprises, and reflective of a new socio-political landscape – they were most definitely the outcome of cultural and intellectual imperialism.

Lemuria was introduced by the English zoologist Philip Lutley Sclater (1829-1913) in his short essay titled "Mammals of Madagascar" in the 1858 edition of the London-based periodical *The Quarterly Journal of Science*. Sclater argued that Africa, Madagascar and India were once geographically connected. He based this on the evidence that lemurs had lived in the three separate places. Sclater's improvisation of binominal nomenclature (a formal system of naming species) for the lost land characterizes Lemuria as a discovery and product of "modern science." He had constituted Lemuria as an object of public knowledge,

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[19] "Language was one tangible index by which such differences of cultural and moral worth were measured. The 'inflectional' Indo-European, representing the summit of linguistic (and racial) achievement, was the standard by which the 'tonal,' 'isolating,' and 'agglutinative' languages that were not Indo-European were evaluated: the latter were declared incapable of expressing complex, abstract, refined thought. Correspondingly their speakers were 'primitive,' 'barbarous,' and morally deficient." (Ramaswamy 1997, 37)

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consequently allowing it to become a negotiable space that could take upon multiple identities through multiple, early-global discourses (Ramaswamy 2004, 23). Therefore, even before Lemuria had settled in the Tamil region as a subject introduced by "European technologies of knowledge," it had already garnered for itself a cosmopolitan identity. Lemuria's "conflicted intimacy with modern science" made it *the* modern site that was malleable enough to indulge the varying expectations of different groups (Ramaswamy 2004, 55).

Lemuria in fact had a dual identity prior to its entry into India. Sclater constructed its first identity and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-1891) was responsible for its second under the occultist ideologies of Theosophy (Ramaswamy 1997, 13). The manner in which Lemuria was seamlessly appropriated by occultists from scientists in the nineteenth century demonstrates how rational subjects produced highly malleable forms of knowledge. Because the results of "rational" scientific inquiry were publicly accessible, albeit to an elite public, they nevertheless could be negotiated by multiple actors. They could be appropriated by any person or group that could (re)define and (re)construct them through new forms of intellectual bricolage. Paleogeography as a scientific field could no longer hold exclusive possession over the idea of Lemuria and its "rationalized" existence was open for debate and appropriation by the late nineteenth century.

The Theosophists were looking for notions on transcendence and proof of the supremacy of human reason. They believed that this, and more of the occult sciences, could be found in "the East." Theosophy, or esoteric philosophy, was organized into a society – Theosophical Society – by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-1891) in 1875. She published the doctrines of the society in a two-volume text titled *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology* (Blavatksy [1877] 1972). Blavatsky presented it as based on her clairvoyant communication with "Masters" or *mahātmās*, who would later frame the mythological landscape of the Theosophical imagination (Blavatsky 1972, 1). Theosophy relied on its ability to simultaneously resist dominant definitions of reason as offered by the fields of science by reiterating that science was accurate in so far as *introducing* a subject, but erred in *explaining* it (Owen 2004, 240). Theosophy's critiques were therefore against the distinction science made between itself and "religion" (Blavatsky [1877] 1972, X).

In *Isis Unveiled* Blavatsky introduces Lemuria as the source of the "Third Root Race," which includes "Africa and what is now extended across the Pacific and Australia" (Preston 2007, 57). Lemuria was then destroyed by a volcanic eruption and the Lemurians

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"met their doom chiefly by fire and suffocation" (Elliot 1904, 38-39). Therefore "instead of opposing religion with the facts as presented by Victorian science" Blavatsky had "attempt[ed] to subsume those facts into a grand synthesis that makes religious wisdom not the enemy of scientific knowledge but its final goal" (Ramaswamy 2004, 67). Blavatsky's theosophical formulation of Lemuria in the early twentieth century thus served as a bridging force between the growingly distant subject of religion and the rational subjects of scientific inquiry.

The connection introduced by Blavatsky between occultism and science that Blavatsky is later reinforced by her successor Annie Besant (1847-1933), and it is Besant's views on Lemuria that rise to prominence in Tamil South India in the nineteenth century. In a text called "The Pedigree of Man: Four Lectures Delivered at the Twenty-Eight Anniversary Meeting of the Theosophical Society, at Adyar, December 1903," Besant expands on Lemuria's Theosophical definition by identifying it as the "cradle of the Race in which human intelligence appeared" in order to "spatialize the journey of Spirit and to narrate the geography of Being". She does so by "borrow(ing) from the contemporary language of paleogeography and its (Theosophical) fantasies of the subsiding and erupting land formations" (Ramaswamy 2004, 64).

While Blavatksy introduced Lemuria through the subject of Theosophy as a site connecting the occult with Victorian science, Besant elaborated on this association by forging a more intimate connection between the two. Besant's contributions are especially important to note because they were being presented in the Madras Presidency, the space where the Madras School of Orientalists were themselves applying hybridized subjects to objectively argue for their own formulations on various topics. Driven largely by communal and political ambitions, Lemuria in the Tamil region begins to adapt to a local usage, while maintaining selected strands from the Theosophists and the earlier paleogeographers. I propose viewing Lemuria as a site with dual identities. One is an earlier identity prior to its emergence in the Tamil region, defined by paleo-geographers and then Occult practitioners, and the second is one it obtains in the Tamil region. Having said that, of course the early history shaped and deeply impacted the localized history of Lemuria. According to Tamil nationalists in the twentieth century, for example, the site existed even before it had emerged in its English name.

Ramaswamy (2000; 2004) introduces two ideas that explain Lemuria's powerful and enduring presence in Tamil South India. She introduces the term "spatial fables" to describe the site's geographical details. She argues that the details are "products of a kind of

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imagination that may be characterized as fabulation," enabled by the "process of thinking imaginatively and enchantingly". "Rather than… ignoring or discarding reality as we know it," Ramaswamy continues, "fabulation reorders (reality), in order to confront it, cognitively, emotionally, politically" (Ramaswamy 2000, 578-579). In the hands of a regime of cosmopolitan thinkers, adept in Victorian fields of study and skilled in hybridizing those subjects for local use, Lemuria takes root in Tamilnadu as a product of intellectual "fabulation." In her later work (2004) Ramaswamy posits the term "hypothetical homeland" to explain how it was a homeland that did not require secured evidences for proof, but was rather present, as a homeland made situationally relevant through the modern subjects of science and philology, and local literature by Tamil nationalists in the twentieth century. Ramaswamy's dual concepts obviously are relevant for Pandither's vision of Lemuria and the possibilities it opens up for new ways to scripting music history. Pandither's *KS* is a prototype for treatises on music in the early twentieth century because it created the possibility of patching together various ways of historical thinking and modes of historical experience.

As we have already seen, Tamil nationalism was a powerful force in the early decades of twentieth century and it deeply influenced the region's trajectory of intellectual and political thought. Pandither's vision of Lemuria certainly cannot be understood outside the nascent politics of Tamil nationalism. Ramaswamy (1997) explains how passion for Tamil (*tamiḻppaṟṟu*) was constructed through conjuring specific images and narratives as ideology in that period. *Tamiḻppaṟṟu* was "the other entity (apart for the nation) produced in modernity… driven by the imperative to clothe itself in timeless antiquity, so that devotion to Tamil appears to be as ancient as the language itself" (Ramaswamy 1997, 10). The attempts to revive (while recreating) Tamil led to its emergence "as an autonomous subject of praise" by the second half of the nineteenth century" (Ramaswamy 1997, 10). In this "the ideological work done on the language places the people who speak it at the very center of the project as an imagined community" (Ramaswamy 1997, 11). This imagination transgressed religious boundaries and relied more heavily somatic connections, such as imagery related to women's bodies and generative symbolisms. Later, Ramaswamy tells us, "through numerous essays and monographs, textbooks, public speeches, even a government documentary, this Jurassic continent of the European scientific imagination has come to be tantalizingly installed in Tamil nationalist collective memory as the centerpiece of a catastrophic modern historical narrative about the loss of the antediluvian Tamil past" (Ramaswamy 2000, 578). Lemuria was therefore an imagined space connecting the multiple imaginations of people all drawn to

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an antiquarian vision of Tamil's history, as both a language and a people. Ramaswamy captures this process in relation to Lemuria with precision:

> Tamil devotion both learns and unlearns from them (Western technologies of knowledge) as it transforms the West's Lemuria into an intimate Kumarināṭu, even as the density of its preoccupation with this lost world is another revealing reminder of the hybridization of many a metropolitan through and practices as these travel to their colonial and postcolonial address. (Ramaswamy 2004, 227)

Of course Pandither is not the first to link the geo-body of Tamilnadu with Christian narrative. Susan Bayly's work on Muslims and Christians in South Indian society provides some further insight into how these imaginations were popular and real between the sixteenth and twentieth century. She comments that "many Tamils maintained that the Biblical Adam fell to earth somewhere in Ceylon after being cast out of Paradise" and how "near the famous Hindu holy place of Rameswaram… there is a grave in which Cain is said to have buried Abel and where he himself was later buried at the end of his penitential wanderings" (Bayly 1989, 106-107). Pandither's innovations, of course, are in identifying "Tamil" Lemuria with a "historical" past of the Old Testament's narrative on Noah and the great deluge.[20]

The Great Deluge and Pandither's Vision of the Religious Import of Lemuria

Having thus far traced the history of Lemuria from the hands of zoologists to Theosophists and Tamil nationalists, the final section below provides a detailed analysis of Pandither's appropriation of Lemuria in the *KS*. Lemuria is introduced as the first topic for interrogation in his treatise on music. It is the site for "theologically historicizing" Tamil music, before detailing the scientific and theoretical aspects of the musical system. He also attempts to map a chronology for the lost land, in a citationary manner, invoking sources from theology, philology, paleontology and botany. His starting point is a definition of music as a devotional tool claiming that Tamils in the antediluvian period were pious and musically inclined. Moreover, by juxtaposing narratives of "cosmic deluges" mentioned in multiple religious

[20] The deep and long-standing interest in thinking about the indigenization of Christianity in South India by focusing on the antiquity of Tamil runs up to the present-day. For example, in a published compilation of lectures by Father Ignatius Hirudayam (Director of Inter-Faith Research and Dialogue Centre) entitled "Christianity and Tamil Culture," Hirudayam claims that "the Christian Church understands herself as a meta-cultural reality… The Apostles and the first disciples made their proclamation and expressed their new experience in the vocabulary and idiom of their own relative and countrymen. When they went outside Palestine it was either in Greek or Roman idiom. We can therefore affirm that if any Apostle came to India he spoke in the Tamil idiom of those days, like the ancient rishis and seers and acharyas, convinced that Truth knows no distinction, East or West. If communication between the West and India had not been interrupted for centuries afterwards, the life of this Indian community would have blossomed and flourished in the same way as Saivism or Vaishnavism, with genuine Indian symbols and ideas giving expression to its ever-growing dynamism." (Hirudayam, 1977, 8)

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texts, with a focus on the Bible and Hindu texts, he identifies all people to have belonged to a common civilization, despite the geographic expansiveness of Lemuria and its successor lands. In doing so Pandither argues that there effectively was only one deluge and that was the Noachian deluge. The location of this flood is discussed using again multiple sources and in identifying Lemuria with different names (for example, sometimes he calls it Cape Comorin, sometimes Kumari Kaṇṭam). Having thus fixed Lemuria's location as Kanyakumari on the southernmost tip of Tamilnadu, confirmed the antediluvial people's piety, and the central place that music holds in religious experience, Pandither continues to chronicle the history of the first human race; the Lemurian Tamils. Pandither's spatial "fabulations" of Lemuria as Biblical *and* Tamil is the outcome of the lost land's engagement with the multiple meanings it acquired as a hypothetical homeland for twentieth century Tamil cosmopolitan intellectuals in the Madras Presidency.

Pandither Locates Lemuria in India

Lemuria surfaces in the *KS* following a theologically motivated historical analysis on the subject of music. The theological elements include references to both the Bible and Sanskrit texts. In granting religious texts historical authority, Pandither supports his mode of reasoning for the origins of music, and also aligns himself with one common method of producing "rational" discourse that was in vogue in his milieu, namely, the application of Christian ethics and texts. In fact, he explicitly mentions in a later section "… data from the Holy Bible… are accepted as historical by scholars" (1917, 9).

Pandither opens the book by paying obeisance to God and proceeds to quote John 1:1 from the Bible, "in the beginning was the Word (Nadam). The Word (Nadam) was with God. The Word (Nadam) was God" (*KS*, 6).[21] This style of inserting quotations from the Bible follows through most of his analysis and allows Pandither to skillfully connect the Bible to Sanskritic Hinduism and Tamil Śaiva traditions. He expands on his narrative for musical "sang to the hearing of the people on this earth" when "God incarnate was born into this world" (1917, 7). Pandither again inserts another Christian narrative, namely that of the advent of Christ, into his history for music to establish music's relationship to God. Pandither then follows with the presentation of "Proofs From The Holy Bible As Regards The Antiquity Of Music; Musical Instruments Of The Early Biblical Period" (*KS*, 9). In this section Pandither creates a chronology for locating the presence of instruments such as the

[21] The following chapter will analyze in greater detail these opening phrases in relation Pandither's appropriation of Śaiva traditions for explaining the medical quality inherent in Tamil music.

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harp, which he later relates to the Indian instrument *vīṇā* or *yāḻ* in the antediluvian period. He demonstrates that the harp and organ existed in 4,000 BCE, five millennia from the present. Using this dating system he identifies the Noachian deluge to have taken place in around 1,600 BCE. He then "conclude(s) that the ancient inhabitants of Asia Minor were experts in Music and the lesser arts even before the period of the deluge" (1917, 9).[22] Using these references Pandither creates a topographic (and cultural) connection between Iran and India in the archaic age (pre-800 BCE). He bases this on his belief that ancient Iran and India shared the same Abrahamic religion, a theme that allows him to think about Lemuria's cultural influence as not only pan-Asian, but also effectively global.

Pandither then moves on to third subsection entitled "The Tamil Countries And Arts Destroyed By the Deluge" which is subdivided into fifteen parts. The titles are as follows

1. The difficulty of determining the period of historical events before the Deluge.
2. Satyavirata, the Dravidian King, and the Deluge.
3. Sri Krishna, the Ruler of Dwaraka, and the Deluge.
4. The ancient temple of Avudayarkoil, and the 300 Sholya Brahmins who were saved from the Deluge.
5. The provinces destroyed by the Deluge; the Period of the Deluge.
6. The Greater part of South India destroyed by the Deluge.
7. South India and the Deluge.
8. The time of the deluge as reckoned by Buddhists.
9. The ship in which Satyavirata was saved and the Malaya mountains.
10. The ancient temples in Cape Comorin.
11. The location of Lemuria.
12. Some noteworthy points in connection the Deluge.
13. The village of Uvari destroyed by the Deluge.
14. Some evidence of proving antiquity.
15. The religion of South India.

The focus of this section is almost entirely on local sites and forms of knowledge. Pandither begins this section with the following:

> People may not be interested in any minute description of events before the deluge. They may naturally look upon them as old wives fables rather than a genuine history. But the conclusions of palaeontologists based upon the skeletons of monster animals and men buried deep into the earth, stone inscriptions, ancient records… point to a still more remote period.
> (1917, 15)

He insists that the antiquity of Tamil language and culture is overlooked despite the discovery of "rational" evidence to support such a claim. He follows performing a marvelous

[22] Asia Minor refers to Anatolia, the Westernmost protrusion of Asia, which makes up the majority of present day Republic of Turkey.

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act of cultural bricolage, merging the Biblical world on to Indian sites, collapsing differences between various forms of historical representation:

> In India also there have been, before the period of the great Deluge, brave giants, celebrated Rishis, Kings renowned for their justice and truth, warriors of prowess, merchants of repute, workmen skillful in arts, and professors and scientists advanced in the arts. But we are unable to determine them as the history of ancient India is not only buried in obscurity but is mixed up with a host of myths. In spite of it we may deduce some genuine conclusions from the ancient authentic literature. Even here, there are many contradictions. Being conscious of the above defects, we still make bold to arrive at truth regarding the antiquity of India from historical events and literature generally considered genuine by the world. (1917, 15)

From pages sixteen to twenty seven, Pandither posits Hindu, Buddhist then Western scholarly evidence for the existence of Lemuria. He begins with the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the major canonical Sanskrit Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, then the *sthalapurāna* (narrative of a particular religious site) of Āvuṭaiyārkoyil, located in the Pudukkottai district in the Madras Presidency, than colonial administrative records that refer to the "local traditions" of Ceylonese Buddhists, and finally the essays of S.V. Thomas, Edgar Thurston, and *The New Encyclopedia* Vol. IV (14). Once again Pandither achieves narrative coherence by stacking reference after reference. The visual impact created by such intertextuality, when read from the printed pages of the *KS*, is also significant here. Seeing citations from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* placed next to the works of Thurston certainly would have itself been a "new" mode of reckoning history in colonial Madras. With reference to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Pandither says "this… very nearly resembles the account of the great deluge in the time of Noah which is mentioned in the Holy Bible" before calculating when the commencement of the Kaliyuga took place, which he dates to 3,100 BCE. He then mentions, "there is also reason to suppose that the period of the submersion of Dwarka [in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*] is the same as the deluge of the time of Noah… [and thus] it would not be wrong to conclude that the two deluges… are identical" (1917, 17). Pandither than supports this by dating what he considers to be scholarly debates over the deluge in his time. He posits that according to the Jews it was 2,105 BCE while it was 2,459 BCE according to Clement Alexandrinaus (a Christian Apologist, leader of the Alexandrian Christian community) and 3,544 BCE according to the English monk Venerable Bede. In conclusion Pandither adds: "to sum up what has been said before, we find that the large portion of land to the south of India, which was destroyed by sea, was Lemuria… (and) that the only language of the early inhabitants of the continent was

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Tamil and that words from other languages were introduced into it only after the destruction of the continent" (*KS*, 25).

Pandither then corroborates philological evidences, with botanical and paleontological evidences to complete his argument for Lemuria. He mentions that although the dates in the *Tolkāppiyam*, a treatise on Tamil grammar, parts of which are thought to have been composed during the second Tamil Caṅkam (300-400 CE), might raise suspicion because a section of the text suggests that nine to ten thousand years have passed since the time of creation, there is clearer evidence that "creation (was) but 6,000 years from now" (*KS*, 26). This, he claims, is supported by existence of skeletal remains of animals that are larger than those which Noah brought into his arc, and if this did not clear doubts then the "age of trees based on their separate layers is always reliable" (*KS*, 26). Pandither also inserts botanical evidences, in particular that pertaining to the Baobab tree. Using the species of tree that is "now found in the adjoining countries" as evidence, Pandither explains how "the land between Africa and South India before it was submerged" was once connected (*KS*, 27). He then quotes Bishop Caldwell's *Dravidian Comparative Grammar* and its mention of the tree being found in "the extreme south of the Indian peninsula… near Cape Comorin" (*KS*, 27). With this botanical evidence, Pandither firmly establishes his argument for Lemuria as the site where the Noachian deluge took place.

Conclusion

Before closing this analysis of Lemuria in Pandither's treatise, it is necessary to briefly comment on the absence of maps in his historicization of the lost land. The non-appearance of maps, despite the presence of charts, medical diagrams, staff musical notation, and other visual aids in the *KS* only confirms the idea that for Pandither, the location and history of the lost land could be verified by textual sources alone. Maps of Lemuria had emerged in German "barely six years after it was born in the pages of the *Quarterly Journal of Science* in 1870. Even though it was with modernity that the map emerges as a guarantor of geographical reality" (Ramaswamy 2004, 182). And although Pandither was very keen on presenting what appears to be a distinctly modern historical discourse, he has chosen to omit cartographic representations of Lemuria, relegating his audiences to the realm of texts and intertextual readings. This, I would argue is a conscious strategy on Pandither's part. Leaving Lemuria unrepresented on the visual register opens up imaginative possibilities that texts can expand, but visuals would only limit.

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In concluding, then, it is clear that the strength of Pandither's improvisations on history lie in his ability to create and extend a kind of intertextual dialogue across not only genres and languages but also across a vast range of political interests. Ramaswamy has explained that the acts of non-naming Lemuria in the Tamil region through much of the twentieth century "suggests it cannot be captured through human utterance, pointing in turn to its wonderous, mysterious, even awe-inspiring, nature… (which) may be also read as an anti-Geographical gesture undertaken by Tamil spatial fables" (Ramaswamy 2000, 581-582). I would suggest that Pandither's extreme forms of textual bricolage and interpretative leaps too are signs of the power that Lemuria held for Tamil intellectuals in the early decades of the twentieth century.

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CHAPTER 2

The Rational Nature of Tamil Music: Science and Religion in the *Karunamirtha Sagaram*

The *KS* appropriated methods for argumentation that are reflective of the post-enlightenment style colonial modernity of South India in the twentieth century that privileged science as the rational and qualitative subject for any scholarly investigation. This chapter focuses on the ways in which Pandither establishes the scientific nature of Karṇāṭak music within the religio-political environment of twentieth century colonial Tamil South India. The religious impulses that drive Pandither's work are drawn from both a legacy of indigenized Protestant Christianity and emergent neo-Śaivism, which by the twentieth century is increasingly linked to ideas of Tamil Nationalism and "Dravidianism." This chapter will therefore introduce the impact of incipient Tamil politics on music by explaining how the scientific nature of music could only be proven with reference to ideas culled from a range of sources – indigenous and colonial, Tamil and English, Śaiva and Protestant.

Science, as an intellectual project of early nineteenth-century British-Indian Madras, resembled both the local and the European but was imagined as determinately indigenous. By relating religious ideas drawn from both Hindu and Christian contexts, traditional Tamil alchemy (Tamil *citta*, Sanskrit *siddha*) and anatomy, and by allegorizing the design of musical instruments, science emerges as the rational subject in Pandither's work. Moreover the influence of modern science in three distinct yet overlapping spheres of politics – Indian nationalism, Tamil nationalism and the neo-Śaivite movement – in twentieth century South India cannot be overstated. For the Indian nationalists it was a science found in Sanskritic traditions (Baber 1996; Kumar 1995; Prakash 1999). As for the pseudo-secular Tamil nationalists, they chose to locate science in Tamil literary texts and lost civilizations, like Lemuria, while carefully moderating the role of religion in the Tamil past (Arooran 1980; Ramaswamy 1997; Vaitheespara 2015). Finally there were the neo-Śaivites or 'Naveenars' (*navīṉar*) who legitimated Śaivism as a distinctly Tamil religion that was compatible with twentieth century modernity (Vaitheespara 2009, 2012, 2015; Venkatachalapathy 1995).

Pandither's history for Tamil music was inspired by the politics of all three ideological developments. Indian nationalism supplemented his arguments for the scientific basis of music because the Indian performing arts were gaining unprecedented importance as a national symbol during his time (Allen 2008; Peterson and Soneji 2008; Soneji 2012; Subramanian 2006, 2007, 2009; and Weidman 2003, 2006). Tamil nationalism on the other

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hand was resolute in asserting its language bias and regional difference from the pan-Indian forms of nationalism. It thus saw the national project directed at the arts as a purely Sanskritic enterprise and in response crafted a distinctly Dravidian (i.e., Tamil) history for music, which would eventually result in the formation of the Tamil Isai Sangam in 1943 (Arooran 1980). The neo-Śaivite movement headed by Maraimalai Adigal (Maṟaimalai Aṭikaḷ, 1876-1970) in the late nineteenth century, which was also a distinctly contemporary regional ideological force, provided a religio-political context for Indian and Tamil nationalism to meet and disagree. "Neo-Saivism," as Vaitheespara terms it, was mobilized and appropriated by both Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, or more precisely "Saivites and Saiva Siddhanta 'revivalists'" on the shared-belief that Śaivism was the superior Tamil religion (Vaitheespara 2015, xi). Pandither's thesis on the origins, history and quality of Tamil music reveals his intellectual participation in all three political spheres, but with a pronounced involvement in the world of Tamil nationalism. In his book *Tamil Renaissance and Dravidian Nationalism 1905-1944* (1980), Nambi Arooran confirms Pandither's role in the political and cultural space of twentieth century Tamil South India by stating that he is "generally considered to be the forerunner of the Tamil renaissance in the sphere of music. He took up a systematic and scientific study of Tamil music within the larger frame work of Carnatic music" (Arooran 1980, 252-253). Pandither, it could be argued, thus played a vital role in defining Tamil music in the twentieth century.

Apart from the three political movements, there is one last factor – that is the ubiquitous presence of Protestant Christianity in South India – that comes to occupy center stage in Pandither's work. Christian missionaries closely interacted with locals and local religious traditions, and created effective modes of proselytization (Irschick 2003; Will 2004, 2006; Daniel 2005; Granziera 2011). Christianity was not so much a new religion in India. In *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to Present* (2008) Robert Eric Frykenberg describes

> "By the time of the Islamic Hejra in AD 622… the Gospel in India was far from hew. Its history was already several centuries old. Long before Islamic arrivals in India, its character was already changing" (Frykenberg 2008, 3)

Frykenberg's point in stating that Christianity predated Islam is to emphasize on its old presence in the India. Especially because South Asian Islam is often described as the other main religion in India after Hinduism and this creates the misconception that Christianity is new and foreign. The missionary presence in South India can be dated to the

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sixteenth century onwards beginning with the Franciscans, followed by the Jesuits, then Dominicans and lastly the Augustinians.[23] This is in omitting the even earlier presence of the Syrian Christians of Kerala, who believe that the apostle Thomas brought the Gospel to India in "AD 52 and suffered martyrdom near what is now Mylapore."[24] The first Protestant mission in India was established by German Pietist missionaries from Halle in the Danish territory of Tranquebar (Tharangambadi) in 1706, "and who were active in Tanjore, Madras, and other towns in the Tamil region" (Peterson 2002, 10). [25] The German Pietist missionaries Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719) and Heinrich Plütschau's (1677-1752) "had come with the presumption that their religion was morally superior to that of local society;[26] and it was under such premises that they undertook their proselytizing projects" (Irschick 2003, 6). Partially to aid their proselytizing activities they "focused on producing Tamil translations of the Bible and European hymns, and dictionaries and other linguistic works, rather than on creating original works, especially religious poems, in Tamil" (Peterson 2002, 10). They deployed modern technology such as print that demonstrates their engagement with post enlightenment style modernity on the one hand and allied their project with that of European imperialism in an explicit way on the other (Irshick 2003; Sweetman 2004, 2006; Venkatachalapathy 2012). The missionary's deliberate use of the local vernacular – namely Tamil – for proselytization is significant. Therefore to some degree Pandither's bilingual *KS* is an inheritor of the unique constellation of ideas and mechanisms of Christian mission in South India. At the same time it is not merely mimesis but represents an adjunctive moment in the colonial encounter. Pandither appropriates, transforms and subverts these ideas and methods with strong localized aspirations that foregrounded a uniquely Tamil modernity.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Pandither begins his treatise with an elaborate analysis of Lemuria in which he contends that Indian music is Tamil music and its beginnings

[23] "…the first missionaries to arrive in Goa were the Franciscans in 1517, followed by the Jesuits in 1542. The Dominicans established themselves in Goa in 1548 and the Augustinians came a few years later… In the decade 1542 to 1552, the Jesuits took up the largest share of the work of evangelization in India… As the seventeenth century commenced, the centre of interest in Christian missions in India moved southwards to the Tamil country and to the greatest city of… Madurai. It was the Jesuits who ruled and administered the area for the next century or so. The Jesuits mission of Madurai became famous for the pioneering work of the Italian Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656)" (Granzeria 2011, 250)

[24] The belief that Apostle Thomas came to India in AD 52 "remains extremely strong, whatever the historicity of this tradition may be. So much is this so that, at least in metaphorical terms, the tradition retains a canonical status." (Frykenberg 2008, 3)

[25] Tranquebar is situated in the town of Nagapattinam district of modern day Tamil Nadu.

[26] Genischen 1998, 540-541 "Plütshau, Heinrich (1677-1752): Pioneer Missionary of the Tranquebar Mission," *Boston University School of Theology: History of Missiology*, accessed November 30, 2015

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were in the lost land of Lemuria, which was submerged in the Noahcian deluge. Having connected local histories of music with early global, albeit imperial, circuits of discourse about civilizational history, he proceeds to historicize music through local philosophical and religious traditions; in particular Sanskrit and *citta* traditions. The analysis concludes by casting the entire cluster of these traditions as Christian, implying that Christianity is itself a local tradition. Pandither chooses Lemuria to establish the place of origin for Indian music, aligning himself with emergent imperial scientific discourses on paleogeography. It is only once he has established the scientific quality of Tamil music that he systematically invokes philosophy and religion in three forms: (1) Protestant Christianity, (2) pan-Indian Sanskrit texts and (3) local Tamil Śaivism and *citta* traditions.

The Conflation of Śaiva and *Citta* Traditions

Christian missionaries encountered local Tamil religion largely through Śaiva or Śaiva-inflected popular Hinduism. By the nineteenth century Śaivism was also identified with alchemical traditions (*citta*), and the systematized form of canonical Tamil philosophy known as Śaiva Siddhānta (Little 2006; Weiss 2009; Zvelebil 1996). The previous chapter outlined efforts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by *citta* practitioners to historicize their tradition by adopting evidence of an ancient Tamil civilization, Lemuria, which also resonated with the findings of Western paleogeographers. A similar process of identification streamlined and modernized the relationships between the old traditions of popular Śaivism, and Śaiva siddhānta (as represented by the Tamil canon known as *Mēykaṇṭacāttiram*) and the alchemical traditions (*citta*).[27] At the heart of this identification was the assumption of their compatibility on the basis of their deliberations on the physical and transcendent aspects of the human body. *Citta* traditions have a dual parentage in the sense that they draw from both Tamil and Sanskrit sources. In *The Siddha Quest For Immortality* (1996) Kamil Zvelebil notes that from a historical perspective, three groups of thinkers bear the designation *citta* in Tamil culture: (1) both Indian and non-Indian alchemists and physicians who composed treatises; (2) Tamil esoteric poets who lived between the tenth and fifteenth centuries; and (3) "*citta*-like" mystical poets who were misclassified by later generations as *cittar.* He explains that Tamil *citta* traditions locate their origins in the figure

[27] For further information on Śaiva Siddhānta and Śaivism refer to Richard Davis' A priest's guide for the great festival: Aghorasiva's Mahotsavavidhi (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), Genette Ishimatsu's "The Making of Tamil Shaiva Siddhānta" (Indian Sociology, October 1999, 33: 571-579) and Karen Penchilis Prentiss' "The Tamil Lineage for Saiva Siddhānta Philosophy" (History of Religions, February 1996. Vol.35, No.3: 231-257).

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of the sage Agastya and a cluster of *cittars* who have “attained the eight great supernatural powers (and) use their achievement in medical cure and/or alchemy, and express their views and doctrine in prose and verse composed in Tamil”(Zvelebil 1996, 19-20).[28] Zvelebil’s pioneering work on Tamil *citta* traditions posits that the language used in *citta* texts is too ‘modern’ to be older then the fifteenth century (Zvelebil 1996, 140). A more recent work on *citta* traditions by Richard Weiss, *Recipes For Immortality: Medicine, Religion, and Community in South India* (2009) identifies *citta* texts as “premodern texts” that were authored by individual *cittars* who represent “particular lineage(s) of knowledge that begins with the deities Shiva and Shakti (and) … share common conceptions of the human body and its relationship to the environment, and they all detail recipes, rituals, astrological criteria, and devotional practices through which physical processes can be manipulated in extraordinary ways” (Weiss 2009, 46). Weiss’s description of *citta* texts explains how the tradition was focused on mortality and ways of defining its boundaries and its sectarian orientation. Tamil Śaivism on the other hand consists of a complex constellation of old philosophical Sanskrit texts (*siddhānta*), Tamil devotional traditions (centered around the figures of the Nāyaṉārs and temple worship) and the later systematic Tamil philosophical canon known as *Mēykaṇṭacāttiram* (Ishimatsu 1999; Peterson 1989; Prentiss 1996). This conglomerate form of Śaivism/Śaiva siddhānta/*citta* traditions coincides with the indigenization of Protestant Christianity in South India. This affected deep and complex conversations, borrowings and adaptations across all of these traditions. And Pandither is heir to this cultural and intellectual milieu.

Indigenizations: Conversations, Borrowings and Adaptations

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Christian missionaries identified similarities between Christianity and Hinduism in order to understand Tamil religious practices. The presence of Lutheran Pietist missionaries in Tranquebar is significant because the site in many ways signals the beginnings of modern intellectual debate on religion in Tamil South India. During his stay in India between 1706 and 1714, the Pietist missionary Ziegenbalg had produced works in German, Latin, Portuguese and Tamil, which included, “dictionaries, hymnbooks, translations both into and out of Tamil, school textbooks, catechisms, sermons, and book catalogues” (Sweetman 2004, 17). He made connections

[28] Zvelebil identifies the eight powers to be, (1) *animan* or ‘shrinking’, (2) *mahiman* or ‘illimitability’, (3) *laghiman* or ‘lightness’, (4) *gariman* or ‘weight’, (5) *prakamya* or ‘irresistible will’, (6) *isitva* or ‘supremacy’, (7) *vasitva* or ‘dominion over the elements and, (8) *kamavasayitva* or ‘fulfillment of desires’ – Zvelebil, Kamil. *The Siddha Quest for Immortality*. Mandrake of Oxford. 1996. Pg. 20

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between *citta* philosophy and Christianity once he had 'discovered' the 10th century *cittar* Civavākiyar whose works informed him that "the Tamil siddhars were engaged in a holistic project that had a number of similarities to the pietistic one that (he) and the other missionaries brought with them" (Irschick 2003, 12). Another similarity between Tamil Hinduism and Protestantism that Ziegenbalg noted was the "general tendency in the population to act in charitable ways in giving alms" (Irschick 2003, 12). For Ziegenbalg charity was an essential act of Christian piety. His insistence on "the essentially monotheistic character" of Hindu religion was based on "*cittar* conceptions of the unity of the divine as *civam*" and he argued that it is "Iśvar, i.e., Śiva who most of the Malabarians take to be the greatest, and worship" (Sweetman 2004, 18). Civavākiyar's disdain for temple complexes and rituals had complemented Ziegenbalg's Christian sensibilities. Civavākiyar's works would in fact later be used to supplement the ideas of Tamil revivalists, demonstrating the impact of missionary definitions of Tamil religion in the modern public sphere[29]. This definition of a Śaiva Hinduism in the eighteenth century and its politicized usage by Tamil revivalists in the twentieth century begins to explain how Pandither comfortably conceived his distinctly Tamil ideas around music while maintaining his allegiance to Protestantism.

In a fascinating essay entitled "Conversations in Tarangambadi: Caring for the Self in Early Eighteenth Century South India" (2003) Euguene Irshick explains how the missionary too was "converted." The missionary's processes of cognition had now produced a radically altered understanding of Christianity that resulted from viewing it through "Hindu" (i.e., Tamil Śaiva oriented and *citta* inflected) religion.

Eugene Irshick (2003) and William Sweetman (2004, 2006) conclude that Ziegenbalg's projects had accomplished two major tasks. First, he posited early Tamil Hinduism, which he understood as drawing from *citta* philosophies, as closely related to Christianity. Consequently, contemporary Tamil religion as he experienced it represented a degenerate form. Secondly they argued that Ziegenbalg redefined Hinduism for locals by applying Judeo-Christian frameworks of reference and promoting aspects of an "earlier Hinduism" for the process of recovering it in order to convert locals to Christianity. The primary medium for Ziegenbalg's projects was undeniably print culture (Venkatachalapathy

[29] "Typical to these siddhar poets, Sivavakiyar, whom Zvelebil dates to the tenth century C.E., rejects the same religious forms that Tamil revivalists would later attack as foreign elements in the Tamil community" (Weiss 2009, 120)

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2014). Ziegenbalg's Tamil texts such as *Akkiyyanam* (1713) gave rise to a new culture of vernacular proselytization in the Tamil Protestant world.[30]

It is perhaps useful to think about Ziegenbalg's undertaking in Foucauldian terms as "an insurrection of subjugated knowledges," which refers to those "blocs of historical knowledge, which were present but were disguised within the body of functionalist and systematising theory" (Foucault 1980, 82). Ziegenbalg's knowledge of local religion thus becomes dominant because it comes from a position representing authority and power. The discourses on Tamil religion produced by Protestant missionaries in the eighteenth century are transformed not only into fodder for later Tamil revivalists but also continue to live as significant and oft repeated tropes for later Protestant and Anglican missionaries. For example in *Tamil Wisdom: Traditions Concerning Hindu Sages And Selections From Their Writings* (1873) Reverend Edward Jewitt Robinson, a British missionary writes

> The ethical rules of the Tamils are hung darkened with foul devices, about the cars and temples of idolatry, and spoken from the pagan alters which convey no moral inspiration. The missionary has to separate them from the rubbish which buries them, and attach them to their home, the atoning and cleansing Cross. He has to train his converts from the errors of Hinduism, while respecting whatever truths are in it, as the Christians of the early centuries, upholding the universal moral law. (Jewitt 1873, 6)

Here Robinson posits the existence of "universal moral law" in much the same way as Ziegenbalg tries to identify commonalities between Tamil Hinduism and Christianity. For Jewitt as for Ziegenbalg this involved "respecting whatever truths" exist in Tamil Hinduism while aiming ultimately to convert Tamils "from the errors of [that same] Hinduism." Both represent discourses on the degeneration and decay of Hinduism that pave the way for the emergence of systematic modes of proselytization.

[30] Ziegenbalg was certainly not the first Christian missionary to produce works in the Tamil language for the purpose of proselytization. The Italian Jesuit missionary Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi (1680 – 1747) was sent to the Madurai Mission in 1711 and he composed poetry, grammars, short stories, dictionaries, works on astronomy. Some of his works include *Vēta Viḷakkam* (1727), *Petaka Muṟaikaḷ* (1728) and between 1731-1733 the poetic works entitled *Kalampakam, Aṭaikala Nāyaki, Venkaḷippā, Aṇṇai Āḻuṅkaḷ* and *Antāti Kalampakam.* These contributions eventually granted him the glorified title of Vīramāmuṉivar or 'Great Heroic Sage.' The linguistic form and content of many of these texts has a distinctly Śaiva orientation. Missionary uses of vocabulary metaphor and symbolism from Śaiva contexts was nearly always an attempt at recovering a lost Christianity from an older Śaivism. I will return to this point later in this chapter.

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Śaiva Responses to Protestant Proselytization and Politics

A number of native voices emerged in the nineteenth century that represented reactions to systematic modes of Protestant proselytization and also provided arguments for Śaivism as the Tamil religion. A prominent voice that profoundly impacted religion in the modern Tamil world came from Āṟumuka Nāvalar (1823-1879) of Jaffna, Ceylon. Like Ziegenbalg, Nāvalar developed "modern means to communicate (his response) through the printed book, the modern school, and preachers" (Hudson 1992, 24). By the end of the nineteenth century Nāvalar had successfully politicized Śaivism as a communal religion by preaching it through distinctly modern methods that had previously been used by the missionary alone.[31] Nāvalar also invested in demonstrating just how Śaivism was similar to Christianity by detailing commonalities "between the temple worship of Siva and the temple worship of Jehovah in the Bible (proving) to Saivas that their own worship of Siva linga in temples was, so to speak 'biblical'" (Hudson 1992; 31). Nāvalar thus represents a native voice that successfully hybridized religion and religious experience and mobilized it at an unprecedented level into a religio-cultural movement (Ambalavanar 2006; Hudson 1992). In many ways Nāvalar's projects that conflate an older "Golden-Age" Śaivism with early Christianity resemble Pandither's argument for the relationship between old Tamil music and Protestant Christianity, and this is a point to which I shall return to later.

The other significant Śaiva voice is that of Maraimalai Adigal (Maṛaimalai Aṭikaḷ, 1856-1950). He is regarded as the foremost Tamil Śaiva leader in the twentieth century and progenitor of what is known as the "Neo-Śaivite movement" (Vaitheespara 2015). Adigal too contended that the religion of the Tamils was Śaivism, one that predated Brahmanic religion and Brahmanical representations of Śaivism. He "advocate(d) a method of historical inquiry that combine(d) literary and scientific evidence… (to argue) that Tamil literature and culture are no less truths of science, and indeed, insofar as they are more ancient than science, they supersede the authority of even the most incontrovertible claims of science" (Weiss 2009; 123). In claiming that his theory came from the standpoint of antiquity and "scientific evidences" Adigal had "followed the Lemuria narrative in describing a history in which a pure Tamil race inhabited ancient India before Aryans, Muslims and others invaded from the north and mixed with Tamils forming new mongrel races" (Weiss 2009, 125). Adigal was in essence a communalist who appropriated modern pseudo-scientific concepts (such as that of Lemuria) so that he could present his idea of an ancient – yet scientific – Śaiva Tamil race.

[31] He referred to them in "differing contexts as "Saivism (*Saivam*)", as "Saiva Observance" (*Saiva Samayam*), as "Saiva Orthodoxy" (*Saiva Siddhanta*), and as the "Dharma of Siva" (*Siva Dharma*)." (Hudson 1992, 26)

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His efforts are thus characteristic of how modern concepts were appropriated and hybridized to support personal claims (Babha 1994).

The Neo-Śaivite movement, which was largely a new religious movement, entered the scene and although was not recognised as a powerful movement by either Indian or Tamil nationalists, had fashioned much of how religion, culture and politics came to be understood or lobbied for in the twentieth century. Vaitheespara explains how "the writings of pioneer Saivite and Saiva siddhanta revivalists… brought together and subsumed the newly discovered ideas regarding the existence of an independent Tamil Dravidian identity under a Saivite identity" (Vaitheespara 2015, 27). The Tamil nationalist movement and the Neo-Śaivite movement were lobbied for by people like Maraimalai Adigal, who had both subconsciously and consciously identified Śaivism as Tamil religion. All three movements – Indian Nationalism, Tamil Nationalism and Neo-Śaivism – determinately presented the Tamil past as simultaneously a Śaiva and scientific one.

The Politics of Language

In *Religion, Caste, and Nation in South India: Maraimalai Adigal, the Neo-Saivite Movement, and Tamil Nationalism 1876-1950* (2015) Ravi Vaitheespara states that it was in fact in "such a context that colonial and missionary Orientalists first began to understand and present the Tamil-Saivite and Saiva Siddhanta tradition as the unique religion of the Tamil Dravidians" (Vaitheespara 2015, 33). Robert Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Languages* (1856), published forty-five years after F.W Ellis publishes A.D Campbell's *A Grammar of the Teloogoo Langauge* (1816), together represent scholarly works on Indian languages by colonial officials with strong Christian leanings (Trautmann 2005). The content of their work both borrowed as well as expanded on information made available by missionaries.

Orientalist deliberations on Dravidian languages and Tamil religion in this period had long-standing effects that continued to resonate even during Pandither's time, that is, well into the twentieth century. These ideas around Dravidianism translated into both political and cultural debates in the twentieth century. The political dimensions included the formation of the non-Brahmin politics and the modern political parties of modern day Tamil Nadu (Bates 2011; Ramaswamy 1997). The cultural dimensions extended into the field of the performing arts, especially dance, music and theatre. Writing in the 1970s K. Kailasapathy in an essay entitled 'The Tamil-Purist Movement: A Re-Evaluation' (1979) explicitly connects the

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influence of early Dravidianists such as Caldwell with the cultural, political and religious movements of the twentieth century:

> The non-Brahmin movement, the Self-Respect Movement, the pure Tamil movement, the quest for the ancient Tamil, the Tamil (icai) music movement, the anti-Hindi agitation and the movement for an independent Tamil state, not to speak of a general revivalist movement of Tamil literature and culture, owe, in different ways and degrees, something to Caldwell's zealous writing. (Kailasapathy 1979, 25-56)

Kailasapathy's words in a way summarize Pandither's persuasions for compiling the *KS*. The text determinately positions music as Dravidian and therefore non-Brahmin, as something pure and ancient, and as being distinctly South Indian. By glossing Śaiva material in universal or orientalist missionary language, Pandither argues for the scientific and rational nature of music. In the early twentieth century even as science and religion are emerging as distinct, modern fields of knowledge in South India they continue to share a deeply symbiotic relationship. It is almost impossible for a figure like Pandither to speak outside the inherited language of both science and Śaiva and Protestant religion. Science cannot be addressed without reference to religion nor can religion be addressed without reference to science. In fact Indian nationalism and Tamil nationalism were both powerful socio-political movements claiming to be secular but in reality formulated much of their ideologies based on religion (Brahmanic-Hinduism for the former and Tamil-Śaivism for the latter).

Alchemy and Alchemists

The focus on *citta* traditions or traditional Tamil alchemy in the previous section deserves particular attention for a number of reasons. First Pandither had a longstanding relationship with *citta* practitioners, *citta* enthusiasts and even allegedly became a disciple of a *citta* sage named Karuṇāṉanta Mahāṛṣi (Figure 3). The only known available source that narrativizes Pandither's encounters with Tamil *citta* traditions is the Tamil biography of Abraham Pandither authored by Tu. Ā. Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ entitled *Āpirakām Paṇṭitar* (1984). Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ mentions how Pandither becomes acquainted with a *citta* practitioner from the nearby village of Āṉaimalaiyampaṭṭi named Poṉṉampala Nātār. Poṉṉampala Nāṭār was impressed by Pandither's interest in the tradition and invited him to Curuḷi hill (Theni District in Tamil Nadu) to meet *cittars* skilled in medicinal practices. It is here that Pandither meets Karuṇāṉānta Mahāṛṣi "by a flowing river, under a sandalwood tree, with a golden body" (Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ 1984, 12). The *cittar* asks Abraham what he wishes for, to which Abraham

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replies, *taṅkaḷatu ñāṉa upatēcam peṟṟāl nāṉ puṉitaṉāveṉ* "if you bestow enlightened wisdom (*jñāna upadeśa*) upon me I will be purified" (Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ 1984, 13). The *cittar* then asks him for his second wish, to which Abraham replies that he desires to know a medicine that will cure all illnesses. The Mahāṛiṣi then obligingly shares with Pandither recipies for several *citta* medicines (Taṉapāṇṭiyaṉ 1984).

Secondly Pandither earned most of his income by selling the *citta* medicines he concocted from the recipes given to him by the Mahāṛṣi, which were sold under the brand name "Karuṇāṉantar Cañcīvi Maruntukaḷ." From a theological standpoint, for Pandither the male-God centered sectarian approach of *citta* traditions and Tamil Śaivism complimented Christian masculine monotheism. It is important to remember that Pandither had seen, in his own lifetime, the revival of Śaivism and *citta* traditions, and the conflation of both. Although Pandither does not directly provide details for his *citta* affiliations around the history of music, the argument he provides itself assumes – as we have already seen – that "*citta* is science" and "Tamil Śaivism is Protestantism."

Figure 3: "This is Karuṇāṉanta Mahāṛṣī - who embodies greatness - in Curuli Hill granting Abraham Pandither the gift of sacred speech" from *Southern India: Its History, People, Commerce and Industrial Resources* by Somerset Playne (1914-1915)

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Music, Christianity and Science

By the nineteenth century Christianity had come to occupy a significant place in Tamil literary and musical works and local Christians were also participating in the production, performance and dissemination of South Indian courtly music. Perhaps one of the earliest examples of the uses of South Indian courtly music by local Protestant Christians is the figure of Vētanāyaka Śāstri (1774 – 1864), court poet of King Serfoji II of Tanjore who created culturally and musically hybrid performances such as the *Bethlehem Kuṟavañci* (Peterson 2002; 2011). Indira Peterson argues that *Bethlehem Kuṟavañci* "Sastri drew on a common pool of older and contemporary Tamil literary and performance genres to articulate a distinctively Tamil refraction of the Evangelical religion brought to South India. Sastri's poem shows that Tamil Protestants were fully engaged with the dynamics of social and cultural change in Tamil region in the early nineteenth century" (Peterson 2002, 12). It is also significant that Śāstri was the first "major Protestant Christian poet in the Tamil language, with more then 120 literary works" (Peterson 2002, 94). He received formal education together with King Serfoji under the guidance of the German Pietist missionary Christian Frederich Schwartz (1758-1798) who first worked in the mission established by Ziegenbalg.[32] The church that Schwartz eventually builds in Tanjore in 1779 – Schwartz Church – becomes Abraham Pandither's family church.[33] This establishes a genealogical link between early Protestantism in South India, the key figures of Schwartz and Serfoji, and Pandither (Figure 4 and 5).

[32] "Serfoji and Sāstri were among the earliest Indians to receive systematic education in Western science as part of European schooling. This education resulted in a lifelong, creative engagement with science in the contexts of learning, teaching, and cultural activity for both. Their responses to European science bear the strong imprint of particular developments in the late seventeenth century German pietist thought regarding science as the methodical investigation of nature. Eighteenth-century European ideologies of the learning and practice of science – what may be characterized by "Enlightenment" ideas and ideals – were mediated for Serfoji and Sāstri by the educational philosophy propounded and put into practice by the eminent German Pietist theologian and educator August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), in the forms in which they received it through their early education with Swhwartz and other German missionaries". (Peterson 2003, 96)

[33] On 12 March, 2015 Abraham Pandither's great grand nephew Benjamin Pandian took me to the St. Peter's church which was built on the site of the Swartz Garden Chapel by Reverend W.H. Blake.

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Figure 4: (Left) Image of St. Peter's Church in Thanjavur, 2015. Photograph by the author.
Figure 5: (Right) Image of commemorative stone at St. Peter's Church in Thanjavur, 2015. Photograph by author.

During Pandither's own lifetime a number of his contemporaries, who were also local Tamil Christians, were involved in the production of South Indian courtly music. Individuals like A.M. Chinnaswamy Mudaliyar, a Catholic, scholar of Latin, and music connoisseur published *Oriental Music in European Notation* (1893), which to some degree inspired Subbarāma Dīkṣitulu to compose the *Saṅgīta Saṃpradāya Pradarśini* ("Illuminator of the Tradition of Music," 1904). Dīkṣitulu's work would later become a hegemonic point of reference for the pedagogy and history of Karṇāṭak music. T.C.R Johannas, an important Protestant contemporary of Pandither, wrote a Tamil text with the provocative title *Parata Caṅkītam* ("Music of Bharata," 1912) in which he argues that the violin is in fact an indigenous Indian instrument "brought to the West in Alexander's time".[34] The Tamil scholar C. Vētanāyakam Piḷḷai (1826-1889) who composed a large number of compositions in the *kīrttaṉai* (*kīrtana)* genre dedicated to a generic male godhead entitled *Carva Camaya Kīrttaṉaikaḷ* ("Kirtanas for All Religions," 1906) (Peterson 2004). The works of Śāstri, Mudaliar, Piḷḷai, and Johannas thus represent important signposts in Tamil Christian genealogies for South Indian music that both mirror and produce larger discourses on modernity, religion, and music from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries.

Staff Notation and the Production of a "Scientific Music"

In the sections that follow I will provide examples from the *KS* that delineate the influence of a distinctly twentieth century post-enlightenment style thinking in Pandither's definition for and historicisation of Karṇāṭak music. The *KS* is focused on proving how Karṇāṭak music is inherently "scientific," and in this section, I will demonstrate the nature of

[34] Johannas 1912, XIX

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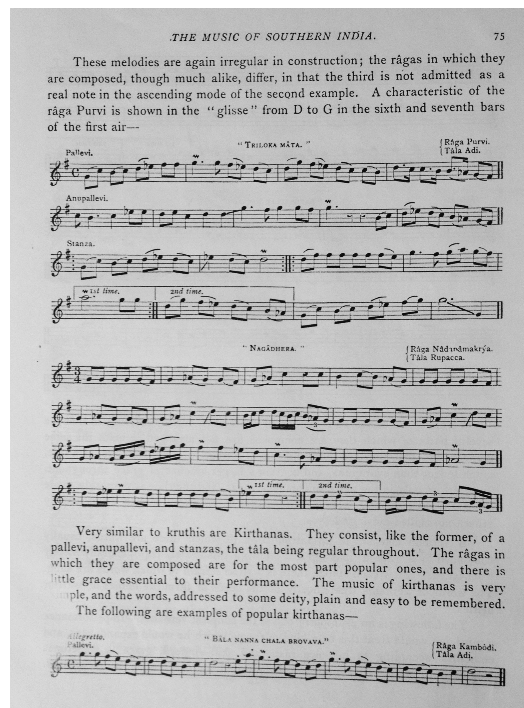
this understanding of “science” and how it is strategically, and yet deftly deployed by Pandither.

Visually, the *KS* has the appearance of a “scientific” work because it is replete with charts, diagrams and graphs. It incorporates Western staff notation, a visual matrix in which pitch and time are represented in graphic terms. The staff notations resemble those used by Mudaliyar (1893) and even earlier by the orientalist musicologist C.R. Day in *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan* (1891) (Figure 6).



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These melodies are again irregular in construction; the râgas in which they are composed, though much alike, differ, in that the third is not admitted as a real note in the ascending mode of the second example. A characteristic of the râga Purvi is shown in the “glisse” from D to G in the sixth and seventh bars of the first air—

Very similar to kruthis are Kirthanas. They consist, like the former, of a pallevi, anupallevi, and stanzas, the tâla being regular throughout. The râgas in which they are composed are for the most part popular ones, and there is little grace essential to their performance. The music of kirthanas is very simple, and the words, addressed to some deity, plain and easy to be remembered.

The following are examples of popular kirthanas—

Figure 6: Staff notation for an early nineteenth century composition in the *kīrtanā* genre by Śyāma Śāstri (1762-1827) in the *rāga* Paras. From C.R. Day's *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan* (1891)

The usage of staff notations to notate Indian music indexes the transnational flows of music under colonialism on the one hand, but also signals modern pan-Indianization of Indian music and the emergence of the category of “the classical” in India on the other. Therefore Pandither’s usage of staff notations in the *KS* indicates his imbrication in subjects related to music that were of local, national and transnational interest. He argued for what he saw as the distinctly Tamil Protestant quality of music. In an essay entitled “Musical Renaissance and its Margins in England and India, 1874-1914” ethnomusicologist Martin Clayton notes that “Indian musical reformers led not only to a dramatic increase in popular appreciation of, and participation” in the field of music and that they were especially keen on locating it in a “Sanskrit theoretical tradition” by adapting Western systems of notation

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(Clayton 2007, 84). Music reformers understood Western staff notation to be a scientific mode of reckoning music. They also saw Sanskrit śāstric texts as serving the same purpose in this context. Thus the projects of rendering Indian music in staff notation and the recovery and foregrounding of Sanskrit texts around music were twin projects that ultimately established Indian music as scientific.[35]

In Pandither's writing, notation functions as a universal, "scientific" mechanism that mediates understandings of music between Europe and India:

> We have seen how a piece of English Music composed by an Englishman at one end of the world when written in Staff notation is faithfully interpreted and reproduced by an Indian at the other end. We (Indians) have seen the excellence of the English staff notation. The signs indicate (1) duration and (2) the increasing or decreasing intensity of different notes, (3) the signs to denote speed, (4) expressions, and (5) pauses, (6) the signs giving special directions to the performer as to where a piece of music ends or where it is repeated from, (7) time-signatures and (8) key-signatures, and (9) a variety of abbreviations and (10) embellishments are the distinguishing features of European music. So our humble opinion is that to reproduce those Indian Ragas where these 12 half Swarams only occur, the Staff notation of the west is quite enough." (*KS*, 819-820)

Thus, for Pandither staff notation is sufficient to capture the technical nuances of Indian music which include ornamentation (*gamaka*), an emphasis on microtone (*śruti*) etc., Pandither's willingness to adopt Western modes of systematizing Indian music marks him as distinct from some of his "musical reformer" contemporaries, like Vishnu Digambar Paluskar (1872-1931), who believed that Western staff notation was insufficient and therefore devised a "distinctly Indian" system of notation.[36] As Amanda Weidman notes, Pandither's closest Tamil-Christian musical contemporary Chinnaswamy Mudaliyar (Ciṉṉacuvāmi Mutaliyār) also argued that staff notation was better equipped to fulfill the role of reproducing music because it was, "pictorial notation." He too was "convinced that European staff notation was the best means of representing and preserving Karnatic music" (Weidman 2006; 204). Mudaliyar also explicitly states in *Oriental Music in Staff Notation/ Indian Music along the Lines of European Notation* (1892) that his motivations were driven by the desire to make music accessible and not regulated by an exclusive class of people (Mudaliyar 1892, 1).

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[35] The importance of notation in the establishment of music as scientific has been a subject discussed by Bakhle (2005), Weidman (2006) and Peterson and Soneji (2008).

[36] One of Paluskar's most important contributions to the study of Indian music was his book entitled *Bharatīya Saṅgīt Lekhanpaddhati* (1930), which set out in great detail his own system of musical notation. This became a foundation textbook for the institutionalization of North Indian music beginning with Paluskar's own music school named Gandharva Mahavidyalaya. (Bakhle 2005, 144-157).

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Mudaliyar’s view reflects Pandither’s as that of a non-Hindu, a Christian, because his passion for music was not aligned to the nationalists’ interests but instead national interests with a regional bias. Mudaliyar was persuaded to adopt methods of interpreting music that were compatible to modern measures for value in the field of music, like Pandither.

Pandither’s ten points supporting the representation of Karṇāṭak music in Western staff notation mark Karṇāṭak music as compatible with Western music on the one hand and also helps him secure an idea of the reproducibility of music and hence its “authenticity.” While for Pandither Karṇāṭak music is “authentic” in that it is located in an ancient Tamil past it is also simultaneously compatible with modernity. As Lakshmi Subramaniam notes Indian nationalists, “with [their] notions of ‘purity’ and ‘authenticity’… focused on the issues of standardization and notation that would enable the tradition to stand up against the European critique but more importantly, would ensure an accurate reproduction” (Subramaniam 2009, 14). But for Pandither, these notions of ‘purity’ and ‘authenticity’ were located in the Tamil Protestant past.

Figure 7: Staff notation for a late nineteenth century composition in kīrtanā genre by Patnam Subhramanya Ayyar (1845-1902) in the rāga Ṣaṇmukhapriyā in Abraham Pandither's Karunamirtha Sagaram (1917)

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Tamil Language, Śaivism and the Production of "Scientific Music"

Pandither's *KS* contains a interesting section entitled "A Few Instances of Tamil Words which Exist in Other Languages in Various Shapes" that concludes with an analysis of Caldwell's *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* (1875).[37] A large number of the philological arguments that Pandither deploys are oriented around the idea of Dravidianism as developed by European orientalists and Śaiva revivalists, and at the heart of many of these discussions is the notion that Śaivism is the primordial Dravidian religion (Ravi 2009, 2012, 2015; Ramaswamy 1997; Trautmann 2009; Venkatachalapathy 1995). Notably Pandither's argument is different from orientalists and revivalists because he locates Christianity as the heart of his discussion.

One of the aims of Pandither's project was to render invisible some of the highly differentiated and divisive rhetoric that was used by the orientalists and revivalists to write histories of Tamil civilization. Thus, for Pandither, Śaivism ultimately complements his understanding of religion. He glosses religious difference between Śaiva and Protestant Christian notions of the divine. Ultimately this gloss and the slippages that it entails allows Pandither to locate both music history and Tamil civilizational history within the framework of a uniquely Tamil-Christian worldview. In the section that follows I provide examples from the *KS* that illustrate the extent of Pandither's engagement with Śaivism. Pandither's Śaivism however is itself relies on the intellectual sources (print material, public debates and oratory) of the emergent Tamil nationalist movement and the Śaiva revival movement.

The section entitled "The Chief Incontrovertible Argument to Prove that Tamil must have been the Mother Tongue (in) the Pranavamantra" is the first discussion on sound production in the *KS*, which includes a commentary on the Śaiva *pañcākṣara mantra* (*oṃ namaḥ śivāya*, "Oṃ! Salutations to Śiva"). The Śaiva orientation of this argument is subsumed within a missionary-like analysis, much like that of Ziegenbalg, in which local religion is interpreted largely through the lens of Protestant Christianity. For Pandither the objective of reciting the *mantra* is to achieve communion with a highly universalized and abstract (yet male and non-dual) Godhead.

> It is a well known fact that the Pranava letter 'Om' indicates Paramasivam, that he who devotedly prays to it obtains the Paramasivam and becomes God himself. It is well known that the Tamilians considered this letter as

[37] Refer to Thomas Trautmann's edited volume entitled 'Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India (2009, New Delhi: Oxford University Press)

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the Prime Manthiram and used it in their daily devotions, as they were sure that any work commenced with it ensured success. (*KS*, 48)

Another example of the universalizing tendency in Pandither's work comes from his use of verses composed by the citta figure Tirumūlar, whose work comprises the tenth book in the *Tirumuṟai*, the central canon of Tamil Śaiva religion.[38] Tirumūlar himself is understood as a "7th century, saint, seer, poet, mystic, spiritual father of the Tamil Siddha tradition, believed to be the incarnation of Siva's sacred bull Nandin" (Zvelebil 1984, 9) and "the only one of the siddhars to be counted among the sixty-three saints (nāyaṉmār) of orthodox Shaivism" (Weiss 2009, 58).[39] In the example that follows Pandither cites a verse from the *Tirumantiram* in Tamil on page forty-eight and provides a highly universalized (and decontextualized from the standpoint of Tirumūlar's prominence in Tamil Śaivism) translation in English.

vāci vāveṉṟu vāciyiḷ ūṭāṭi,
vāciyai uḷḷe vaittu nī pūjitāl,
vāciyum īcaṉum oṉṟākum,
vāciyaippol citti maṉṟoṉṟum illaiye.

If you invite breath,
Make it a part of yourself,
Without letting it out and pray to God,
Breath and God will become one and inseparable. (*KS,* 48)

In this translation, all of the references to Śiva (*īcaṉ*) are glossed using the English words "God" or "breath." The Tamil deployed in the verse is structured to allow for polysemic interpretations. For example the first line *vāci vāveṉṟu* can literally mean "recite and come" or if the words were divided differently as *va civā veṉṟu* it would mean "come Śiva come." A more accurate translation would read as follows (translation mine):

Having said "come, Śivā", then having a lovers quarrel midway,
But instead if you had kept Śivā within you and worshipped it,

[38] For further information on Śaiva traditions please refer to Indira Viswanathan Peterson's *Poems to Śiva* (1989, Princeton University Press) and Karen Prentiss *The Embodiment of Bhakti* (Oxford University Press, 1999).

[39] The dating of Tirumular and the Tirumantiram is a highly contentious issue. For recent discussions of the text see Dougles Brooks's essay entitled "Auspicious Fragments And Uncertain Wisdom: The Roots of Śrīvidyā Śākta Tantrism in South India" in The Roots of Tantra (State University of New York, 2002) and Vasu Renganathan's dissertation entitled "The Language of Tirumular's 'Tirumantiram,' a Medieval Saiva Tamil Religious Text" (2010)

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The good fortune that is Śivā will become One,
There is no equivalent to the spiritual power or success of that good fortune.

Pandither's strategy for translation and the universalism it represents can therefore be likened to the translations of Vedic texts by Max Müller, in the nineteenth century (Dalmia 2003; Sugirtharajah 2003). In fact Sharada Sugirtharajah mentions in *Imagining Hindusim: A Postcolonial Perspective* (2003) that for Müller the Vedas "seen to shed (light) on a common ancestry, that is, Aryan race to which he sees Indians and Europeans as belonging" (Sugirtharajah 2003, 41). While Müller's efforts to translate the Vedas were focused on creating a shared Aryan ancestry between him and Indians, Pandither was doing the same but instead focusing on Dravidians. Finally, in addition to the universalizing nature of Pandither's translations they also deemphasize the erotic dimensions of traditional Tamil poetics both in secular contexts (for example, the *akam* poems of the Caṅkam corpus) and devotional ones (for example the *bhakti* poems of the *aḷvārs* and the *nāyaṉārs*). In this verse the use of the term *ūṭāṭi* or "lovers' quarrel" is completely omitted in Pandither's translation.[40]

Pandither's approach to Śaiva texts closely mirrors Maraimalai Adigal's interpretive strategies regarding Śaiva philosophy which distinguished "'core' Śaivism from its various 'outer' rim practices such as caste discrimination and excessive ritualism, and so on, Adigal… in essence call(ed) for an understanding of Śaivism as pure as philosophy and belief rather than its traditional association with ritual and bodily practices" (Vaitheespara 2015, 245). Perhaps the difference in the approaches of these two figures rests on their audiences. While Adigal's interpretations of Śaivism borrow heavily from Protestant missionary contexts, he reworks Śaiva material in a way that makes it palatable to Tamil Śaiva audiences. Pandither too borrows heavily from Protestant missionary contexts and yet unlike Adigal he foregrounds the specifically Christian aspects of his discourse for his very cosmopolitan audience.[41] Śaivism is thus still present in Pandither's discourse but is interpreted as "always already" compatible with Protestant Christianity.

[40] Looking back at the history of Tamil literary works by Christians the dulling of erotic experience is somewhat of a theme. Very rarely is erotic experience allegorized in the context of Tamil Christian mystical experience prior to the twentieth century. One of the early examples of such dulling comes from the Italian missionary Constanzo Beschi (1680-1742) who in his poem Tempāvaṉi, which is modeled after medieval Tamil devotional works, altogether avoids references related to eroticism or love. While Beschi omitted themes related to eroticism or love in his works Pandither instead dulled similar references to successfully present the verse as being focused solely on communion with a monotheistic Godhead (Varadarajan 2008).

[41] As evidenced from the membership of Pandither's four Tanjore Sangeetha Vidya Mahajana Sangam conferences held between 1912–1914, his audience clearly comprised of a Hindu majority. And yet there were Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Hindus and non-Hindus involved. The resolutions of the conference were arrived

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Pandither proceeds to identify the author of the poem as a "yogi," assumedly an equivalent of *cittar* and although he does not explain his choice of vocabulary he details how yogis have understood the Śaiva *pañcākṣara mantra* and its usage. He establishes that "it is a well known fact that the pranava letter 'Om' indicates Paramasivam, that he who devotedly prays to it obtains the Paramasivam and becomes God himself" (Pandither 1917, 48). He dedicates two pages with images to show where individual sounds of the mantra are located within the human body, with *oṃ* occupying the crown of the head. The body is divided into eight parts, each dedicated to a particular deity. The beginning-point for the recitation of the mantra is located at the base of the spine and is identified with the deity Gaṇeśa. The subsequent seven deities leading to the crown of the head are Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Maheśvara and Sadāśiva. Here Pandither is invoking an established soteriological paradigm in Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta, namely the concepts of *ādhāra* and *nirādhāra yoga. Ādhāra yoga* refers to a type of practice in which the powers of the subtle body are activated in a matter akin to the more popular notion of *kuṇḍalinī yoga*. By contrast *nirādhāra yoga* is a practice that focuses on the transcendent, unknowable form of Śiva (Schomerus 1979, 251). Pandither chooses to deploy this paradigm with reference to the powers of music. He equates the soteriological goals of Śaiva Siddhanta with the ultimate aim of the practice of music, which he argues is liberation.

Pandither deploys graphic representations of *yantras* or geometric ritual diagrams to add an additional layer of soteriological meaning to his discourse on music as a path to liberation (Figure 4). Furthermore Pandither's selective representation of the subtle body closely resembles Orientalist projects related to the study of Hindu Tantric traditions. More specifically the British Orientalist Sir John Woodroffe, also known by the pseudonym Arthur Avalon, fixed a series of representations of the subtle body in his popular work entitled *The Serpent Power: The Powers of Tantrik and Shaktic Yoga* (1918), which was published a year after Pandither's *KS*.[42] Avalon's text explains in great detail *kuṇḍalinī yoga* by presenting two Sanskrit compendia on the subject in translation (these are the *Ṣaṭcakra Nirūpaṇa* and the *Pāduka Pañcaka*). Avalon explains how in Śākta tantric contexts the *kuṇḍalinī* or "serpent power," which rests at the base of the spine is awakened through Tantric meditative practices and slowly moves upward, piercing the *cakras* or subtle centers of energy in the

at through democratic consensus in which religious affiliations and caste hierarchy do not seem to have played a significant role.

[42] Critical work on Arthur Avalon's innovations on Tantra and his fixing of the Śakta tantric textual cannon has recently been done by Kathleen Taylor in her book entitled Sir John Woodroffe, Tantra and Bengal: "An Indian Soul in a European Body" (2001)

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body until it reaches the highest *cakra* known as *sahasrāra* at the crown of the head.[43] The union of the goddess principle (Śakti) represented by *kuṇḍalinī* and Śiva represented in the *sahasrāra cakra* bestows liberation upon the practitioner (Figure 8).

A number of images of the subtle body that were in circulation in the early twentieth century (ranging from old Sanskrit texts revivified by Orientalists to specific regional and sectarian imagings drawn from Tamil Śaiva Siddhanta) thus figure in Pandither's conceptualization. Pandither was amongst those who were committed to explaining the scientificity of Indian music. This group is divided into those who favored the Sanskritic sciences and others like Pandither who looked to Tamil traditions like Śaiva Siddhānta. Pandither therefore saw science to be inherently present in indigenous religious traditions and it is sufficient to merely uncover the metaphysical teachings in order to qualify it as a science. And having done so Pandither resumes the narrative around monotheistic devotional qualities of the musical tradition.

[43] "The names (Kundalini yoga and Bhūta-shuddhi) refer to the Kundalinī Sakti, or Supreme Power in the human body by the arousing of which the yoga is achieved, and to the purification of the elements of the body (Bhūta-shuddhi) which takes place during that event. This yoga is effected by a process technically known as Shat-chakra-bheda, or piercing of the six Centres or Regions (Chakras) or Lotuses (Padma) of the body (which the work describes) by the agency of the Kundalinī Shakti which in order to give it an English name, I have here called the Serpent Power. Kundala means coiled. The power of the Goddess (Devī) Kundalinī, or that which is coiled, for Her form is that of a coiled and sleeping serpent in the lowest bodily centre, at the base of the spinal column, until by the means described She is aroused in that Yoga which is named after Her." (Avalon 1950, 1)

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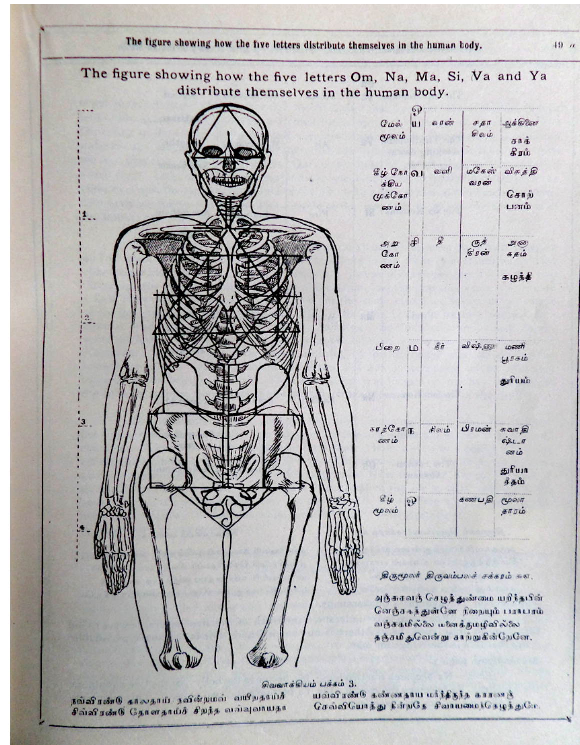

Figure 8: The figure showing how the six letters Om, Na, Ma, Si, Va and Ya distribute themselves in the human body in *Karunamirtha Sagaram* (1917, pg 49)

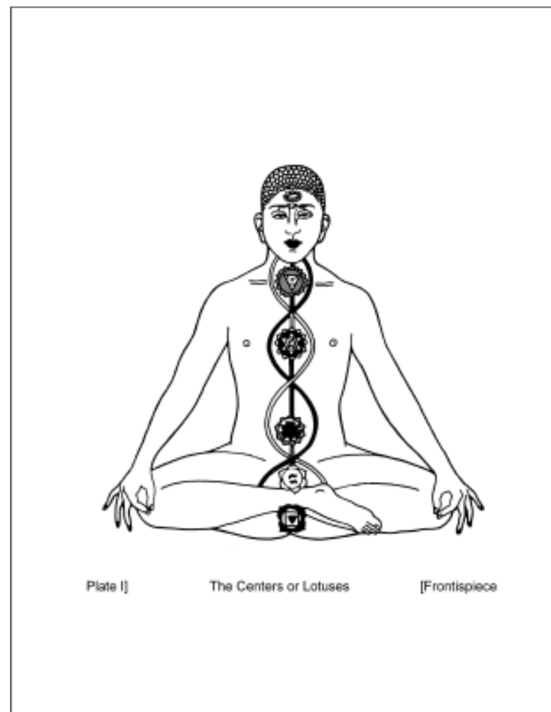

Figure 9: 'The Center of Lotuses' in Arthur Avolon's *The Serpent Power: The Secrets of Tantric and Shaktic Yoga* (1950, Frontispiece)

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Recovery of the Tamil Self: Tamil Civilization, the Body and the Yāl̲

After the section that links mantra and the human body Pandither moves on to the chapter entitled 'The excellence of the Yal used by the ancient Tamils'. This chapter explains the relationship between the human body and the yāl̲, a lost instrument of ancient Tamil civilization. Pandither provides a discourse of the yāl̲ in his treatise because he believed it to be evidence proving the antiquity of Tamil music. Pandither's explanation for the origins and motivations behind the design of the yāl̲ rely wholly on a Tamil classical text, Sanskrit texts and the Bible. Texts belonging to various historical periods, in different languages and of disparate content become convincingly relatable.

Although Pandither uses the term yāl̲ in his chapter title, he uses the names yāl̲ and vīṇa interchangeably. This itself is an innovative interpretive move. After Pandither's time in the mid twentieth century, discourses on the yāl̲ and vīṇā are bifurcated, with the yāl̲ standing in for Tamil civilization and the vīṇā being identified with Sanskrit past.[44] These interpretations are deployed as part of the cultural discourse of Tamil regional politics with the rise of Dravidian nationalism on the one hand and that of pan-Indian Congress politics on the other.

The Thanjavur vīṇā or Raghunatha vīṇā, a South Indian stringed instrument that can be dated back to the Nāyaka period (roughly seventeenth century) was perhaps one of the most widely used instruments in South Indian courtly music in Pandither's time (Seetha 1981, 39). Pandither's appropriates this widely popular instrument and extends its genealogy into a Tamil past. Ultimately Pandither posits the "vīṇā-as-yāl̲" as the cultural symbol par excellence of the antiquity of Tamil civilization (Pandither 1917, 700).

> The Veena has also a head like that of the human body, a belly or middle part like that of man, a plectrum like the tongue, wires and sounds like the fingers of man, Swarams like Sa (C) like letters… the human Veena also is capable of producing sounds. Just as the Daiva Veena is covered with skin and hair, so also the Brahma and other bodies as Vishnu Veena to him is given the gift of music. So we must understand first the character of Veena and then practise music on it. (*KS*, 702)

As we saw in the previous section one of Pandither's primary aims is to chart a history of music that explicitly connects musical experience to religious experience. Even in his discussion of the yāl̲ as vīṇā he is conflating the human body with the instrument itself.

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[44] Refer to Kuppuswami *Carnātic Music and the Tamils* (Kalinga Publications, 1992) and Ramanathan *Music in Cilappatikaram* (1979, Madurai Kamaraj University).

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The body and the yāl̲-as-vīṇā are both vessels for the attainment of liberation, which is identified completely with musical experience; that is, music both enables liberation and also most profoundly expresses the experience of liberation. The body and the instrument must work in union (understood in its widest metaphysical senses as yoga, tantra and *citta vaittiya*) to produce musical experience.

According to Pandither, "the Yal completely resembles the human body" (*KS* 700) and "just as a man's body reaches perfection by receiving the Seven Thathus, skin, bone, flesh, brain, sperm, blood and marrow, so also the Veena attains perfection by means of the seven strings" (*KS* 702). [45] In making connections to Ayurvedic ideas on "Thathus" (*dhātus* or bodily elements) or the seven bodily elements that make up the human body, Pandither aligns his narrative with Sanskritic alchemical traditions (Sharfe 1999, 616). He then follows with the explanation that "the following quotations show that the numbers (relating to the human body)… found in the Isai-Tamil of the ancient Tamils are commonly found in Vedantam, Medicine, Astrology, the Holy Bible and the Upanishads" (*KS* 709). Pandither therefore creatively aligns various knowledge systems in his discourse on the nature of musical production

In the following pages, along with a skeletal diagram of a human's spine beside an image of a vīṇā he provides multiple sources to locate the origins, philosophical meanings and design of the yāl̲ with a special focus on numbers of frets, strings etc., (Figure 10). He cites (1) multiple sections of the Cilappatikāram (a 5th CE Tamil classical text) and provides a commentary for them (2) a list of Upaniṣadic texts – *Maitrāyanīya Upaniṣad*[46], *Nrsimha Tāpanīya Upaniṣad*[47], *Praśna Upaniṣad*[48], *Varāha Upaniṣad*, *Nārada Parivrājaka Upanisad* and the *Kali-santaraṇa Upaniṣad* before (3) concluding with passages from the Bible. In concluding his analysis of these texts he says, "so these numbers (of strings, frets etc.,) have been used in Physiology, Vedantam, Astrology, Music, Yoga Sastram and other important Sciences" (pg., 722). This subsection is then followed by an analysis of how the yāl̲ resembles the human breath before moving on to the next section entitled, 'How the Tamils were advanced in sciences' (pg., 729).

[45] Dhatu (Sanskrit): refers to the seven tissues (Dhatu) of the body in Ayurveda
[46] embedded in the *Yajurveda*
[47] One of the 31 Upaniṣads under the *Atharvaveda*
[48] Embedded in *Atharvaveda*.,

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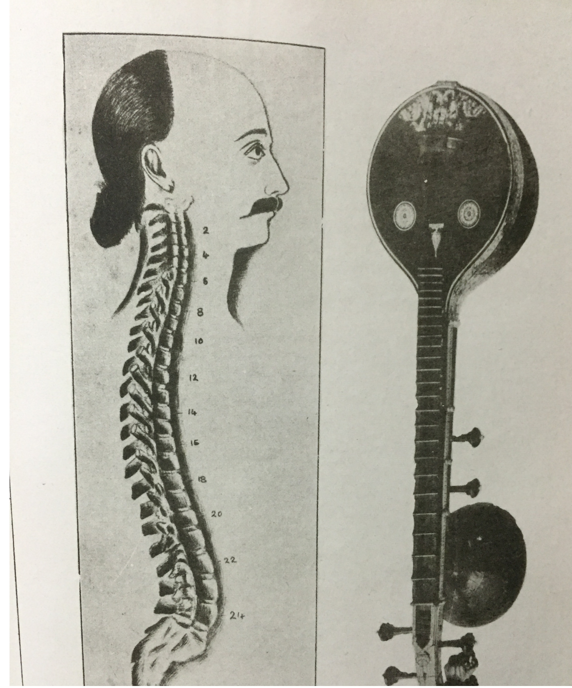

Figure 10: Image of spin juxtaposed with vīṇā.

His preoccupation with the yāl̠ was similar to that of other participating in the Tamil *Icai* Movement who similarly identified the *Cilappatikāram* when historicizing Tamil music as Indian music (Arooran 1980). This history was supported and expanded on by Pandither's contemporaries. S. Ramanathan's popular Ethnomusicology thesis with Wesleyan University entitled, *Music in the Cilappatikaram* (1979) and T.V Kuppuswami's *Cārnatic Music and the Tamils* (1992) are works that vouch for Pandither's history for Tamil music and the historicity of the *Cilappatikāram*, and they refer to him as a historian and a Tamil scholar.

In this analysis it becomes evident that Pandither's purpose for compiling the *KS* was to confirm the scientific, philosophical and religious nature of Tamil music. In bringing together religious and literary texts, charts, diagrams and graphs couched in a clear prose form, Pandither provides a distinctly modern argument. It is one that treats religion and science as complimentary subjects for a modern Tamil history for music.

In conclusion Pandither's *KS* embodies the key signposts of Tamil south India's modernity. Many of these signposts, including that of science, were shared between Pandither and Hindu caste-elites for historicizing Karṇāṭak music. However Pandither parted ways by prioritizing the other crucial signifier of post-enlightenment thinking in twentieth century Tamil south India, namely Protestantism. In Pandither's *KS*, Protestant Christianity flows consistently through arguments and examples to provide a history for Karṇāṭak music that

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today remains obscure because it is not Hindu and Brahminical. Pandither's *KS*, his Tanjore Sangeetha Mahajana Sangam conferences and his invitation to participate in the All-India Music Conference – the focus of the next chapter – represented possibilities for a non-Hindu semi-professional musician to participate in the world of twentieth century (modern) Indian music. These possibilities were enabled by Pandither's ability to navigate between the local and non-local, the colonial and native; and the religious and scientific. But for all the possibility that such a project held out, Pandither's vision remains unfinished. The rise of the Madras Music Academy and its politics pushed figures like Pandither to the furthest edges of musical discourse in south India. The afterlives of Pandither's thoughts on music survive at best as a token-nod to inclusivity and the supposed universality of Indian music. For Pandither's own descendants his intellectual investments are purposeful only as heritage that is lucrative in the local economy of contemporary Thanjavur. Pandither's eclectic and improvised approach to the mobilization of new knowledge and knowledge systems on the eve of colonialism is nearly relegated to archival traces.

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CHAPTER 3

Caste, Musicians, Music Conferences: Reading Pandither as a Source for an Alternative Social History of Music

The previous two chapters analyzed how and why the fields of philology, paleogeography, science and medicine were important for Pandither's historicization of the South Indian musical system. This chapter focus on two other important aspects of Pandither's "cultural work": a section from the *KS* entitled "The names of Experts in South Indian Music with a few remarks on each" and his founding of an organization called the "Tanjore Sangeetha Vidya Mahajana Sangam." The only known activities of the Tanjore Sangeetha Vidya Mahajana Sangam (TSVMS) consisted of a series of six music conferences organized and financed by Pandither between 1912 and 1914. The "name list" and conferences provide an alternative reading of the history of Karṇāṭak music and capture the social diversity of the South Indian musical landscape prior to the mid-twentieth century. It provides evidence of non-Hindus participating in musical production alongside professional Hindu Brahmin *and* non-Brahmin hereditary musicians. In this sense, the *KS* and Pandither's activities more generally capture aspects of the social organization and production of Karṇāṭak music prior to its institutionalization at the hands of upper-caste (largely Brahmin) Indian nationalists through the Madras Music Academy (MMA, est. 1927), an armslength organization of the Indian National Congress.

Pandither's conferences and list of musicians also indicate that the radical transformation of music in the twentieth century did not merely involve a unidirectional movement of persons, technique, and repertoire "from the Tanjore Court to the Madras Music Academy," as Subramanian (2006) puts it, but rather was simultaneously produced in Madras *and* Tanjore, as well as numerous in-between spaces, including *zamīndāri samasthānas*. Also I argue that in these sections of the *KS*, we can see that Pandither's pro-Tamil narrative for music was caste-conscious and attested a non-Brahmin lineage for music, even as it selectively aligned itself with certain discourses put forth by Indian nationalists.

Finally, the names chosen for inclusion in Pandither's list of "Experts on Music" and the TSVMS conferences, as well as the modes in which the conference was conducted, convincingly demonstrate how post-enlightenment thinking inspired Pandither's enterprise. The names of musicians mentioned in the list and the people who participated in the music conferences elucidate how Indian and Tamil nationalism, and colonialism concurrently impacted Pandither's discourse on Karṇāṭak music. In the introduction to *Performing Pasts: Reinventing the Arts in Modern South India* (2008) Indira Viswanathan Peterson and Davesh

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Soneji discuss the “tradition-modernity dyad” in relation to the arts to explain how the definitions for “tradition” were in fact “derived from elite metropolitan discourses of the nation” (Peterson and Soneji 2008, 1). The “traditional” was a category introduced by post-enlightenment modernity, essentially referring to European colonialism, but was (re)defined separately by both Indian and Tamil nationalists in order to differentiate the local from the foreign. Although Pandither neither identified as an Indian or Tamil nationalist, he was nevertheless an “elite” who participated in creating “metropolitan discourses of the nation” and defining the “traditional.”[49] Peterson and Soneji proceed to further explain the complex nature of the tradition-modernity dyad for performance practices

> The processes of colonialism, nationalism, and Orientalism invoke concepts of tradition and modernity in an attempt to *homogenize and differentiate, accommodate and marginalize*... Cultural performance becomes a practice used to envision and read possible pasts, in inventions of tradition that are inscribed in ideologies of power. (Peterson and Soneji 2008, 2, emphasis added)

Moreover, Peterson and Soneji’s two sets of dichotomies (1) “homogenize and differentiate” and (2) “accommodate and marginalize” accurately capture the nature of Pandither’s selection of what exactly constituted “tradition” and who represented traditional music, or more specifically Tamil music. The dichotomies also raise questions pertaining to caste and gender politics. For one, the “name list” of musicians in the *KS* and the participants of the TSVMS conferences demonstrate Pandither’s attempt to “homogenize” Indian music as Tamil music by “differentiating” it from what he identifies as music with foreign influences (for example, music that he sees as derived by contact with Aryans, Jains and Persians). Secondly Pandither “accommodated” by collating an inclusive list of musicians in the *KS* and a variety of musicians and connoisseurs of music during the TSVMS conferences. However, the list of musicians in the *KS* and the people in attendance at the numerous TSVMS conferences simultaneously “marginalizes” female musicians. Female musicians barely feature and their voices are secondary to the voices of male musicians or music connoisseurs. Pandither’s act of marginalizing female musicians aligns him with Indian and

[49] “It sought to inscribe on the practice and performance of music a set of aesthetic attributes that were informed by both the sensibilities of the middle class and their social reform priorities. The determining of a common aesthetic denominator was linked to the construction of an acceptable heritage for the nation in the making that necessitated a process of artistic and social engineering. That the construction of such mediated through elite spokesmen who assumed the custodianship of India’s musical culture, only underscored the importance of the art form in engendering a sense of solidarity and in imagining the larger community.” (Subramaniam 2006, 72)

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Tamil nationalists who created a decidedly masculine lineage for the Indian classical arts (Weidman 2003).

The early twentieth century in Tamil South India represented a period in which social and cultural identities were explicitly being formed and redefined according to emergent civic politics. The *KS* and the TSVMS conferences were ways for Pandither to secure a Tamil-Christian historiography (and therefore Christian identity) for Karṇāṭak music. In this sense Pandither's actions mirrored the efforts made by musicians from hereditary performing communities to create an identity for themselves (namely that of *icai velalar*) along renewed caste and subcaste lines in order to fit "respectably" in the new nation (Soneji 2010, 2012). The names of the people listed in the *KS* and those who participated in the TSVMS conferences indicate a deliberate attempt by Pandither to mobilize a "respectable" and suitable group that substantially reflected his own views on music in order to ultimately propose a Tamil-Christian genealogy for Karṇāṭak music.

Contextualizing Caste and the History of Tamil Music in the *KS*

The sections immediately before "The names of Experts in South Indian Music with a few remarks on each" dwells on the "ancient history" of professional musicians, with a special focus on temples and temple musicians and dancers. These include sections with grandiose titles such as "Music under the Cholas" as well as those focused on epigraphic interpretation (for example, "The Stone inscriptions in the Temple of Brahadeeswara at Tanjore" and "Some important points to be noted in the above Inscriptions." In these sections Pandither attempts to narrativize the patronage of music by Tamil kingdoms, with a particular focus on the so-called "Cōḻa period" (C.E. 850-1300) by deploying the inscriptional record from the Bṛhadīśvara temple in Thanjavur. To further contextualize his argument Pandither isolates Brahmins or Aryans as non-participants in the process of propagating music and dance.

Following the section on the names of 'Experts' is – as numbered – (6) 'Some points to be noted in the above list,' (7) 'The Maharajahs and Nobles who patronized Karnatic music in large scale' and (8) 'The Many whose names are left out in the list of traditional musicians.' This succinctly concludes the list of names because it again explains how Brahmins were not involved in the history of the performing arts. This is a deliberate attempt by Pandither to write a history that negates discourses on the subject, which were gaining popularity in the twentieth century. The manner in which Pandither organised the sections is methodical. In appearance they highlight how location – Thanjavur 'the seat of music' – is

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important for historicizing music because it provides linkages to Tamil kingdoms and sectarian mega-temples. This aligned his narrative with that which was posited by the Indian nationalists.

However it differed because Pandither 'passively' argues against their narratives by falsifying claims of Brahmin involvement in the propagation of music and dance. He does so by prioritizing *devadāsīs*/*ciṉṉa mēḷam* and *icai vēḷāḷars*/*periya meḷam* and the performance of the following instruments: (1) *vīṇā;* (2) *veṇu* (flute); (3) *mṛdaṅgam* (barrel-shaped drum); and (4) *nāgasvaram* (oboe-like reed instrument) when recording the history of music and dance in the Tamil kingdoms. And this is repeated throughout the sections cushioning 'Experts on South Indian Music' in order to reiterate how Brahmins could not and were not primarily involved in the production of music. Pandither also isolates Brahmins specifically as Aryans and therefore non-Dravidians or non-Tamils. The subsequent identification of and explanation for absent names is a meaningful conclusion because it effectuates a distinctly non-Brahmin history for music.

In the middle of the first page under 'General Points' is a stand-alone paragraph, which begins to suggest how Brahmins were not involved in the history of music.

> South Indian music has ben preserved and taught to other others by those *professional musicians*, supported for generations by ancient temple who learn music by oral transmission and who became experts in playing instruments such as the *Veena, the Flute, the Nagaswaram, the drum, and the Mridangam, and in dancing and singing*. (119, emphasis added)

Pandither isolates instruments that were played by "professional" or hereditary musicians – *devadāsīs* and *icai vēḷāḷar* – by specifically identifying the vīṇā, flute or vēṉu, nāgasvaram and mrdaṅgam. These are also the instruments that feature prominently in Tamil literary texts. The simple act of isolating instruments in a text narrativizing the history of music in the early twentieth century cannot be seen apart from the politics of its milieu. Pandither was in fact creating an exclusive narrative that highlighted the predominance of non-Brahmins in the production of music prior to the twentieth century.

Scholars such as Matthew Allen and T. Viswanathan (2004), Amanda Weidman (2006) and Beth Alice Bullard (1998) have variously spoken about the 'transfer' of particular instruments such as the ones listed above from the hands of hereditary musicians to Brahmins. They argue that in the decades closing up to India's independence the politics of Indian Nationalism created a distinctly Hindu-Brahmin centric narrative for music and a

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politicized transference of custodianship of some instruments – namely the flute, vīṇā and mridaṅgam – over to Brahmins. While Brahmin men were involved in the courtly production of music they formed a minority in the larger pool of producers and performers of music.[50]

In *Music in South India: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (2004) Allen and Viswanathan identify *devadāsīs* as "performers of the *vīṇā*" who were "attached in hereditary service to both Hindu temples and the royal courts," "as early as the Cōḻa dynasty" (Allen and Viswanathan 2004, 70). This mirrors Pandither's argument for the *vīṇā* being an instrument played primarily by *devadāsīs*:

> There is reason to think that music had made enormous strides during the reign of the Mahratta king Tulajoji Maharaja who ruled over the Chola country in 1763. He seems to have patronised the excellent Veena, singing, dancing, gestures, flute and other ancient systems of instrumental and vocal music. We have declared that music did make great progress under the Cholas. (127)

Pandither then proceeds to make celestial connections with the vīṇā, as he had done in other sections (see chapter 2), comparing *devadāsīs* with "Gandharvas." Although he is creating linkages between Brahmanic mythological characters he seamlessly decontextualizes his appropriation for his Tamil-Christian narrative by classifying *devadāsīs* as worldly evidence of celestial musical beings. Because according to Pandither "Gandharvas" performed in Śiva temples and Śiva is assumed to be a Tamil and a non-Brahmin deity who predates the Aryan invasion (see chapter one). And Pandither supports this based on epigraphic evidence of *devadāsīs* being attached to the Bṛhadīśvara temple

> It is proper that Veena music should be played in temples dedicated to the worship of Siva who delights in Veena music. Again we all hold the Veena in high esteem as a sweet and living instrument… Both the Gandharvas and the Gandharvis must have been expert singers and of an attractive appearance. Hence the Puranas proudly speak of them as having come from the celestial regions and as having sung in the Sabha of the gods. We do not hear that anyone else sang or danced before the Gandharvas and the dancing girls. So the Gandharvas appear to be a professional class of singers who made music their means of livelihood. We find them as servants in the Tanjore temple also. These do not belong

[50] "Brahmins also functioned as creators and agents of public and popular forms of performance, especially in the field of devotional religion, a type of religiosity that spoke to the personal and individual religious practice as well as a collective experience… However, as we shall see, Brahmins were by no means the sole custodians and transmitters of canonical and public musical traditions in the nineteenth century, nor were they isolated from the community and repertoire of hereditary performers." (Peterson and Soneji 2008, 10)

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> to the celestial regions; they are of this earth, and some of them do exist even at the present day." (130)

As for the flute and mridaṅgam their naturally polluting because the former produces saliva when being played and the latter is an instrument made from animal hide. Beth Alice Bullard's PhD dissertation entitled *Wind Of Change In South Indian Music: The Flute Revived, Recaste, Regendered* (1998) directly addresses the question of caste in the appropriation of the flute by Brahmins and in subsidiary for the *mṛdaṅgam*. Bullard states, "in Tamil culture, the flute was not a Brahmin instrument" and historically had "two main capacities: for dance and herding animals. Neither of these activities is appropriately engaged in by Brahmins" (Bullard 1998, 141).

In her dissertation Bullard also states that "Brahminization of devadāsī dance may well have resulted in subordination of rhythmic interplay between singer, dancer, and drummer in favor of coordinating the elements of melody and rhythm, in conformity with an aesthetic ideal that places rhythmic instruments lower in stature to carriers of melody in text" (ibid., 1998, 114). This explains how the style of playing the *mṛdaṅgam* and its purpose had changed with the Brahminic transformations of courtly concert music. She further explains that the lack of appreciation for the mṛdaṅgam in contemporary Karṇāṭak music performances could be the result of "the presence of animal skin on which the drummer plays; and the fact that many Pillai (or i*cai vēḷāḷars*) musicians are consummate mṛdaṅgam players" (ibid., 1998, 115).

It is also no surprise that Pandither specifically identifies the vīṇa, flute and mṛdaṅgam because these three instruments feature prominently in Tamil̲ Caṅkam texts as vīṇā, vēṇu and mṛdaṅgam. In the *Cilappatikāram*, for example, they are described as the accompaniment for courtesan dance (Ramanathan 1979, 47-48). Pandither makes references to Caṅkam texts in the following section entitled "Music under the Cholas." He provides a brief but elaborate pseudo-history of South India and the four Tamil kingdoms. Pandither begins by stating that Asoka had "concluded treatises with the Chera, Chola and Pandya kings," and how "the Cholas invaded Lanka in B.C. 247 and later on in B.C. 150 also" (120). He then proceeds to narrate the accomplishments of Karikāla Cōl̲a I (Āditya II) of the Cōl̲a kingdom than Cēran̲ Ceṅkūṭṭuvan̲ of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom. Pandither goes on to say that

> Of these the Pandya kingdom seems to have the most ancient history, and there is reason to believe that the Pandyas were called the 'the oldest'… on account of their antiquity. We have already spoken in brief about South

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> Madura, the first capital of the Pandya kingdom, the Tamil Sangam that was organised there, the kings ruled there and the Tamil language. (125)

This identifies the Pāṇṭiya kingdom as a spectacular Tamil kingdom. Here Pandither incorporates the plot of the fifth century Tamil epic – *Cilappatikāram* – that is attributed to Iḷaṅko as a historical episode during the reign of the Pāṇṭiya kings (120-121). In his translation of the epic R. Parthasarathy mentions that "except for traditions that have gathered around the poet, there is nothing else (known about Iḷaṅkō and he) was possibly a redactor who took the story… from the oral tradition and put it into writing" (Parthasarathy 1993, 7). Pandither by contrast suggests "this incident appears to have taken place during the time of Karaikal Cholan" (121). He then follows with the feats of subsequent Cōḻa kings and the succeeding Marāṭhā kings all the way up to Sivaji II, and therefore ultimately creating a Thanjavur-centric history of South India and its music. In narrating the history of the Cōḻa kingdom Pandither highlights the preeminence of the vīṇā. This is likely because it corroborates with his narrative regarding the instrument's connections with the ancient Tamil instrument known as the yāḻ. Following his narration of the plot of the *Cilappatikāram,* Pandither mentions that the author, who belonged to the Cēra kingdom, was given "particulars" about the instrument from Cōḻas.

> The Veena seems to have been efficiently played in the Chola kingdom, one of the three Tamil provinces. Particulars about Veena music are given by Ilankovadigal who belonged to the Chera kingdom. (121)

The following section "The Stone inscriptions in the Temple of Brahadeeswara at Tanjore" provides an account of whom the Cōḻa kings (C.E. 850-1300) patronized and for what purposes, and the payment they received. Pandither specifically focuses on the patronage of those involved in the production and propagation of music and dance to historicize the patronage of the arts by Tamil royalty. This includes the names of the four hundred temple-women who were attached to the Bṛhadīśvara temple (120-147). Pandither also took a special interest in commenting on the names of the *nāgasvaram* artistes.

> In the first of these inscriptions we find the name of 50 persons, 48 of whom are players on the Nagaswaram, and the other two, players on the drum… and the Oodukkai. When we note the names of these individuals we find that they are named after Siva, Tirugnana Sambandan, Thirunavukkarayan and Ganapati as was the custom in those days. Even in the modern day the names of players on the Nagaswaram are Sivakolundu, Mahadevan… Subramaniam. (148)

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Pandither therefore identifies and keeps the nāgasvara tradition within a Śaiva world. This compliments his meta-narrative, which ultimately subsumes Śaivism within Christianity. Significantly, this process reflects the growing impact of politics on the definition of cultural performance. Pandither identifies music within an uncomfortable Saiva/Christian genealogy, perhaps because for him, this is way of countering the rapidly-fortifying Brahmin-Hindu centric history for music that was being posited by Indian nationalists (see chapter 2). Pandither's *KS* would later provide one of the major bases for Tamil nationalists to create the Tamil *Icai* (Music) Movement (1935-1944) in order to more systemically politicize the idea of "Tamil music." (Arooran 1980, 252-253).

Having so far explained how the vīṇā, flute, mṛdaṅgam and nāgasvaram are standard Tamil instruments played by hereditary musicians and not Brahmins, Pandither proceeds to discuss the position of *naṭṭuvaṉārs* or dance masters and *devadāsīs*. He takes note of the inscriptions on the Bṛhadiśvara temple walls and explains, "from the numbers 402 to 407 we find the names of those who taught the art of dancing." He refers to them using the terms "Nattuvan" (*naṭṭuvaṉārs*) and "Annavi" (*aṇṇāvis*, teachers) (149).

> At the beginning of the second inscription, we find names of the dancers, who were 400 in number. It is stated where they originally came from and in what temples they served before. We find in the inscriptions, 'to the girls from Thalichchery, Thirukaronam (Negapatnam), Thiruvidamarudur, Tiruvarur, Tanjai Mamanikoil near the banks of the Vennar in Tanjore, Thirumagalam, Kadambur, Thirumaraikadu, Vidyapuram, Velur, Tiruvayar, Thalayalankadu, Nannilam, Kauveripoompatnam, Palayaru, Kotur, Thiruchotruthurai, Ootthamadanapuram, Nemam, Paychil, Thiruvethakudi, Thiruneythanam, Thriuchendoor, Paluvoor, Pandanallur and other places were brought to Tanjore and employed there long before the Brahadeeswara temple was built by Rajaraja Cholan at Tanjore. (149)

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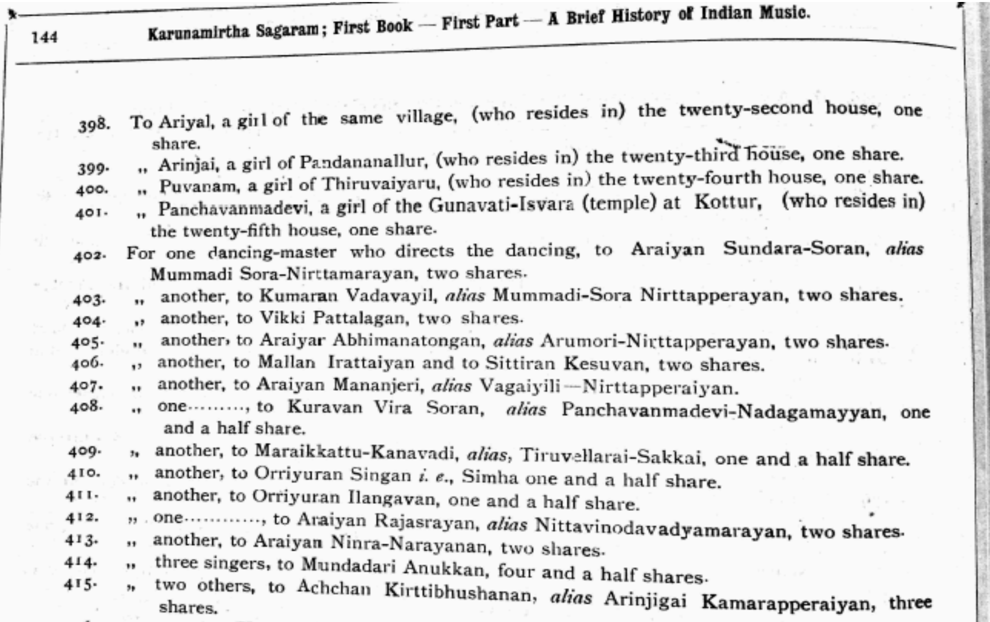
144 Karunamirtha Sagaram; First Book — First Part — A Brief History of Indian Music.

398. To Ariyal, a girl of the same village, (who resides in) the twenty-second house, one share.
399. „ Arinjai, a girl of Pandananallur, (who resides in) the twenty-third house, one share.
400. „ Puvanam, a girl of Thiruvaiyaru, (who resides in) the twenty-fourth house, one share.
401. „ Panchavanmadevi, a girl of the Gunavati-Isvara (temple) at Kottur, (who resides in) the twenty-fifth house, one share.
402. For one dancing-master who directs the dancing, to Araiyan Sundara-Soran, *alias* Mummadi Sora-Nirttamarayan, two shares.
403. „ another, to Kumaran Vadavayil, *alias* Mummadi-Sora Nirttapperayan, two shares.
404. „ another, to Vikki Pattalagan, two shares.
405. „ another, to Araiyar Abhimanatongan, *alias* Arumori-Nirttapperayan, two shares.
406. „ another, to Mallan Irattaiyan and to Sittiran Kesuvan, two shares.
407. „ another, to Araiyan Mananjeri, *alias* Vagaiyili—Nirttapperaiyan.
408. „ one........., to Kuravan Vira Soran, *alias* Panchavanmadevi-Nadagamayyan, one and a half share.
409. „ another, to Maraikkattu-Kanavadi, *alias*, Tiruvellarai-Sakkai, one and a half share.
410. „ another, to Orriyuran Singan *i. e.*, Simha one and a half share.
411. „ another, to Orriyuran Ilangavan, one and a half share.
412. „ one............, to Araiyan Rajasrayan, *alias* Nittavinodavadyamarayan, two shares.
413. „ another, to Araiyan Ninra-Narayanan, two shares.
414. „ three singers, to Mundadari Anukkan, four and a half shares.
415. „ two others, to Achchan Kirttibhushanan, *alias* Arinjigai Kamarapperaiyan, three shares.

Figure 11: Names of naṭṭuvanārs from 402-407, 144

Pandither suggests how this implies that there were "dancers and musicians attach(ed)" to temples even before the construction of the Bṛhadīśvara temple and more specifically "a thousand years ago (before) there were Sivite (Śaiva) and Vishnavite (Vaiṣṇava) temples" (149). The locations identified in the above quote cover most of the Tamil speaking region, thereby proposing that musicians and dancers could be found throughout the ancient Tamilnadu. And by stating that they were present prior to the construction of Brahminic sectarian temples – Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava temples – Pandither reiterates that Tamil performance traditions existed prior to the "arrival of the Aryans." This further supports his argument for the Lemurian origins of music – Lemuria begin the site of the biblical deluge – as discussed in the first chapter. Thus having focused primarily on the Cōḻa kingdoms patronage of music and dance and somewhat on the Pandya kingdom because of its history with the Tamil Caṅkam and Caṅkam literature, Pandither begins his section on the names of experts.

List of 'The names of Experts in South Indian Music' in the *KS*

The section entitled 'The names of Experts in South Indian Music with a few remarks on each' is fifty-seven pages long (page 151-208). It is part of the 'First Book – First Part – A Brief History of Indian Music' with the heading 'General Points' which is 99 pages long. It is cushioned between sections delineating the history of Tamil kingdoms and epigraphy on the Bṛhadīśvara temple, and the reasons for certain names which were left out in the list of names of "Experts." The names are organised in alphabetical order from 'A' to 'Vai.' The names are

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written first in Tamil and followed by English and the description for each musician is written wholly in English. They include names of both males and females from all throughout India (prior to independence) and are the names of people whom he could historically verify. While he does mention how the process for gathering information was laborious, Pandither does not describe how he gathered the information.

> We have not had complete information about the history of the Vidwans mentioned in the above list and their musical talents. Moreover, as the particulars about many of the Vidwans were obtained after a long delay, we were not able to mention them here. (206)

Inclusivity and Exclusivity: Comparing the name-lists of Subbarāma Dīkṣitulu, Abraham Pandither and P. Sambamoorthy

Pandither's list of musicians represents a pioneering effort of collating and publishing the names of prominent South Indian musicians in the twentieth century. Prior to his work, the only published list appears in Subbarāma Dīkṣitulu's Telugu work the *Saṅgīta Sampradāya Pradarśini* (*SSP*, 1904). Pandither's list contains seven hundred names while Dīkṣitulu's comprises only seventy-seven names. The drastic leap in numbers speaks to the colossal nature of Pandither's efforts, especially because it was published only a decade following the *SSP*. Pandither's list was not only colossal in scope and breadth, but I would argue that it also straddled and negotiated at least two emergent forces in the world of cultural politics: those of the Congress-led Indian nationalists, whose efforts would give rise to the Madras Music Academy, and those of the Tamil nationalists whose work would mature into the "Tamil Icai Movement" in the 1930s. Pandither's list also exposes the gaps created by dominant historiographies on music produced in the twentieth century, and the systemic "cultures of exclusion" (Morcom, 2012) that exist in the world of Karṇāṭak music because of Brahmin-centric historical narratives about musical production and patronage. The *KS* does not simplify the history of Karṇāṭak music by limiting it to Brahmin composers and musicians but instead prominently includes the names of both male and female hereditary non-Brahmin musicians.

Pandither's list is generally not acknowledged in discourses on music and music history today. Dīkṣitulu's list, by contrast, has become the standard-bearer on "Karṇāṭak composers" and it has become the reference point for almost all subsequent modern writings about music in South India. For example, eminent South Indian musicologist, P. Sambamoorthy (1901-1973), in works such as *History of Indian Music* (1960) and *Pictures of*

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Famous Composers, Musicians and Patrons (1961), draws almost verbatim from Dīkṣitulu.[51] His work defends Dīkṣitulu's characterization of the three eighteenth and early nineteenth century *smārta* Brahmin musicians (Tyāgarāja, Muddusvāmi Dīkṣitulu and Śyāma Śāstri) as the foundational "trinity" of Karṇāṭak music. The idea of a musical "golden age" centered around the "trinity" was thus an idea that took root in the work of Dīkṣitulu and was reinforced by mid-twentieth century works such as those by Sambamoorthy, despite the existence of Pandither's observations, which were contemporaneous with those of Dīkṣitulu.[52]

Sanskrit and North Indian Authors and Musicians among Pandither's "Experts"

Pandither's list includes names of musicians from throughout India and not only the Tamil speaking regions. This is evidence of his awareness of Sanskrit intellectual traditions pertaining to music. They support his meta-narrative for the history of Tamil (and therefore Indian) music. The oldest musician Pandither identifies is Jayadeva from Bengal, the purported author of the Sanskrit poem *Gītagovinda*, and he is assigned to the eleventh century. These dates can be verified by contemporary critical scholarly work on the *Gītagovinda* (Miller 2007; Siegel 1978). Following Jayadeva is Sāraṅgadeva, author of the Sanskrit theoretical compendium on music, the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, whom Pandither dates to the thirteenth century.[53] He also mentions another prominent medieval musicologist, Dāmodara Miśra, author of the *Saṅgīta Darpaṇa*. According to Pandither, Miśra lived between 1560-1647 and his text was composed in 1625. It also important to remember that Sanskrit texts on music were being redacted and published by Orientalists in the late nineteenth century, and Pandither's consciousness about these works could very well have

[51] Pitchu Sambamoorthy was a lecturer at Madras University, and later professor of musicology at Sri Venkateswara University in Tirupati. He was the author of over thirty books on various aspects of South Indian music.

[52] The idea of the centrality of the "trinity" also appears rather uncritically in contemporary scholarship. For example, in *Tanjore As A Seat of Music* (1981), R. Seetha claims that "the musical trinity have done a priceless service to the cause of our music by setting up a classic tradition in their musical composition; Karnatic Music reached its peak in their songs which have helped define and systematize its *lakṣaṇa* and *lakṣya*. This period is verily a golden age in the history of South Indian Music" (Seetha 1981, 15). Similarly, in *From the Tanjore Court to the Madras Music Academy: A Social History of Music In South India* (2006), Lakshmi Subramanian claims that "The creativity of Tanjore's trinity, and in particular Tyagaraja (1767-1847), refined and expanded the tradition in a manner that enabled later observers to identify their contributions as the classical tradition" (Subramaniam 2006, 10).

[53] The *Saṅgītaratnākara* (c. 1230) is a monumental theoretical work on Sanskrit music theory (*saṅgītaśāstra*) from the thirteenth century. It was known throughout South India in the late medieval period.

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come from these sources.[54] Having said that, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, first published in India in 1894 (Soneji 2010, xxv) makes virtually no appearance in the *KS*.

Pandither also acknowledges at least one originally South Indian musician associated with early Delhi. Gōpāla Nāyaka, whom Pandither places in 1313, "was the most famous Vidwans taken by Malik Kafar [*sic*]" (170) during his military encroachments into Tamilnadu in the early fourteenth century. Nāyaka is anecdotally associated with Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) and was likely a court musician to the king of Devagiri-Daulatabad (Te Nijenhuis 1974, 84). Other musicians who did not come from the southern parts of India mentioned by Pandither include Upendra Kiso Ray, Chatra Singh and Sundara Singh, and Chottu Mian. Apart from these names most of the "experts" come from South India and include musicians of Maharashtrian origin who were patronized by the Marāṭhā kings of Thanjavur.[55]

Finally, Pandither also includes his contemporary Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), with the brief description "he belongs to the famous Tagore family in Bengal, he is well known Vidwan in Sangeetam and Sahityam of Bengal and author of the Gitanjali" (*KS*, 156). Pandither's one-line description suggests that Tagore had yet to gain fame as a philosopher and musician, and that his musical experiments, which come to be known by the generic name "*rabīndra saṅgīt"* had not yet been universally recognized. However, it is significant that Tagore supported the All-India Music Conference initiated by V.N. Bhatkhande in 1916 that we will discuss later in this chapter (Bhakle 2005, 193).

Acknowledging the Contributions of Brahmin Composers

Although Pandither repeatedly emphasizes how hereditary musicians were primarily responsible for propagating and performing music and dance, he does not silence the contributions of other proficient composers. The accounts on musicians found in the list of names of 'Experts' substantially reinforce his narrative because it cannot be disputed since it reflects a living tradition.

Some of the Brahmin composers mentioned in the list include Vīṇā Śeṣaṇṇā (1852-1926) "who was Samasthana Vidwan at Mysore during the time of Maharajah Chama Raja Odayar and Krishna Raja Oodayar" (*KS*, 182), Aṇṇāṭci Aiyar who served in Serfoji II's court

[54] For example, the *Saṅgīta Darpaṇa* mentioned by Pandither was first published by Sourindo Mohun Tagore in Calcutta in 1881.
[55] Pandither's list includes Maharashtrian musicians such as Jagannatha Bhutgoswami, a Maharashtrian *deśastha* Brahmin musician who was employed by the court of Sivaji II, and played a Persian instrument known as *taus* (also called *mayūri* or *bālasarasvatī*).

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"between 1798-1824" (*KS*, 153) and Paccaimiriyam Ātiyappaiyā (c. 1750-1780). Pandither describes Ātiyappaiyā as "a great musician of the Pudukotah Samasthanam (who) composed many Varnams and Keetanams. His grandson Veenai Subbukutti Iyer … could play the Veena neatly and skillfully (and) His son Subbanna could play the Veena scientifically" (*KS*, 155). Pandither's choice of adjectives for describing the musician and his family's adeptness in playing vīṇā is noteworthy. By choosing to highlight the *vīṇā* in particular Pandither reifies the place of the instrument in *his* history of Tamil music. And by characterizing Subbanna's technique as "scientific," he suggests Tamil music's compatibility with modernity. Today, perhaps because of the description of his contributions found in Dīkṣitulu's *SSP*, Ātiyappaiyā is known almost exlusively for his composition in the *varṇam* genre, in *rāga* Bhairavī, beginning with the words "*viriboni ninnukori marulu konnadira*."[56] Pandither however does not dwell on that composition, and in fact places Ātiyappaiyā amidst *naṭṭuvaṉārs* who composed *varṇams* (*padavarṇams*).

Finally, the last of the *smārta* Brahmin court-composers mentioned in Pandither's list are the brothers, Āṉai Aiyar and Ayyavaiyar. Pandither tells us that Āṉai Aiyar was the "brother of Iyyavier… He was a samasthana Vidwan under Sarabhoji maharajah [Serfoji II] … He was skilled in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu languages as well as in Music. He has composed many keertanams in Tamil" (*KS*, 155). Seetha's description of Āṉai Aiyar in *Tanjore as a Seat of Music* (1981) corroborates with the information provided by Pandither (Seetha 2001, 227-229). Pandither's insistence on the fact that the brothers were cognizant of "Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu languages" speaks to his awareness of literary polyglossia at the Marāṭhā Thanjavur court, despite his own intention of creating somewhat of a monolingual (Tamil) history for South Indian music.[57] This is perhaps why he emphasizes that although the brothers knew other languages, they chose to *compose* only in Tamil. This is much like the polyglot Pandither chose to script his history of music as a distinctly Tamil one. To be sure, the brothers actually composed in both Tamil *and* Telugu, but Pandither's

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[56] In the *SSP* Dīkṣitulu mentions "even though there were many *varṇas* before, it is extremely difficult to come across a *varṇa* that is suitable to sing or play on the *vīṇā* as the *tāna varṇa* Viriboni composed by him" (Dīksitulu [1904] 2008, 12). And in her description of Ātiyappaiyā in *Tanjore as a Seat of Music* (1981) apart from the compliments for Viriboni S. Seetha adds the comment "Subbarāma Dīkṣitar calls him the '*tāna varṇa mārgadarśi*'" or pioneering composer and trend setter of the *tāna varṇa* (Seetha 1981, 179). By referencing Dīkṣitulu as a primary source Seetha too systemically excludes composers who famously composed in the *varṇam* genre.

[57] Indira Viswanathan Peterson has elaborated on the polyglossic nature of musical production in Marāṭhā Thanjavur in an essay entitled "Multilingual Dramas at the Tanjavur Maratha Court and Literary Cultures in Early Modern South India" (2011). Peterson argues that the Marāṭhā court's "…literary polyglossia was part of a deliberate strategy of acculturation and legitimation, through the production of literature and the arts, in a polyglot and multicultural ecumene, a mode of garnering influence among both peer princes and a changing public" (Peterson 2011, 289).

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representation of them as Tamil composers is telling in light of his overall intellectual project.[58]

Repurposing Royal Composers:
Little Kingdoms, Marāṭhā Tanjore and the Absent Serfoji II

Pandither includes the names of numerous kings and *zamīndārs* in his list (24 in total). In doing so he connects living performance traditions with courtly patronage and highlights the artistic competency of some of South India's rulers. Oddly, however, Pandither does not comment on the content of compositions that formed the mainstay of courtly musical practice, which was largely erotic in nature, and meant for elite consumption. Instead, he limits his descriptions of kings and rulers to the languages they used for composition, their aptitude in playing particular instruments, and the names of musicians they patronized.

Pandither focuses primarily on the Marāṭhā rulers of Thanjavur in order to provide a focal point for his narrative but also incorporates the names of rulers from neighboring kingdoms and princely states. He lists, for example, Āyilya Mahārāja of Travancore who "excelled in vocal music and in playing the Veena" (*KS*, 155), Jagadīśvara Rāmakumāra Eṭṭappa Rāja of Ettayapuram whom he describes as a "proficient scholar in Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit and music, (he) played the Veena… (and) was a patron of many musicians" (*KS*, 183),[59] and *zamīndār* of Setur who was "proficient in Sangeeta Sahityam in Tamil and in playing the Veena" (*KS*, 182). Noticeably Pandither makes special mention of the kings' proficiency in playing the *vīṇā* because it confirms the historical place of the Tamil instrument – being a derivative of the Tamil *yāḻ* in his narrative – in relation to the ancient kingdoms of Tamilnadu. By identifying patrons from the princely states and *zamindārīs,* Pandither's list of "experts" forces to reconsider the dominant contemporary understanding that limits the movement of music in a unidirectional flow "from Thanjavur to Madras" and omits significant musical developments from princely states other sites of feudal and civic patronage.

Writing from within the city of Thanjavur, Pandither pays special attention to the rich courtly repertoire produced there under Marāṭhā rule. He makes special reference to four members of the Marāṭhā ruling family in particular: (1) Śāhajī or Śāji (r. 1684-1712); (2)

[58] In an article entitled "Anai Ayya," V. Raghavan provides a list of twelve songs of the brothers in Telugu (on the deities of the Thiruvaiyaru Pañcanadīśvara temple), and twenty-six songs in Tamil (also on the deities at Thiruvaiyaru, Vaiyacheri, and Varahur). (Raghavan 1982, 3)

[59] "The chief musicians of his court were Balaswami Deekshatar, Appukutti Iyer, Meenakshisundaram Iyer, Veenai Subbayya Ammavi, Vengu Bhagavatar of Madura and Subramania Iyer of Thevoor" (*KS*, 183)

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Tuḷajā I or Tukkojī (r. 1728-1736); (3) Pratāpasiṃha (r. 1739-1763); and (4) Nāgasvāmi Maṭhika Rao Sāheb (dates unknown). He describes Śāhaji as the "son of Ekoji Maharajah of Tanjore" who "ruled over the Chola Kingdom from 1687-1711" (*KS* 184). Although the years of Śāhajī's rule do not tally with Śāhajī's dates according to historians today (see for example Peterson 2011; Soneji 2012), it is noteworthy that Pandither identifies the Marāṭhā kingdom synonymously with the Chola kingdom, suturing identifications between the Lemurian past, the "golden age" of the Tamil kingdoms, and the present. Pandither also identifies Śāhajī as a composer who "not only composed many keertanams but has set to music the drama called 'Pallaki' in Telugu, in praise of [Śiva] Tyagaraja Swami of Tiruvarur" (*KS* 184). The *Śaṅkara Pallaki Seva Prabandhamu*, which Pandither refers to, is but one of Śāhajī's many literary and musical contributions.[60] It is also possible that Pandither includes Śahāji in his list and not Serfoji II (despite the latter's numerous contributions to musical patronage) because most of Śāhaji's works were of a religious, as opposed to an erotic or secular nature.[61]

Pandither presents the reign of Tuḷajā I to have lasted between "1716-1787" and identifies him as the "fifth Maratta king who ruled over the Chola country from Tanjore… He and his queen… were good players on the Veena… (and) he wrote the musical work called 'Sangeeta Saramritam' in 1770" (*KS* 187). While Pandither's dates for Tulaja are slightly skewed, he is correct in attributing the authorship to the Sanskrit Sangita Saramrta to Tulaja I.[62] Also, Pandither once again conflates Marāṭhā rule with Cōḻa rule and takes special note of the royal couple's competence in playing the vīṇā. Pandither also provides a succinct description of Pratāpasimha the "son of Amar Singh Maharajah of Tanjore… and (how he) could play the Mridangam with skill" and "published the notation for the Raga Tala Malika known as 'Navaratna Malika' in the Mahratta language" (*KS* 193). And once again Pandither makes special mention of the vīṇā and the mṛdaṅgam. Finally there is brief mention of Nāgasvāmi Māṭhigarao Sāhib the "son-in-law of Maharajah Saraboji (who) could play the Veena and other instruments (and) vidwans were in the habit of singing their compositions

[60] For more on this musical-opera by Śāhajī, see Davesh Soneji's "The Śaṅkara Pallaki Sēva Prabandhamu: An Essay" in *Pallaki Seva Prabandhamu: An Opera by Sahaji Maharaja*, ed. Annapurna Mamidipudi and Sumathi Krishnan (2012).
[61] For further information on Serfoji II's musical and literary contributions refer to Davesh Soneji's chapter in *Unfinished Gestures: Devadāsīs, Memory, and Modernity in South India* (2012) entitled "Producing Dance in Colonial Tanjore."
[62] The *Saṅgīta Sārāmṛta* is a fascinating and very important work on music from this period. It was first edited by S. Subrahmanya Sastri in 1942 and published by the Music Academy, Madras. As Hari Krishnan (2008) notes, it represents a significant attempt to bridge living, vernacular performance idioms and technique from the eighteenth century with pan-Indian Sanskrit *saṅgītaśāstra* (Krishnan 2008).

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before him for approval" (*KS* 189). There, is however, to my knowledge, no other information available on this Māṭhigarao.

It is rather striking that Pandither does not include Serfoji II in his list. Serfoji's patronage of music is multi-sited and multi-dimensional. Karṇāṭak and Hindustani genres comingle, and Tanjore's courtly polyglossia is extended to include Persian and English as well. Serfoji II's musical patronage also sonically maps the transformation of Tanjore under the mature phase of British colonialism, belying self-conscious forms of cultural adaptation and hybridization. Weidman, for example, describes Serfoji II's Tanjore to have "reached its peak as a hub of musical and artistic activity" and how he learned Western music himself, and his personal collection "contain a wide variety of printed Western music… from chamber music… to ballads from English comic operas" to name the few (Weidman 2006, 62-63). Hari Krishnan describes how the process "involved the invention of new forms of cultural practice based on the linguistic pluralism of Thanjavur and the very tangible presence of Western artistic practices in this area" (Krishnan 2008, 69). These varied characterizations of Serfoji II carry an uncanny resemblance with Pandither who similarly appropriated and localized Western ideas about music and applied them to Karnāṭak music. It is possible that Serfoji II's heterogeneous interests ironically presented him as a contentious character for Pandither's linear narrative because they indexed a substantial number of "non-Tamil" elements. Moreover, Serfoji II's eclectic demeanor mirrored Pandither's, and therefore exposed the paradoxes (for example, applying the Theosophists' appropriation of Lemuria to historicize the Noachian deluge and applying Western science along with local alchemical traditions to medicalize music) in Pandither's very own narrative.

Finally, in a subsection entitled "The Maharajahs and Nobles who patronized Karnatic music on a large scale" Pandither acknowledges the contributions of non-Tanjorean patrons of music, with an emphasis on South Indian *zamīndārs*. These include the rulers of Ramanathapuram (Ramnad), Venkatagiri, Vizianagaram, Pithapuram (all three in the Telugu-speaking regions), Pudukkottai, Karvetinagaram, Ettayapuram, Tiruvaduvuthurai, Manali, and Mysore. He emphasizes that in these contexts of musical patronage and production, patrons were not passive listeners of music, but were actively engaged in the techniques of sonic production and creativity:

> The abovementioned have not only patronized musicians by giving them everything they required but were themselves capable of correcting the mistakes of these vidwans and to sing and make original compositions themselves and leave them in the use for the future generations with their

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> stamp of authority. Although Indian music cannot boast apparently of so many eminent patrons who have left an everlasting name in the field of music *yet we have at the present day* the Maharajahs of Mysore, Travancore, Cochin, Pudukotah… who are keen patrons of musicians (*KS*, 208) (emphasis added)

Caste and Gender: Non-Brahmin Naṭṭuvaṉārs and Devadāsīs in Pandither's List

Subbarāma Dīkṣitulu's Telugu text, the *SSP* (1904) contains a very large section entitled *vāggeyakāra caritramu* ("life histories of composers") that contains biographical information about male courtly musicians and Brahmin composers. The popularity of Dīkiṣtulu's list in discourses on Karṇāṭak music in the twentieth century has mapped its social-history within a privileged spectrum of all-Brahmin male musicians and composers. By contrast, Pandither's list of musicians in the *KS* stands out because it contains a significant number of non-Brahmins: *naṭṭuvaṉārs* or *aṇṇāvis* (a total of 33), *nāgasvaram* or *periya mēḷam* artists (11) and percussionists (24), which more substantially reflects the reality of musical production in Tamil South India in the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century.[63] Pandither also includes the names of two female musicians: Akilāṇṭam (1796-1858) and Ratna Devi (dates unknown).[64] By comparison, Dīkṣitulu's list comprises entirely of male musicians who are mostly Brahmin. Although, Dīkṣitulu does nominally include the names of some non-Brahmin musicians (example, his contemporary Chinnaswamy Mudaliar and the eighteenth century composer Pāpavināca Mutaliyār), he conscientiously foregrounds their Brahmin identity by opening the biographies of Brahmin musicians with phrases such as "he was a Brahmin" (Dīkṣitulu 1904). Pandither, by contrast, does not maintain such a focus in his biographies.

In his list of *naṭṭuvaṉārs* he succinctly describes the contributions of the following: (1) the Tanjore Quartet or *tañcai nālvar* of the nineteenth century – the brothers Ciṉṉaiyā (1802-1856), Poṉṉaiyā (1804-1864), Civāṉantam (1808-1863) and Vaṭivēl (1819-1847); (2) Mahādeva Aṇṇāvi (one of the earliest traceable *naṭṭuvaṉārs* in the Tanjore lineages, 1734-1791); and (3) "Paṭṭaṇam" Muttucāmi Naṭṭuvanār (1781-1846).[65] Although Pandither chose not to mention Serfoji II or Śivājī II among the Marāṭhā royal patrons in his list, he does provide vivid and lengthy information on the Tanjore Quartet who were employed by the

[63] The caste identity of several percussionists with the last name Rao is uncertain and is therefore not included.
[64] Pandither mentions that Rathna Devi "published 30 Nepaul and Punjab Keertanams in 1913" (*KS*, 157) Besides this there is little information on her. It is possible that Pandither encountered Rathna Devi when he was invited by Bhatkhande to the All-India Music Conference in Baroda in 1916.
[65] I have taken all of these dates from B.M. Sundaram's masterful biographies of *naṭṭuvaṉārs* in his book entitled *Marapu Vaḻi Paratap Pērācāṉkaḷ* (2002).

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Tanjore court during the reign of both of these kings (Soneji 2012, 56). The descriptions of the quartet appear as follows in the *KS*:

> [Ciṉṉaiyā] It is said that he stood unrivalled in the art of teaching dancing. He lived during the time of Sivaji Maharajah. *Those who read his science of Bharatam all learnt the Art*. The Maharajah *introduced male dancing*… for the first time and encouraged it. He was well skilled in Bharata Sangeeta Sahityam. (*KS*, 176) (emphasis added)
>
> [Poṉṉaiyā]…He was made much of in court of Maharajah Sivaji at Tanjore and in the court of Krishna Raja Wodayar, Rajah of Mysore… *He is held in the highest esteem by the Vidwans of the present day as one who was the author of Varnams, Sahityams and Padams necessary for the art of dancing and which are in use now from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin*. A well-known master in Bharata Sangeeta Sahityam. (*KS*, 195) (emphasis added)
>
> [Civāṉantam] Brother of Vadivelu Nattuvanar of Tanjore. He is well-skilled in the *science of Bharata Sangeetam*, and in teaching gestures. He was made much use of by Sivaji maharajah. He has taught the art of gesticulation to many. (*KS*, 175) (emphasis added)
>
> [Vaṭivēl]…he was unrivalled in singing and in playing the instruments like the Veena and the violin… He sang Keertanams in the presence of Tyagaraja Iyer who was his contemporary and was very much esteemed by him. Vidwans were in the habit of singing their Keertanams in front of Tyagaraja Iyer in order to obtain his approval. But seldom would they receive even a nod of appreciation from him. But it is traditionally said that when the Nattuvanar sang a *Telugu Padam*…Na Samiga Namida Daya Chooda Rada… in Bhoorikalyani [*sic*, Pūrvikalyāṇī] Ragam… the Iyer was so much moved that he appreciated his singing by nodding as well as clapping his hands. Again, he was appointed by Kulasekhara Maharajah of Travancore as his court Vidwan on a monthly salary of Rs. 105. Under his tutelage, the Maharajah has composed many (compositions). He stayed at this court for 11 years and obtained a name which stands unrivalled and was presented also in 1832 with a violin and a box made of ivory with the stamp of the Maharajah. He seems to have received many other presents also. (*KS*, 199-200)

Pandither's description of the four brothers is informative but also carefully scripted to emphasize on the relationship between royal patrons and communities of hereditary artists who are presented them as the primary custodians of both music and dance. Pandither uses the term "Bharatam" to refer to dance.[66] In his description of Ciṉṉaiyā, for example,

[66] The term *bharatam*, from the name Bharata (mythical author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*), was commonly used to refer to the dance of *devadāsīs*, as was the term "Bharatanāṭyam," even prior to its re-invention by upper-caste urban elites in the 1930s. (Soneji 2010, xviii; 2012, 62)

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Pandither presses that "those who read his science of Bharatam all learnt the Art." This could refer to a Telugu text on dance of which a single manuscript exists in the Sarasvati Mahal Library entitled *Abhinaya Lakṣaṇamu*, attributed to Ciṉṉaiyā (Soneji 2012, 58). Pandither's description not only emphasizes Ciṉṉaiya's authority and mastery of dance, but again by referring to the art as a "science" – as he does in his biography of Civāṉantam – he makes clear his agenda of location these forms in the context of twentieth century post-enlightenment modernity.

Pandither describes the second brother Poṉṉaiyā as being "held in the highest esteem by the Vidwans of the present day" and as the author of compositions in multiple genres of music for dance which are "in use now from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin." In imagining their usage throughout India – from the Gangetic plains to Kanyakumari – he foreshadows how the localized Tanjorean courtesan performance practices would eventually be projected as pan-Indian and de-localized.

Pandither reserves the most embellished and detailed description for Vaṭivēl, the youngest of the brothers. He makes anecdotal references to Vaṭivēl's encounter with the Brahmin devotional composer Tyāgarājā (1767-1847) as well as royalty from Tanjore and Mysore. Although it is difficult to verify the credibility of his encounter with Tyāgarāja, it is noteworthy that Pandither mentions it and elaborates on it. It is possibly Pandither's effort to authorize Vaṭivēl as an accomplished artist and composer by placing him in relation to a composer whose "devotional lyrics have come almost exclusively to represent the voice of Karnatic music" by the end of the twentieth century, beginning with his near apotheosis in Dīkṣitulu's *SSP* (1904) (Weidman 2006, 60-61). As for the gifts from the prince of Travancore – the "violin and box made of ivory" – they were presented to Vaṭivēl not by Kulaśekhara Perumāḷ in 1832 as Pandither mentions, but by Svāti Tirunāl (1813-1846) in 1834 (Soneji 2012, 245). The mention of royal gifts again elevates the status of the courtly *naṭṭuvaṉār*, and cements links between the *naṭṭuvaṉār* and an imperial South Indian past.

The Quartet are key actors for Pandither's history writing project. Soneji describes them as "responsible for many of the genres, compositions, and choreographies that both inspired and repulsed twentieth-century observers, those reformers [elite Indian nationalists] who would reinscribe this art as urban, middle-class practice" (Soneji 2012, 54-55). Unlike the later nationalists, Pandither emphasizes the contributions of the quartet to reinforce the place of hereditary musicians in the history of South Indian performing arts by linking them to courtly culture and therefore to Tamil kingdoms, and by extension, to an imagined, albeit *relevant* ancient Tamil world.

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Another *naṭṭuvaṉār* who is mentioned by Pandither is “Paṭṭaṇam” Muttucāmi Naṭṭuvaṉār (1781-1846). He is the grandson of Mahādeva Aṇṇāvi mentioned earlier by Pandither, and the brother of the famous temple musician “Śuddhamaddalam” Tampiyappā Naṭṭuvaṉār who would go on to become a disciple of Muttusvāmi Dīkṣitulu (Sundaram 2002, 189). Muttucāmi was given the title “Paṭṭaṇam” because he moved to Chennapattanam (Chennai) or Madras in the early part of his life. Pandither’s biography of Muttucāmi indicates that he taught both music and dance, and that

> …Periya Vydyanatha Iyer, Chinna Vydyanatha Iyer, Pattanam Subramania Iyer, Maha Vydyanatha Iyer, Coimbatore Raghava Iyer, Veenai Venu, Chidambaram Appakannu, Panchanadam of Tiruvulaivoil, Pudukota Mamundia Pillai, Talai Nayar Radhakrishna Iyer, Veenai Dhanam, and Dancing girl Krishna were among his students. Of these the last named Krishna was a famous Veena player in the court of Venkatagiri.” (*KS*, 198)

The special mention of a “dancing girl” or *devadasi*-courtesan named Kiruṣṇā and her relationship to the court of Venkatagiri expresses how music and dance were travelling between multiple spaces, and that *zamīndāris* played no small role in the facilitating the movement of people and cultural forms such as music and dance around all of South India.

The only *devadāsī* who receives an independent entry in Pandither’s list is Akilāṇṭam who belonged to the town of Srirangam. Akilāṇṭam, Pandither tells us, “learnt the Veena and dancing under Gurumoorti Nattuvan. Her daughters also were good on the Veena, in singing Ragas and Pallavi, and in singing Kshetrayya Padams and dancing with appropriate gestures. Ranganayaki, Kuntalam and Sokku were clever in singing and on the Veena” (*KS* 154). The description can be verified in B.M. Sundaram’s *Marapu Tanta Maṇikkaṅkaḷ* (2003), who also acknowledges Pandither’s mention of her in the *KS*. While at first glance it may seem somewhat inconsequential that only one woman musician is featured in Pandither’s list, it is significant given the fact that Dikṣitulu’s *SSP* does not feature a single female artist. Moreover, as we have already seen, women actually figure embedded in many of the “social history” sections of Pandither’s text, even if they do not receive independent entries. Pandither’s *KS* thus perhaps still projects a vision of the social organization of music that more closely mirrored the composite reality of musical production, practice, and patronage in the early twentieth century.

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Christian Musicians in Pandither's List

There are fourteen Christian musicians and composers in Pandither's list of experts. While this seems revolutionary in the present context it was not so in the twentieth century because Karṇāṭak music was yet to be theorized and historicized based on Hindu caste elite aesthetics and preferences. Non-Hindus (especially Christians and Muslims) and Europeans represented a strong presence in the sphere of literary and musical production until the early decades of the twentieth century. Key figures in Pandither's list of Christians are the figures of Italian Jesuit missionary Constanzo Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747) who was given the Tamil honorific title Vīramāmuṉivar (the name Pandither uses in the list), Vētanāyaka Śāstri (1774-1864) and Chinnaswamy Mudaliar (? -1901). I have selected Beschi, Śāstri and Mudaliar because they represent three signpost phases in the social and cultural history of modern Tamil India. Beschi marks the arrival of Christian missionaries to the Tamil region, Śāstri marks the production of an "indigenized" Tamil Protestant Christian liturgy using South Indian literary and musical genres in Marāṭhā Tanjore, and Mudaliar represents the figure of the distinctly "modern" Tamil Christian subject, with interests in Indian cultural traditions but whose agency was circumscribed, to some degree, by the colonial government. Although each demonstrates how Christianity became localized through performativity, for Pandither they specifically populate the chronology of Christian participation in Tamil musical production.

Pandither lists the literary works of Beschi (he is the "well known author of the 'Tembavani','Vediarolukkam', Sathuragaradi' and 'Tonnool'") and compliments his lyrical compositions for "their beautiful ideas and devotional character" (*KS*, 201). Pandither thus casts Beschi as an astute scholar and grants him a comfortable place among the "Experts in Music." He is best known for two major literary innovations: (1) the alphabetical Tamil dictionary (*Caturakarāti*) which was a huge development from the thesaurus-in-verse form (*nikaṇṭu,* Skt. *nighaṇṭu*); and (2) the *Tēmpāvaṇi*, a devotional work that "compiles the biography of Jesus along with some traditional narratives and the history of Joseph" (Varatarācan 2008, 269-270). As a fervent devotee of the Virgin Mary he also began localizing the Virgin by creating images that could be likened to Hindu goddesses to aid in his missionary work (Granzeria 2011). It is therefore strategic for Pandither to fit Beschi into his list. It is a reminder of how literary work produced by Christians in Tamil language was often devotional and this supports Pandither's overall argument in the *KS*, namely that the fundamental aim of music performance is the production of devotional sentiment. It is also probable that Pandither saw Beschi's ritual innovations of identifying Mary with Hindu

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goddesses as parallel to his own project wove together Biblical and Hindu mythological narratives.

Next, Pandither provides substantial information on Vētanāyaka Śāstri (1826-1889). He mentions Śāstri's position as court musician

> …in the court of Sarabhoji Maharajah… (and) he wrote the history of the Bhonsle Royal family in the shape of poems and received special honors. He is the author of 120 works… such as "Gnanapada Keertanam," "Bethlehem Kuravanji," "Gnanakummi… His descendents still live in the house built for him by the Rajah and are singers. (*KS*, 204)

Oddly this is the only time in the *KS* that there is some mention of Serfoji II. Śāstri's appointment by the Marāṭhā court, and the honors and land gifted to him, showcases him as an outstanding artist and Tanjorean. More importantly, however, I believe it is Pandither's way of linking Tamil Christian identity to Tamil royal patronage. Pandither deploys the figure of Sastri to paint picture of early nineteenth century as a "milieu in which poetry was being enriched by new musical, dance and dramatic performance genres, and the boundaries among the courtly, popular, religious and ceremonial forms were rapidly being blurred" (Peterson 2004, 36). Peterson's description explains how musical and literary production happened in a shared space. The Sastri "case-study" establishes the fact that for Pandither, although to some degree an individual's religious identity could be considered insular, the cultural and performative modes through which religiosity was expressed, could not.

Lastly there is Chinnaswamy Mudaliyar, Pandither's contemporary, who started the monthly journal *Oriental Music in European Notation* (*OMEN*, 1892) and introduced staff notation for the representation of South Indian music. Pandither describes him as having held a

> …high position in Madras Chief Secretariat Office. He took a very deep interest in music, spending all his energy and wealth for organizing and systematizing Indian music. He set to music a number of Indian Keertanams by writing them in European staff notation, and printed some of them. He did not live long enough to complete the work he has undertaken. (*KS*, 176)

Mudaliyār's high position in a colonial office in the Madras Presidency, his introduction of staff notation to represent Indian music and publishing it signify a shift from earlier modes of patronage and cultural production. Like Śāstri, who was appointed as a court musician and created works in traditional genres and presented them to elite patrons, Mudaliyar was doing the same, but in front of new "patrons" (Peterson 2004). Like Pandither, Mudaliyar too was

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as a cosmopolitan professional, who had an amateur interest in music. The figure of Mudaliyar connects the cosmopolitan world with the traditional world of courtly patronage. Between 1895-1899, Subbarāma Dīkṣitulu, the composer musician at the Ettayapuram court visited Mudaliyar and taught him music, and later helped Mudaliyar publish his own work (Weidman 2006, 220).

In these sections, Mudaliyar acts as somewhat of an interlocutor and his work provides an explanation for the lack of understanding regarding music between 'Orientals' and Europeans. In doing so he creates a common ground whereby 'Oriental Music' and European music become compatible according to the values idealized in the context of post-enlightenment modernity.[67] Mudaliyar was a predecessor to Pandither and potentially inspired him although Pandither makes no such claims himself. However in stating that Mudaliyar "spen(t) all his energy and wealth for organizing and systematizing Indian music" Pandither seems to be projecting his own apprehensions regarding his own work because of the money he had invested. Altogether Beschi, Śāstri and Mudaliyar represent a geneology of 'Tamilized' and Tamil Christians whose interests in Tamil, Indian or 'Oriental' music persuaded them to create systems that allowed for the propagation of art within the comfort of their own belief systems.

Another Tamil Christian worth noting and is mentioned in the description of Mācilāmaṉi Mutaliyār as his student is T.C.R Johannas. He is Pandither's contemporary and junior, and in 1912 published a Tamil treatise entitled *Parata Caṅkīta Cuvaya Pōtiṉi* (or Bharata Saṅgīta Svaya Bodhinī) which, in a manner similar to the *KS,* historicizes music with reference to Vedic and biblical pasts. Noteably, Johannas, in a manner similar to Pandhither also identifies the pslams using the term *caṅkītam* ("music"), refers to divinity as Paramēcuvara (Parameśvara) and celebrates the contributions of the Theosophists in demonstrating the superiority of Indian music (Johannas 1912, iii and iv). However, unlike Pandither who prioritizes Tamil vocabulary and only when contextually necessary includes Sanskritic and English words, Johannas's work is written in what Weidman describes as "sporadically Sanskritized Tamil" (Weidman 2006, 37). Moreover, in providing the names of Tamil Christian musicians and detailing their contributions Pandither's writing is somewhat more self-reflective about identity because each of their contributions maps a contested space for "minority" music in South India.

[67] For further information on Mutaliyār's work refer to Amanda Weidman's Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music in South India (2006)

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The Tanjore Sangeetha Vidya Mahajana Sangam Conferences: "Scientific" Discussions and Modern Pedagogies for Karṇāṭak Music

> When His Excellency Lord Carmichael, the Governor of Madras of Madras, visited Tanjore in February 1912, a number of Musical Vidwans were present here for the purpose of paying their respects. Among them were the following musicians – Veena Vydyanatha Iyer of Mayaveram, Muttya Bhagavatar of Harikesavanallur, Panchapakesa Bhagavatar of Tanjore, A.G. Pichaimuttu, B.S., L.T., of Tanjore, Harihara Bhagavatar, R. Subramnia Iyer, Subramania Shastrial, N.P. Subramania Iyer, Veena Vencatachalam Iyer, Ramalinga Gurukkal, Vydyanatha Iyer of Konerirajapuram and Krishna Iyer of Tirukodikaval. At a meeting of the above musicians I placed my views before them and it was unanimously resolved that a musical Sangam was very necessary before the following gentleman who gladly promised to become patrons of the Sangam: - Maharajah Setupati of Ramnad, M.R.Ry. Rai Bahadur Saminatha Vijaya Thevar Avargal, Zemindar of Papanad, M.R.Ry. V.A. Vandayar Avergal og Poondi, M.R.Ry. Rao Bahadur Annasami Tevar Avergal of Ukkadai, M.R.Ry, Aviddayappa Pillai Avergal, M.R. Ry. P.V. Krishnasami Naik Avergal, M.R. Ry. T. Sambamoorti Row Avergal, M.R. Ry. Venkatasubbayyat Avergal, M.R. Ry. Rao Bahadur C. Nagaji Row Avergal and others. (*KS*, 219)

At the gathering of the abovementioned musicians and with the support of influential patrons, the "Tanjore Sangeetha Vidya Mahajana Sangam" became the first ever music conference to be conducted in India. The plan effectively earned support and the first conference was conducted in May 1912. A total of 6 conferences were conducted between 1912 and 1914 in one of the houses within Pandither's residential compound in Thanjavur. The venue was named "Karunanithi Sangeetha Hall" after Karuṇaṉanta Mahāṛṣi. The first conference was held on the 27th of May 1912, the second on the 31st of August 1912, the third on the 19th of April 1913, the fourth on the 9th of August 1913, the fifth on 18th April 1914, and sixth on the 24th of October 1914.[68] Today the premise is home to descendants of Pandither's family. The house seems like any other in Thanjavur if not for the signage '*Āpirakām Paṇṭitar Illam*' ('Abraham Pandither's House") on the front gate leading up to it and the large portrait of Abraham Pandither hanging on a wall which is now the living room.

[68] In *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music in South India* (2006) Amanda Weidman references A.C. Paul Nadar's *Tamil Culture* (1954) and claims there were seven conferences. However, in the *KS* there is only evidence of six (*KS*, 220 and 240A-240F).

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Figure 12: Front-gate to Pandither's compound with signage: '*Āpirakām Paṇṭitar Illam.*' Photograph by the author.

Figure 13: Venue of TSVMS conferences: Karunanithi Sangeetha Hall. Photograph by the author

Figure 14: Karunathiti Sangeetha Hall. Portrait of Pandither on the left. Photograph by author.

Figure 15: Portrait of Abraham Pandither. Photograph by author.

This last section attempts to explain why a site that once hosted numerous musicians, connoisseurs of music, and professional performers in the early twentieth century is now barely noticed or even mentioned by the people who claim to be custodians of music in the present day. It is possible to view the three years, during which the TSVMS conferences were held, a period that marked the end of an era when Karṇāṭak music could be represented by multiple groups of professional musicians, be it Brahmin court musicians or non-Brahmin hereditary musicians (*ciṉṉa meḷam* and *periya meḷam* artists). It is therefore important to think about the TSVMS conferences in relation to those it inspired: the "All India Music Conferences" in Baroda (AIMC, 1916) and in Madras (AIMC, 1927). But most importantly, the TSVMS conferences inspired the deliberations on music that would lead the Indian

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National Congress to create the Madras Music Academy (MMA, 1927), that almost singlehandedly engineered all public discourse on music in South India in the late 1920s and 1930s. The politics of the MMA were remarkably successful and its elite projects of "classicization" and "standardization" became incredibly hegemonic. Just as it is near-impossible today to think of *naṭṭuvaṉārs* or Christians as purveyors of the history of Karṇāṭak music, so it is near-impossible for most musicians and musicologists to fathom the production of intellectual discourse on music outside the precincts of the MMA.

Pandither's music conferences received musicians and connoisseurs from different cities and even different regions (for example Baroda, Harikesanallur, Kumbakonam, Mysore, Madras, Palghat, Palamaneri, Tanjore, and Vizianagaram) (*KS*, 220). They came from different religious and caste backgrounds as evidenced in the sub-section entitled "The Members of the Mahajana Sangam," and a substantial number of them were *professional* musicians, unlike the amateur musicians who dominated the MMA's "Expert Committee" a decade or so later (Allen 2008). Lakshmi Subramanian aptly describes the MMA as the "principal association of music lovers and self-professed musicologists and reformers" (Subramaniam 2008, 62). Although Pandither himself was by no means a professional musician, he strived to create a liberal setting for musicians and enthusiasts to come together and discuss music. The TSVMS conferences were open to new ideas and receptive to possibilities, for example Pandither's proposition that were twenty-four microtones or *śrutis* in the Karṇāṭak system and *not* twenty-two, and his somewhat radical suggestion of a Christian history for Karṇāṭak music. By the time India achieved independence through the hands of the Indian National Congress (INC), this openness and receptivity had been abandoned for more monolithic understandings of music that drew from European Orientalist understandings of *saṅgītaśāstra* texts and from Brahmanic cultural orthodoxy.

Contemporary scholarship historicizing Karṇāṭak music in the nineteenth and twentieth century only make cursory or immaterial references to Pandither's TSVMS conferences (Subramaniam 2006, 2008, 2008, 2014). By contrast much focus has been placed on the figure of Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande (1860-1936) as the purveyor of the idea of "Indian music conferences," and many of these works neglect to mention his interactions with Pandither (Nayar 1989, Allen 2008, Subramaniam 2006, 2008). Matthew Allen's essay entitled "Standardize, Classicize and Nationalize: The Scientific Work of the Music Academy of Madras, 1930-52" (2008) makes no mention of Pandither or the TSVMS conferences although it attempts to historicize the MMA and its conferences, and also mentions the involvement of persons who were *also* primarily involved in the TSVMS

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conferences with Pandither (namely Muthiah Bhagavathar, 1877-1945). Moreover, scholars such as Subramanian neglect the possibilities offered by an analysis of the impact of the TSVMS on the reception and dissemination of music in the twentieth century.[69] Among contemporary scholarly works, only Amanda Weidman's *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music in South India* (2006) provides a thorough critical analysis of Pandither, the *KS,* and the TSVMS conferences in relation to his contemporaries (for example Chinnaswamy Mudaliar) and contemporary events.

Figure 16: Abraham Pandither with Bhatkhande at the Baroda All India Music Conference (1916), the frontispiece from *Merī Dakṣiṇ Bhārat kī Saṅgīt Yātrā* ("My Musical Journeys in South India") by Bhatkhande, translated into Hindi by Amareś Candra Caube (2000)

Pandither's Purpose in Organizing the Sangam

Pandither opens with an explanation of "Why the Sangam was Started" by providing an article which was sent to three newspapers: *Ceṅtamil* (the journal of the Madura Tamil Sangam), *Cutēcamittiraṉ* (a largely Congress newspaper) and to *The Hindu* (*KS*, 211). Pandither was therefore communicating with media that supported both Tamil and Indian nationalist causes, despite the heavy pro-Tamil focus in his own narrative about music. This article is followed by an essay that was sent to Europe about Indian music and specifically to four journals in London (the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, *The Music News*, *Musical Standard* and the *Musical Times*) "for the benefit of those English musicians interested in Indian music" (*KS*, 214). Pandither was excited to share his research and popularize his

[69] "Whether the Tanjore Sangeeta Vidya Sangam (incorrect name) became the model for later sabhas and even the Madras Music Academy is not known, although it is likely that such collective initiatives became a regular feature of the city's cultural practices" (Subramanian 2008, 27). Subramanian's uncertainty regarding the impact of the TSVMS and conflation of it with its derivatives creates a historically inaccurate vision of how Karṇāṭak music became institutionalized because of Indian nationalists.

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method of scientifically analyzing Indian music with what he understood as a globally-expanding audience for Indian music.

In his article to the local papers he mentions, "we write the following article to be published in your valuable journal as we find that under the patronage of many distinguished Vidwans and Maharajahs you publish many new and interesting articles day by day" (*KS*, 211). Pandither too sought the support of traditional patrons for his modern projects on music, especially the TSVMS. It is clear that in the early decades of twentieth century, before nationalists seized control over discourses on music, the approval and support of traditional patrons was important, even necessary.

He announces that his work has "been chiefly directed towards finding out the secret scientific principle which underlies and pervades Indian Music" (*KS*, 211). He then proceeds to make multiple references to the Bible to explain that "He, the embodiment of vibration, is the Life of all existence, the energy of the Life, the emotion of the energy, the perception, the sound and expression of the joy" (*KS*, 212). Pandither then continues by presenting a discussion on *śrutis* (his major contribution) before questioning if there are indeed traditional texts that explain the phenomenon. In one of these points, he takes up the question of the legitimacy of the "divine" music of Tyagaraja, opening up anecdotal history to critical questions:

> 6. The KIRTANAMS of many renowned musicians such as Mudduswami Diskhatar or Tiruvalur, Syamasastrial of Tanjore, Subramania Iyer of Trivady, Sadasiva Rao of Mysore, and Tyagaraja Iyer of Trivady are held in the highest estimation in South India. What was the basis of these KIRTANAM? Have they handed down to any one the mysteries of their science? It is traditionally known that the sage Narada furnished Tyagaraja Iyer with a Chuvadi (book) containing rules which enabled him to compose a fresh KIRTANAM every day for the worship of the Deity. This tradition, coupled with the peculiar excellence of his Kirtanas, makes me bold to think that such a work exists. If so, who has it now? (*KS*, 213)

This passage makes clear that Subbarāma Dīkṣititulu's "trinity," although proposed in the *SSP* (1904), had yet to be concretized in the early twentieth century since Pandither presents them alongside other composers. It is also noteworthy that Pandither refers to their music as "science" and that it was "handed down" because it creates the impression that it is a single system of music while confirming that it has always been a science.

Pandither's closing paragraph perfectly captures his motivations as well the discourses that motivated his interested in publishing scientific discourses on music.

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> In this age of the benign British rule, Englishmen unfold without reserve their valuable discoveries in the field of science and their invention in machineries and instruments; and as standing evidence of their power of original research and, what is more, far-reaching sympathy with mankind, they immortalize every bit of scientific discovery in books and establish institutions for the benefit of their students who are in quest of knowledge. (*KS*, 214)

Pandither was clearly encouraged by European methods of research and dissemination, and especially for publishing works that extrapolate the "scientific" nature of music. He produced an innovative colonial mimesis by inaugurating music conferences, publishing texts and including scientific discussions on a range of subjects.

In his article sent to London, Pandither intentionally references Orientalist musicologist A.H. Strangeways, author of *The Music of Hindostan* (1914). He quotes Strangeways' comment that "Indian musicians… are disposed to wrap up their musical practice in mystery and… deliberately withhold the knowledge which their pupils had paid for have no need for an acoustic theory" (*KS*, 215). Strangeways' comment regarding the habit of "withholding knowledge" is similar to that made by Chinnaswamy Mudaliar (1892) regarding the need to make knowledge on music accessible through publishing.[70]

The rest of the article provides information on *rāgas* following the melakarta system found in the Sanskrit text *Caturdaṇḍī Prakāśikā* by Veṅkaṭamakhin (court poet of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, r. 1633-1673). And interestingly he deploys Chinnaswamy Mudaliar's method of using Western staff notation to write the scales of *rāgas* Shankarabaranam, Kharaharapriya, Hanumatodi, Mecchakalyani and Harikambodhi to explain "what is popularly known as the 72 Mother-Ragams (and) the peculiar excellence of Indian Music consists in singing according to given Sruti the thousands of melodies derived from the 72 Melams" (*KS*, 216). By applying staff notation for Indian music Pandither was trying to universalize South Indian music to some degree in order to explain how microtones of *śrutis* are fundamental to it, for as we will see later, the issue of the *śrutis* is a primary concern for Pandither.

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[70] "Many thousand Keerthanams of Teagaraja Iyer, who flourished at Tirvadi (Tanjore) about 60 or 70 years abo, have been destroyed by fire because those who learny them up were unwilling to teach them to others and at the same time were indifferent about reducing them to Swara notation. When they are afraid to commit themselves. From this, there is reason to conclude that many ancient works gradually became defunct because they kept them as sealed book without imparting the knowledge in them to others." – Abraham Pandither. 1917. *Karunamirtha Sagaram: Extract From The First Book Or Srutis* (Reprint by Asian Educational Services 1988)

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Agenda and Schedule of the TSVMS Conferences

The TSVMS conferences created the design for all subsequent music conferences in India. The proceedings of the first four meetings reveal how the "music conference" as a cultural phenomenon became a site to cultivate and negotiate religious, regional and national interests. The last TSVMS meeting on the 24th of October 1914 possibly marks Pandither's unfinished project, which included a vision to create a culture of discussing Indian music in an unabashedly inclusive setting.

Each meeting opened with "Praise to God" which was sung by a member of the Sangam. During the first meeting (May 27, 1912) Panchapakesa Bhagavathar "sang in praise of God" and during the second and third conference (August 31, 1912 and August 19, 1913) Pandither's children sang praises to God. In the minutes of the second meeting it is stated "a song of praise (the 150th Psalm) was sung by the children (of Pandither), which was followed by a few stanzas sung in praise of God by Brahmasri Panchapakesa Bhagavatar and Brahmasri Doraiappa Iyer." Because it is clearly stated that Pandither's children sang Christian verses it can be assumed that the two Brahmin musicians sang non-Christian (i.e. Hindu) verses.

Following the song of praise the 'English National Anthem' was sung. Pandither also states in his opening speech during the first meeting "I tender my deepest obeisance with a heart full of gratitude to our generous Emperor and Empress under whose peaceful Government we are enabled to have such meetings for the furtherance of the cause of Music and other Fine Arts." This statement by Pandither connects the state with the arts. This also shows that although traditional patronage was still being sought out Pandither was clearly aware that the support of the non-financing patron – the colonial government – was necessary.

The meetings soon began to expand its scope and incorporated new segments in support of musical enterprises. During the third meeting the Sangam received two books for review. The books are (1) *Harmonium Self-Instructor* by G.D. Eleazer and organist from Saint Matthias Church and (2) *Sangeetha Rethnavali* by K.V. Srinivasa Iyengar of Madras.[71] The second book mentioned is a compilation of compositions belonging to a variety of genres (*jāvaḷīs*, *padams*, *nāmāvalīs*, *kāvaṭi cintu*) and compositions of Tyāgarājā, Patnam Subramania Iyer and even verses from the *Tirumuṟai* (hymns by the *nāyaṉārs* of the Śaiva

[71] It is probably the St. Matthias Church in Chennai which was consecrated in 1823 that Pandither was referring to.

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canon). The two books reviewed indicate that a market for published pedagogies for musical instruction was opening up and it was keen on establishing itself through "peer review." When the book was reviewed in 1913 the harmonium seems to have been a suitable enough instrument for Karṇāṭak music. However by the mid twentieth century the harmonium was relegated as a less effective instrument for the Karṇāṭak genre.[72] While there is little evidence to prove that the harmonium was rejected because it sounded too harmonic and produced "non-Indian sounds," a coded reference perhaps to Church music, it is certainly within the realm of possibility. Srinivasa Iyengar's work on the other hand shows the opening up of a market of publishing compositions for Madras' elite audiences. The focus in his work, however, was on Tyāgarāja compositions, and these publications began to cement the idea of Tyāgarāja's songs as the mainstay of Karṇāṭak music.

By the fourth meeting (August 3, 1913) there were administrative matters of the financial category included in the agenda. The proceedings include the section "The Finance of the Sangam" under which we find the following comment:

> Till this day the Sabha in being maintained solely by the President, and out heartfelt thanks are due to him for his generosity. It will be un-generous of us to look to him for support always. So a Sub-Committee has been formed for settling the question of finance, and he report of the Committee will soon be placed before the Sabha. Our thanks are due to M.R. Ry. Muttaya Bagavatar of Harikesavanallur, who has generously promised to give us annually the proceeds of one of his Kathas. (9th August 1913 TSVMS Conference Proceedings)

And this is succeeded by a list naming the patrons of the Sabha (Karunanithi Sangeetha Mahal). They include Maharajah Holkar of Indore and Maharajah Sethupathi of Ramnad. The fact that Pandither solely maintained the organization proves his level of commitment to the endeavor. And the interest of members to organize a sub-committee to manage the financial requirements of the organization, especially Muthiah Bhagavather's pledge to donate the "proceeds of one of his Kathas" shows that it was becoming a shared commitment. The combination of people involved in financially supporting the Sangam shows the reach it had with multiple groups of people. It is important to note Muthiah Bhagavatar's prominent presence in the TSVMS conferences because he figures regularly in

[72] In relation to the acceptance of the violin in Karnatak music Subramanya Ayyer mentions in *My Musical Extravagance* (1944, Madras) "The sanity of Tamil genius is also seen in the fact that the violin was accepted as an accompaniment by the musical elite in South India… instead of the harmonium. The latter entered the portals of the All-India Radio of North India" (60) The harmonium was eventually banned by the All-India Radio in 1930 (Soneji 2010, 89).

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the MMA conferences years later. In fact, he gave the Presidential Address for the MMA conference in 1930. And during those meetings he too expressed his interest in "a scientific standardization of practice" (Allen 2008, 98). This again proves how the TSVMS conferences – and Pandither's agenda focused on the "scientific rationality" of music – had an impact on how music was understood in Madras by the 1920s and 1930s.

Subjects Discussed at the TSVMS Conferences

Pandither lists nine topics under the section "The Objects of the Sangam" to summarize what was discussed at the first conference in his *KS*. However, in the conference proceedings of the first four meetings that are available as a separate publication, there are twenty-eight topics. There were forty-two people present at the first meeting of which only five were clearly non-musicians. This is in stark contrast to the membership of the Madras Music Academy's "Experts Committee" formed in the early 1930s, whom Allen notes "were not professional performers (and) many of these music-loving amateurs specifically contrasted themselves with professional performers, who were roundly criticized" and there were only "a minority group of professional performing musicians (that) took an active part in the Experts Committee discussions in the first half of the 1930s" (Allen 2008, 95 and 97). Allen also names the medical doctor, three lawyers and a reporter of the Legislative Council of Madras "who made important verbal contributions to the discussions" (Allen 2008, 95). Therefore in contrast to Pandither's original conference, its derivative at the MMA was a gathering of Hindu caste elite men who had an amateur knowledge of music but also a degree of political influence that would impose a new and irrevocable pedagogy upon Karṇāṭak music.

The "Subjects for Discussion" in the first meeting as evidenced from the conference proceedings are as follows: (1) The dignity and usefulness of Music; (2) The best method of practicing Music; (3) Rules to be observed by Musicians as well as the audience in a Musical Party; (4) The present state of Indian Music; and (5) A detailed study of the Ragam "Nattai." Therefore from the first meeting it becomes evident that goal of the TSVMS was to validate the social and moral benefits of music, to produce analysis or reflection on the contemporary state of the art, to introduce a pedagogy and concert etiquette, and to discuss *rāgas*.

Rāgas

The discussion on ragas is especially interesting because it is an aspect of the "Indian music conference" that continues into the present day. Based on the available conference

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proceedings the Venkatachala Iyer of Tanjore spoke on the *rāga* Nāṭṭai, C. Tirumalayya Naidu on *rāga* Māyāmālavagaula, T.S Sabhesa Iyer on *rāga* Śaṅkarābharaṇam and Radhakrishna Bagavathar on *rāga* Bhairavī. In fact during the fourth conference, the fourth point on the agenda was to "examine each and every one of the Carnatic Ragams and publish them for the benefit of the public" (August 9, 1913 Conference Proceedings, 7). The MMA conferences imitate this component and the same people who presented at the TSVMS also present here. Mathew Allen's path finding essay "Standardize, Classicize, and Nationalize: The Scientific Work of the Music Academy of Madras, 1930-52" (2008) provides detailed information on the topics discussed as well the questionnaire which was circulated to its membership. In the questionnaire the members are asked to provide the scale of the *ragas* as the understand it to be (Allen 2008, 103). Some of the *rāgas* listed in the questionnaire are Śaṅkarābharaṇam, Begadā and Hindustāni Kāpi. And during these conferences, T.S Sabhesa Ayyar – who spoke on Śankarābaranam during the TSVMS conferences – spoke on Begadā. The Brahmin musician Harikesanallur Muthiah Bhagavatar was also heavily involved in the discussions of *rāga* at both conferences. Ultimately, it the MMA's deliberations on *raga* that "stick" and become absolutely fixed an authoritative in the new urban pedagogy for Karnatak music.

Śrutis

> A machine-intoxicated world, lost in peripheric and sensorial activities, has forgotten how to look within at the centre, where *Ishwara*, the Self, abides forever, where only may be grasped the true intonation of the music of the Heart, the solar tones of the 22 *srutis* which are the direct revelation of tone.
>
> D. Rudhyar. 1928. *The Rebirth of Hindu Music* (1928, 1)

These lines are from a text entitled *The Rebirth of Hindu Music* that was published in 1928 by the Theosophical Publishing House in Adyar (Madras) and beginning with a section "The Age of Purification." In it we see how by the late 1920s, Pandither's narrative in the *KS* has not only been appropriated, but also "Hinduized" by elites in Madras.[73] The Theosophical Society's text on music also significantly supports the theory of twenty-two *śrutis or* microtones. Because it is the year following the All India Music Conference in Madras (1927) when *śrutis* were the main topic of discussion and it was agreed upon that there are

[73] The rest of the introduction (and following chapters) continues by quoting Hindu mythological texts and biblical narratives, while incorporating Greek philosophy and Western science and alchemy.

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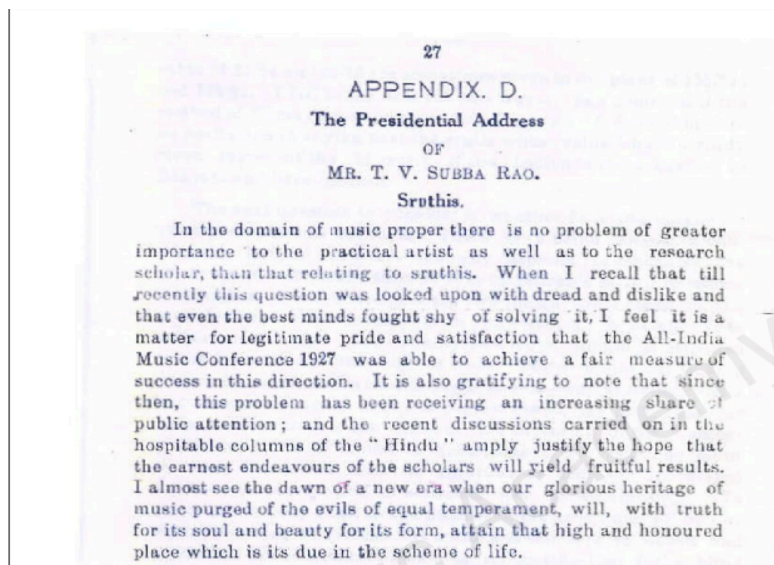
effectively only twenty-two *śrutis*, and not twenty-four, as Pandither would first propose and discuss during the TSVMS conferences.

At the second meeting of the TSVMS, the topic of *śrutis* comes to take centrestage – (thus on August 31, 1912 the agenda lists: "The discussion of the twenty-two or Dhwavimsathy Sruthis," and on April 19, 1913: "(5) The Shrutis of Indian Music, (8) Essays on Dwavimsathy Shrutis," and finally on August 9, 1913: "The twenty two Srutis.") In the second meeting Panchapakesa Bhagavatar, Prathapa Ramasami Bagavathar and Saptarishi Bhagavatar spoke on *śrutis*. In the third meeting Subramanya Sastrial and in the fourth Pancapakesa Bhagavatar and Sabesa Iyer spoke on *śrutis*. Panchapakesa Bhagavatar's presentations during the second meeting and the fourth meeting are different and reflect shifts in how the subject was being approached and argued. While in the second meeting his presentation is limited to explaining through solfa syllables in relation to *rāgas,* in the fourth meeting he mentions that "the mystery of it (*śruti*) could only be understood by an instrument I have made called Nadamani. Before I discovered this instrument I myself was wallowing in a pool of doubt." This clearly indicates that discussing music by analyzing *śrutis* was not a common practice in musical instruction prior to these meetings. So much so that this new preoccupation prompted Panchapakesa Bhagavatar to invent an instrument to "scientifically prove" his new hypothesis. Pandither should therefore be credited, if necessary at all for why *śrutis* became a crucial subject for regular discussions, especially since the obsession with *śrutis* gets taken up by the MMA following the All-India Music Conference in Madras in 1927 (as evidenced from the earliest available Presidential Address of the MMA music conference in 1929 by the lawyer T.V. Subba Rao).



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APPENDIX. D.

The Presidential Address

OF

MR. T. V. SUBBA RAO.

Sruthis.

In the domain of music proper there is no problem of greater importance to the practical artist as well as to the research scholar, than that relating to sruthis. When I recall that till recently this question was looked upon with dread and dislike and that even the best minds fought shy of solving it, I feel it is a matter for legitimate pride and satisfaction that the All-India Music Conference 1927 was able to achieve a fair measure of success in this direction. It is also gratifying to note that since then, this problem has been receiving an increasing share of public attention; and the recent discussions carried on in the hospitable columns of the "Hindu" amply justify the hope that the earnest endeavours of the scholars will yield fruitful results. I almost see the dawn of a new era when our glorious heritage of music purged of the evils of equal temperament, will, with truth for its soul and beauty for its form, attain that high and honoured place which is its due in the scheme of life.

Figure 17: Opening Paragraph of 'The Presidential Address' by Mr. T.V. Subba Rao at the MMA Music Conference, 1929.

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T.V. Subba Rao's address gives the All-India Music Conference in 1927 full credit for proposing a discussion on *śrutis* and having "achieve(d) a fair measure of success." Pandither's TSVMS conferences and the *KS* bear no mention in the MMA music conferences. Even Subramanya Sastri who presented an elaborate paper on *śrutis* during the third conference makes no mention of this during the MMA conference in 1930 when he again presented on the topic. While he made references to European systems of music and the philosopher Pythagoras (April 19, 1913 Conference Proceedings pages 13 and 15) during the MMA conference the presentation is focused on referencing Vedic texts (primarily the *Sāmaveda*) and Tyāgarāja's compositions.

Pandither's TSVMS conferences created the premise to discuss music but it also allowed for multiple views that reflected heterogeneous social and religious orientations. The people who participated in the TSVMS seemed, at least for the time they participated with the financial support of Pandither, to have agreed with his ethos of inclusivity. However, the presentations of individuals like Muthiah Bhagavatar at the MMA conferences show a confidant display of South India Brahmanic Hinduism and ultimately concretize unquestionable link between Hinduism and Karṇāṭak music. The complete disregard for Pandither's conferences in the MMA period illuminates who Pandither's project remains unfinished. The MMA conferences were marked as path-breaking when they were in fact imitations of Pandither's earlier efforts.

This chapter began by explaining how Pandither historicized music by focusing on Thanjavur because it provided both a focal point for his Tamil-Christian narrative and a recent history, connecting performing traditions and courtly patronage, and the colonial experience. The shift in patronage from courts to government institutions such as the MMA in 1927 also marks a shift in how South Indian classical music and dance were being defined by a Hindu, caste-elite public. Weidman provides an apt description of this and aptly describes it as an "imagination" as do Sumathi (1997) and Soneji and Peterson (2008):

> The imagination of such a break (the nineteenth century vs. the twentieth century and royal courts and villages vs. the city of Madras) provided the rationale for the 'revival' of Karnatic music in the early twentieth century: the movement to 'rescue' the arts of music and dance from their 'degraded' status, which had been caused by the persistence of obsolete forms of patronage and performance in this revivalist discourse Karnatic music was redefined as strictly devotional and invested with the peculiar power to exist outside of politics, outside circuits of economic exchange or personal motivation (Weidman 2006, 60)

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Pandither's effort to include for example, the names of kings and rulers of princely states is reflective of his "imagination" and more tangibly an effort to revive and rescue music by focusing solely on its "devotional" aspects even as he was explicitly dealing with music that was non-devotional. This is a clear indication of how his investments had the "peculiar power" to seemingly "exist outside of politics, outside of economic exchange or personal motivation" when in fact they relied on all three aspects.

The TSVMS conferences confirm this because although Pandither personally funded the enterprise he sought the approval and patronage of people in politics. The conferences also map the shift in patronage from royal patrons to modern patrons (for example, the colonial government). Because Pandither does not receive direct monetary patronage from the colonial government and is excluded by the nationalists who come to govern independent India, his project is left unfinished. The TSVMS conferences however fill the gap on the events that happened leading up to the formation of the MMA (1927), a modern institution that aspired to discuss the arts scientifically. The discussions that began in Karunanithi Sangeetha Mahal designed the structure of music conferences in India, from the days of the All-India Music Conferences in Baroda and Madras. The TSVMS conferences were thus probably the last spaces in modern South India that invited and hosted a variety of professional musicians and connoisseurs with the support of traditional patrons with an agenda to enable the study of music.

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CONCLUSION

This work on Pandither locates itself within a larger body of recent critical scholarship on Karṇāṭak music that has emerged to critique earlier nationalist formulations of the music's history.[74] By bringing issues of caste, class, gender, modernity, and religion to the fore, this new scholarship moves us away from monolithic understandings of music in South India as exclusively Brahminic, male, and middle-class. This work on Pandither mobilizes the figure of a Protestant Tamil in colonial Tanjore in order to push the historiographical boundaries of South Indian music and by extension South Indian culture-at-large, including discourses around language, religion, science and modernity.

What then are the legacies of Pandither in today's world? Until the late nineties, popular Indian writing on Pandither emphasized his multifaceted personality (for example "botanist and musician"), or his fluency in modern subjects ("medicine and philology") and his fame (for example the titles he received from the colonial government) (Arooran 1980; Kuppuswami 1992; Rācakopālan 1997). However, by the twenty-first century, there appears to be little interest in speaking about Pandither in Indian cultural circles, and this mirrors the waning presence of the Tamil Isai Sangam – the flagship organization of the Tamil Icai Movement – in cultural discourse in the city of Chennai.

There have been some local efforts to commemorate Pandither in the city of Thanjavur. The souvenir magazine entitled "M. Abraham Pandither Centenary Souvenir: 1859-1959" published on the occasion of Pandither's birth centenary in 1959 compiles articles and letters dating from 1916 to 1959. The cover page is a photograph taken by Pandither himself during the coronation celebration conducted at the Karunananthar Farm on December 12, 1911.The celebrations were conducted on the 22nd and 23rd of August, 1959. There are a total of thirty-one letters and articles, ranging from personal letters to journal-style essays, and the bulk of these focus on the *KS* and TSVMS conferences. Apart from listing and complimenting Pandither's endeavors, a majority of them address the topic of *śrutis* – the focus of the conferences and the *KS*. In the last decade similar celebrations were conducted in 2007 and 2002. However they comprised mainly of musical performances (largely of Karṇāṭak vocal music and the devotional story-telling art known as Harikathā). The available centenary celebration souvenir magazines and event itineraries from 1959,

[74] See, for example, the work of Allen (2008); Peterson and Soneji (2008); Soneji (2012); Subramanian (2006, 2007, 2009); and Weidman (2003, 2006).

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2002 and 2007 catalogue the persistent but diminishing presence of Pandither in the field of Karṇāṭak music. Pandither's multifaceted contributions are therefore reduced to the staging of commemorative musical performances meant to entertain largely disinterested audiences.

Instead Pandither begins to appear in newspapers and magazines, such as *News Today* (2000) and *Sruti* (2004). Both write-ups copy and paraphrase Playne's description of Pandither, and embellish these with anecdotes. V. Sriram's short sub-section on Pandither within an article on Muthiah Bagavathar entitled "A Magnificent Man" in the November 2004 edition of the monthly magazine *Sruti* is a case in point. Sriram says "till the end of his life, he kept up close contact with all the musical luminaries in the whole of India" when in fact Pandither himself actually *patronized* several prominent musicians (Sriram 2004, 36). According to Sriram, Pandither's TSVMS conferences "achieved *none* of (its) stated objectives" even though these very conferences were wholly responsible for creating the format and structure of all future music conferences in India. Sriram dismisses Pandither's ideas about "Indian music emanate[ing] from Tamil Isai…[as] far-fetched" (Sriram 2004, 38). Sriram's write-up shows his insufficient understanding of Pandither and reveals his inclination to support dominant caste-elite discourses on Karṇāṭak music.

Pandither's *KS* embodies the key signposts of Tamil south India's modernity. Many of these signposts, including that of science, were shared between Pandither and Hindu caste-elites for historicizing Karṇāṭak music. However, Pandither parted ways by prioritizing the other crucial signifier of post-enlightenment thinking in twentieth century Tamil south India, namely Protestantism. In Pandither's *KS*, Protestant Christianity flows consistently through arguments and examples to provide a history for Karṇāṭak music that today remains obscure because it is not Hindu and Brahminical. Pandither's *KS*, his TSVMS conferences and his invitation to participate in the All-India Music Conference represented possibilities for a non-Hindu semi-professional musician to participate in the world of twentieth century (modern) Indian music. These possibilities were enabled by Pandither's ability to navigate between the local and non-local, the colonial and native; and the religious and scientific. But for all the possibility that such a project held out, Pandither's vision remains unfinished. The rise of the Madras Music Academy and its politics pushed figures like Pandither to the furthest edges of musical discourse in South India. The afterlives of Pandither's thoughts on music survive at best as a token-nod to inclusivity and the supposed universality of Indian music. For Pandither's own descendants his intellectual investments are purposeful only as heritage that is lucrative in the local economy of contemporary Thanjavur. Pandither's eclectic and

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improvised approach to the mobilization of new knowledge and knowledge systems on the eve of colonialism is nearly relegated to archival traces.

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