

**RE-CREATING “INDIA” THROUGH MUSICAL AND RITUAL PERFORMANCES:
MUSIC AND RELIGION OF DIASPORIC INDIANS IN PITTSBURGH**

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Yuko Eguchi, M.A.

University of Pittsburgh, 2008

In the suburbs of Pittsburgh, amidst former steel factories, grocery stores, hospitals, and country clubs, on a hillside overlooking Interstate 376 sits an impressive display of ancient Indian architecture: the Sri Venkateswara (SV) Temple, the oldest Hindu Temple constructed in the Penn Hills section of Pittsburgh in 1976. Although living on the opposite side of the globe, diasporic Indians in Pittsburgh reconstruct their home surroundings and rigidly follow the Indian religion, tradition, and culture – especially inside the SV Temple. In fact, the SV Temple is a small version of “India” itself; things that are experienced in daily life in India are reproduced and materialized by priests and devotees every day inside the temple. My fieldwork revealed that immigrant Indians often feel alienated from their host society. Rituals, music and dance concerts, lectures and language classes in the SV Temple provide not only psychological consolation for diasporic Indians, but helps to construct their identities as Indian. In Indian tradition, the boundary between sacred and secular is vague, and diasporic Indians usually express their Indian identities through performance.

In this thesis, I focus on Indian-Americans’ (especially Hindu Tamils) perceptions of religion and culture by examining musical performances during a ritual ceremony (Venkateswara Abishekam) and a children’s Sunday school session based on fieldwork research conducted in 2006 and 2007. This thesis addresses the following question: What roles do ritual ceremonies and musical practices play in constructing notions of “India” in Pittsburgh? My findings reveal

how essentialized notions of culture have become central to identity construction in diasporic communities. My point is not to present a monolithic view of Indian-Americans' perceptions regarding identity, but rather it is to use their individual perceptions of music and culture in order to understand the reality of Indian-American lives in the United States.

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PREFACE

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis advisor Prof. Andrew Weintraub for giving me critical comments and advice. In the spring of 2006, Prof. Weintraub introduced me to the Sri Venkateswara Temple and encouraged me to explore this “new world.” He helped me prepare a paper for the annual SEM conference, and guided me in the right direction whenever I encountered problems. Without his kind support and encouragement, my thesis work would not have been completed. I would also like to thank my thesis committee members, Prof. Fred Clothey, Prof. Mathew Rosenblum, and Prof. Bell Yung for giving me suggestions and warm encouragement on my work.

I am grateful to the members of Sri Venkateswara Temple for sharing their knowledge of Indian religion and culture and teaching me their tradition and ways of life with patience. I am especially thankful to Dr. Balawant Dixit for sharing his life stories and organizing Indian music and cultural events in Pittsburgh; Mr. Samudrala Charyulu for spending much time teaching me the complex science of Hinduism; Ms. Srimathi Swaminathan for sharing her life stories and feeding me her delicious meals; Dr. M. Lalitha for helping me to interact with temple community members; Mr. Pradeep Archakam for teaching me the Vedic mantra and slokas; and Ms. Shuba Sriram for teaching me in the Carnatic singing tradition despite her busy schedule as a student and a mother of two daughters. I also owe deep thanks to the Charyulu, Bhattar, Swaminathan,

and Rajasekaran families, Mr. Ganesh Viswanathan, Ms. Sitalakshmi Madhavan, Mr. Ram Gomadam, IYO members, and Dr. Doris Dyen at the Rivers of Steel Archive.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents and family in Tokyo for their support, encouragement, and love. Their comment “don’t keep having too much fun with your thesis, just finish it!” was the motivation I needed to complete the task.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the suburbs of Pittsburgh, amidst former steel factories, grocery stores, hospitals, and country clubs, on a hillside overlooking Interstate 376 sits an impressive display of ancient Indian architecture: the Sri Venkateswara Temple (SV Temple), a Hindu Temple constructed in the Penn Hills section of Pittsburgh in 1976. In interviewing the devotees in the SV Temple, I found that the temple has four different functions: one, it is a religious site where people meditate and are purified; two, it is a cultural and entertainment site where people perform Indian music and dance; three, it is an educational site where children learn the language and history of India; and four, it is a socializing site where people get together.

Sociologist Fred Clothey, in his extensive research on Hinduism in the United States, writes “[t]he building of a Hindu temple by Indian Americans represents the founding of a world. This is so ritually, of course, in that the Hindu temple is a cosmos, a space in which cosmic processes are re-enacted and maintained” (1983: 196). The SV Temple is not merely a place where people worship, but also a place where all sorts of cultural and educational activities are conducted.

The temple pamphlet published in 2006 notes “the construction of an *authentic* Temple in Pittsburgh dedicated to Sri Venkateswara commenced on June 30, 1976 with the assistance of Tirumala Tirupathi Devasthanam” [Italics added]. The temple community is proud to recreate not only an *authentic* temple but an environment modeled on *real India* inside the temple. In

fact, the SV Temple is a small version of *India* itself; things that are experienced in daily lives in India are reproduced and materialized by priests and devotees every day inside the temple.

1.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

In this thesis, I focus on Indian-Americans' (especially Hindu Tamils) perceptions of music by examining a ritual ceremony and a music practice during children's Sunday school session based on fieldwork research conducted in 2006 and 2007. I address the following questions: What roles do ritual ceremonies and musical practices play in the Hindu temple in Pittsburgh? Why has the SV Temple become a multi-functional site in the United States? Does the SV temple help to construct Indian identities for American-born children? Why have Indian immigrants rigidly held on to their identities as Indian? My findings reveal how essentialized notions of culture have become central to identity construction in diasporic communities. My point is not to present a monolithic view of Indian-Americans' perceptions regarding identity, but rather it is to use their individual perceptions of music and culture in order to understand the reality of Indian-American lives in the United States.

1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: MUSIC AND DIASPORA

In the social sciences, the topics of diaspora have been discussed extensively in recent years. In the 1950s and 1960s, the term diaspora was used narrowly to describe Jewish diaspora in the literature (Bohlman 1980: 292). In the inaugural publication of the journal *Diaspora*, English

linguist Khachig Tölölyan writes that the term diaspora “once described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion [but] now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community” (1991: 4).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the capacity of the term diaspora has been expanded in the fields of anthropology, sociology, and economics to include any group of people living outside of their home country (Leonard 1997: 75). In the same issue, political scientist William Safran attempts to define the term “diasporic communities” as (1) members or their antecedents that have been dispersed from an original place to at least two or more other places; (2) members that maintain a memory or myth about their original homeland; (3) members that believe they are not and cannot be fully accepted by their host country; (4) members that regard their original homeland as their “true home” and a place where they or their descendents eventually return; (5) members that are committed to maintain and to restore their homeland; and (6) members that they continue to define themselves by the continuing relationship with their homeland (1994: 83-84).

Through conducting interviews, I found that Indian-Americans in Pittsburgh, especially the SV Temple attendants, perfectly fit the definition of diasporic communities as defined by Safran above. First, they have been dispersed from their homeland (especially from South India), and second, they maintain their ties with their homeland India through the practice of religion and culture. Third, they also feel alienated from their host society, and fourth, they constantly mention that they will eventually (after their retirement) go back to India. Fifth, they watch news of India through receiving satellite channel at homes and they are deeply concerned about political and social movements in India. The SV Temple becomes the agent for collecting money when famine or natural disaster occurs in their homeland. Six, although possessing

American citizenship, they define “we” as Indian rather than American. Finally, they maintain an Indian diet and speak their native language in their daily lives.

While scholars in social sciences have focused on analyzing diasporic culture and society, ethnomusicologists have been covering topics related to diaspora and music. For instance, in the third volume of the journal *Diaspora*, five articles are dedicated to the discussion of music and diaspora. At the beginning of the volume, Mark Slobin describes the importance of music in diasporic studies as follows: “[m]usic is central to the diasporic experience, linking homeland and here-land with an intricate network of sound” (1994: 243). When people emigrate from one country to another, their tradition, culture, ideas, and commodities are also transferred from their homeland to a newly settled land. In this process of creating a new diasporic community on foreign soil, music plays a crucial role in people’s lives. Music is often considered as something extra in certain communities since it serves solely as entertainment; unlike food and water, it is not indispensable to people’s lives. However, for a diasporic community, music becomes a way to express identity, and as Slobin notes, “people find it impossible to live without as they move from place to place, assembling and reassembling past and present identities” (ibid: 244). The music evokes specific memories of events that were experienced back in the homeland so that the music is always tied to the notion of homeland (Slobin 2003: 219). This thesis is based on the framework of music as an expression of diasporic identity – musical performances symbolize and emphasize Indian identity in the SV Temple – and as a re-creation and revival of homeland – India is reproduced through musical performances.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

As I walked through the main door carrying my fieldwork equipment, a man stopped me and said, “You see the poster? No shoes, no photos, no videos on the second and third floors. It’s a sacred place. You can tape anything you want on the first floor and in the auditorium, but not in the temple. Ok?”¹ At the front desk, many tapes and CDs of devotional songs, books on Hinduism, collections of chant books (*Stotram*), and traditional Indian costumes were displayed for sale. People were waiting at the cashier to pay their donations while deciding which ritual to attend. From a distance, I smelled the pungent aroma of Indian food and heard chant, Indian dance music, and children’s laughter. I felt like I had just been teleported from Pittsburgh to India. “Where am I? What’s going on here?” – I kept asking myself these questions while catching occasional stares from people at the temple. My first-time visit to the SV temple allowed me to catch a glimpse of Indian immigrants’ ordinary life scene and to have a strong desire to understand why they behaved and practiced things as the way they did inside the temple.

Many ethnographic studies discuss the difficulties in defining the position of an ethnographer in the context of fieldwork; such difficulties lie in the distinctions between “insider” and “outsider,” “native” and “non-native,” “participant” and “observer” (Jackson 1987: 63-67). During the fieldwork at the SV Temple, my position as an ethnographer was rather clear; I was an “outsider” since I was neither an Indian nor Indian-American, and I was an “observer” writing down things that were happening during the ritual and music performances in the temple. Most of the time, I tried to imitate whatever people were doing in the temple; in a

¹ Informal conversation with Mr. Ram Gomadam on February 19, 2006. Mr. Gomadam is a temple supervisor, who has worked at the front desk for seventeen years.

sense, I was using a “participant–observer” method. For example, I prayed to the Venkateswara by kneeling and bowing, putting ashes and red powders on my forehead – hoping that this would show my respect to the deities and devotees and hoping for them to give me permission to enter their sacred place. In addition, I tried to chant with other devotees by reading a Stotram text and to sing devotional song by following the lead singer during the ritual. In short, I was hoping that I could blend in with other devotees. Yet, since I was the only Japanese inside the temple, I could never avoid being stared at by devotees (especially children between the ages of two and seven). After a couple of visits to the temple, one of the devotees whom I interviewed mentioned that the reason for the devotees’ occasional “stare” was that they simply wanted to offer a help for me since I looked like a stranger.²

My fieldwork research was mostly conducted in the SV Temple and devotees’ houses.³ As a model for my research, I read articles about music and musical practices of different

² Informal conversation with unidentified informant after the Sunday ritual on February 24, 2006.

³ I conducted interviews with twenty-eight temple members and officers: Ms. Sitalakshmi Nunna (temple member: February 19, 2006); Mr. Ram Gomadam (temple supervisor: February 24, 2006); Mr. Samudrala Charyulu (priest: February, March, and April in 2006, 2007, and 2008); Mrs. Swarnalatha Charyulu (temple member and wife of Mr. Charyulu: March 10, 2006); Ms. Subhashini Charyulu (temple member and daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charyulu: March 10, 2006); Ms. Shravani Charyulu (temple member and daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charyulu: March 10, 2006); Mr. Srinivas Charyulu (temple member and son of Mr. and Mrs. Charyulu: March 10, 2006); Mrs. Srimathi Swaminathan (temple member: February, March, and April in 2006); Ms. Deby Fornwalt (temple office assistant: February 24, 2006); Dr. M. Lalitha (visiting scholar at the University of Pittsburgh: February 24 and March 10, 2006); Mr. Ganesh Viswanathan (temple committee member: March and April in 2006, and September and October in 2007); Mr. Vikram Raghu (president of IYO in 2006: March in 2006 and 2008); Ms. Rupali Kumar (secretary of IYO in 2006: March 5, 2006); Mr. Gopalea Bhattar (priest: March 6, 2006); Mrs. Nagamani Bhattar (temple member and wife of Mr. Bhattar: March 6, 2006); Ms. Poojitha Bhattar (temple member and daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Bhattar: March, April, and May in 2006 and 2007); Mrs. Shashikala K (temple member and daughter in law of Mr. Bhattar: March 6, 2006); Mr. Sricharan K (temple member and son of Mrs. K: March 6, 2006); Mr. Ajay Madduru (temple member: March 10, 2006); Mrs. Lakshmi Anisingaraju (temple member: March 10, 2006); Mr. Vineet Madduru (temple member and son of Mr. Madduru and Mrs. Anisingaraju: March 10, 2006); Mr. V. Rajasekaran (temple member: March 10, 2006); Ms. Aananthi Rajasekaran (temple member and daughter of Mr. Rajasekaran: March 10, 2006); Ms. Ambika Rajasekaran (temple member and daughter of Mr. Rajasekaran: March 10, 2006); Ms. Sitalakshmi Madhavan (temple member and singing teacher: March 25 and 30, 2006); Dr. Balwant Dixit (Professor of Pharmaceutical Science at the University of Pittsburgh: March 22 and 28); Mr. Pradeep Archakam (priest: January and February in 2008); and Ms. Shuba Sriram (temple member and Carnatic singing teacher: January, February, and March in 2008). The list of questions used during the interviews is in Appendix C.

I attended twelve Venkateswara Abishekam (Sunday morning ritual ceremony: February 19, 26, and March 5, 12, 19, 26 in 2006; October 7, 21 and December 16 in 2007; February 10, 17, and March 16 in 2008), a Wedding

immigrant communities and diaspora: Turkish in Stockholm (Hammarlund 1994), Haitians in Miami (Averill 1994), Chinese in New York (Zheng 1994), Afro-Cubans in New York (Velez 1994), Indian Christians in northern America (George 1998), and South Asian Muslims in Britain (Baily 1995). These articles investigate histories of immigration, communication and organization within immigrant groups, network and trade between diaspora and its homeland, musicians and musical instruments, and processes of acculturation or assimilation versus re-creation of tradition.

This thesis is constructed in three parts: first, ethnography, in which I report my observations and experiences in the SV Temple in a detailed manner; second, transcription and analysis, in which I present transcriptions of chant and songs from the ritual ceremony based on my recordings and analyze these transcriptions as “musical sound”; and third, interpretation, in which I present my interpretation of people’s behavior, notions and ideas of music, and theories about “why people do what they do” in the SV Temple.

1.4 INDIAN DIASPORA IN PITTSBURGH

Within walking distance from the University of Pittsburgh, there are several Indian restaurants and grocery stores selling Indian food ingredients and spices, Indian classical and popular music cassettes and CDs, *Bollywood* movies, magazines, posters of famous film actors and actresses, pictures of Hindu deities, and devotional texts. The cultural organizations, such as the *Society for the Promotion of Indian Classical Music And Culture Amongst Youth* (SPICMACAY) at

ceremony for deities (March 5, 2006), children’s dance (March 5 and April 8 in 2006) and singing performance (March 11, 2006) concerts, and children’s Sunday school sessions (March 5, 12, and 19 in 2006) at the SV Temple.

Carnegie Mellon University⁴ and the *Center for the Performing Arts of India* at the University of Pittsburgh,⁵ each host Indian classical music concerts (both Hindustani and Carnatic music) at least three times a year. These organizations bring professional musicians and dancers from India in order to provide opportunities for the Pittsburgh community, especially college students, to be familiar with Indian culture. Most of these concerts are held on campus, but for certain occasions, such as celebration of deities or a New Year's celebration in the Hindu tradition, the SV Temple serves as a venue for the concerts.

In 2006, the Pluralism Project, conducted by social science researchers at Harvard University, estimated that 815,000 Indian immigrants reside in the United States. The Project also showed that there are 714 Hindu temples, located in major cities such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, which were constructed by the first generation of Indian immigrants beginning in the 1970s. According to the 2006 American Community Survey, there are almost 8,000 Indian immigrants living in Pittsburgh.⁶ In the Pittsburgh area, there are approximately 30 Hindu temples and spiritual centers listed on internet websites and in phone directories.⁷ In these directories, the SV Temple is introduced as the first (and oldest) Hindu temple built in the United States and is renowned as a famous pilgrimage site among Hindu devotees for its authenticity.

⁴ < <http://www.andrew.cmu.edu/user/macay/> > Accessed November 12, 2007.

⁵ < <http://www.unc.pitt.edu/india3/index.html> > Accessed November 12, 2007.

⁶ American Community Survey (ACS) estimates the foreign born Indian population of the Pittsburgh MSA in the following – 6,348 in 2000, and 7,784 in 2006. < <http://www.pluralism.org/resources/statistics/distribution.php> > Accessed November 5, 2007.

⁷ < <http://tamilibrary.org/teli/templeus6.html> > Accessed November 5, 2007.

1.4.1 The Purpose of Immigration

There are two major attractions that bring Indians to Pittsburgh: (1) higher education in many different disciplines, especially in the medical, science, and engineering fields, offered by schools in Pittsburgh; and (2) industrial and business opportunities, especially in the software and technology field. In 1983, Clothey wrote that “Pittsburgh is the headquarters for sixteen multi-national corporations, making the city fourth in that category after New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles” (165). Although the population of Indian immigrant grew rapidly in New Jersey and Texas compared to Pennsylvania between the 1980s and 1990s, the business and educational opportunities provided in Pittsburgh area have been attracting thousands of Indians in the last two decades.⁸ Most Indian immigrants are highly educated – holding undergraduate or graduate degrees either from schools in India or in the U.S. – and come to Pittsburgh with specialized skills and professions. According to the 1990 census, 65 percent of Indian immigrants hold either college or graduate degree (Perlmann and Waldinger 1997: 899). In fact, fifteen Indian families that I interviewed have jobs that require higher education. Most also own average-sized American houses with one or two cars, and satellite TVs capable of receiving Indian programming. Through interviews, it became clear that most Indians think that the United States provides better education for children and better job opportunities for both men and women compared to India.

⁸ < <http://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/statab/sec01.pdf> > Accessed November 12, 2007.

1.4.2 Indian immigration, 1950s – 1960s

In the 1950s, there was a relatively small Indian immigrant population in the United States. In the article on the history of Pittsburgh immigration, Clarke Thomas documents that there were only about a dozen Indians, who were all students at the universities, who emigrated from India and resided in and around the Pittsburgh area in the early 1950s (1983: 88). There were several reasons for Indian students to choose Pittsburgh for studying abroad: (1) in the late 1940s and early 1950s, India had decided to emphasize the field of steel industry and began to send a number of students to Pittsburgh – these students had a positive experience during their stay, and when they returned home, they encouraged others to study abroad in Pittsburgh; (2) the Pittsburgh Council for International Visitors provided hospitality and financial aid for visiting Indian students and workers, which helped Pittsburgh to maintain a good reputation (ibid: 89).

It must be noted, however, that these international students or visiting workers were considered as non-immigrants due to their short period of residency in Pittsburgh. One of my interviewees, Dr. Balwant Dixit, a professor of Pharmaceutical Sciences at the University of Pittsburgh, came to Pittsburgh in 1962 and completed his Ph.D. program in Pharmacology within three years. Dr. Dixit mentioned that it was impossible for most Asians to obtain permanent residency in the 1960s that the only choice left for him after the completion of his degree was to go back to India.⁹ In the 1960s, students or workers from India were considered as “temporary visitors” rather than “immigrants.” Most Indians returned to their homeland after a couple of years of stay in the United States. As a result, Indians never had a chance to possess status as “immigrants” or even to become American citizens until the mid 1960s.

⁹ Interview with Dr. Balwant Dixit on March 28, 2006.

1.4.3 Indian Immigration, mid 1960s – early 1970s

In 1965, the Immigration law was revised as the Immigration and Nationality Act Law, which allowed non-European immigrants to have easier access and for immigration to the United States (Clothey 1983: 165). As a result, the population of Asian immigrants to the United States, including people from China, Japan, Korea, and India, rose more than 50% within ten years.¹⁰ Although the population of Asian immigrants grew rapidly in the late 1960s to early 1970s, the immigration law only allowed immigrants to possess permanent residency and not American citizenship. In a case of Dr. Dixit's personal experience, he was able to come back to the United States due to his professor's encouragement and support. With sponsorship from the University of Pittsburgh, Dr. Dixit became a permanent resident in 1968. In 1969, Dr. Dixit got married in India, and he was able to bring his wife to the United States due to the revision of the Immigration and Nationality Act Law; however, Dr. Dixit and his family were not able to possess American citizenship until ten years later.

Dr. Dixit recalled that there were no Indian grocery stores, Indian restaurants, and Hindu temples or spiritual centers available in and around the Pittsburgh area in the 1960s and mid 1970s. Although Dr. Dixit's family was vegetarian and had a desire to keep their Indian diet in their daily lives, his family had to accommodate the American diet simply because there were no Indian ingredients and spices available back then. In the 1960s and 1970s, Indian immigrants had to change their own life-style (diet, clothing, and daily schedule) in order to adjust to their

¹⁰ In the 1940s, the Asian immigrant population in the United States was 87,326. In the 1960s and 1970s, it raised to 283,749 and 544,437 respectively. < <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab09.html> > Accessed February 2, 2008.

new life in the United States. In other words, Indian immigrants had to face “Americanization” and had difficulty maintaining their Indian identity.

In the early 1970s, Indian immigrants began missing their food, home, culture, entertainment, and overall life-style. Lipika Mazumdar reports that religious practices cannot be separated from secular practices in the Indian tradition (1992: 20); the daily or yearly schedules of Indian immigrants are set based on their religious calendar. For example, Mrs. Nagamani Bhattar (wife of Mr. Gopalea Bhattar, who is a priest at the SV Temple) explained that her daily schedule always follows the Hindu religious calendar. Mrs. Bhattar gets up in the early morning (4:30am or 5am), cooks a meal for the Hindu gods and goddesses and prays for them by chanting about an hour in front of a shrine at her home. She prays for the family’s health and safety for the day. This procedure, Mrs. Bhattar insisted, has to be done properly every morning before her family awakes, otherwise her ordinary day schedule – cooking breakfast for her family, sending her daughter to school and husband for work – cannot be started.¹¹ From this example, it becomes clear that the life-style of Indian immigrants cannot be detached from the religious practice and calendar, especially in Hindu tradition.

1.4.4 Sri Venkateswara Temple

After securing a physical home in Pittsburgh, Indian immigrants sought to create a spiritual home as well. One of the ways to achieve this was to construct a Hindu temple close to their new home in order to continue religious practices in their daily lives.

¹¹ Interview with Mrs. Nagamani Bhattar on March 6, 2006.

1.4.4.1 History and Background

The Sri Venkateswara Temple was built in 1976 on a steep hill right next to the I-376 Highway in Penn Hills. There are many other Sri Venkateswara temples constructed in the 1980s and 1990s in the United States, including temples in Malibu Hills (CA), Aurora (IL), Atlanta (GA), Milwaukee (WC), and Du Page County (IL). According to a visitor's guide brochure handed out at the temple, the SV Temple in Penn Hills is the first Hindu Temple to be built among all the Sri Venkateswara temples in the United States.¹²

The architecture of the SV Temple in Penn Hills was modeled on the famous seventh-century Tirupati Temple, which is an enormously popular pilgrimage center in the state of Andhra Pradesh (Clothey 1983: 176). The SV Temple was built on the top of the hill by a creek, imitating the construction geography of the Tirupati Temple, in order to increase its authenticity or sacredness and to provide a familiar religious space for the temple attendants (Rambachan 2004: 396). It cost approximately \$1 million to build the SV Temple. The construction fee was funded by the Tirupati Temple as well as donations raised from more than six thousand devotees from all over the United States, all seeking ways to maintain ties to their homeland. According to Clothey, devotees of the SV Temple are mainly people from South India – especially Telugus and Tamils (1983: 176). It is interesting to note that the SV temple provides a service for helping young people to find their future husband or wife. Mr. Ram Gomadam mentioned that when someone is looking for a mate, she/he can register her/his horoscope in the temple database, and she/he will hear the result from the office staff by phone.

¹² Visitor's Guide brochure provided by Mr. Ram Gomadam on February 19, 2006.

1.4.4.2 Building Structure

The SV Temple was constructed by carpenters from India and other construction workers from the Pittsburgh area. The Tirupati Temple donated four hundred thousand rupees worth of materials (i.e., icons, ritual materials, and doors) and labor to the SV Temple construction; in return, the SV Temple donated medical supplies and scientific equipment to the Tirupati Temple (Clothey 1983: 179). The building is beautifully decorated with white granite, and its design is based on seventh-century Hindu architecture.¹³

The first floor is divided into three sections: an office, where temple administrators manage the finances and organize the musical and educational events in the temple throughout the year; two dance and language classrooms; and a huge dining room with a kitchen where two cooks are on duty every day.¹⁴ The second and third floors, where I was not allowed to take photos, constitute the temple section where the lord Venkateswara, a manifestation of Vishnu, is placed on the highest floor and in the center of the building. Above the dining room, there is an auditorium with a capacity of 400 people where the Indian Youth Organization (IYO) practices Indian dance and songs every weekend.¹⁵ The temple invites Indian musicians and dancers for concerts at the auditorium, and they also provide a variety of music and dance classes during the summer.

1.4.4.3 Deities at the Temple

There are three main statues at the SV Temple: Sri Venkateswara, the manifestation of Vishnu (located at the center of the temple); Sri Padmavati, also known as Sri Lakshmi, the goddess of

¹³ Appendix A. 1, a photo taken by Eguchi on October 7, 2007.

¹⁴ Appendix A. 2, a photo taken by Eguchi on October 7, 2007.

¹⁵ Appendix A. 3, a photo taken by Eguchi on October 7, 2007.

wealth and a wife of Venkateswara (located at the left side of Venkateswara); Sri Andal, also known as Sri Bhoomadevi, the goddess of earth and another wife of Venkateswara (located at the right side of Venkateswara).¹⁶ The word “Venkata” from Venkateswara means “the one who can burn sins” (Narayanan 1992: 149).

In addition, there are other animal iconic forms, such as *Seshha Vahana* (the mythological coiled serpent), *Gaja Vagana* (the elephant mount), and *Hanuman* (the monkey head god), placed inside the temple. Majority of devotees are from South India (especially Telugus and Tamils) and Srivaishnavites, who are the followers of the lord Vishnu (Clothey 1983: 176). The SV Temple, however, attempts to include different Hindu iconic forms in order to accommodate the spiritual needs of devotees from various regions with different religious backgrounds.

1.4.4.4 State of Research on Sri Venkateswara Temple

Dr. Fred W. Clothey, a professor of Religious Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, conducted intensive field research on Hinduism and Indian diaspora in Pittsburgh from the 1960s to the 1980s for his book *Rhythm and Intent* published in 1983. Dr. Clothey extended his research into broader contexts in his book *Ritualizing on the Boundaries*, which covers diasporic Tamil communities in different regions: Singapore, Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), Mumbai (India), and Pittsburgh (the United States). In 1990, a documentary video *Pilgrimage to Pittsburgh* was filmed by Ron Hess, in which the temple community celebrated the tenth anniversary of the SV Temple by re-consecrating deities with sacred water that was brought over from the Ganges river in India (Hess 1990). The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette published a special edition of *They Came to*

¹⁶ It is a tradition for Srivaishnavites (the followers of Vishnu) to call the consorts as Sri Padmavati and Sri Andal. In general, names of Sri Lakshmi and Sri Bhoomadevi are better known for devotees with different religious traditions.

... *Pittsburgh* in 1983, in which Clarke Thomas contributed an article on the history of Indian migration in Pittsburgh and its community activities between the 1950s and 1970s. The archive of the Rivers of Steel Heritage museum holds two research reports conducted by former students at the University of Pittsburgh: an anthropological report by Lipika Mazumdar, *Report for the Steel Industry Heritage Task Force – Ethnographic Survey 1992: Asian Communities in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County*, in which she covers the history of the SV Temple and interviews devotees (including an exclusive interview with a Bharata Natyam dance student); an MA thesis on religions studies by Christine Asenjo, *Accessing the Lord's Power: The Ritual of Abhiseka at the Sri Venkateswara Temple*, completed in 1996, in which she focuses on the procedure of ritual ceremony and its meaning. While all of these research works covered the religious and ritualistic aspects of the SV Temple, my research will focus on the musical and cultural activities at the temple, the connections and relationships between the Indian diaspora and the temple, and Indian perceptions of music and culture.

2.0 MUSIC IN THE SV TEMPLE

2.1 RITUAL CEREMONY

In the SV Temple, a religious service (*puja*) is offered to devotees throughout the day from 7:30 am in the morning until 8pm at night, seven days a week. Different types of puja are offered according to the time of day and the day of the week; for example, a prayer service to Ganesha, god of wisdom and remover of obstacles, is performed on the first Saturday, and a prayer to Lakshmi, goddess of wealth, is performed on the second Saturday of every month.

Christine Asenjo, in her research on the rituals at the SV Temple, describes how Srivaishnavites (the followers of Vishnu)¹⁷ have specific lists of “sins against service” that they must follow in their daily lives (1996: 14). These “sins” include “entering the temple or a car with shoes on, neglecting to celebrate the feasts of Visnu [Vishnu], greeting the image of Visnu with one hand only, and eating one’s food without first having offered it to Visnu” (ibid: 14). These specific rules for Srivaishnavites are often ignored by Indian immigrants in the U.S. because of differences in lifestyle between India and the United States. For example, Abishekam, the prayer service, is usually conducted on Fridays in India, but it is done on Sundays in Pittsburgh to accommodate people’s busy work schedule. One of the male devotees at the SV Temple, who works for a software engineering company in downtown Pittsburgh from

¹⁷ It is sometimes spelled as “Visnu.”

8am to 5pm, Monday through Friday, mentioned that he appreciates the fact that the SV Temple has changed the date and time of the ritual so that he can participate in it on weekends when he is off from work.¹⁸ Another female devotee, who is a housewife, briefly stated that she comes to the temple every weekend with her children, who go to a nearby public school, in order to participate in the ritual and dance class.¹⁹ Unlike temples in India, the SV Temple changes the ritual schedule in order to provide opportunities for more diasporic Indians to participate in the rituals, which results in the increase of numbers of devotees as well as the amount of donations. Diasporic Indians also make compromises with their own tradition and lifestyle in order to fit into their host society.

During my fieldwork, Venkateswara Abishekam, a purification service prayer for Venkateswara and his consorts, was performed every Sunday from 11am to 1pm by three priests who were trained in India.²⁰ The Abishekam consists of three parts: 1) a priests' service, 2) a devotees chanting, and 3) a priest's prayer to the individual sponsors of this ritual. The following is a description of the ritual Venkateswara Abishekam based on a visit to the SV Temple on March 5, 2006.

2.1.1 Description of the Venkateswara Abishekam

After taking off my shoes and passing through the donation counter and main office, I walked up to the first floor (the temple section).²¹ As soon as I climbed up the stairs, I saw a couple of people forming a line in front of Ganesha in order to pray to him. Ganesha is the son of Shiva,

¹⁸ Informal conversation with unidentified informant during the Sunday ritual on February 24, 2006.

¹⁹ Informal conversation with unidentified informant after the Sunday ritual on March 12, 2006.

²⁰ Appendix A. 4, a photo from 2006 Sri Venkateswara Visitor's Guide. Decorated Sri Venkateswara is shown in the back (middle) with his consorts on each side.

²¹ The floor where the temple office is located is considered to be a basement floor.

god of creation and destruction, and Parvati, the mother goddess who is a sister of Vishnu. The statue of Ganesha has an elephant-shaped head. On the left side of Ganesha, there was a big entrance door called *Rajagopuram*, which was closed at this time since it is only opened for special occasions. I carefully observed what other people were doing in front of Ganesha; lay down on the floor with stomach side down; stand up; repeat this twice; ring the bell attached to the ceiling of Ganesha's room; pray to him with hands together (with eyes closed or opened by looking at him straight into his eyes); put one's hands over the candle fire and touch one's forehead; and put ash and red powder onto one's forehead. When my turn came, I followed this procedure even though I was nervous, confused, and scared. I was nervous because this was my first time to visit the Hindu temple as well as to be a fieldworker using the method of participant-observation. I was confused because I was neither an Indian nor a Hindu (in fact, my religion is Shinto), and I thought that worshipping Hindu gods and goddesses might be offensive to Hindu deities and my god (later, I found that Hindu gods and goddesses exist in different forms in Shinto so that I did not have to be confused after all). I was also scared because I wondered what other devotees might think of my behavior. I was simply imitating whatever they were doing there, which might offend some devotees.

While wondering about what others might be thinking about my attitude and presence, I walked up another set of stairs and proceeded to the second floor, *Prakaram* (outer precinct), where Venkateswara is located.²² I was told to take a left side door when entering Venkateswara's room and to take a right side door when leaving the room; later I heard that proceeding clockwise is thought to be auspicious in the Hindu temple. Brenda E. F. Beck, in her

²² In India, *Prakaram* (outer precinct) is usually located outside of the temple building, where devotees walk around the temple in circle in a clockwise direction. At the SV Temple, *Prakaram* is constructed inside the temple building so that devotees are able to walk around the temple in a circle even during the winter when it is cold and snowy outside.

research on the Hindu notions of purity and the body, notes that actions taken by the right hand are considered “pure” and actions taken by the left hand are considered “impure” (1976: 218). An important action, such as receiving *prasada* (blessed gift from deities, usually in the form of fruits, nuts, and water) from priests or putting *kumkum* (powdered turmeric) on one’s forehead, should be taken by one’s right hand. On the other hand, the action taken by the left hand, which is normally used to clean up one’s bodily waste, is considered disrespectful and impure. Therefore, it is important to keep one’s right side of the body toward the deity whenever inside or around the temple.

Venkateswara’s room is actually located another floor above the temple entrance section and is separated by special clear glass doors. As soon as I opened the door, I saw hundreds of devotees standing in a big hall called *Mahamandapam* (the Great Hall), and looking into one of the three rooms in the middle, which seemed to be located in the center of the whole SV Temple building. This was the room where the statue of Venkateswara and his spirit resides, and is called *Garbhagruha* (sanctum-sanctorum).²³ As I walked closer to the Venkateswara statue, I noticed that *Garbhagruha* was made of stone and was very narrow so that only two or three people could stand inside. I heard that only priests are allowed to go inside this tiny room since it is the most sacred space in the temple. In the *Mahamandapam*, people were chattering and trying to secure a seating spot where they could clearly see the ritual. There were poles with ropes placed in front of the Venkateswara room, which formed a long “red-carpeted” zone for Venkateswara.²⁴ The devotees were not supposed to step into this area. This red-carpet zone provided ample space for all the devotees to witness the ritual, which took place in the tiniest room furthest from where the devotees were sitting. It also provided a space for priests to walk

²³ A detailed description of the room can be found in the 2006 SV Temple visitor’s brochure.

²⁴ This “red-carpeted” zone is actually marked by a green carpet.

through at the end of the ritual. Devotees who made a donation to this specific ritual sat in a room (*Shukarasekam*) very close to the Venkateswara statue.

The ritual of Venkateswara Abishekam started with priests presenting food items that are used for Venkateswara's worship, bringing holy water to his mouth and feet, and smearing turmeric powder onto his forehead. Three priests continued chanting, ringing a bell, and pouring water on the statue of Venkateswara. Three priests, interchangeably, poured water, which was colored with red turmeric, milk, honey, ghee, yogurt or curd, and fruits. These liquids and foods were first transferred into a silver vase and poured on top of Venkateswara's head. Later I heard that milk or yogurt from a plastic container was thought to be "polluted" since they had been previously prepared by either machines or grocery store sellers (non-Brahmins). By transferring food and liquid into a silver container, priests were able to turn them into a "pure" state so that they could be offered to the deities first and be shared with the devotees at the end of the ritual.

According to one of the devotees, the use of the white color (of the milk) and red color (of the turmeric powder) have important meanings in Hindu ritual; she mentioned that white color signifies "cold" and red color signifies "hot." In the Hindu tradition, David Shulman explains that the white color implies the notion of "knowledge," and the red color implies the notion of "creation" (Shulman 1980: 104). Both milk and red colored turmeric water, which is thought to substitute for blood, are considered "sacred fluids of life" (ibid). This white and red color contrast can be seen everywhere inside the temple. For example, one of the *prasad* (food or material first offered to deities and later consumed by devotees) placed in front of the deities contains the white ash and the red turmeric powder; devotees put these powders on their forehead after praying to the god.

Every time they poured a sticky liquid, like honey or curd, they rinsed them off with water. Two priests brought up an oil-lamp to the head of Venkateswara and moved the lamp closer to the statue so that the flame would touch the face, body, and feet of the statue. They did the same action with the incense: they moved the tip of it close to the statue so that the smoke would touch the surface of his body. Next, they applied powdered turmeric (*kumkum*) and rice to his body, while one priest continued to ring a bell. During the ritual, devotees in a large room kept chatting but tried to witness the ritual procedure while listening to the priest's chanting coming through speakers attached to the ceiling. Some adults were chanting along with priests or constantly telling their running children to sit and be quiet; some babies were sleeping peacefully in a baby carriage while listening to the chanting as a lullaby.

The first part of Venkateswara Abishekam lasted about 45 minutes with three priests' chanting. The ritual of Venkateswara Abishekam is based on the traditional texts known as *Pāñcarātra Agamas*. In this tradition, the text instructs that the deities should be worshipped in iconic forms (Asenjo 1996: 10). *Pāñcarātra* (literally "five nights") refers to the time it took Lord Kesava (an alternative name of Vishnu) to teach this complex science of Agama (literally "texts") to Ananta, Garuda, Visvaksena, Brahma, and Rudra.²⁵ There are three kinds of *Agamas*: (1) the *Saivas* (*Shaivas*), worshipped by followers of Shiva and the gods and goddesses associated with him; (2) the *Saktas* (*Shaktas*), worshipped by followers of a variety of goddesses; and (3) the *Vaisnavas* (*Vaishnavas*), worshipped by followers of Vishnu, his spouse Lakshmi, and his incarnations (Rinehart 2004: 45). As mentioned earlier, the majority of devotees at the SV Temple are Srivaisnavites, worshippers of Vishnu. Therefore, the *Vaisnava Agamas* are used during the rituals. The Vaisnava Agamas are also known as *Samhitas* (collection of mantras or

²⁵ Swami Harshananda. Website of "Esamskriti," < http://www.esamskriti.com/html/new_inside.asp?cat_name=prabuddha&sid=146&count1=0&cid=816 > Accessed November 18, 2007.

chants),²⁶ and they include the rules for construction of temples, the guidelines for installing and consecrating deities, and the method of conducting pujas (worship) and festivals (Asenjo 1996: 11). The Vaisnava Agamas are written in Sanskrit, and they require well-trained priests to conduct the ritual in order to mediate between devotees and deities.

During the first part of Abishekam, priests chant six different texts: 1) Śikṣā Vallī from Taittirīya Upanishad, 2) the fourth Prapathaka from Taittirīya Āranyaka, 3) Narayana Suktam, 4) Sri Suktam, 5) Bhu Suktam, and 6) Nila Suktam. Narayana, Sri, Bhu, Nila, and Puruṣa²⁷ Suktams belong to *Pancha (Pāñca) Suktams*. Mr. Samudrala Charyulu, one of the priests conducting this ritual, later mentioned that while Taittirīya Upanishad and Taittirīya Āranyaka describe the rules of conducting rituals, Suktams praise the lord Venkateswara and his consorts. Overall, these Vedic mantras and hymns are performed in order to honor these respective gods and goddesses.

Figure 1 shows the melodic and rhythmic phrases of Śikṣā Vallī from the beginning of the Venkateswara Abishekam.²⁸

²⁶ Samhita literally means “those which are inseparably conjoined together (with rituals)” (Prasad 1994: 24).

²⁷ Not recited during the Venkateswara Abishekam.

²⁸ While priests were chanting the first section of Śikṣā Vallī, I was sitting at the very back of the hall and was not able to record the chant clearly. Immediately after, I asked for permission to move closer to the Garbhagraha so that my MD recorder would pick up more sound. Thus, this recording begins after I moved into *Shukarasekam* (a room located in between Mahamandapam and Garbhagraha, where all the sponsors for this ritual sit).



Figure 1. Taittirīya Upanishad – Śikṣā Vallī, Section III. 2 [Track 1]
(the beginning of the Venkateswara Abishekam)²⁹

Text 1 shows the transliteration and translation of the second mantra of the third section from Śikṣā Vallī.

Text 1. Taittirīya Upanishad – Śikṣā Vallī, Section III. 2³⁰

Athādhilokam. Prīthivī pūrvarūpam. Dyaur uttararūpam.
Ākāśah sandhih. Vāyuh sandhānam. Ity adhilokam.

Now with reference to the context of the visible world: The earth is the prior form.
The heaven is the latter form. Space is the meeting place. Air is the connecting link.
Thus is (the nature of the *mahāsamhitā*), with reference to the context of the visible world.

The chanting consisted of a melodic formula of three pitches, G#, A, and a pitch between G and G# (G↑). Because of these limited number of pitches, intervals used in the entire chant were mostly minor seconds. The melodic line began formulaically with G#, ascended to A, descended back to G# and to G↑, and ascended back to G#; the overall tonal center was G#. This chromatic

²⁹ The recording of Taittirīya Upanishad – Śikṣā Vallī, Section III.2 is track 1 on the sound files (recorded by Eguchi).

³⁰ The full transliteration and translation of Śikṣā Vallī is from *The Taittirīya Upanishad* by Swami Muni Narayana Prasad (1994: 17-83). The full text is in Appendix B. 1.

melodic scale, with a sine-wave like an up and down structure, was repeated with different texts. The rhythmic pattern depended on the pronunciation of the texts. The texts within one formula³¹ were delivered in one breath; before moving to the next line of text, priests paused and took a big breath. The timbre of the voice was harsh but clear; priests produced the sound with a closed throat. All priests were not necessarily chanting on the exact same pitch; however, their accents, intervallic relationships between one syllable to another, and rhythmic patterns were basically the same. The leading priest had a microphone and the description of the chanting in my transcription is based on the leading priest's part. The other two priests' chanting part was picked up by the microphone, but it was hard to hear compared to the leading priest's chanting.

About mid-way through the ritual (20 minutes into the ritual), the priests began to chant Narayana Suktam. Figure 2 shows the melodic and rhythmic phrases of the beginning of Narayana Suktam.

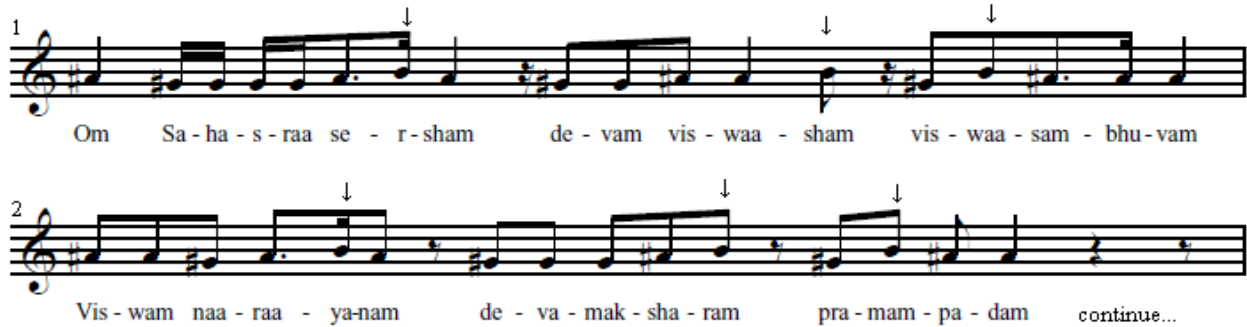


Figure 2. Narayana Suktam [Track 2]
(the midway point of the Venkateswara Abishekam)³²

³¹ The melodic formula corresponds to one line of chant text.

³² The recording of Narayana Suktam is track 2 on the sound files (recorded by Eguchi).

Text 2 shows the transliteration and translation of the first sloka (the beginning line)³³ from Narayana Suktam. Sloka is a rhymed poetic phrase or verse, and it usually consists of two lines of sixteen syllables.

Text 2. Narayana Suktam³⁴

Om. Sahasraa sersham devam viswaasham viswaasambhuvam.
Viswam naaraayanam devamaksharam pramam padam.

I meditate on god Narayana, who has thousands of heads, who sees everywhere,
who does good to all the world, who is the world, who is indestructible,
and who is the greatest destination.

The leading priest began chanting a formula consisting of pitches G#, A#, and a pitch between A# and B (B↓). The tonal center shifted from G# to A#, a major second higher. Although all the pitches were slightly raised, the leading priest was still following the same chromatic scale pattern and intervallic relationship between these three pitches. Narayana is another name for Vishnu; the text of Narayana Suktam is about praising the lord Vishnu. While three priests were chanting Narayana Suktam, one of the priests rang a bell whenever they brought an oil-lamp and incense close to the statue so that the flame and smoke touched Venkateswara's body. Mr. Charyulu informed me that the bell ringing is designed to awaken Venkateswara and his consorts.

About 30 minutes into the ritual of the Venkateswara Abishekam, the priests began to chant Sri Suktam. Figure 3 shows the melodic and rhythmic phrases of the beginning of Sri Suktam.

³³ A sloka is a rhymed poetic phrase or verse. It is sometimes spelled as "shlokas."

³⁴ The full transliteration and translation of Narayana Suktam was written by P. R. Ramachander.

< <http://www.celextel.org/stotrasvishunu/narayanasuktam.html> > Accessed February 23, 2008. The full text is in Appendix B. 2.



Figure 3. Sri Suktam [Track 3]
(the third section of the Venkateswara Abishekam)³⁵

Text 3 shows the transliteration and translation of the first sloka (the beginning line) from Sri Suktam.

Text 3. Sri Suktam³⁶

Hiranya varnām harinīm suvarna rajata srajām.
Chandrām hiranmayīm Lakshmīm jatavedo ma avaha.

Invoke for you O Agni, the Goddess Lakshmi, who shines like gold, yellow in hue,
wearing gold and silver garlands, blooming like the moon, the embodiment of wealth.

In this Suktam, the leading priest used a pitch between G# and A (G#↑), A#, and a pitch slightly higher than B (B↑). The tonal center stayed on the same A# as Narayana Suktam, but other pitches were slightly raised. The tempo became almost twice as fast as the first Śikṣā Vallī section. The text of Sri Suktam is about praising Sri Padmavati, also known as Sri Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and a wife of Venkateswara. While they were chanting Sri Suktam, three priests decorated the statue with wreaths, placed a crown on his head, and covered his whole body with yellow turmeric powder (*kumkum*).

³⁵ The recording of Sri Suktam is track 3 on the sound files (recorded by Eguchi).

³⁶ The full transliteration and partial translation of Sri Suktam is from the website of Śrī Vidya Temple in New York, < http://www.srividya.org/slokas/HTML/sri_suktam.htm > Accessed February 23, 2008. The full text is in Appendix B. 3.

Towards the end of the Venkateswara Abishekam (about 40 minutes into the ritual), the priests began to chant Bhu Suktam. Figure 4 shows the melodic and rhythmic phrases of the end of Bhu Suktam.

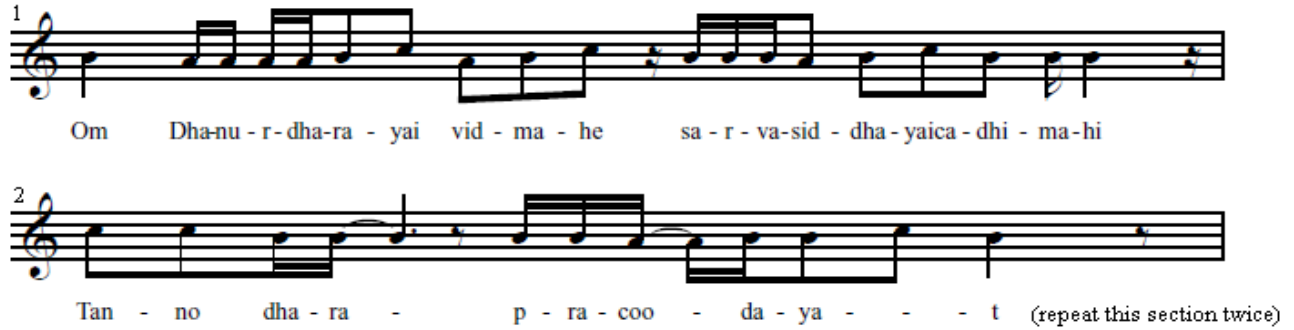


Figure 4. Bhu Suktam [Track 4]
(towards the end of the Venkateswara Abishekam)³⁷

Text 4 shows the transliteration and translation of the twelfth sloka (the end line) from Bhu Suktam.

Text 4. Bhu Suktam³⁸

Dhanurdharāyai vidmahe sarvasiddhayai ca'dhīmahi.
Tanno dharā pracoodayāt.

I contemplate on the mother earth, the bearer of the bow for the success in all my endeavors.
May she (mother earth) who bears all burdens, inspire our intelligence (to meditate on her).

In this Suktam, the leading priest used pitches A, B, and C. Comparing these pitches with those used in the previous Sri Suktam, the tonal center shifted from A# to B, a minor second higher.

³⁷ The recording of Bhu Suktam is track 4 on the sound files (recorded by Eguchi).

³⁸ The full transliteration and partial translation of Bhu Suktam is from the website of Srivaishnava.com, < http://www.srivaishnavam.com/stotras/bhu_nila_roman.htm > Accessed February 23, 2008. The full text is in Appendix B. 4.

Other pitches were also raised a minor second higher. The tempo stayed almost the same as Sri Suktam, which was still twice as fast as the first Śikṣā Vallī section. The text of Bhu Suktam is about praising Sri Andal, also known as Sri Bhoomadevi, the goddess of earth and another wife of Venkateswara. Towards the end of Bhu Suktam, a priest gently scraped the yellow powder from the statue's eyes, nose, and lips so that devotees could see Venkateswara's face clearly.

After the whole procedure of offering food to Venkateswara was over, three priests came out of the Garbhagraha (Venkateswara room) carrying a bowl of water, fruits and nuts, and fire. First, when a priest with an oil lamp came out, devotees tried to put their hands over the lamp fire and touch their forehead. Second, when another priest holding a bowl of yellow colored water came out, devotees reached out to receive a spoonful of water in their hands, poured some on the top of their head, splashed some on their shoulders and body, and drank some out of their hands. At times when there were too many devotees attending the ritual, some priests splashed this yellow colored water on the devotees.³⁹ Third, when the last priest holding a bowl filled with nuts and dried fruits (raisins) came out, devotees received a scoop of them in their hands and ate them. By receiving fire, water, and fruit, devotees were finally blessed from both inside (drinking turmeric water, eating dried fruits and nuts) and outside (touching fire and pouring turmeric water).

After completing the distribution of blessed food and water to the devotees, the priests went back to the Garbhagraha (Venkateswara room), closed the curtain of that room, and began to clean up. More than a hundred devotees in the Mahamandapam (hall area) sat down on the floor and began reading the *Śrī Vishnu Sahasranāma Stotram*, a hymn that consists of 107 slokas

³⁹ The first time I attended the ritual, I wore a white cotton sweater; even after a long period of scrubbing, my sweater still has a blessing mark; it has become my "auspicious" sweater.

and invokes a thousand names of Mahavishnu.⁴⁰ Figure 5 shows the melodic and rhythmic phrases towards the beginning of Śrī Vishnu Sahasranāma Stotram.



Figure 5. Śrī Vishnu Sahasranāma Stotram [Track 5]
(chanting by devotees)⁴¹

Text 5 shows the transliteration and translation of the fourth sloka from Śrī Vishnu Sahasranāma Stotram.

Text 5. Śrī Vishnu Sahasranāma Stotram⁴²

Vyāsāya vishnu-rūpāya vyāsa-rūpāya vishnave
Namo vai brahma-nidhaye vāsishthāya namo namah.

Salutations to Vyāsā who is the embodiment of Vishnu, and verily Vishnu himself,
and who is of Vasishta's lineage and who has realized Brahman.

Figure 5 is based on one sloka. The Stotram chanting consisted of three pitches, G#, A#, and B. Comparing to the second priest's chanting of Narayana Suktam section (Figure 2), the range of

⁴⁰ Appendix A. 5, a photo taken by Eguchi, October 7, 2007. It contains the whole Stotram in Sanskrit and transliteration with English translation. The booklet of *Śrī Vishnu Sahasranāma Stotram* (written by C. S. Parthasarathy, one of the former devotees at the SV Temple) can be purchased at the main office for \$5.

⁴¹ A recording of Śrī Vishnu Sahasranāma Stotram chanting is track 5 on the sound files (recorded by Eguchi).

⁴² From Śrī Vishnu Sahasranāma Stotram, pp. 2.

pitches sounds almost an octave lower. The tempo was twice as fast. However, the tonal center (A#) and other pitches were the same. The melodic line followed a similar structure as the priest's Narayana Suktam; it ascended from G# to B, repeated this two or three times, and descended back to A#. Each sloka was projected with one breath, and devotees took a deep breath whenever they moved on to recite the next sloka. It took almost 30 minutes to read the whole Stotram. The majority of devotees memorized the whole Stotram, while approximately 30% of devotees were chanting while reading the book of Stotram. Not only adults but also young children were reciting the slokas. Since they were too young to read the Stotram (in Sanskrit or in English), it seemed that children learned to recite the chant by listening to their parent's chanting and memorizing it without understanding the literal meanings. Indeed, oral transmission is common in Hindu temple practice of chant.

After reading the Stotram, there was an "intermission" before devotees could proceed into the Garbhagraha to pray for Venkateswara individually. This time the space was used to showcase devotees' singing knowledge and talents to other devotees as well as to the deities. A woman singer in a traditional costume sang devotional songs (*bhajan*) in a call and response style that allowed other devotees to participate. Figure 6 shows the melodic and rhythmic phrases of a bhajan "Anata-naada Govinda."



**Figure 6. Bhajan “Anata-naada Govinda” [Track 6]
(a devotional song)⁴³**

Text 6 shows the transliteration and translation of the bhajan “Anata-naada Govinda.”

Text 6. Bhajan “Anata-naada Govinda”⁴⁴

Anata-naada govinda. (solo and all)
Ananda-nanda govinda. (solo) Govinda govinda. (all)

I praise you, lord Govinda.
You bring us happiness, lord Govinda.

The leading singer, a woman in front of a microphone, first sang a text along with the melodic line (in mm.1), and the audience repeated exactly the same phrase soon after she finished singing her line (in mm.2). After a couple of times of singing this phrase (mm.1) back and forth between the solo singer and audience, the solo singer began to ornament some pitches and to add some improvisational melodic figures whenever she reached the highest note (G) and descended down to D. The solo singer also began to sing different texts, as written in mm.3. Some audience members tried to imitate her variation phrases, however, most audience members sang a similar melodic line as mm.2 with some simplified texts, such as “govinda” (in mm.4). Towards the end

⁴³ A recording of “Anata-naada Govinda” bhajan is track 6 on the sound files (sung by Ms. Shuba Sriram, one of the devotees of the SV Temple, recorded separately on February 26, 2008, by Eguchi).

⁴⁴ Transliteration and translation by Ms. Shuba Sriram.

of this song, the tempo became faster and faster; when it reached the end, the tempo slowed down. This song was sung in a “lining out” manner; the woman and the congregation sang the same line interchangeably in order to teach the audience, including little children, the melodic and rhythmic structure of bhajan. One of the devotees mentioned that this song was about the glory of the god, and through this song, devotees hoped that the god would protect everyone from any kind of harm.

In addition to the sacred bhajan songs, another bhajan based on a Carnatic style classical song was also performed by the devotees. An amateur singer performed a solo bhajan song called “Devadhi-deva” that praised the lord Vasudeva, another manifestation of Venkateswara, using a *hamsanandi* raga (pitches C, D ♭, E, G ♭, A, and B) with *aditala* (eight-beat cycle). Figure 7 shows the melodic and rhythmic phrases of a bhajan based on Carnatic style song of “Devadhi-deva.”



Figure 7. Carnatic Style Bhajan “Devadhi-deva” [Track 7]⁴⁵

Text 7 shows the transliteration and translation of the Carnatic style song bhajan “Devadhi-deva.”

⁴⁵ A recording of a bhajan “Devadhi-deva” is track 7 on the sound files (recorded by Eguchi).

Text 7. Carnatic Style Bhajan “Devadhi-deva”⁴⁶

Devadhi-deva Sri vasudeva.

You are the lord of the lords (supreme), lord Vasudeva.

After reviewing the recording of this song, the melody was, in fact, based on a pentatonic scale (A, C#, D#, F#, and G#). The melody ascended from low A to high A and descended back to C#; the melodic line was an arc-shaped, and was repeated more than a dozen times. Ms. Shuba Sriram, one of the devotees who offers weekly Carnatic singing lessons at her house, mentioned that this woman was an amateur singer due to her unstable singing voice. A well-trained singer should be able to sing with more stable pitches and with clearer ornamentation and be able to produce a louder voice.⁴⁷ Without a microphone, she continued, “her song would not have been heard” by other devotees (ibid). The hall was extremely loud since more than a hundred devotees were talking to each other while priests were cleaning up Venkateswara’s room with a vacuum cleaner. It would have been impossible to hear this singer’s voice without microphones or speakers. The SV Temple installed sound equipment about twenty-five years ago; since then, it has given everyone a chance to perform their talents in front of the congregation and deities. Despite the quality of their performances, the microphones gave confidence to the amateur singers to step up and to be heard by everyone. At the same time, the amateur singers became more dependent on the microphone and they began paying less attention to producing in a louder voice. The installation of modern technology, including microphones, speakers and amplifiers, changed the style of singer’s vocal production and allowed less-skilled singers to be in the spotlight (Farrell 2001: 567). When I asked one of the devotees in the audience about this

⁴⁶ Transliteration and translation by Ms. Shuba Sriram.

⁴⁷ Interview with Ms. Shuba Sriram on February 26, 2008.

musical scene during the ritual, she claimed that musical performances by amateur devotees or professional musicians always took place during the break (a period until devotees can proceed into the god's room to pray) in the temple in India as well. She added, "it's the perfect time for enjoying our musical tradition."⁴⁸

When the devotees finished singing songs, the curtain of Garbhagraha (Venkateswara's room) was opened; the Venkateswara, decorated with a colorful silk regalia, layers of necklaces, a silver crown, and wreath, was revealed to the audience. Devotees quickly formed a line in order to pray to Venkateswara closely and individually. Since devotees were not allowed to step into the Garbhagraha room, they proceeded into an entrance room which was located in between the Garbhagraha and Mahamandapam rooms. First, devotees bowed to Venkateswara by lying down on their stomachs or kneeling down on the floor. Second, they closely looked at the Venkateswara statue and prayed to him putting their hands together. Third, a priest gave each devotee a banana, sometimes an apple, before they left the room. In Hindu rituals, any kind of food created by nature, such as bananas, apples, oranges, and nuts, are dedicated to deities and distributed to devotees. When I interviewed Mr. Charyulu after the Abishekam, he mentioned an interesting theory about comparison between Hinduism and Christianity as follows. In Christianity, one god, who used to be a human, is honored, and priests at the Christian church distribute some man-made (processed) food, a piece of bread and a cup of wine. In Hinduism, many gods and goddesses, who have human-looking bodies (but are not exactly human since they have four to six hands or five heads), are honored, and priests at the Hindu temple distribute some natural (non-processed) food. During my fieldwork, I often heard priests make comparisons between Hinduism and Christianity when they tried to explain their religion. Later

⁴⁸ Informal conversation with unidentified informant during the Sunday ritual on March 5, 2006.

Mr. Charyulu mentioned that since people are very conscious of religion (especially Christianity) in the United States, he found it was effective and helpful to compare them whenever he introduced the principle ideology of Hinduism to Americans. After the ritual was over, everyone proceeded to the dining room on the first floor and had Indian food for lunch; the deities were all fed, so now it was the time for humans to be fed.

2.1.2 The Sound of Ritual Ceremony

After the ritual was completed, Mr. Charyulu (the priest) claimed that “chanting is not music.” He continued, however, “most Indian music is developed from priest’s ritual chanting at the temple, and music is inevitable in any Hindu temple during religious ceremonies.” During the Venkateswara Abishekam, there were five types of sounds produced by priests and devotees in honor of the gods: (1) the priests chanting in unison; (2) a bell (instrument); (3) the devotees chanting; (4) the devotional songs (bhajan) sung by devotees; and (5) a solo Carnatic style song. By analyzing the priests chanting (Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4), I found that they all included musical characteristics, such as three different pitches, specific melodic formulae, rhythmic patterns according to the syllable, and a rising tonal center as ritual progressed.

Regula Qureshi notes that “[s]ome purely ritual music falls outside the normative domain of music; the oldest ritual music of this type is Vedic recitation” (1980: 152). Although Qureshi acknowledges that Vedic recitation is a type of ritual music, it is not considered to be music by people in the Hindu tradition. Vedic recitation or chanting, including the sound of bells and conch shells used during the ritual ceremony, are not considered musical in the context of Hindu religion. As Mr. Charyulu mentioned, chanting is not considered to be music. According to Mr. Charyulu’s definition, music is something that is not performed for a ritual purpose. For

example, Carnatic and bhajan songs, dance accompaniment for *Bharata Natyam* and *Kuchipudi*, and instrumental pieces played by *periya melam* (major ensemble) or *cina melam* (minor ensemble) in the temple are considered to be music. Not only the priests, but also some devotees mentioned that they consider Vedic chanting non-music; they also agreed with Mr. Charyulu about those musical repertoires that Mr. Charyulu labeled music.⁴⁹

During the interview with Mr. Pradeep Archakam, another priest who conducted the Abishekam mentioned that there are four different pitches used to recite Vedic mantras; 1) *udatta* (central syllable: middle pitch), 2) *anudatta* (preceding syllable: low pitch), 3) *svarita* (following syllable: high pitch), and 4) *dīrgha svarita* (end syllable: raising from high to higher pitch). In Guy Beck's article on Hinduism and music, he explains the first three pitches by using the musical terms; 1) *udatta* is the tonic (middle C), 2) *anudatta* is a whole step below from *udatta* (B ♭), 3) *svarita* is a half step above from *udatta* (D ♭) (Beck 2006: 118). Most scholars consider these three different pitches (*udatta*, *anudatta*, and *svarita*) as the main pitches in Vedic recitation and omit the fourth pitch (*dīrgha svarita*) in their discussions (Howard 1986, Staal 1989, Katz 1980). This three-pitch structure corresponds to the practices realized in the SV Temple.

According to Mr. Charyulu, these three different pitches, as I described them as one of the musical elements above, are used to help the priests memorize the lengthy Pāñcarātra Agamas. Although some of the chant texts exist in written form (most of them are in Sanskrit), the priests still learn the chant by listening, imitating a teacher, and reciting it. In order to memorize more than a thousand different Vedic mantras, it was necessary for the priests to place some emphases and accents on certain words. By using three different pitches to create a melodic contour, priests were able to remember lengthy and complicated Vedic texts like

⁴⁹ Ms. Shuba Sriram, and many other interviewees consider chanting to be non-music.

learning a song. In addition, Charles Capwell discovers that these three pitches are also used for preserving “the accent patterns of ancient Vedic” (2001: 28).

At the beginning of the Abishekam, the chant of Śiksā Vallī was recited with G# as a tonal center. In the middle of the Abishekam, Narayana and Sri Suktams were recited with A# as a tonal center. Near the end of the Abishekam, the tonal center of the Bhu Suktam shifted to B. The tonal center rose a minor third within the 45 minute length of the ritual. Table 1 shows the pitch relationship and tonal center of four different chant sections.

Table 1. Pitch Relationship and Tonal Center of each Chant Section

Sections	(*Tonal centers bold*)			
	minor second	minor second	minor second	minor second
1. Śiksā Vallī (beginning)	G↑	G#	A	
2. Narayana Suktam (20 min)	G#		A#	B↓
3. Sri Suktam (30 min)	G#↑		A#	B↑
4. Bhu Suktam (40 min)		A	B	C

When I asked Mr. Charyulu whether he knew that the tonal center and the range of pitch rose towards the end of his chanting, he replied that he had never noticed it.⁵⁰ In fact, by observing several rituals, I found that priests became more and more excited toward the end of the ritual since more fluids and foods were splashed on Venkateswara’s statue, and the statue looked more beautiful with decorations and ornaments closer to the end of the ceremony. These caused them to raise their voices (pitches) higher in their chanting. During their chanting, the priests were unconscious about specific pitch range or melodic structure; they simply began chanting by

⁵⁰ Mr. Charyulu and Mr. Archakam also mentioned that since they are not musicians, they do not have a concept of “pitches”; in other words, they do not distinguish pitches as G or A# as in Western musical tradition. They simply distinguish pitches with four different categories: 1) middle, 2) low, 3) high, and 4) going up from “high.”

using a pitch range that was suitable for their natural voices. As a result, three priests, who have different voice ranges, were chanting on different pitches.⁵¹ This phenomenon was also observed during the devotees' chanting; the chant is recited together with the same rhythm but at different pitch levels, creating a heterophonic sound effect. For priests, the melodic pattern or specific pitch level is not necessarily an important factor in chanting; the actions of reciting the texts are treated more importantly than musical aspects of the chanting in the context of ritual ceremony. As Guy L. Beck notes, "[t]he presence of the sacred in Pāñcarātra is contained first and foremost in sound form, which ... is the power or energy of God" (1993: 181). Beck suggests that the sound is more important than the written text itself; the centrality of sound is shown by the transmission of religious texts that rely on oral form rather than written form in Hindu practice. In addition, Frits Staal mentions that the Vedic chants are better interpreted as a type of "music" than as "meaningful language" (Staal 1990: 265), which implies that understanding the meanings of Vedic texts is less important than reading the text out loud during the ritual ceremony. Therefore, the sounds of chant texts and the acts of recitation of chant texts are more important than the literal meaning of the text.

Devotees emphasize "action" in the recitation of Stotram during the ritual. I asked one of the devotees the reason for reciting the entire 107 verses of Stotram after the priests' ritual; she replied, "because it pleases the god!" Even though the priests have spent nearly an hour conducting a ritual in order to "please gods and goddesses" as Mr. Charyulu mentioned earlier, and even though devotees have witnessed the entire procedure, they still consider it important to recite the whole Stotram by themselves. Many devotees mentioned that the recitation of Stotram

⁵¹ Mr. Charyulu explained that when they chant together with more than three priests, each priest tries to "tune in" to other priest's chant in order to create harmony. However, it takes a lot of practice to be able to "tune in" to each other, and they are not always successful.

helped them to “(feel) close to gods and goddesses personally.”⁵² In addition, Ms. Shuba Sriram mentioned that by reciting names of Mahavishnu, devotees were able to recall their previous experiences in India, which gave them a sense of comfort in their mind. She also added, “by saying the name of gods out loud, you are also ‘hearing’ their names, which brings us happiness. It is very auspicious!” Therefore, during Abishekam, devotees are “purified” both physically (by eating blessed food) and psychologically (by communicating with gods through the reading of the *Stotram* in order to seek salvation). In ritual, Clothey describes, “one hears, albeit not propositionally, but also senses, sees, even smells, the tradition... it invites the engagement of the entire person” (1992: 128). In this context, the ritual and recitation of *Stotram* are not simply ceremonial procedures that are conducted in accordance with strict Hindu religious rules, but they are used to secure their status as Hindus and to create a sense of community among Indians from different backgrounds and regions.

2.1.3 Recreating and Teaching Indian Experiences inside the SV Temple

During the “intermission,” there were two musical repertoires, bhajan (devotional song) and Carnatic style song, performed by devotees. There are several reasons for devotees to perform these types of music during the ritual: (1) to show their presence to the deities (Harman 2004: 99); (2) to show their singing knowledge and talents to other devotees, for the purpose of acquiring a good mate (Wolf 2001: 287); (3) to communicate directly with gods for requesting their family’s health and safety; (4) to preserve their native language and music; and (5) to transmit musical tradition to the next generation.

⁵² Informal conversation with unidentified informants and priests during the Sunday ritual on March 5, 2006.

During the ritual, the male priests are the ones who have direct contact with the gods and goddesses by chanting the Vedic mantras and slokas. In contrast, the female singers, especially the leading singers in the bhajan and Carnatic style song performances, try to communicate with the gods and goddesses by performing songs (Post 2001: 416). As noted in section 1.4.3, the oldest female in the family, usually a mother of the household, is in charge of praying for the whole family's health and safety every day. When a married female singer performs a song during the ritual, she is considered to be a good mother; she is educated in the Indian musical tradition and is able to perform a prayer for her family. When a single female singer performs a song during the ritual, she is considered to be a desirable potential wife; her knowledge and talents in her own tradition attract other single males in the congregation.

For the diasporic community, music becomes a way to express and to maintain their identity, a way to preserve their tradition, and a way to transmit their cultural heritage to the younger generation. Music evokes specific memories of events in the past that were experienced back in their homeland. For example, Ms. Shrimati Swaminathan, one of the female devotees, mentioned during an interview that she sings bhajan as well as Bollywood movie songs whenever conducting household chores in Pittsburgh life since "that's what I used to do back home (in India)."⁵³ Music is often tied to the notion of homeland in diasporic communities (Slobin 2003: 290).

In addition, by singing bhajan and Carnatic style songs, diasporic Indians are able to preserve their language and culture through performance of their music. For example, Ms. Shuba Sriram mentioned that bhajan repertoires have very easy melodic and rhythmic phrases that "even little children can sing." She continued, "even though those children do not know the

⁵³ Interview with Ms. Shrimati Swaminathan on March 23, 2006.

meaning of the song, they learn the melody and language (text) by listening and singing them, and they simply learn what they are supposed to do in the temple by looking at what other adults are doing.”⁵⁴ As Alison Arnold states, “native music and language simultaneously function to preserve the community’s cultural heritage and identity in the New World” (2001: 580). Diasporic Indians constantly try to reproduce the same experiences that they experienced back in India through singing bhajans and performing Carnatic style songs in order to teach their children who they are and how they are supposed to behave as Indians inside the temple.

2.2 CHILDREN’S SUNDAY SCHOOL SESSION

While most adults are attending Venkateswara Abishekam, children learn about Indian tradition and history in the Sunday school organized by the Indian Youth Organization (IYO). IYO offers a class every Sunday from 11am to 12pm, and there are usually more than twenty children present in each session. The following is a description of one of the sessions that I attended on March 5, 2006.

2.2.1 Description of the Children’s School Session

There were about thirty children, between the ages of 10 and 18 with almost the same number of male and female students, attending this session. Some children were running around, and some teenagers were chatting with friends in the audience seats. As soon as a teacher showed up, they all gathered on the stage and sat down. The teacher was in fact the mother of one of the students,

⁵⁴ Interview with Ms. Shuba Sriram on February 26, 2008.

who was asked to conduct this particular session. While children were still chatting, she asked them to be quiet and began to describe a song that she was about to teach them. She said, “I’m going to sing it first so listen carefully. It is ‘*Sāre jahāñ se achchā*’ ... does everyone know what it means? (It means) compared to any other country, we are the best! The Best! Everybody has a right to say that, right?” Then, she began to sing a full verse of “*sāre jahāñ se achchā*” in a very high pitch; most of the male students looked at her with confused expressions since the melody was so high-pitched and complicated. When she finished singing, she added, “it’s too high for you,” at which point the male students nodded, and she continued, “so let’s sing it lower once and repeat after me, ok?” She sang the line “*sāre jahāñ se achchā hindostāñ hamārā*” (our Hindustan is the best of all countries)⁵⁵ once and asked students to sing along with her. She sang this more than a dozen times while clapping her hands. Before she moved on to the next verse, she said “don’t worry about the text, just sing along!” Figure 8 shows the melodic and rhythmic phrases of the first stanza of *Sāre Jahāñ Se Achchā*.

⁵⁵ Translation by Ms. Sudha Vijaykumar, a teacher of this IYO session.



Figure 8. “Sāre Jahāñ Se Achchā” [Track 8]
(all pitches are transposed down a minor second)⁵⁶

Text 8 shows the transliteration and translation of the first stanza of *Sāre Jahāñ Se Achchā*.

Text 8. “Sāre Jahāñ Se Achchā”
(a patriotic / nationalistic song – the first stanza)⁵⁷

Sāre jahāñ se achchā

⁵⁶ The recording of *Sāre Jahāñ Se Achchā* are track 8 (children’s version) and 9 (Ms. Shuba Sriram’s version) on the sound files (recorded by Eguchi).

⁵⁷ The text is cited from a Wikipedia article entitled “Saare Jahan se Achcha” < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saare_Jahan_Se_Achcha > Accessed December 28, 2007. The full stanzas with translation are in Appendix B. 6. According to Ms. Sriram, she learned “Saare” from a music teacher in primary school. Her teacher wrote the texts of “Saare” on the blackboard and sang the tune repeatedly. Ms. Sriram mentioned that “Saare” is usually taught orally and that she has never seen a written text (or score) of this song. I tried to find a song book or collection of Hindu music, but none of them included “Saare” in their contents. Since “Saare” is very popular in India, I decided to cite the “Saare” texts from Wikipedia.

Hindostāñ hamārā hamārā
Sāre jahāñ se achchā

Hindostāñ hamārā hamārā
Sāre jahāñ se achchā

Ham bulbuleñ haiñ us kī
vuh gulsitāñ hamārā hamārā
Sāre jahāñ se achchā

Ham bulbuleñ haiñ us kī
vuh gulsitāñ hamārā hamārā
Sāre jahāñ se achchā

Hindostāñ hamārā hamārā
Sāre jahāñ se achchā

Better than the entire world, is our Hindustan.
We are its nightingales, and it is our garden abode.

The teacher went on to sing another verse of “*ham bulbuleñ haiñ us kī vuh gulsitāñ hamārā*” (we are its nightingales, and it is our garden abode), and the melody came back to “*sāre jahāñ se achchā*.” After five times practicing the “*ham*” line, she moved on to a new verse of “*parbat vuh sab se ūñchā, hamsāyah āsmāñ kā*” (that tallest mountain, that shade-sharer of the sky) and practiced with students ten times. The rehearsal of this song lasted about 40 minutes, and most students seemed to learn the text, melodic line, and rhythmic patterns pretty well.

2.2.2 Teaching of Indian Patriotic Song in the SV Temple

“*Sāre Jahāñ Se Achchā (Hindostāñ Hamārā)*” was written by Muhammad Iqbal in 1904. The song is also known as “*Terana-i Hindī*” (“Anthem of the people of Hindustan”), which is a patriotic song that praises India as the greatest country among all other countries. Iqbal’s song became so popular that it was even considered as the “unofficial national anthem” in India (Hasan 1971: 136). Iqbal was a pious Muslim whose many poems addressed his love for his

religion and concern for the future of Islamic India. Through composing poems, he also complained about the corruption of India caused by British colonial rule and suggested his hope to witness a “self-governing and united India” under the amity of Hindu and Muslim relationship (Hasan 1971: 137-138). One of the devotees explained that this song has been taught in primary schools in India and all Indians should know this song, which is why they taught it during the Sunday school session in the temple. Although it was written by a Muslim poet, the song “*Sāre*” is sung regardless of their religion, birthplace, and language in the Hindu temple. Most of students in this session were born and grew up in the United States. Parents are concerned about their children becoming too “American” since this would result in losing their own tradition and identity. Therefore, Iqbal’s song, which emphasizes the greatness of Hindustan, is taught to children in the temple in order to remind them who they are and where they come from; in other words, children learn to become Indian inside the SV Temple.

Bharat Mehra, in his research on Asian-Indian diasporic identity, suggests that Sunday school at the Indian temple is a product of diasporic society in the United States and that temples in India never offer this cultural learning class for children (2004: 101). In India, children learn about history, religion, and culture of India in schools or from their family. Younger generation inherit their own tradition or maintain their root through every day practices: in other words, parents do not have to constantly teach their children to become Indians. In the Sunday school sessions, children learn not only about Hindu religion but also Carnatic and devotional songs, *Kuchipudi* Dance (a classical South Indian dance from Andhra Pradesh) and *Bharata Natyam* (a classical South Indian dance from Tamil Nadu), language (Tamil, Kannada, and Telugu), Sanskrit and Sloka readings, and art. Although being born and raised in the United States, and

even possessing American citizenship and passports, children learn to construct their identities as Indians through practicing religion, music, and dance in the SV Temple.

3.0 CONCLUSION

3.1 MUSIC IN THE CONTEXT OF INDIAN RELIGION AND CULTURE

Vasudha Narayanan once noted, “Hinduism is not a religion, it is a philosophy, a way of life” (1992: 173). Although living on the opposite side of the globe, diasporic Indians in Pittsburgh rigidly follow the Indian religion, tradition, and culture – especially inside the SV Temple. The SV temple visitor’s guide also stated, “Hinduism might be better described as *religious culture* rather than a religion” [Italics added].⁵⁸ In order to understand the life of Indian immigrants, one must first understand that there is hardly a line between religion and culture in Indian tradition.

Milton Singer has pointed out in his research on the temples of Madras that in Indian culture, the distinction between sacred and secular is vague; for example, public concerts and dances use devotional songs, and stage plays are based on sacred epics (1972: 71). In India, things and events that are normally classified under the religious category, such as recitation of chanting, prayers, religious ceremonies and festivals, and ritual readings, are treated as “cultural and artistic”; Singer defines these phenomena as “cultural performances.” The instruments (such as bells, string instruments, or harmonium) and music repertoires (such as bhajan and hymns) that are performed during the sacred rituals are now seen in the concert halls played by solo virtuoso in a secular context. On the other hand, the secular music repertoires and dances are

⁵⁸ 2006 SV Temple Visitor’s Guide.

often performed within the sacred places (such as temples) or sacred festivals (ceremonial occasions for deities).

As I have shown in section 2.0, these “cultural performances” were observed in diasporic Indian society in America. Reciting of mantras, singing bhajans, reading sacred epics and slokas – all the things that are considered as “sacred” or “religious acts” in the Western context – are conducted in the SV Temple. At the same time, Carnatic singing and instrumental concerts, Bharata Natyam and Kuchipudi dances, singing and learning of the Indian patriotic song, language learning – everything that is considered as “secular” or “cultural acts” in the Western context – is also practiced and performed within the sacred space of the SV Temple. Thus, the boundary between sacred and secular is also vague in diasporic Indian tradition in the United States.

Many diasporic Indians believe that their culture is represented through these “cultural performances,” including performances of sacred and secular contents. I found that the concept, function, and purpose of music in Indian tradition are different from Western notions of music. In the SV Temple, music and musical performances, conducted by both professionals and amateurs, serve as religious purposes as well as entertainment, education, and transmission of their tradition to younger generations. The musical space is constructed within the religious space so that the boundaries between religion and culture become unclear. The sacred space, where people are blessed by priests, shifts its main function from a worship site to a concert stage. At the ceremony of Abishekam, as I have shown, Indian music (both sacred and secular musics) is treated as importantly as the ritual itself. Therefore, for diasporic Indians, the concept of their own culture is the amalgamation of religious and secular practices.

3.2 CREATING A SENSE OF UNITY THROUGH CHANTING

Many scholars claim that in temples in India, it is rare to see “group-oriented” or “congregational” ritual activities (Coward and Goa 1980; Kurien 1998; Vertovec 2000). Coward and Goa state that Hindu worship is usually conducted individually and that congregational activity, such as singing of hymns in unison, as seen in Christian churches, hardly occurs in temples in India (Coward and Goa 1980: 24). What happens there is that the devotees chant mantras individually and quietly, while temple musicians chant loudly (but not in unison) in order to encourage other worshippers to chant. All of these chant sounds resonate throughout the high stone buildings and echo throughout the temple; thus, the sound of chant that one hears in temples in India is uncoordinated and never in unison.

On the other hand, in the SV Temple, chanting of mantra or stotram is always conducted in unison. According to Coward and Goa, “the central act of worship is hearing the *mantra* or sacred sound with one’s own ears and chanting the *mantra* with one’s voice” (1980: 4). The sound of mantra is considered as divine, and devotees believe that its sound has the power to purify oneself. Mr. Charyulu mentioned that when all the devotees get together and chant together (in unison) and the loud chant reaches the gods and goddesses, the devotees are able to receive much stronger divine power from them (compared to individual chanting).⁵⁹ This congregational activity allows diasporic Indians to feel a sense of unity, the sense of being a member of diasporic Indian community, as well as the sense of their origin (Indian). As Ms. Sriram mentioned in an interview, through chanting mantras and stotrams together with other

⁵⁹ Interview with Mr. Samudrala Charyulu on February 19, 2008.

devotees, she feels that “everyone becomes one or united to each other.”⁶⁰ Through chanting mantras and stotrams, diasporic Indians are able to unite each other and to create their own community within the temple. I found that not only chanting of mantras and stotrams, but performing of bhajans and Carnatic music recall memories that were experienced back in India, which reassure ties to their homeland and give them a sense of comfort.

3.3 IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN THE SV TEMPLE

Although they have spent several decades living in the United States, I found many older generations identify themselves as Indians or Hindus since they still maintain Indian traditions and customs that they learned in their youth. However, second-generation diasporic Indians have completely different situations compared to their parents’ experience. As Rambachan notes, in a diasporic society, Hindus are not guaranteed to become Hindus by the fact of birth (2004: 408). Without parents’ deliberate effort, “children would never learn what their ‘Indianness’ meant” (Kurien 1998: 44). With a constant education of Indian religion and culture, young diasporic Indians learn and choose to become Hindus and to construct their Indian identity. In this process, the SV Temple plays a crucial role for providing opportunities to educate Hindu ethics and beliefs to the second generation and for helping them to construct their Indian identities. In addition, the elders believe that attending temple ceremonies helps the younger generation to avoid having social problems such as abuse of alcohol, drugs, and a lack of communication within the family (Mehra 2004: 101). Through interviewing devotees at the

⁶⁰ Interview with Ms. Shuba Sriram on February 26, 2008.

SV Temple, I found that immigrant Indians often feel alienated from their host society, and attending rituals, music and dance concerts, lectures and language classes in the SV Temple provides them with psychological consolation.

Although possessing American citizenship and passports, many diasporic Indians dream of returning to their homeland someday. It is interesting to see that little children, even though they were born in America and have never been to India, follow their parent's idea of "returning to the homeland" and talk about India nostalgically. For example, at one children's dance festival held in the SV Temple in 2006, I heard many children compliment each other how beautifully they dressed up in Indian *sari* (traditional female garment). Many said it was "cool" to be Indian, and they all enjoyed performing and listening to Indian music and dance. They also addressed their wish to return to India when they became older. As seen from this example, the SV Temple provides opportunities for the second generation to be familiar with customs and traditions that will lead them to their (or their parent's) roots.

3.4 MEANING OF MUSIC AND RITUAL FOR DIASPORIC INDIANS

Ravi Shankar, the world renowned Sitar player, once stated, "our [Hindu] tradition teaches us that sound is God – Nada Brahma" (Shanker 1968: 17). Shankar suggests, through musical sounds and experiences, that music can help one realize one's "inner being"; music becomes a vehicle that carries one's state to divine peacefulness and happiness. Therefore, music enables human beings to reach God. In Hindu tradition, the role of music is not only to please the audience but to communicate with gods and goddesses. As seen in the previous chapter, attending the ritual becomes a community activity when devotees begin singing bhajan and

Carnatic songs in unison. Like Ravi Shankar, these devotees hope to reach gods and goddesses through performing music. While ritual is properly conducted by the priests, devotees perform Indian music in the midst of the temple in order to reproduce a sense of life in India and to secure their identities as Indian. The life, the culture, and the traditions of India are reproduced through musical performances in the SV Temple. The Sri Venkateswara Temple, a compressed universe of India, continues to serve as an important pilgrimage site for devotees from all over the United States while establishing Indian identities for diasporic Indians through ritual and music performances.

APPENDIX A

PHOTOS FROM THE SRI VENKATESWARA TEMPLE

A.1 SRI VENKATESWARA TEMPLE IN PITTSBURGH, PA



A.2 DINING HALL IN THE SV TEMPLE



A.3 AUDITORIUM IN THE SV TEMPLE⁶¹



⁶¹ It becomes a concert stage for a professional Indian musicians and dancers who are invited from the homeland during the summer.

A.4 GARUDA VAHANA (THE DIVINE KITE)



A.5 SRI VISHNU SAHASRANAMA STOTRAM



Śrī Venkateśwara Temple
Pittsburgh



श्री विष्णुसहस्रनाम स्तोत्रम्
श्रीविष्णुसहस्रनामावलि

ŚRĪ VISHṆUSAHASRANĀMA STOTRAM
(with transliteration and free translation in English)
śrī vishṇu sahasra nāmāvali

APPENDIX B

VEDIC CHANT AND SLOKA TEXTS

B.1 TAITTIRĪYA UPANISHAD⁶²

Chapter 1: Śikṣā Vallī

Section I: Śānti Pāṭha

Om.

Śam no mitrah

śam varunah

śam no

bhavatvaryamā.

Śam na indro brhaspatih.

Śam no visnur urukramah.

Namo brahmane.

Namaste vāyo.

Tvam eva pratyaksam brahmāsi.

Trām eva pratyaksam brahma

vadisyāmi.

Rtam vadisyāmi.

Satyam vadisyāmi.

Tanmām avatu.

Tad vaktāram avatu.

Avatu mām.

Avatu vaktāram.

(Peace Invocation)

AUM.

May Mitra (the Sun) be propitious to us.

May Varuna be propitious to us.

May Aryamā (a form of the Sun) be propitious to us.

May Indra and Brhaspati be propitious to us.

May Visnu of wide strides be propitious to us.

Salutations to Brahman.

Salutations to you, O Vāyu.

You indeed are the perceptible *Brahman*.

Of you indeed, the perceptible *Brahman*, will I speak.

I will speak of the right.

I will speak of the truth.

May that protect me.

May that protect the speaker.

Let that protect me.

Let that protect the speaker.

⁶² Swami Muni Narayana Prasad. *The Taittirīya Upanisad: with the Original Text in Sanskrit and Roman Transliteration*. New Delhi: D. K. Printworld, 1994, 17-83.

Om śāntih śāntih śāntih. (1)

AUM. Peace! Peace! Peace! (1)

Section II

Om śīksām vyākhyāsyāmah.

Varnah svarah.

Mātrā balam.

Sāma santānah.

Ityuktah. (1)

We will expound the science of pronunciation.

The syllables, sounds, measure of the sound, emphasis of the sound, uniformity of the sound, juxtaposition of the sound.

Thus has been declared the lesson on śīksādhyāyah. pronunciation. (1)

Section III

Saha nau yaśah.

Saha nau

brahmavarcasama.

May glory be with us both.

May the splendor of the Wisdom of

Brahman be with us both.

Athātah samhitāyā

upanisadani

vyākhyāsyāmah.

Pañcasvadhikaranesu.

Adhilokam

adhijyautisam adhividyam

adhiprajam adhyātmam.

Tā mahāsamhitā

ity ācaksate. (1)

Now, therefore, we shall expound the sacred teaching of the juxtaposition (the state of being inseparably together of various factors) as coming under five contexts.

They are the contexts of the visible world, of the shining entities, of knowledge, of progeny, and of oneself.

These are known as the great combinations (*mahāsamhitā*). (1)

[Track 1] Athādhilokam.⁶³

Prīthivī pūrvarūpam.

Dyaus uttararūpam.

Ākāśah sandhih.

Vāyuh sandhānam.

Ity adhilokam. (2)

Now with reference to the context of the visible world: The earth is the prior form.

The heaven is the latter form.

Space is the meeting place.

Air is the connecting link.

Thus is (the nature of the *mahāsamhitā*), with reference to the context of the visible world. (2)

Athādhijyautisam.

Agnih pūrvarūpam.

Āditya uttararūpam.

Āpah sandhih.

Vaidyutah sandhānam.

Now with reference to the shining entities:

Fire is the prior form.

Sun is the latter form.

Water is the meeting place.

Lightning is the connecting link.

⁶³ The entire recordings of Venkateswara Abishekam are track 10 – 25. This section is heard on track 10.

Ity adhijyautisam. (3)

Thus is (the nature of the *mahāsamhitā*), with reference to the context of the shining entities. (3)

Athādhividyam.
Ācāryah pūrvarūpam.
Antevāsy uttararūpam.
Vidyā sandhih.
Pravacanam sandhānam.
Ity adhividyam. (4)

Now with reference to the context of knowledge:
The teacher is the prior form.
The pupil is the latter form.
Knowledge is the meeting place.
Instruction is the connecting link.
Thus is (the nature of the *mahāsamhitā*), with reference to the context of knowledge. (4)

Athādhiprajam.
⁶⁴*Mātā pūrvarūpam.
Pitottararūpam.
Prajā sandhih.
Prajananam sandhānam.
Ity adhiprajam. (5)

Now with reference to the context of progeny:
The mother is the prior form.
The father is the latter form.
Progeny is the meeting place.
Procreation is the connecting link.
Thus is (the nature of the *mahāsamhitā*), with reference to the context of progeny. (5)

Athādhyātmanam.
Adharāhanuh pūrvarūpam.
Uttarāhanur uttararūpam.*
Vāk sandhih.
Jihvā sandhānam.
Ity adhyātmanam. (6)

Now with reference to the context of oneself:
The lower jaw is the prior form.
The upper jaw is the latter form.
Speech is the meeting place.
The tongue is the connecting link.
Thus is (the nature of the *mahāsamhitā*), with reference to the context of oneself. (6)

Itīmā mahāsamhitāh.
Ya evam etā mahāsamhitā
vyākhyātā veda.
Sandhīyate prajayā paśubhih.
Brahma-varca-senānnādyena
suvargyena lokena. (7)

There are the great combinations.
He who knows these great combinations
thus expounded,
becomes endowed with progeny, cattle,
with the splendor of *Brahman*-knowledge,
with food to eat and with the heavenly world. (7)

Section IV⁶⁵

Yaśchandasām rsabho
viśvarūpah.

He who is the bull (the mightiest)
in the *Vedic* hymns,

⁶⁴ * Priests skipped this section in this recording.

⁶⁵ Track 11.

Chandobhyo'dhyamrtāt-
samhbabhūva.
Samendro medhayā
sprnotu.
Amrtasya deva dhārano
bhūyāsam.
Śarīnam me vacarsanam.
Jihvā me madhumattamā.
Karnābhyām bhūri viśruvam.
Brahmanah kośo'si
medhayā pihitah.
Śrutam me gopāya. (1)

Āvahantī vitanvānā.
Kurvānā cīram ātmanah.
Vāsāmsi mama gāvaśca.
Annapāne ca sarvadā.
Tato me śriyam āvaha.
Lomaśām paśubhih saha
svāhā.
Āmāyantu brahmacārinah
svāhā.
Vimāyantu brahmacārinah
svāhā.
Pramāyantu brahmacārinah
svāhā.
Damāyantu brahmacārinah
svāhā.
Śamāyantu brahmacārinah
svāhā. (2)

⁶⁶*Yaśo jane'sāni svāhā.
Śreyān vasyaso'sāni
svāhā.
Tam tvā bhaga praviśāni
svāhā.
Sa mā bhaga praviśa
svāhā.*

who has the cosmos as his form, who has sprung
up from the immortal *Vedic* hymns,
May that Indra (AUM) cheer me with
intelligence.
O God, may I be the possessor of
immortality.
May my body be vigorous.
May my tongue be exceedingly sweet.
May I hear (learn) richly words with my ears.
Thou art the sheath of *Brahman* veiled
with intelligence.
Gourd for me what I have learnt. (1)

Then vouchsafe to me
who is the Self,
the prosperity which brings,
increases and accomplishes quickly for me,
clothes, cattle food and drink forever, and
which is associated with furry and other animals.
Hail!
May seekers of Truth approach me.
Hail!
May seekers of Truth approach me variously.
Hail!
May seekers of Truth approach me properly.
Hail!
May seekers of Truth approach me undisturbed by
external influences. Hail!
May seekers of Truth approach me with mental
self-control. Hail! (2)

May I become famous among people. Hail!
May I become more renowned than the very rich.
Hail!
O Gracious Lord, may I enter into you, as you are.
Hail!
O Gracious Lord, You do enter into me, as you are.
Hail!

⁶⁶ * Priests skipped this section in this recording.

Tasmin sahasraśākhe.
 Ni bhagāham tvayi mrje svāhā.
 Yathāpah pravatā yanti.
 Yathā māsā aharjaram.
 Evam mām brahmacārino.
 Dhātārāyantu sarvatah svāhā.
 Prativeśo'si.
 Pra mā bhāhi pra mā padyasva. (3)

Section V⁶⁷

Bhūr bhuvah suvar
 iti vā etās tisro vyāhrtayah.
 Tāsāmu ha smaitām caturthīm.
 Māhācamasyah pravedayate.
 Maha iti.
 Tad brahma.
 Sa ātmā.
 Angānyanyā devatāh.
 Bhūr iti vā ayam lokah.
 Bhuva ity antariksam.
 Suvar ity asau lokah
 maha ity ādityah.
 Ādityena vāva sarve lokā
 mahīyante. (1)

Bhūr iti vā agnih.
 Bhuva iti vāyuh.
 Suvar ity ādityah.
 Maha iti candramāh.
 Candramasā vāva sarāni
 jyotīmsi mahīyante. (2)

Bhūr iti vā rcah.
 Bhuva iti sāmāni.
 Suvar ity yajūmsi.
 Maha ti brahma.
 Brahmanā vāva sarve
 vedā mahīyante. (3)

In that self of yours, of a thousand branches,
 O Gracious Lord, am I cleansed. Hail!
 As waters run downwards,
 as months into the year,
 so unto me may seekers come.
 O Disposer of all, come from every side. Hail!
 You are a refuge, so you do shine forth to me,
 unto me do you come. (3)

Verily these are the three utterances
 (vyāhrtis). Of these, Māhācamasya
 (an *rsi*) knew
 the fourth one.
 It is *mahah* by name.
 That is *Brahman* (the Absolute).
 That is *ātman* (the Self).
 The other gods are its limbs only.
Bhūh indeed is the world.
Bhuvah is the intermediate space.
Suvah is the other world.
Mahah is the Sun.
 Through the Sun indeed all these worlds
 become great. (1)

Bhūh indeed is the fire.
Bhuvah is the air.
Suvah is the Sun.
Mahah is the Moon.
 Through the Moon indeed all the
 luminaries become great. (2)

Bhūh indeed is the *Rg Veda*.
Bhuvah is the *Samā Veda*.
Suvah is the *Yajur Veda*.
Mahah is *Brahman*.
 By *Brahman* indeed do all the
Vedas become great. (3)

⁶⁷ Track 12.

Bhūr iti vai prānah.
Bhuva ity apānah.
Suvar ity vyānah.
Maha ity annam.
Annena vāva sarve
prānā mahīyante. (4)

Tā vā etāścatsraścaturdhā.
Catasraścatasro vyāhrtayah.
Tā yo veda.
Sa veda brahma.
Sarve'smai devāh balim
āvahanti. (5)

Section VI⁶⁸

Sa ya eso'ntarhrdaya ākāśah.
Tasminn ayam puruso
manōmayah.
Amrto hiranmayah.
Antarena tāluke.
Ya esa stana ivāvalambate.
Sendrayonih.
Yatrāsau keśānto vivartate.
Vyapohya śīrsakapāle.
Bhūrity agnau pratitisthati.
Bhuva iti vāyau. (1)

Suvarity
āditye.
Meha iti
brahmani.
Āpnoti svārājyam.
Āpnoti manasaspatim.
Vākpati ścaksuspatih.
Śrotrapatir
vijñānapatih.
Etat tato bhavati.
Ākāśa śarīram brahma.

Bhūh indeed is the *prāna*.
Bhuvah is the *apāna*.
Suvah is the *vyāna*.
Mahah is the food.
By food indeed do all the
prānas become great. (4)

Verily, these four are four-fold each.
These *vyāhrtis* are divided into
four groups of four each.
He who knows these knows *Brahman*.
To him all the gods offer
tributes. (5)

This space that is within the heart
therein is the Person
of mind-stuff,
immortal and resplendent.
That which hangs down between
the palates like a nipple,
that is the source of Indra (or AUM);
where the hairs split apart,
it exists separating the skull of the head.
He is well founded in fire as the *vyāhrti* 'bhūh.'
He is well founded in air as the *vyāhrti* 'bhūh.' (1)

He is well founded in the Sun as
the *vyāhrti* 'suvah.'
He is well founded in *Brahman* as the
vyāhrti 'mahah.'
He attains to selfhood.
He attains to the lord of the mind.
He attains to the lord of speech, the lord of sight,
the lord of hearing, the lord of specific
knowledge.
He becomes *That* which is beyond that.
He becomes *Brahman* whose body is space.

⁶⁸ Track 13.

Satyātm-aprānārāmam
mana ānandam.
Śāntisamrddham amrtam.
Iti prācīnayogyopāsva. (2)

Section VII⁶⁹

Prthivy antariksam
dyaur
diśo'vāntaradiśāh.
Agnir vāyur ādityaś
candramā naksatrāni.
Āpa osadhayo vanaspataya
ākāśa ātmā.
Ity adhibhūtam.
Athādhyātmam.
Prāno vyāno'pāna
udānah samānah.
Caksuh śrotram mano vāk tvak.
Carma māmsamsnāvasthi majjā.
Etad adhibividhāya
rsir avocat.
Pāṅktam vā idam sarvam.
Pāṅktaiva pāṅktam
sprnotīti. (1)

Section VIII⁷⁰

Omiti brahma.
Omitīdam sarvam.
Omityetad anukrtir ha
sma vā apyo śrāvayety
āśrāvayanti.
Omiti sāmāni gāyanti.
Om śomiti śastrāni
śamsanti.
Omity adhvaryuh
pratigaram pratignāti.
Omiti brahmā prasauti.

He has self-content for Reality, the *prāna* for
pleasure grove, mind for bliss, the abundance of
immortality for the experiencing of peace.
O Prācīnayogya, thus do you contemplate. (2)

The earth, atmosphere, heaven, the (main)
quarters,
and the intermediate quarters (thus five).
Fire, air, sun,
moon and stars (thus five).
Water, plants, trees, space and the body (thus five).
Thus with regard to the generic
material existence.
Now with regard to the individual existence:
prāna, *vyāna*, *apāna*,
udāna and *samāna* (thus five).
Sight, hearing, mind, speech and touch (thus five).
Skin, flesh, muscle, bone and marrow (thus five).
Thus understanding these with
a structural scheme,
the *rsi* said, “All this is constituted of five factors.
The five-fold is supported
by the five-fold indeed.” (1)

AUM is *Brahman*.
AUM is this all.
AUM is well-known as a word of compliance.
“AUM, make the gods hear”; with these words
they make them recite.
With AUM they start singing the *sāman* chants.
With AUM ŚOM they start reciting the *śastra*
chants.
With AUM the *Adhvaryu*-priest utters
encouraging chants.
With AUM the *Brahman*-priest gives approval.

⁶⁹ Track 14.

⁷⁰ Track 15.

Omity agnihotram anujānāti.
Omiti brāhmanah
pravaksyannāha
brahmopāpna-vānīti.
Brahmaivopāpnoti. (1)

Section IX⁷¹

Rtam ca svādhyāya
pravacane ca.

Satyam ca svādhyāya
pravacane ca.

Tapaśca svādhyāya
pravacane ca.

Damaśca svādhyāya
pravacane ca.

Śamaśca svādhyāya
pravacane ca.

Agnayaśca svādhyāya
pravacane ca.

Agnihotram ca svādhyāya
pravacane ca.

Atithayaśca svādhyāya
pravacane ca.

Mānusam ca svādhyāya
pravacane ca.

Prajā ca svādhyāya
pravacane ca.

Prajanaśca svādhyāya

With AUM the fire sacrifice is permitted to begin.
A *brāhmin* (the knower of *Brahman*)
wishing to say,
“May I obtain *Brahman*” utters AUM.
He verily obtains *Brahman*. (1)

Righteousness together with self-study and
listening to the expositions of the *guru* is to be
understood as *Brahman*.

Truth together with self-study and listening to the
expositions of the *guru* is to be understood
as *Brahman*.

Austerity together with self-study and listening to
the expositions of the *guru* is to be understood as
Brahman.

Withdrawal of the sense-organs together with
self-study and listening to the expositions of the
guru is to be understood as *Brahman*.

Withdrawal of the mind together with self-study
and listening to the expositions of the *guru* is to
be understood as *Brahman*.

The lighting of the sacrificial fire together with
self-study and listening to the expositions of the
guru is to be understood as *Brahman*.

The performance of the fire sacrifice together with
self-study and listening to the expositions of the
guru is to be understood as *Brahman*.

Entertaining guests together with self-study
and listening to the expositions of the *guru* is to
be understood as *Brahman*.

Humanness together with self-study and listening
to the expositions of the *guru* is to be understood
as *Brahman*.

Procreation together with self-study and listening
to the expositions of the *guru* is to be understood
as *Brahman*.

Propagation of the race together with self-study

⁷¹ Track 16.

pravacane ca.

Prajātiśca svādhyāya
pravacane ca.

Satyamiti satyavacā
rāthītraḥ.
Tapa iti
taponityaḥ
pauruśistih.
Svādhyāya pravacane eveti
nāko maudgalyaḥ.
Taddhi tapas taddhi tapah. (1)

Section X⁷²

Aham vrksasya rerivā.
Kīrtih prstham girer iva.
Ūrdhvapavitro vājinīva
svam rtam asmī.
Dravinam savarcasam.
Sumedhā amrtoksitah.
Iti trīṣāṅkor
vedānuvacanam. (1)

Section XI⁷³

Vedam anūcyācāryo'ntevāsinam
anuśāsti.
Satyam vada.
Dharmam cara.
Svādhyāyānmā pramadah.
Ācāryāya priyam dhanamāhrtya
prajātantum mā
vyavacchetsih.
Satyānna pramaditavayam.
Dharmānna pramaditavyam.
Kuśālānna pramaditavyam.
Bhūtyai na pramaditavyam.

and listening to the expositions of the *guru* is to
be understood as *Brahman*.

Propagation of the human together with self-study
and listening to the expositions of the *guru* is to
be understood as *Brahman*.

Truth (is what matters), says Satyavacas (one who
says truth only), the son of Rathītara.

Austerity (is what matters), says Taponitya (one
consistently engaged in austerity), the son of
Puruśisti.

Self-study and listening to the expositions of the
guru are what matter, says Nāka,
the son of Mudgala. (1)

“I am the invigorator of the tree.
My fame is like the ridge of a mountain.
I am purified by the exalted one. Like the Sun,
I am my own inherent righteousness.
I am my own lustrous wealth. I am wise.
I am immortal. I am undecaying.”
Such was the teaching of Trīṣāṅku
on attaining Wisdom. (1)

Having imparted the wisdom the teacher
instructs the disciple:
Speak out the Truth.
Practice righteousness.
Do not neglect your self-study.
Having brought to the teacher the wealth that is
pleasing (to him), do not cut off the line of
progeny.
Let there be no neglect of Truth.
Let there be no neglect of righteousness.
Let there be no neglect of protecting yourself.
Let there be no neglect of prosperity.

⁷² Track 17.

⁷³ Track 18.

Svādhyā-yappravacanābhyām na
pramaditavyam.
Deva pitrkāryābhyām na
pramaditavyam.
Mātrdevo bhava.
Pitrdevo bhava.
Ācāryadevo bhava.
Atithi devo bhava. (1)

Yāny anavadyāni karmāni.
Tāni sevitavyāni.
No itarāni.
Yāny asmākam sucaritāni.
Tāni tvayopāsyāni.
No itarāni. (2)

Ye ke cāsmacchreyāmsa
brāhmanāh.
Tesām tvayāsanena
praśvasitavyam.
Śraddhayā deyam.
Aśraddhayā' deyam.
Śriyā deyam.
Hriyā deyam.
Bhiyā deyam.
Samvidā deyam. (3)

Atha yadi te karmavicikitsā vā
vrttvicikitsā vā syāt.
Ye tatra brāhmanāh
sammarśinah.
Yuktā āyuktāh.
Alūksā dharmakāmāh syuh.
Yathā te tatra varteran.
Tathā tatra vartethāh. (4)

Athābhyākhyātesu.
Ye tatra brāhmanāh
Sammarśinah.
Yuktā āyuktāh.

Let there be no neglect of self-study
and teaching.
Let there be no neglect of the duties to the gods
and ancestors.
Be one to whom the mother is a god.
Be one to whom the father is a god.
Be one to whom the teacher is a god.
Be one to whom the guest is a god. (1)

Whatever deeds are blameless,
they should be practiced,
not others.
Whatever good practices there are among us,
they are to be adopted by you,
not others. (2)

Those *brāhmins* who are
superior to us,
should be comforted by you
by offering a seat.
A gift is to be offered with full faith.
It should never be offered without full faith.
Gifts should be offered in plenty.
Gifts should be offered with modesty.
Gifts should be offered with awe.
Gifts should be offered with sympathy. (3)

Then, if there is any doubt in you regarding
any deed, any doubt regarding conduct,
you should behave on such occasions as
the *brāhmins* do,
who may happen to be available,
who are able deliberators, who are unitively
balanced, who need no direction from others,
who are not harsh, and who love righteousness. (4)

Then, as with persons who are spoken against,
you should behave on such occasions as
the *brāhmins* do,
who may happen to be available,

Alūksā dharmakāmāḥ syuh.
Yathā te tesu varteran.
Tathā tesu vartethāḥ. (5)

Esa ādeśah.
Esa upadeśah.
Esā vedopanīsat.
Etaḍ anuśāsanam.
Evamu pāsitavyam.
Evamu caitadupāśyam. (6)

Śam no mitrah
śam varunah.
Śam no bhavatvaryamā.
Śam na indro brhaspatih.
Śam no visnur urukramah.
Namo brahmane.
Namaste vāyo.
Tvam eva pratyaksam brahmāsi.
Tvām eva pratyaksam
brahmāvādisam.
Rtam avādisam.
Styam avādisam.
Tanmām āvīt.
Tad vaktāram āvīt.
Avīnmām.
Āvīd vaktāram.
Om śāntih śāntih śāntih. (7)

Chapter 2: Brahmānanda Vallī

Section I: Śānti Pāṭha⁷⁴

Om saha nāvavatu.
Saha nau bhunaktu.
Saha vīryam karavāvahai.
Tejasvināvadhītā astu.
Mā vidvisāvahai.
Om śāntih śāntih śāntih.

who are able deliberators, who are unitively
balanced, who need no direction from others,
who are not harsh, and who love righteousness. (5)

This is the injunction.
This is the instruction.
This is the secret wisdom of the *Vedas*.
This is the behest.
Thus should one meditate.
Thus indeed one should meditate. (6)

May Mitra (the Sun) be propitious to us.
May Varuna be propitious to us.
May Aryamā be propitious to us.
May Indra and Brhaspati be propitious to us.
May Visnu of wide strides be propitious to us.
Salutations to Brahman.
Salutations to you, O Vāyu.
You indeed are the perceptible *Brahman*.
Of you indeed, the perceptible *Brahman*,
have I spoken.
I have spoken of the right.
I have spoken of the truth.
That has protected me.
That has protected the speaker.
That has protected me.
That has protected the speaker.
AUM. Peace! Peace! Peace! (7)

(Peace Invocation)

May he protect us both together.
May he nourish us both together.
May we work together with vigour.
Let what is learnt by us be luminous.
May there be no dislike between us.
AUM. Peace! Peace! Peace!

⁷⁴ Track 19.

Taittirīya Āranyaka⁷⁵

Prapāthaka 4. 1. 1⁷⁶

Namo vāce yā coditā yā cānuditā tasyai vāce namo namo vāce namo vācaspataye.
Nama rsibhyo mantrakrdbhyo mantrapatibhyo mā māmrsayo mantrakrto.

Mantrapatayah parādurmā'hamrsīnmantrakrto mantrapatīnparādām vaiśvadevīm
Vācamudyāsam śivāmadastām justām devebhyaśśarma me dyauśśarma prthivī
Śarma viśvamidam jagat. (1)

Śarma candraśca sūryaśca śarma brahmaprajāpatī (2)

Bhūtam vadisyē bhuvanam vadisyē tejo vadisyē yaśo vadisyē tapo vadisyē brahma
vadisyē satyam vadisyē tasmā ahamidamupastaranamupastrna upastaranam me.

Prajāyai paśūnām bhūyādupastaranamaham prajāyai paśūnām bhūyāsam
prānāpānau mrtyormā pātam prānāpānau mā mā hāsistam madhu manisye madhu.

Janisye madhu vaksyāmi madhu vadisyāmi madhumatīm devebhyo vācamudyāsam
Śuśrūsenyām manusyebhyastam mā devā avantu śobhāyai pitaro'numadantu. (3)

Om śāntih śāntih śāntih.

⁷⁵ < <http://www.sanskritweb.org/yajurveda/index.html#TA> > Accessed on March 7, 2008.

⁷⁶ Track 20.

B.2 NARAYANA SUKTAM⁷⁷

Śānti Pātha

⁷⁸*Sahana navathu.

Sahanou bunakthu.

Saha veerya karavavahai.

Tejaswinaa vadheedamasthu

maa vidwishavahaii.

Om shanthi, shanthi, shanthi.*

(Peace Invocation)

Let Brahmam protect the teacher-student duo,
and also protect us.

We would work with vigour.

Let our learning be lustrous.

Let not we quarrel among ourselves.

AUM. Peace! Peace! Peace!

[Track 2] Om.⁷⁹

Sahasraa sersham

devam viswaasham

viswaasambhuvam.

Viswam naaraayanam

devamaksharam

pramam padam. (1)

AUM.

I meditate on god Narayana,
who has thousands of heads,
who sees everywhere,
who does good to all the world,
who is the world, who is indestructible,
and who is the greatest destination. (1)

Viswatha paramanithyam
viswam narayanam harim,
Viswamevedam purusha
stadvischa
mupajeevathi. (2)

I meditate on God Narayana, who is much greater
than this world, who is forever, who is the world,
who destroys sins and suffering, and say, that this
world is Purusha, and is alive because
he is inside it. (2)

Pathim viswasyatmeshwaram,
saswatham shivamachyutham.
Narayanam
mahajneyam
viswathmanam
parayanam. (3)

I meditate on Narayana, who owns this world,
who is the god of all souls, who is forever,
who is personification of good, who never slips,
who needs to be known with great effort, who is
the soul of everything, and who is the great
destination. (3)

Narayana paro jyothirathma
narayana parah,
Narayana param brahma
tatwam narayana parah.

Narayana is the great light,
Narayana is the great soul,
Narayana is the ultimate Brahmam,
Narayana is the great principle,

⁷⁷ Translated by P. R. Ramachander. < <http://www.celextel.org/stotrasvishnu/narayanasuktam.html> > Accessed on March 7, 2008.

⁷⁸ * Priests skipped this section in this recording.

⁷⁹ Track 21.

Narayana paro dhyatha
dhyanam narayana
parah. (4)

Yachcha kinchid jagat sarvam
drusyathe sruyathe bhi vaa,
antharbahisca tatsvaram vyapya
narayana sthitah.(5)

Anantham avyayam kavim
samudrentham viswasambhuvam,
padmakosa pratheekasam
hrudhyam chapyadho
mukham. (6)

Adho nishtaaya vithasthyaanthe
nabhyam upari thishtathi,
jwalamalaakulam bhathi
viswasya yatanam mahat. (7)

Santhatham shilabhisthu
lambatya kosa sannibham,
tasyanthe sushiram sookshmam
tasmin sarvam prathishtitham. (8)

⁸⁰*Tasya madhye mahan agni
viswa archir visvatho mukha,
sograbuk vibhajan thishtaa
annahara majara
kaviih. (9)

Tirya goordhwa madhasa sayee
rasmayas tasya santhatha,
santhapayathi swam deha
mapada thala masthaka,*
tasya madhye vahni shika
aneeryordhwa vyavasthitha. (10)

Narayana is the greatest among those who
meditate on him, and Narayana is the great
meditation. (4)

Narayana is spread
all over the world.
In everything that we see and hear,
and in its inside and outside. (5)

I meditate on God Narayana, who is endless,
who is indestructible, who is all knowing,
who is inside the sea, and who does good to
all world. I also state that the heart hangs like an
inverted lotus bud. (6)

Inside the heart, which is just below the
collarbone, and one hand above the belly button,
shines as if it is surrounded by a flame,
the greatest habitat of the universe. (7)

The lotus like heart hangs,
attached to the bones on all four sides,
and inside the heart is a very tiny hole,
and inside that hole everything exists. (8)

Inside the center of the heart, there is an ever-
shining fire, which is spread in all directions,
and that fire which burns stable, sees everywhere,
never gets old, and divides and supplies
the food. (9)

The rays of that fire is always spread,
all over from one end to other,
throughout the length, from head to foot,
and the body of that fire, heats our body all over,
and its one thin flame, shines erect in the center
of the heart. (10)

⁸⁰ Priests skipped this section in this recording.

Neela thoyadha madhyastha
dwidyullekheva bhaswaraa,
neevara sooka vathanvee peetha
bhaswat yanoopama. (11)

Tasya shikhaya madhye
paramathma vyavasthitha,
sa brahma sa shiva sa harih
sendra sokshara parama
swaraat. (12)

Rhutha sathyam param
brahma purusham
Krishna pingalam,
Oordhwaretham
viroopaksham
viswa roopaya
vai namo
nama. (13)

Narayanaya vidmahe
vasudevaya deemahi,
Thanno Vishnu prachodayath.
(14: repeated twice)

Like the sparkle of lightning, from within
a black dark cloud, like the sprout of a red paddy,
thin and golden, and as tiny as an atom,
that flame continues burning. (11)

In the center of the flame lives the
all-pervasive God,
who is Brahma, who is Shiva, who is Vishnu,
who is Indra, who is perennial and ever living,
and He is the greatest emperor. (12)

Salutations and salutations, to Him who is the
beauty of everything, to Him who is ever lasting
truth, to Him who exists as Para Brahman in all
bodies, to Him who is the black Vishnu and
reddish Shiva rolled into one, to Him who looks
after the progeny, to Him who is three eyed, and
to Him who assumes the form of all beings of the
universe. (13)

Let us try to know that Lord Narayana,
let us try to meditate on that Vasudeva,
and let that Vishnu employ us to do good
deeds. (14)

B.3 SRI SUKTAM⁸¹

[Track 3] Om.⁸²

Hiranya varnám harinīm
suvarna rajata srajám.
Chandrám hiranmayīm
Lakshmīm jatavedo
ma avaha. (1)

Tám ma ávaha jātavedo
lakśhmīm anapa gáminīm
Yasyám hiraṇyam
vindeyam gám
aśvam puruśhán aham. (2)

Aśhwa-pūrvám
ratha-madhyám hasti náda
prabódhinīm
Śhriyam devīm
upahvaye śhrír ma
devír jushatám. (3)

Kám sósmitám hiranya
prákárám árdrám
jvalantīm triptám
tarpayantīm
Padme sthitám
padma-
varnám
támihópahvaye
śhriyam. (4)

Chandrám prabhásám
yaśhasá jvalantīm
śhriyam lóke deva
justám udárám

AUM.

Invoke for you O Agni, the Goddess Lakshmi,
who shines like gold, yellow in hue,
wearing gold and silver garlands,
blooming like the moon,
the embodiment of wealth. (1)

O Agni! Invoke for me that
unfailing Lakshmi,
blessed by whom,
I shall win wealth, cattle,
horses and men. (2)

I invoke Shri Lakshmi,
who has a line of horses in her front,
a series of chariots in the middle,
who is being awakened by the trumpeting of
elephants, who is divinely resplendent.
May that divine Lakshmi grace me. (3)

I hereby invoke that Shri Lakshmi who is
the embodiment of absolute bliss; who is of
pleasant smile on her face; whose lustre is
that of burnished gold; who is wet as
it were, (just from the milky ocean) who is
blazing with splendour, and is the embodiment
of the fulfillment of all wishes; who satisfies
the desire of her votaries; who is seated on the
lotus and is beautiful like the lotus. (4)

I resort to that Lakshmi for shelter in this world,
who is beautiful like the moon,
who shines bright,
who is blazing with renown,

⁸¹ < http://www.srividy.org/slokas/HTML/sri_suktam.htm > Accessed on March 7, 2008.

⁸² Track 22.

Tám padminim-ím
saranam aham prapadye'
alakshmír me naśyatám
tvám vrne. (5)

Āditya varne tapasó
dhijátó vanaspatis
tava vrikshó' tha bilvah
Tasya phalani tapsá
nudantu mayántaráyás
cha báhya
alakshmíh. (6)

Upaitu mām deva-sakah
kīrtis cha maninā saha
Prádūr bhūtó' smi
rashtre' smin kīrtim
riddhim dadātu me. (7)

Kshut pipásá-amalám
jyesthám alakshmím
náshayámy aham
Abhūtim asamriddhim
cha sarvám nirnuda
me grihat. (8)

Gandha dvárám
durá dharṣhám
nitya-pushtám
karīshiním
Íshvarígm sarva
bhūtánám tám ihó
pahvaye
śhriyam. (9)⁸³

Manasah kāmam
Hiranyam prabhūtam
gávó dásyó áśván

which is adored (even) by the gods,
which is highly magnanimous,
and grand like the lotus.
May my misfortunes perish. (5)

I surrender myself to You, O resplendent like
the Sun! By your power and glory, plants like the
bael tree have grown up.
May the fruits thereof destroy through the
grace of all inauspiciousness rising from the
inner organs and ignorance as well from
the outer senses. (6)

O Lakshmi! I am born in this country with the
heritage of wealth. May the friends of Lord Siva
(Kubera, Lord of wealth and Fame), come to me.
May these (having take their abode with me),
bestow on me fame and prosperity. (7)

I shall destroy the elder sister to Lakshmi,
the embodiment of inauspiciousness
and such evil as hunger, thirst and the like.
O Lakshmi!
Drive out from my abode
all misfortunes and poverty. (8)

I hereby invoke Lakshmi Shri, whose (main)
avenue of perception is the odoriferous sense
(i.e., one who abides mainly in cows); who is
incapable of defeat or threat from anyone; who
is ever healthy (with such virtuous qualities as
truth); whose grace is seen abundantly in the
refuse of cows (the cows being sacred); and
who is supreme over all created beings. (9)

O Lakshmi! May we obtain and enjoy
being blessed by whom I shall win wealth
in plenty, cattle, servants,

⁸³ Slokas 10 – 14 were not recited in this recording.

vindeyam purushan aham. (15)

horses and men. (15)

Padma priye padmini
padma haste padma laye
padma dala yataksi
Visva priye visnu mano
nukule tvat pada padmam
mayi sannidhastva. (16)

Sriye jata sriya aniryaya
sriyam vayo janitr
bhyo dahatu
Sriyam vasana amrtatvam
ayan bhajanti sadyas savita
vidadhyun. (17)

Sriya evai nam tac
chriyam adadhathi
Santatam rca vasatkrtyam
sandhattam sandhiyate
prajaya pasubhih
Ye evam veda. (18)

Ōm mahá-devyai
cha vidmahe,
vishnu-patnaiya
cha dhímahi
Tanno Lakshmíh
prachódayát. (19: repeated twice)

We commune ourselves with
the Great Goddess,
and meditate on the
consort of Vishnu;
May that Lakshmi
direct us (to the Great Goal). (19)

B.4 BHU SUKTAM⁸⁴

Bhumirbhūmnā⁸⁵
dyaurvarinā'ntariksam mahitvā.
Upasthe'te devyadite'gnimannāda
mannadyāyādadhe. (1)

You are the earth in depth, sky in breadth
and atmosphere in vastness.
O Goddess Aditi! I place the fire,
the consumer of food in your lap. (1)

Ā'yangauh prśnirakramī
dasananmātaram punah.
Pitaram ca prayantsuvah. (2)

The spotted bull is ascending to heaven
to join his mother....
and father. (2)

Trigṃśaddhāma virājati
vākpatangāya śīśriye.
Pratyasya vaha dyubhih. (3)

He can jump over thirty paces
together and the words uttered
by the bird shines. (3)

Asya prānādapānatyantaścacarati
roocanā.
Vyakhyān mahisah suvah. (4)

Yattvākruddhah
paroovapamanyunā yadavatyār.
Sukalpamagne tattava
punastvoodhīpayāmasi. (5)

O Fire ! if I have disturbed and
scattered you out of my anger or misfortune.
Condescend to bear with me.
We relight you again. (5)

Yatte manyuparooptasya
prthivīmanuddhvase.
Ādityā viśve taddevā
vasavaśca samābharan. (6)

To bring you who are scattered and
spread over the earth, together.
Adityas, vasus and
all angels gather. (6)

Medhinī dhevī vasundharā
syādhvasudhā dhevī vāsavī.
Brahmavarchasah pithrunāgam
shrothram chakśhurmanah. (7)

Dhevī hiranyagarbhini
dhevī prasodharī.

⁸⁴ < http://www.srivaishnavam.com/stotras/bhu_nila_roman.htm > Accessed on March 7, 2008.

⁸⁵ Track 23.

Rasane sathyāyane sīdha. (8)

Samudhravathī sāvithrī hano
dhevī mahyāgī.

Mahodharanī maho dhyathīśhtāh
shrūge shrūge yajāhe yajāhe
vibhīśhinī. (9)

Indhrapathnī vyāpinī surasaridhiha
vāyumathī jalashayanī sriyandhā
rājā sathyandho parimedhinī shvo
paridhattham gāya. (10)

Viśhnupathnīm mahīm dhevīm
mādhavīm māhavapriyām.
Lakśhmīpriyasakhīm dhevīm
namāmyachyuthavallabhām. (11)

[Track 4] Om.
Dhanurdharāyai
vidmahe sarvasiddhayai
ca'dhīmahi.
Tanno dharā
pracoodayāt. (12: repeated twice)

AUM.
I contemplate on the mother earth,
the bearer of the bow for the success
in all my endeavours.
May she(mother earth) who bears all burdens,
inspire our intelligence (to meditate on her). (12)

B.5 NILA SUKTAM⁸⁶

⁸⁷*Gunāhi. (1)*

Dhruthavathī savitharādhipathyaih payasvathī ranthirāshāno asthu.⁸⁸

Dhruvā dhishām viśhnupathnyaghorā'syeshānā sahasoyā manothā. (2)

Bruhaspathirmātharishvatha vāyussandhuvānā vāthā abhi no grunanthu.

Viśhtambho dhivo dharunah pru thivyā asyeshānā jagatho viśhnupathnī. (3)

⁸⁶ < http://www.sriyaishnavam.com/stotras/bhu_nila_roman.htm > Accessed on March 7, 2008.

⁸⁷ Priests skipped this section in this recording.

⁸⁸ Track 24.

B.6 SĀRE JAHĀÑ SE ACHCHĀ⁸⁹

[Track 8 and 9]

Sāre jahāñ se achchā
hindostāñ hamārā.

Ham bulbuleñ haiñ us kī
vuh gulsitāñ hamārā.

Ghurbat meñ hoñ agar ham,
rahtā hai dil vatan meñ.
Samjho vuhīñ hameñ bhī dil
ho jahāñ hamārā.

Parbat vuh sab se ūñchā,
hamsāyah āsmāñ kā.
Vuh santarī hamārā,
vuh pāsbañ hamārā.

Godī meñ kheltī haiñ us kī
hazāroñ nadiyāñ.
Gulshan hai jin ke dam se
rashk-e janāñ hamārā.

Ay āb-rūd-e gangā! Vuh din haiñ
yād tujh ko?
Utarā tire kināre jab kāravāñ
hamārā.

Mazhab nahīñ sikhātā āpas
meñ bair rakhnā.

Hindī haiñ ham, vatan hai
Hindostāñ hamārā.

Yūnān-o-misr-o-rumā sab mit
gare jahāñ se.
Ab tak magar hai bāqī

Better than the entire world,
is our Hindustan.
We are its nightingales,
and it is our garden abode.

If we are in an alien place,
the heart remains in the homeland.
Know us to be only there
were our heart is.

That tallest mountain,
that shade-sharer of the sky,
it is our sentry,
it is our watchman.

In its lap frolic those
thousands of rivers,
whose vitality makes our garden
the envy of paradise?

O the flowing waters of the Ganges,
do you remember that day,
when our caravan first disembarked
on your waterfront?

Religion does not teach us to bear
ill-will among ourselves,

We are of Hind,
Our homeland is Hindustan.

In a world in which ancient Greece, Egypt,
and Rome have all vanished without trace,
Our own attributes (name and sign)

⁸⁹ < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saare_Jahan_Se_Achcha > Accessed March 7, 2008.

nām-o-nishāñ hamārā.

Kuchh bāt hai kih hastī mittī
nahīñ hamārī.

Sadiyoñ rahā hai dushman
daur-e zamāñ hamārā.

Iqbāl! korī mahram apnā
nahīñ jahāñ meñ.

Marlūm kyā kisī ko dard-e
nihāñ hamārā!

live on today.

Such is our existence that
it cannot be erased,
Even though, for centuries,
the cycle of time has been our enemy.

Iqbal! We have no confidant
in this world,
what does anyone know of
our hidden pain?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Background:

1. Your name (please spell it out)
2. When & Where were you born?
3. When did you come to the U.S.?
4. What is your occupation?
5. What is your Visa status?
6. How long have you been working as _____?
7. Why did you choose to become _____?
8. Why did you come to the U.S.?
9. What are good and bad things about living in the U.S.?
10. Which country would you prefer to live?

Music:

1. Do you have any musical experience? – singing, playing, dancing, etc.?
2. Do you play any instrument?
3. How often do you play or practice?
4. Why did you choose to practice it?
5. Do you like to play it? If not, why?
6. Is there any gender difference with musical performing – I've never seen a male Indian dancer and a female Indian flute player. (Do you have any standard musical education; this instrument is only for boys or this genre of music is only for girls?)
7. Do you always listen to Indian music?
8. Do you listen to music other than Indian music – European classic music (Bach, Beethoven, Mozart), U.S. pops, Jazz, etc.
9. Do you go to Indian concerts or any kind of concerts?
10. Do you watch any kind of MTV (music television program) or American movies?
11. When you are doing something (working, studying, cleaning, cooking, taking shower,

helping your children bathe, going out for walking, shopping, etc.) during the day, what kind of song do you hum or sing? -- Or, do you chant?

12. When you put your children into bed, do you sing a lullaby?
13. When and how often does your family get together for a family reunion? – like X'mas or New Years Day celebration?
14. At that time, what kind of music do you play or sing?

Temple:

1. What kind of occasions or events do you bring your children to the temple? – birthday, coming-of age, becoming adult (for girls, for boys), baptized, etc.
2. What do you think of the SV temple in general?
3. Is it the same as the temple in India? – Building structure, teaching language and musical classes, Indian Youth Organization, etc.
4. What is the role of the SV temple for you? – Is it helpful to raise your children and to educate Indian music and culture?
5. Do you think the SV temple is helping your children to be not Americanized?
6. What do you think about people who come to the temple? (Is the temple a place for meeting new people (socializing) or “match-maker” for young boys and girls?)
7. What do you think about Indian community in Pittsburgh? – Are people getting along well? Have you ever heard of any trouble between people from different region of India or trouble between the temples in Pittsburgh area?

Family:

1. What do you want to become in the future?
2. What do you want your children to become in the future?
3. I heard there is a caste system in India, but is it a big deal for you even when you are in the U.S.?
4. If you lived in India, do you think you would be living like the same way you do now?
5. If you lived in India, would you educate (musically) your children the same way you do now?
6. Would you like to go back to India eventually?
7. Do you miss your family in India, weather, food, culture, society?
8. Are you happy living in the U.S.?

Thank you so much for your cooperation!

* All information and sources collected for this project will only be used for educational purposes. My paper will be kept at the music department in the University of Pittsburgh. This

project is a part of requirements for “Music 2442: Field and Lab” graduate seminar for ethnomusicology majors, under the direction of Dr. Andrew Weintraub. *

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