

In Remembrance

W.H. McLeod (1932-2009)

Having battled courageously with cancer for seven years, W.H. McLeod had a fall and succumbed to his injuries on July 20, 2009. Known to be a caring family person, a generous teacher, and an outstanding scholar of the Sikh tradition, McLeod will be missed by family and friends spread around the globe.

New Zealanders by birth, Hew McLeod and his wife Margaret arrived in the Punjab under the auspices of their church in the late 1950s, underwent a transformation to turn into self-proclaimed atheists, developed a special affection for the Sikhs, and McLeod went on to dedicate the rest of his life toward studying the Sikh community.

His scholarly career began with *Guru Nanak and Sikh Religion* (Clarendon Press, 1968) and the extensive work that followed this can be placed under the broad categories of Sikh history, translations of early Sikh texts, and critical discussions of early Sikh literature. His seminal studies in these three areas include *The Evolution of the Sikh Community* (Clarendon Press, 1975) and *Who is a Sikh? The Problem of Sikh Identity* (Clarendon Press, 1989); *The B-40 Janam Sakhi* (Guru Nanak Dev University, 1980) and *The Chaupa Singh Rahit-Nama* (University of Otago, 1987); *Early Sikh Tradition* (Clarendon Press, 1980) and *Sikhs of the Khalsa Rahit* (Oxford University Press, 2003), respectively. In terms of range, depth, and usefulness for teaching the Sikh tradition, McLeod's writings constitute a class by themselves.

McLeod's contribution to Sikh Studies also includes mentoring students who now hold positions of prominence within the field. Tony Ballantyne (University of Otago, New Zealand), Louis Fenech (University of Northern Iowa, U.S.A.), and Pashaura Singh (University of California, Riverside) worked under his direct guidance, while many others - myself included - had the benefit of his advice at crucial junctures of their academic careers. In this role, McLeod was generous with his time and did whatever he could to help younger scholars find their own paths.

Furthermore, McLeod took upon himself the responsibility of helping the Western world become aware of the importance of the Sikh community and its traditions. At the invitation of the American Council of Learned Societies, he delivered a series of lectures at North American universities during 1986-1987, and later appeared as 'expert witness' in the Canadian courts on issues ranging from the nature and importance of the Sikh turban to the understanding of the Sikh sword (*kirpan*) as a religious symbol. Until 2002, when his health began to deteriorate, one cannot think of any major academic event concerning Sikhism in North America in which he was not present.

McLeod's career, however, was not without bumps. From the very outset, controversies dogged his research, and scholarly opinion remained split on the nature of his work. Some scholars were critical of his argument developed in *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* and as a result he was not invited to the

international conference held at Punjabi University, Patiala, to celebrate the fifth centennial of Guru Nanak's birth in 1969. Simultaneously, there were others who supported the publication of a Punjabi translation of the section on the Guru's teachings in the same book by Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, in 1974.

With his subsequent writings, these tensions turned into noisy public denunciations of McLeod's scholarship at Sikh forums both in the Punjab and overseas in the late 1980s. The publication of his provocatively entitled *Who is a Sikh? The Problem of Sikh Identity*, in 1989, did not help this situation. McLeod was, however, fortunate to have the support of Margaret, a very special human being in her own right, and he stoically made his way forward through this period of agony and stress. He provides his reflection on this phase of his life in his book *Discovering the Sikhs* (Permanent Black, 2004).

The precise nature of McLeod's scholarly legacy will be sorted out in the months and years ahead. As I write, there are some scholars who consider his formulations on various issues of Sikh history as sacrosanct, and there are others who so profoundly dislike what he has written that they are not able to discuss it in a calm manner. No matter what shade of opinion one may hold between these extremes, there is no question about the fact that McLeod's writings have remained at the center of Sikh scholarship during the past four decades. His imprint on the field stands unmatched by any other scholar of his generation.



Professor McLeod at UC Santa Barbara in 2001

It is hard for me to miss this opportunity to publically acknowledge my gratitude for his role in my own scholarly growth. The fact that I hold different positions than those of Professor McLeod on a wide variety of issues ranging from the origin of the Sikh community to the dating of many early Sikh texts did not affect his support for my work and affection for my family. I salute this beautiful human being and outstanding scholar for his unquestionable integrity!

For me, the best homage to the memory of Professor McLeod lies in the continuation of his legacy of asking difficult questions, stating one's research results with candor, and defending them to the best of one's ability, if need be. While coming to terms with the hard fact of his departure from the scene, I believe his admirers, critics, and others alike need to begin a more nuanced discussion about the future of Sikh Studies in the post-McLeod era. Nothing would please him more than seeing our concerted effort towards encouraging the growth of responsible scholarship and the coexistence of a wide variety of ideas in the field he so caringly nurtured for over four decades!

Gurinder Singh Mann

University of California, Santa Barbara,
July 25, 2009

Mohammad Hafeez Khan (1936-2009)



Photo 1¹

Ustad Hafeez Khan. Wajid Ali on Tabla and Ali Hafeez Khan on the Tanpura.
Lahore. October 2008. Photo by Shahid Mirza

Punjab is perhaps a land with the most versatile and eclectic memory. Long before Punjab became the epicenter of an agricultural revolution, its intense and alive forestlands and historic social dwellings boasted a massive intangible and tangible heritage harvests. It has contributed some of the most important scriptures and classics such as the Ramayana, Geeta, Vedas, Upanishads, Smritis, Natyashashtra, Sufi texts, love ballads, ballads of various wars and

heroic warriors, Gurubani and some of the most important musical traditions in South Asia. Very few remnants of these important musical traditions have survived the socio-political and economic upheavals that the Punjab has had to deal with over the last 150 years including the partition of Punjab in 1947. Talwandi *gharana* is one of the ancient schools of *dhrupad*², which traces its roots to a small erstwhile principality near Ludhiana, Rai-Ki-Talwandi. Since the partition of Punjab, the sons of Talwandi's 131st exponent Mian Meher Ali Khan, Mohammad Afzal Khan and Mohammad Hafeez Khan, kept the singing of *dhrupad* alive in Pakistan albeit in an environment not so favourable to music. Afzal Khan, the elder of the two, retired from active singing and teaching about 6 years ago due to frail health. Hafeez Khan continued to perform in small house concerts, but more importantly teaching his son Ali and nephew Labrez. On March 18, 2009 Ustad Mohammad Hafeez Khan Talwandiwale passed away following a cardiac arrest with a lot left undone and, as it happened with other Punjabi music doyens Bhai Arjan Singh Tarangar, Bhai Mohinder Singh, Ustad Bahadur Singh, Ustad Dalip Singh, Maharaj Bir Singh Namdhari, Bhai Tabba, Bhai Naseera, Bhai Gaam, even Ustad Salamat Ali Khan and many others, unsung. It is a pity that the unnatural, political and unrealistic divide of the historic soil and waters of Punjab have led to such relentless and tragic losses of its storytellers and legacy bearers. Fortunately, the hearts are still united and only there still exists some hope.

During Partition most musical exponents including the Hoshiarpur *rababis*, namely Bhai Malang and his clan who played *pakhawaj* or *mridang*, *jori* and *tabla* (all drums of various types), the Rababis from important heritage places such as Sultanpur Lodhi, Goindwal Sahib, Amritsar, Taran Taaran, Khadur Sahib, Anandpur Sahib, Panipat, Kamal, Pataudi and Ambala were forced to migrate to West Punjab. Famous Sham Chaurasi, Delhi *gharana* and Qawwal Bachhe exponents also moved to Pakistan while mastersingers like Bhai Samund Singh and Gyani Gyan Singh Almast had to migrate to the Indian side of Punjab. Such unprecedented forced migration of people and their gifts, which was akin to the cutting of a huge tree from its vital roots led to the tragic loss of many of Punjab's precious arts, culture and heritage, as a result, within the next two generations. Nearly all of this intangible wealth has become or is on the verge of becoming extinct. Both the (Indian and Pakistani) Punjab Governments are responsible for the sheer neglect of the intangible assets of this once culturally rich land. Countless musical masterpieces have tragically gone silent – an irretrievable loss.

Like the pine trees grow at a certain altitude and saguaros, for example, grow in Arizona, I see patterns in how only certain art forms evolved only in particular places. One of my teachers used to tell me that the master bearers of knowledge are as 'living books' (*zinda kitaben*). The places which produced exponents, generation after generation, are the libraries. One must remember that in case of living books, the books but not their content can be shifted from their libraries.

I had heard of the Talwandi Gharana and its legendary singers and once I came to know about them in the early 90's I had always wanted to go Lahore

and meet them. Hafeez Khan, during his story telling sessions, would associate the name *khandarvani* to Nayak Khanda Rai, his direct ancestor who performed the 'miraculous' feat of *taal-vandi*, slicing a single beat in 24 equal *khands* (parts). The suffixed *Khandehre* refers to a person being 'a descendent' of Khanda Rai. The term *Khandehre* is similar to the one used by the Dagars, Behramkhani. Although not attached to the names of the Dagars, 'it means 'the followers of Baba Behram Khan', who was the legendary court singer of Maharaj Ranjit Singh who later settled in Jaipur. Actually *khandarvani* as a genre is not a copyright of Hafeez Khan's family. Talwandi gharana is allegiant to *khandarvani* but it is not its sole repository. This possessive notion (of the term *khandarvani*) is probably as preposterous as the term *dagarvani*, usually associated with the current 'Dagar family'. Noted Philosophy and Aesthetics Professor, S. K. Saxena attributed the title 'Dagur' to his great friend and mentor Ustad Allabande Rahimuddin Khan, who claimed to represent this unique style. Soon after, this title, used to denote the style of singing followed by Rahimuddin Khan's family, came to be used as a surname, irrespective of the actual adherence to this particular singing style. At the moment, no student who may really be considered a responsible exponent of the *dagarvani* style would use this title. Likewise, the direct descendents of Nayak Khanda Rai *can* only attach the suffix – 'Khandehre Talwandivale', but not a disciple of either this family tradition or any other exponent of the *khandarvani*. The family does not remember that this genre takes its name from the region Kandahar (read *kandahrivani*) in the present day Afghanistan. Not so long ago, history enthusiasts may recall, the entire region, from Afghanistan to India, was all one 'nation'.

Actually, there were many exponents and families who represented all four music traditions or *vani*s (others being *gauharivani* or *gaudharivani*, *naharivani* or *nauharivani* and *dagarvani* or *dagurvani*) and at this point in time it would be impossible to ascertain which family may have been the oldest representative of each of these *vani* styles. There is one family in Una, Punjab (now Himachal Pradesh), which is also a claimant of the Talwandi Gharana. Sadly, its last *dhrupad* exponent died in 2001 – I met his grandson at the Kikkar Spa near Sri Anandpur Sahib where he played *tabla* with a *ghazal* singer. He revealed that nobody in his family remembers the traditional repertoire once sang by his grandfather. It would be interesting to find out if there are any family linkages between these two, although Hafeez Khan never mentioned of any long lost cousins in East Punjab, but, of course, the fact that he wasn't aware of them does not negate the linkages' possibility.

It was a dear friend of mine, Khalid Basra (d. 1998), who did his PhD on the Ustad at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who personally introduced Hafeez Khan to me. Khan Sahib was evidently very keen to teach me. It did make things easier as I was curious to know about the grammar (of sound or music), which they adhered to, their improvisational style and the ambit of their repertoire. My son, Luigi Hari Tehel Singh, of whom Khan Sahib and his wife were very fond, was just a year old when we went to Lahore in 1997 and that visit gave me an opportunity to have a first hand

experience of his teaching method and singing style. I had taken my *Jori* to Lahore and during those days I played a lot with him, occasionally but playfully testing each other. I have in my collection a few hours of video recording from that visit.

During my 1997 visit, I had also made nearly 32 hours of audio DAT recordings, which were sadly stolen at Napoli Centrale railway station in September 1998. We had just boarded the Eurostar to Roma to catch a flight back to India. The recordings contained very fond memories of the 1997 visit to Lahore, when Khalid Basra was still alive, although I had a chance to re-record Hafeez Khan during my 2000 visit, which was more of a study trip. This time around, he told me that I was his first ‘vocalist’ disciple, although I would tend to dispute it as I understand that his nephew, Labrez, may have already been trained by him.

Ustad Hafeez Khan had the *faiz* (grace) of his ancestors, which he claimed to have received when he visited the *mazar* (tomb) of his father, Ustad Meher Ali. I do hope that such a blessing continues to flow in his family for it would be very unfortunate to lose such a precious link to the Talwandi school of music.

He was an extraordinary talent but a talent, who could never flourish simply because of the cruel fate that he (along with countless others) met in the face of Partition. A very famous Sikh Zamindar, who shifted to the Indian side of Punjab in 1947, employed his father, Miyan Mehar Ali. Although, Hafeez Khan’s family did not need to migrate, as they were already residing in the then newly carved out Pakistan, their means of livelihood and their privileges were snatched away from them. Now they had to fend for themselves rather than being provided for. They had to worry about family sustenance rather than just minding their musical business and this changed scenario would have meant less time spent in actually learning from their elders. Not an isolated phenomenon, which occurred only to this family, Partition ruptured the mode of passing the traditional knowledge to the next generation in almost all major traditions at that time. At the time of migrating to India, the Sikh Zamindar told Ustad Hafeez Khan’s father that the thought of losing out on listening to Mehar Ali’s *bhimpalāsi* rendition was unbearable more than leaving the entire ancestral estate behind.

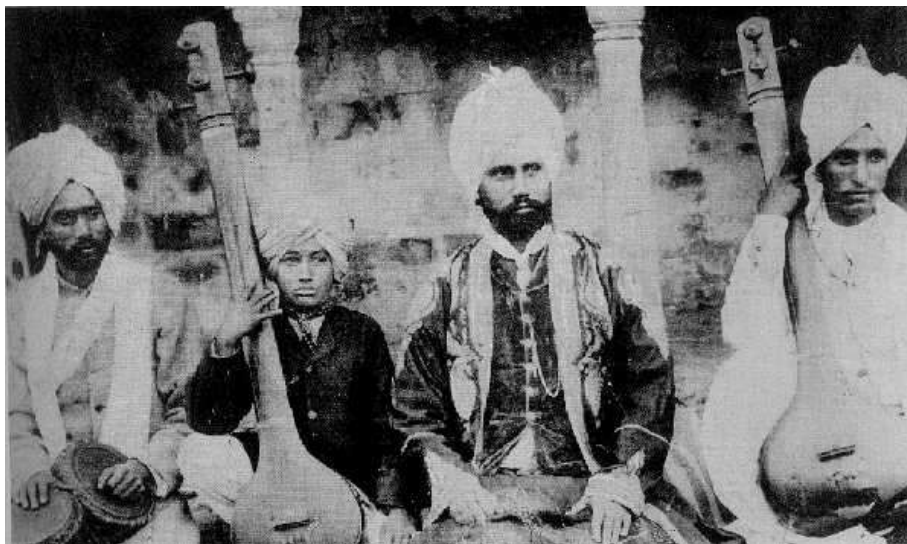


Photo 2³

Talwandi Gharana. Lahore. Early 1920s

My own family, for example, lived in East Punjab (although my father was studying in Lahore at the time) and yet it was not immune to the aftermath of Punjab's partition. There was a clear contrast between the generation which was already established by the 1930s and the ones who were under training in the 40s. Similar is the case for the *Dagars*, for the family of the legendary *pakhawaj* maestro Parbat Singh of Gwalior and for the Rababi Bhai Ghulam Mohammad, a nephew of Bhai Chand and son of the legendary Bhai Sundar.

Ustad Hafeez Khan mostly sang in *chartal* (a 12 beat rhythm cycle) and occasionally sang in *sultal* and *jhaptal* (both 10 beat cycles), *geet* aka *dhaiya* or *tivra* (7 beats), but rarely in *dhamar* (14 beats). I really enjoyed his *kedar*, *megh*, *miyan malhar*, *adana-bahar*, *kamod*, *desi* and *malkauns*. As I am not attempting to write a musicological note on Hafeez Khan, enthusiasts may refer to the article "Dhrupad in Pakistan: The Talwandi Gharana" by Khalid Basra and Richard Widdess, for details I am refraining to delve into.

I have some reservations on the way Richard has handled his *dhrupad* related works with Khalid and later⁴ with Professor Ritwik Sanyal. For example, Richard relies on sitar exponent Dharambir Singh and perhaps Pandit Amarnath for his Sikh music related research quote⁵. While in fact Dharambir is a Sikh but he is not an exponent of Sikh Kirtan tradition. The quotes⁶ attributed to him in this book are speculative and appalling to say the least. Among many music exponents including the Talwandi ones who became Gur-Sikhs did composed newer compositions but their immediate passion was to learn the *shabd-reets*, which were compositions composed by the Gurubani authors themselves. It

must be noted that the author of this article is an exponent of all three schools in consideration here; *khandarvani*, *dagarvani* and *gurubani*, and is grateful to all these three traditions for their respective insights and is obviously privy to their rich heritage. I also have a rare privilege to be in a position to compare and comment on the repertoire of these hoary traditions. Many of the remaining masterpieces (compositions) of the Gurus are simply matchless and have left some of the finest exponents of classical music including the Dagers and Talwandi exponents, stunned. Incorrect and inappropriate sources can be downright misleading. Whereas the people referred to are wonderful musicians respected in their own right, but one must be careful before substituting the living doyens of the two ancient musical systems, Gurubani and Dagarvani.

I am a person with big dreams but very limited means. Alas, how I wish Fahimuddin Dagar and Hafeez Khan had been brought together in a discussion session. I remember Fahimuddin being absolutely amazed to hear about the four stages of *alaap* as referred to by Hafeez Khan namely, *sari'at*, *tariqat*, *haqiqat* and *ma'rifat*, which is a very Islamic take on the methodology of *alaap*. Fahimuddin's is a more Indic interpretation of *alaap*'s methodology. Unfortunately, geo-political locations and compulsions can sometimes force even musical exponents to change or convert the music, its grammar, etymology and history to suit their new patrons.

According to Hafeez Khan, the root of *alaap* is *Allah-ap*, which literally means *God Himself*. *Alaap* or *vaartalaap* literally means to talk, to converse and in this case, a musical conversation. *Alaap* (orig Sanskrit) can either contain words as a means of conversation for example, "*nit taran taaran, Allah tero naam*" in Hafeez Khan's case and "*Om antaram tvam, taran taaran tvam, anant hari narayan Om*" in case of Fahimuddin Dagar, or be merely phonetic or wordless similar to a communicative attempt by a cat or even a dog. Some animals such as a cat, dog or even cattle show us a range of emotions, which are intrinsic to the rendition of *alaap* such as *kalol* (playful), *laad* (to cajole lovingly), *pukaan* (calling), which are some of the musical characteristics that are unique to the Gurubani singing.

Being a 13th generation exponent and a repository of some fascinating *shabad-reeets* (compositions) of the Sikh gurus, their *modus-alaap* fascinated and inspired me to undertake a major analysis of these priceless compositions. I could see repeated patterns when the conversation is with one's mind; various emotions (happy, sorrowful, lament, distress, wishful, etc); with the guru who is formless, nameless, and ubiquitous; when the guru gives *gyan* (knowledge) and the resulting celebration. Such variety is non-existent to best of my knowledge in any other Indian musical tradition, although there exists a very evolved sense of aesthetic – a symbiosis between the four elements that make a composition, namely, *raag* (melodic mode), *taal* (rhythmic pattern or cycle), *shabd* (word or verse) and *avadhaanu* (intent). Perhaps this lack is because of the absence of Gurubani like poetic content in other tradition.

At this moment I am reminded of a beautiful composition by Nayak Baiju (15th Century AD?) in *raag multani* set to *chartaal*, which Hafeez Khan sang with masterly improvisations.

Vidya teyu bhali jaa mein paeyo ram.
(*asthai*)
Rang mahal mein baithe jo gopal lal, cheen layee mala.
(*antara*)
Saat pragat teen gupat, rache jo Gopal Lal,
(*sanchari*)
Baiju de gaye te, saat sur bhul gaye,
(*abhog*)
Pokhan daroo mala.

The first line, which is also the refrain or *asthai* of the composition, ends with the word 'Ram'. But Hafeez Khan changed it to 'Allah'⁷. In another instance, when he was about to teach me a *chartaal* composition in *raag malkauns* (an all flat note pentatonic *raag* where the 2nd and the 3rd notes are never touched) he asked me if I wanted to learn the composition with the original text or the newer one that he had specifically done for the audience in Pakistan.

During my visit in the year 2000, I had interviewed him intently and intensively both. What I found was that although he had a unique repertoire, it was not an extensive one. He mentioned about looking into his father's note books when I asked him about some rare *raag* forms.

I had heard from some of the Sikh maestros that over the last few hundred years, many exponents of the Talwandi *gharana* had become Sikhs and began singing *gurubani* instead of other texts. Some even continued to be non-Sikhs but sang *gurubani* while retaining their respective beliefs. During one of our discussions I mentioned about *Raag Khat Gujri* to his surprise. According to Hafeez Khan, this *raag* and its compositions in *chartaal* are some of the prized assets of the Talwandi Gharana and Hafeez Khan was clearly shocked to hear the same *raag* sang by me. He was always very courteous with me but I noticed that he actually became comfortable with me after this particular episode. I wasn't counted amongst aliens anymore and I was glad.

The handling of a ten beat rhythmic cycle variant, *soolphakta aka sool* or *soolphak*, in this tradition, particularly amazed me. Unlike most music traditions where *sool* is sung in medium or fast tempo, in the Talwandi repertoire there are quite a few compositions in *vilambit laya* (slow pace) like *chartaal* (a 12-beat cycle) or *dhamaar* (a 14-beat cycle). A noteworthy example among such compositions is a masterpiece in a *raag kanra* version,

"Laalan aaye, bhaye mohe.
Hoon bali gayee sakhi, apne piya ko.
(*asthai*)

Tan, man, dhan main chaa vari kar hoon,
Jaane na doongi sakhi, apne piya ko".
(*antara*)

The *mukhra* (beginning) of this composition, *laalan aaye*, is particularly confusing to even a chiseled percussion accompanist (having personally tried with a few). The percussionists think that the *summ* of the *bandish* (composition) is on the phonetic 'a' of *aaye*, instead the composition is a *mastAnād dhrupad* i.e. one that starts from the first beat of the rhythm cycle – in this case the *soolphak*.

But there were some other unique aspects to Hafeez Khan's handling of *geet* and *sulphak*, 7 and 10 beats respectively, this time in *ati-drut laya* (*prestissimo* or fast pace). Having successfully revived Punjab's art of *pakhawaj* playing, it was indeed a pleasure and a satisfying experience for me, to accompany him and his brother, Mohammad Afzal Khan, on the *jori/pakhawaj*.

There were a few funny instances too, in our conversation. One evening he sang a beautiful composition in *geet taal* and I expressed my desire to learn it. Hafeez Khan Sahib did not want to reveal the name of the *raag* and clearly pretended to have 'forgotten' the composition that he had just sang. I responded by singing 6-7 compositions set to *panchamsavari*, *Punjabi tintal* and *soolphak* and he exclaimed, "Even you know *raag mali gaura*?"

A couple of days later, I introduced him to Rai Azizullah, the direct descendent of the Nawabs of Talwandi who were the *jajman* (patrons) of Hafeez Khan's ancestors. Shockingly, they had never met – well, until that fine evening, when I organised an evening concert at the Rai's residence in Lahore. Both the Khandehre brothers sang in unison – a memorable concert. The *soolta* rendition was very dramatic when both the brothers tried to challenge me unsuccessfully as I played the *jori* along with them that evening, leaving Ustad Afzal Khan, the elder brother of Hafeez Khan, utterly pleased. After I asked them to sing the *mali gaura* composition, Hafeez Khan complained to me afterwards that I must not take the names of the *raags* in front of people, as they had never revealed the names of these rare *ragas* in Pakistan.

In another occasion he tried to convert me to his own set of principles. He started by saying that "Hazrat Mohammad is the Prophet while Guru Nanak Dev is only a Pir". The status of a Prophet is higher as the truth has been revealed to the Prophet whereas Guru Nanak Dev only taught what the Prophet revealed. This hilarious debate went on until dawn. He never engaged in a religious or spiritual debate with me afterwards.

He had even passed on to me his ancestral *tanpura*, which he claimed to be more than 300 hundred years old, writing a will-like note on a slip in Urdu. According to him its *toomba* (gourd) was made from a rhino-skin. But I returned this precious heirloom to him after doing some extensive restoration work on it.

He was a great teacher. It was a memorable moment when he taught me *darbari alap*. He was very methodical and showed his sincere intent to teach. He told me I was the first singer student of his and also 'ordained' me in the line of Talwandi exponents. He requested me to take care of his son and family after him. The list of his well-wishers grew considerably in the years since my last visit. Rabia and Shahid Mirza organised classes at their art and crafts abode,

Lahore Chitrakar, and recorded his concerts. He had many new students some of whom I met when I visited Lahore after his passing away.

Many times I had expressed my desire to bring him to India. Especially now when my plans to set up Anād Conservatory: An Institute of Arts, Aesthetics and Cultural Traditions at the historic Qila Sarai, Sultanpur Lodhi in Kapurthala are nearly fructified. His name had already been proposed as a Professor Emeritus at the Conservatory's Faculty of Music and Arts. Removing his name was a very painful act indeed and I hope his elder brother, howsoever frail, would be able to undertake this responsibility.

Khan Sahib's demise has indeed left a void and is an irretrievable loss. I was very pleased to see a lot of him in his son Ali and nephew Labrez – who must now carry the Talwandi baton in to the future. They will need to work very hard indeed and, Khan Sahib, I reiterate my pledge to you to be supportive of them and their cause – hopefully the day may not be far when they would represent you and the great elders of this unique *gharana* of Punjab. In gratitude to you for all that you shared. Rabb Rākha –Farewell...

Bhai Baldeep Singh

Ustad Mohammad Hafeez Khan Talwandiwale, Musician, born January 2, 1936 Faisalabad originally Lyallpur (West Punjab Pakistan) died March 18, 2009 Faisalabad.

About the author: Bhai Baldeep Singh, a 13th-generation exponent of Sikh Kirtan Maryada (vocalist, percussionist, string player) is also an instrument maker, lecturer, archivist, and founder of Anād Conservatory – An institute of Arts, Aesthetics and Cultural Traditions. Chairman and Managing Trustee of the Anād Foundation, he represents Punjab in the General Council of the National Academy of Music and Drama, New Delhi.

Notes

¹ The decline of *dhrupad* and related art forms is evident in this image by Shahid Mirza. In Pakistan, there is no artisan who can make *pakhawaj* or *jori* (drums traditionally used for accompaniment to *dhrupad*), and neither a *pakhawaj* player of any substance, after the tragic demise of Ustad Talib Hussein in the early 90's. In this image, Wajid Ali is seen playing *tabla* with Hafeez Khan's *dhrupad* singing. I have heard some recordings of these concerts, which were give to me by Shahid Mirza in April 2009 when I visited Lahore and Faisalabad. The *tabla* accompaniment in these recordings is piteous.

It is a shame that Hafeez Khan and his brother could not have at least a couple of their children or relatives trained in the art of *pakhawaj* playing when many exponents were still around such as the legendary Bhai Santu, Bhai Naseera, Mian Kader Baksh, Baba Inayat and Baba Mukhtar.

² Dhrupad is said to be the oldest living musical genres of India after the *chandh*, *prabandh*, *dhruva* and *matha* genres went out of vogue. It must be noted that the Gurubani Kirtan tradition with its oldest Sufi order author Sheikh Farid (11-12th Century AD) still employs the *chandh* and *prabandh* genres of singing in its repertoire. The Gurubani aka Guru Granth Sahib is authored by 36 masters who lived in South Asia between the 11-12th century and 17-18th century AD.

³ The performers shown here in this undated photo were not familiar to even Hafeez Khan who preserved this image. It is interesting to see a *tasha* or *dukkad* like percussion instrument similar to the one used to accompany a *shehnai* (an Indian flute) concert.

⁴ *Dhrupad: Tradition and Performance in Indian Music* by Ritwik Sanyal and Richard Widdess. Ashgate Publishing Limited. 2004. Page 395.

⁵ “A similar situation seems to have existed in the Punjab. Before Partition, dhrupad was a popular art-form for which members of the Talwandi gharana were particularly noted. It is said that they were employed by Sikh religious leaders to compose music in the dhrupad style for ritual use in the temples of Amritsar and elsewhere; they also taught Sikh and Hindu pupils, sometimes adopting Sikh or Hindu titles and dress. Thus music of ultimately Hindu origins was adapted by Muslims for use in Sikh ritual”. Written as quoted attributed to Dharambir Singh and Pandit Amarnath from, *Ibid.*, Page 33

⁶ Even some of their remarks in their book *Dhrupad: Tradition and Performance in Indian Music* about the un-willingness of Fahimuddin Dagar to share knowledge are disturbing. But I will refrain from ingressing further into this issue here in this article but hoping at the same time that at least in academia tools such as impatience and jumping to easy conclusions are shunned.

⁷ Listen to *Gharano Ki Gaiki*, a 20-tape set produced by Khurshid Anwar for EMI (Pakistan) Ltd and PNCA. TCEMCP 5060/5079. circa 1980.