

THE MEANINGS OF MUSIC
IN A NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EDWARD OSCAR HENRY
1973

LIBRARY
Michigan State
University

This is to certify that the
thesis entitled

THE MEANINGS OF MUSIC
IN A NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE

presented by

EDWARD OSCAR HENRY

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

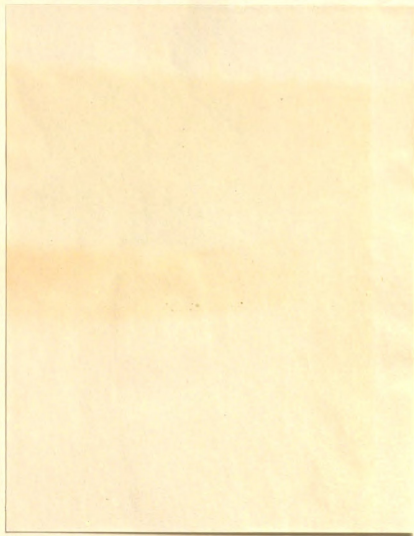
Ph.D. degree in Anthropology

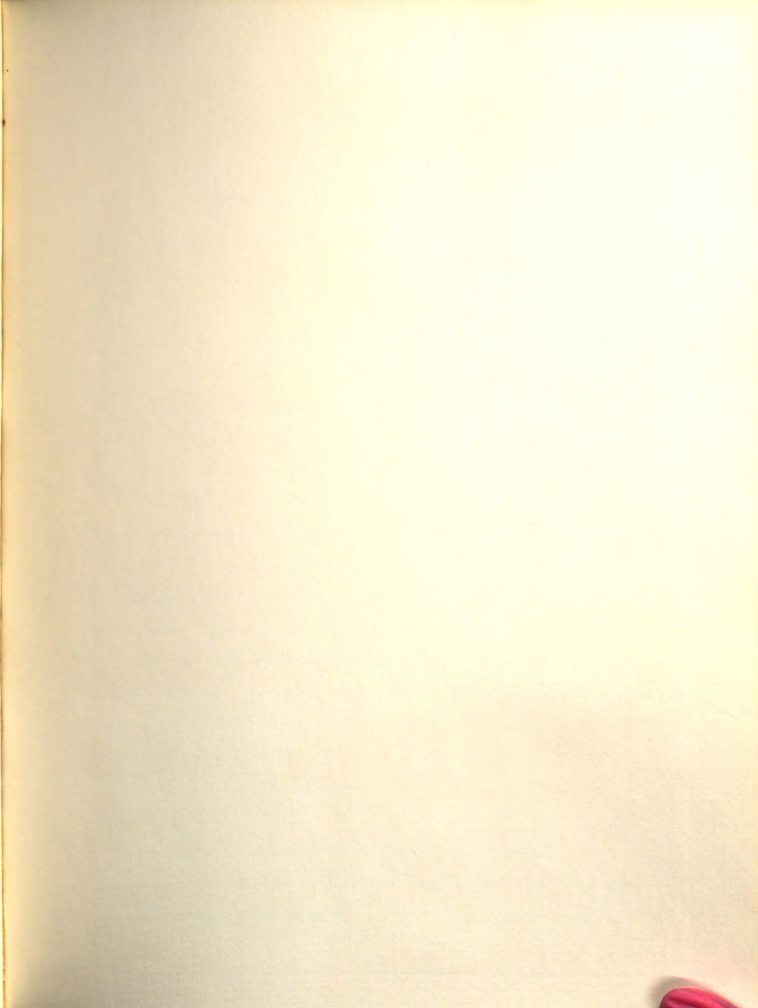
Charles Morrison
Major professor

Date Nov. 8, 1973

O-7639

BINDING BY
HOAG & SONS
BOOK BINDERY INC.
LIBRARY BINDERS
SPRINGPORT, MICHIGAN





ABSTRACT

THE MEANINGS OF MUSIC IN A NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE

Edward M. Bruner

This is a report of an anthropological investigation of village music in Eastern Uttar Pradesh in North India. The major objectives of the research were: the discovery of the social meanings of the situations in which music occurs, recognition of the means of distinguishing formal characteristics, learning the legends, theories, and attitudes towards music, and the recognition of the uses of music; and secondly, to learn how music is related to the structure of the village and how it is related to other aspects of culture and social structure.

Village music is of two types: participatory, in which many of those present participate and non-participatory, in which special performers perform for a passive audience. In participatory music each singer coordinates his voice with the others and thereby experiences unity with them; social solidarity is reinforced.

Ritual song constitutes a major subdivision of participatory music. With one exception these songs are sung by women; each singing is a part of their family roles. Music is an important element of wedding rites, where it contributes to the control of inherent conflicts and eases the adjustment of all involved to the new situation.

In the monsoon season women from each household converge to propitiate the smallpox goddess with songs expressing the benevolent and malevolent qualities of the deity. She is depicted as afflicting

This is a report of

and Eastern Tibet

the research were:

manners in which man

comprising formal

attitudes towards

demands, to learn

when it is related

Village music is

the present participle

known for a passive

emulates his voice

of them: social so

Ritual song cons

men. With one excep

part of their f

song rites, where

chants and eases

condition.

In the monsoon

exquisite the small

or malignant qual

ABSTRACT

THE MEANINGS OF MUSIC IN A NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE

By

Edward Oscar Henry

This is a report of an anthropological investigation of village music in Eastern Uttar Pradesh in Northern India. The two general aims of the research were: the ethnography of music--the discovery of the situations in which music occurs, categories of songs and their distinguishing formal characteristics, common song topics, concepts of and attitudes towards music, and the social identities of musicians; and secondly, to learn how music affects the operation of the society, and how it is related to other aspects of culture and social structure.

Village music is of two types: participatory, in which many of those present participate; and non-participatory, in which specialists perform for a passive audience. In participatory music each singer coordinates his voice with the others and thereby experiences unity with them: social solidarity is reinforced.

Ritual song constitutes a major subdivision of participatory music. With one exception these songs are sung by women; such singing is a part of their family roles. Music is an important element of wedding rites, where it contributes to the control of inherent conflicts and eases the adjustment of all involved to the new situation.

In the monsoon season women from each household convene to propitiate the smallpox goddess with songs expressing the benevolent and malevolent qualities of the deity. She is depicted as afflicting

...those who are
...with sons. ...
... (orthodox) and ...
... support the devo
... goddess, who
... women (and ...

... women sing a spe
... highly important
... are also sung on o
... associated
... variety of vital
... to be auspicious.

... kind of par
... Here groups of
... rhythmic, repe
... his grace or un

... standing among t
... songs which gr
... holī (a rite o
... song contribute

... and sensual ho
... of the rainy season
... The singing ofte
... -born caste

... devotiona
... all 'anti-stru

smallpox upon those who are 'too proud' to worship her and rewarding the faithful with sons. The songs reflect a conflict between Sanskritic (orthodox) and non-Sanskritic religious cults in the village. The songs support the devotees (generally persons of lower castes) of the smallpox goddess, who during smallpox "panics" are able to recruit higher caste women (and a few men) to worship the goddess.

The women sing a special type of song at the birth of a son in the family, a highly important event in this patrilineal society. These songs are also sung on other sacred occasions, where they confer the auspiciousness associated with the birth of a son. These songs express a wide variety of vital religious concepts. All ritual music is thought to be auspicious--to insure good fortune.

Another kind of participatory music is that of the devotional meeting. Here groups of men attain religious ecstasy by singing intensely rhythmic, repetitious songs naming their god and thereby invoking his grace or unifying with him.

Outstanding among the many genres of recreational song are the exuberant songs which groups of men sing during the five weeks preceding holī (a rite of spring). On holi these and a type of obscene song contribute to the drug-abetted ecstasy of a uniquely communal and sensual holiday. The men's monsoon songs reflect the mood of the rainy season, thought to be the most erotic season of the year. The singing often accompanies a simple dance or swinging. Men of all twice-born castes participate in both kinds of singing.

Men's devotional and recreational singing and the activities of holi are all 'anti-structural' states. Victor Turner posits that, in

symbolical processes

where states are fur

essentially structure

Long women sing the

songs before the wedding

and the success of the

long to ease the to

Reverential song

leading to episodes

legend and the Phae

in these texts via

thus, intra-family

and songs; the re

manus. Some of the

at least formal

disorders, who s

things. With a

biological and dev

religious mend

system for grain.

quoting the prece

and setting condu

ment is of a W

long long ballad

type. The balla

the North Indian.

the dialectical processes of individual and group social life, such rank-free states are functionally necessary antidotes to the hierarchically structured relations of mundane life.

Young women sing their monsoon songs in similar contexts. On evenings before the wedding of a neighbor women sing to celebrate and insure the success of the impending marriage. Women sing other kinds of songs to ease the tedium of monotonous tasks.

Recreational songs often concern the deities Rama and Krishna, referring to episodes contained in the Ram Charit Manas (the Hindi Ramayana) and the Bhagavata Purana. Many of the themes have descended from these texts via the vernacular poems of devotional poets such as Surdas. Intra-family social relations are also common topics of women's songs; the relations most often treated in the men's songs are romantic. Some of the women's songs are nationalistic.

The least formal of the non-participatory genres include the solos of cowherders, who sing while tending their herds or for informal gatherings. With a distinctive, elaborate form, the songs treat mythological and devotional subjects. They are a hallmark of the caste.

Religious mendicants come to the village to sing devotional songs in return for grain. Their didactic and reverent songs, often expressing the precepts of the 'formless' devotional sects, provide a moral setting conducive to charitable donations. Another kind of mendicant is of a Muslim caste called Nat. He receives donations for singing long ballads about the heroic exploits of two eleventh century Rajputs. The ballads reflect and reinforce the proud, martial facet of the North Indian ethos.

weddings and bride-
groomment in the vill
ages. The scale of
the prestige of
Marwari. These
and conventions of
the Marwari and Hindu
culture. Marwari
is very forceful in
the strong emotional
and a wide range
of emotions.

As a part of the
culture of Muslims
the Marwari instru-
ment it imparts
the wedding.
General Hindustani
and the Marwari

The only gener-
al Marwari and
Marwari Marwari
Marwari of the
Marwari over-
Marwari, pre-
Marwari strat-

Weddings and bride-removal rites are the contexts for all musical entertainment in the village involving large audiences and professional musicians. The scale and formality of the entertainment symbolize the wealth and prestige of the families involved. One type of formal group sings kavvālīs. These songs were formerly sung only by Muslims, using Urdu and conventions of Urdu poetry. Now both Muslims and Hindus perform them and Hindu mythology and Hindi vocabulary have been introduced. Kavvalis and birhās, another type of entertainment music, are highly forceful in style, and evaluated in part by their ability to evoke strong emotional responses in the listeners. Entertainers songs concern a wide range of topics--religious, romantic, topical and patriotic.

Also a part of the wedding context is the 'English band', which consists of Muslims who wear European-style band uniforms and play European band instruments. The more splendid the band the greater prestige it imparts to the nuptial families, and the more auspicious it makes the wedding. The repertoire of the band includes village, urban, classical Hindustani and Western genres; its musical style resembles that of the śahnāī ('oboe') bands of North Indian cities.

The only general analysis of Indian folk song combining anthropological and musicological approaches is that of Alan Lomax in his monumental Folk Song Style and Culture, a statistically supported discussion of the relationship between song style and social structure. His analysis over-emphasizes the 'bardic style', (a solo dance with information, precisely enunciated, with free rhythm), and the complex and rigidly stratified social structure it is supposed to reflect.

gymnastic' style d
and of the 'bardic sty
genus, and often 'styl
ous 'bardic style'.
style. If we as
ditions, it must
distant notes of internat
distant. In vill
mental activities such
distant interaction
and personality types a
evolution of 'anti-c
Invent anthropology
requires hierarchical
chronic interpretation
which are not

The 'participatory' style documented in this dissertation is the opposite of the 'bardic style'--it is a group performance, highly repetitious, and often rhythmic. It is more prevalent in the village than the 'bardic style'. Cooperation and equivalence of role are basic to this style. If we accept Lomax's assumption that song style reflects norms, it must be concluded that the participatory style reflects modes of interaction in which ritual and political status are held in abeyance. In village life communal work parties, leisure time and ritual activities such as holi are all contexts in which this type of rank-free interaction occurs. Certain cultural complexes such as ideal personality types and the pantheon also demonstrate the existence and valuation of 'anti-structural' categories.

Current anthropological theory of the operation of Indian society emphasizes hierarchical structure. This dissertation qualifies the hierarchic interpretation by recognizing cultural and institutional complexes which are not hierarchically structured.

in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1973

RE KENNEDY 15

in parti

THE MEANINGS OF MUSIC IN A NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE

By

Edward Oscar Henry

616325
Copyright by
EDWARD OSCAR HENRY
1973

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1973

100-443887-100

Research Fellowship

Research Fellowship

Research Fellowship

Research Fellowship

RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

Research Fellowship

This research was made possible by two grants from the National Institute of Mental Health, Research Fellowships 1 PHL 00000-01 and 2 PHL 00000-02.

National Institute of Mental Health.

of the National Institute of Mental Health for research

consideration and service.

It is not possible to list all of the people who contributed to the coming into existence of this dissertation, but among those who played key roles in the process are the following:

Copyright by
EDWARD OSCAR HENRY
1973

Edward Oscar Henry, who reported an interest in this music and suggested Anthropology as an appropriate discipline for its study.

Dr. Ralph W. Nicholas, who through his support and encouragement

channeled my interests into Social Anthropology and Indian society.

Dr. William Ross, Director of the Asian Studies Center at Michigan

State University, whose friendship and assistance have been very helpful;

Dr. Prem Lata Sharma, Head of the Department of Musicology at Banaras

Hindu University, who served as my official affiliate and donated her time and knowledge of Hindustani classical music and Hindu mythology;

Shri R. K. Shringy, also of the Department of Musicology at Banaras Hindu University, whose friendship was greatly appreciated during a difficult period;

This research was made possible by
Fellowships from the National
Institute of Mental Health and the
National Institute of Mental Health
of the National Institute of Mental Health
and the National Institute of Mental Health.

It is not possible to name into exist-
ing roles in the field of psychology.
Professor Roger L. W.

Suggested Authors:
Dr. Ralph W. Nichols
Dr. William Ross, Jr.
State University of New York
at Stony Brook

helpful;
Dr. Peter Lata Shaxson
Rutgers University
her time and
psychology;
Dr. L. L. Shrieves
Rutgers University
a difficult

Shrimati Subhadra Chaudhury, then a student in the Department of Musicology at Banaras Hindu University, who suggested an appreciation of Rajasthani folk music and Hindustani classical music;

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research was made possible through Public Health Service Research Fellowships 1 FOI MH48987-01 and 5 FOI MH48987-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful to those on the staff of the National Institute of Mental Health for their consideration and service.

It is not possible to list all of the people who contributed to the coming into existence of this dissertation, but among those who played key roles in the process are the following:

Professor Roger L. Welsch, who imparted an interest in folk music and suggested Anthropology as an appropriate discipline for its study;

Dr. Ralph W. Nicholas, who through his support and encouragement channeled my interests into Social Anthropology and Indian society;

Dr. William Ross, Director of the Asian Studies Center at Michigan State University, whose friendship and assistance have been very helpful;

Dr. Prem Lata Sharma, Head of the Department of Musicology at Banaras Hindu University, who served as my official affiliate and donated her time and knowledge of Hindustani classical music and Hindu mythology;

Shri R. K. Shringy, also of the Department of Musicology at Banaras Hindu University, whose friendship was greatly appreciated during a difficult period;

5

Shrimati Subadhra Chaudhury, then a student in the Department of

Musicology at Banaras Hindu University, who augmented my appreciation of Rajasthani folk music and Hindustani classical music;

Shri M. Ramanathan, also a student in the Department of Musicology at Banaras Hindu University, who was most generous and helpful.

Drs. Kenneth David and Charles Hughes, who as members of my Guidance Committee read and constructively criticized my dissertation;

Dr. Herbert L. Whittier and Patricia Ruth Whittier, whose intellectual stimulation and friendship have sustained me throughout my graduate career;

Dr. Charles Morrison, the Chairman of my Guidance Committee.

Dr. Morrison's criticism helped to clarify my thinking about problems dealt with in this dissertation; he has contributed much to the dissertation and to my continuing education.

To those named above and to those unnamed (particularly the residents of the village in which most of the research was carried out) I give my thanks.

Series of transcriptions
Hindi, and other
most forth in Basham
inspired by Basham, na
in.

There are two diphthongs
known. These are
sums of Hindi and
arises freely from
all of these diphthongs
and significantly from

The first time it is
defined, and all ne
writing are used in
and to prevent confu
more than once in

Familiar anglicized
and terms such as K
dual diacritics.

NOTE ON transliteration

The rules of transliteration used here are those used to Romanize Sanskrit, Hindi, and other Indian languages. They are the same as those set forth in Basham (1959:xxi and 506). In addition to those rules stated by Basham, nasalization of a vowel is indicated by a tilda.

There are two diphthongs in Bhojpuri which do not occur in Hindi or Sanskrit. These are indicated by ai and au. The a is pronounced as the short a of Hindi and Sanskrit; it blends into the second vowel which varies freely from short to long. The umlaut over the first vowel of these diphthongs must be used to denote pronunciations which differ significantly from the ai and au of Hindi and Sanskrit.

The first time it is used in context the Indian word is underlined and defined, and all necessary diacritics supplied. No diacritics or underlining are used in subsequent occurrences of the word except where needed to prevent confusion. I have tried to include all Indian words used more than once in the glossary, where all diacritics are supplied.

Familiar anglicized spellings are employed in the case of well known terms such as Krishna and purdah. Place names are usually given without diacritics.

III. WOMEN'S MUSIC

Introduction

Divisions of Women's Songs

Songs of the wedding

General Characteristics of Kinship and Marriage

Typology of Wedding Music

Wedding Songs in their Ritual Contexts

Preliminary Rites and Tilak

Wed Chans

1. INTRODUCTION

2. RESEARCH

3.

4.

5. Research Goals

6. Research Sites

7. Behavioral Ecology

8. Theoretical Framework

9. The State of

10. Music of

11. Techniques and

12. Process

13. Order of Paper

14. Note on Appendix

15. SETTING OF THE

16. Introduction

17. The Geography

18. History

19. Physical Features

20. The Settlement

21. The Yearly

22. Language

23. Modernization

24. WOMEN'S MUSIC

25. Introduction

26. The Music

27. Songs of

28. Genre

29. Type

30. Media

31. Performance

32. History

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF SONGS	ix
NOTE ON transliteration	iv
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Research Goals	1
Research Sites	1
Behavioral Ethnomusicology	2
Theoretical Approaches	5
The State of Knowledge of Indian Village Music and the Music of the Bhojpuri-speaking People	7
Techniques and Problems of Data Gathering and Processing	9
Order of Reporting	11
Note on Appendices	12
II. SETTING OF THE PRINCIPLE RESEARCH	14
Introduction	14
The Geographical Setting	14
History	16
Physical Features of the Village	20
The Settings of Music	22
The Yearly Agricultural Cycle	23
Language	26
Modernization and Social Change	27
III. WOMEN'S MUSIC	31
Introduction	31
Divisions of Women's Songs	31
Songs of the Wedding	32
General Characteristics of Kinship and Marriage	33
Typology of Wedding Music	36
Wedding Songs in their Ritual Contexts	37
Preliminary Rites and Tilak	38
<u>Urdi Chuna</u>	42

- Index
- Extra News
- Guest
- War Africa
- Travel
- Minicart
- Wedding Son
- Attended
- The Yearning
- The Texts
- The Social
- The Flight
- Conquest
- Summary

Worship Songs
Introduction
The Morning
Communion
When Communion
Complete
Performance
Goddess

Songs of the
Introdu
Other C
Music a
Summary

Viewing Nov.
Symbolism
Apply

Women's Rec
Intro
Recre
Race-
Vill
Language a

1. **WIS MUSIC**

Introduction
Unit 1 and
Unit 2
Unit 3
Unit 4
Unit 5
Unit 6
Unit 7
Unit 8
Unit 9
Unit 10
Unit 11
Unit 12
Unit 13
Unit 14
Unit 15
Unit 16
Unit 17
Unit 18
Unit 19
Unit 20
Unit 21
Unit 22
Unit 23
Unit 24
Unit 25
Unit 26
Unit 27
Unit 28
Unit 29
Unit 30
Unit 31
Unit 32
Unit 33
Unit 34
Unit 35
Unit 36
Unit 37
Unit 38
Unit 39
Unit 40
Unit 41
Unit 42
Unit 43
Unit 44
Unit 45
Unit 46
Unit 47
Unit 48
Unit 49
Unit 50
Unit 51
Unit 52
Unit 53
Unit 54
Unit 55
Unit 56
Unit 57
Unit 58
Unit 59
Unit 60
Unit 61
Unit 62
Unit 63
Unit 64
Unit 65
Unit 66
Unit 67
Unit 68
Unit 69
Unit 70
Unit 71
Unit 72
Unit 73
Unit 74
Unit 75
Unit 76
Unit 77
Unit 78
Unit 79
Unit 80
Unit 81
Unit 82
Unit 83
Unit 84
Unit 85
Unit 86
Unit 87
Unit 88
Unit 89
Unit 90
Unit 91
Unit 92
Unit 93
Unit 94
Unit 95
Unit 96
Unit 97
Unit 98
Unit 99
Unit 100

<u>Haldī</u>	48
<u>Pitra Nevatinā</u>	51
<u>Bārāt</u>	52
<u>Dvar Pūjā</u>	54
<u>Vivah</u>	57
<u>Khicari</u>	66
Wedding Songs: Repertoire, Performance, and Attitudes	70
The Meanings of Wedding Songs	73
The Texts of <u>Gālī</u>	75
The Social Context of Gali	76
The Plight of the Bride	79
Conquest	80
Summary	81
Worship Songs of the Mother Goddess	82
Introduction	82
The Mother Goddess	85
Communal Worship of Mātā Māī	86
When Complementary Complexes Become Competing Complexes	92
Performance of the Worship Songs of the Mother Goddess	94
Songs of the Birth of a Son and Auspicious Inauguration.	95
Introduction	95
Other Contexts	96
Music and Performance	102
Summary	103
Viewing Women's Ritual Music in Terms of Ritual Symbolism	104
Applying Turner's Methodology to Ritual Music	107
Women's Recreational Songs	110
Introduction	110
Recreation in the Monsoon Season	110
Rice-Transplanting Songs	112
Milling Songs	114
Language and Structure in Women's Songs	115
IV. MEN'S MUSIC	119
Introduction	119
<u>Holi</u> and Its Music	119
<u>Holikā Gārnā</u> : The Initial Rite of <u>Holi</u>	120
<u>Phaguā</u> Sessions	123
The Music of <u>Holi</u> in Surinam	124
<u>Holikā Dahan</u> : The Burning of Holika	126
<u>Holi</u>	127

Themes of
Interpretation
The Music of the
Introduction
Katali Text
Katali, the
Introduction
The Katali
The Process
Music Man
Residual

II. KATALI

Introduction
Music of the
Katali
Katali, the
Religious Music
Katali, the
Introduction
The Katali
The War
Notes of
Musical

III. ENTERTAINMENT

Introduction
Context
Songs and
Katali
Structure
Social
Region
Instru
The Fo
The E
Katali
Spiri
Andie
Song and
Form
Dance
The Inform
Instru
Considerat
Comparison
Music of

VII. ENGLISH	Themes of Other <u>Phaguās</u>	135
	Interpretation of <u>Holi</u>	136
	The Music of the Monsoon Season	142
Social	Introduction	142
Inter	<u>Kajali</u> Texts	148
Comp	<u>Harikirtan</u> , the Music of Devotion	150
Style	Introduction	150
	The Rural <u>Harikirtan</u>	153
	The Process of <u>Harikirtan</u>	155
VIII. SONG	Music Making Links the Individual and Society	157
	Residual Meanings of <u>Harikirtan</u>	159
	V. NON-PARTICIPATORY MUSIC: NON-PROFESSIONALS AND MENDICANTS	161
	Introduction	161
	Music of the Ahir and Garer Castes: <u>Kharī Birhā</u>	162
	<u>Kharī Birhā</u> : Part of a Larger Song?	166
	<u>Khisā</u> , the Story-song	168
	Religious Mendicants	170
IX. VILLAGE	<u>Ālhā</u> , the Martial Ballad	177
	Introduction	177
	The <u>Ālhā</u>	177
	The Martial Rajput Ethos	178
	Notes on the Nat	180
	Musical Style	181
	VI. ENTERTAINMENT MUSIC	182
APPENDICES	Introduction	182
Appendix	Context of the Formal Performance	183
	Songs and Styles of the Formal Groups	184
I. Formal	<u>Birhā</u>	184
	Structure and Types of <u>Birhā</u> Texts	190
II. Syncretic	Social Identity of <u>Birhā</u> Singers	191
	Regional Distribution and Language of the <u>Birhā</u>	191
III. Gleanings	Instrumental Format	191
	The Form of the <u>Birhā</u>	192
BIBLIOGRAPHY	The Ethos of <u>Birhā</u>	193
	<u>Kavvalī</u>	193
	Spirit and Form of <u>Kavvalī</u>	197
	Audience Evaluation of <u>Birhā</u> and <u>Kavvalī</u>	199
	Song and Dance Groups	200
	Form and Spirit of the Song and Dance Music	203
	Dancing	204
	The Informal Groups	204
	Instrumental Format, Music Form and Performance	207
	Considerations in the Selection of Musical Entertainment	209
	Comparisons of the Texts of Entertainment Music with	209
	Music of the Village	210

I. HINDU DANCE . . .

Introduction . . .
 General Concepts . . .
 Instrumental . . .
 Instruction . . .
 Repertoire . . .
 Comparison of . . .
 Style and Period . . .

II. THE HINDU DANCE FORMS . . .

Introduction . . .
 The Krishna . . .
 Krishna . . .
 The Rama . . .
 Krishna: The . . .

III. THE DANCE FORMS . . .

Introduction . . .
 The . . .
 The . . .
 The . . .

IV. DANCE AND . . .

THE . . .

THE . . .

I. Transliteration . . .

II. Synopses . . .

III. Glossary . . .

INDEX . . .

Chapter	Page
VII. ENGLISH BANDS	213
Introduction	213
Social Composition of the Band	214
Instrumental Composition of the Band	215
Instruction	215
Repertoire	216
Comparison of Brass Band and Classical Ragas	216
Style and Performance	218
VIII. SONG THEMES FOUND IN LITERATURE: KRISHNA AND RELATED ANOMALIES	220
Introduction	220
The Krishna Themes	221
Krishna in the Literature	222
The Rama Motifs	227
Krishna: The Anti-structural Type	228
IX. FOLK SONG STYLE AND CULTURE	233
Introduction	233
Lomax's Assumptions, Methods, and Procedures	233
Testing Lomax's Generalizations with this Research	237
X. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	241
APPENDICES	
Appendix	
I. Transliterated Song Texts	251
II. Synopses of Two <u>Ālha</u> Segments	282
III. Glossary of Hindi and Bhojpuri Terms	286
BIBLIOGRAPHY	291

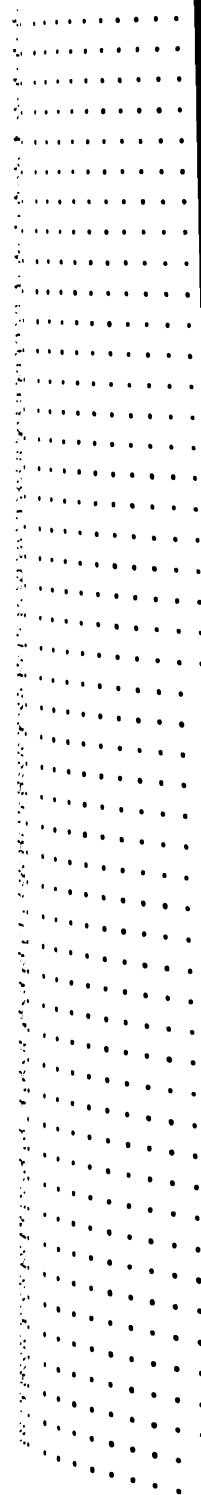
1. The first part of the report is a general statement of the purpose of the study.

2. The second part of the report is a description of the methods used in the study.

Song Translation Transliteration
 Page Page Page

SONG INDEX

Song	Translation	Transliteration
	Page	Page
1.	40	251
2.	41	251
3.	41	251
4.	41	252
5.	44	252
6.	44	252
7.	45	253
8.	46	253
9.	47	253
10.	47	254
11.	48	254
12.	49	254
13.	49	255
14.	50	255
15.	55	255
16.	55	255
17.	55	255
18.	56	255
19.	56	256
20.	57	256
21.	58	256
22.	58	256
23.	59	256
24.	59	256
25.	59	257
26.	60	257
27.	61	257
28.	61	257
29.	62	257
30.	63	258
31.	63	258
32.	64	258
33.	64	258
34.	64	259
35.	65	259
36.	66	259
37.	66	259
38.	67	259
39.	68	260



J

Song	Translation	Transliteration
	Page	Page
40.	68	260
41.	69	260
42.	89	261
43.	90	261
44.	90	261
45.	91	262
46.	92	262
47.	98	263
48.	99	263
49.	100	263
50.	101	264
51.	102	265
52.	112	265
53.	114	266
54.	128	266
55.	129	266
56.	130	267
57.	131	267
58.	131	267
59.	132	268
60.	133	268
61.	134	268
62.	134	269
63.	144	269
64.	145	269
65.	145	270
66.	146	270
67.	147	271
68.	164	271
69.	164	272
70.	165	272
71.	165	272
72.	165	272
73.	166	272
74.	166	272
75.	166	273
76.	173	273
77.	173	273
78.	174	274
79.	175	274
80.	184	275
81.	189	276
82.	194	277
83.	195	278
84.	200	278
85.	201	279
86.	205	279
87.	206	280
88.	207	280

3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Research Goals

This is a report of an anthropological investigation of the music of a village in Eastern Uttar Pradesh in Northern India. There were two general aims of the research. One was the ethnography of music. This included: (a) discovering the situations in which music occurred, the social and cultural factors giving rise to the situations and the primary components of the situations; (b) discovering the categories of songs, recording their texts and distinguishing their formal characteristics; (c) discovering concepts of and attitudes toward music; (d) discovering how musicians are recruited and their roles and statuses. The other general aims were to learn how music affected the operation of the society, and how it was related to other aspects of culture and social structure. These aims incorporated the idea of using music as an entry into those overlapping areas of social life in which it was embedded--religion, caste, kinship, and economics.

Research Sites

Most of the data upon which this report is based was gathered in a village of about seven hundred people approximately thirty-five miles from the city of Varanasi. Periods of residence in other locations and their studies were, in part, sets of attributes of the village and survey trips to other areas were also important. Before moving to the village in April, 1972, I spent ten weeks in Varanasi. There I observed and recorded musical activities in the city and adjacent villages and learned about the theory and practice of Hindustani classical music at Banaras Hindu University. During this period, in

business of searching for
ling and survey tour
cultural culture as
quaternational in form
over that region and the

Initially selected a
very sufficient variety
differences in caste and
own study of their
in their lines to find
and from a city to p
and of thirteen months
must make a brief

General Ethnological

to aims and methods
anthropology and behavior
question into the en
must dispel common
ethnology b
ethnically trained w
the classical Western
the studies were, in
ethnology's music, exper

is the
modern Bihar.
seasonal trips
ethnical Indian
provide a change

the process of searching for a feasible village site, I made a two week collecting and survey tour through Ballia District and western Bihar, where Bhojpuri¹ culture is supposed to exist in its "purest" form. The trip was beneficial in revealing musical and linguistic differences between that region and the region in which I eventually settled.

I finally selected a village satisfying these criteria: (a) having a sufficient variety of castes to allow the exploration of differences in caste musical style; (b) having a Muslim population in the event study of their music should prove feasible; (c) on or near bus or train lines to facilitate trips to Varanasi²; (d) sufficiently removed from a city to provide a genuinely rural setting. I spent a total of thirteen months in this village, interrupted after eight months to make a brief tour of Rajasthan for comparative purposes.

Behavioral Ethnomusicology

The aims and methods of this project combine those of social anthropology and behaviorally oriented ethnomusicology. A brief digression into the emergence of the latter sub-discipline is necessary here to dispel common misconceptions of its nature.

Ethnomusicology began with the study of non-Western music by classically trained Western musicologists, who analyzed "exotic" music with classical Western music terminology and notation. The products of their studies were, in part, sets of attributes of a particular society's music, expressed in terms of prescriptive, (as opposed to

1. Bhojpuri is the language spoken in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Western Bihar.
2. Occasional trips to Varanasi were necessary to confer with my official Indian advisor, to have film developed, buy supplies, and provide a change of environment.

... (p. 100) Western...

... and anthropologists...

... of sound to the...

... as the concerned...

... and musical style...

... and characteristic...

... conform. (See...

... in the United S...

... European studies...

... relationship of F...

... performed on the...

... particular society...

... functions of the...

... ethnological analy...

... in this, exempl...

... the shift in t...

... characteristic des...

... a "Dark Era" of A...

... ethnology and...

... parent discipli...

... meaning is a...

... and as a cultu...

... continuation of r...

... of ethnomusicol...

...

... Descriptive...

... ethno. Witho...

... nation is g...

... modern music...

descriptive) Western music notation¹. This group of predominantly German musicologists sometimes related their analyses of music as systems of sound to the anthropological theories of the times. They were thus concerned with determining the ultimate origins of music, fitting musical style into unilinear evolutionary schemes according to formal characteristics of the music, and tracing the diffusion of melodic forms. (See for example, Nettl, 1964:28 & 31.)

In the United States ethnomusicology was one facet of the ethnographic studies of North American Indians which were largely under the leadership of Franz Boas. These ethnomusicological studies were again focused on the sound characteristics, especially melodic form, of a particular society's music. They did, however, include detailed descriptions of the ceremonial setting of the music as well as musicological analyses. The works of Frances Densmore, e.g. Yuman and Yaqui Music, exemplify this stage of development of ethnomusicology.

The shift in the emphasis of anthropological objectives from particularistic description to analytic generalization that followed the "Boas Era" of American Anthropology resulted in a new direction in ethnomusicology and objectives and methods differing substantially from the parent discipline. The basic axiom of this approach is that music-making is a universal human activity. It can therefore be studied as a cultural, social and psychological phenomenon. The subordination of musicology to social science by the exponents of this type of ethnomusicology has gone unrecognized by most social scientists

1. Prescriptive notation provides a basis for the performance of music. Without numerous additions and modifications Western notation is generally inadequate for the description of non-Western music.

and the sub-discipline

original pitch and

and the rhythm, the

and the music and

and the sense

and the anal

and the flavor

and the indivi

and the and as the

and the sub-

and the enthusias

and the to the

and the divi

and the is als

and the ography,

and the (1966),

and the ology of

and the of the

and the ology, which

and the most eclectic

and the psychological

and the to illumina

and the Navahos.

and the music, e

and the relationship etc.

and the and cul

and the arise from

outside the sub-discipline. Although the analyst should be able to distinguish pitch and timbre, to remember sequences of different tones, and to feel rhythm, these faculties are used more to identify, classify, and describe music rather than to analyze it musicologically.

Given some sensitivity to music, there is inevitably appreciation generated in the analyst for the logic of particular music forms, the very cultural flavor with which they are imbued, and the skill and imagination of individual performances. As Merriam (1964:25) has concluded, and as the following pages show, this humanistic element is inherent in the sub-discipline. Here however, the role it plays is confined to enthusiastic description.

Returning to the discussion of behavioral ethnomusicology, the complementary division of ethnographic and nomothetic studies found in anthropology is also found in ethnomusicology. Outstanding examples of ethnomusicography, the study of one society's music, are Keil's The Urban Blues (1966), McAllester's Enemy Way Music (1954), and Merriam's Ethnomusicology of the Flathead Indians (1967). These works give some indication of the range of theoretical approaches, even within anthropology, which can be applied to the study of music. Keil's work is the most eclectic and contemporary, with social anthropological and social psychological interpretations prevailing. McAllester focuses on music to illuminate the secularization of values among generally younger Navahos. Merriam's work is taken up with the ideology of Flathead music, e.g. the sources of music, ideas of music and musicianship etc.; descriptions of the contexts of music performance; and music and culture change. He also raises some difficult questions which arise from the imposition of an anthropological frame of reference which organize music behavior as well as the ways in which

close to the formal

Wagner's works contain

and neither scholar

understand in the

emotional complexes

is other than a very

The comparative

study for comparison

is common in eth

any ethnological

Study of Music

W. Verriani's co

tion of the fi

for particip

publications about

(a. musical form)

ities. These a

work, which inv

the Human Relat.

itions yet to e

literature conta

missions regard

ature it is s

Theoretical Appro

Music can a

negative. Th

isms which c

reference to the formal structure of music. Both Merriam's and McAllester's works contain detailed notations and analyses of the music itself. Neither scholar was able to relate structural features of the music demonstrated in these analyses to any wider cultural patterns or institutional complexes. The inclusion of these analyses seems to be little other than a vestige of the older ethnomusicological tradition.

True comparative studies, in which the componential frameworks necessary for comparison are formulated and applied, are as esteemed and as uncommon in ethno-musicology as they are in anthropology. The primary ethnomusicological works of this type are Merriam's The Anthropology of Music (1964) and Lomax's Folk Song Style and Culture (1968). Merriam's contribution contains a valuable survey and general discussion of the field. It also sets forth basic categories of inquiry for participant-observation ethnomusicography. Lacking are any generalizations about patterns of music-making, music use or 'style' (i.e. musical form) shared by mankind or by certain classes of societies. These are the kinds of generalizations offered by Lomax. His work, which involved the correlation of musical data with the data of the Human Relations Area Files, is the most comprehensive and ambitious yet to emerge in this sub-discipline. Chapter IX of this dissertation contains a description of his methods and examines his conclusions regarding the style of Indian folk music and the social structure it is supposed to reflect.

Theoretical Approaches

Music can also be studied from a structural-functional perspective. The objectives of this approach are to discover the patterns which organize music behavior as well as the ways in which

...an institution
...are to
...primary em
...upon the c
...performed, and
...during the context
...ship of the w
...ter III) is an e
...cept of b
...study of a so
...they express in
...1964:6). As
...unique insight
...of the bride e
...the young wife se
...functionalistic fe
...Another theoret
...Emile Duront ha
...ology and social
...stratification
...relations. A
...song texts ar
...persive bands t
...pattern.
...which the
...attempts in t

music as an institution affects and is affected by other institutions. Both approaches are taken in this dissertation, with the latter receiving primary emphasis. Where it seemed useful to do so, I have elaborated upon the contribution made by music to the activity in which it was performed, and conversely, cultural and social factors informing the context and its music. The intimate and important relationship of the women's obscene insult songs with affinal relations (Chapter III) is an example of the fruitfulness of this approach.

One precept of behavioral ethnomusicology is an outstanding reason for the study of a society's music: people express sentiments in music that they express in no other mode of communication (cf. Keil 1966:216, Merriam 1964:46). As demonstrated in the following pages, song texts provide unique insights into social relations and ethos. The emotional trauma of the bride expressed in the wedding songs, the painful longing of the young wife separated from her husband of the men's songs, and the nationalistic fervor of the birhā are but a few examples.

Another theoretical construct important in this dissertation is what Louis Dumont has called 'the hierarchical principle' in Indian ideology and social structure. The principle is obviously manifest in caste stratification, but it is equally important in kinship and other social relations. As demonstrated in Chapters III and VI, the women's insult song texts and the uses of other kinds of music (e.g. the hiring of expensive bands to assert status) express and reinforce the hierarchic pattern. Refinement of Dumont's propositions by identifying areas in which the principle does not prevail seems inevitable.

Modest attempts in this direction have been made in Chapters VIII and

"The answer lies in
 looking for the state
 structure of those
 and the analysis of
 in Chapter III, and
 related countries
 of the relations
 international law. For
 Chapter Turner's

Key kinds of material
 European literature
 which also
 This is, of course,
 Indians are
 and the
 of songs
 was not
 and a few
 does not offer
 background
 he had
 and Sanskrit
 A. G. O.
 and 190

Victor Turner has formulated useful frames of reference and methodology for the analysis of ritual symbolism (1969, 1973). I have utilized some of these in the analysis of the holī rites (Chapter IV) and in the analysis of women's music as an element of ritual (Chapter III). Chapter VII contains an attempt to find order in disparate social and cultural complexes by the discovery of fundamental categories and the forms of relations (within each complex) between them--what some scholars would call French Structuralism. In this case the fundamental category is Turner's 'anti-structure' and the relation one of anomaly.

The State of Knowledge of Indian Village Music and the Music of the Bhojpuri-speaking People

Many kinds of music are mentioned in passing in the Indian ethnographic literature. There has been, however, only one monograph in English which discusses in any detail the full range of a region's music. This is, oddly, a collection of songs from Surinam. "A total of 34,304 Indians arrived in Surinam between 1873 and 1916. They spoke mainly Avadhi and Bhojpuri dialects . . ." (Arya 1968). Many of the categories of songs Arya discusses are found in the region in which this research was carried out; some of the songs he presents are similar and a few nearly identical to those presented here. Although Arya does not offer a great deal of anthropological analysis, there is much useful background information. Particularly interesting are the similarities he has noticed between certain formal aspects of the song texts and Sanskrit literature (1968:29-34).

George A. Grierson also published two collections of Bhojpuri songs (1884 and 1886). He performed meticulous linguistic analyses of

texts, but their

and songs were still

L. D. Gadgil (1962)

their subjects. No

only but the article

song genres in the

History of Marathi

song (in Devanagari

the songs in Hindi.

comprehensive work

understanding of the

In particular to

anthropological per

is treated in the

song (1962) and Ver

the ideology and

The other type

anthropological pers

into family

sonational songs

(1962) and Lewis

appropriate and well

for Maharashtra.

describing wedding

stantial number

in which the

the song texts, but there is little information about the situations in which the songs were sung or the musical style.

K. D. Upadhyaya (1957) has written a brief survey of Bhojpuri songs and their subjects. No texts are offered and the explanations are cursory, but the article does convey an idea of the wide variety of folksong genres in the area. Upadhyaya has also published a two volume collection of Bhojpuri songs (1954 and 1966). The song texts are in Bhojpuri (in Devanagari script) and commentaries and capsule summaries of the songs in Hindi. Translation of the songs and commentaries of this comprehensive work would contribute a great deal to our 'emic' understanding of the regional and encompassing culture and society.

Two particular types of Indian folk music have been discussed from an anthropological perspective. One is the bhajan ('devotional song'), which is treated in this dissertation under the name harikirtan. Singer (1968) and Venkateswaran (1968) have provided detailed analyses of the ideology and social framework of bhajan singing.

The other type of Indian folk music which has been studied from an anthropological perspective is village women's song. The wealth of insight into family relations provided by the women's ceremonial and recreational songs has been recognized by both Karve (1965:130-1 and 205-210) and Lewis (1958: Chapters 5 and 6 passim). Karve presents an appropriate and well-explicated collection of women's milling songs from Maharashtra. Lewis (1958) is careful to mention women's singing of in describing wedding and bride-departure rites. He includes a substantial number of translated texts and relates their themes to the rituals in which they are sung. This was done because the genre, harikirtan, has a particularly intricate form which is impossible to well executed. I had previously recorded it in its actual context.

Language and Problem

the functional ap-
plication of these
and some of these
experience of the
nature consisted in
and naturally on
words. The above
statements are no doubt
other words, dog
similar words are
first task for trans-

the more important
as it is sym-
the immediate con-
the performance
the (for the nation
with context
the birth of a
(p. 96)

the limitation
coming from the
the problematic in-
the activity

the attempt to
the classroom on a
the has a pa-
the executed.

Techniques and Problems of Data Gathering and Processing

The functional approach basic to this research requires the identification of those institutions which affect and are affected by music. Some of these institutions, of course, are those co-present in the performance of music. The technique used to collect music data therefore consisted largely of tape recording music in the contexts in which it naturally occurred and taking notes on the accompanying activities. The acoustic results of tape recordings made in such situations are no doubt inferior to those made in laboratory conditions.¹ Children scream, dogs bark, crows caw, and already slurred or unfamiliar words are even more difficult to identify when the tape is played back for transcription.

But more importantly the performance of music is observed and recorded as it is synchronized with and constrained by other activities in the immediate context. Identification of the situational components of music performance is also important because part of the meaning of music (for the native as well as the analyst) is the association it carries with contexts in which it is performed (the sohar, associated with the birth of a son but sung in other contexts, is a good example. See p. 96).

One limitation of this approach is the change in performance resulting from the presence of the tape recorder. The effects were only problematic in the women's informal sessions, where the absence of ceremonial activity allowed the singers to focus their attention on the

1. I did attempt to delimit background noise by recording in an empty schoolroom on one occasion. This was done because the genre, khari birha, has a particularly intricate form which is impressive when well executed. I had previously recorded it in its natural context.

examiner. They sa
manners and tended t
they played back a
up--it was one way
and they were doing

The first step in
disputes regarding
on wedding, for e
writing to informant
on a certain song w
systems, in which I
which was used to w
with the musician
separated from speech a
system was compos
tions. The words w
writers had only a
which relied upon in

I was not aware
considerable backlog
in the wedding season
writing for about s
transcription and tra
because it was n
on the voluntary he
village. They we
the mythological r

tape recorder. They sang with less concentration and unity in such situations and tended to become preoccupied with hearing the results. (I always played back at least a few of the resultant recordings for singers--it was one way in which I could compensate them for the service they were doing me, and it delighted them.)

The first step in processing the musical data was the correlation of my notes regarding the ritual activities with the music recorded. After a wedding, for example, it was sometimes necessary to play the recording to informants to ascertain at which of the many stages of rites a certain song was sung. The next step was the transcription of song texts, in which Devanagari script (the script in which Hindi is written) was used to write the songs. Ideally this should have been done with the musicians themselves. The language of all music differs somewhat from speech and is more difficult to understand. In this case the problem was compounded by the use of words from other regional dialects. The words were often known only by the singers; many listeners had only a general understanding of the song texts and could not be relied upon in transcribing the songs.

I was not aware of the transcription problem until I had a considerable backlog of unprocessed songs. I had arrived in the village as the wedding season began and was kept fully occupied observing and recording for about six weeks. When time permitted I began the task of transcription and translation.

Because it was not possible to hire a field assistant, I relied upon the voluntary help of friendly school teachers who were natives of the village. They were especially helpful in identifying the sources of the mythological references. I played the tape recorded songs for

them and they dictated the words, which I wrote out. When we could not understand one of the women's songs we attempted to locate the singers, who generally lived in the village. This procedure was not possible with the entertainment music, for these groups came from other villages. In these cases, where a phrase could not be understood, I played the songs for other singers and teachers, who were generally the best informants in this regard. Someone was usually able to make out the troublesome phrase. The song texts were often in Bhojpuri, the regional language, which differs considerably from the standard Hindi which I had learned. Assistance of the teachers, who spoke Bhojpuri, Hindi, and a little English, was also invaluable in translation.

Order of Reporting

The first chapter of this dissertation conveys background information pertinent to the discussion of village music, including physical features of the village, settlement patterns, caste composition, economy, communications, history and language. In the following five chapters the order of reporting is intended to reflect two polarities in the nature and function of the genres of village music: inner/outer and participatory/non-participatory. I begin with the women's ceremonial and recreational music. This is the "innermost" music of the village in two senses: it is largely sung in the home, and it is the only class of music which deals with kinship and family rituals. It is also participatory music--music performed by a group of non-specialists which, by requiring the coordination of individual activities resulting in a collective unity, is a unique social experience. Social solidarity of the singing group is reinforced in

...the men's
...aspects of human
...universal love rela
...of village men
...to non-part
...for the d
...are perform
...part of the
...are mandant
...music ge
...by outsider
...in their

Chapter VIII de
...notis for
...relationship
...structural
Chapter IX I b
...of Indi

Index or Appendix
Appendix I
...song corre
...of the
...respond wi
...page viii, 5
...liberation.

the singing. The men's music, topic of the following chapter, does not depict aspects of home life or family relations (except the heterosexual love relationship, a frequent topic); it is performed by groups of village men in the village but outside the home. In Chapter V we move to non-participatory genres--the songs performed by specialists for the diversion of their audiences. The first of these discussed are performed by residents of the village; those discussed in the latter part of the chapter reflect another outward movement--the singers are mendicants who do not reside in the village. The entertainment music genres discussed in Chapters VI and VII are all performed by outsiders and are additionally reflective of distance from the village in their complexity and refinement.

Chapter VIII deals with depictions of the gods Rama and Krishna, important motifs found in most types of music performed in the village, their relationship with Sanskrit and vernacular literature, and the 'anti-structural' component of certain social and cultural complexes. In Chapter IX I bring the data of this research to bear against Lomax's analysis of Indian folk music.

Note on Appendices

Appendix I contains transliterated song texts. The number of each song corresponds with the translation of that song appearing in the body of the dissertation. Each line of the song text is numbered to correspond with the numbered lines of the translation. The Song Index, page viii, gives page locations of both the translation and transliteration.

Appendix II contains

and they are in

section of Chapter V

in third appendix

Other terms appearing

in the

Appendix II contains prose synopses of two Ālha segments which I recorded. They are included to supplement and illustrate the subsection of Chapter V regarding the Alha.

Introduction

The third appendix contains a glossary of the recurrent Hindi and Bhojpurī terms appearing in translated song texts and the text of the Indian societies (e.g. Lewis 1958, Dwyer 1960, and Lewis and Dwyer 1967). The smaller region containing the principal research site, Eastern Uttar Pradesh, has also been studied. Dwyer's dissertation (1956) documents the religious and mythological life of the region and provides a wide range of other ethnographic information. Lewis' work (cited below) provides an account of the social history of Eastern Uttar Pradesh.

The availability of these studies obviates the need for a complete village ethnography. Accordingly, the general ethnographic information presented here is only that necessary to provide a context for the study of village music and convey an idea of the general cultural and structural contours of the region.

The Geographical Setting

The major part of this research was carried out in Indrapur, an agricultural village of approximately seven hundred people in the eastern part of the state of Uttar Pradesh in Northern India. (Indrapur is a pseudonym used to conceal the identity of the village and thereby protect the human rights of the residents. Apart from such obvious names as Varanasi, Calcutta, Uttar Pradesh etc., all proper names used herein are pseudonyms.) The area is on the one hundred and fifty to two hundred mile wide alluvial plain which borders the Ganges river from Western Uttar Pradesh to the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta in

Population

There have been a number of
 societies (e.g. 1. The smaller region
 of the smaller region, the
 of documents the region
 with a wide range of
 (below) provides a
 of the region.

The availability of
 the ethnography. A
 recorded here is only
 of village music
 natural contours of

Geographical Setting

The major part of
 cultural village of
 which part of the state
 is a pseudonym.
 directly protect the
 names as Varana
 used herein are
 to two hundred m.
 from Western Uttar

CHAPTER II

SETTING OF THE PRINCIPLE RESEARCH

Introduction

There have been a number of substantial ethnographies of North Indian societies (e.g. Lewis 1958, Mayer 1966, and Wiser and Wiser 1967). The smaller region containing the principle research site, Eastern Uttar Pradesh, has also been studied. Flanalt's dissertation (1956) documents the religious and ceremonial life of the region and provides a wide range of other ethnographic information. Cohn's work (cited below) provides an account of the social history of Eastern Uttar Pradesh.

The availability of these studies obviates the need for a complete village ethnography. Accordingly, the general ethnographic information presented here is only that necessary to provide a context for the study of village music and convey an idea of the general cultural and structural contours of the region.

The Geographical Setting

The major part of this research was carried out in Indrapur, an agricultural village of approximately seven hundred people in the eastern part of the state of Uttar Pradesh in Northern India. (Indrapur is a pseudonym used to conceal the identity of the village and thereby protect the human rights of the residents. Apart from such obvious names as Varanasi, Calcutta, Uttar Pradesh etc., all proper names used herein are pseudonyms.) The area is on the one hundred and fifty to two hundred mile wide alluvial plain which borders the Ganges river from Western Uttar Pradesh to the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta in

English. Eastern

figures in which re-

ing, chief, and sug-

The village is sev-

to the road from H-

mainly by motor veh-

conduits to the head

various one-track

consider the nonso-

and development of

agricultural extension

trains must travel

which not available

and other must

things. The men co-

workers in bazaars

from Haralpur on

members of the

main capital, two

Haralpur is about the

and the largest

Haralpur. Located

Haralpur is the
Sanskrit) trans-
literation. The
British and Mogul
transliteration of
Haralpur is an al-
teration of Harsha
the formal con-

Bangla Desh. Eastern Uttar Pradesh is just inside the western boundary of the area in which rainfall is sufficient to allow rice cultivation. Wheat, barley, and sugar cane are other major crops.

The village is several miles from Kamalpur, the nearest bazaar town. The road from Kamalpur to Indrapur crosses a river which is impassable by motor vehicles from the latter part of June through October due to the heavy monsoon rains. Pedestrians cross the river via a dangerous one-track railway bridge in this season, and by stepping stones when the monsoon torrents have receded. Kamalpur is the site of a Block Development Office, the lowest level of state government and an agricultural extension service and village development agency. Villagers must travel to the bazaar town for a wide range of goods and services not available in the village. Among them are the 'English bands' and other musical groups which lead processions and entertain in weddings. The men comprising these groups are often artisans and shopkeepers in bazaar towns.

From Kamalpur one can travel by train or bus to the tehsīl (headquarters of the next higher level of state government) or to the district capital, twelve and sixteen miles distant respectively. Kamalpur is about thirty-five miles from Varanasi, the largest nearby city and the largest city in Eastern Uttar Pradesh (1961 population 573,558).¹ Located on the sacred Ganges (Gangā) river, Varanasi has

-
1. Vāraṇasī is the Devanagari (the script used to write Hindi and Sanskrit) transliteration and indicative of the correct formal pronunciation. The city is also called Benares, a name used in the British and Mogul periods. (Bānāras is the Devanagari transliteration and reflects the common pronunciation). Kasi (Kashi is an alternate spelling) is the name used in the era of the conqueror Harsha (circa 640 A.D.) and before and is also used in some formal contexts.

place of pilgrims

and thousand years.

purchase of goods in

limited purchases with

action with the well

movement is also in

in yet Indrapur has

though telegraph service

motion was established

Many.

People in both East

Western part of the

usually "conservative"

examination is no doubt

Acoustic and other

Chun

De Rajput and B.

These two of the last

James S. Cohn, an h

fourteenth to nine

movement of the Raj

which I summarize C

substantiate them

John describes t

but

In the fifteenth

and Rakurs--Lo

the region. The R

been a place of pilgrimage and an important religious center for several thousand years. Just as villagers must go to the bazaar for the purchase of goods not available in the village, there are specialized purchases which must be made in Varanasi, particularly in connection with the wedding. Higher quality, more prestigious entertainment is also hired in Varanasi by the more affluent families.

As yet Indrapur has neither telephone nor telegraph service, although telegraph service is available in Kamalpur. A postal substation was established in Indrapur in 1971, providing daily mail delivery.

People in both Eastern and Western Uttar Pradesh often speak of the eastern part of the state as being technologically "backward" and culturally "conservative." The nascent stage of industrialization and modernization is no doubt partially responsible for the persistence of folk music and other oral traditions in the area.

History

The Rajput and Brahman castes are politically dominant and comprise two of the largest caste blocs in the villages of this region. Bernard S. Cohn, an historian and social anthropologist who has studied the fifteenth to nineteenth century history of the region, has provided an account of the Rajput immigration and rise to power. In this section I summarize Cohn's findings as they bear on the present study and substantiate them with the findings of my own limited inquiries.

Cohn describes the general process of Rajput migration into the area:

"In the fifteenth century a new element, the Rajputs, locally termed Thakurs--Lords, began to affect the internal structure of the region. The Rajputs gradually filtered into the region from

west. At first
settlers who took
the land were attracted
by the soil or the
the climate grew
from 1890-1905. On
of the Baras region
at least eight were

disputed political

which is a structure

with a high empire;

original state of the

columns; and the local

structure, a local

the (from 1900-1910)

The ideas of the

activity confirmed

the level. They

the now occupied

the, where the

the then called

the clan ex

the occupied, the

the new

the Brahman

the located

the lineage.

the area is
the same area
the what is
the what is
the what is

the west. At first they came as individuals or families of adventurers who took service with local chieftains; but as more of their kin were attracted, they were gradually able to supplant the semi-tribal or Muslim local leaders, controllers of the land. These Rajputs grew in number and strength until at the time of Akbar (1556-1605) out of sixty-two parganas listed in Ain-i-Akbari of the Banaras region, over fifty were in the hands of Rajputs, and only eight were in Muslim control" (1962:314).

Subsequent political developments of the Mughal period (1700-1775) resulted in a structure consisting of four levels: the imperial, which was the Mughal empire; the secondary, which in the Varanasi region was the Mughal state of Oudh; the regional, which in this case was the Raja of Banaras; and the local level, which was a lineage, a successful adventurer, a local tax official turned political leader, or indigenous chief (Cohn 1962:313-314).

The ideas of Brahmins and Thakurs in Indrapur about the history of the vicinity confirm Cohn's general statements as they apply to the local level. They say that Rajputs from Rajputana¹ migrated to the area now occupied by Radhapur, a large village three miles from Indrapur, where they settled after having conquered the local rulers. They then called Brahmins to come and serve as their ritual specialists. As their clan expanded and the land immediately surrounding Radhapur was occupied, factions of the Rajputs moved short distances away to establish new homesteads, one of which was at Indrapur. They again called Brahmins to live nearby. The heads of the lineage resided in a large moated fortress in Radhapur. It is still occupied by descendants of the lineage.

1. Rajputana literally means 'land of the Rajputs'. Marwar designates the same area. Rajputana is sometimes used by the villagers to denote what is today Rajasthan. Cohn reports that the ancestors of the Rajputs in the village he studied were thought to have come from what is today Central Uttar Pradesh (Cohn 1961:3).

Monuments also s

was occupied

owned by John, as

in, and Weather has

The historical i

many of the ruins a

Monday. The sign

the village is name

the ruins's songs em

in the which the

and the India,

with century, e.

temporary inscri

example is the

serious arrival a

quests of Rajput

Laments of th

about the land b

possible to isol

the, non-Rajput

the ruins descended

the subjects of th

the ruins of village

In the latter

the migration from

the to such far

the number of men

Informants also said that before the advent of Rajputs and Muslims the area was occupied by Soeris or Siuris, the semi-tribal leaders mentioned by Cohn, as well as other castes including Ahir, Gōṛ, Camār, Bārī, and Musahar castes.

The historical information presented above accounts for the hegemony of Thakurs and Brahmans which persists in somewhat diminished form today. The significance of the Rajput immigration to the music of the village is manifest in linguistic and thematic elements. Some of the women's songs employ a language which is commonly attributed to the area from which the Rajputs emigrated. Some of the women's wedding songs and the Ālhā, an epic ballad, refer to Rajput institutions of the twelfth century, e.g. the warring over brides (see p. 80). Several contemporary institutions allude in a vague way to Rajput origins. The best example is the seemingly martial bārāt ('the groom's party'). Its imperious arrival at the bride's home suggests the legendary military conquests of Rajputana.

Elements of the music which have descended from groups which occupied the land before the infiltration of Rajputs and Muslims are impossible to isolate. The contemporary music of some of the non-Muslim, non-Rajput groups mentioned above is distinctive and may contain elements descended from the ancient music of these groups (see p. 207). The subjects of their songs, however, are common to several other genres of village music.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century there was an increase in emigration from this area which resulted in the spread of the local music to such far-flung places as Surinam (see p. 7) and Mauritius. The number of men leaving the village to take employment in the port

...of Bombay and Calcutta
...the Hindi-speaking
...the "off season," and
...must travel to the
...months. The movement
...the whole the region
...submitted to the adoption
...professional musician
...the west, and the
...

...the most commonly
...springing against the
...the British soldiers
...intending) caste who
...that reprisal, men
...the wires and se
...which although mos
...created by their men
...was killed, and a
...he reportedly arrest
...he imprisoned by the
...India "Political S
...mily. Another man
...compensation for t
...the anti-British
...the championing Gar

cities of Bombay and Calcutta also began to increase at this time. Today Bhojpuri-speaking neighborhoods exist in both Calcutta and Bombay. In the "off season," i.e. after the wedding season, professional musicians travel to these cities to entertain the Bhojpuri-speaking inhabitants. The movement of laborers and musicians between the major cities outside the region and the rural homeland has no doubt contributed to the adoption of alien genres by the semi-professional and professional musicians of the region (e.g. the kavvālī, which came from the west, and the purvī, which came from the east. See Chapter VI.)

The most commonly recalled incident of Indrapur's recent past is the uprising against the British administration which took place in 1942. British soldiers reportedly killed a man of the Ahir (cowherding) caste who lived about two miles north of Indrapur. In a violent reprisal, men from the vicinity tore up railroad tracks and telegraph wires and set fire to the district police station. It is said that although most of the women and children had been sent out of the area by their menfolk, the British raped two women. One Indrapur man was killed, and at least seven from Indrapur were among the eighty-five reportedly arrested. Today there are seven men in the village who were imprisoned by the British. They now receive from the government of India "Political Sufferer" pensions of from fifty to sixty rupees monthly. Another man owns land given to him by the government of India as compensation for the death of his father at the hands of the British.

The anti-British sentiment finds expression in village music in songs championing Gandhi and the Congress Party (see Chapter III). The

...Party was h

...ations and

... Features

... where t

...ded, it is f

...inated by ele

...minal road or

...are an occ

...alled, tree-s

...is approxi

...he smaller o

...man people of

...and baskets, h

...use-building)

...and the larger

...disputed from

...catch the w

...patches whic

...ants. Felig

...or more icon

...or distinctive

...d by one o

...buildings w

...eyond. Con

...roads and pe

...two or more

...ected by t

Congress Party was highly active in the promotion of anti-British demonstrations and resistance in this region.

Physical Features of the Village

Except where the monsoon-swollen creeks have left the land rugged and eroded, it is flat country. The seemingly endless fields are reticulated by elevated footpaths, and cut by irrigation ditches and an occasional road or railroad track. All that protrudes above the horizon are an occasional grove, and, in every direction, clusters of mud-walled, tree-shaded buildings. (The population density of the region is approximately nine hundred per square mile).

The smaller clusters of buildings, the 'hamlets', generally contain people of only one caste. The untouchable castes always live in such hamlets, but others contain people of Ahir (cowherd), Nuniā (house-building) and other castes. Hamlets are scattered randomly around the larger settlements, the multi-caste villages. Each village is separated from the surrounding fields by "tanks"--man-made ponds which catch the water from monsoon rains and village gutters, and by bare patches which serve as thrashing grounds after the two main harvests. Religious shrines--small brick or cement cubicles housing one or more icons, often overlook tanks and thrashing floors. The most distinctive structure of the village, the school, is usually located by one of the thrashing grounds. It consists of one or more long buildings with full length verandas, at the edge of a large playground. Conical stacks of cowdung fuel chips stand at the edges of the roads and paths entering the village.

Two or more major lanes or roads cross-cut the village; these are intersected by the many smaller lanes which wind among the tightly-

and rows and clusters
grouped by their feet
in the shade of
high, dense walls
against the wall.

The most common
kind of houses--two
stories high--are
built on the pikes
on walls with a
series of a concept
of these clusters
different pastes of
the households are

Most homes are
located areas one
to two buildings
on courtyard in
front of the main
entrance can sit
with sleeping area
and, fodder etc.
on one side
middle (to the

Neighborhood
the villagers,
houses. One of

packed rows and clusters of dwellings. Water buffalo, cows and bullocks are tied by their feeding stations at the edges of lanes and yards, often in the shade of the large and sacred nīm, pīpal, and banyan trees. Nearly a dozen wells, many with wide cement platforms, are distributed throughout the village.

The most obtrusive of the village dwellings are the pakkā ('first-class') houses--two story plaster-or brick-walled structures which stand out among the mud-walled, tile-roofed homes of the less affluent. But even the pakka homes rarely stand alone. They usually share one or more walls with other homes (an economic measure facilitated by the absence of a concept of privacy, or at least a low valuation of it). In these clusters or rows of adjoining dwellings may live families of different castes or even different religions--ten of Indrapur's ninety-nine households are Muslim.

Most homes are divided among several nearby buildings. (In crowded areas one building may contain rooms belonging to two families). The main building, the primary domain of the women, is built around an open courtyard in which they cook and carry out their many other tasks. Many of the main houses have verandas where members of the family and neighbors can sit and chat. One of the secondary buildings is the men's sleeping and lounging quarters. It also at times houses stock, grain, fodder etc. These structures are generally thatch-roofed, and open on one side. Their openness contrasts with the somewhat inviolable (to male neighbors) main houses.

Neighborhoods, concentrations of much of the daily interaction among villagers, are not demarcated by any particular physical features. One only becomes aware of them after living in the village.

larger village, re-

gularly women, may

neighborhoods lie at ei

imately three-four

neighborhoods of mixed

work-potter) area, a

district area. (

part of their dwellin

recreational mac

Mr. Carpenter and

household) and Ahir

work in cooperative

working, and during

along together in a

and various ritual

and the interactio

usually arise,

every and over d

work ground or gr

considerable mu

Settings of

Music in the v

their houses. In

contained at the so

board). The ex

At smaller wedd

neighborhoods of the

In a larger village, residents of widely separated neighborhoods, particularly women, may meet infrequently. Brahman and Thakur neighborhoods lie at either end of Indrapur (separated by a distance of approximately three-fourths of a mile). Between them are many neighborhoods of mixed caste composition e.g. a Gōṛ-Kohār (grain parcher-potter) area, a Nāl-Kahār (barber-water carrier) area, and a Telī-Kānū-Set area. (These are now all merchant castes; the front rooms of their dwellings are small shops.) The neighborhood in which men's recreational music generally occurred included Brāhmap ('priest'), Lohār ('carpenter and blacksmith'), Kalvār ('merchant'), Dhobī ('washerman') and Āhir homes. The men of the neighborhood occasionally combine in cooperative work parties such as sugar cane planting and harvesting, and during lulls in the day's activities may be found talking together in a neighborhood sitting-place. The women convene to sing at various rituals, and visit each other's homes to gossip. Not all of the interaction is ameliorative, of course. Disputes occasionally arise, often over the use of land considered common property and over drainage. (Some of the open drains have to cross common ground or ground owned by others to reach nearby tanks, creating a considerable nuisance.)

The Settings of Music

Music in the village occurs at the school, in the yards, and in the main houses. During the wedding season barats are housed and entertained at the school (if the bride's family has influence with the school board). The entertainment always includes music (See Chapter VI). At smaller weddings the entertainers perform in yards in the neighborhoods of the bride's family. The men's recreational music is

performed in yards
main, discusse
ing of their homes,
gate "task" yards of

Early Agricultural

In a village in wh
the activities of th
delination tasks.
quintal cycle, and
dential changes, de
are performed in
agricultural cycle

In first of the
in, which usually be
near in Indrapur and
generally range from t
in afternoon. About
it becomes noticeable
begins to diminish
indicative genre of
groups of men through
east of Indrapur
and only on the fir

In April both th
singers try to rem
both in the afternoo
singing, thrashing.

also performed in yards within the village or at the school. The women's music, discussed in the next chapter, is performed in the privacy of their homes, courtyards, or, in the monsoon season, in the private "back" yards of neighbors where they can swing as they sing.

The Yearly Agricultural Cycle

In a village in which the economy is primarily agricultural, many of the activities of the residents are determined by the annual cycle of cultivation tasks. Ceremonial life and festivals are geared to the agricultural cycle, and these and the seasons themselves i.e. the cycle of natural changes, determine to a great extent when certain types of music are performed in the village. The following paragraphs describe the agricultural cycle and the music associated with its various phases.

The first of the twelve months in the Hindu calendrical year is Cait, which usually begins in March. Cait is the beginning of the hot season in Indrapur and the rest of Northern India. Temperatures generally range from the low fifties at night to the mid-eighties in the afternoon. About nine o'clock in the morning the dry west wind (lū) becomes noticeable, and picks up force as the day progresses until it begins to diminish about four o'clock in the afternoon. A distinctive genre of recreational music, called cāitā, is sung by groups of men throughout the month. This genre is more vital in the area east of Indrapur (Ballia District and Western Bihar). I heard caita only on the first day of the month in Indrapur.

In April both the wind and the heat become more intense. The villagers try to remain indoors from about eleven in the morning until four in the afternoon. The agricultural chores of this period, harvesting, thrashing, and winnowing of the rabī crop (infra), are

planted for the evening

greatest heat and with

There are occasional

very slight reduc-

ing. Temperature

white and one hand

in the last half

obstructive to observa-

There are two groups

the one called

which is planted in

the main, is plant-

planted in October and

small (forty inches

which, the main one

Generally the pl-

champs. Unlike the

provided by the fa-

harvesting of su-

which consisting of

The period follo-

great care is con-

agricultural period

first of April to

plantings, and c-

The first mon-

of size, are p-

scheduled for the evening, moonlit nights, or early morning to avoid the severe heat and wind.

There are occasionally days when the wind blows from the east, bringing a slight reduction in the high temperature and an increase in humidity. Temperatures reach their peak (over one hundred degrees in the shade and one hundred and fifteen to one hundred and twenty in the sun) in the last half of May and early in June before the monsoon clouds arrive to obstruct the burning rays of the sun.

There are two groups of crops in the agricultural year in Northern India. The one called rabi, in which the major crops are wheat and barley, is planted in October and November. The other group of crops, called karīph, is planted in June after the first monsoon rains, and harvested in October and November. In Eastern Uttar Pradesh, where the rainfall (forty inches per year) is much higher than Western Uttar Pradesh, the main crop of this group is rice.

Generally the planting of sugar cane follows the processing of the rabi crops. Unlike tasks connected with the other crops, which are dispatched by the farmer and paid low-caste field labor, the planting and harvesting of sugar cane are often undertaken by cooperative labor parties consisting of men from one neighborhood, including Muslims.

The period following the winnowing of the rabi crop and planting of sugar cane is one in which the fields require less attention. This agricultural period usually coincides with the month of Baisākh (from the last of April to the last of May). This is the most popular time for weddings, and consequently, the most musical period of the year.

The first monsoon rains, which usually come in the second or third week of June, are necessary for the plowing and planting of the khariph

high daytime temper

falls an average

of the village

the type of soil

are both men's

considered the most e

balance of erotic

Another kind of

are due to the s

of the small

in the recent

united were most

part to pollution

The harvesting

are usually fir

day, night tim

people are forc

by warming the h

and early m

evening is the

for cane and the

agricultural activ

The phagā se

the first day o

high spirits a

the sight of

appropriately

crops. Daytime temperatures are slightly lower due to the cloud cover. Rain falls an average of four or five days a week, rendering the narrow lanes of the village slippery and discouraging inter-village travel as well. One type of song sung in the monsoon season is called kajalī. There are both men's and women's varieties. The season is generally considered the most erotic of the year, which is reflected in the prevalence of erotic themes in the men's songs.

Another kind of song sung in this season is called pacarā. It is a hymn sung to the smallpox goddess during her worship ceremonies. The worship of the smallpox goddess probably occurs in monsoon season because in the recent past epidemics of the diseases with which she is associated were most frequent in this season. (This was probably due in part to pollution of the wells by the heavy rainfall.)

The harvesting of the khariph crop and the planting of the ravi crop are usually finished by the end of November. From December through February, night time temperatures descend to near freezing, and most of the people are forced to wear their blankets or shawls throughout the day. Warming the hands over fires of dry weeds, twigs etc. becomes an evening and early morning necessity. One of the campfire pastimes in the evening is the khisā, a half sung, half recited epic. Harvesting sugar cane and the manufacture of raw cane sugar are the chief agricultural activities of this season.

The phaguā season, the period culminating with the holī festival on the first day of Cait, begins late in January. People are generally in high spirits at this time of year due to the onset of warmer weather and the sight of the crops maturing in the fields. The phagua songs are appropriately exuberant.

5

Language

The language spoken by the uneducated residents of Indrapur is a variety of Bhojpuri. According to the linguists S. K. Chatterji and S. M. Katri (1970), Bhojpuri is the primary language in the Western Magadhan group, the other member of this group being a dialect of Bhojpuri spoken in the Chota Nagpur area. Chatterji and Katri estimate that Western Magadhan is spoken by more than 20 million people in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Western Bihar, and Northwest Madhya Pradesh. The Magadhan family of languages also includes Central Magadhan, which encompasses Maithili of North Bihar and Magahi of South Bihar; and Eastern Magadhan, which encompasses Bengali, Assamese, and Oriya.

The businessmen, schoolteachers, other educated people, and those with urban experience are also conversant in "Standard High Hindi," the present medium of education in all schools in Uttar Pradesh. There are extensive differences between Bhojpuri and Standard High Hindi. Phones, phonemes, verb conjugations, noun declensions, pronouns, and lexicons differ radically. However, many of the verb roots are the same, and the characteristic post position of Hindi is also a feature of Bhojpuri.

The residents of Indrapur say that "pure" Bhojpuri is not spoken there, but is found in Ballia District, east of Ghazipur District, and in Western Bihar (the state adjoining Uttar Pradesh to the east). The extent of differences between dialects spoken in localities separated by as little as twenty to thirty miles is notable. The natives have an aphorism to the effect that "The water changes every four miles, the language every eight." One of my informants from the village complained about the difficulty he had experienced understanding the

local language in Ballia District where he had gone to buy an ox (a distance of about 75 kilometers).

The languages most commonly used in song include Standard High Hindi, Urdu, Marvari (the language of Rajputana) and Bhojpuri. Braj Bhasha and Avadhi are found in some of the mendicants' devotional songs. (Braj Bhasha is the language of the Mathura-Agra area and Avadhi of the Lucknow area). Songs also demonstrate the local caste dialects, e.g. the songs of the Camar women are said to use a dialect which differs from that of the main settlement.

Modernization and Social Change

A detailed discussion of the effects of modernization on the village society is not called for by the objectives of this dissertation, but a brief sketch of the more obtrusive changes is helpful in understanding the contexts of contemporary village music.

Technological improvements are responsible for a variety of changes in work activities and social organization. Most of the more substantial families have installed hand pumps inside their homes. Some of these families have accordingly discontinued the employment of one of their parjuniās ('service castes'), the Kahār ('water carrier'), however, many now employ the Kahar and his wife for other purposes-- scouring pots, carrying dung to the midden, or delivering trunks to the railway station.

A flour mill powered by an electric motor now stands about one-fourth mile northwest of the village. Its services are not utilized by all, due to the inconvenient location, but now the small stone grinding wheels in the homes are used much less frequently. This year (1972) one of the larger and more progressive agriculturalists,

around the whole no
thing of wheat,
all installed another
zones was available
put, but the diff
arranged most fa
but that did make
their heads.) 7
ed for irrigation

The tradition
also have been v
other and jewelry
water, continue
more. Ready-m
of these mothers
when clothes.
child's work, and
material in

communicati
battery-powered
house is avia
battery rate f
low in this a
very perso
titles, facili
excellent tra
the Indrapur,

situated one mile north of the village, installed a machine for the thrashing of wheat, rice and barley stalks. The owners of the flour mill installed another such machine at their mill. The use of both machines was available to other farmers for a portion of the thrashed grain, but the difficulty of transporting sheaves to the thrasher discouraged most farmers from utilizing these labor-saving facilities. (Those that did make use of the machine had to carry the sheaves there on their heads.) There are now three tube wells around the village used for irrigation which also save much time and labor.

The traditional village occupations of the goldsmith and the tailor have been vitiated by mass production. Both machine-made clothes and jewelry are now widely available. Some of these artisans, however, continue to pursue their traditional occupations in the bazaars. Ready-made Western-style clothes are popular with young men, and those mothers that can afford to, dress their young children in western clothes. The advent of laundry detergent has cut into the dhobi's work, and the razor the barber's, but both of these services remain vital in the villages.

Communications have also improved. There are at least ten battery-powered radios in the village. A daily newspaper published in Varanasi is avidly read at the school by teachers and others. (The literacy rate for Uttar Pradesh is about 34 percent; it is probably lower in this area).

Many persons in the village, especially the teachers, have bicycles, facilitating travel to work in nearby villages. Fairly convenient travel to Varanasi from Kamalpur, three and a half miles from Indrapur, has been available via the railway for 50-60 years.

3

Trips to Varanasi for religious, commercial, or recreational purposes also allow the people to keep apprised of new developments--I was asked innumerable times to explain the hippies now occupying houseboats on the Ganges.

Urban migration has caused a mild scarcity of field labor and increased wages in the area. Population pressure on the land is intense. India's population increased by 25% from 1961 to 1971, according to the Census Commissioner. The population density in Ghazipur District is approximately 900 per square mile. Many men have no land, either because it has been previously parcelled out to other men in the lineage or because their families did not acquire land at the time of Zamindar Abolition. Those who are unable to find work in or near the village, must go to the cities to earn money to support their families and themselves. This is true for members of all castes--from 80 to 100 men in Indrapur.

The urban situation, where the social sanctions supplied by wives and the older people of the village are absent, presses for the adoption of modern institutions. The villagers themselves cite the example of the modern urban hotal ('restaurant') in which men of higher (as well as lower) ritual status take food without inquiring the caste of the cook or waiter. But those who live in cities bow to the conventions of caste discrimination when they return to the village--at least in public life.

Thus, due in part to urban influences, rural life is becoming more secular. Certain sacred ceremonies including the wedding are abbreviated; others are omitted altogether. The divine status of the Brahman is more often disregarded. The Brahmans themselves, with

anyone, are not

and for their

and as a result

hundred, and

many to trade

the nine-year

and both, the

likely that the

and the village

exceptions, are more dependent on their fields than their ritual services for their livelihoods. Few of the younger Brahmans are fully trained as ritual specialists. In private life Brahmans take kacchā ('uncooked, raw') food from persons of low ritual status, which is quite contrary to traditional practice. The Brahman's exclusive ritual award of the twice-born string (janeū) to Brahman boys at puberty (the ritual second birth, the birth of the divine human) is observed much less frequently than before. (It occurred once in the thirteen months I spent in the village).

Conclusion

As indicated

discussed herein, the

participatory

in several

my deal with

my are integrated

Warren's song

minimize the di

my because of

participatory

minimization of

thing of unity

unity. The

active audience

War and W

primance of

total separa

visions of

Several

is not impo

unintending

public con

my con

CHAPTER III

WOMEN'S MUSIC

Introduction

As indicated in Chapter I, the order in which music genres are discussed herein reflects movement on two parameters: inside to outside and participatory to non-participatory. Women's song is the innermost music in several respects: (a) it is sung in the home; (b) some of the songs deal with internal, i.e. kinship relations; and (c) some of the songs are integral parts of family rituals.

Women's song is also one of the genres of participatory music. I emphasize the difference between participatory and non-participatory music because of the essentially different functions they perform. In participatory music most of the people present sing. The mutual coordination of their individual efforts to sing together results in a feeling of unity; it expresses and simultaneously builds group solidarity. The separation of authoritative music specialists and a passive audience in non-participatory music does not have this effect.

Men and women do not sing together in the village. The separate performance of men's and women's participatory music reflects the general separation of male and female domains in village life.

Divisions of Women's Songs

Several divisions of women's songs can be distinguished. One of the most important is the songs of the wedding. In addition to illuminating structural features, these songs constitute distinctive symbolic contributions to the field of wedding ritual, i.e. the songs supply constellations of meanings not evoked by other ritual actions.

gain of the son.

Excerpt (1)

After present

relationships with

men to the two

and significant

kind of a son.

It is also

the two kinds of

only relations

at moments re

map.

Text of the Wed

Introduction

A number of

marriage and kin

between the two

is a brief ou

elling music.

moving in the

to texts of c

relation with

are sing. Fin

of the songs.

Certain of the songs also contribute to the maintenance of affinal and jājman-purohit ('patron-priest') relations.

After presenting songs of the wedding and showing their relationships with the social processes in which they are embedded, I move on to the two other kinds of women's music which have distinctive ritual significance--songs of the mother goddess and songs sung at the birth of a son. Ritual song as a distinct type of symbolic ritual element is discussed at the end of this sub-section. Women also have their own kinds of recreational songs which provide insights into family relations. Following their discussion I conclude the chapter with comments regarding the language and verbal organization of women's songs.

Songs of the Wedding

Introduction

A number of anthropological monographs and articles discuss marriage and kinship in North India. Description of marriage rites in Eastern Uttar Pradesh is available in Planalp (1956). Accordingly, only a brief outline is given here as a basis for discussion of the wedding music. This will be followed by a classification of all music occurring in the wedding according to musical format and ritual context. The texts of collected wedding songs will then be presented in correlation with brief descriptions of the ritual in process as they are sung. Finally I offer a few comments on primary themes illuminated by the songs.

level. There are

much of the

operation.

which not only

very and pol-

very of the

institutions

which (in the

institutions

which general

to women's

and in aff-

allowing of

basis for

parties a

in the north

198. This

from the

The b

exists o

relative,

institutions

which are

and separate

authority

operation

which o

General Characteristics of Kinship and Marriage

Much of Indian social behavior can be explained with reference to the operation of a "hierarchic principle" (Dumont 1970). This is manifest not only in the ranking of castes according to beliefs of purity and pollution of their traditional occupations, and ritual ranking of clans within the castes, but in marriage and kinship institutions as well. It is seen in the superordination of males to females (in contexts of kinship and marriage), bride-receivers to bride-donors, senior to junior generations, and seniors to juniors within generations. One of the principle themes of this section is how the women's songs simultaneously reflect and reinforce hierarchic themes found in affinal relations, and in life within the extended family. The following sketch of the structure of kinship and marriage will serve as a basis for this discussion. This is an "ideal" model, based on practices and attitudes found most commonly among a majority of castes in the northern zone. (The last sentence paraphrases one of Karve's, 1965. This discussion draws from Karve's at several points as well as from Vatuk, 1971.)

The basic social unit in the village, the extended family, consists of a group of agnates, their wives, children, and often other relatives, usually unmarried or widowed. Descent and inheritance are patrilineal. Fission of extended families is not uncommon, but when it occurs land generally remains undivided until the death of the father, and separated families reside in adjoining or nearby dwellings. Authority patterns among male agnates are correlated first with generation, e.g. sons defer to their fathers and agnates or other kindred of his generation. Within one generation authority is a matter

relative age, e

where and to ob

Marriage is e

girl's husband

family which is p

maternal dowry

up to the hus

that his w

times, depend

whether girls

marriage or sub

marriage is patr

man. A distan

times and ef

Marriage t

male of a sub

charges. Her

essential.

or father's b

lawyer, which

will well do

approve.

night hours

the time

the new arr

household tas

reform,

of relative age, e.g. younger brothers must defer to their older brothers and to older cousins related through the male line.

Marriage is endogamous within the caste and exogamous to the clan. A girl's husband should be of a clan of higher ritual ranking and a family which is preferably slightly wealthier than her own. A substantial dowry commensurate with the economic status of the families is paid to the husband's family. A man is generally two or three years older than his wife, whose age can vary from pre-pubescent to early twenties, depending upon caste practices and economic status. (Wealthier girls may be sent to high school or college, in which cases marriage or subsequent cohabitation is delayed.) Residence after marriage is patrilocal, often with cohabitation delayed three or five years. A distance of ten or more miles usually separates the two families and effectively prevents casual contacts between their members.

Marriage therefore involves the introduction of a young, alien female of a subordinate family into a superordinate household of strangers. Her roles in all but one relationship in the family are deferential. In the company of her husband's father, father's brothers and father's brothers' sons she must speak only when spoken to and keep her sari, which is worn in such a way that the end covers her head, pulled well down over her face. She should speak to her husband only in private. She is not allowed out of the house and inner courtyard in daylight hours. She must defer to the older women of the household, follow their commands, and perform personal services for them. Soon after her arrival she will be expected to perform a large share of the household tasks. Only with her husband's younger brother does she have an informal, symmetrical relationship.

There is often

in husband's side

power (Harve

There is ext

in. His birth p

ness at the dea

distinction of t

ought have re

conditionally

disrupt today

quarters alway

our families.

and the idea t

unity al

inter has nea

this. (The c

2 p. 124) Bu

comes not on

is brother's

husband.

A young

sons in he

movement in

last decade

in history

husband's s

time. The

There is often enmity between a woman and her husband's sisters. Her husband's sisters are critical of the behavior of the affinal newcomer (Karve 1965:137) and may foist their work on her.

There is extreme psychological pressure on a wife to produce a son. His birth perpetuates the agnatic line and he performs essential rites at the death of his father. (There is a genre of songs for celebration of the birth of a son. Cf p. 95) A woman's status in her conjugal home remains low until she gives birth to a son. Failure to do so traditionally resulted in a man's taking a co-wife, but this is infrequent today. The birth of a daughter is not joyously celebrated. Daughters always leave their natal homes; their dowry is a burden to their families. They are treated with affection but this is tempered with the idea that the daughter is an impermanent member of the family.

Enmity also exists between a wife and her husband's mother. The mother has nearly unlimited authority to exact services from the new bride. (The over-bearing mother-in-law is a theme in many women's songs. Cf p. 114) But after a wife bears sons and matures, she increasingly assumes not only the mother's authority in the household, but some of the mother's affection and support roles towards her (the young wife's) husband.

A young girl's status in her conjugal family contrasts with her status in her natal family. In her natal home she has freedom of movement in the village and, if there are brothers' wives in the family, fewer chores. After marriage, in addition to assuming a lower status and heavier work load, she is expected to shift her loyalty to her husband's family and to accept the companionship of the women in the house. The distance separating the two households and the bride's

[illegible]

young age facilitate her socialization in her new family. Several four to six month visits in her natal home during the first years of marriage serve to ease the adjustment. Divorce is very infrequent among all but untouchable castes.

Marriage also creates an important relationship between two families. This relationship is asymmetrical: Members of the bride's family must play the role of giver and ritual subordinate and the groom's family that of receiver and superordinate. For example, when a man visits his wife's natal home (usually only to return with her to his home), her father must present him with cash, jewelry or clothing, and the best of hospitality. A woman's father avoids her husband's village if possible, but if it is necessary that he go there he must take gifts for her husband, and will not accept hospitality of any sort from his family. But the bond between the two families augments the prestige of both and serves as the medium of reciprocal loans.

The difficulties which arise as a result of a woman's changing family membership, the nature of the relationship between affinally related families, and the marriage ceremony itself constitute important themes in women's songs.

Typology of Wedding Music

Women's songs are only one division of the total body of wedding music. In the following typology, all types of wedding music are correlated with the rites they accompany. Informants do not conceptualize the music of the wedding in this systematized fashion, but the scheme is largely reflected in the indigenous terminology of local music.

1. Women's songs. The women of the nuptial families sing at the wedding rites which occur at their own homes. It is also

necessary for
in the wedding
distant. Wor
songs which
of hail and
in the evening
the rites, in
connection with
discrete from
outside the

1. Entertainment
used to enter
see Chapter

2. hail hail
group's part
entertains
impersonation

3. hail.
of the hail
single-head
It is used
in place of

wedding songs in the

The wedding is

It only does it make

relations between the

union of the pro

opportunities for d

not served, hand a

The wedding also pr

'patrons', which a

patrons ('patrons',

1. patrons is a

patrons--'patrons'

patrons'; in

compensation for

and clothing or

such as the wed

customary for the women of the bridal purohit's family to sing in the weddings which he performs, if their home is not too distant. Women's wedding songs can be subdivided into: (a) songs which are sung only at the specific rite, e.g. the songs of haldī and vīvāh; (b) sāgun, which are sung for recreation in the evenings prior to the vivah. Sagun are also sung in the rites, ideally after such songs as are sung only in connection with that rite; (c) gālī, which are generally obscene insult songs sung in the vīvāh and other rites in and outside the wedding.

2. Entertainment. There are several kinds of music which may be used to entertain the wedding guests, e.g. kavvālī and birhā (see Chapter VI).
3. Āgrezī bāid ('English band'). A band leads the bārāt ('the groom's party') to the home of the bride and sometimes entertains there, often accompanying performances by a female-impersonating dancer.
4. Daphalā. This is a band composed of from three to five persons of the Camar or other lower caste playing a large, shallow single-headed drum (daphalā) and other percussion instruments. It is used to lead women's processions in pre-vīvāh rites and in place of English bands by poorer families.

Wedding Songs in their Ritual Contexts

The wedding is the paramount social event of the Hindu family. Not only does it mark the establishment of useful and important relations between the two families, but it is a prime occasion for the assertion of the prestige of both families by means of the opportunities for display of wealth it provides, e.g. the quality of food served, band and entertainment hired, and accommodations provided. The wedding also provides the occasions for payments to parjunīā ('clients') which constitute an expected part of their income from jājmāns ('patrons').¹

-
1. A jājmān is a landholder who "employs" various parjunīā: usually a Brāhmaṇ--'priest'; Dhobī--'clotheswasher'; Lohār--'carpenter-blacksmith'; Nau--'barber'; and Kahār--'water carrier'. Compensation includes shares of harvests, and cooked food, cash, and clothing on major festivals and certain ceremonial occasions such as the wedding.



the series of
movement of sym-
position of the
individual impli-
to songs and the
relationship in s
the specific.
people, with
pursue as the so
represented in
duration of so
the singing for
the primary state
It is the s
marriage of his
the body of ca
national orga
the locate a
the personal
highly higher
the. The pote
the's family
theable, the
the marriage
the thes
the bride an
the the fir

The series of wedding rites constitutes the most comprehensive occurrence of symbolic activity in the rural scene. Wedding songs are one division of this symbolic activity. In order to examine the social and cultural implications of the wedding songs, the relationship between the songs and their social and ritual contexts must be shown. The relationship in some cases is rather general, but in many of the rites it is specific. Song texts are therefore integrated, in the following paragraphs, with brief descriptions of the salient aspects of rites in process as the songs are sung. (The rites and phases within the rites are presented in the order in which they occurred in Indrapur.) A discussion of social and cultural themes demonstrated by the songs and their singing follows the presentation of songs and ritual.

Preliminary Rites and Tilak

It is the sacred duty of a Hindu father to arrange for the marriage of his daughters. With the help of kinsmen in his birādārī ('the body of caste-members within an area who through a caste assembly or informal organization constrain the behavior of members'), he must first locate a young man of suitable education and financial prospects. A "good personality" is also important. His family should be of slightly higher ritual and economic standing than the family of the girl. The potential groom's family is approached and if they find the bride's family satisfactory and the amount of the dowry offered acceptable, the purohīts ('family priests') then set an auspicious date for the marriage.

After these preliminaries a number of rites are held in the homes of the bride and groom. The first of these is tilak ('dowry'). This is also the first of the wedding rites which includes music. The

the father goes to

the bride's house and

the groom's house

in, cigarettes, and

and in which the d

'dowry' contract

around their father

law'. The bride's

amount of cash, and

approximately twice the

the cash for the

the immediate expenses

which the groom

At the end of the

of the groom's

the bride's called ga

of abuse, but

is given that name

is, by the usual m

found at many of the

of the family

the sub-section.

Reactions of

shared. A member

The chief in

variety of m

As is the ca

in the rite

memory.

bride's father goes to the home of the groom with a party consisting of selected biradari and his barber. They must be accorded the best hospitality the groom's father can muster, including sweetmeats, tea, pan, cigarettes, and bhāng¹ if desired. The groom's purohit performs a ritual in which the dowry payment is made, and composes the laganpatrikā ('the marriage contract document stating the names of the bride and groom and their fathers, and when and where the wedding is to take place'). The bride's father must give the groom and his brothers small amounts of cash, and the groom's father a janeū ('loop of string worn to symbolize twice-born status'). The groom's father gives the bride's father cash for the compensation of the accompanying parjuna. The men also negotiate expenditures for band and entertainment, and articles of jewelry which the groom's family will give the bride.

At the end of the meal served to the bride's father and party, the women of the groom's family, concealed behind a pardā ('curtain'), sing the songs called gālī. Gali generally means either verbal abuse or a song of abuse, but some of the songs called gali are not abusive--they are given that name because the social context in which they are sung, is, by the usual metonymic practice,² called gali. Gali, which is found at many of those points in the wedding where men from outside and women of the family are participants, will be discussed at the end of this sub-section.

Reactions of the men to the abuse songs are generally good-natured. A member of the barat wittier than the rest may attempt a

-
1. The chief ingredient of bhang is Cannabis indica, the South Asian variety of marijuana.
 2. As is the case with many of the rites, the name of one central item in the rite is used to refer to the entire rite. This is a kind of metonymy.

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

General Report

humorous retort to the hidden women. Here are four songs recorded at a post-tilak gali session:

1. Tilak

1. Arise, citizens of India, arise!

Touch the feet of Gandhi!

2. How long will you sleep, how long will you sleep?

From now on be attentive.

3. What of the thread of the spinning wheel, what of the thread of the
spinning wheel

concentrate on the homespun cotton

4. Leave the study of English, leave the study of English

Concentrate on Hindi,

5. Munificent Śiv Śākar munificent Śiv Śākar

the trident installed in his hand

6. In his hand the beautifully adorned damarū,¹ in his hand the
beautifully adorned damarū

his forehead adorned with the sandalwood paste

7. He eats little balls of bhāṅg. he eats little balls of bhāṅg

he sits on the back of the ox

8. Around his throat a necklace of skulls, around his throat a necklace
of skulls

the trident installed in his hand

Commentary: This song was clearly a bhajan adapted to accommodate Gandhi as a new deity. It is an example of the similarity in cognitive status given to both royalty and divinity which makes possible the more general substitution of nationalism for religion (see Chapter VI). The spinning wheel symbolizes the anti-British movement. In the nineteen-

1. A small double-headed drum which produces a steady rattling sound.

...Gandhi
...from India
...Gandhi
...Gandhi
...Gandhi
...Gandhi

...after
...after
...after
...after
...after

...The
...The
...The
...The
...The

...The green
...The sister
...The sister
...The sister
...The sister

...The
...The
...The
...The
...The

...The
...The
...The
...The
...The

...The
...The
...The
...The
...The

twenties Gandhi indicted the British for extracting raw cotton at cheap rates from India and selling British-made cloth back to India at a high profit. Gandhi promoted the use of the spinning wheel and the establishment of cooperatives where homespun cotton thread could be exchanged for cloth and garments manufactured from such thread.

2. Tilak

1. Time after time I forbid you, Ram Dharah Singh
2. I Kept forbidding you not to buy the red jhinavā¹
3. She wears jhinava, that whore Murat's sister
4. Her pubic hair shows through

Commentary: The name in line 1 is that of a member of the bride's family. The name in line 3 is that of a member of the groom's father's party. In repetitions of the song the names of other men of the appropriate families are substituted.

3. Tilak

1. The green ninuā² planted on the bank of the river are colorful
2. The sister of Sacatā has to go on her gaunā³ and there is no one to take her
3. A libertine like our Rām Nāth came to take her
4. Standing on a fine cot she begs him to kiss her and ram it in hard

Commentary: This song is typical of the abusive gali. On this particular occasion about half of the gali sung were abusive. The names are introduced as in the previous song.

4. Tilak

1. When I learned before, when I learned before
2. I made very fine food, sir

-
1. A translucent material.
 2. 'Zukini squash.' The possible sexual symbolism was not mentioned by informants.
 3. 'The departure of the bride to her husband's home for her first period of residence there.'

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

the Arizona

3. When Krishna Kanhaiyā when Krishna Kanhaiyā
4. I kept fanning him with a wonderful fan
5. When I learned before sir, when I learned before
6. I kept the water vessel full

Commentary: This song enumerates customary forms of hospitality, perhaps to remind the guests that they were receiving the kind of hospitality accorded to the most royal of guests.

Urdī Chunā

The next rite in the series is observed at both the bride's and the groom's homes on dates fixed by their purohits. At each home five sādhāvā women ('women whose husbands are alive') gather to sing for the first time, in connection with that particular wedding, the songs called sagun. As they sing they winnow some urdī. ('horse bean'-- Vicia fabia; chūnā--'to jiggle or shake'). This is the chief among a number of ritual activities. The women must all face in the direction deemed auspicious by the purohit as they sing and shake the winnowing basket. After they have sung five saguns the women of the host family rub oil into the hair of the sadhava women and apply vermillion to their foreheads. (Vermillion so applied symbolizes that the woman is sadhava; a woman wears it from the time she is married until she or her husband dies.)

The gathering of these neighboring women to confer their blessings upon the bride or groom by rite and song serves to call to the attention of the neighborhood the approaching rite of passage, a rite which brings a change in the status of the family as well as the bride or groom.

3

There is no
of the people of
again to some
up after this
national. In
neighborhood
It is an inter
ness. I have
other they a
It is the wa

The seven
Our group.
Part of age
about peace
in proceeding
we to sing
started girl
ties and s

The other
families, we
eliminated
Pinner girl
mystery to
was or the
As men
ness, idea
the idea.

There is no apparent relationship between the ritual of urdi chuna and the topics of the saguns, although about two-thirds of the saguns pertain to some aspect of marriage. Ideally women sing saguns every night after this until the vivah. The context of the evening sessions is informal. In both the bride's and groom's villages, the women of the neighborhood gather at the appropriate house after the evening meal. This is an inter-caste affair, then--if there are neighbors of other castes. I never observed Muslim women at these sessions; I don't know whether they are specifically prohibited. (Untouchable castes do not live in the main settlement of the village.)

The several sagun sessions I attended were held at the home of a Lohar groom. Most of the songs were led by a Brahman woman about fifty years of age who knew and could sing an extraordinary number of songs without pauses due to forgotten words. There were sometimes pauses in the proceedings as the women tried to remember what other songs there were to sing. Literacy was advantageous in such a situation: one educated girl in another neighborhood kept a notebook containing the titles and some of the texts of the songs she knew.

The other women there--from Lohar, Kalvar, Dhobi, and other Brahman families, would join the singing when they knew the songs. Songs were terminated if no one joined in. Some songs were sung by only the younger girls. I was told that these were songs learned from the cheap newsprint booklets sold at fairs. Such songs are set to common folk tunes or the tunes of film music.

As mentioned above, saguns are also sung in other of the wedding rites, ideally after such songs as are sung only in connection with that rite.

Here are some

1. The bride came

2. The wedding party

3. The wedding ceremony

4. The groom was

5. The bride was

6. The bride was

7. The groom was

8. The groom's

9. Turned with

10. The bed cover

11. A pillow of

Summary: The
wedding. It
was considered
very singers

1. In the mid

ornament

2. The women

vessels

3. In the mid

ornament

4. Along, st

5. Kind of

6. A double

7. A large g

8. It is a t

9. It is also

Here are selected saguns:

5. Sagun

1. Krishna came to the engagement, girls, everyone came to dance
2. The wedding pole made of wretched kakari¹
3. The wedding canopy made of pan leaves, girls, everyone came to dance
4. The groom made of a wretched banana
5. The bride made of an orange, girls, everyone came to dance
6. The tablā² made of a pumpkin
7. The sāhnāi³ made of a wretched ninua, girls, everyone came to dance
8. The groom's party goes, (they are) wretched potatoes
9. Fanned with wretched radishes, girls, everyone came to dance
10. The bed covered with wretched greens
11. A pillow of lauki⁴ lay on it.

Commentary: This is the only nonsense song among all of the songs I collected. It is probably a parody. Four of the objects named could be considered phallic symbols, but such an interpretation was never made by singers or other informants.

6. Sagun

1. In the middle of the bank of the Januma my Lāl⁵ snatched the ornaments
2. The women of Vraj go towards the bank of the Jamuna to fill water vessels
3. In the middle of this Krishna appears and forcefully snatched the ornaments from me

-
1. A long, slender, light green cucumber.
 2. A kind of drum commonly used in Hindustani classical music.
 3. A double reed wind instrument sounding somewhat like an oboe.
 4. A large green squash, about 5 inches in diameter and 16 inches long.
 5. Lāl is a term of endearment which a mother uses to address her son. It is also an epithet of Krishna.

4. He ate my corn
the carry-

5. He took the
tree

6. We were made

7. In exchange
came from

8. You then are

I am the

9. Whenever y

10. Wearing a

11. Krishna c

12. Restrain

13. He roughs

14. Just now

15. When did

16. He shout

ornament

Inventory:
the Bhagava
remains b

1. What a

trout

2. Have I

3. Have I

4. The t

4. He ate my curds, broke the vessel that was on my head, and floated
the carrying ring in the Jamuna
5. He took the clothes (of the women) and climbed and sat in the kadam¹
tree
6. We were naked in the water, my Lal snatched the ornaments
7. In exchange for the clothes we gave a yellow silk cloth when we
came from the water
8. You then are Lal, Nanda Baba's,
I am the daughter of Br̥sbhan
9. Whenever you meet Krishna in the lane, he pinches your cheeks
10. Wearing a lotus leaf, Rādhā came out
11. Krishna clapped, my Lal snatched the ornaments
12. Restrain your child, Mother Jasoda
13. He roughs me up, my Lal snatched the ornaments
14. Just now Lal plays in the lane
15. When did he abuse you, you don't admonish him
16. He shouts from the direction of the brush, my Lal snatched the
ornaments.

Commentary: These episodes from Krishna's life were originally told in the Bhagavata Purana. They probably filtered into folksong via the vernacular bhakti poets such as Surdās.

7. Sagun

1. What a mistake have I made, husband, that you are giving me so much
trouble?
2. Have I spoiled the food, husband, did I put in too little salt?
3. Have I spoiled the food, husband, did I put in too little bay leaf?

1. The tree Neculea cadamba.

4. Did I use t
5. Have I spot
6. Have I spot
7. Have I spot
8. Did you si

Commentary:
 again, Bhoj
 and it was a
 and that som
 during the b

1. Order me
- Without
2. Have a y
- Have a
3. Without
4. Without
5. Order r
- With
6. Have a
7. Have a
8. Witho

Commentary
 serial al
 1942
 1943

4. Did I use too little perfume, husband, that you are giving me so much trouble?
5. Have I spoiled the pan, husband?
6. Have I spoiled the catechu, husband?
7. Have I spoiled the bed, husband?
8. Did you sleep too little?

Commentary: The language of this song was not the language of this region, Bhojpuri, in which most of the songs are sung. An informant said it was a dialect from Western Uttar Pradesh or Rajasthan. He also said that songs such as this actually have a didactic function in warning the bride of marital situations she might face.

8. Sagun

1. Order me a lime colored sari, dear
Without wearing one my heart can't be satisfied
2. Have a room built, have an atari¹ built
Have them cut a little window in it, dear
3. Without peeping out my heart can't be satisfied
4. Without seeing my heart can't be satisfied
5. Order me a lime colored sari, dear
Without wearing one my heart can't be satisfied
6. Have a grove planted, have a garden planted
7. Have a little lemon tree planted
8. Without plucking (them) my heart can't be satisfied

Commentary: None of my informants seemed to think the last line was a sexual allusion. The "acquisitive wife" theme is not uncommon (cf. Majumdar 1958: 310-312). Lime-colored saris were in vogue about twenty years ago, according to informants.

1. Meaning unknown.

stay alive

[illegible]

2. Without se

1. 122 MC

References

6. *Chrysomelids*

1. *Introduction*

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Interpret. 2

each

'

• 34 •

6. Answer

100

2. Four n

Vol 2

3. The b

2000

1000

—

1997

Shi

100

7-11

9. Sagun

1. My husband having become a member of Congress party, I will not stay alive
2. I will not live; he will not eat the carefully prepared food
3. Without self rule he will not come to the door
4. I will not live, he will not drink from the water pot
5. Without self rule, he will not come into the courtyard
6. Without self rule, he will not eat pan
7. Without self rule, he will not sleep on the bed.

Commentary: This song dates from the early 1940s, when to be a member of the Congress party was to be a revolutionary. At that time the Congress Party was leading an often violent anti-British independence movement. Surajavā in line 3 is the Bhojpuri corruption of the Hindi svaraj--'self rule'. The structure of the song is much like that of Song 7--each line is a repetition of a basic theme with one or two words changed. The song was probably adapted from an older form.

10. Sagun

1. Such a wondrous boy has come, of a rich family
2. Your crown is worth lakhs, the fringe of the crown is worth thousands
3. Your wedding trousers are worth lakhs, your robe worth thousands
4. Your shoes worth lakhs, your socks worth thousands
5. The bride worth lakhs, the veil thousands

Commentary: This song in praise of the groom shows the concern of the women with the high quality of his dress and ornaments. The hyperbole is reminiscent of that used to describe the wedding of Sita and Rama in the Ram Charit Manas (the Hindi Ramayana). Arya also collected a version of this song in Surinam (1968:80).¹

-
1. Many of the 34,000 Indian emigrants to Surinam were from this (the Bhojpuri-speaking) region. Arya's work, Ritual Songs and Folksongs of the Hindus of Surinam (1968) includes texts (primarily of Bhojpuri songs), some description of the ritual contexts in which they are sung, and discussion of the continuities between certain formal aspects of the song texts and Sanskrit literature. I discuss Arya's interpretation of the ritual importance of song on p. 105.

1. It has been
refraining

2. He shares the

3. The fine of
fine door

4. How long is

5. I have put
he will

6. I fasten
Prakha

7. I put the
Prakha

Summary:
Banksyopp
Migration
Prakha said
Prakha in

and

The pe

Prakha's and

the night

of the trial

to render

was taken

Prakha's

around the

the night

the night

the night

11. Sagun

1. It has become a habit, father, it has become a habit (this is the refrain)
2. He chants the name of Ram, father
3. The fine food make in the golden thālī¹, Prahalād will not eat the fine food, father (refrain)
4. Burn him in the fire, press him down in water, tie him to a post
5. I have put water from the Himalya mountains in the vessel
he will not drink the water, father (refrain)
6. I fasten his pan leaf with cloves
Prahalad will not chew the pan leaf, father (refrain)
7. I put flowers on his bed
Prahalad will not sleep on the bed (refrain)

Commentary: The story upon which this song is built is that of Hirankascyp and Prahalad, one of the myths which rationalize the Holi celebration (cf. Marriott 1968 and Dowson 1972). An informant from Punjab said that she had heard the song many times and thought that it is found in most of North India.

Haldī

The ceremony called haldī or hardī ('turmeric') is performed in the bride's and groom's homes on a date fixed by the purohits. Women from the neighborhood are again involved. In addition to rubbing the body of the bride or groom with a turmeric-mustard seed oil mixture (thought to render the skin smooth and lustrous), they perform cumāvan, in which each takes a stem of dūb grass in each hand and touches the bride's or groom's feet, knees, chest and shoulders, ending by making a circle around his or her head. Cumavan is considered a personal blessing of the nuptial person (paraphrased from Planalp in Lewis 1958:173).

1. A large circular brass tray in which food is served.

The bride at

Final condition

much well on

the side of pas

comprises
individual
social str
the intern
subject
has few or
state . .

bring the turn

1. Martin Wolf

From wh

1. W. H. H. H.

1. H. H. H. H.

From wh

1. W. H. H. H.

seed o

Summary:
my explain
it was one
called in
side expe
the 31.

1. The 31

1. 31

1. 31
1. 31
1. 31

The bride and groom enter what Turner and Van Gennep would call a "liminal condition." They are not allowed to bathe, to work, or to approach well or fire. Van Gennep calls this condition the first phase in a rite of passage--the phase of separation. This

"comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure or a set of cultural conditions . . . during the intervening liminal period, the state of the ritual subject . . . is ambiguous; he passes through a realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state . . ." (Turner 1969:94).

During the turmeric rubbing the women sing the following two songs:

12. Haldi

1. Koirin koirin¹, you are a great queen

From where have you produced the turmeric today?

2. My Rādhikā Devī² so tender cannot bear the harshness of the turmeric
3. Telin telin³, you are a great queen

From where have you produced the mustard seed oil today?

4. My Rādhikā Devī so tender cannot bear the harshness of the mustard seed oil

Commentary: I thought this song had an unusually pretty tune. This may explain why even some of my male informants could sing it, and why it was one of the few songs in Planalp's (1956) text which, although detailed in many other respects, includes few songs. Sympathy for the bride expressed in referring to her 'tenderness' is also found in Song 31.

13. Haldi

1. The girl I saw playing, mother, I see seated on the flour design
2. I see a beautiful flour design, mother (2X)

-
1. Wife of a Koirī ('vegetable cultivator caste')
 2. Name of the bride
 3. Wife of a Telī ('Oil presser caste')

3. Another, I

I don't know

4. I see a pre

5. Another, I

6. I see a pre

7. Another, I

8. I see a pre

9. Another, I

Summary: The

likely contra

usually detach

but her ident

that the god m

Also main

in affiliated

centrals of

more informa

that were att

structure of m

1. I didn't

2. His hair

3. I didn't

4. His comp

Summary:

associated s

that warn th

1. This re

by sweet

stunt

2. My regu

3. Grad

4. Liberal

5. Under

6. Forene

3. Oh mother, I don't know when the barber's wife plastered¹
I don't know _____²
4. I see a pretty pot, I see a pretty pot
5. Oh mother, I don't know when the potter made it, I don't know _____²
6. I see a pretty plow shaft, I see a pretty plow shaft
7. Oh mother, I don't know when the Lohar made it or when he cut it
8. I see a pretty bride, I see a pretty bride
9. Oh mother, I don't know when the god made her or when she was born

Commentary: This song acknowledges the liminal condition of the bride-to-be by contrasting the image of her as a girl playing with the ritually detached figure seated on the flour design, who seems to have lost her identity i.e. her "state" has become ambiguous. (I don't know when the god made her or when she was born').

Arya maintains that songs such as these which are sung in rites not officiated by purohits constitute "ritual formulae" comparable with the mantras of purohits (1968:12). This concept was never expressed by native informants, nor did I observe any action indicating that the songs were attributed any efficacy, which is the most important attribute of mantra.

14. Haldi

1. I didn't get a husband as rasili³ as I
2. His hair is not as pretty as mine
3. I didn't get a tilak⁴ as pretty as my forehead
4. His complexion is not as good as mine

Commentary: Unlike the two preceding songs, this is a sagun and is not associated specifically with this rite. This is another of those songs that warn the bride of possible disappointments.

-
1. This refers to the process of purifying an area of ground or floor by sweeping it with cow dung plaster, which picks up the dust and ritually purifies the area.
 2. My regular informants could not comprehend these utterances which I inadvertantly failed to check with the original singers.
 3. Literally, 'juicy'. According to the native esthetic it might be crudely translated 'healthy-looking and vibrant.'
 4. Forehead ornament worn by women.

There are

many is the

is wide's hor

can are held

elling items

action of a

of the neigh

more the 12

the . The

any, as we

step during a

John Verma

In the

before the

called the

threshold

day house

ing which

generation

In 1

which for

boys and

Chase A

opinion

in 19

in 19

19

Dec

There are a number of other important rites on the day when the turmeric is first applied including: preparation and consecration, at the bride's home, of the mādap ('the canopy under which major wedding rites are held') and the kohabar, the ritually designated room in which wedding items are stored and some of the wedding rites are performed; erection of a ceremonial pole at the groom's home; and rites performed by the neighborhood women and the mother of the nuptial person which secure the blessings of various aspects of the mother goddess (explained below). The last activity involves processions to a well and a tank which, as with all women's processions, are occasions for singing. The songs sung are saguns.

Pitra Nevatinā

On the day of the vivah at the bride's home, and on the evening before the departure of the barat at the groom's home, there is a rite called pitra nevatinā ('invitation of ancestors'). The women of the household invoke the ancestors into a clay dish on a stove built from clay brought from the tank in the urdi chuna rite. The invocation is a song which the women of the family sing in which the names of three generations of ancestors are enumerated.¹

In the rite called koharā kī patī ('leaves of the sweet pumpkin'), which follows the rite described above, the groom and other unmarried boys and the bride and other unmarried girls eat from leaves of the kohara in their respective homes. Rites are performed which again symbolize the changing statuses of the bride and groom (cf. Planalp

1. Song is also used to invoke supernatural entities by the ojhā ('shaman') in the curing and divining rites he performs. In this case the spirit invoked is an aspect of the mother goddess. (See p.89)

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1941. 12.

1956:488). After the groom eats, the rest of the biradari is served rice. Wealthier families or those wishing to give the impression of wealth may invite all those men who will comprise the barat.

Barat

On the morning of the departure of the barat the 'English band' hired by the groom's father for the occasion comes to the home of the groom. As with many other material aspects of the marriage rites, e.g. entertainment, food served, and accommodations, the quality of the band used depends on the wealth of the nuptial families and their desire to assert their prestige. The 'English band' is the most prestigious kind of musical group used in this context. There are also the daphala band mentioned by Planalp in his 1956 account; the sāhnāī band of the Banaras area (sāhnāī is a simple double reed horn with a sound like that of an oboe); and various motley amalgamations of drums, woodwinds, bagpipes, bagpipe chanters, and miscellaneous European wind instruments.

Led by the band, the women of the family and their neighbors, singing saguns, proceed through the village to the grain-parching ovens of the family's Gōr. (Gor is the name of the caste whose traditional occupation is grain parching.) (The women's singing and the band's playing are often simultaneous.) Here one or several of the women dance to the music of the band, and the Gor gives them the lāvā ('parched rice') made from grain which had been brought to her on the day of haldi. The group returns to the home of the groom, where the lava and pirhā ('the board seat upon which the groom sits during the wedding rites') are consecrated in a brief puja. The barat will take these items, along with a pot containing water from the groom's bath of that morning, to the wedding ceremony. Cumavan is again performed,

and the appropriate

and the raw

meeting a

planning with

reference to the

in his wed

while on the

the wind,

it followed

the, when

which) by

This is

arranged by

planning a

restrictions

institutions

the role of

notes in a

generally to

any as the

epistemic

expressive

leading to

the

the

return to

the

with the appropriate songs, and the groom is fed curds (an auspicious food) and raw cane sugar.

Wearing a special costume for the wedding, the groom rides in a palanquin with a younger brother. Several men explained this with reference to the Ramayana, in which Ram is accompanied on his journey and in his wedding by Laksman, his younger brother. The groom carries a white onion in his pocket to protect him from the lū ('a seasonal hot west wind'). Kahars generally carry the palanquin. Led by the band and followed by the women, they carry the groom to the edge of the village, where the mother of the groom performs a parcan ('a kind of worship') by revolving a pestle over his head.

This is another occasion in which one or two of the women dance, encouraged by the others, to the music of the band. As with the gathering at the ovens of the Gor, there are, in accordance with purdah restrictions, no men present, except those in the band. (The institutional correlate of this is the female impersonator who fills the role of "dancing woman" in most public performances). The dancer moves in a circle. There are many stylistic idiosyncracies, but generally the torso is upright and relaxed, the hips oscillating gracefully as the feet perform tight, almost mincing steps. The more sophisticated dancers learn to use their hands, eyes, and head expressively, in a manner reminiscent of classical Indian dance styles, seeming to mime a woman coyly communicating with her lover.

After the dancing the groom's mother showers the collected women and children with coins, for which there is a mad scramble. The women return to their homes and the Kahars carry the palanquin off towards the village of the bride.

The character
of the
personality
in the trans

Mr. Pitt

The character
of the
mind are
after the
man's part
without the
powers of
elements
the elephant
of new ends
refuses a
their shot
under fire
most cases
profession
these sim
playing o
the women
with some
the spec
The
fragment

The barat members may ride their bicycles or take public transportation or a chartered bus if the distance is great. The groom generally travels by palanquin, although wealthy families hire a taxi for the transportation of the groom and his brother and father.

Dvar Puja

The barat, band, and members of the bride's family await the arrival of the groom on the edge of the village. If the families involved are wealthy there may be what I interpreted as a mock charge after the groom has arrived. In the one such event I observed, the groom's party formed a line facing the line of the bride's party, which was about thirty yards away, facing away from the village. Esteemed members of the groom's party were, on this occasion, mounted on elephants (according to informants, the auspicious symbols of Ganesh, the elephant-headed son of Siva and the deity who ensures the success of new endeavor, but here also symbolic of the role of conqueror, which surfaces at several points in the wedding rites). These barātīs fired their shotguns, at which the elephants charged at full tilt towards the bridal line. The barat then followed the band to the bride's home. In most cases upon the arrival of the groom the band merely leads the procession to the bridal home. As they approach, the women of the house sing from the veranda. The singing usually coincides with the playing of the band and is thus heard only intermittently by anyone but the women themselves. The scene is one of great excitement and chaos, both augmented by the scores of screaming children who converge to see the spectacle and hear the band.

The following songs were recorded at an actual wedding. Their fragmentary nature is due in part to the noisy conditions and in part

in the fact

together.

1. What is

the

2. Because

like

3. I know

He is

4. I know

expressed

of the

the reason

in the wed

the time

and in s

marriage,

5. Is he

6. He is

7. He is

8. He is

9. He is

10. He is

11. He is

12. He is

13. He is

14. He is

15. He is

16. He is

17. He is

to the fact that the women occasionally forget words and run songs together.

15. Dvar Puja

1. What group gets down under the mango and tamarind trees,
the shade as cool as that of the kadam¹
2. Because of your sacrifice, grandfather, we searched out a groom
like Raja Bali²
3. A crown installed upon the head of the groom

He comes to the door like Raja Bali

Commentary: The royal status given to the groom in this song is expressed in song and ritual throughout the wedding rites. It shows that the women are culturally expected to revere the groom. They may also resent him, as expressed in later songs. This song stands alone in the wedding as an expression of gratitude. The sacrifice of the grandfather (and thus the extended family of which he is the nominal head) in searching out a groom i.e. in arranging for the girl's marriage, is recognized.

16. Dvar Puja

1. Lo le lo le he comes to the home of the bride's father
2. The handsome groom comes to the home of the bride's father

17. Dvar Puja

1. Hey groom, grow a good mustache
2. Apply the color of the bhagara³
3. Oh people of Mardapur, shine the lights, the thieves of Dudhaura
come
4. Thieves of mothers, thieves of sisters, the thieves of Dudhaura
come

1. The tree Neculea cadamba.

2. "A good and virtuous Daitya king," who among other things defeated Indra. He was the son of Prahalad (Dowson 1972:42).

3. A kind of plant unknown by informants.

secondary
high school
the end of

1. For st
e.g.

1. Park

3. You o

4. You s

secondary
primary 2
to the br
economic
state
perage.

1. Gen

1. Biol

secondary

1. Gen

1. Gen

1. Gen

1. Gen

1. Gen

1. Gen

1. Gen

1. Gen

1. Gen

1. Gen

1. Gen

Commentary: This is another of the several references to conquest and bride seizure which occur in the wedding. The theme is discussed at the end of this section.

18. Dvar Puja

1. You shouted that you would bring elephants; you didn't bring elephants!
2. Fuck your sister; you didn't bring elephants!
3. You come to ravish the bride!
4. You shouted that you would bring a band; you didn't bring a band!

Commentary: This song insults the groom's family by calling them miserly liars. The presence of elephants or horses and band are signs to the bride's village and other observers and participants of the economic status of the groom's family and thereby the bride's family. Their absence is an affront to the bride's family and robs it of prestige.

19. Dvar Puja

1. When the barat forms a crowd at the door
2. Hit! Hit the target!

Commentary: This is another reference to the conquest theme.

After the bride's mother performs a parcan and she and the bride's sisters give ritualized blessings, the dvar puja ('worship at the door') is performed. On a small area which has been ritually purified by sweeping with cow dung and water, a design (cauk) has been drawn with flour.¹ Here the purohit leads the bride's father and groom through a puja. The barat is then led to the area in which lines of cots have been placed for lounging and sleeping, where they receive the

1. A cauk sanctifies the ground, converting it into a sacred place for the duration of the ceremony (Arya 1968:14).

get refreshments the
musical group. La
be, at about midn.

Part

Before the vi
attendant, washes
and (brought by t
contact between th
classificatory m
rther and her par

The women of
the vivah. If th
may also attend a
and is generally
relatives. The p
they are reward
given to the pay
the groom's fath
relatives and pe

After the
the of the pre
nothing to the

1. You have br
glitter i
2. Elder broth

best refreshments the bride's family can manage and are entertained by a musical group. Later in the evening a meal is served to the barat. Then, at about midnight, the vivah is performed.

Vivah

Before the vivah the barber's wife, who is the bride's chief attendant, washes the bride using some of the water from the groom's bath (brought by the barat). This "symbolizes the first intimate contact between the couple" (Planalp 1956:504). The bride's māmā ('classificatory mother's brother') presents gifts to the bride's mother and her parjuniā. The women may address a few gali to him.

The women of the bride's family and neighborhood always sing in the vivah. If the bridal purohit lives nearby, women from his family may also attend and sing. The groups do not often sing together. The gali is generally, but not always, the product of the bride's female relatives. The presence of the Brahman women is considered auspicious. They are rewarded with token payments (called dakṣiṇā, the same term given to the payments made to a Brahman priest) by the bride's family. The groom's father must make a token payment to the bride's female relatives and party who sing.

After the barat is seated in the mandap, a purohit performs the puja of the presiding deities. The groom's side presents ornaments and clothing to the bride as the women sing:

20. Vivah

1. You have brought borrowed ornaments and are causing them to
glitter in my mandap
2. Elder brother of the groom, you fuck your sister

Summary: Here we are

1. The groom took the

2. He came, the groom

came into the room

3. He came, the groom

came into the room

4. He came, the groom

very and show.

Summary: This is a
of the ritual activity
for the women.

After the ornament

embroiders them and t

then shifts to the gr

show). The women s

1. The bhasur has a

2. He stares at my d

3. The bhasur has l

4. These legs stride

5. The teeth of the

The bhasur then

involving many ritua

the only time he tou

of avoidance).

the women are singin

Commentary: Here we again see the accusations of miserliness and deceit.

21. Vivah

1. The groom took the box of ornaments and came into the mandap
2. He came, the groom came, the groom took the box of vermillion and came into the mandap
3. He came, the groom came, the groom took the gold and silver and came into the mandap
4. He came, the groom came, the groom came into the mandap with great pomp and show.

Commentary: This is one of the songs which contains only description of the ritual activity, suggesting that the occasion is a momentous one for the women.

After the ornaments are consecrated by the purohit, everyone scrutinizes them and the purohit enumerates each item aloud. Attention then shifts to the groom's older brother (referred to by the bride as bhasur). The women sing:

22. Vivah

1. The bhasur has a nose like a cilam
2. He stares at my daughter in the mandap
3. The bhasur has long, long legs
4. These legs stride into my mandap
5. The teeth of the bhasur split big chunks of wood

The bhasur then performs a particularized worship of the bride involving many ritual offerings. Informants always said that this is the only time he touches the bride (their relationship is normatively one of avoidance). As the groom and his father sit near the purohit, the women are singing:

1. Mother asks Suphe

2. Your mother slept

3. Your mother slept

4. Mother asks Suphe

5. Your mother slept

1. In the upper roo

2. Here the groom

3. Don't let anyone

4. Today don't let

5. In the upper ro

6. Here the groom

7. In the upper ro

8. Here the groom

9. In the upper ro

10. Here the groom

Commentary: This
is a chap on this
rich fears--worshi
protection.

1. Look at the cr
borrowed

2. The groom is o

3. A man's skirt-
trousers and tuc

23. Vivah

1. Mother asks Supher, the groom: "Why are you smeared looking?"
2. Your mother slept under a palm tree; you are that very color
3. Your mother slept with a dog; you are black like that
4. Mother asks Supher, the groom: "Why do you bark like that?"
5. Your mother slept with a wolf; you bark just like that

24. Vivah

1. In the upper room the groom adjusts the crown
2. There the groom's mother supplicates the sun deity
3. Don't let anyone put the evil eye on my groom
4. Today don't let anyone put the evil eye on the groom and bride
5. In the upper room the groom adjusts the ornaments
6. There the groom's father's sister supplicates the sun deity
7. In the upper room the groom adjusts the wedding garment
8. There the groom's sister supplicates the sun deity
9. In the upper room the groom adjusts his dhoti¹
10. There the groom's father's brother's wife supplicates the sun deity

Commentary: This is a sagun. It is indicative of the mothers' fears of mishap on this important occasion and the usual mode of response to such fears--worship of a deity considered capable of providing protection.

25. Vivah

1. Look at the crown. Don't forget, mister, that the crown is borrowed
2. The groom is of a whore; the bride is of a faithful woman

1. A men's skirt-like garment, part of which is passed between the thighs and tucked in behind.

Look at the bride
borrowed

Commentary: Here
morality, a com
honorable fami
of the family whi
live with the gro

The groom ta
mention of marr
with ritual c
is worthy of a r
fully to the br
and given to h

1. Put on the l
2. Put on the d
3. Put on the c

Commentary: He
simultaneous ri
expressions of
with the affini
ridiculing the
Song 22.

The purchi
spits from the
the calli
from again wor
of the next thr
section.

3. Look at the bracelet. Don't forget, mister, that the bracelet is borrowed

Commentary: Here the accusation of deceit is coupled with one of immorality, a common strategy in gali. Informants said that a dishonorable family might give the bride ornaments belonging to women of the family which would be taken back from the bride when she came to live with the groom.

The groom takes sākalp ('resolve'), declaring to the gods his intention of marrying. The bride's father seats the groom and worships him with ritual offerings. Informants pointed out that this treatment is worthy of a raja. It symbolizes the ascendancy of the groom's family to the bride's in all relations. The groom dons the new yellow dhoti given to him by the bride's father. The women sing:

26. Vivah

1. Put on the lower and upper garments sewn by your Muslim father
2. Put on the dhoti spun by a concubine, son of a whore
3. Put on the dhoti spun by a concubine, son of a rich man

Commentary: Here we see how a sung expression may contradict a simultaneous ritual expression in another medium. The contradicting expressions of groom-worship and groom-abuse reflect the ambiguity with which the affinal relationship is regarded. There followed a gali ridiculing the appearance of the groom in a manner much like that of Song 22.

The purohits start the havan fire and release the ancestral spirits from the captivity of the clay dishes. This is called gotra cār ('the calling of the clan'). The bride re-enters and she and the groom again worship the gods. Because of the importance of the themes of the next three songs, they are discussed together at the end of this section.

1. Ed has brought

2. The barber found t

3. Run the barber's

4. I, father has tak

5. I, how can I cure

6. What kind of grah

7. What kind of grah

8. What kind of grah

9. When will the sun

10. What kind of grah

11. I, the grahan of

12. The grahan of the

night is passed

13. In the morning th

The next stage i

daughter'). The fat

daughter. The puroh

the similarly held ha

holders. Then the

ends, and the bride

ritual objects. The

1. Grahan (the Hind

eclipse of sun or

murana and perha

sun or moon by th

informant sugges

this context.

27. Vivah

1. God Ram has brought them together
2. The barber found the groom, the Brahman reckoned the day
3. Burn the barber's beard! Burn the Brahman's books!
4. Oh, father has taken great advantage of me, Mother
5. Oh, how can I curse him enough, Mother?

28. Vivah

1. What kind of grahan¹ obtains from evening to morning?
2. What kind of grahan obtains when half the night is passed?
3. What kind of grahan obtains in the mandap?
4. When will the sun come?
5. What kind of grahan obtains at four in the morning?
6. Oh, the grahan of the sun obtains from evening to morning
7. The grahan of the moon daughter obtains in the mandap when half the night is passed
8. In the morning the sun will come

The next stage is called kanyadān ('the gift of the virgin daughter'). The father announces to the gods that he is giving his daughter. The purohit places the bride's hands together palms up on the similarly held hands of her father, and the groom's hands likewise upon hers. Then the purohit places various ritual items in the groom's hands, and the bride's brother pours water over the layers of hands and ritual objects. The women are singing:

-
1. Grahan (the Hindi word for the Bhojpuri garahanavā) refers to the eclipse of sun or moon which is, according to mythology (the Vishnu Purana and perhaps elsewhere), the seizure and swallowing of the sun or moon by the demon-god Rahu (Dowson pp. 114:252-3). My informant suggested that kast ('distress') was the gloss needed in this context.

29. Vivah

1. Oh brother Dasarath Ram, don't stop the flow of water
2. If the flow is broken your sister will become angry
3. Brother Dasarath Ram, don the bow and arrow
4. Oh brother, your sister's husband will surely come, he will fight
with you on the battlefield
5. My brother fought all day but he lost in the evening
6. Oh he loses Tila Devi, his sister; Supher the groom has won
7. Ho brother Dasarath Ram, what thoughts have you forgotten
8. Brother you have not lost cows or oxen, you have lost your sister
9. Oh it is good to forget about sister Tila Devi
10. Cows and oxen are our wealth, brother; sisters that of another

Commentary: The themes of family conquest and bride seizure are again manifest in this song. Kurakhet is the vernacular form of kurukṣetr, the mythical battlefield upon which the Kurus and the Panchalas fought in the epic Mahabharata. The term may be used here in a generic sense.

After the purohiths declare to the gods and spirits of the ancestors that the bride's family is donating the bride, the groom's father is made to say by the purohit that he is giving the groom his daughter for him to protect, support, and master. He places his daughter's hands palms down in those of the groom to signify that she is given.

The rite called kriśnarpan ('presentation of gifts') follows. The bride's father gives daksina to the pandits, gives the vow of godān ('the gift of cows to a Brahman'), and token payments to the purohiths and parjuna. The bride stands by the groom and her father blesses them: "May you live as long as there is water in the Ganges and Jamuna rivers." With his arms crossed, he throws rice at them. The groom

•

•

•

•

2

1

100

22

•

1

1

1

•

'

,

10

...

23

353

3

3

•

1

2.

gives the purohits daksina and his own purohit the godan vow. As the purohits perform another havan the women are singing:

30. Vivah

1. The barat's pandit, pretending to call for water, calls for his sister
2. "Slam the door! I will die of shame before my father" (she says)
3. "My brother is honorable" (says the narrator of the song)
4. All the members of the barat call for their sisters!

Commentary: This song shows that even the Brahman purohit, whose divinity demands that he be treated "as a god on earth," is the object of gali.

31. Vivah

1. The Brahman's mother is like the midden covered with greens¹
2. Listen, Brahman, quickly perform my daughter's fire sacrifice
3. The smoke has spread to the young and tender girl
4. The Brahman is a half mind, like a clod from the tank
5. Listen, Brahman, quickly perform my daughter's fire sacrifice
6. The Brahman's scrotum is like the shopkeeper's balance
7. The Brahman's sister is like the bamboo cane

Commentary: Here sympathy for the bride is again demonstrated, in the context of insulting the purohit. The shopkeeper's balance always hangs unevenly; bamboo cane tends to lean and catch the clothes of passers-by.

In the following stage the groom stands behind the bride, his arms around her and a basket in his hands. Her brother pours the lava from both the bride's and the groom's sides into the basket. The women are singing:

-
1. amaranthus polygamus

32. Vivah

1. Mix your lava and our lava together
2. Have our father and your mother sleep together
3. Have our father's brother and your father's brother's wife sleep together

Commentary: This song expresses the new social union which has been established, not only of bride and groom, but of all members of their families. (This song was also collected by Arya in Surinam. Cf. Arya 1968:78).

The groom then pours the lava onto the mandap floor, a purohit divides it into seven small piles, and the groom walks on them. (A purohit said that this symbolizes the seven circumambulations of the marriage pole and sacrificial fire by the bride and groom.) This is followed by the proclamation by the presiding purohit of the rules of marriage incumbent upon husband and wife. The bride and groom circumambulate the fire and ritual items three times and sit, the bride to the left of the groom.

Sindur dān (the gift of vermillion) is the title of the subsequent and apical stage of the vivah. The groom applies the consecrated vermillion to the bride's forehead. The women sing:

33. Vivah

1. I am shamed before my grandfather, my longhaired grandfather
2. I am shamed before my father's brother, my longhaired father's brother
3. I am shamed before my brother, my long-haired brother

34. Vivah

1. Oh I call grandfather himself; he does not speak
2. Oh, grandfather forces the groom to apply vermillion

100
100
100
100
100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

3. Oh, father's brother forces the groom to apply vermillion
4. Oh, my brother forces the groom to apply vermillion

Commentary: Both this and the prior song depict the stereotypical emotions of the bride: she feels humiliated and betrayed at her abandonment by the males of her family. This song also points out the position of the women born of the lineage: they are helpless in the face of its rights over their disposal.

Informants say the application of vermillion is the climax of the wedding, the point at which the bride becomes 'the groom's'. The bride's sisters come forward and touch up the vermillion; the groom's father gives them saris and money. Then the groom gets up and sits down on the left of the bride, which is also supposed to symbolize that she is his.

After finalizing rites conducted by the purohits, who again receive cash payments, everyone leaves the mandap but the bride and her friends. They perform cumavan, singing among others the following song:

35. Vivah

1. With rice and green grass, let us go to the cumavan of Chotu Ram's daughter
2. Touch her head, give the blessing
3. Live, bride and groom, 100,000 years
4. Live as long as the earth and sky
5. Enjoy as the night enjoys the moon

Commentary: The 'night/moon' simile is found in classical Sanskrit poetry.

The women of the bride's family (but not the bride) proceed to the kohabar, where there are informal rites involving the groom. The women sing songs such as the following:

36. Vivah

1. This new kohabar, of gold and brass
2. With great commotion goes the groom, born of a plowman
3. Slowly, slowly goes my daughter, born of an emperor

37. Vivah

1. Whose mother comes in to awaken, Tīla Devī?
2. "Get up, son, it's dawn"
3. Give that kind of a mother into the hands of the Turks, into the hands of the Moghuls, into the hands of the Pathans
4. Who says, when half the night has passed, that it's morning

Commentary: This song hints at the ways in which a mother-in-law can make life miserable for a woman; the stereotypical mother-in-law is jealous of her son's wife and resents their intimacy.

I did not have the opportunity to attend the activities at the home of the groom during the evening of the vivah, but according to Planalp:

"While the marriage rites are taking place at the bride's house, the women of the groom's family, and their friends, sing and dance throughout the evening. This occasion is referred to as Nakata. At the time when they estimate the ancestral spirits are being invoked in the bride's village, they too release the pitris (ancestral spirits) confined in the clay cup on the miniature stove near the marriage pole. It is believed that the ancestral spirits are instantly transported to the place of the wedding" (1956:513).

Khicari

Khicari is the name given to dāl ('a kind of lentil') mixed with rice, the food customarily eaten by the bride and groom on the second day of the wedding. One more educated informant told me that khicari symbolizes the new couple, the rice being conceived as masculine and the dal (which is semi-liquid in form) feminine.

Khicari is held in the forenoon or afternoon of the second day.

All of the dowry items are displayed on a table in the home of the bride (these often include wristwatches, pens, stainless steel dishes, transistor radios etc.). The groom is expected to object to the quality of the items given or to demand other items. After the haggling over what else he will receive, the groom and younger boys from his party are seated for the eating of khicari. The groom may refuse to eat until he extracts a commitment for some other desired item. As the party is eating, the women, from behind a curtain or a semi-concealed location, sing gali. For this "service" they must be compensated by a small payment from the groom's father.

The gali presented below were recorded at a session which followed a kathā ('a kind of sacrificial ceremony'). The songs were sung for my benefit as well as the entertainment of the visiting (cognate) family members. The visitors and I were the targets of the gali. Although sung in a rather anomalous situation, these gali are quite typical. I specifically recall having heard the final one at tilak and khicari rites. Commentary is largely reserved for the explanatory section on gali.

38. Khicari

1. Brother, Patna is a pleasant city, brother, Patna is a pleasant city
2. Corrupted in childhood, Henarī Rām and Rām Sagar Mishra are the sons of whores
3. Their sister was corrupted by Ram Chandra
4. They eat from their sister's earnings; tears come into her eyes
5. Henari and Ram Sagar eat from the earnings of their sisters

6. They submit themselves to sodomy, brother, Patna is a pleasant city

Commentary: Informants could not explain the refrain 'Patna is a pleasant city'; perhaps the song is an adaptation of another song with that refrain.

39. Khicari

1. At the low bathing place of the high pond there is a pleasant bungalow
2. There Henarī's sister takes a bath
3. Dāya Śākar's sister takes a bath
4. Our Kesau Rām went there to look (at them) suggestively
5. Our Laukai Rām went there to look (at them) suggestively
6. Open the gughat¹, they will look at her cheeks
7. Her cheeks are like a red wave
8. Open the colī², look at the goods
9. The goods are like limes and pomegranites
10. Open the pupatī³, they will look at the pubic hair
11. Open the petticoat, they will look at the moon
12. It is just like lightning

Commentary: Moon symbolizes vagina. Perhaps Line 12 means 'it gives great light (like a large moon)'.

40. Khicari

1. The rain starts, the clouds are dense and black, every lane is pure water
 2. She starts to come out, wearing golden clogs; she slips in the middle of the courtyard
-
1. The part of the sari used to cover the head and face.
 2. The blouse-like garment worn underneath the sari which covers the breasts and leaves the midriff bare.
 3. The lower part of the sari.

I ask you, Mister Henari, is your sister running away?
 I ask you, Mister RamChandra, is your sister being lured away?
 Will judgement be given nowhere but at the door of Indra Ram?
 You must feed five or ten Brahmans, Henari
 You must feed five or ten Brahmans, Ram Chandra
 The sin will be expiated
 You must bathe at Kasi Visasar Gāj¹, Henari
 Myself, I keep my father's daughters and grandfather's grand-
 daughters under my control
 Who will pass judgement?

mentary: The meaning of line 5 is unclear; it probably means that
 a Ram is the man with whom their sisters are consorting.

41. Khicari

Flee, son of a whore, flee on to Delhi
 Henarī's sister copulates in a field on the plains of Delhi
 Hindu, Muslim, that cumin seed, that coriander seed, one climbs on
 behind, one before
 There is saliva in your father's mouth, in your father's mouth
 there is water
 Give the price of my gali, Henari Ram, give, relatives!
 ty Kamalā fucks your sisters. Give, relatives!

mentary: The last two lines refer to the practice of demanding
 nt for the "service" of gali-singing from the attending affines.

In most cases the vidāī ('formal farewell') is held after khicari
 e second day of the wedding. At that time the purohits are

bathing ghat on the Ganges in Varanasi.

ented with payments of cash and clothing. The fathers of the
weds ritually embrace and shake hands prior to the departure of
room's party.

Arrangements for the bride's departure vary according to
stances too complicated to discuss here. In some cases she
panies the groom to his home after the vidai to stay a few days
returning to her father's home. In other cases she remains in
me until the gauna.

lanalp (1956:531) and Lewis (1958:183) report songs which are
n the occasion of the bride's departure, indicative of the
ss and fright which she feels at the prospect of leaving her
and friends to assume a low status in an alien family and the
wife to a man she does not know. I did not have the opportunity
rd such songs.

Songs: Repertoire, Performance, and Attitudes

this sub-section I deal briefly with leadership in the
ance of the women's songs, the relationship between repertoire
al structure, and attitudes towards the functions of women's

mentioned above, in addition to the women of the bride's family
hborhood, women of the bridal purohit's family may sing in the
The two groups may sit next to one another or they may be
n different sides of the mandap, but in either case there is no
to coordinate their singing. At times they may even sing
songs simultaneously. In both groups, the leader is usually
of the head of the household. This is due in part to her
the authority figure among the women, but her knowledge of

songs, gained from long experience, is also a factor. To the best of my knowledge, those songs tied to particular rites are never altered. Therefore, unless the songs are similar to those sung in the women's natal homes, the young wives have not had sufficient exposure to them to have learned them. Younger women may know some of the songs better than the older women, because some of them are recent compositions, and saguns can be sung on any occasion. Although popular songs have been adopted into the body of recreational songs, the songs associated with particular rituals, as demonstrated by the occasionally archaic references, appear to be very conservative. The women of the purohit families seemed to be generally more proficient singers than the women of other castes (by no great margin), and the experience they get in singing for the weddings of other castes. There is a wide range in the proficiency of singing even among the purohit women--some families and individuals simply take more interest in singing than others, and there are of course differing degrees of ability. The repertoires of different neighborhood groups vary considerably. Different groups sing different songs and different versions of the same songs. This is due in part to the differing local origins of the women. They learn some songs in their natal homes which they may later teach to their daughters in their conjugal families and neighborhood singing groups¹. On my return to the subject of performance, one aspect of the women's songs which is surprising to a Western observer is that in many of

There is a great variety of songs and melodic and textual variants within a small area, e.g. a block (the smallest governmental administrative unit) and a fortiori an amazing abundance of songs and variants within a district.

rites, especially in the dvar puja and the vivah, it competes with a variety of other sounds and activities. In the dvar puja the songs sung at the same time the English band is playing. In the vivah singing at times coincides with the chanting of mantras by purohits and discussions between them and other participants. This seemingly favorable context of music, in which it is not awarded primary attention, prompts two questions: (a) Are the words of the songs understood? and (b) What are the attitudes towards women's songs that support this type of usage?

The answer to the first question is a qualified "yes." Not only women's songs have to compete with other sound, but the language of the songs differs somewhat from the language of ordinary discourse. One factor, however, overrides these--what Alan Lomax has called the "multifunctional redundancy" of singing. This comprehensive term includes such factors as textual repetition (of which there is a great deal in these songs; a song of four lines may last as many minutes); the unique "distance" of singing (i.e. its distinctive sound quality); and the various meter and melody, all of which make song more penetrating than speech (Lomax 1968:14-15). Lapses in competing sound also allow the song or whole songs to be heard unimpeded. Although most of the present (other than the singers) probably do not comprehend each of the texts of the songs, they know the topics and have general ideas about how they are developed in the songs.

The attitudes of men and women towards women's song differ. In the vivah men do not often listen attentively to the songs. They are more interested in the ritual proceedings, in which there are disputes over procedures and payments. But men do value the

1

saying that they are māgal ('auspiciousness'). As such the songs
 ought to augment the glory of the wedding and insure its success
 the success of the marriage. Thus their mere presence is enough to
 meet the men's expectations. The women's attitude is that music is
 not for by a particular context or ritual, and has its value as a
 part of that context. Enjoyment of the "beauty" of the songs is there-
 not a reason for their performance--formal aspects of the songs
 are not judged as to whether they are pretty or beautiful, nor is vocal
 performance criticized. This was brought out in conversations I had with
 the women. When the subject turned to music I would ask if they had
 "favorite" songs, or if they thought any songs were especially
 "good." These concepts were alien to them. Most said only that they
 liked all the songs. But one young woman, who had had some education
 and took a greater interest in explanations, said:

"In its own place, every song is pretty. On its occasion, each
 is pretty. If a wedding song was sung now, it wouldn't be liked.
 When will it be considered pretty? When there will be a wedding,
 then. So at every time, the (appropriate) song is felt to be
 beautiful. When it is its time, then it is felt to be good.
 If the time is passed it doesn't have a good effect."

Then, then, the primary value of a song is as a part of a valuable
 context, which is often a ritual context.¹

Meanings of Wedding Songs

Before discussing the meanings of the performance and texts of
 the songs, two preliminary points should be noted regarding the
 relationship of music and village social organization, i.e. how

¹ 'instrumental' esthetic is similar to that reported by
 McAllester for older, unacculturated Navaho Indians. Additional
 research is needed to determine the cultural and social structural
 correlates of this type of musical esthetic. (Cf. McAllester 1954:
 71-73).

100

shapes certain social processes. First, singing constitutes one of women's roles in the society. It is an expected item of women's participation in (a) family rites, and (b) public rites in which the women participate. Women sing whenever they appear collectively in public. Their appearances are always in connection with a sacred rite of some kind. Secondly, women's song is cooperative group expression. As singing is not only the medium of shared cognitions, sentiments, emotions, and beliefs, but unifies in a common endeavor the members of the group who must cooperate to perform them. The unification of women in the wedding by their collective role as singers opposes them to men, the non-singers. The opposition is a manifestation of the general opposition of the roles of men and women, e.g. superordinate/subordinate; insiders (agnates)/outsiders (in-laws); sons/daughters; public figures/secluded (household) figures. In addition to the effects on the social organization of the wedding, the rites which singing has, wedding songs contain meanings which are not evoked by other forms of symbolic action within the wedding. The meanings of the songs derive not only from the lyrics (i.e. texts) of the songs, but from the social context and the activities in which the singing occurs. The discussion of the meanings of wedding songs below is divided into three sections according to the themes of primary importance in the songs: insult, the status of the bride, and conquest. In each case the social functions of the texts of the songs and its broadcast by and to the various social parties will be explained.

Texts of Gali

The most common basic strategy of insult in gali is the assertion of immoral sexual behavior--adultery, incest, sodomy, and pederasty. Use of sexual simile, with its raw, rude imagery is appropriate in expression of hostility. But underlying this, as well as other strategies employed in gali, is the insinuation of lowness, which is another manifestation of the hierarchical principle pervading Indian society. Immoral people are inferior to ourselves. This insinuation is more explicit in gali used only in addressing affines (at least at weddings in which these gali were recorded), which assert that "they screw your women" (Songs 3, 38, and 39). One implication is that the men of one's own family take what they want from the women of the affinal family; takers are superordinate, therefore their own family is superior to the affinal family. Not only do they take, but they degrade the women in the process. The degradation of a woman is a reflection on her family's character, as well as her own. This is clearly brought out in Song 40, where someone's sister is running or being carried away, and her brother is instructed to feed Brahmins and bathe in the river to expiate the sin of his sister. In one song the insult is not put in sexual terms, but is made even more explicit: "The son is born of a plowman and the daughter an emperor." Another strategy, employed in three of the gali, the affines are called deceivers and misers, e.g. "You promised you would bring gifts and you didn't," and "Don't forget: the bracelets are yours." As mentioned above, the prestige gained by the bride's family from an impressive barat (with brightly uniformed band and elephants or horses etc.) is one of the expected benefits of the

riage--it is as important as many of the tangible items involved.

social context of gali

In discussing the relationship between gali and the social context which it is sung, it must be remembered that gali is sung by women of affinal men and purohits in the homes of both bride and groom. It is not only the groom's family that is abused, as one would expect given its acquisition of bride, dowry, and superordinate status at the expense of the bride's family. Rather it is whenever affinals meet that the women of one family insult the males of the other, and during the wedding rites, the attending purohits as well.

A consideration of the nature of the affinal and purohit-jajman relationships, particularly with respect to the wedding, is helpful in understanding the occurrence of gali. In each of the meetings of members of the two families there are exchanges, and negotiated commitments involving expenditures, some of which are highly particularized. For example, the tilak involves payment of the dowry, gifts of cash to the groom and his brothers, payment of the bride's father's parjuna by the groom's father, settling the quality of entertainment which will be provided, and the jewelry which the bride will receive from the groom's family.

Although there are ranges of expectations governing each of these exchanges, there are no "fixed prices," and bitterness is not an uncommon result.

Disappointments also arise for both parties when hospitality, reciprocity, and "pomp and show" do not meet with expectations.

Conflict and competition are inherent in the relationship, with both parties attempting to maximize gain and prestige, and minimize

loss.

The conflict is intensified by the concept of ādar ('honor') which turn compounded by the public knowledge of all wedding ceremonies and events--everyone in the village has expectations regarding the scale and quality of hospitality, entertainment, etc.¹ Misunderstanding, deception, or scrimping resulting in the disappointment of the other family is liable to be interpreted by it as an affront to the rest of the village as an intentional affront to the family. There is also a basic conflict between the bridal purohit, who presides in the vivah, and his jajman. The purohit's role is such that he can threaten to withhold consecration of the rites, which would invalidate the marriage by offending the gods, if he is not remunerated as he sees fit. In the course of the wedding there are many points at which he can demand payment. Some of these situations are legitimated by custom, but some are not as clear-cut. The term lālci ('greedy') is often heard at these times. His demands are tempered, however, by the necessity of maintaining his long-term relationship with his jajman, and his fear of general censure. If the groom's purohit is insulted in the vivah (Song 30) as a member of the groom's party rather than as a purohit. The natives themselves explained gali by saying that it is a kind of "gali" (one of those I asked actually used the English word) which is given to the guests and promotes harmony. Given the conflict-endowed nature of the affinal and purohit-jajman relationships, this explanation is persuasive.

hyperbole with which these subjects are treated in the wedding of Sita and Rama, as depicted in Tulsi Das' Ramayana, are indicative of their importance in the folk mind. The Ramayana is the most well known epic in India.



in his discussions of the joking relationship, Radcliffe-Browne
 made the following points: Joking relationships tend to arise in
 situations in which there are strong conjunctive and disjunctive forces,
 in relationships in which it is in the interests of both parties
 to maintain the relationship in spite of the many conflicts inherent in
 it. Secondly,

serious hostility is prevented by the playful antagonism of
 joking, and this in its regular repetition is a constant
 reminder or reminder of that social disjunction which is one of
 the essential components of the relation, while the social
 function is maintained by the friendliness that takes no
 account of insult" (1952:90-95).

irability of establishing and maintaining affinal relations,
 the conjunctive forces in the relationship, include the necessity
 of having offspring, the prestige gained by the wedding, and alliance
 with a family of comparable or greater prestige, as well as economic
 strengthening. The conflicts inherent in the affinal relationship and
 the conjunctive and disjunctive components of the purohit-jajman
 relationship have been brought out above. The theory also accounts for
 the violent reactions of those being insulted, who, as mentioned above,
 cannot express any hostility.

The obscenity of the songs is also an important factor in their
 function. Evans-Pritchard has noted that:

The withdrawal by society of its normal prohibitions (of the use
 of obscenity) gives special emphasis to the social value of the
 activity.
 It also canalizes human emotion into prescribed channels of
 expression (1965:101, quoted in Turner 1969:92).

As to the first point, the villagers themselves recognize the
 positive effects of gali, as noted above. The second point is also
 clear here. There is obviously a great deal of tension inherent
 in wedding. Apparently the songs not only deter socially



ctional channelling of energy, but they also provide catharsis to
ngers.

ight of the Bride

throughout the vivah, the bride assumes a flexed, stooped posture.
he moves to and from the mandap, she must be assisted by the
s wife. Her sari is pulled so far down over her face that it is
ely hidden to onlookers. These factors all symbolize the new
which the bride is assuming, roles in which, as Karve has said,
nearly a non-entity. As explained in the introductory sketch of
organization, the passage of a girl from daughter to wife
s exchanging independence and affection for strictly delimited
, deference, and rivalry. The bride stereotypically resents
mposed changes and feels humiliated at having been manipulated.
en I asked people why the bride assumed the flexed posture, they
m kī vajah se ('because of humiliation'). The songs sung as the
being given away by her father enunciate these feelings. Her
d sense of betrayal, for example, are revealed in Song 27: "Oh
as taken great advantage of me, Mother . . . Oh how can I ouse
gh, Mother?" and by Song 34:

I call grandfather himself; he does not speak
grandfather forces the groom to apply vermillion
father's brother forces the groom to apply vermillion
) brother forces the groom to apply vermillion

e's humiliation is also expressed in Song 33:

n shamed before my grandfather, my longhaired grandfather
n shamed before my father's brother, my longhaired father's
rother
n shamed before my brother, my long-haired brother

ndicates that the women felt the "seizure" of the bride as
the eclipse of the moon. The open acknowledgement of the



ions of the bride by the singing of these songs mobilizes sympathy
her and thereby facilitates her adjustment.

Song 29 states that the bride's brother loses his sister to the
m and then:

What teachings have you forgotten?
You have not lost cows or oxen, you have lost your sister
Oh it is good to forget about sister Tila Devi
Cows and oxen are our wealth, brother; sisters that of another

A woman has affectionate relationships in her natal home; the most
ctionate are with her brothers. These are severed by her marriage,
pt for occasional visits in the first years of marriage. This song
gnizes the sadness of the brother at the "loss" of his sister, then
nds him and the others present that (in accordance with the rules
he society) sisters belong not to the family into which they are
, but to that into which they marry.

uest

Song 29 also states that the brother must surrender his sister
use of his loss on the battlefield. This refers to the time when
ut kings feuded over the marriage of their daughters.

In the twelfth century . . . the country (Rajputana, the area
rom which there were mass migrations to Eastern Uttar Pradesh)
as ruled by hundreds of small independent Rajput kings or lords,
no fought among themselves constantly and over the most trifling
atters. Whenever a beautiful daughter of one of these kings or
hieftains became nubile, his rivals would often attack him in
rder to force him to marry his daughter to one of their number.
f the girl's side was defeated, the marriage preparations were
ade. However, her supporters usually sought to surprise the
ictorious groom's side with an attack while they were busy with
ne marriage rites. Thus, there grew up a tradition of fighting
nder the mandap" (Planalp 1956:522).

The theme of conquest is alluded to by a number of other elements
ne wedding: the descent of the groom and his "forces" upon the
e's village and home is an instance. The band playing its brassy

es, the formidable elephants or aristocratic horses (which are
 times used in mock attacks on the bride's home) and the use of
 arms are highly appreciated ostentation. But they also allude to
 era when a raja's army marched into the village to forcefully take
 ide, and embody the martial ethos of that situation. The reference
 ars between the feudal rajas is found in other of the women's songs:
 31, in which the barat is depicted as thieves of mothers and
 hters, and Song 33, containing the call to shoot at the barat as it
 ds beneath the mandap.

The identification of the groom's party as the conquerors in these
 s, and the singing of the songs before the groom and his party in
 mandap emphasize the role of the groom's family as dominant in the
 ng, and the ascendant position in the marriage alliance.

ry

The wedding is the most important event in Hindu social life. In
 section I have shown how women's songs are integral parts of the
 ng rites, how they provide unduplicated meanings to the rites, and
 hey reflect social structure and shape social organization in
 singing.

Wedding song texts have been presented which reveal a wide variety
 emes including: (a) descriptions of the ritual activities them-
 ; (b) descriptions of marital situations; (c) political concerns;
 orthological persons and events; (e) obscene insults; (f) reactions
 bride and her family members to her transfer to the home and
 of the groom; and (g) concern with Rajput origins and the Rajput
 l ethos.



The hierarchical principle which explains much behavior in this society pervades music as well, and is often an underlying theme in wedding song texts, alluding in some cases to the asymmetry of the affinal relationship.

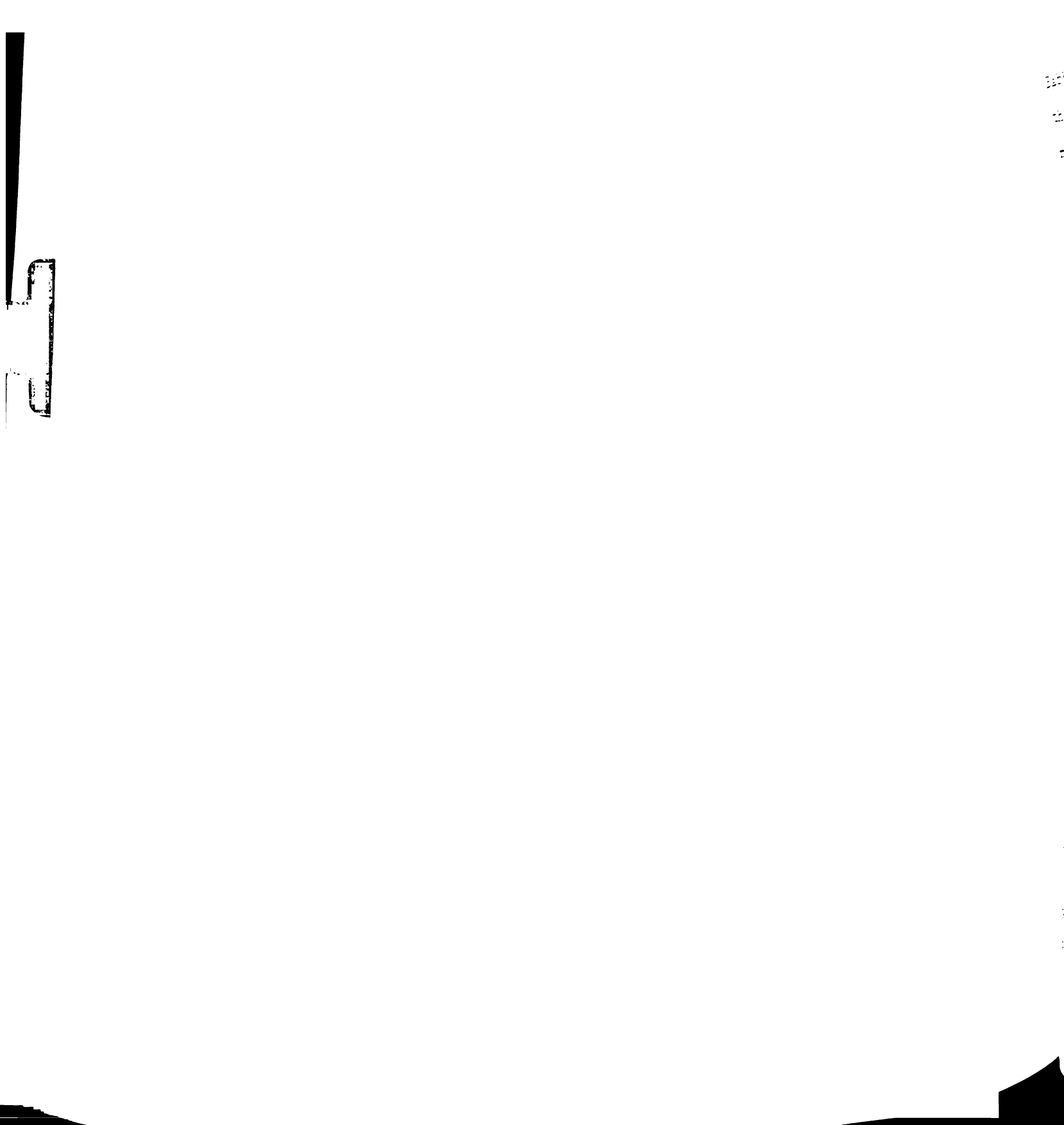
The singing of the songs in the rites performs several important functions: it contributes to the control of inherent conflicts in affinal and purohit-jajman relations by symbolically recognizing oppositional and unifying forces in the relations; channels what might otherwise be dysfunctional emotion; and articulates stereotyped emotional reactions to the rituals themselves and social changes resulting from marriage, thereby easing the adjustment of all involved to the new situation.

Worship Songs of the Mother Goddess

Introduction

In the previous section it was shown how songs provide meanings to wedding ritual and play a part in maintaining social relations. This section will discuss major themes and forces in village religion as they are reflected in the ritual and worship songs of the mother goddess. Brief overviews of village religion and the mother goddess are presented in the opening paragraphs.

The beliefs and practices of village Hinduism are divisible into Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic complexes which can be differentiated according to deities, mediation in worship, and function. Sanskritic deities are those whose history and attributes are contained in sacred Sanskrit texts. This group includes Vishnū (and his incarnations as Rama and Krishna), Śiva, their consorts and auxiliaries, two aspects of the mother goddess--Durga and Kālī, and numerous lesser figures.



Babb has pointed out that Sanskritic deities tend to be more remote from the world of human affairs, their relevance is more general, they are more powerful, and intrinsically purer. The mother goddess, who exists in different aspects in both the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic spheres, is an exception to this generalization (Babb 1969:220-221). The Sanskritic deities are endowed with even greater authority by the endorsement of the state supported local schools. Some of the more staid stories about them are contained in primary readers (cf. Marriott 1955:211).

Non-Sanskritic deities worshipped in the village include Mātā Māī and other aspects of the mother goddess; Dīh Bābā, the auxiliary (sahāiyak) of Mata Mai and protector of the village, and Sāyad Bābā, a Muslim saint worshipped by both Muslims and Hindus. These deities are thought to have direct and tangible influence in human affairs.

Sanskritic rites are by definition those performed by Brahman priests. There are several reasons why Sanskritic rites are more auspicious and prestigious than the non-Sanskritic ones. These include: (a) the divine status of the texts which rationalize the rites and the ritual language used (Sanskrit); (b) the purity of the Brahman himself (the only category with sufficient purity to make offerings to the Sanskritic deities); (c) the ritual, which is persuasive in its sheer complexity as well as its connection with the Sanskritic deities and its symbolization; and (d) the expense involved.

Both Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic deities can be worshipped on a personal basis with offerings to and ablutions of the icons. Large scale non-Sanskritic rites, like Sanskritic rites, involve the

mediation of a priest; he is almost always of a caste other than those of the twice-born status.

The functions of the two complexes tend to be complementary, with the Sanskritic complex occupying the religious end of the magico-religious continuum, and the non-Sanskritic complex a middle ground which overlaps with witchcraft at the other end (Cf Babb 1969:245). Mandelbaum has written that the Sanskritic complex, which he calls the "transcendental complex", "is used to ensure the long-term welfare of society, to explain and help maintain village institutions, to guarantee the proper transition of individuals from stage to stage within the institutions. It is concerned with the ultimate purposes of man." What he calls the "pragmatic" complex ". . . is used for local exigencies, for personal benefit, for individual welfare" (1966:1175, quoted in Babb 1969:189). The appellation 'transcendental' and the inclusion in the model of the Sanskritic complex of "concern with the ultimate purposes of man" are, as Babb indicates, reflective of a philosophical component which is not a part of popular Hinduism (Babb 1969:220. See the next section for further qualifications of the model).

Sanskritic deities play a larger part in the devotions of members of the Brahman caste and generally in the bloc of the high castes than they do in the devotions of the lower castes (Marriott 1955:209 and Planalp 1956:720). But this principle is cross-cut by another: non-Sanskritic worship in the upper castes is performed by more women than men (Planalp 1956:720-1). This is in part because women hold themselves responsible for insuring the welfare of the household and family through varied and frequent devotions and austerities. Household calamities are often blamed on women, particularly young



brides (Karve 1965:136). Their respect in the family is a function of their status as wives, and mothers of sons. These are matters in the domain of 'pragmatic,' non-Sanskritic religion, particularly that of the mother goddess.

The Sanskritic-biased formal education is also a factor. Although the proportion of lower caste boys receiving at least a primary education is much greater than in the past, few girls of any caste are formally educated.

The Mother Goddess

'Mother goddess' is used here to refer collectively to different female deities (here called 'aspects') distinguished by a fierce malevolence. Although she also has a mild aspect, as Parvati, the consort of Siva, it is in her fierce aspects that she is most often worshipped and which concerns us here. According to one Sanskrit text, the fierce aspect first took form in the convergence of the anger emanating as blinding light from the faces of Siva, Visnu, and Brahma when they needed a superior force to defeat a race of demons threatening their supremacy (Babb 1969:227). This story of her genesis explains one of her common names--śaktī ('power'). Her most common aspects at the Sanskritic level are Kālī ('the black'), as which "she is represented with a black skin, a hideous and terrible countenance, dripping with blood, encircled with snakes, hung round with skulls and human heads . . . ; as Durgā "she is a beautiful yellow woman, riding on a tiger in a fierce and menacing attitude" (Dowson 1972:86).

The malignant character of the goddess is manifest at the non-Sanskritic level in the association of the goddess with smallpox and other diseases. Śītalā is the most common North Indian name given to

this aspect; in Eastern Uttar Pradesh she is also Mata Mai ('Mother Mata'). Sitala, like Kali, is thought to prefer offerings of meat, which opposes the mother goddess to the pure deities who accept only vegetarian offerings. Smallpox, chicken pox, and cholera are conceived as visitations (i.e. manifestations) of Mata Mai, who is thought to afflict people when she is enraged at not having been sufficiently worshipped. It is due in part to the attribution to her of the affliction of smallpox and cholera that her worship is still important in village life. Epidemics of these diseases were common even fifteen or twenty years ago, although now vaccination campaigns have nearly eradicated them.¹ One important trait of the non-Sanskritic mother goddess, expressed in the songs below, is inconsistent with her generally malevolent image--the ability to grant the boon of a son.

Communal Worship of Mata Mai

Communal worship of Mata Mai occurs on nine days in the bright half of the monsoon month of Savan.² On seven successive evenings women and men at a ratio of about three to one collected at the shrine of Dih. Usually forty to fifty people, of all castes in the village, attended. None of the votaries were under about 35 years of age--one informant explained that it was the duty of the female heads of the household to perform the worship to insure that it was done correctly, but a younger informant said that younger people do not attend because they do not give as much attention to Mata Mai as their parents do. As they reached the site each votary drew a lota of water from a well, dropped

1. See Planalp (1956:738-745) for a description of the traditional treatment of smallpox.

2. I.e. the lunar fortnight during which the moon is waxing.

into it a mixture of sweets and spices, and offered it to Mata Mai by pouring it at the base of the shrine of Dīh Bābā (her auxilliary) and another shrine ten feet away. The other shrine is thought by some to be Sāyad Bābā, a Muslim deity; others think it is a celā ('servant-apprentice') of Dīh. This is an example of a pervasive phenomenon in village religion--the competing meanings of ritual elements and entire rituals held by different people.

After enough women had collected they sang pacarā ('songs about Mata Mai and her worship'). These songs are a form of worship which the people hope will deter her from afflicting those present or their relatives. When most of the votaries had arrived, all proceeded to the Kali shrine, where each again made the same kind of offering. A Brahman (of a lower gotra than the rest of the Brahmans in the village) performed a havan while the women sang pacaras. He was assisted by an Ahir, who was said to be an aspiring ojhā ('an exorcist and priest of non-Sanskritic deities').

The entire rite, from the personal offering to a non-Sanskritic deity at the shrine of a related non-Sanskritic deity, culminating in the Brahman offering at the shrine of Kali, demonstrates a movement from the 'pragmatic' to the 'transcendental' (using the word as qualified above). The Kali shrine itself has a dual status (as does Kali). Although it is nominally for the worship of the Sanskrit Kali, women also make their unmediated personal offerings there. The Brahman-performed havan is apparently an accretion which has the complementary function of the Sanskrit complex, symbolized by its purer and more auspicious ritual, in supplicating deities more remote, purer, and more powerful, with a less specific relevance than Mata Mai.

It seems that the Brahman adaptation has always consisted in part in an ability to "dress up" the non-Sanskritic system (in belief and in ritual) and to imbue it with greater authority; in some cases to make it more attractive and suitable to those that wish to differentiate themselves from the low and crude. But in doing so, as Marriott states (1955:191-218), the symbolic persuasiveness of the fundamental rites, their relevance to specific problems, is lost. The Sanskritic complex is never completely able to supplant the non-Sanskritic, but must co-exist with it.

On the eighth evening men, women, and children gathered at the center of the village. There is supposed to be one adult representative from each household in attendance. Among them was a group of Gor musicians who sang generally unrelated songs, and played cymbals and a huruk ('drum with two variable tension heads which produces a gulping sound'). The same Brahman performed a havan. The people then made a wide arc around the village in a clockwise direction, stopping at the Kali mandir, at the Dih shrine, at a point southwest of the village, and then at the Siva shrine in the center of the village. During the procession there was singing by the Gors and the women (not of the same songs, but at times simultaneously). The men erected at each stop a bamboo pole on which was tied a red flag and a miniature cot. These are thought to divert Mata Mai, who, as the songs show, likes to sleep, and prevent her entrance into the village.

The next day the votaries convened at the Kali shrine for a final offering and puja essentially the same as those of the seven evenings. The series of communal worship rites constitutes a unique expression of village solidarity. All families are united vis-a-vis the mother goddess.

Pacara also designates the songs sung by an ojha to invoke and address the aspect of the mother goddess by which he divines and cures. The songs of the ojha, however, are generally different from those of the women in content, and melodic and rhythmic structure. The lyrics of the songs are largely improvised and set to a standard tune. (The songs I was able to record were performed in a session in which the ojha made deprecatory remarks about other persons in the village. I was not able to transcribe the sessions because I could not risk starting a dispute by playing the tapes for my regular informants, who were relatives of those demeaned.)

Song 42. Mata Mai

1. I picked and picked the flowers and fashioned them into a garland
2. I took them to the court of Sitala, my mother
3. I took them to the court of Kali¹, my mother
4. Are you asleep or awake, Kali² mother
5. The Mali stands at the door, my mother
6. Ask, ask, Malin, I will give what you ask, whatever is in your heart
7. Are the seven sisters inside or outside?
8. How long does the Malin stand at the door?
9. Ask, ask, Malin, I will give what you ask, whatever is in your heart
10. You give me riches and sons, mother
11. Will you give immortality to the Mali, my mother
12. Even if the moon of the east goes to the west, the Mali will not be immortal, Malin

1. The deities Atabhujī and Dīh are substituted in subsequent repetitions.
 2. The deity Dīh is substituted in the repetition of this line.

Commentary: In this song the names Kali, Sitala, and others are used interchangeably, indicating the identity or near identity of their referents in the folk mind. The Māli and Mālin ('gardiner-flower vendor and his wife') are commonly the pujārīs ('keepers of the shrine and earnest devotees') of the mother goddess. People say this is due to the goddess' liking of sweet things including scented flowers. The Mali is a sūdra caste. The importance of a son was explained in the previous section. The ability of the mother goddess to award male offspring is an indication of her importance to the women.

Song 43. Mata Mai

1. What is the potanahar¹ made of, what is the potan² made of?
2. Māiya Morī, the skin of my hands is worn smooth from cleaning your shrine, you don't understand pain (this is the refrain)
3. The potanahar is of gold and the potan is of something very expensive (refrain)
4. The leper cries, the blind _____ cries (refrain)
5. Eyes will come to the blind, I will restore the body of the leper
6. Maiya Mori, I will put a son in the arms of the barren woman, I understand pain.

Commentary: In this and subsequent songs Mata Mai is addressed as Maiya Mori. This song refers to compassion which is clearly out of keeping with her malevolent nature, and an interest in mundane problems.

Song 44. Mata Mai

1. Riding a lion Sitala comes roaring, villagers
2. You don't recognize (worship) Mother, villagers (refrain)
3. The son of the Mali does recognize her, he takes a garland
4. He takes a garland to the goddess, standing in the doorway
5. Riding a lion Kali comes roaring, villagers (refrain)
6. The son of the devotee does recognize her, he takes an offering

-
1. A vessel containing the substance with which the shrine is cleansed.
 2. The cloth used to cleanse the shrine.

7. He takes an offering to the goddess, standing in the door
8. Riding a lion Darga comes roaring, villagers (refrain)
9. The son of the shepherd does recognize her, he takes a young male goat
10. He takes a young male goat to the goddess, standing in the doorway
11. Riding a lion Amaliya comes roaring, villagers (refrain)
12. The son of the potter does recognize her, he takes a pot
13. He takes a pot to the goddess, standing in the doorway

Commentary: Here we see the terrifying character of the mother goddess, as portrayed in the Sanskrit texts. Also apparent is the opposition of worshippers to those who refuse to worship. The worshippers are all of sudra castes. Each offers an item associated with his traditional caste occupation.

Song 45. Mata Mai

1. Maiya Mori so thin is stuck in Bengal
2. To whom do you give, Sitala?
3. To whom do you give, Kali?
4. Ten or five sons
5. Whom do you make childless?
6. I give to the religious devotees
7. Ten or five sons
8. I make the proud childless
9. To whom do you give, mother?
10. Maiya Mori so thin is stuck in Bengal
11. Ten or five pox
12. On whose back do you rub hot coals?
13. To the religious devotees, ten or five pox
14. I rub hot coals on the backs of the proud

15. Maiya Mori so thin is stuck in Bengal

Commentary: To rub hot coals on the back (lines 12 and 14) is to afflict severely. This song also alludes to the reluctance of high caste persons to worship the goddess and their consequent punishment, opposing them to the devotees, who are awarded with sons.

Song 46. Mata Mai

1. The little girls pick flowers and bamboo branches
2. The Mali's garden is his temple
3. The Mali calls, "Whose daughters are you, people?"
4. He treads in the garden. "Whose daughters, people?"
5. "We are neither daughters nor son's wives."
6. "We are the seven sisters of Sitala."
7. "We are Vindhyācal, Bhagavatī, Kālī, Bhāvanī."

Commentary: There are two implications of the line "We are neither daughters nor son's wives." This is a way of stating the alien and therefore somewhat frightening nature of the goddesses, because ordinarily all young women in the village are either daughters or son's wives (or their daughters). It also refers to a unique attribute of the mother goddess--her status as a woman without a consort. In Hindu society this would correspond to an unmarried woman, which is a rare occurrence, with pejorative implications. That this status is directly linked with her malevolent character is demonstrated when we look at the mildness of her married aspect, Parvati (Babb 1969:230-231). But the problem for the analyst then becomes: by virtue of what beliefs should this status be correlated with malevolence? Sexual abstinence results in power, in this world and that above, but other deities are abstinent without being malevolent (e.g. Hanuman and in some depictions, Parvati). All one can conclude is that her anomalous status is consistent with her anomalous (malevolent) character.

When Complementary Complexes Become Competing Complexes

The pacara songs offer insight into the dynamics of the relationship between caste, gender, and the Sanskritic/non-Sanskritic dichotomy. I have noted that non-Sanskritic devotion predominates in the lower castes but can be found among upper caste women as well. The

mother goddess is identified with the impure lower castes, as brought out below. Brahman and Thakur males (and upwardly mobile sudras) therefore scorn her worship in favor of the worship of Sanskritic deities. Their female relatives do not share their scorn, although at times the men may by ridicule persuade them not to worship her. The priestly Brahman in particular is threatened by higher caste worship of the mother goddess, which undermines his prestige, religious authority, and livelihood.

The prevalence and frequency of the worship of the mother goddess and the social identity of her votaries are also to some extent influenced by the immanency of her affliction--i.e. fear of illness or death of someone in the family. Planalp reports a fright epidemic in the Senapur area in 1954 which was initiated by reports of the possession by the goddess of devotees in nearby Azamgar District. The reports were transmitted through Camars and other devotees. Local devotees began to be possessed by the goddess, who told them she was coming to afflict those who did not worship her in a special way. The special worship involved placing offerings of grain and a coin in the river; untouchables have scavenging rights over such offerings. All Camar families began to make the required offerings. Thakur men and some of the women scoffed and said the movement was a Camar machination.

"But soon the clean Shudra and some of the Thakur women, out of fear of Bhagavati Mai, joined the throng of worshippers. Finally, nearly every family took part, not wishing to tempt the goddess' wrath by standing alone. At the height of the movement, a traveler between Senapur and Kerakat on any morning would have met hundreds of women from the villages of the area going to or coming from the Gomati River to make their peace with the great goddess. In some families a man went, while in the leading, better-educated Thakur families of Senapur half-heartedness was demonstrated by the fact that only a Kahar or other servant was sent to take the offerings. A few brave persons considered the offerings a waste of money and grain, and failed to heed the

demand . . . But in most cases, when Bhagavati Mai appears in their immediate midst, even these skeptical persons fervently seek the propitiation of the goddess by any means " (Planalp 1956:730).

The untouchable castes, by mobilizing fear in the community, thus became ritual influentials (in addition to acquiring some of the harvest surplus), and the normally minimal competition between the two complexes was augmented.

This minor movement followed a pattern quite like that of the growth of the cult of the snake-goddess Manasha in Bengal. There the worship of the goddess was begun by cowherds, spread from them upward in the social hierarchy to farmers and fishermen, then to upper caste women, and finally to upper caste men (Maity 1966:169-185). Such movements as these are common in the history of North India.

Fundamental concepts of such movements are expressed in and promoted by the pacara songs. Song 58 clearly opposes the faithful, humble devotees, all of sudra castes, to the rest of the village, who refuse to worship her. Song 59 voices beliefs which are no doubt prime movers in attracting devotees--the mother goddess painfully afflicts those too proud to worship her, i.e. upper caste persons; she rewards those who do worship with male offspring.

Performance of the Worship Songs of the Mother Goddess

The quality of the singing in Mata Mai worship is no doubt maintained at a high level to avoid offending the goddess. No more than eight or ten women sang at any one time in any part of the rite, and those that did sing achieved a fairly precise unison.

The melodies, which vary from song to song, are not as grave as the sohar (described in the following section) or those of the wedding songs which are tied to particular rites. As with most of the women's

songs, the singers are divided into two groups. One group begins singing a new line just as the other group finishes its line. There is no time gap between the lines, in fact there is occasionally a brief overlapping of lines.

Songs of the Birth of a Son and Auspicious Inauguration

Introduction

As pointed out in a previous section, a son is an economic and social asset and a daughter a liability because of the dowry institution and hypergamous marriage. A son is of great ritual importance as well because it is he who must administer the blow to the skull of his deceased father in order that the jīv ('soul') can begin its journey to Yam Lok, the land of the dead (according to one commonly held view). Sons are of course necessary to perpetuate the lineage.

Girls are usually treated with affection by their parents, but due to the financial burden and social disadvantage they impose, they are sometimes neglected as infants, particularly in families where there are already several daughters. And ultimately they leave the household, to become the property of another.¹

For these reasons there are many pressures upon a woman to bear a son. Women make pilgrimages, fast, visit siddhī phakirs ('men thought to have special powers') and perform a variety of devotions in order to conceive sons. Often a woman is paid no respect in her husband's home unless she gives birth to a son.

When a woman does deliver a son the women of the extended family immediately express their gladness, give thanks to the deities, and

1. Upadhyaya (1968:84) states that this sentiment is expressed in *Shakuntala*, the drama by Kali Das c. 400 A.D. Also see Vivah.

provide a favorable omen for the life of the son by singing the songs called sohar.

All bodily emanations are considered polluting; childbirth is especially so, rendering not only the mother, but members of the extended family and the house itself polluted. A Camar woman stays with the mother for six days after birth. She cuts and ties the umbilical cord and performs other tasks too polluting to be undertaken by anyone of a higher caste.

Sometime within the first 24 hours after birth the women of the neighborhood come to rub the mother and child with mustard seed oil, which is considered a kind of personal blessing, like cumavan. If the newborn is a male they sing sohar then and for the next five successive nights (eleven nights if the family is particularly traditional).

Other Contexts

Villagers define sohar as a song sung at the birth of a son. On that occasion it expresses gladness, and, by pleasing the gods which it often mentions, insures the welfare of the son and the family to which it is so important. Like the other types of women's ritual song, it is auspicious (māgal). In the occurrence of sohar in other rites, the glad and auspicious occasion of the birth of a son is thus an implicit reference, i.e. singing sohar is a way of making an inauguration auspicious by staging it like the birth of a son.¹ Like the birth of a son, each rite in which sohar is sung marks the beginning of a new period in the lives of family members:

1. In the mundan sanskār ('the tonsure ceremony of a boy'), the family's barber shaves the infant's head, and the women offer the hair

1. This was called to my attention by Professor Charles Morrison.

to Sitala. (This kind of offering again distinguishes the mother goddess from the rest of the pantheon, because the hair is regarded as polluted residue of birth.) This is a culturally recognized rite of passage, in which the child moves from polluted to unpolluted condition, and, generally, into the "toddler" stage of life.

2. Mul śāntī (mul is the name of the 19th lunar mansion, considered the most inauspicious; santi--'peace') is performed to prevent misfortune from coming to the parents of a child born during an inauspicious lunar mansion. It marks the end of the inauspicious period and thus the beginning of an auspicious period.

3. Janamāsthāmī is the holiday commemorating the birth of the deity Krishna. The occurrence of sohar in Janamasthami rites, where it is sung by women during Brahmins' performance of a havan, is reflective of the primary occurrence of sohar (at the birth of a son). Here its singing alludes to the nativity of Krishna.

4. The inauguration of a house or well marks the initial use of facilities which affect the daily activities of the entire family.

5. The kathā, the recitation of a moral parable and performance of a havan by a Brahman priest, is an occasional, minor rite of passage. It is usually performed when a member of the family is beginning or has completed some endeavor (see p. 153 for examples). It thus recognizes the beginning of a new condition in the constellation of factors affecting the family.

There are two recognized types of sohar. One is devotional, of which the first three songs presented here are examples. These were recorded at a katha. The other type, represented by the last two songs here, pertains to childbirth. These two songs were recorded in the

actual context of the celebration of the birth of a male.

47. Sohar

1. From where does Kali Mai come, from where Bhavani Mai?
2. From where does Siv Sakar come, from where Satya Narayan?
3. Kali Mai comes from the east and Bhavani Mai comes from the west.
4. Oh Satya Narayan comes from the south and Siv from the north
5. Where do you seat Kali Mai, where Bhavani Mai?
6. Where do you seat Siv Sakar, where Satya Narayan?
7. We seat Kali Mai and Bhavani Mai in the grove
8. We seat Siv Sakar in the yonī¹, Satya Narayan on the cauk
9. What do you offer Kali Mai, what Bhavani Mai?
10. Now what do you offer Siv Sakar, what Satya Narayan?
11. We offer Kali Mai dhar², Bhavani Mai flowers
12. We offer Siv Sakar rice, Satya Narayan mevā³
13. What does Kali Mai give me, what Bhavani Mai?
14. What does Siv Sakar give, what Satya Narayan?
15. Kali Mai and Bhavani Mai give offspring
16. Siv Sakar gives wealth; Satya Narayan moksa⁴
17. The person who sings and spreads this song
18. Will go to heaven and eat sādā⁵

Commentary: This song indicates that both Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic deities are accommodated in certain major respects by one componential framework comprising categories of directional

-
1. Symbol of the female organ; complement of the lingam.
 2. A mixture of cane sugar, flower petals, other 'sweet' things, and water.
 3. A mixture of raisins, coconut, and other dried fruit.
 4. Release from the wheel of rebirth
 5. My informant said that sādā is the fruit of the kal (or kalpā) tree which grows in heaven.

proveniences (their implications are unclear); location for their worship; favored offerings; and domains of human welfare. With respect to the last category, mother goddesses are attributed the power of awarding offspring; Satya Narayan (an aspect of Vishnu) release from the wheel of rebirth--clearly a remote, Sanskritic function; and Siva wealth, a more tangible benefit than that of Satya Narayan indicative of a less remote relationship with the human realm. Line 18 of this song is garbled. I think the last line of Arya's Sohar I (1968:39), which is preceded by a line nearly identical to line 17 of this song, is more feasible: ". . . (there is) a good hope that (she) attains the fruit of immortality." Lines 17 and 18 thus express a common rationalization of the singing of devotional songs which is a facet of the bhakti persuasion of Hinduism (which holds that singing and other devotions are a path to salvation).

48. Sohar

1. Ram bathes on the sandalwood cauk
2. All her girlfriends ask Sita, "What austerities did you do to get a groom such as Ram?"
3. I bathed in the month of Magh (January-February) and did not warm myself by the fire
4. Every day I arose and worshipped Siva; I got the groom Ram
5. In Jet (April-May) I fasted on the eleventh and twelfth days of the lunar fortnight
6. I ate the prescribed foods every Sunday; I got the groom Ram
7. I feasted the Brahmins; I picked up the food they left
8. I gave them the crust of the curds, girls, and thus got the groom Ram

Commentary: This song reflects the belief in austerity as a means to attaining highly valued, tangible and intangible items. In this song a husband like the ideal Ram is the goal, but the kinds of austerities depicted are also used by women to insure the longevity of the husband and other family members and to obtain male offspring. Feasting Brahmins to gain boons (and religious merit) is quite commonly practiced. Food left on another's plate has been polluted by the possibility of its contact with his saliva; to eat such food is a gesture of extreme deference, symbolically attributing divine status to the person. The crust of curds (line 8) is considered a delicacy.

49. Sohar

1. Make and decorate the pedestal in the courtyard
2. Sister, install Satya Narayan upon it and cover it with the cloth of yellow silk
3. Knowing that Satya Narayan is on it, I would cover it with the cloth of yellow silk
4. Sister, I would squat, touch and wash his feet, and drink the water
5. I would request a father-in-law like Dasarath and a mother-in-law like Kausiliya
6. Sister, a husband's older brother that reads books
7. I would ask for only one husband's brother's wife, and a man like Ram
8. Sister, a husband's younger brother like Laksman, a daughter like a clove, a son like a lotus
9. I got a father-in-law like Raja Dasarath, a mother-in-law like Kausiliya
10. I got only one husband's brother's wife, a man like Ram, a husband's younger brother like Laksman
11. Sister, a daughter like a clove, a son like a lotus.
12. My request was fulfilled; I obtained residence in Ayodhya

Commentary: In matters of marriage, as Ram and Sita are the ideal couple, the other members of their families are also upheld as the ideals for the corresponding statuses in the marital alliance. In Song 61 Siva is said to be worshipped to gain wealth. In Song 62 he is said to have been worshipped to get the ideal husband (Ram). In Song 63 Satya Narayan (an aspect of Vishnu) is said to be worshipped to get the ideal husband and affines (Ram and his natal family). According to these songs, then, Sanskritic deities as well as non-Sanskritic deities are attributed specific relevance and domains immediate to human needs and desires. These expressions contradict the Sanskritic/non-Sanskritic or transcendental/pragmatic model as it applies to folk conceptualization of the traits and domains of the pantheon (although the association between Vishnu and moksa of Song 61 supports it).

This song and Song 62 are combined in a sohar collected in four versions by Arya in Surinam, where, he states, it is the most popular sohar (1968:38-40). The deity supplicated in the version he presents

is Brahma, who is often spoken of as the writer of personal destiny. (He is a Sanskrit deity--"the supreme spirit manifested as the active creator of the universe " [Dowson 1972:56]).

50. Sohar

1. Raja (husband), call and bring your mother, the pain is becoming intense
2. If you humble yourself I will think you great
3. The women will take the narrow path and, walking gracefully, come to the house
4. The old woman will take the narrow path and, walking gracefully, come to the house.
5. Then the old woman will climb and sit on the doorstep
6. You, old woman, will eat the left-over food and fix my hair
7. Raja, call your brother's wife, the pain is becoming intense
8. If you humble yourself I will think you great
9. The old woman will take the narrow path and, walking gracefully, come to the house.
10. When the women come they will sit on the bed
11. Hey women, call my thin husband, then comb my hair
12. Raja, call and bring your sister, the pain is becoming intense
13. If you are too proud I will think you small
14. The husband will take the narrow path and, walking gracefully, come to the house
15. Now the husband's sister will come and sit on the bed
16. Hey nanad ('husband's sister), clear out the refuse, then comb my hair.

Commentary: This song suggests the opposition of the husband and wife against the rest of the family, at the same time showing the privilege of attention awarded to the child-bearing wife. Although sisters-in-law cooperate in many day-to-day tasks and come to each other's aid in time of distress, competition and conflict is also common.

51. Sohar

1. As all were seated the queen said to the king:
2. "All of your offspring have died; I will become an ascetic." (The king says:) "If the queen will be an ascetic, I too will be an ascetic."
3. The king will rub ashes on himself and the queen and they will beg for alms in the forest
4. Twelve years have passed and Brahma has not come into the forest
5. Brahma has given boys to everyone without exception
6. "Go to your dwelling, barren woman, your turn has not yet come." (says the king)
7. "It's only due to a shortage of ink that Brahma has not written that you should bear children."

Commentary: Here Brahma is again spoken of as responsible for conception and birth of a son, again reflecting the immediate relevance, in belief, of Sanskrit deities. To the best of my knowledge, Brahma was not worshipped in the village. Babb (1969) also mentions his absence from religious life in Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh.

Music and Performance

As in the singing of most of their songs, the women divide into two groups to sing sohar. Older women take the lead in the singing; the younger women sing the "echo" described below. All sohars are variations, controlled by the lyrics, on one melodic pattern. In this respect the sohar is like a simplified classical raga. The relatively low vocal range and somber melody distinguish sohar from other women's songs. There seems to be an absence of "beat" or rhythmic pulse, but this could be merely my inability to perceive the structure of accents. In certain Hindustani ragas the meters are built by the additive use of two and three beat units, as contrasted with most Western rhythms,

which are based on multiples of two and three beat units.¹ After an initial leap the sohar melody hovers in a higher range for two phrases, then comes tumbling down to the starting pitch. This final curve is repeated by the second group of singers to complete the line. The effect is one of sustained tension emphatically resolved by the repeated downward motion of the melody. As vocables vowels are often extended. Melisma (an ornamental phrase of several notes sung to one syllable of text) and pulsation are frequent. Meaningless syllables (e.g. na ho in line 1 of 62) are inserted as needed to fill out the melodic and metric patterns of the sohar (as is true in most of the women's songs).

Summary

The singing of the sohars, like the texts of the worship songs of the mother goddess, reveals an obsession with the birth of sons which is not surprising given their importance in the society. The texts of the devotional sohars also indicate: (a) the attributes of both Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic deities and a variety of beliefs supporting religious activities: e.g. the benefits of austerities and singing devotional songs. (b) Equally important, they reflect structures of ideas relative to the pantheon which are basic to ritual practices. Such beliefs and structures as are disclosed in the songs analyzed here indicate a more homologous conceptualization of both Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic deities and their functions than is consistent with a Sanskritic/non-Sanskritic model of popular Hinduism. Babb states that, "The Sanskritic complex seems to be as pragmatic in

1. There is no doubt some similarity between the metric structures of Hindustani classical and folk music--this remains to be investigated.

its general orientation as the non-Sanskritic complex, but its sphere of relevance in human affairs is very general, covering as it does, the entire spectrum of worldly affairs, and even the almost peripheral matter of salvation " (1969:221). The songs at hand bear this out. They also show, however, that Sanskritic deities as well as non-Sanskritic deities are thought to govern matters of personal benefit.

Viewing Women's Ritual Music in Terms of Ritual Symbolism

The women's songs described in the foregoing sections are clearly integral parts of the rituals in which they are sung. In this subsection I use some of Turner's and Geertz' ideas to elucidate the place of music in ritual.

In his most recent exposition of African ritual symbolism, Turner (1973) argues that ritual symbols are experienced not only as condensed references--"messages about norms and values," but also as 'powers'. For Turner, the power or 'efficacy' of symbols refers to qualities thought to be inherent in the objects, persons, and relationships represented by ritual symbols.

Some rural Indian ritual music (e.g. sohars and Mata Mai songs) may be thought to have this kind of efficacy. According to scholarly Hindu concepts, at least, songs are efficacious when they utter the names of deities. Venkatesvaran refers to the concept as 'the efficacy of the Name'. It is understood in various ways, but he sees three as primary:

(a) ". . . the belief that the Name, by itself, as Word, is efficacious, and that by the very uttering of the sounds comprising the Name one obtains the results. The Name has even greater power and efficacy than the person who possesses the Name (i.e., Bhagvan, or God)." (b) "At the other end lies the philosophy of idea or meaning as the ultimate. According to this approach, the one meaning of all names, i.e., God, the Person who

possesses the Name, is the source of efficacy, the grantor of the results. By singing the name, God's grace is invoked by the devotees." (c) "Between these poles is the belief, widely prevalent, that each Name is marked by one distinctive quality or one act of God and, as such, calls for meditation on that particular glory, act, or gift when the Name is recited or sung" (1966:179).

When a song uses the Name, it is an agent of a power or is itself a power thought to be instrumental in attaining the goals of the ritual. I do not know, however, how prevalent this interpretation is among women and other less educated persons in the village--it was, of course, never expressed by them in this sophisticated fashion.

Another scholar, Arya, argues that the efficacy of the Name is solely responsible for the auspicious quality of ritual music. He further asserts that this power effectively equates music with *mantras* ('chanted pseudo-morphemic phrases thought to have efficacy') as "ritual formulae" (1968:13). But informants in Indrapur (including priests) simply explained the ritual importance of all music (with or without texts) with the term māgal ('auspiciousness'). They did not indicate that songs were auspicious because of the efficacy of the Name, nor did they indicate that the ritual songs were conceived to be as effective and necessary as *mantras*. They only indicated that all music in ritual contexts (with or without texts) was *magal*.

My impression is that music in general is thought to be auspicious because it is believed to enhance the prospects of attaining the goals of the ritual by glorifying and pleasing the gods. In this way music is like other ritual acts that affect the senses--the burning of incense and ghi, the garlanding with flowers etc.¹ Although women's song is, like *mantra*, a verbal element of ritual, in the minds of

1. This was called to my attention by Professor Charles Morrison.

villagers it does not have a status identical with mantra or a similar function.

Part of the underlying strategy of the sacrifice which is basic to every rite is to symbolically extend to the gods the kind of hospitality one would bestow upon a royal guest (atithī): each deity invoked in the puja is then symbolically bathed, perfumed, garlanded, clothed and fed the purest and finest of foods and pan. In the same anthropomorphic mode, the gods are provided with the diversion of music. Music that lauds the gods is of course doubly effective in inducing their benevolence.

The priest accompanies each ritual act directed towards the gods with a mantra which communicates to the god what is desired--that he or she come into the designated vessel, sanction an action, receive an offering etc. The mantras, in the Sanskrit of the Vedas, are unintelligible to listeners, which opposes them to song. The absence of mantras would render the ritual acts ineffective--they are 'performative utterances' which are thought to bring about the desired effect. Would the absence of song have a similar effect? Song accompanies no specific act directed towards a god. Few of the songs directly address the gods. Song could therefore seemingly be omitted without rendering the ritual ineffective.

Kathas were sometimes performed in which there was no singing. People never indicated that such a katha was not effective. On the other hand, song constitutes the rite held at the birth of a son; without the song there would be no rite. And song was never absent from Mata Mai worship or the wedding rites. My impression is that women consider song imperative in these last three situations, and men

certainly expect women to sing then.

Most villagers (including many pandits) explain ritual only with regard to its instrumental aspect e.g. "We are making an offering to the god in order that she will . . ." and "We do this so the soul will go to . . ." If asked the meaning of a particular act within a rite, they often respond with a statement like parāparā hi hai--'because it is the custom'. Except for the more astute pandits, villagers do not have internally coherent conceptual systems which rationalize ritual as a system of symbolic expressions. Some people, however, do have ideas about what certain ritual acts symbolize. I do not know if, on this abstract level, people consider songs essential for Mata Mai worship and the wedding rites to be effective. The question merits further investigation.

Applying Turner's Methodology to Ritual Music

Turner posits three "semantic dimensions" of ritual symbols which are useful in extricating the meanings of song within ritual: the exegetic, the operational, and the oppositional. These categories are quite useful in ordering the symbolic analysis of ritual song. Turner defines the exegetic dimension as consisting of "the explanations given the investigator by actors in the ritual" (1973:1103). Song texts differ from other actions and symbolic objects of ritual in that at the surface level their meanings are specific and explicit. On this level songs, like spoken phrases, mean what they say. Their verbal phrases function as signs--they convey specific messages. There is also, however, some submerged or symbolic meaning in song texts. The exegesis of these meanings yields the data subsumed by Turner's first dimension (e.g. Song 28).

The two other parameters used by Turner are also useful in the ordered analysis of the meaning of song in ritual. The operational dimension consists in the social identities of ritual actors, what they do with symbols and what emotions they display. A clear example of song which has a disparate operational aspect is the gali. In the context of the wedding part of the meaning of galis derives from the affinal identities of singers and recipients. In some cases they are delivered with vehemence or laughter, which adds to their meaning.

The positional parameter consists in a symbol's relations with other symbols in the ritual. One example of a song having positional meaning is the gali insulting the groom which is sung at the same time the bride's father is worshipping the groom. The ambivalence of the affinal relationship is mirrored by the simultaneous opposing expressions.

Song provides meanings and sentiments which orient ritual participants to the social changes implemented by the ritual and inform their experience of the ritual. For example, the wedding songs explicitly identify the new social states or positions of the nuptial families and particularly persons within them. In doing so they aid in forming the orientations of actors to each other and to the present and future situations. This can be considered cognitive structuring. In the bride's haldi ceremony she is depicted in Song 13 as liminal--her separation from the former role of daughter is here enunciated in song as it is ritually enacted with the application of turmeric to her body. Throughout the wedding the women's obscene abuse songs and the tolerance with which they are accepted express to the priest and both families the conflict- and competition-endowed nature of the social

bonds which join them. In the case of the affinally joined families they actually rehearse the families in the ambivalence of the relationship they have entered. The newly established integration of the two families is also programmed into participants' minds with two apt metaphors--the mixing of rice and the congress of persons of the two families (in Song 32).

Songs also aid the ritual participants in defining their own emotions. "Daughters are the property of others," one song states, and "And lo, the daughter is alien." The songs tell participants how to feel about the loss of their daughter and sister--it is to be accepted as an inevitable feature of their social system (cf. Geertz 1966).

The songs also infix an attitude of sympathy towards the bride's new position, instructing all that her exchange of roles is not made without emotional trauma. She is depicted as consumed as the demons consume the moon in its eclipse. Perhaps the implication is that her identity is merged with and lost in that of her husband's family.

The other genres of women's ritual songs (sohar and Mata Mai worship songs) express basic religious concepts and beliefs e.g. the benefits of austerities and the two-faced nature of the mother goddess. Their singing acculturates the younger persons present, and reinforces these beliefs in the minds of the older women: the songs implant or revitalize fundamental notions of and attitudes towards the gods. Operationally, the performances of all these songs enact the solidarity of the singing groups--the women related to the lineage and the women of the neighborhood in one case, and, uniquely, the women of the village in the other.

Women's Recreational Songs

Introduction

In the foregoing pages I have written about the women's songs which in their ritual contexts seem most important--the wedding songs, songs about the Mother Goddess, and songs sung at the birth of a son or at auspicious occasions such as the katha. The women also occasionally sing for recreation or to help pass the time and ease the tedium of monotonous tasks. These occasions include the following, which shall be discussed in order in this section: (a) recreation in the monsoon season; (b) rice-transplanting songs; (c) milling songs; and (d) recreation in seasons other than the monsoon season.

Recreation in the Monsoon Season

As mentioned in Chapter III, the girls of the village occasionally convene in the evening to swing and sing kajali. They also sing kajali when they dance dhunmunia. The form of the girl's dhunmunia differed from that of the men's (see p. 143). The girls stand in two lines about eight feet apart, facing each other. One line begins to sing and advances towards the other line. When they stop, approximately at the end of the stanza, the girls in the two lines are face to face. The girls of the second line begin to sing and advance, the girls in the first line having to walk backwards. Reaching the starting position of line one, both lines stop, and with a new stanza the girls of line two walk backwards to their position. On the next stanza the cycle begins anew. The girls' postures are those of normal standing or walking.

I observed the women's dance on the afternoon of a holiday called tij (on August 24 in 1971), when married women fast in supplication for

their husband's longevity. Those younger women that have been living at their husband's homes for only several years receive gifts of saris and food from their fathers and brothers. The younger women of the southern part of the main settlement (Brahman, Lohar, Kalvar, and Dhobi castes) had gone together to the river south of the village to perform the ritual ablutions of the day, and to don their new apparel. They performed the dance upon returning to a flat, open place on the path to the river.

Due to the low quality of the recordings, I did not fully transcribe the women's songs, however, I did determine the general topics of the songs, which I will list here.

1. About Krishna's removal from Brindaban--the gopis subsequently heard nothing about him.
2. About Krishna and Draupadi (the wife of Arjuna and his four brothers in the Mahabharata).
3. A woman, travelling, states that she has no friends 'between here and Varanasi.'
4. Radha and the gopis are lamenting that Krishna has abandoned them; rain drops are falling.
5. About the exploits of Hanuman in Lanka (Ceylon): an episode in the Ramayana.
6. Ram breaks the bow at Janakpur and Sita garlands him; another segment in the Ramayana.
7. One should get up in the morning, work, and praise Ram.

8. A woman says that on the first night after the wedding, conversation is not pleasing.
9. A man sees his wife playing with her girlfriends, feels desire for her, and takes her home. They embrace and she complains that her sari is damp and asks him to open the door.

This group of songs reflects scenes and concerns familiar in other songs of both men and women: episodes of Krishna (1, 2, and 4); episodes in the Ramayana (5 and 6); the importance of devotion (7); and sexual relations between a woman and her husband (8 and 9). Only 3 is anomalous.

Rice-transplanting Songs

At the time of transplanting the rice plants in September women, generally of the Camar caste, sing ropanī kī gīt ('songs of rice-transplanting'). The content of these songs is not directly related to the transplanting of rice.

The task is a back-breaking one. The women stand in six to eight inches of water and bend at the waist to insert the bundles of rice plants in the mud. Due to problems with wind noise, I was able to record and translate only one such song, which is offered here.

52. Ropani

1. I ask you Maina, my nanad¹
2. How is it that your cheeks are yellow, my nanad, sweetheart²
3. I went to father's grove to grind turmeric and it splashed on my face and made it yellow
4. How is it that your stomach has become swollen, nanad?

1. husband's sister
2. literally, 'juicy heart'

5. I went to father's grove to grind satuva¹; I ate the satuva and my stomach became swollen
6. How did your breasts get blackened, sweetheart?
7. I went to father's grove, Bhavji², to scrub pots; the pots stained my breasts black
8. The honorable mother-in-law sat on the stool; set the date for Maina's gauna, sweetheart!
9. But now, my Maina, the boy is just a brat; he must still play with toys
10. Have your husband's younger brother take a letter, Bhavji, set (a date for) Maina's departure
11. When the barat took position near the village, Maina got a headache
12. When the barat came into the courtyard, to Maina was born Nanda Lal³
13. Hearing the sound of the crying, Maina's brother beat his head; shall we celebrate biyahal or sudevas?⁴
14. Heed me, oh brother who beats his head, play both kinds of music!⁵

Commentary: A girl who is married but has not yet moved to her husband's home makes ludicrous excuses for certain changes in her anatomy noticed by her brother's wife--she is pregnant. Arrangements are hastily made for her gauna (removal to her husband's home) even though he is quite young. She gives birth just as he and his party arrive to take her away. She says to her brother, who is pounding his head in humiliation--"Don't worry, we'll just celebrate both occasions at once" (the rite of departure of the bride and the rite of the departure of the mother and new-born son).

Arya collected a song in Surinam which is a variant of that part of this song contained in the first seven lines. He states that the song is one sung during the milling of flour; the song is obviously one

1. Flour of roasted peas or gram and barley
2. Older brother's wife
3. An affectionate term for a male infant
4. i.e. shall we stage the rite of departure of the bride, or the rite of departure of mother and new-born son.
5. i.e. celebrate both occasions.

which could be sung on any informal occasion.

Milling Songs

Women formerly spent much time converting grain into flour on cakkī ('small hand-turned millstones'). Today much of this work is done at nearby motorized mills owned by village entrepreneurs. I did not attempt to elicit milling songs from the women in Indrapur. The interesting milling song presented here was recorded in a women's song session convened for me by my Brahman host in a village I visited in Ballia District. The singers were all Brahman women.

53. Milling

1. With a golden broom, oh Rama, she sweeps out the courtyard
2. She goes out of the courtyard, oh Rama, the ācal¹ of her sari comes open
3. Sitting on a stool, oh Rama, the honorable father-in-law
4. I will kill your brother, the wife of your elder brother, and your brother's daughter²
5. Your father-in-law gives, oh Rama, the golden pitcher
6. She takes in her hand, oh Rama, the silken draw-rope
7. To fill the pitcher, to fill the pitcher at the bank
8. She drowns herself, oh Rama, she goes to the middle of the Jamuna

Arya (1968:134) collected a Bhojpuri song in Surinam which contains the theme of the provocation of a son's wife's suicide by his mother. The same conventions are used in describing the events of the suicide--taking the pitcher to fill, the girl drowns herself. In the song he gives, sāsu is used for 'mother-in-law'. This appears to be a

-
1. The front portion of the sari which covers the breasts
 2. This line is apparently a curse.

lengthening of the standard sās in order to satisfy the requirements of the melodic and metric structure. In the song presented here, sāsur ('father-in-law') has been substituted for sāsu, but 'mother-in-law' seems the more logical gloss.

The mother-son's wife relationship is recognized by the natives as a difficult one. One of the suicides which occurred in Indrapur during my period of residence was a case in which the mother was said to have thrown herself in front of a train. In addition to problems with her son's wife, her hearing and general health had deteriorated with old age, and the family's position in the village was not what it once was.

Language and Structure in Women's Songs

The language of the women's songs differs in many ways from the language of ordinary village speech. One of the most notable characteristics of the language of the songs is the addition of meaningless vowels and syllables which fit the words to the melody e.g. the addition of a between sab and nācan in line 1 of 5 Sagun; the addition of re in lines 1, 3, and 5 of 12 Haldi, are to dvar in 15. Dvar Puja, and addition of ho at the ends of all stanzas of 18. Dvar Puja. The addition of the potentially confusing na as a meaningless syllable e.g. in 29. Vivah line 4, is not uncommon (na in the spoken language is a negative marker). Also, Arya notes that "vowels are elided and sometimes a stop substituted with almost an inaudible remnant of the elided vowel, e.g. jamuna > jam·na " (1968:6). My transliterations have not taken this into account as frequently as it occurs, as my informants tended to ignore it when dictating the line to me. (See comments on technique, p. 9.) Arya notes too that, "Short

vowels are (sometimes) lengthened; long vowels are (sometimes) shortened. Two short vowels may share a single mora to keep up with the . . . beat. Even the traditionally long phonemes like e, ai, o, au are often pronounced as ě, ěi, o, ěu " (Ibid).

Another interesting linguistic phenomenon occurring in singing is the confusion of inflectional markers. In 47. Sohar, for example, āvelī in line 1 is āve in line 2. This is a change made to meet metric and melodic requirements. But dehalī in line 15 is dihalai in line 16, a change which cannot be given the same explanation. Not only did different singers use different inflectional markers, but one singer might use different inflectional markers in identical contexts. In many cases, translation of the songs revealed that the singers themselves did not agree on the tense of verbs--only the basic actions and relationships had consensual meaning. My transliterations reflect a standardization that does not occur; again I relied on informants in the determination of the appropriate or consensual marker in each instance.

One factor which explains the confusion of inflectional markers is the mixture of dialects encompassed by the body of women's songs. A majority of the songs are in sub-dialects of Bhojpuri, but dialects from western areas are also represented. For example, the words of 11. Sohar are largely Kharībolī Hindi (the Delhi-Meerut dialect); the words of 7. Sohar were said by one informant to be Mewari, a dialect spoken in Rajasthan. (This may not be precisely true but at least the dialect is one located to the west of Eastern Uttar Pradesh). Several songs not presented herein were said to be in the dialect of the Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh area. The dialect distribution of the songs

indicates the commonality of the phenomena they describe in the Indo-Gangetic area of India.

Although the texts do not demonstrate it, another singing practice in which the language is used in a manner different from speech is the division of a word so that the first part of it ends one melodic line and the last part begins another line.

Structure

In the longer songs, i.e. those containing more than three or four lines, there are three primary types of organizational structure. One type is the description of a series of actions in time e.g. Song 6. Each line relates a disparate element in the story. A paradigm of this structure would be A B C D etc. The most prevalent type of organization, however, is that which may be called "variations on a theme". The first line of this type, part or all of which is often the burden, i.e. a line that is repeated at more or less regular intervals throughout the song, describes the general setting, theme, or image. This line may be called A. The following lines are comments on the general theme or substitute details of the central image. Each of these lines is composed of an identical base, which we can call B, containing "slots" into which different members of a class of items or actions is plugged in repetitions of the base. A paradigm of this type would be A B¹ A B² A B³ etc. An example is 10. Sohar.

A. Such a wondrous boy has come, of a rich family

B¹. Your crown is worth lakhs, the fringe worth thousands

A. Such a wondrous boy has come, of a rich family

B². Your trousers are worth lakhs, your socks worth thousands (etc.)

In a variation of this type of structure line A is also varied--

$A^1 B^1 A^2 B^2$ etc.

A third type of structure is the list of questions $A^1 A^2 A^3$ followed by a list of corresponding answers $B^1 B^2 B^3$ e.g. 29. Vivah; and 47. Sohar. A variant of this type is that having the paradigm $A^1 B^1 A^2 B^2$ etc. e.g. 43. Mata Mai. These three types of structure account for most of the structures of the longer women's songs.

Introduction

In the last
ritual songs and
songs contain
psychological r
the use (i.e.
of men's music
not refer dire
be considered
relationship i
relationship).

Religion and Its

The first
the music sung
women, on occa
period of abou
According to
fifteenth of
the first day

The cold
particularly
temperature d
weather begin
contributes t

CHAPTER IV

MEN'S MUSIC

Introduction

In the last chapter I examined women's songs. I showed that the ritual songs are integral parts of certain rites and the recreational songs contain themes describing family relations, as well as mythological references. This chapter will show the outward shift in the use (i.e. the situation in which it occurs), function, and topics of men's music. Men's music is performed outside the home. It does not refer directly to the rituals in which it is performed. It cannot be considered to treat kinship relations (unless the heterosexual love relationship is considered to be identical with the husband/wife relationship).

Holi and Its Music

The first kind of song I will discuss is called phaguā. This is the music sung, usually by groups of men, but sometimes by groups of women, on occasional evenings in the festive period of holī. This is a period of about five weeks beginning around the end of January. According to the Hindu calendar, it extends from Vasant Panchmi (the fifteenth of Sudi-Phalgun) through the day also called holī, which is the first day of the month called Cait (March-April).

The cold season in this part of India is a time of suffering, particularly for those without warm clothing and bedding. The temperature descends to around thirty-two degrees Fahrenheit. The weather begins to turn warmer at the beginning of the holi season, which contributes to the good mood which usually prevails during the season.

It is, for the

anticipated and

The origin

(these terms are

the classical

distribution is

reflects a variety

of institutions, and

opposed to, for

that character

following para

style of the m

end with an in

Holika Garna:

In Indrap

customs of hol

and one male

war. The wor

spend all of

god Rama. His

proper obeisa

in his devoti

Finally he ha

Prahalad in h

Rama interven

unscathed.¹

1. This myth

North Ind

Holi is, for this and other reasons brought out below, the most eagerly anticipated and enjoyed of the Hindu festivals.

The origin of holi is popularly attributed to the śūdra varṇa (these terms are defined in the glossary) the lowest level of castes in the classical (Vedic) hierarchy. I would speculate that this attribution is a statement about the nature of the festival which reflects a varṇa stereotype: holi has the spontaneity, absence of inhibition, and earthiness associated by many with the śūdra level as opposed to, for example, the formality, asceticism, and earnestness that characterize the uppermost of the classical varṇas. In the following paragraphs I will briefly describe the rites of holi and the style of the music, and present representative texts. The section will end with an interpretation of holi and its music.

Holika Garna: The Initial Rite of Holi

In Indrapur the story of Prahalad is recited to explain the customs of holikā gārnā and holikā dahan. As told to me by one woman and one male informant, Prahalad was the devout son of Hans, an evil man. The woman said he was a rākṣas ('demon,' 'monster'). Prahalad spend all of his time performing pūjās ('worship ceremonies') to the god Rama. His father, irritated that he himself was not receiving proper obeisance, forbade Prahalad to worship. When Prahalad persisted in his devotions, his father tried in various ways to have him killed. Finally he had his sister Holika, whom fire could not harm, hold Prahalad in her lap while a pyre was built around her and ignited. But Rama intervened, Holika was burned to death and Prahalad emerged unscathed.¹

1. This myth is found in the Puranas as well as folklore from most of North India. For references see Marriott 1968 and Lewis 1958.

The female informant told me that in the holi festive period the father's sister is often the target for teasing insults because of the identity of her social position and that of Holika, but I found that it was the older brother's wife (or, by the customary projection of kinship terminology to non-related persons, wife of any male older than ego) that was most often teased. The ego/older brother's wife relationship is considered to be an informal one. Although I never observed it, I was told that when the women transplant rice in the monsoon season, if their husbands' younger brothers come around, they will be splashed with water and jokingly insulted by their older brothers' wives.

I observed the rite of Holika gārnā ('to pitch, to erect a pole or stick by planting it in a hole in the ground') in Indrapur on the evening of January 23, 1972. The rite was led by several of the younger men who regularly took an interest in music and manoranjan ('fun', 'recreation'). Most of the group were of one neighborhood, but it was an inter-caste association including Brahmans, Dhobis, Lohars, Kalvars, and a Nai.

The rite began at the veranda of one of the Brahman members. This veranda was the location of many of the social activities connected with holi.¹ One of the men there had a dholak ('a double-headed, wood-bodied drum played with both hands.' This is the most common type of drum in this area). Several others had jhāl ('a set of cymbals from three to five inches in diameter'). After ten or fifteen men and boys arrived the group proceeded towards the western edge of the village.

1. Families differ in the frequency and scale of observance of traditionally designated ceremonies. This Brahman family was the most diligent of the village.

The group sang

interested in

andza ki je!

the village wh

Upon arriv

with auspiciou

made from cow

Singing phagae

circled the br

In return

of a young Mu

to provide eve

obscene epith

meaning seems

which always

Brahman, I wa

name of the m

majority and

returned to s

I obser

what greater

flowers on th

performed, a

impersonator

typical of t

amplified g

The group sang phagua and cheered as it went, alerting others interested in celebrating, who joined the group. The cheers, e.g. jāya candra ki je! ('Hail to Lord Rama') occur in most public gatherings in the village which are characterized by joyfulness and exuberance.

Upon arrival at the ceremonial site, a special branch was erected with auspicious symbols buried at its base. People packed fuel chips (made from cow dung and straw) they had brought around the branch. Singing phagua and clapping to the rhythm, the entire crowd then circled the branch five times.

In returning to the starting point the group stopped at the home of a young Muslim to shout sā rā rā rā kabīr. Informants were unable to provide even a satisfactory Hindi translation of this apparently obscene epithet. One man said it means 'you are like Holika', but this meaning seems too mild to provoke the laughter and extended cheering which always resulted from its utterance. At the next home, that of a Brahman, I was repeatedly urged to shout this epithet followed by the name of the man who lived there. I conformed to the will of the majority and there was much whooping and clamor. The crowd then returned to sing phagua at the veranda from whence it started.

I observed the final stage of another Holika garna rite of somewhat greater scale at a nearby bazaar town. There were garlands of flowers on the ceremonial branch, a havan ('fire sacrifice') had been performed, a four-piece āgrezī ('English') band played, and a female impersonator was dancing with the sexual pelvic and hand gestures typical of this style of dancing. This indicates how such rites are amplified given the interest and economic means of the celebrants.

Praga Session.

The phagun

Indrapur for the

had a harmonious

unscheduled.

during the day

After the sing

the singing of

people there a

The lead

music, like t

lohas, and a

central secto

Thakurs, in t

sessions, nor

the culminati

All of t

Three or four

the others cl

owned by the

The sing

(infra), is a

line, then t

repeated two

slow and the

of the song

there is che

Phagua Sessions

The phagua sessions which occurred once or twice a week in Indrapur for the next five weeks were held at the home of a Brahman who had a harmonium, which is a small hand-pumped organ. The sessions were unscheduled. A few of the regular participants would meet by chance during the day and decide whether they would like to sing that evening. After the singing began more people would inevitably drop in to join the singing or listen and comment. There were usually ten to twenty people there after the session had begun.

The leaders of the singing are those that take an interest in music, like to sing, and know the songs--several Brahmans, Dhobis, Lohars, and a Kahar. All the participants were from the south and central sectors of the village. To the best of my knowledge, the Thakurs, in the northern part of the village, did not hold such phagua sessions, nor did they attend any of the sessions I witnessed except the culminating one on the day of holi.

All of the musicians sat on straw or a blanket on the floor. Three or four of the men accompanied the music with jhal, and some of the others clapped their hands in time to the music. The jhal were owned by the Brahman host and his next-door neighbor.

The singing of phagua, with the exception of jogirā and kabīr (infra), is generally antiphonal--first one half of the group sings a line, then the other half repeats that line. The line is sometimes repeated two or more times by each side. At the beginning the tempo is slow and the volume of voice and jhal restrained. Through the course of the song the tempo and volume of voice and jhal are increased, and there is cheering at the ends of some of the stanzas. By the end of

the song the tempo is fast, the clashing of jhal is so loud as to obscure the raised voices, and many of the singers have risen to their knees. At the end there is a cheer and arms are thrown into the air. In each song this pattern--from a restrained beginning to a frenzied climax--is repeated. The style of cahakā, the most popular type of phagua, is like that of the harikīrtan (see the last section of this chapter) in its rhythm, some of its melodies, and particularly its use of the repeated climax.

I also attended phagua sessions in Sir, a village near Varanasi, and a village in Ballia District. The sessions of the former village differed in that they were always initiated with one harikīrtan ('devotional song') and occasionally included appropriate songs of the birhā genre (see Chapter VI). The session in Ballia District, which was held the night before the burning of Holika, was a larger aggregation of men who stood in two rows eight to ten feet apart while a female impersonator from a nearby village danced between them to the driving rhythms of phagua.

The music of Holi in Surinam

The Hindus of Surinam are largely descendants of Bhojpuri and Avadhi speaking people. (Avadhi is the dialect spoken in the area to west of the Bhojpuri speaking area.) The immigration took place from 1873 to 1916. Their contemporary musical traditions (as described in Arya 1968) have much in common with those of the villages I observed. The subject matter of the songs is largely the same; in some cases the songs which I collected differ only slightly from those collected by Arya in Surinam. The brief comparison of the holi musical traditions which follows demonstrates the stability of the music and ritual which

it accompanies in the two locales. It also indicates the general prevalence of my findings in the Bhojpuri-speaking region.

In both Surinam and the region in which I worked phagua are sung primarily by men (but sometimes, separately, by women). The period of the holi season in Surinam coincides with that in India. The music production and social context in Surinam, as Arya describes them, are similar to those I observed in Ballia--the singing takes place at any convenient home or shrine in the evening, the men dividing into two lines facing each other, with dholak and jhal used as accompaniment. The stanzas of the songs are repeated by each group several times, and "the singing is full of great gusto" (Arya 1968, p. 22).

In Surinam, however, the singing is referred to collectively as cautāl¹, because there the cautāl is the most prominent of the songs in the phagua festival. In Indrapur the cahakā, a less complex, shorter, and simpler type of phagua, was much more popular than the longer cautāl. In Indrapur the singing of cautāl seemed much more difficult for most of the men and consequently less successful--good unison singing was rarely attained and fewer men participated. The jhūmar and ulārā which Arya state are concomitant forms of the cautāl in Surinam, were not sung in Indrapur or Sir, though they may have been in Ballia. The cāitā songs sung in Surinam at the time of holi are sung only on the day of holi (the first day of the month Chaita) and afterwords in Ballia and Indrapur. (They were sung only once in Indrapur, to the best of my knowledge.) The belvārā form found in Surinam is probably the belvariā form which I heard rarely in Sir and did not hear in Indrapur or Ballia. Some of the forms obviously have regional distributions.

1. Cautāl is the name of a meter used in Indian classical and folk music. Cf Fox-Strangways 1965:216-217.

The accor
Swine, thoug
were those I
jogira have th
with sunā lo
īśā sa rā
said it has r
the jogira an
incoherent co
pleasure of t
that their se
jogira may be
are performed
holi. I hear
Holika Dahan:

The burn
bonfire site
congregating
a variety of
contributed
arrived and
performed by
can be perfo
(clarified
by pouring
(ritual fo

The accompanied chants called kabīr and jogīrā are both found in Surinam, though those presented in Arya's collection are not obscene as were those I collected in Indrapur. Arya points out that kabir and jogira have the same form but are introduced differently: the kabir with sunā lo merā kabīr ('listen to my kabīr') and the jogira with jogījī sā rā rā (which is apparently merely a jubilation--informants said it has no meaning). This also holds true for Indrapur. Many of the jogira and kabir recorded in Indrapur seemed to be somewhat incoherent collations of euphonious sometimes nonsensical lines--the pleasure of their performance derived from their articulation rather than their sentiment or literary merit. Arya states that kabir and jogira may be performed at any time in the holi season in Surinam, but are performed primarily after the burning of Holika and on the day of holi. I heard them only on the last occasion in Indrapur.

Holika Dahan: The Burning of Holika

The burning of Holika took place on February 29, 1972, at the bonfire site mentioned above. After the evening meal people began congregating near the ceremonial branch, which had become surrounded by a variety of other tinder. Each person who hadn't previously contributed something to the pile brought fuel chips. A Brahman arrived and performed a brief havan. This is a consecrating rite performed by Brahman priests in their sacerdotal capacities, but which can be performed by anyone. Basically it consists of offering ghī ('clarified butter'--a highly valued, ritually pure food) to the gods by pouring it on a burning fire while reciting appropriate mantras ('ritual formulae'). The bonfire was ignited as the havan ended.

The dholak
circled the k
kafir and othe
crowd, I shoul
friends. (Th
Marriott [196
When the blan
it and ran to
to the Brahma
Boli

On the m
'play colors'
they sprayed
colored powder
permitted to
activities wa
and children.
clothes away

In the a
one of his b
the Cannabis
pepper. Some
some mixed w
called thand
are mildly

Each ar
powder in a

The dholak player began to beat his drum and everyone sang and circled the burning pyre. Between songs people shouted sa ra ra ra kabir and other epithets. At the insistant request of the milling crowd, I shouted insults directed towards two older men known to be my friends. (This is an example of the licensed role inversion noted by Marriott [1968]). Everyone cheered loudly at these and other insults. When the blazing fire began to recede, young boys ignited torches from it and ran towards the river south of the village. Many then proceded to the Brahman's veranda to sing phagua.

Holi

On the morning of holi people dressed in their old clothes to 'play colors' (rāg khelnā). Using squeeze bottles and huge syringes they sprayed each other with dye, and tried to get close enough to rub colored powder on each other's faces. It is a time when everyone is permitted to be aggressive, in conventionalized modes. Most of the activities were carried out within neighborhoods, generally by the men and children. At noon everyone bathed and threw their dye-stained clothes away or set them aside to give to parjuna or untouchables.

In the afternoon men began gathering at the Brahman's veranda. One of his biradari had prepared bhāṅg, which consists of leaves from the Cannabis indica (the Latin name) plant ground together with black pepper. Some of this had been rolled into little balls for eating and some mixed with water, milk, and crude cane sugar to make a drink called thandāī. In the quantities consumed by most men the preparations are mildly intoxicating.

Each arriving guest approached each man present and applied red powder in a vertical line in the center of his forehead. The other man

returned the gesture and they embraced.

Our Brahman host recited a jogira and for half an hour jogira and kabir were interspersed with phagua. The men encouraged me to shout insults at the wives of my older friends and at my servant, who was also present. An old man, once a resident of the village, played the part of the lāudā ('a female-impersonating dancer, usually a boy or young man'). The younger men painted his lips and wrapped a shawl around him to serve as a sari. (Ordinarily, I was told, a more legitimate landa from one of the nearby Camar hamlets was hired to come and dance on this day.)

The whole party began its rounds of the village. The second stop it made was at the veranda of the leader of the village council. After a few phagua and kabir thandai was served to all but the younger boys. Then the party wandered on to visit the verandas of other families known to be offering refreshments--some of the more prestigious families in the village.

Eventually the group dissipated. Shortly thereafter some of the Brahman women of one neighborhood also sang phagua, but in the privacy of their own courtyard.

Presented below are chahaka, one cautai, one kabir, and one jogira. Discussion of phaguas and their relationship to the ritual of holi follows the songs.

54. Chahaka

1. Listen, listen to the story of Janak sakhiyā
listen to the story of Janak
2. Raja Janak made this promise
3. He placed a bow at his door

4. The sovereign

5. The bow was

listen

6. Para Sur

7. They fled

listen

8. Two boys

9. One grasp

listen

Commentary:

on p. and

contest for

of the "two

Eniguri form

1. Buy curd

dear

2. Where are

3. What is

dear

4. I am a

5. Radha is

dear

6. My mother

7. I came to

dear

8. When was

9. When did

4. The sovereigns of many countries came
5. The bow was neither moved nor removed, sakhiya
listen to the story of Janak
6. Bara Sur and Ravan came
7. They fled when half the night was gone, sakhiya
listen to the story of Janak
8. Two boys came with a holy man
9. One grasped and broke the bow, sakhiya
listen to the story of Janak

Commentary: This song relates an episode from the Ramayana (outlined on p. and cf. Dutt 1969:3-5). Raja Janak held a bow-breaking contest for the hand of his daughter. It was won by the god Rama, one of the "two boys" mentioned in line 8. Sakhiyā in line 1 is the Bhojpuri form of the Hindi sakhī--'a girl's female companions'.

55. Cahaka

1. Buy curds, Nanda Lal,
dear boy buy my curds
2. Where are you from gopī?
3. What is your name?
dear boy, buy my curds
4. I am a gvāl gopī of Mathura
5. Radha is my name
dear boy, buy my curds
6. My mother-in-law made these curds
7. I came to sell today
dear boy, buy my curds
8. When was the milk taken from the cow? When did it thicken?
9. When did you add it to the lentils?

dear boy

11. The morning

dear boy

12. It was ad

dear boy

13. Her Nath

14. Today Her

dear boy

15. Today he

16. Today is

dear boy

Commentary:
area near Ma
Other Pradesh
social father
gopis were ad
favorite, ad
Will--"the c

1. Hari cel

2. Padma gi

3. Group by

Hari d

4. Mohan, v

5. We will

Hari d

6. Where d

Hari d

7. Where d

dear boy, buy my curds

10. The morning's milking, it was thickened that very evening

dear boy, buy my curds

11. It was added to the lentils in the evening

dear boy, buy my curds

12. Ram Nath Pande sang this cahaka

13. Today Henari sits with us

dear boy, buy my curds

14. Today he is a guest

15. Today is the holi festival

dear boy, buy my curds

Commentary: This is a song about Krishna when he was a cowherd in the area near Mathura (approximately fifty kilometers north-west of Agra in Uttar Pradesh). Nanda Lal--'dear son of Nanda'. Nanda was Krishna's social father. Gopī--'a girl or young woman that tends cows'. The gopis were amorous admirers of Krishna. Radha (line 5) was Krishna's favorite, according to the vernacular literature (See Chapter VIII). Gvāl--'the caste name of the cowherds'.

56. Cahaka

1. Hari celebrates holi in Vrij

2. Radha gives tranquillity to her sakhis

3. Group by group all the little ones come

Hari celebrates holi in Vrij

4. Mohan, who took your flute and beads?

5. We will wear nose ornaments

Hari celebrates holi in Vrij

6. Where did your Nanda go?

Hari celebrates holi in Vrij

7. Where did Mother Dasomat go

Hari celebrates holi in Vrij

8. Turning his head this way and that, Krishna asks
9. Where did they go, clever one?

Commentary: This song indicates the close association of Krishna with the holi festival. Hari and Mohan are epithets of Krishna. Vrij is the area around Mathura. Radha's sakhis took pleasure in hearing about her affair with Krishna (line 2). "Clever one" probably refers to Radha.

57. Cahaka

1. My sweetheart's eyes are a dagger
2. Since then there has been no rest in my heart
3. Darkness came and there arose a flame
4. My sweetheart's eyes are a dagger
5. Food and such doesn't mean anything to me
6. Inside there has arisen a flame
7. My sweetheart's eyes are a dagger
8. Siv Prasad is struck speechless
9. As though he had been struck dead
10. My sweetheart's eyes are a dagger

Commentary: The textual style of this song is similar to that of a Gazal, a kind of Urdu poem (see Chapter VI). Siv Prasad is the name of the ostensible author--see note p. .

58. Cahaka

1. For what offense has the police inspector arrested my husband?
2. My husband is neither a very short nor a very thin man
3. Intoxicated by bhang, my husband went to sleep on the street
4. I will have to give five rupees to the officer, ten to the inspector

5. I will have to surrender my charms to the white man, ten to the Inspector
6. I will have to steal my husband

Commentary: As this song shows, police officials in the past were often English, and their treatment of the natives not generally noted for its fairness. In the rural area of this region today some people still react with fear and suspicion to white-skinned people, who are automatically assumed to be some kind of 'inspectors'.

59. Cautal

1. Sakhi, what have we done to cause Banvari to abandon us?
2. In the month of Jet the body becomes hot
the sari does not feel good on it
3. In the month of Asarh the sorrow of separation increases
the sixth lunar mansion antagonizes
4. The month of Savan has a pleasant effect
5. Avadh Bihari went to swing under the branch of the mango tree
6. In Bhado the sky is heavy and the pain of separation is great in
the heart
7. Krishna promised to come in Kvar
he became involved with my savatsāg
8. In Kartik Man Mohan plays joyfully
9. The cuckoo begins to call from the mango branch

Commentary: Banvari, Avadh Bihari, and Man Mohan are all epithets of Krishna. Savatsang--'co-wife'. After all of the gopis had fallen in love with Krishna, he left them. This episode (originally in the Bhagavata Purana) is combined here, as it is in much vernacular and Sanskrit poetry, with other themes called virahā--'the emotion arising in separated lovers', and barahmasa ('twelve months'). Viraha is the theme underlying most barahmasa--the natural phenomena of the seasons are thought to augment the pain of separated lovers.

60. Cahaka

1. All are captivated by the new fashions, brother
2. Everyone abandons the old ways
3. Oh, they want boots on their feet
4. They wear multicolored lūgīs
5. Heavy dhotīs are not considered attractive
6. Bengali style hair cuts

Everyone abandons the old ways

7. The boys happily smoke bīrīs
8. They apply fragrant oil and soap
9. They chew great wads of pān at work
10. They have abandoned the dhur māṭī

Everyone abandons the old ways

11. High prices have come
12. Homemade ghi has become but a dream
13. The stomach is filled with chutney and potato salad
14. Hearts are ensnared in romantic love, brother

Everyone abandons the old ways

15. Before, the young men advanced the name of Sir
16. Bacau dropped the tiger
17. Madhu earned a name in wrestling
18. Nagau says: "Please explain it, brother,

everyone abandons the old ways."

Commentary: This song was composed by the patriarch of an Ahir clan in Sir, a village adjacent to Varanasi. A dhotī is a men's skirt-like garment generally of white cloth, part of which is passed between the thighs and tucked in behind. A lūgī is also a men's skirt-like garment, but consists only of a long piece of patterned cloth wrapped around and tied at the waist. A bīrī is a cheap, small cigarette. Pān is a stimulant masticatory, containing lime, catechu, and pieces of areca

nut wrapped in betel leaf. Dhur māṭī is the dirt which wrestlers rub on their bodies before fighting. Bācau and Madhu were both famous residents of Sir.

61. Jogira

1. The instruments play in the grove
who are the players?
2. Mother Earth has gone to sleep
who will wake her?
3. Here people will mix and dance
4. Let's go, let's go to the grove
I will serve you fruit
5. When the fruit branch breaks
I will spread the spread
6. If the corner of the spread tears
I will call the tailor
7. If the tailor's needle breaks
I will make the horse run
8. If the horse's leg breaks
I will apply turmeric
9. If the turmeric leaves a yellow stain
the yellow color doesn't come out
10. If the old man doesn't let go of the old woman
bugger the old man!

62. Kabir

1. Listen to my kabir, Henari, I say
2. Henari's sister's vagina expands until it is as big as the tank at Ujaini

3. In one ha

4. Both tees

5. Ouch! Th

of the

6. The vagin

7. Hai hai

Commentary:
barley flour
magica is o

Lines of Ot

In orde

and to provi

crux of the

of other ph

collected b

1. Sita and

2. Menari

selling

3. Krishna

4. My husb

5. My husb

my husb

6. The se

7. Krishn

8. The wo

9. A woman

3. In one half Henari kneads satūā, in the other Oscar bathes
4. Both teeth grind the penis
5. Ouch! The clitoris will cut, the vagina is lined with the thorns
of the magoicā
6. The vagina pounds like the collar of the hoe blade
7. Hai hai holi! Your vagina climbs up the penis.

Commentary: Satua is a dough made from roasted pea or gram flour, barley flour, and water. Oscar is the name of Henari's father. The magoica is obviously a thorny bush. Its exact reference is unknown.

Themes of Other Phaguās

In order to give some idea of the topical area covered by phagua and to provide in the most condensed form what I consider to be the crux of the data, below are listed titles which encapsulate the themes of other phagua I collected, and for comparative purposes, those collected by Arya in Surinam. The first ten songs are from Indrapur.

1. Sita and Ram provide for all.
2. Henari (the name of any friendly visitor is put in the slot) is selling the sexual services of his sisters.
3. Krishna and the gopis celebrate holi.
4. My husband, who lives far away, is coming to see me.
5. My husband's younger brother will take the thorns from my fingers;
my husband will drive away the pain.
6. The seasonal feelings of a woman separated from her husband.
7. Krishna is pushing Radha in the swing.
8. The wondrous features of Radha.
9. A woman expresses to her husband her desire to sew.

10. The attri-
justice-d

From Sir, a v

1. The intox
my husbar

2. Bacau kil

3. The want
ornament

4. The intox
alluring

From Surinar

1. Krishna

2. Beloved

body ac

3. Why do i

4. Where h

hills a

5. Where h

swollen

Interpretat

The s

participate

of the vill

describes

holi is not

Western Ut

10. The attributes of famous river-banks (e.g. that of Banaras is justice-dispensing).

From Sir, a village near Yaranasi:

1. The intoxicating season of Phalgun has come, my youth is waning, my husband lives far away.
2. Bacau killed the lion that came into the village.
3. The wants of the modern rural wife--specific types of clothing, ornaments, and to be taken to the cinema.
4. The intoxicating season of holi has come; Krishna plays with the alluring gopis.

From Surinam:

1. Krishna teases a gopi and commits lawless behavior with her.
2. Beloved Krishna, do not leave me in this lovely spring season; my body aches for you (a gopi's request).
3. Why do you manhandle me, Krishna? You will not get what you want.
4. Where has my lover taken me? We passed the whole day in strange hills and forests; we mixed with the rustics.
5. Where has my king (lover) gone? The signs of youth (breasts) are swollen. Remember me, master, only you can console me.

Interpretation of Holi

The social activities of the two holī celebrations in which I participated in Eastern Uttar Pradesh do not seem as extreme as those of the village in Western Uttar Pradesh which Marriott so lucidly describes (1968). An informant from Western Uttar Pradesh said that holi is not celebrated in Eastern Uttar Pradesh with the zeal it is in Western Uttar Pradesh. Although there was less of the role inversion

which he observed
be quite similar
socially in
ordinarily de
sessions, the
all sectors
collected to
more or less
were united
difficult to
the symbols
participants

First,
offered:

1. May

he

sa

st

ar

th

(

a

t

2. A

1. This
which
It is

which he observed, the experiences of the people in Indrapur seemed to be quite similar to that to which Marriott alludes. What did happen socially in Indrapur and Ballia was that people interacted who do not ordinarily do so, in a unique style. On Holikā gārṇā, in the singing sessions, the burning of Holika, and the afternoon of holi, people from all sectors of the caste hierarchy and all neighborhoods of the village collected to participate in the customary rites. These gatherings were more or less free of hierarchical structure.¹ The members of the group were united in a highly valued common experience, called mastī. It is difficult to identify precisely the qualities of this experience, but the symbols of the rites, the statements and the songs of the participants allow speculation with some degree of faith.

First, in talking about holi, three kinds of explanations were offered:

1. My Brahman host during the Ballia holi festivities explained holi with reference to the weather and agricultural stage. He said that holi music and activities are expressions of joy stimulated by the fields of nearly ripened wheat and barley, and the warming weather. This explanation of holi validates the appellation 'rite of spring' used by other interpreters (e.g. Marriott, Arya). In Indrapur people explained the absence of a true lāudā from the holi celebrations by saying that this year's cold weather dampened everyone's enthusiasm.
2. A secondary school principal in Ballia explained that holi is

1. This is manifest in the ritual smearing of red powder and embracing, which symbolize a negation of status difference (Babb 1969:183). It is also manifest in collective singing and cheering. See p. .

a s

lic

mos

3. Sev

ant

dic

war

Far

con

wc

for

Explan

recognized

discussion

1. Holika

2. Phagua

3. The bus

4. Playing

5. Finale

Inspe

listed abo

chanting,

primary el

augment th

a scheduled time for the expression of suppressed feelings--it licenses verbal abuse, obscenity, and aggression prohibited at most other times.

3. Several young male informants, in expressing their pleasurable anticipation of holi said it was a very mast time. The dictionary meanings of mast are: 'intoxicated, drunk, proud, wanton, lustful, happy, overjoyed, careless' (read 'carefree' Pathak 1969:859). Several phagua mention Phalgun, the month contained in the holi festival, as a mast mahina (the latter word means 'month'. See the songs from Sir, numbers one and four).

Explanations 1 and 3 indicate that there is a culturally recognized mood associated with holi. This is the basis for the discussion which follows.

The Stages of holī and their Salient Features

1. Holika garna: singing, cheering, abusive epithets
2. Phagua sessions: singing, cheering
3. The burning of Holika: singing, abusive epithets, fire and torches
4. Playing colors: squirting and throwing dye, rubbing colored powders
5. Finale: singing, obscene songs, abusive epithets, applying abir, female-impersonating dancer, drug use.

Inspection of the salient features of the five stages of holi listed above show that in three of the five stages the shouting, chanting, and/or singing of normally prohibited expressions are primary elements. One apparent effect of this ritual element is to augment the already effusive affect. Everyone becomes more excited and

clamorous--mast in the vernacular, by shouting these normally unutterable expressions.

Secondly, men's group singing in phagua, in kajali, the music of the monsoon season, and in other genres always infuses affect. The pulse-quickenning synchrony of voices, clashing cymbals, and drums in phagua, the repeated crescendo and accelerando of the songs, combined with the unified expression of common sentiments, often sensual, establish a noisy, fervid gaiety which is called mastī.

Thirdly, the prevalent theme of the songs is sexual. Six of the 21 songs I collected were concerned with Krishna; three of Arya's five phagua share that concern. In these songs the references to Krishna are to that aspect in which he consorts with Radha and the gopis in Gokula.¹

The episodes of this aspect of Krishna are transmitted on the folk level in stories and in the ubiquitous oleograph calendars which are used in daily personal devotions, as well as in song. Krishna is depicted as "the youthful, desireable lover of the Gopis " (Dimock, 1967:xiv). In one of the songs under consideration Krishna is seen being exhorted by Radha, his chief amor, to take dahī ('yogurt') from her. Her beauty is the subject of another of the songs. In others he is described playing colors with the alluring gopis, the sexually

1. According to the chronology of the texts in which they appear, there are three distinguishable Krishnas, though their attributes occasionally overlap. The oldest is "Krishna the chief of the Yadavas," who served as Arjun's charioteer in the Bharata epic. There is "Krishna the god incarnate," the instructor of Arjuna and through him of all mankind, who appears not in the older Bharata, but in the larger religious work, the Mahabharata, into which it was expanded. Then there is "Krishna of Gokula," the god brought up among cowherds, the mischievous child, the endearing lover, the eternal paradox of flesh and spirit. (Ingalls 1968:v).

suggestive act imitated in holi ritual in the village; pushing Radha in the swing, an erotic allusion; and coercing a gopi to comply with his sexual desires. The gopis' longing for Krishna is another theme in these songs.

In a devotional context, e.g. in the Vaisnava cult of Bengal (Dimock, in Singer 1968) and the devotional cults of Madras City (Singer, *ibid*), the interpretation of the involvement of Krishna and the gopis focuses on the gopis' adoration of Krishna, which is taken as a model for the votaries' submissive worship of the deity. Embedded in the context of holi, however, the sentiments expressed in the songs seem more secular than sacred, more sensual than devotional.

Another six songs not concerned with Krishna employ erotic imagery e.g. those concerned with the emotions of a woman separated from her husband. (See the songs from Indrapur #s iv, 2, 6; Sir #1; Surinam #s 4 and 5.) One truncated song merely states that a woman's husband is coming to see her (Indrapur #4); in another two the primary reference is to the husband-wife relationship, with one of these inviting a Freudian interpretation. (Indrapur #s 5 and 9. In #9 a woman expresses to her husband her desire to sew.) Thus, out of the twenty-six songs under consideration, fifteen are concerned with some aspect of the heterosexual relationship, with twelve of these more or less sexual in import.

To return to the original argument, we see that the word mast, with its sexual references, is quite appropriate as a qualifier of holi. A dictionary definition for the noun masti, derived from the adjective mast, emphasizes the sexual aspect even more: 'intoxication, drunkenness, lust, ardent passion, rut, wantonness' (Pathak 1969:859).

the reference

as a kind of

The ele

land. Ord

woman, some

with "burp a

Another

to the vibra

occurrence o

bright obje

burning of

bonfire, wi

torches. In

combination

prevalence

squeeze bot

springes is

On the

air powder

all men is

should be

of normally

female-impe

1. A symb
an arr
as men
are "o
usually
(Turne

The reference to intoxication is realized not only from the bhang, but as a kind of effusion of affect.

The element of sexuality is also manifest in the dancing of the lāudā. Ordinarily, his demeanor is that of a coquettish, provocative woman, sometimes describing a phallus with hand gestures, and coition with "bump and grind" pelvic movements (cf. Marriott 1968:204).

Another pattern visible in the rites of holi which must contribute to the vibrantly affective sexual experience of the participants is the occurrence of vivid sensory symbols.¹ In three of the five stages bright objects, bright colors, and sexual metaphor are present. In the burning of Holika all of the activity is centered around a huge bonfire, with people partaking of its brightness and heat with their torches. In the playing of colors, everyone ultimately wears rainbow combinations of bright colors--a vivid departure from the standard prevalence of off-white garments. The squirting of dye from plastic squeeze bottles (some in the form of Krishna) and giant, phallic syringes is blatantly sexual.

On the afternoon of the day of holī, the wearing of the blood-red abir powder on the forehead (which is thought to make the brain hot) by all men is another occurrence of a bright-hot symbol. This stage, it should be pointed out, combines all of the exciting elements--the use of normally prohibited language, sensory symbolism, group singing, and female-impersonating dancing, under the amplifying effect of bhang. If

1. A symbol has both ideological and sensory meanings. The former is an arrangement of norms and values that guide and control persons as members of social groups and categories. The sensory meanings are "closely related to the outward form of the symbol" and are usually "natural and physiological phenomena and processes" (Turner 1967, pp. 27-30).

my experience is typical, external perception is heightened by the bhag (in this context, at any rate) and self consciousness is diminished so that one becomes merely a particle in a colorful, phantasmagoric swirl of music, cheering, and liminal cameraderie.

To conclude this section, I have argued that phagua, the music of holi, is an important agent in the infusion of masti, which is the valued sensual, intoxicating experience of the participants in the rites of holi.

The Music of the Monsoon Season

Introduction

Kajali or kajari¹ is the name given to songs associated with and/or sung in the monsoon season. Along with phagua, they are the most popular kind of seasonal song. The appellation kajali to a song is made with reference to the content, to the context in which the song is sung, or to the tune of the song. In this section I discuss the songs of the monsoon season and some of the ritual and recreational activities associated with them.

The larger context of kajali is the monsoon season, which begins in June and ends early in October. (This is the period of Asarh, Savan and Bhado of the Indian calendar.) It is a time of frequent, heavy rains, sometimes lasting for two or three days. The winds are moderate and easterly, thought to be laden with disease-causing micro-organisms (rog). Cholera and smallpox epidemics (less common now than in the past) occur during this season. Pujas to Kali, Sitala, and Mata Mai, the last two associated particularly with smallpox and cholera, are

1. Intervocalic ls and rs are interchangeable in the speech of many in this area.

accordingly common. High humidity seems to accompany the east wind in all seasons in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. Except in the cold season, the east wind is thought to induce ālasī ('laziness, lethargy'). The evenings, when it is not raining, are soft and sensuous.

Young people, in sexually segregated groups, like to swing and sing in the evenings. A bamboo harrow is suspended by rope at each end from a strong tree branch. Several people sit or stand on the harrow to swing. It is possible that swinging has some symbolic significance, but it was never mentioned by informants.

The same group of men who most often sang phagua, sometimes with one or two older men who occasionally indicated that they felt out of place, would gather at a well once every four or five days to sing kajali. On Nāg Panchmī ('Snake Fifth'--on July 27 in 1971) and on several other occasions when they were in the mood and the weather permitted, they gathered at the school playground or at some other open, flat space to sing kajali as they performed a simple dance called dhunmunīā.

According to several informants, the dance evolved in Mirzapur District, seventy or eighty miles south of Indrapur, and spread over most of Eastern Uttar Pradesh. Several etymological explanations of the dance name were offered by informants. A musician from Western Bihar said that the word derives from dhunmun--'the uneven gait of a child'. Two of the teachers in Indrapur said that the root dhun in dhunmunīā means 'to search, to wander'. (There is a Hindi verb dhurhnā which means 'to search, investigate'). They said that the dance was originally performed by young women, and symbolized their search for husbands.

Seen from above, the dance resembles the revolving of a spoked wheel. Each "spoke" is composed of two or three men. Side by side, each has one arm about the other's waist. The units of two or three trace the paths of spokes as they step and snap their fingers in time with the music. Their postures somewhat stylized, knees bent, they glide around smoothly and gracefully. The music is antiphonal. When one or more couples are singing they stand in one place as the other couples move around to come up behind them. At the completion of the stanza the now-silent unit begins to move around the arc, and the couple(s) that had come up behind them initiate a new stanza. There is no instrumental accompaniment.

The girls of the village also sing kajali and dance dhunmunia, but both their songs and their dance differ from those of the men, as described in Chapter III.

The following five songs were all sung at the time of the dhunmunia dancing by the men on Nag Panchmi.

63. Kajali

1. The women of Vrij stand and make a request
2. Give me my sari, Krishna
3. He took the clothes and climbed the kadam tree
4. We are naked in the middle of the water
5. My companions are naked in the middle of the water
6. I will give you your clothes when
7. You leave the water
8. All the girls make the request together
9. Keep our honor
10. Companions, keep our honor

11. Radha donned a lotus leaf and came out
12. Krishna clapped his hands
13. Krishna clapped his hands

Commentary: This episode of Krishna's adolescence was the subject of several kajalis I recorded. The scene is also one of those depicted on the ubiquitous oleograph calendars used in devotions. The story was told in the Bhagavata Purana (Archer 1958:37). Neculea cadamba is the Latin name for the kadam tree.

64. Kajali

1. Woman, be patient for twelve months
2. In Asarh give up your lover, my woman
3. In Savan mix with the girls of the village and sing with them
4. Stay in the house all Bhado; don't go to your father's house
5. It won't be easy for you in Kvar: don't cry.
6. In Kartik send one letter c.o.d.
7. In Agahan go to your father's with all your girlfriends
8. In Pus I will send you a parrot to play with
9. In Magh go to Allahabad and bathe on Makar Sakranti
10. In Phalgun you won't be able to play holi and get colors on your sari
11. In Cait I will worry and send a messenger
12. In Baisakh I will come home and fulfill your desire
13. In Jeth we will meet: there will certainly be a meeting

Commentary: This is another example of the barahmasa theme occurring in phaguas and other genres.

65. Kajali

1. Mind what I say: don't go without looking at the path, dear
2. Bengal is a bad country

3. You will go there and your face will turn black
4. The water will get to your heart and it will become riddled
it will become riddled, dear
- 5&6. Whoever eats too many coconuts and bananas becomes ill
7. He eats them and becomes more ill
8. They are always sold cheaply; there are bazaars in every direction
9. They are always sold cheaply; there are cities in every direction
10. The Bengali woman is a clever one
11. The Bengali woman is a clever one
12. They all caste spells
13. They have long hair and thin waists, dear
14. You won't be able to understand their zig-zag language
15. She will caste her spell and turn you into a ram
16. She will bring you under her control and keep you on her bed, dear

Commentary: A number of men from the village (approximately twenty-five) presently work in Bengal and Assam. This is not a recent development--many of the older men in the village have worked in Bombay, Calcutta, or Rangoon.

66. Kajali

1. Take this letter and go, Bābhan¹
2. Savan passes
3. Take my letter, the clouds in the sky are thundering

1. Uneducated informants called Brahmans Bābhan. In discussing the castes of Northern India Hutton states: "Apart from Rajputs, the castes which probably stand next to Brahmans in social position and are in some ways allied to them are the Babhan and the Bhat. The Babhan are land-holders particularly associated with Bihar and claim to be Brahmans who have given up the priestly function for a life of agriculture. Their social divisions, however, suggest affinities with Rajputs rather than Brahmans (1969:33).

4. In Savai
5. The way
6. The rain
7. In Kuar
8. In Kart
9. Agahan
10. All my
11. In Pus
12. In Mag
13. In Phae
14. Hari h
15. In Cait
- Savai
16. In Jai
17. Twelve

Commentary
 concepts a
 the months
 sexual des
 the "bloss
 marriage.
 here as me
 to the Dig
 siew the r
 is thought
frondosa.

1. The b
2. The e
3. In bo
4. Weari

4. In Savan the gauna blossomed, Savaliya, the gauna blossomed
5. The way can't be seen in Bhado
6. The rain drops pitter patter in the courtyard
7. In Kuar the heavenly moonlight shines daily
8. In Kartik the lamps burn, Savaliya, the lamps burn
9. Agahan is not a bit pleasant
10. All my sakhis go to their gaunas
11. In Pus the cold hurts
12. In Mag I am waiting in the courtyard
13. In Phagun with whom will I play colors?
14. Hari has gone to the Madhu forest
15. In Cait the scent of the pālās tree in the forest blows,
Savaliya, the scent of the palas blows
16. In Jait beautiful Syam does not come
17. Twelve months have passed

Commentary: This is a barahmasa which expresses some of the popular concepts about the erotic effects of the monsoon season. Savan, one of the months of the monsoon season, is considered to be a time when sexual desire, particularly that of the woman, reaches a peak, hence the "blossoming" of the gauna and the desired consummation of the marriage. Savaliya, Hari, and Syam are all epithets of Krishna used here as metaphors for husband. The burning of lamps in Kartik alludes to the Dipavali festival. The Madhu forest is that in which Krishna slew the monster Madhu (Dowson 1972:182). The scent of the pālās tree is thought to be an aphrodisiac. The Latin name for the tree is butea frondosa.

67. Kajali

1. The bride fills the water jugs of the bābū log
2. The eye makeup of the fair lady is excruciatingly lovely
3. In both of her eyes are blossoms
4. Wearing a blue petticoat; her waist thin

5. The fair lady's colī like that of a Multani woman
6. Light green bangles on her wrists
7. A dhakavā print shawl covers the pretty woman
8. On the fair woman's waist a chain of gold
9. On her feet anklets
10. The woman walks on the path, casting her glance from side to side
11. Chaube Master sings
12. A brand new kajali is prepared
13. His home in Indrapur in District Varanasi
14. The bride fills the water jugs of the bābū log

Commentary: Log--'people'. Bābū is a term used to refer to or to address a clerk or fairly well-to-do literate person. Multani is a city in Afghanistan noted for its well-built women. Coli is the abbreviated blouse worn under the sari. Dhakavā print garments are highly valued.

Kajali texts

Given the identities of the singers (mostly young men) and the conventional belief regarding the sensual nature of the monsoon season,¹ it is not surprising that the songs dwell on the appearance, sensuality, and sexual arousal of young women, and that many of the central images of the songs are erotic. Outstanding examples are Radha and the other gopis standing naked before Krishna; the long-haired, thin-waisted Bengali women who put spells on men and keep them on their beds, and the meeting of husband and wife after a year's separation.²

-
1. Dimock states, and my observations confirm, that for North Indians, "The rainy season is the time for lovers, the time when the earth is lush and green again, when the wind is filled with the scent of sandalwood. It is poignant, when lovers are apart . . ." (1967:18).
 2. The Brahman gentleman that aided with the translation of these songs dismissed them as rasadār--'juicy, sensual'.

The kajalis share several themes with phaguas: Krishna in Vrij is the general setting of Kajalis 63 and Cahakas 55 and 56, Indrapur 3 and 7, Sir 4, and Surinam 1, 2, and 3. The barahmasa theme found in Kajalis 64 and 66 is found in Cautal 59 and Indrapur 6. Cautal 59 combines the theme of the barahmasa with the theme of the separation of the gopis from Krishna.

Songs about the desire of a woman separated from her lover in which the lover is identified as Krishna are an important part of Vaishnavite devotion. The devotee of Krishna is often depicted as the wife separated from her husband (or the woman separated from her lover-- cf. Dimock 1967). But songs incorporating this theme are not confined to Vaishnava worship and doctrine; they are common in the corpus of North Indian folk song.

Why is the theme of the woman separated from her husband or lover so popular? The answer lies partly in the number of men for whom, because of experience and/or sensitivity, separation of lovers or spouses are vivid and comprehensible situations. As pointed out in the introduction, many of the men of the village are employed elsewhere for the greater part of the year. Their wives rarely live with them in the locales of their employment. Moreover, young newly-wedded women spend only about half of their time with their husbands during the first two or three years after their gaunas. Often the month of Savan in particular is spent at their father's homes. Several young men of the village whose wives were living in their natal homes confided to me that they longed for their return.

In addition, the erotic nature of the songs seems to render them inherently enjoyable, particularly in the monsoon season. The composer

of Kajali 67 told me that the monsoon season was a very mast time, and therefore his favorite kind of song was the kajali. When asked to explain, he referred to natural characteristics of the season, particularly to the call of the koel ('cuckoo') and the movement of the dark clouds in the sky, both images found widely in Hindi and Sanskrit poetry and song, and both of which occurrences are thought to augment desire. For him there was obviously a direct connection between the sensuality of the season and the seasonal song, and he found the song enjoyable because of its natural context, as well as for its lyrical and musical content.

When I played back to villagers kajalis and other songs that had been recorded earlier, they often made humorous and sometimes lewd comments as erotic situations and images were expressed in the songs. Many of their responses in this vein were stimulated by indirect references in the songs to the woman's breasts. The usual conventions refer to the woman's straining coli or the anār ('pomegranites') beneath the covering of the sari.

Harikirtan, the Music of Devotion

Introduction

This section is about the music most often referred to in Eastern Uttar Pradesh as harikīrtan. Harikīrtan is a sub-division of the class of music called bhajan, the general term for religious song that can also mean 'any sort of audible worship' (Bharati 1961:277). Another member of the bhajan class is the genre of Hindustani classical vocal music which utilizes short expressions of devotion as vehicles for the

exploitation of the raga.¹ The term bhajan is also applied to the "residual" category of village women's songs which describe various deities or the benefits of devotion--songs which don't fall into any other of their marked categories.

Those that sing harikirtan believe that, as an expression of bhaktī ('devotion') harikirtan is one way in which salvation--release from the cycle of rebirth and/or union with the absolute can be obtained. Harikirtan is really a special kind of kīrtan, ('singing in loud tone in praise of God' (Pathak 1969:213). The prefix harī can be an epithet of Vishnu, Siva, Ram, Krishna, or Indra. Several factors indicate that it refers to Vishnu here. First, kirtan in this area are usually addressed to Ram and Krishna, incarnations of Vishnu (although I did record one addressed to Hanuman, a deity currently very popular in the Varanasi region). Secondly, the definition of harikirtan given in a dictionary published in the region ('a song of praise of Vishnu's incarnation', Pathak 1969:1140), though unclear, does refer to Vishnu. Thirdly, kirtan-style singing was a part of the Vishnu bhakti movement which, under Chaitanya, spread from Bengal throughout Eastern North India around 1500 A.D. (Popley 1966:16, 93-94). The vocal and instrumental format used by Bengali Vaishnavas today is the same as that of the harikirtan in Eastern Uttar Pradesh (cf. Dimock & Levertov 1967:xi-xiii).

Harikirtans are antiphonal in form, with short, simple stanzas continuously repeated, e.g. harī krishna harī krishna, krishna krishna harī harī, one of the most common, and je sīa rām je je sīa rām--

1. A raga, to over-simplify, is a specific melodic pattern which is thought to have a distinctive emotional flavor. See Chapter VII.

'Hail Sita-Ram, hail hail Sita Ram!' Each harikirtan lasts from ten to fifteen minutes. Dholak, jhal and hand clapping accompany the singing, and there is occasionally a harmonium.

The singing group usually consists of a core of men from one neighborhood, apparently without caste restriction. I say apparently, because although the singers of harikirtan which I observed were always from a wide range of castes from Brahman through some of the sudra castes, I never actually identified an untouchable among any of the groups. In addition to the neighborhood core, there are usually a few outsiders--friends and relatives of regular members.

The location of harikirtan singing is often a temple, but can also be a shop, veranda of someone's home, or any convenient place where there is enough space to accommodate fifteen to thirty people. I witnessed harikirtan sung on the ghāts ('bathing places along the river') in Varanasi as well as in many shops there. In Asi and other neighborhoods in Varanasi the often electrically amplified harikirtan is inescapable on Saturday nights. I also observed and recorded a group of men singing harikirtan in Sundarpur, a village near the campus of Banaras Hindu University, and in a shop in the bazaar near Indrapur, where there were regular harikirtan sessions on Tuesday and Saturday nights. In all of these contexts the harikirtan is an autonomous institution. In other situations, e.g. the pujas described below, harikirtan singing is ancillary to the ritual activities which it accompanies, and, for the katha at least, optional.

Singer's study of the bhajana of Madras offers several insights into the significance of this kind of religious institution, particularly in the urban context. (The bhajana has several forms.

Among them, the weekly form corresponds most closely with the harikirtan session). Singer saw that the bhajana links domestic and temple cults and performs several functions: "(1) providing an easier path to salvation in an age when the paths of strict ritual observances, religious knowledge, and ascetic withdrawal have become difficult or inaccessible, and (2) reducing the consciousness of caste, sect, and regional differences and the tensions generated by this consciousness" (1966:121). The latter function varies regionally. In Madras there are particular linguistic, caste and regional conflicts not present in the North. Bhajanas also satisfy needs for sociability, intimacy, and affiliation in the impersonal urban context (ibid:123).

The Rural Harikirtan

In Indrapur devout families of some means had pūjās ('religious offerings') performed to recognize and advertise some event important to the family. Harikirtan was a concomitant of some of these pujas. The most common type of puja is the kathā, which refers to the moral parables recited by a Brahman pundit as well as the puja in which the story telling is contained. I was told by a Brahman pundit that the type of katha performed in this area, the satyanarāyanvratakathā (satya--'truth', narāyan--'an epithet of Vishnu', vrata--'vow', kathā--'story') derives from the Reva Khand portion of the Skanda Purana. According to the pundit, the name Satyanarayan means 'the lord, who is truth', and the emphasis of the stories is on the importance of honesty. The katha is sometimes a manautī ('a vow to offer something to a deity or to worship it after the fulfillment of one's wishes'), but informants said that the katha can also be performed when there is any desire on the part of a householder to express his devotion, or when a

member of the family is beginning or completing some endeavor. For example, one man of the Kānū caste (Vaishya varna) had a katha performed before he left the village to return to Bombay to run his shop there for another year; several Brahman families and one Lohar family had kathas performed when one of their members obtained bachelor's degrees. The katha is thus seen to be a family rite of transition. Usually all the joint family, to whom the rites are of primary importance, are in attendance. Neighbors and biradari may also attend.

If the family performing the katha wishes to stress the significance of the occasion, it may sponsor harikirtan singing beginning the day before the katha and running continuously, with changes in personnel, until the katha is completed. Otherwise, the harikirtan singing can begin any time on the day the katha is performed, the sooner the better. The householder invites the singers in advance. They come with their instruments and sit in the baithak ('the men's lounging and sleeping quarters') or wherever the daily household ritual offerings are performed. They are remunerated with the prasād ('the food offered to deities in the course of a ritual and subsequently distributed to participants, family and friends') and evening meal, to which family and friends are optionally invited.

The yagya is 'a religious offering, an oblation' (Pathak 1969:909). As with katha, in actual use the term is extended to include the series of ritual activities of which the 'offering' is the most important. From my limited experience, yagya seems to be essentially a series of pujas (cf. Planalp 1956:171), performed for the benefit of all the residents of a small area as well as the prestige of the sponsor(s). In the only yagya I attended the salient activities were the puja,

which included
the banqueting
was held at the
who is also a
performed annu
the area, a fe
villages near
on one day, i

The hari
battery-power
pitched shrill
tones of the
hours I was t
than a few mi
personnel, un
fifteen singe
playing the d
of the specta

The Process o

Like pha
beginning at
verge of frer
that particul
himself is no
and the singi
to begin the
who know the

which included a large scale havan and was performed by Brahman pundits, the banqueting of all who attended, and harikirtan singing. This yagya was held at the ashram ('residence') of a sādhū ('religious ascetic') who is also a curer and diviner. He told me that he had the yagya performed annually. It was attended by all of the resident sadhus in the area, a few itinerant sadhus, and many people from the bazaar and villages near the ashram. Although I was only able to attend the affair on one day, it was supposed to have lasted for three days.

The harikirtan at this yagya was broadcast on an automobile battery-powered, derelict amplifier that emitted a constant high pitched shriek, apparently noticed only by me, as well as the distorted tones of the singers and their instruments. During the five or six hours I was there the singing (and shrieking) never stopped for more than a few minutes. The singing was expected to go on, with changes in personnel, until the yagya ended. There were usually from ten to fifteen singers, many playing jhal, and four of them taking turns playing the dholak. The singers as well as most of the sadhus and some of the spectators smoked gānjā (Cannabis indica).

The Process of harikirtan

Like phagua, harikirtan consists of a series of cycles, each beginning at a slow tempo and moderate volume and accelerating to the verge of frenzy, when, under the leadership of the man who initiated that particular harikirtan, coordinating with the dholak player if he himself is not playing the dholak, the climax is abruptly terminated and the singing and playing resumed at a slower tempo and lower volume, to begin the cycle anew. Leadership of the group shifts among those who know the songs. Each leader seems to have one or more favorite

melodic modes which serve as bases for variation. There are many ways in which a creative leader can elaborate the singing to keep it interesting without detracting from the building climax. On the lowest level, he can introduce variations in melody and phrasing, which the "choir" attempts to reproduce exactly. Another game that the leader initiates is to sing the last half of the first stanza and the first half of the last stanza; the "choir" must then sing the last half of the last stanza and the first half of the first stanza. Control of the tempo and intensity of the singing is also shared by the dholak player, the master time-keeper. He and the lead singer and other singers signal each other by nods or shouts when they want to increase the tempo, or the dholak player may do so independently.

Most of the participants smoke ganja prior to the singing, in fact the smoking seems to be a regular part of the ritual. The cilam ('stemless clay pipe') is passed from person to person, each smoker invoking Kali or Siva and touching the cilam to his forehead in reverent salute prior to inhaling. As with the ingestion of bhang, the smoking of ganja no doubt augments the intensity of the singing experience.

As they sing the players clap the cymbals together in hypnotic rhythms, which vary in complexity according to the skill of the player and the tempo. The force with which the cymbals are hammered together increases through the course of each cycle. The dholak player beats out not only the basic synchronizing pulses, but a complex, varying set of complementary accents. The better dholak players are artists of no mean skill. Those who do not play instruments clap, and all wag their heads in a vigorous lateral movement in synchrony with the basic beat.

hit brows, bul
weaving to and
experience. An
harikirtan one

Music-making Li

Radcliffe.

experience and
individual with

Islanders (196

strong impress
contributes to
particularly a
following disc
exposition, in

Radcliffe

clapping, and
all join." For

focus on the i
the individual

Secondly, mus

propelled by t
pleasureful ex

energy, which
and sounds of

emotion are in

Now focus

see that the g

Knit brows, bulging neck muscles, closed eyes, and heads and bodies weaving to and fro in time to the music testify to the intensity of the experience. An informant in Indrapur told me that when one sings harikirtan one forgets everything else (cf. Venkateswaran 1968:135).

Music-making Links the Individual and Society

Radcliffe-Brown had considerable insight into the individual music experience and the process by which group music performance links the individual with society. His discussion of the subject, in The Andaman Islanders (1964:246-252, 326) relies on behavioral evidence (and a few strong impressions) of individual experience to explain how ritual contributes to the maintenance of society. His remarks are particularly applicable to harikirtan, phagua, and kajali. The following discussion of group music-making is based on Radcliffe-Brown's exposition, incorporating a few of my own observations.

Radcliffe-Brown uses the word 'dance' to denote dancing, singing, clapping, and stomping--"all parts of the one common action in which all join." For the word dance I substitute the term music-making. To focus on the individual, he notes that music-making gives pleasure to the individual in several ways: firstly, it is a form of play. Secondly, muscular activity of the variety required to make music, propelled by the pulse of rhythm, as it were, is transformed into a pleasurable exertion. It gives the performer a feeling of heightened energy, which is reinforced by the excitement produced by the movements and sounds of the group, "and intensified, as all collective states of emotion are intensified, by reason of being collective . . ."

Now focusing on the relationship of individual to group, we first see that the group provides a platform for the individual to

demonstrate his skill at singing, dancing, or whatever, invoking the admiration of the others and a feeling of self-worth, which stimulates in return a sense of good will toward his fellows.

The phenomena of rhythm and the mutual coordination of voices are the **keys** to the process of the individual-group relationship. ". . . through the effect of rhythm the dance affords an experience of a **constraint** or force of a peculiar kind acting upon the individual and **inducing** in him when he yields himself to it a pleasure of self-surrender. The peculiarity of the force in question is that it seems to **act** upon the individual both from without (since it is the sight of his **friends** dancing and the sound of the singing and marking time that occasions it), and also from within (since the impulse to yield himself to **the** constraining rhythm comes from his own organism)" (Ibid:249). This same rhythm allows all the members of the group to join in the **same** actions and perform them as one body. The participant must direct his **senses** to the sounds and movements of the others to enable him to **keep** time to the music and to coordinate his voice with the others--he is **in** a condition "in which all bodily and mental activities are harmoniously directed to one end" (Ibid:248. This explains my informant's comment that one forgets everything else when one sings harikirtan).

I would add that the experience of joining one's voice with others provides a unique and exciting sense of union, and the articulation of **commonly** felt sentiments in song increases the individual's sense of **unity** with the group.

Radcliffe-Brown concludes that "Dancing (i.e. music-making) is a means of uniting individuals into a harmonious whole and at the same

time making them actually and intensely experience their relation to that unity of which they are members." The individual feels the society acting upon him, constraining him to join in the common activity and regulate his actions to conform with those of others, and, when he so acts in harmony with them, it gives him the experience of a great increase of his own personal energy.

Residual Meanings of Harikirtan

Another way in which harikirtan has meaning to the villager is as māgal ('auspiciousness'). A village pundit explained that music is considered to lend auspiciousness to its physical and social context. He cited as an example the use of the conch shell (śākh) in pujas. (It is blown like a bugle and produces a comparable sound.) Another informant told me that this was one rationalization for the employment of śahnāi ensembles on the gates of princely estates. (The sahnai is a double reed horn like a primitive oboe.) The auspiciousness of music is enhanced when the text includes the names of deities: according to Venkateswaran, even hearing the Name is considered beneficial (1966: 168). This would account for the tolerance with which endless electrically amplified harikirtans are received by non-participants.

There is also an apparent connection between the repititious singing of harikirtan and the continuous repetition of spoken phrases to attain salvation (japa-yoga). While both practices are considered means of attaining salvation, concepts vary (even among one group of devotees) as to how this is accomplished. Some think that it is through the glorification of God and invocation of his grace (cf. Venkateswaran 1968:169); others think that it is through the assimilation of the god or state of sanctity (Eliade 1969:216).

Whatever the ideology, chanting or singing results in a changed state of consciousness which practitioners value.

CHAPTER V

NON-PARTICIPATORY MUSIC: NON-PROFESSIONALS AND MENDICANTS

Introduction

The songs set forth in the preceding chapters are all of the type I call participatory. I have distinguished them from non-participatory songs and music, which will be presented in this and following sections, because their social use differs from that of non-participatory songs. Their performance constitutes a unique kind of commune: a song of this type is a framework for a cooperative social process which joins individuals in immediate, tangible relations with one another (see p. 157).

In non-participatory music the social situation is not one of unity, but of the dichotomy of authoritative performer and responsive audience; the cooperation necessary for a group performance is absent. Another difference is that participatory music is produced by a wider variety of performers than is the other type. Non-participatory songs are performed only by certain persons e.g. kharī birhā is performed only by persons of the Ahir and Garer castes. With the exception of the relatively infrequent performances of the Natin, a female tattooist, all non-participatory music is performed by males. This reflects the dominant role the male plays in public life in the village.

The categories in the taxonomy below are listed in order of the cost involved in a performance (except for D.4. The Informal Groups, which is the least costly of the entertainment category). The first two categories are non-remunerative, the mendicants receive small donations of grain, old clothing etc., and the entertainers are paid in

cash. These categories are discussed in this order in this and the following two chapters.

- A. Music of the Ahir and Garer castes: khari birha
- B. Khisā, the story-song
- C. Music of Mendicants
 - 1. Gosāi and other bhajan-singers
 - 2. Nat and Natin
- D. Entertainment
 - 1. Birhā
 - 2. Kavvālī
 - 3. Song and Dance Groups
 - 4. The Informal Groups
- E. 'English Bands'

Music of the Ahir and Garer castes: Khari Birha

The genre which is the topic of this sub-section, khari birhā, is performed only by a few members of the Ahir and Garer castes, the cow herding and sheep and goat herding castes of the locality. I observed only three people in Indrapur that could sing them--two Ahir men and one Garer boy. I did not have an opportunity to record the Garer, who lived several miles away. One Ahir, however, lived nearby and I discovered that he had been learning the art of khari birha singing for three years from an affine who visited Indrapur occasionally. I recorded both the gurū ('master') and his celā ('disciple').

There are two occasions in which the songs are sung: most commonly a man sings them when he is alone tending his stock, or he sings to entertain informal gatherings of caste fellows and neighbors. In either case, however, many people hear the songs because they are sung very loudly. At informal gatherings members of the group join

their voices in a unison cheer on the last syllable of the song and interject cheers at other points in the course of the song. The cheer, like the climactic melodic line of the song, starts at a high pitch and descends.

One of the Ahir singers said that there were two ideal times for singing khari birha--before sunrise and just after sundown, but I never heard any sung before sunrise. The posture for singing khari birha is also used by birhā singers and ojhās. The singer always plugs one or both ears with his fingers. Singers say that this technique improves their own hearing of the sounds they are making.¹

The musical structure of khari birha is unique in village music. Impressionistically it is reminiscent of the cry of the muezzin in the Muslim call to daily prayers, but it is more impassioned. In the common form, the first one or two lines are each begun with an upward swoop on a vowel, maintained at one pitch at a moderately high level of vocal tension, with variations of not more than a semi-tone, then terminated with a downward swoop. This part is similar to a priest's incantation of a mantra. But in the climactic lines the voice swoops up to a level of very high tension, an octave above the starting pitch, where after one or two ululations, it makes its way down in very small dissonant intervals (some less than a semi-tone). The downward curve flattens out into a steady pitch and the singer constricts his throat slightly, then turns on a pronounced, electrifying vibrato before ending the line with a melismatic downward swoop, an instantaneous levelling, and the brief use of an entirely different, coarse vocal

1. This technique is also used by Scottish ballad singers.

tone. Subsequent lines are built of the same structural elements contained in the climactic line, repeating the descending motion. The vocal ornamentations used--ululation, heavy vibrato, changes of vocal tone quality, and the over-riding passion of the singing are arresting even to one who is unfamiliar with the scale and does not understand the verbal content. The songs are sung so loudly that they can be heard for miles across the quiet countryside.

Here are representative examples of the khari birhas I collected:

68. Khari Birha

1. I say that I was going to Badri Narayan when Brahma delayed me
2. I used to count my tulsī beads; in māyā I forgot
3. Oh, in my māyā I forgot

Commentary: The narrator is saying that he started to make a pilgrimage (Badri Narayan is a pilgrimage place in the Himalayas) but it wasn't in his destiny to arrive; he used to count his rosary beads (which are made from tulsī--'a type of basil'), but māyā caused him to forget. Māyā is usually translated 'illusion'. As I understand it, the vernacular use refers more to the web (jālā) of invisible constraints imposed on an individual by social relations, desires, and emotions, constraints which militate against the individual's salvation (cf. Dimock 1968:50). This song expresses a fundamental devotional concept--that if one becomes overly occupied with the mundane, he will neglect the devotions necessary for salvation.

69. Khari Birha

1. Oh I say Ram, brother, Ram has become a yogi, Laksman an ascetic
2. Both brothers have become fakirs
3. Oh, in this very lane they wear their rosaries of tulsī
4. They wander in the cities begging alms

Commentary: This refers to an early episode in the Ramayana. When Rama was exiled from his father's kingdom, he and his wife Sita (not mentioned here) and his half-brother Laksman went to live the life of ascetics in the forest. The composer has apparently introduced the

urban image to increase sympathy for the exiled Ram and his party--in the epic they spend most of their time in the forests.

70. Khari Birha

1. Oh, Brother Laksman has been hit by the poison arrow
2. Ram was crying, having taken him on his lap
3. In the dawn Laksman will die
4. Then who will I take to Ayodhya?

Commentary: This is another vignette from the Ramayana.

71. Khari Birha

1. I say, at which time was the earth quaking?
2. At which time was the sky shifting?
3. At which time was Sita kidnapped?
4. Where had Ram gone?

Commentary: This is a riddle which is answered by the next song.

72. Khari Birha

1. The earth was quaking at the time of the Kali Yuga
2. The sky was shifting at the time of the Sat Yuga
3. Sita was kidnapped in the Treta Yuga
4. Where to kill the deer, my people
5. Oh, Ram had gone to kill the deer

Commentary: This is also a condensation of a dramatic episode of the Ramayana, the kidnapping of Sita by the demon Ravan (see the Ramayana summary on p. 227). According to some interpretations there are four yugas, or epochs. The first was a time of perfect comfort, peace, and morality; the condition and morality of man deteriorates further with each successive yuga (Dowson 1972:381). A Brahman informant said that Sita was not kidnapped in the Treta Yuga. According to him and my references, there is no Sat Yuga.

73. Khari Birha

1. In the forest of Brindaban there were ripe plums
2. Radha bowed the branch, but she couldn't pluck even one
3. Krishna was playing his flute

Commentary: Radha was so entranced by Krishna's flute playing she could not even pick the ripe plums. Radha was the gopī (girl of the cow-herding caste) that became Krishna's lover.

74. Khari Birha

1. The women of Gokula lament: Kubariya, your fate is rich
2. All have gotten cripples and paralytics
3. And Kubari got Krishna

Commentary: Several songs I collected in Indrapur refer to the marriage of Krishna with Kubari after he had left the gopis and Gokula. In the Bhagavata Purana she is called Kubja. She was a misshapen girl whom Krishna miraculously restored to beauty. Although Krishna initially accepted her insistantly offered love, he left her, according to the scriptures, because of her low and worldly attitude to him (Archer 1968:53).

75. Khari Birha

1. I say, brother, I came to know that parrot, I fed it milk; the
parrot turns on me
2. Oh, brother, had I known the parrot would turn on me I would have
hurt the wee bird's wing
3. Oh, I would have torn the little bird's wing

Commentary: 'Parrot' apparently symbolizes a person to whom the narrator gave succor, only to be spurned. This song is vaguely reminiscent of some of Kabir's poetry, discussed below.

Khari Birha: Part of a Larger Song?

U. Arya and G. A. Grierson, the eminent linguist, both collected birhas, and comparison of their collections with mine give some idea of

the scope of the topics dealt with in birha as well as its evolution in Surinam (Arya 1968:29, Grierson 1883). The birhas I collected are all religious in nature. They deal with Krishna, who is considered by Ahirs to have himself been an Ahir, with Ram, and with other more general religious topics. The songs about Krishna and Ram are based on well known episodes in the Ramayan and Bhagavata Purana. The devotional theme of Song 68 has been taken from a bhajan (see p.174).

Grierson's collection, made in Shahabad District in Bihar (adjacent to Ballia and Gazipur Districts in Uttar Pradesh), contains many secular songs as well. Most of the latter deal with heterosexual relationships in the same modes as do phagua and kajali. Seven of Grierson's forty-two birhas deal with Ram. Several others deal with aspects of the mother goddess. Some of the birhas in Grierson's collection seem to express more individualistic views than those I collected. Arya's collection also contains both secular and sacred songs.

The birhas of Grierson's collection have the same brief form as the khari birhas I recorded. Arya calls songs of this type sumirans. A sumiran (also called dohā) is a short verse which may express a moral precept or ask the blessing of a guru or deity (often Sarasvati, the goddess of speech and learning). Arya states that "In reciting a long chain of birahas, or in a competition, the sumiran comes only right at the beginning . . ." (29-30).

The term sumiran was never used in referring to the khari birhas which I collected. (It is sometimes used to denote the introductory portions of Ālhās, birhās, and kavvālīs). Nor does Grierson mention the term.

It appears that the type of Khari birha which Grierson and I collected may have disappeared in Surinam, except for its employment as a sumiran, or that Arya simply did not recognize that the sumirans he collected were also sung independently.

One important function birha singing serves in Eastern Uttar Pradesh is to contribute to the unique caste image of the Ahirs (and possibly the Garers--I didn't have sufficient opportunities to observe their interaction in the village). Although the villagers' ranking of Ahirs varies from clean sudra to vaisya, their generally robust physiques and virility evoke respect even from Brahmans and Thakurs. Many of them exercise daily; their prowess at wrestling and gymnastics is part of their stereotyped image. Their music is a hallmark of their caste, and seems to be an expression of pride in caste identity.

Khisa, the Story-song

A style between the non-participatory and participatory music is the khisa ('story-song'). In the winter months in the North Indian plains days are short and nights are long and chilly. The young men in one neighborhood of Indrapur--Dhobis, Lohars, Brahmans, and Kalvars, liked to gather on the large veranda of one of the Brahman's houses to talk and joke. Here one of the Dhobis, accompanied by a Lohar, related the khisa of Puran Mal.

The story is an odyssey of classical structure. Puran is unjustly evicted from his home and becomes an ascetic mendicant. In his wandering he meets but is prevented from marrying a lovely woman. In the end, by virtue of his noble character, he is happily united with both his parents and his lover (see Oman 1889:197-198 for a more

complete version of the story). At least one other epic, called Bijai Mal¹, is recited in a similar manner and context in Indrapur.

A folklorist would call the total performance a cante fable--it consists of spoken narration interspersed with verses sung by the narrator and one other man. A few of the other men took part in the performance by interjecting humorous remarks, exclamations, or questions, or when the narrator would pause before the verb at the end of a sentence, by supplying the appropriate word. Thus there was cooperative interaction between the performers and a few members of the audience, with the narrator leading and providing the basis for the contributions of the others.

The Dhobi that performed Puran Mal learned it from his father, who was reknowned for his repertoire of stories. Such men are said to be rare nowadays. The role seems to be disappearing as the world depicted in such epics becomes further and further removed from present-day reality.

When I toured Rajasthan I discovered that Puran Mal is performed there, sometimes as a staged drama. The story in song-form is available in Rajasthan in a cheap newsprint booklet, and is probably known throughout Northern India.

The melodic line of this style begins a fourth above the tonic to which it slowly descends, using a scale somewhat like that of the khari birha--not at all diatonic. The use of the flattened mediant or third gives it a minor feeling. A notable aspect of the singing was the

1. Grierson mentions the existence of this epic ballad in Western Bihar (1883:210).

precise unison with which the two men executed the highly ornamented melody. Like the khari birha, the singing is rubato, or free of strong rhythm. The sung portions of the epic, each four or six lines long, occur every three to five minutes in the telling of the story, which requires four or five evenings to complete.

Religious Mendicants

Mendicants of many kinds visit the village. Of these, a type called the jogī is relevant here. It was very difficult to get any information from the jogis about themselves, as they were quite afraid of the sipāhī ('police'). Many said that they had come from Azamgar District¹, some from a city there called Dohrighat, and that they were Gosāīs. Gosais are members of a religious sect initiated by certain followers of Chaitanya, the Bengali saint (1486-1533 A.D.). One said, when I asked his name, that he had given up his family name when he entered the math ('monastery'). Some of the jogis were not Gosais, but were (they said) Brahmans from Varanasi and other adjacent districts.

They usually arrived in the village in the morning, always travelling alone. Their method was to walk into the main settlement of the village singing, then to proceed to the nearest doorway where they would sing a bhajan or two until they were either given a donation or it was apparent that they were being ignored. Then they would move from door to door in the same fashion, until they had been to most of the relatively well-to-do homes in the village. The women of the homes would usually give them small baskets of wheat, barley, or whatever was in most abundant supply. Sometimes they also gave worn-

1. The district adjoining Gazipur District to the north.

out clothing and metal pots. Their relations with the women generally seemed relaxed, and they were usually well laden when they exited from the village. They often spent the night at a dharmsālā ('a guest house supported by charity used by ascetics and pilgrims') in the nearby bazaar.

The mendicants accompanied their songs with either a sarāngī or jhājh. The sarangi is an instrument which in refined form is used to accompany classical vocalists. It is a fretless, bowed stringed instrument, about twenty-one inches long, with two or more main strings, which are bowed, situated above seven or more unbowed sympathetic strings. The main strings are tuned to the tonic pitch of the song and to a fourth below the tonic. The strings are noded with the broad side of the fingernail. The singer usually plays a melody on the sarangi which is in unison with his vocal. In between vocal lines he plays a short refrain on the sarangi, usually the last part of the sung melody. The tunes are generally built on diatonic scales. Some were said to be the tunes of harikirtans. The rhythms are duple and compelling in their regularity and strength.

Jhājh, called kartāl in Hindi, are ideophones, i.e. percussion instruments not depending on a stretched membrane or string for sound production. Jhājha consists of a pair of eight to ten inch long sticks, one with a hole which accommodates the thumb, one with a hole which accommodates the other fingers of the hand. Each stick contains two sets of small brass discs which slide up and down on pins, like those of a tambourine, producing noise when they strike the wood on either end of the shafts. The sticks themselves are clapped together by the thumb and fingers of the hand.

Giving alms to the poor is a way of gaining religious merit. Part of the success of the mendicants was due to the songs they played and sang, which established a moral atmosphere conducive to charitable donations. Although few women expressed preferences for certain genres of song, bhajans were endorsed by all because of their sacred content. Some of the songs embodied popular mythological tales e.g. Gautam and Harishchandra (see Dowson 1972:111 & 118). But about half of the mendicants' songs are of a type called nirgun ('formless') bhajans.

The name Kabir was usually included in the bisarjan or closing stanza of these songs. As with Sanskrit and Hindi poetry, this is more of a tribute to a famed composer of that style of song than a reliable indication of authorship. Kabir was a famous mystic poet who lived from 1440-1518 A.D. His poetry, as translated into English by Rabindranath Tagore¹, shows both Sufi and Vedanta influences, embracing a theistic, devotional approach which eschewed ritualism, asceticism, idolatry, and temple-worship, as well as caste and religious discrimination. Appreciation of his poetry is widespread in North India and not limited to the cult that carries his name (Kabirpanthis). I observed several philosophical-theological discussions stimulated by the singing of jogis, and would agree with De Bary's statement that "Numerous couplets and didactic sayings are attributed to Kabir and constitute much of the folk-wisdom of the average Hindu" (1958:355).

Here are some examples of the songs of the religious mendicants:

1. Dimock notes that these translations "are not made from the Hindi text, but from a Bengali version of it, and are sometimes inaccurate" (1968:27).

76. Nirgun Bhajan

1. Oh today I will chant the name of Hari; leave, mind, today I will
chant the name of Hari
2. Childhood was spent reading and learning the knowledge of the
masters
3. In youth, maddened by sensual pleasures, I forgot to chant the name
of Hari
4. Leave, mind, today I will chant the name of Hari
5. I forgot to chant the name of Hari; today I will chant the name of
Hari
6. This man sat on the cot lamenting, making a beckoning gesture with
his finger
7. Leave, mind, today I will chant the name of Hari.
8. Making a beckoning gesture with his finger; leave, mind, today I
will chant the name of Hari
9. From the cot to the ground; the god of death had left his sign
10. Oh, the god of death had left his sign
11. Kabir says: listen brother ascetic, attend to your devotions
12. Without devotion how can there be moksa? Your birth will have
become futile
13. Leave, mind, today I will chant the name of Hari

Commentary: The theme of this song is the same as that of 68. Khari Birha: a man laments his failure to perform daily devotions, for without doing so one does not attain salvation (moksa). The mind is commanded to "leave" so that the devotee will not be distracted by memories, desires, and self-centered thoughts. The reference to the maddening sensual pleasures of youth is a common one in this kind of bhajan. The implications of 'beckoning gesture' are unclear.

77. Nirgun Bhajan

1. Oh, Ocean of Mercy, your works are inscrutable (this is the refrain)
2. Guru Vasist, the pandit, reckoned the date of the wedding

3. Then the kidnapping of Sita, the death of Dasarath--calamity befell
house and forest (refrain)
4. Why the deceit, why the demon-deer, why was the deer grazing?
5. Sita was kidnapped; Ravan burned the golden city of Lanka
6. Oh he burned the golden city of Lanka; refrain
7. Through underhanded dealing Harischandra was made to sell Hirali
and go to the underground realm
8. Raja Nrig donated hundreds of thousands of cows, but God was still
angry (refrain)
9. You were the charioteer of the Pandav clan; calamity befell them
10. The pride of Durayodhan destroyed the Yadukul clan
11. Oh, it destroyed the Yadukul clan
12. Brahma allowed calamity to befall the sun and moon
13. Kabir says: listen, brother sadhu, whatever is to happen will
surely happen
14. Oh, whatever is to happen will surely happen.

Commentary: This poem denies the interference of the creator with the laws of the universe, an aspect of what some authorities call deism. This song is similar in many respects to a poem of Surdas' presented in Keay's work (1960:70). 'Ocean of Mercy' is here used facetiously, as the author uses various tragic scenes from mythology to disprove the notion of a merciful and omnipotent god. The song is, in the village context, blasphemous indeed. I heard no other like it. Lines 2-6 refer to elements of the Ramayana. Line 7 refers to the popular myth of Hariscandra (see p. 120). The reference of line 8 was unknown to informants, nor have I found anything pertinent in the literature. Lines 9 and 10 refer to the Mahabharata. Line 12 refers to the mythical eating of the moon by the demons Rahu and Ketu (see p. 61).

78. Nirgun Bhajan

1. One squanders the diamond; one has to leave the world, brother
2. Today some undisciplined ascetic will take the precious diamond
from the world
3. The parrot sees the red flower on the tree

4. When he pecks it with his beak, the downy flower flies away
5. The parrot regrets it from his innermost heart; one has to leave the world, brother
6. The fly lands on the moist molasses and his wings get stuck
7. He does not have the power to get free
8. Confused, confused he will die; one must leave the world, brother
9. Kabir says; Listen brother sadhu,
10. Attend to your devotions; without devotion there is no moksa
11. Selfishness is futile; one has to leave the world

Commentary: This is another song based on the concept of devotion as a means to salvation. Here, however, the exhortation is to avoid desires, with their evanescent rewards and entangling consequences, for they prevent salvation.

79. Sagun Bhajan

1. In the world, the bond of love is supreme (this is the refrain)
2. He denied himself the fruit served at the home of Durayodhan;
he ate the greens served at the home of Vidur
3. He ate much fruit with the low caste woman: Brahma told the taste (refrain)
4. Under the spell of love you made yourself into a Nai and served King Nrig
5. Denying yourself your kingship, you ate the left-over food of Yudhisthir (refrain)
6. You ate the left-over food (refrain)
7. Under the spell of love you drove the chariot of Arjun and forgot that you were the Master
8. So much love augered in Brindaban that the gopis danced
9. Kapi Sugriv was distressed, fearing for his brother; you freed him from the whirlpool

10. Surdas, Krishna, is not worthy of this. How can I praise you enough?

Commentary: The recurrent theme of this song is actually Krishna's humility. This is not a usual theme for Surdas, the poet whose name appears in the bisarjan. Surdas emphasizes the supremacy, power, divinity, and godhead of Krishna, (according to Pandey and Zide 1968: 178). Most of the references of this song are to the warrior Krishna of the Mahabharata, not the mischievous infant or erotic adult Krishna of the Bhagavata Purana (the basis of many of Surdas' poems). The use of Surdas' name in the bisarjan may be local interpolation. The song has several references to Rama (Lines 3 and 9). Other references: Line 2 refers to the Mahabharata (see Dowson 1972:100). Vidhur was a person of low caste, said an informant. The identity of King Nrig is unknown. Yudhisthir (see Dowson 1972:378; 163-164) was the eldest and Arjuna (Ibid:21) the third of the five Pandu brothers of the Mahabharata.

This song is of a type called sagun ('endowed with qualities, possessed of attributes' Pathak 1969:1051). This denotes a theology opposite in precepts to that of nirgun. The poet Surdas, who espoused Krishna (and Ram to a much lesser degree), and Tulsi Das (author of the Ram Charit Manas, the Hindi Ramayana), who espoused Ram, are the most commonly named exponents of the sagun approach.

The songs of the mendicants refer to a kind of religion which differs from ecstatic devotionalism (discussed in Chapter III) and from the essentially ritualistic religion which pervades village life. The songs presented here do not fully elaborate the belief systems to which they refer. It seems clear, however, that they derive from the Sufi-influenced North Indian bhakti movements led by Kabir, Chaitanya, and others. No doubt the mendicants who ply the villages today transmit this variety of religion in the same way it has been transmitted for four or five hundred years.

It is difficult to assess the extent of the influence of the ideas expressed in the songs. Their accommodation in village culture and co-existence there with the other traditions mentioned, is characteristic of popular Hinduism.

Alha, the Martial Ballad

Introduction

During the spring harvest a man of the Nat caste came into village. In the morning and late afternoon he went from field to field, stopping wherever he found a man cutting grain to play his drum and sing bits of a song called Ālhā. If his performance was enjoyed and the harvester generous, he received a sheaf of grain. He stored his collected sheaves at the Camar hamlet, where he and his wife ate and slept. At night, after everyone had eaten and the marijuana pipe had gone around, he sang for several hours to an entranced audience, which sometimes included higher caste boys from the main settlement.

Alha singers also entertain at weddings (cf. Planalp 1956:522) and at other occasional gatherings of men. Informants said that they often came to perform in the monsoon season, when people were kept indoors by the rain.¹

During the 1971 war in Bangla Desh, Alhas in the traditional style were played frequently on All-India radio stations in this part of India.

The Alha

The Alha is an epic ballad sung in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and adjacent areas in Northern India. It relates the exploits of Alha and his younger brother, Udāl (called Rudāl in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Western Bihar). They were legendary Rajput generals of the army of Raj Parmar of Mahoba² in the twelfth century.

-
1. This is confirmed by Majumdar 1958:302, who also mentions competitions between Alha singers, and Vatuk 1969:2, reporting for Central and Western Uttar Pradesh respectively.
 2. Raj Mahoba was the rival of Prithvi Raj Chauhan, the ruler of Ajmer and Delhi.

"They belonged to an inferior clan of Rajputs, to whom no other clan would voluntarily give their daughters in marriage. Therefore, the two heroes found it necessary to resort to constant fierce fighting in order to secure the marriages of their sons and relatives" (Planalp 1956:522-3. I have discussed how this complex is symbolized in the present-day wedding. See Chapter III.)

The Alha is serialized into one to two hour segments, which often end at a point of suspense to insure listeners for the next performance. The stories are full of scheming, fighting, torture, romance, splendor, and above all, bravery. (See the synopses of two segments contained in Appendix II.)

The Alhas sung today are said to derive from an epic poem written by Jagnik or Jagnayak, who was the royal bard of the court of Raj Parmar (or Paramardi) of Mahoba. The poem has survived only in oral versions which were later printed, unless the Mohoba Khand of Chand Bardais' epic, Prithvi Raj Raso is, as some critics have alleged, a spurious canto actually written by Jagnik¹ (Keay 1920:14). According to Keay, these epic poems from which the Alha is descended are the "earliest modern vernacular literature of Hindustan" (Ibid). The period is designated, in the history of Hindi literature, as that of bir (or vir) ras--'the heroic emotion'.

The Martial Rajput Ethos

Hitchcock says that the 'martial idea of the Rajput', i.e. the martial Rajput ethos reaches the village through the medium of professional entertainers, as well as through folk tales, historical tales, and the martial epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.

1. Chand Bardais was the most famous bard of this era. He served in the court of Prithvi Raj Chauhan, eulogizing his master with the 100,000 stanza epic mentioned above.

"Traveling singers recite the deeds of the Rajput heroes, and episodes in which they appear are acted out by traveling players. The singers and players adapt their offerings to the tastes of their patrons; and in a Rajput dominated village they realize that it is tales of Rajput glory which are most likely to please their listeners and bring them the highest rewards" (1959:16).

It is obviously not only Rajputs who appreciate the "tales of Rajput glory"--the songs appeal to most village men. Certain aspects of 'the martial idea of the Rajput', which the songs reflect and reinforce, constitute part of a more encompassing North Indian ethos. "The idea is reflected more fully in the behavior of some men than it is in the behavior of others; it also may be reflected in the behavior of the same man at one time and not at another" (Ibid, p. 10). Courage, personal pride, pride in physical strength and political power, a stern and unsmiling demeanor, swagger, the use of swords, guns, horses, elephants, and military-style bands; and quickness to perceive personal slight--these traits seem as common among Brahmans, Ahirs and members of other castes as among Thakurs, the local holders of the Ksatriya status.

The martial ethos is as strong in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Western Bihar as it is anywhere in Northern India. The fighting that took place in the area during the 1857 mutiny as well as the violent anti-British uprising of 1942 are evidence for this assertion.

Grierson has said, in commenting on the prevalence of khari birha about Rama in Western Bihar:

"... it deals much oftener with the warrior god Rama, than with the cowherd god Krishna.¹ This is the consequence of the singers' surroundings. Shahabad, the district in which they dwell, (now

1. In my collection of khari birha those concerning Krishna outnumber those about Rama, but that does not detract from Grierson's point.

known as Arrah District, adjacent to Ballia and Gazipur Districts of Uttar Pradesh), might almost be called a second Rajputana in its heroic legends and songs. It is the land made holy by the blood of Bhag'wati the Raj'putin, who drowned herself to save her brother from the hands of the Musalmans, and it is the birth-land of Alha and Rudal, the heroes of Mahoba.¹ In later times, too, tough-hearted old Kuar Singh led the Shahabad Rajputs against the English in the mutiny. It is a country of fighting-men, and as such Rama of Ayodhya and not Krishna of Mathura is the god of the land" (1883:211).

The martial ethos has been an aspect of North Indian culture since the era of the Rajputs. The focus of its antagonism has shifted through time from local enemies to Muslim invaders to the British, and, as will be brought out in the section on entertainment music, to Pakistan and its "allies."

Notes on the Nat

Hutton states that Nat is "A caste of singers, dancers, acrobats, and professional criminals . . . who generally move about without a permanent territorial location" (1969:290). Majumdar shows a wide distribution of the caste, over an area stretching from Punjab and Rajasthan to Bengal on his map of "Ex-Criminal Tribes of India" (1961: opp. 374).

Two of the Nat singers interviewed indicated that selling cattle was their primary occupation; singing Alhas was limited to certain seasons. They returned whenever possible from their work-related travel to their permanently located families (three and fifteen miles from Indrapur). Each of these singers had exclusive singing rights over a certain territory. Although the caste is Muslim, it is not made obtrusive. The singers did not wear the lungi, the patterned shirt-

. Neither informants nor other literature indicate the birthplace of Alha and Rudal to be in Shahabad District.

like lower garment often worn by Muslims in this area.

One Nat, who travelled alone, said he would not take food or water from the sub-caste of the Nat who sang in Indrapur. He said that the sub-caste to which he belonged was higher than that of the other Nat partly because they could keep their women at home.

The wife of the Nat who sang around the village was a tattoist. She sometimes sang songs similar to the sagun on p. 8 as she worked.

Musical Style

The Alha has a strophic form--two lines of text are sung in one melodic cycle. The range of the melody is seven notes, and the scale is quite close to the Western diatonic scale.¹ The vocal style is throaty and fairly relaxed.

The drumming is highly developed. The drum is the ubiquitous *holak*. It is used as rhythmic accompaniment and to punctuate and dramatize the narrative. As the story becomes exciting, the drumming becomes more fervent. When the singer wants to cover some less interesting but necessary material in the text he stops drumming altogether and half-talks-half-sings the narrative very rapidly. He occasionally uses interjections like he bābā jī ('Hey, sir') to regain the attention of the audience.

. The tunes to which Alhas are sung vary regionally. The tune of an Alha recorded by Professor Nazir Jairazbhoy in a village north of Allahabad (eighty miles west of Banaras) differs substantially from the tune which Alha singers around Indrapur used.

CHAPTER VI

ENTERTAINMENT MUSIC

Introduction

In the last chapter I discussed kinds of non-participatory music found in the village in which the performers were largely soloists. They were either uncompensated for their efforts, or had to beg for compensation. Their audiences were generally small.

In this chapter I will examine kinds of non-participatory music which in three respects rank a step above the types discussed in the previous chapter--

1. The size of the performing group is larger--from two to eleven.
2. The cost of a performance is higher.
3. The audience attracted is greater. These performances usually accompany weddings and gaunas, and may be heard by from fifty to several hundred people.

We are concerned here with two kinds of performance: the singing groups and the instrumental bands. The band's primary function is to lead various processions involved in the wedding. The primary function of the singing groups is to entertain the wedding guests. I deal with the latter type of performance first.

The structures of these musical performances range from formal to informal. In the formal performances the musical group sits before the seated audience. The physical separation of the group from the audience supports its distinct role and the respect it is accorded in the situation--the musical group dominates while the audience remains more or less passively attentive. The formal performances usually occur at the functions of wealthier, upper caste families and symbolize their wealth and prestige. The songs sung in the formal situation are

generally more refined and their performance more skilled than those of the informal situation.

In the informal situation the musical groups, which are less esteemed than those who play in the formal situations, perform standing. They play only percussion instruments, and often dance simultaneously. There is much less physical and social separation of the group from the audience, which at times may be clustered around the group on all sides. Many of the groups that play in the informal situations are biradari of the nuptial parties.

Context of the Formal Performance

During the wedding and at the gauna, the groom's party is accommodated at some distance from the bride's house, preferably at the edge of the village. They are provided with cots, and served refreshments, cigarettes, and pan. In the wedding, if the families are wealthy, a tent (like a small circus tent) is erected to accommodate the musicians and their audience. Otherwise, the musicians find an appropriate location near the groom's party where the guests can collect to listen to them. The immediate audience is composed only of males, but women often watch and listen from semi-concealed locations nearby.

There is no master of ceremonies and the musicians are rarely introduced. As they arrange themselves and tune their instruments for the performance, people begin collecting in front of them. Each style of song has a wordless introduction which signals those that are interested so they can prepare to listen when the singer begins singing the text. The audience is rarely quiet. If people don't find a song interesting, they talk with one another and come and go as they please. Children are usually about making noise. But if the performance is

appreciated, members of the audience communicate their pleasure with conventional interjections and by offering gratuities at the completion of the song.

Songs and Styles of the Formal Groups

Each of the following three sections (birhā, kavvālī, and Song and Dance Groups) will include the texts of representative songs as well as comments regarding the social identities of the performers, features of the form and style of performance, and the range of themes generally found in the songs.

Birha

80. Birha

1. Sikādar (Alexander the Great) had slept one day in his palace,
awakened and looked at the map of the world
2. He made a vow in his heart to raise his flag throughout the world
3. I take in hand a full cup of blood; not even in dreams do I know
defeat
4. (Unintelligible)
5. The world conqueror Sikadar went into India for victory
6. He raised his flag on the banks of the Jhelam river
7. He had conquered western Asia, Egypt, and Persia
8. Wanting India too, he crossed the Sind river
9. At Udamadi he dispersed the forces of the Sind and Punjabi kingdoms
10. There the terrible felon met the Raja of Taxila
11. Between the Jhelum and the Cinab rivers there was a very brave man,
Raja Poras
12. When he planted the enemy flag on the banks of the Jhelam, the
sandy plains cried out for the pride and joy of Poras

13. Save the honor of the motherland, brother, protect the dignity of
the country with all your might (this is the refrain)
14. Sikadar planted the flag on the bank of the river Jhelam
15. The river Jhelam also raised a shout at the billowing ācal¹
16. At my border, son, the foe has raised a challenge
17. Save your birthland from any stain
18. Drive any enemy from our border
19. The foe has come and taken his seat; listen to my story
20. The bugle blew a signal, the sandy plain raised a shout
21. The motherland shed a flow of tears; Sikandar planted his flag
22. The forces of Sikadar increased when he met the stalwart Ambi
Naresh of our homeland; the secrets of the interior were obtained
23. Then Poras challenged the Greeks
24. Brave one, stop this flowing stream of blood
25. (Unintelligible)
26. Bind the shroud of blood, pick out your biggest soldiers, go and
stop Sikadar
27. The strike was on the border; Sikadar planted his flag
28. The clouds were rent with incessant torrents of water
29. Sons of the motherland, save our dignity; in the battlefield the
flag of the lion began to shimmer
30. Save the honor of the motherland, brothers, protect the country
with all your might
31. Sons of the motherland, save our dignity; in the battlefield the
flag of the lion began to shimmer
32. Oh go, young lions, while they are strutting at the border
33. Then take the naked sword in your hands

1. The front part of the sari which covers the breasts.

34. The Greek soldiers saw this great man and fled
35. There seemed to be darkness in all directions
36. Having seen his fleeing troops, Sikandar called:
37. "Where are you fleeing, jackals?"
38. The soldiers clash, sir, look to the border
39. The swords fell from both directions
40. The elephant troop of Poras bolted
41. The huge army scattered
42. The support troops of the elephant group fell
43. Then they captured Poras
44. "I will either give up the kingdom or take the noose; I'm not
afraid of you."
45. The foreigners cried
46. Come, Sikandar, take weapons in hand
47. The acal of the motherland was soaked with blood
48. (Unintelligible)
49. "Blessings upon you, son," said the Jhelam river
50. Boys, you have saved the honor of our countrymen
51. Celebrate the beautiful motherland that you have kept undaunted
52. Guru Bihari, from Guru Ganesh (unintelligible) brave Sikadar
53. The poet from Majui village in Gazipur District
54. Protect the dignity of the country with all your might
55. Says Ram Laksman, touching the feet of Sarasvati¹
56. Protect the dignity of the country with all your might
57. Save the honor of the motherland, brother, protect the dignity of
the country with all your might

1. The goddess of learning and patroness of the arts and sciences

Commentary: This song is a contemporary interpretation of the defeat of Poras by Alexander the Great (here called Sikādar).

"(Alexander) passed the Indus in 327 B.C., and formed an alliance with Taxiles, under whose guidance he reached the Hydaspes (modern Jhelum). This river he crossed after a severe struggle with Porus, in whom he met an opponent very superior to the Persian satraps who had hitherto confronted him . . . He then moved farther east and crossed the Acesines (Chenub) and the Hyroates (Ravi), and reached the Hyphasis (Beas), which now joins the last river of the Punjab, the Sutlej, but which then flowed in a different channel. He never reached the Sutlej" (Encyclopedia Americana p. 370).

The nationalistic fervor which permeates this song has its basis in the martial ethos discussed in the section on the Alha. The key concepts of lāj--'honor', and paniyā--'respect', are the moral concepts which determine the course of action followed by the hero of the Alha. The same two words are dominant in the song above.

The invasion of Alexander is interpreted by contemporary audiences as a threat to the motherland, i.e. India, which did not exist in its present form at that time. The song shows the extent to which the nationalistic interpretation (verging at times on xenophobic paranoia) is taken in viewing even such peripherally related matters as a two-thousand-year-old invasion.

The use of the nationalistic sentiment in song is indicative of its current prevalence. Again it is useful to think of songs as reflecting and molding or reinforcing sentiment. Significantly, All-India Radio broadcasts tape recorded performances of patriotic songs such as this, which are called deś bhaktī gīt--'songs of devotion to the nation'. The songs are performed by the best of the rural singing groups of the types described here. The possibility of having one's songs broadcast on the radio is a strong incentive to compose songs in the acceptable mode. The prestige resulting from employment by All-

India Radio is great, and of considerable economic importance to a musical group.¹

The strategy which underlies the broadcast of such songs is one of union in opposition, an approach which is evident in the national news coverage of international affairs. Attention is diverted from divisive internal issues to external affairs, interpreted as threats to the nation.

The use of effective symbolism in this song is impressive. One word I have translated as 'motherland' is dūdh, literally 'milk'. The other word here translated as 'motherland' is ācal, which literally means the part of the sari which covers the breasts. Thus we see the patriotic relationship between citizen and nation modeled upon the primary social relationship; the nation is identified with the warmth and succor of the mother's breast.

The bisarjan ('concluding stanza') in this song not only salutes the composer's guru and patron deities, but leaves the listener with the primary refrain of the song: "Save the honor of the motherland, brother, protect the dignity of the country with all your might."

I recorded one birha (too long to include here) which used the story of a soldier from the area killed in the 1965 war with Pakistan to extol the glory of dying for the motherland. The song employed some of the same catch-phrases used in the above song, e.g. "Save the honor of the motherland." One of the soldier's heroic feats was the destruction of Pakistani tanks, which he 'lit like a holi fire' (cf.

1. All-India Radio at Sarnath (about 10 miles north of Banaras) broadcasts a fifteen minute program of rural music three times a week. The music is also used for interludes in the evening program for farmers and in several other daily programs.

Chapter IV). The tanks were called 'Pattons' and their destruction was depicted in the song as a blow to America. Since the 1965 war and particularly during the Bangla Desh confrontation, America has been regarded by many (both educated and uneducated) as an ally of Pakistan and therefore more an enemy than a friend.

81. Birha

1. Oh the marching soldier takes the gun in his hands from morning to
night at the border
2. The farmer puts the plow on his shoulders and takes the ox to the
field
3. The homes of both are in one village
4. In childhood they played at the same door
5. There the soldier safeguards the country; here the farmer
cultivates the fields
6. The soldier protects the honor of the country, holding his life in
his hand
7. The farmer mixes his blood and sweat in the soil and sustains the
country.
8. There the soldier destroys tanks and planes; here the farmer
destroys the alkaline crust of the soil
9. There the soldier in his iron hat; here the farmer with cow dung
and fertilizer
10. There the guns fire in salute and the bugle plays the signal; here
the ankle bracelets jingle as the woman brings refreshments to
the field
11. While the soldier marches at the border, the farmer walks to and
from his home with the plow on his shoulders and takes the ox to
the field
12. There the soldier protects the country; here he makes the soil into
gold

13. There the soldier drives out the enemy; here the farmer eradicates poverty
14. The farmer gives succor to the country; taking his life in his hands the soldier protects the country
15. Ram Sevak says both are the pride of India; both are the glory of the country

Commentary: Most birhas use a standard form and tune which is specific to the genre. Some such as this one use melodies from film songs; kavvālī tunes are also adopted. All types of formal groups increasingly resort to film songs for tunes and repertoire.

The man who helped transcribe the song said that Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri (who succeeded Nehru) coined the slogan Jāya javān jāya kisān ('Hail to the soldiers, hail to the farmers'), which is the essence of the above song. Songs stressing the importance of the labor of farmers and wage earners to India's development and ascendance are also heard frequently on All-India Radio.

Structure and Types of Birha Texts

Birha texts are usually narrational in form, a structure shared by the Alha. The less common structure of Song 81. is similar to the 'variations on a theme' style of some of the women's songs. A few birhas are heard which concern mythological subjects, but most birhas are topical. The following themes (from songs I recorded) are typical: (a) indictment of the dowry institution using as a basis a story involving multiple murders, suicides, etc; (b) the Apollo 11 space mission; (c) a terrible train wreck in which many were killed; (d) the assassination of Gandhi.

A birha singer performs songs composed both by himself and by other birha singers. Booklets containing the texts of contemporary

birhas are sold at bazaars, fairs, and train stations.

Social Identity of Birha Singers

The singers of birhas are primarily Ahirs, although persons of other castes of equal or lower rank are also members of such groups, e.g. Nunias and Bhars.

Regional Distribution and Language of the Birha

As indicated by Arya (1968:30), the homeland of birha is the Bhojpuri-speaking area; it occurs much less frequently in Western Uttar Pradesh. How far it extends into Bihar and other surrounding states is not known. The language of birha is a mixture of standard Hindi and Bhojpuri.

In regions where birha is not found, other musical genres are used as vehicles for topical subjects. Vatuk (1969:2) mentions the use of devotional songs and "modern" Alhas in this capacity in Western Uttar Pradesh and Punjab.

Instrumental Format

The distinctive instrument in the musical format of the birha group is one of the class called kartāl ('percussion instrument not employing a stretched membrane to produce sound'). This particular kind of kartal consists of two sets of two iron bars. They are about one foot long, an inch in diameter at the center, and tapered at each end. The player holds two loosely in each hand and strikes one with the other by rapidly curling his fingers, producing a clang of indeterminate pitch. Of the four to seven members in a group, one or two play kartal. There is always one dholak player, who can produce a wide variety of tekas ('rhythmic cycles with specific patterns of

accents') and other effects. The dholak is a barrel-shaped, double-headed, wood-bodied drum, over two feet long and a foot in diameter. It produces a sound comparable to the classical Hindustani tabla and baya. On the higher pitched right head the player taps out sharply defined, busier patterns, punctuating and accenting them with the less frequent and deeper gulping sounds of the left head.

The Form of the Birha

Here is a brief sketch of one common form of birha. The song begins with an ālāp by the leader. This is a brief prelude, sung on a vowel, usually with a good deal of melodic motion.¹ It ends on the tonic (the main note of the scale). The support singers raise their voices in unison to the tonic and sustain the tones for a few seconds, adjusting their voices to obtain a perfect unison. The soloist then begins his narrative unaccompanied. At the end of each stanza the chorus joins their voices with his, again sustaining on the tonic. The rhythm section enters at the last line of the verse, and the leader and chorus join together in singing the last line as a repeated refrain over the driving duple rhythms of kartal and dholak. There are many ways this form can be varied. For example, in one verse the chorus may repeat each line sung by the leader.

The scale of birha is generally fairly close to the diatonic Western scale. The general form and the melodies are said to be a synthesis of Alha, kavvali, phagua, and other genres. There is no similarity between the tune of birha and that of khari birha.

1. This term is also used in Hindustani classical music to denote the prelude.

The Ethos of Birha

The spirit of the birha performance is one of intense emotion coupled with an authoritative forcefulness. The leader, usually dressed in khādī, the handspun cotton which symbolizes Indian nationalism,¹ employs a variety of gestures and facial expressions to convey his deep feelings. At a dramatic point, he may cover his ears with his hands, throw his head back and, singing at a high pitch, really "belt it out."

The structure of the song itself reflects its rhetorical nature. The end of each verse is made into a refrain, sung repeatedly by the chorus, symbolizing an authoritative leader/supportive follower principle. With the song providing this "follow-the-leader" model, the birha group, styling themselves in an approved authoritative mode, convince their audiences of the validity of the composer's reactions to and sentiments about serious matters of social concern and national pride.

Birha groups sometimes sell their services to campaigning politicians, composing special songs to suit the platform of their patron. The style of birha is well-suited to this use.

Kavvālī

One of the common subjects of kavvali is unrequited love, always from the male perspective. This is generally formulated in terms of the narrator's desire for a certain woman, the devastating effects her

-
1. In the nineteen-twenties, Gandhi indicted the British for extracting raw cotton at cheap rates from India and selling British manufactured cloth to the Indian people at a high profit. Gandhi and his followers promoted cottage-industry-made cloth--khādī, as an alternative.

appearance and behavior have on him, and his despair when he cannot possess her. Here is a typical kavvali:

82. Kavvali

1. Yes, I'm troubled by love
2. But the trouble will not go away
3. I am ruined unless she realizes what she is doing
4. Oh, in her eyes are everything but (repeated 3X)
5. There isn't any passion
6. Don't play with my life
7. Life isn't that cheap
8. A flower has the right to smile
9. But why does the sprouting bud smile?
10. The coquettish look is wrong
11. She cries; she doesn't laugh
12. He sits on the bank of the river
13. He throws the net wide
14. How clever are the fish!
15. Not even one fish is caught
16. Oh will the net catch me?
17. On his hook there is no bait

(Only the essential repetition has been indicated; most of the lines are repeated two or three times.)

Commentary: The form and content of this type of kavvali derive from the ghazal, a type of Urdu court poetry in couplets or short lyrics, written in the eighteenth century by Mir and other Muslim poets. A simile of this song, the smiling flower, is found in one of Mir's ghazals:

I asked how long the rose would bloom
The rosebud heard my words and smiled (Russel & Islam
1968:179)

In the above song the narrator uses the simile to assert that a mature woman has the right to use her beauty to arouse and attract him, but this girl doesn't realize the effect her charms have on him. Lines twelve through seventeen are somewhat startling in their disjuncture with the prior lines. This disunity of content is characteristic of the ghazal, in which ". . . every couplet is an independent entity, not necessarily related even in mood to its neighbors" (Russell 1969:108).

Another kavvali theme heard occasionally is also descended from the ghazal. This type is based on the concept of a personal relationship with God which is modeled upon the relationship between a man and his mistress (a concept adopted from Persian poetry). Again there is the element of unrequited love. The ambiguity of reference (to God or to mistress) is basic to the poem. The conceptual basis is the inverse of the Vaisnava devotional songs, in which Radha's love for Krishna is interpreted as an allegory expressing the soul's desire for unity with God.¹

83. Kavvali

1. In this great expanse, the holy place Brij is best of all.²
2. Nandagav is the best of all places
3. In Lanka the name of Ram was made very famous
4. Hanuman said, "My Ram is so good."
5. In Lanka when Angad put his foot down
6. He said, "Is there a brave man here who can lift my foot?"
7. When every brave man had lost, then Ravan came forward to the foot.
8. Angad said, "Why did you come and grasp my foot?"

-
1. The examples I was able to collect were in a highly literary form of Urdu which informants were unable to translate with assurance, hence their absence. See p. 9.
 2. Brij is the area around Mathura, usually associated with Krishna, and thus seems out of place in a song about Ram, as does Nandagav, where Krishna was born.

9. If you have to touch, then go and touch the foot of Rama
10. Rama, whoever was touched by your gaze of mercy
11. His sin was removed, his spoiled fate corrected
12. By your mercy even he who was ruined from the beginning was saved
13. Ahilya also received mercy from the feet of Gautam Rishi
14. When Rama came forward and put his foot on the stone block
15. How did Hanuman and the other monkeys meet on the sea coast?
16. Not knowing where Sita was, he searched here and there
17. Hanuman crossed the sea and arrived at the mountains
18. All the mountains were depressed below the underworld
19. When Hanuman angrily put his foot down

Commentary: This song refers to several episodes in the Ram Charit Manas (Tulsi Das' Hindi version of the Ramayana. See the summary on p. 227). Angad was the son of Bali, the king of the monkeys who served Rama in the battle with Ravan. He was sent to Ravan to obtain the release of Sita. After arguing with Ravan and his aides, Angad wagered (to demonstrate that they would be foolish to do battle with Rama's forces) that no one could budge his foot. All of the aides tried and failed; when Ravan grasped his foot Angad admonished that he would be wiser to touch the feet of Ram (and thus admit his inferiority and signal his surrender) (Growse 1966:401). This episode is not one celebrated in most of the songs lauding Rama.

Rishi Gautam (mentioned in Line 13) turned his beautiful wife Ahilya into a block of stone as punishment for her sleeping with the god Indra. The Ramayana relates how Rama, while in the Dandaka forest, accidentally touched the stone block with his foot and revived the woman (Walker 1968:403).

The story also refers to the conference of monkeys prior to Hanuman's departure for Lanka (Ceylon). The last three lines of this song seem to confuse an element of Tulsi Das' story. According to Growse's translation, Hanuman depressed the mountains on the southern

tip of the peninsula when he sprang from them to fly to Lanka.

This song is an example of the use of Hindu mythological episodes in kavvali. Informants said that thirty or forty years ago kavvalis were sung only by Muslims. Today a kavvali group may consist of Muslims, Hindus, or a mixture of both. Apparently the use of Hindu mythological subjects as song topics has resulted both from the adoption of the kavvali genre by Hindu musicians and the desire of Muslim entertainers to accommodate Hindu audiences. Kavvali and its performance thus represent a convergence of Muslim and Hindu sub-cultures as well as a point of articulation between the two segments of the society.

In addition to the divisions of kavvali subjects mentioned above, I heard kavvalis about such topics as the exploits and glories of Krishna, Ram's journey in the forest, the foibles of a villager in the city, and 'devotion to the nation'. A kavvali group heard in the spring of 1972 performed one enthusiastically received song lauding Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's strength and determination throughout the war in Bangla Desh. The air was full of hands waving rupee notes as the song finished. (Such gratuities are proof of a song's positive reception; they also have a prestige value for the donor.)

Spirit and Form of Kavvali

Like the birha, the kavvali is forceful, sometimes to the point of overstatement, in its delivery. Its authoritativeness, however, is used more to convey intense emotion than to impress a social outlook. The kavvali is more refined and sophisticated in style and content. It shares some of the following elements with the birha: the alap, the alternation of verses sung by the leader with refrains consisting of

the last line of the verse sung by the chorus, and the use of the dholak to play complex patterns of accents with a propulsive beat. But kavvali has many distinguishing features. Kavvali melodies are more elaborate than the standard birha tune. The vocal line in kavvali employs more frequent and more intricate ornaments; their precise execution is one mark of the skilled performer. Like birha, which in some ways seems to be a less refined adaptation of it, the kavvali employs many passages in a high vocal range. These, sung with a constricted throat, give kavvali an even more anguished, strained feeling than birha. This feeling is reinforced by the physical appearance of the singer, with his lined brow and tense neck muscles. He often sits so that he can rise on his knees at dramatic moments, and may resort to throwing off his cap and pretending to tear out his hair.¹

Urdu predominates in the non-Hindu and even in some of the Hindu material. With its velar consonants and more phonetically articulated nature, it imparts a flavor quite distinct from the more mellifluous, less constricted Bhojpuri. Uneducated villagers, however, understand little of the pure Urdu songs and accept the fact as part of the performance.

The harmonium is the mainstay of the kavvali vocalist. It is a portable hand-pumped organ, approximately two and a half by two by one feet in size, with a piano-type keyboard. The scale is diatonic, and spans three or three and a half octaves--from C to C or C to F. The player pumps a spring-loaded bellows with his left hand, pressing the keys with the fingers of his right hand.

1. In discussing Muslim singers Fox-Strangways states that the less able singer "is apt to tear a passion to pieces" rather than not challenge the admiration of the audience (1965:89).

First imported from Europe by missionaries in the nineteenth century, the harmonium is widely used in North India. It is disdained by musicologists because, due to its diatonic scale, its use is thought to have a homogenizing influence on the diverse indigenous scales, each of which has a different intervallic structure with its own "flavor " (Cf. Fox-Strangways 1965:16). Its bland, accordian-like timbre seems incongruous with Indian music, and it is incapable of producing many of the gamakas (embellishments) so basic to Indian melodies. The price of a reasonably good harmonium ranges from two hundred to three hundred rupees; the cheapest start at about ninety rupees.

The vocalist accompanies himself with the harmonium by playing a melodic line which is roughly in unison with his vocal line. He also uses it to play short introductory sections which precede the alap, brief instrumental interludes, and to play filler phrases between vocal lines.

Audience Evaluation of Birha and Kavvali

Men's comments regarding birha and kavvali performances indicated that the forcefulness and intensity of the genres were essential to a successful, well-received performance. Laudatory remarks about performance usually referred to the ability of the singer to generate strong emotional responses in the listener. A typical comment was hamke itanī barī joś ka lahar laggayal ('this large a wave of force [emotion] hit me). The term mast ('intoxicating') was also used frequently in affirmative comments e.g. barī mast bājā hai ('that's very intoxicating playing'). Their comments indicated that both 'strong' and 'sweet' voices were valued. As in our own society, 'a good voice' often refers to both quality of the voice and the skill

with which the voice is used. I was not able to determine what aspects of vocal performance other than the quality of the voice were recognized and evaluated, e.g. vocal trills and ornaments. In this area of inquiry (musical esthetics) language fluency is essential because much of the most reliable data is in spontaneous comments like the above, and difficult to elicit in other contexts. I was only able to scratch the surface due to my limited fluency in Bhojpuri.

The lyrics or story of a song are generally more important to the majority of the listeners than any refinement in singing or instrument playing. Vocal execution, which at times seemed marvelous to me, was ignored if it was not coupled with an arresting verbal phrase. The high valuation of lyrics is a characteristic of the ghazal tradition. Birha and kavvali competitions similar to those in which ghazals are (or were) recited (cf. Russell 1969:121-124) are still held occasionally in both rural and urban areas.

Song and Dance Groups

In another type of 'formal' performance one or more female-impersonating singer-dancers are accompanied by a harmonium-dholak-chorus ensemble like that of kavvali. This type of group is called nācnā ('dancing') or nauthākī. The following two songs are typical of this type.

84. Purvi

1. You can leave the country, but my eye make-up does not leave
2. The myrtle stain does not leave my feet
- 3.&4. When I heard you were coming I made thousands of preparations
5. You have taken my heart and fled, you have deceived me and fled

6. I swear, sakhi, he deceived me and left
7. If you were just going to deceive me, why did you go through with the gauna?
8. The night was pleasant; why were you in my dream?
9. The bed was empty the whole night; I was afraid
10. I am unfortunate; he brought me here and left
11. Oh God, I got an ill-starred husband
- 12.&13. The era is evil; there are evil men
14. To whom did I make a promise? Why have people started looking at me suggestively?
15. They say, "Sweetheart, just come and embrace me!"
16. The pitcher sometimes bursts and spills
17. Hey Sia Ram, I will not get to be with you
18. Oh, if you are going to come, come in my youth
19. This empty bed is not at all pleasant

Commentary: This is a sympathetic description of a situation which is contemporary but not new. A man, after having brought his bride home, left and did not return when expected. In the first line, which is a pun on chūṭe which means, in different contexts, both 'abandon' and 'fade away', the female narrator is saying: you are free to do as you please, but I have changed my life irrevocably for you. In lines 14 and 15 she is saying that the men of the village, knowing her husband is away, try to take advantage of her. In line 16 she signals that she may suffer a nervous collapse.

85. Purvi

1. At midnight the cuckoo calls
2. The pretty woman starts, gets up and stands near the bed
3. The mango has blossomed, the mahua¹ has flowered
4. The sleep of the lady separated from her lover has been broken

1. The tree Bassia latifolia

5. The breeze blows over her body
6. The door to memories begins to open
7. The flowers have blossomed; the bee has become attracted
8. Why has her husband not come home?
9. She wrote her sorrows in a letter, posted it, and darkness began to descend
10. Tears flow in her eyes
11. Birds began to fly and the sky became pleasing
12. The parrot began calling from the cage of her heart
13. The hard-hearted one does not remember the love he gave to me
14. God knows when he will remove this sorrow

Commentary: The theme of this song and the conventionalized images used to depict it are found in classical Sanskrit poetry as well as the later Sanskrit poem, the Gita Govinda. The call of the cuckoo, the scents of trees and flowers, the blossoms surrounded by bees, and the motion of the breeze are all thought to increase the desire of separated lovers (men and women alike). The theme is called virahāhdukh, "the pain of separation in love" (Keyt 1940:9). The theme recurs frequently in the men's kajalis. Here are some examples from the Sanskrit:

The lotus pond is bristling with pink buds:
the nights grow shorter while the empyrean's gem,
its cloak of frost unloosed, grows bold.
Now come the days resounding with the cuckoo
and sweet with mango scent
to cut the hearts of ladies separated from their lovers.

(Saṃghaśrī)

The wind that blows
from the sandal trees of Malabar,
the sweet sound of cuckoos, and the bower vines
raise waves within the hearts of men,
raise yearning

(Śrīkaṇṭha)

(Ingalls 1968:90)

and from the Gita Govinda:

When breezes blow from the Malayan mountain, longing grows and increases
When clusters of flowers open in bloom, torn are the hearts that are
parted.

He droops, separated from you, O friend, the wearer of garlands! . . .

When he hears the noise of the swarms of bees, he covers his ears from
their humming;

Pain he feels, night after night, of a heart in love that is parted.

He droops, separated from you, O friend, the wearer of garlands!

(Keyt 1947:51).

The contemporary songs incorporating these images and themes show that the sentiments of romantic love have persevered in Indian culture despite institutions which would seem to discourage them--purdah, arranged marriages, and the absence of courtship. Archer (1958:73) explains this by positing a propensity for romance which can only be expressed in romantic poetry and song.¹ This may or may not be true. We do know that North Indian men and women experience romantic love. As Mrs. Karve once stated, "In India we get married and then fall in love " (And cf. Russell 1969:117). Pervasive feelings of romantic love are not generated in all marriages, to be sure, but several informants in Indrapur confided that they held romantic feelings towards their wives.

Form and Spirit of Song and Dance Music

The harmonium and dholak are also used to accompany this kind of music. The primary difference is in the repertoire of the singer, which in addition to kavvali and film songs includes song types called purvī ('easterly'), chaparahiyā ('of Chapara'--a district in Western Bihar) and Bhojpuri (a residual category of songs not qualifying for the other appellations).²

1. Russell explains the kind of love expressed in the ghazal in a similar fashion: it is release in socially approved fantasy of impulses which if enacted would bring drastic penalties (1969:120).
2. Purvi and chaparahiya are names given to melodies which to me seemed very similar. This awaits musicological analysis. Marta Nicholas states that these tunes are similar to the music of Bengali drama troupes, called jātra (1972:personal communication).

Purvi and chaparahiya are less strident than kavvali, with less angular melodies. Their themes are generally romantic.

Dancing

Dancing is found in conjunction both with the song and dance groups and with most of the informal groups (described below)--but never with the performance of birha or the group which sings only kavvalis. The dancer is called a lāudā. He is generally a young man--from twelve to twenty-one years old, who has learned how to look and move like a woman. His coiffured hair has been allowed to grow to a suitable length (or he may wear a hair piece). He wears a padded brassiere and all the garments and jewelry worn by a well dressed village woman, including ear and nose rings, hair ornaments, necklets, bangles, anklets, toe rings, and the colī ('brief blouse'), sari, and underskirt. He also has learned how to beautify his eyes, lips, finger- and toe-nails, and feet. He sings with a peculiar timbre, a falsetto which is intended to represent a woman's voice. His dancing style is much like that of the village women (see p. 53). The results, given grace, a good face, and careful attention to accoutrements, movement and gesture, can be quite convincing--I sometimes forgot I was watching a male. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the female-impersonating dancer is an institutional correlate of purdah.

The Informal Groups

The performances of the informal groups contrast markedly with those of the formal groups, in both their music and their delivery. There is less physical and social distance between the informal musicians and the "audience", which is rarely grouped in front of the performers. This is partly due to the fact that the musicians are

often caste brothers of the families involved in the wedding; they are not total strangers. It is also due in part to the somewhat diminished importance they have in the situation. They are there to provide diversion and amusement--neither art nor profundities are expected. Here are songs representative of the repertoires of the informal groups.

86. Kahāravā

1. Brij has become deserted
2. Without you, Krishna, Brij has become deserted
3. Without sustenance the soul becomes saddened, friend, like a fish
out of water
4. Listen, dear, the woman is sad, the woman is sad
5. She is wilting day by day
6. She sits on the decorated bed, and a sensual feeling comes over her
7. Her coli string snaps
8. Wipe off the sweat that has come on me, dear
9. The fine orange bedspread on the red bed
10. Carefully place your feet on the bed
11. The lingam grows erect
12. From one side comes the young Radha, from the other Krishna
13. In the narrow lanes of Brindaban I got this precious lover
14. I bathed in Kartik and the eight months before; I worshipped Siv
15. What damage you have done, Brahma, to have written a young husband
into my destiny

Commentary: This is a disjointed collation of themes and lines from different genres. First we have the desperate longing of the gopis for Krishna, which occurs as a refrain throughout the song. This is used to introduce the plight of the lonely woman, who is wilting without her husband. Unexpectedly, he is there and they satisfy their desires in the images of Krishna and Radha. Line 14 is from a sohar and Line 15,

a non sequitur here, is found in songs such as those sung by the Natin-- the more recently composed women's recreational songs.

87. Kohāravā Nirgun Bhajan

1. I used to play at my father's house until my husband sent the order
that the day of the gauna had come
2. This is the way it is, friend, my heart became worried. This is the
way it is
3. When the barat came to father's house there was a dark green curtain
on the red palanquin
4. The band played once; I am worried, friend
5. Let us mix together, companions, today I leave my father's fine
house
6. What precious babe or who else can I take to play with?
7. In the house my mother cries, father at the head of the palanquin,
my brother grabs the palanquin and cries. This is the way it is,
friend
8. I left my home; love pained me, friend
9. The rain drip-dropped all night; how can I say, friend, that which
is in my heart
10. This is the way it is, friend, my eye make-up has dried, my lungs
have withered

Commentary: Informants were quick to recognize this as a nirgun bhajan. This particular song was recorded from a group of Kohars. Another with the same theme was recorded from a group of Gors. The theme is found in one of Kabir's poems (Tagore 1970:75). Why these groups have adopted nirgun bhajans remains to be investigated.

In this song the gauna is a symbol of death. The red palanquin refers to the red shroud in which the corpse is traditionally wrapped.

Other song subjects in this style included: a song in which Krishna is depicted as a bully (cf. Arya 1968:102), coercing the gopis to comply with his wishes; the story of Udho's unsuccessful mission to

Gokula to pacify the bereaved gopis after Krishna had left them (from the Bhagavata Purana); a devotional song to Rama employing episodes from the Ramayana, and a sohar, which, like the women's nation-devotion song (1.) had been adapted to express nationalistic sentiments. Its first lines:

88. Dhobi Nac

1. Grasp Gandhi's feet
2. Do Nehru's devotion and never forget God's name
3. Ram and Allah are the same; only the names are different
4. Hindu and Muslim are brothers; fighting is useless
5. Father went to worship at the temple of Siv

(The balance of the song is in the mode of a women's devotional song such as 1. and 9.)

Instrumental Format, Music Form, and Performance

The instruments used are all percussive. They include: (a) the huruk (see p. 288 for description). This type of drum is found throughout India. In this area it is generally associated with the Gor and Kahar castes; (b) small and large clay-bowled kettle drums (nagarā) played with sticks, usually by Camars; (c) daphalā (see description on p. 37), which is generally associated with Camars; (d) the gong, a dished disk about eight inches in diameter, suspended from a string held in one hand and struck with a wooden mallet; (e) cymbals, generally larger in diameter by several inches than those used in harikirtan.

In these styles the alap is rarely more than a three or four second intoning of the tonic. The melodies are homogeneous with a narrow range. Some of the tunes are quite similar to those of the

men's kajali, and like kajali, are antiphonal. The scales of the tunes are not of the diatonic variety, and most are of very narrow range. They are usually referred to as Kaharava, or Koharava, indicating their direct connections with the Kahar and Kohar castes. Several songs resembled the birha in melody and in the leader/chorus format. There is a noticeable lack of vocal technique; vocals are generally less authoritative and of a less precise unison than those of the formal groups.

The performances of these groups show a different focus than those of the stage groups. The playing of percussion instruments is coordinated to produce cross rhythms, and is emphasized at the expense of the vocals, which are heard with great difficulty.

All of the performers play standing up, and most of them dance while they play. These groups generally employ a female impersonator who dances opposite a male dancer playing the male role. The style of their dancing has been lucidly described by Marriott:

There was one great throng of villagers watching an uplifted male dancer with padded crotch writhe in solitary states of fevered passion and then onanism; then join in a remote pas de deux with a veiled female impersonator in a parody of pederasty, and finally in telephathic copulation--all this to a frenzied accompaniment of many drums (Marriott in Singer 1968:204).

(Those I observed were neither uplifted nor wore the padding he mentions). The spirit of the informal style is earthier and more uninhibited than the other entertainment music. The music constitutes a vital, separate tradition which is apparently descended from an indigenous (non-Aryan) style. The informal style is best compared with the other styles discussed here by conceiving the styles on a continuum. On one end are the refined, artistic, melodic and technically more demanding styles--kavvali and purvi. On the other end is the music of

the informal
birha occupie
percussive el
styles, and s

Consideration

Wealthie
arrangements
expenditure
members, and
long a group
the number of
or may not be
with dancers

The mod
village was
recently pe
largest, mo
instruments
rupees for
(four to fi
received fr
shows. On
fifty rupee

1. The do
the gr
village
his po

the informal groups--more primitive, utilitarian, and percussive. The birha occupies a middle range, taking elements from both traditions--percussive elements and undeveloped melodic forms from the standing styles, and structure and refinement from the kavvali and purvi.

Considerations in the Selection of Musical Entertainment

Wealthier families are expected to spend more for all wedding arrangements, including musical entertainment and bands. A greater expenditure hires a group which is probably more skilled, has more members, and a more prominent reputation. The last depends upon how long a group has been established, how widely known the leader is, and the number of radio performances to their credit. The type of band may or may not be a consideration; uneducated men seemed to prefer groups with dancers and educated men seemed to prefer kavvali groups.

The most expensive group that was hired during my residence in the village was a well known kavvali-cum-song and dance group which had recently performed on All-India Radio programs. It was also the largest, most flexible group, with two harmoniums and several other instruments as well as a dancer. The group was paid eight hundred rupees for three shows.¹ Most birha, kavvali and song and dance groups (four to five men) working for wealthier, upper caste families, received from one hundred fifty to two hundred fifty rupees for three shows. On the other hand, one eleven man Gor-Camar group was paid fifty rupees for one performance.

1. The dowry involved in this Thakur wedding was reportedly Rs. 15,000--the groom's father had the most extensive land holdings in the village and the groom was a student in an engineering college i.e. his potential income was assumed to be great.

Lower caste and poorer families have different strategies for obtaining musical entertainment. Ahirs employ only Ahir groups, which are commonly relatives. Gors, Kohars, Kahars, and Camars also employ groups in which one or more of their biradari, often relatives, are members. These are generally groups of the informal type. They expect to receive less from biradari than they would from wealthier families; their performance may represent the fulfillment or incurrence of an obligation. Other socio-economic connections may also be exploited, e.g. money lenders may persuade one of their poorer clients to perform or have a relative perform.

Comparisons of the Texts of Entertainment Music with Music of the Village

The textual themes found in the music of entertainment groups but not in village music are confined to: (a) Unrequited male love and its use in expressing a personal relationship with God (in kavvali). This is obviously an admixture of Muslim cultural concepts. (b) The topical themes of birha--narration of exciting events and protest of social problems.

There are many textual continuities between entertainment music and those genres widely performed in the village: (a) the use of mythological themes drawn primarily from the Bhagavata Purana and the Ram Charit Manas (and probably filtered through a chain of vernacular poets). These are found in phagua, kajali, women's recreational songs, and khari birha in the village genres, and in all varieties of entertainment music. (b) virahahdukh and the related eroticism are themes of purvi and, among the village genres, of the men's kajali. (c) One theme found in both entertainment music and the music of the

village deserves special attention. Songs regarding national leaders, a concern with development, and the honor of the nation constitute the intrusion of a new element into the corpus of music. Nationalistic topics are found in all types of entertainment music and penetrate to the very core of village music, the women's songs: it was in a song sung at a wedding rite that we first observed this concern (Song 1).

Two cultural themes, the devotional and the martial, provide important bases for nationalistic sentiment. Let us first consider the extension of divinity to national leaders. The apotheosis of Gandhi and Nehru is expressed in the substitution of their names for those of deities in devotional songs (Songs 1 and 88). The songs tell listeners to treat the men as gods--to touch their feet and perform devotional rites to them. Given the enormous popularity and apical status of these two men this was no doubt a spontaneous folk transvaluation facilitated by the similar ways in which people regard the royal and the divine.

The near equivalence of these categories is apparent in myths, rites, and beliefs. The deities of mythology are inevitably princes or kings of earthly or heavenly domains. Even the mother goddesses are addressed as queens in their worship songs. The treatment icons receive in worship ceremonies is symbolic of that accorded to royalty: they are bathed, garlanded, and bestowed with the best and purest foods and pan.

The divinization of the nation is suggested by the emergence of a new category of songs, the deś bhaktī ('nation-devotion') songs. The rubric and the songs to which it refers inform the attitudes of the

people toward

are the gods

In the

to the marti

birha. In t

attached to

toward the m

identity and

between indi

conceived as

to have prid

times.

Music d

identity. A

in this achi

provided an

State-

awareness.

daily openi

Independenc

found in ho

the country

through the

slogans.

Thus we

reflected in

other topics

people towards the nation: the nation is to be revered and served as are the gods.

In the discussion of birha it was pointed out that attitudes basic to the martial ethos contained in the Alha were also present in the birha. In the Alha the attitudes of pride, honor and respect were attached to person and clan. In the birha these attitudes are directed toward the motherland. This marks an important change in personal identity and at the same time provides a model for the relationship between individual and nation. The nation as "mother" is to be conceived as providing material succor and support; the individual is to have pride in the nation, respect it, and guard its honor at all times.

Music is only one of the means used to promote a sense of national identity. All-India Radio and newspapers have also been instrumental in this achievement, and the conflicts with China and Pakistan have provided an abundance of suitable text.

State-supported schools are also important in inculcating national awareness. The raising of the flag and national anthem are part of daily opening exercises. The schools also hold special assemblies on Independence and Republic Days, in which the same kind of group cheers found in holi and mother goddess village ceremonies are used to praise the country and its past and present leaders. The children then march through the village singing national songs and shouting national slogans.

Thus we see that the nationalistic sentiments and attitudes reflected in music are now as much a part of village culture as the other topics of village song.

Introduction

Mention

(āgrezī bāc

entertainme

genre consi

songs from

percussion

wear uniforr

from the Er

The Er

Indian cult

are the Is

Western, M

The E

procession

wedding, t

neighborho

to the edg

dancing b

band to t

leads the

(based on

throughout

bands, con

and fifty

CHAPTER VII

ENGLISH BANDS

Introduction

Mention has been made in foregoing chapters of the 'English Bands' (āgrezī baīd) which lead processions and provide some of the entertainment at weddings. This is a non-participatory, professional genre consisting of groups of lower caste Muslim men and boys who play songs from the entire spectrum of North Indian music on wind and percussion instruments. The bands are called 'English' because they wear uniforms and play musical instruments associated with and adopted from the English military.

The English band is a remarkable synthesis of diverse elements of Indian culture. Combined with the European costume and instruments are the Islamic identity of the bandsmen, and music deriving from Western, Mughal court, Hindu folk, and modern Indian film traditions.

The English band is used primarily to lead processions, and processions are always connected with sacred activities. In the wedding, bands are first used to lead women of the groom's family and neighborhood to the ovens of the Gor for the parching of rice and then to the edge of the village for the final blessing of the groom and dancing by the women. At the bride's village the barat follows the band to the home of the bride for the dvar puja. The next day it again leads the barat to the khicari ceremony. It also plays special songs (based on Rāgā Bhairavī) at dawn and other songs occasionally throughout the day for the entertainment of the guests. The larger bands, consisting of ten to fifteen members, received from one hundred and fifty to two hundred rupees for these services.

Affluent families also hire bands to perform at rites other than the wedding, including the gauna, janeū ('sacred thread') and mūdan ('first hair-cutting') rites. Bands often play in auspicious public ceremonies as well, such as the grand parade of sadhus on Sava Ratra in Banaras. I did not observe bands playing in connection with funerary rites, but informants said that a family might employ a band to play on such an occasion if the deceased had lived a full and prosperous life and the death was not attended by great remorse.

The English band in these contexts was explained by informants with the word māgal. It will be recalled that this word was also used in explaining the importance of women's songs and other music in the wedding, and the desirability of broadcasting devotional music on public address systems. It was also the explanation of the blowing of the conch shell (śākh) in pujas. Māgal is derived from the Sanskrit maṅgala. The word has two primary senses. One is 'happiness, felicity, welfare, bliss . . .' (Monier-Williams 1964:772). The other is 'anything auspicious or tending to a lucky issue (e.g. a good omen, a prayer, benediction . . .)' (Ibid). The band and its music is thus thought to contribute both to the present and to the future good. At the same time, of course, it symbolizes the economic condition of the nuptial families. In summary, the larger and more gaudily outfitted the band, the happier the proceedings, the greater the chances for the success of the marriage, and the more prestige brought to the nuptial families.

Social Composition of the Band

An English band is composed of related men and boys (from about eight to over sixty years old) from a Muslim caste--the Jolaha

('weaver'),
caste') Cur
a seasonal,
as much as p
performance.

Instrumental

English
urban areas
leading mel
saxophone p
percussion
play fit t
played wit
(a larger
hard) play
frequent,
swishing s
may employ

Instruction

The
teacher of
out in a t
and the ce
satisfacto

One o
percussion
1. This d

('weaver'), Darzī ('tailor'), Nat, Śāh (or Sāī 'the Muslim priestly caste') Curīhārā ('bangle seller') or other caste. Performing is only a seasonal, secondary occupation. The leader tries to employ kinsmen as much as possible, which sometimes militates against the quality of performance.

Instrumental Composition of the Band

English bands range in size from three members to over thirty (in urban areas). Trumpets, cornets and clarinets usually take the leading melodic roles and alto horns, valve trombones, and an occasional saxophone provide support with adumbrate unison or octave lines. The percussion instruments constitute a "rhythm choir" i.e. the lines they play fit together in a complementary way. The snare drum (tāmbur dhol), played with two sticks, plays higher pitched, busier patterns, the dhol¹ (a larger double headed drum played with a short stick and one open hand) plays lower pitched, less dense patterns, the bass drum even less frequent, basic accents. Maracas or cymbals or both add a regular swishing sound on top. (This is assuming a larger band. Small bands may employ only the snare and one of the other drums.)

Instruction

The leader of the band is usually a trumpet or cornet player and teacher of some or all of the wind instruments. Instruction is carried out in a traditional guru-cela relationship. The guru plays a phrase and the cela attempts to repeat it until he can replicate it satisfactorily.

One of the older drummers in the band usually teaches the percussion players their parts. Often one or two of the drummers in a

1. This drum is known as a Scottish bass drum in the West.

band are young boys, who play with impressive fierceness and dexterity. They learn by feeling the rhythm--the student holds the sticks in his hands and his teacher holds the student's hands in his own. The teacher then plays the rhythmic cycle on the drum, through the hands of the student, until the child can reproduce it unassisted. There are also bols--spoken phrases which imitate the sounds of a cycle, to help the student learn and remember the cycle. These are also used in the teaching of drumming in classical music.

Repertoire

The bands play four classes of music: film songs; marches; folk tunes such as kajali, phagua, purvi, and kaharava; and ragas. The ragas are similar to those played by contemporary, formally trained classical musicians. As in the orthodox classical tradition, each raga is played only during a certain period in the day. In the morning the bands play different tunes based on the Bhairavī raga. Classical tunes played in the afternoon are based on the Pīlū raga. In the evening, they said, the classical tunes played are based on Raga Shām Kalyānī. (I did not hear any songs of this raga played.) The other genres in the repertoire can be played at any time of day.

Comparison of Brass Band and Classical Ragas

There are interesting similarities and differences between the ragas these bands play and those of the same names which formally trained classical musicians play. In both systems a rāgā¹ is the basis

1. "A raga is a group of tones from which a melody is formed . . . (but) the character of a raga . . . (is also determined) by the emphasis placed on certain tones, by certain characteristic turns in the direction of the melody (in descending, especially), by certain deflections from normal pitch, and even by graces or ornamental notes used with certain tones" (Boatwright 1963:4).

of many songs. Each song is identified by the first phrase or other salient phrase of its text, or by a mukra ('face'), a distinguishing melodic phrase (often that which leads to the sam, the beginning of the rhythmic cycle). In both systems the melody of the song and improvisational passages also contain brief melodic bits or other characteristics of the subsuming raga. These characteristics are, to a considerable degree, common to the two systems: a formally trained musician would generally recognize a song played by a brass band under the appellation Raga Bhairavi as such, because it employs the characteristics which he also identifies with that raga.

In some cases, however, the song which a brass band considers to be based on a certain raga includes melodic phrases which a formally trained classical musician identifies with a different raga, or which do not manifest the characteristics of the raga by which it is called. For example, one song had an introduction which was identified by a classically trained performer and musicologist¹ as based on Raga Malkosh. The subsequent phrase was characteristic of Raga Pilu, but the rest of the song did not manifest the characteristics of Pilu. The leader of the band said the song was in Raga Pilu. Such synthesis is no doubt facilitated by the "free" nature of the two ragas (Bhairavi and Pilu) most commonly played by the brass bands of this area. A "free" raga is one in which there are fewer conventional melodic shapes or other rules which must be observed. There is thus a good deal of latitude in their formulation and elaboration even by classical musicians.

-
1. I am indebted to Professor Nazir Jairazbhoy for his assistance in comparing brass band and classical ragas, and for much of the information in this sub-section. I assume responsibility, however, for the accuracy of the above statements.

The alap (introductory section, usually free of rhythm) of the brass band raga is generally quite brief, consisting of only a few phrases. The trumpets or other high register horns play melodic lines over the tonic pedal (sustained tone) of the low register horns. Classical alaps are generally much longer, as are the complete performances of classical ragas.

The ragas of the brass bands often use rhythmic cycles of the same length i.e. number of beats, as classical ragas. Within these cycles, however, the brass bands use patterns of accents which are not used in classical performances. This is partially due, no doubt, to the differences in instrumentation.

The repertoire and structure of ragas performed in this area are determined both by relations between these "hinterland" musicians and those of the cities, and by the continuation of local traditions through the guru-cela tradition. Some of the features of each song are also no doubt due to individual variation. More investigation is needed to distinguish general from idiosyncratic features.

Style and Performance

The higher register instruments--trumpets, cornets and clarinets, generally play the "lead" roles. These consist in playing the melody in unison or heterophony. (In heterophony each player plays a slightly different version of the melody.) Alternately, during improvisational passages the solo role may be passed from player to player among the better leads. The non-soloing lead horns generally fill in the gaps when the soloist of the moment stops to breathe. This may involve imitating in brief form lines he has just played, or taking up a melody where he dropped it (often quite surprisingly in the middle of a

phrase). Su

with the lea

continuous t

general orga

that of the

more tradit

and bāyā dr

These

some of the

interesting

"Hotter", r

alternatio

resumption

leader sa

"climaxes

phrase). Support horns may play the melody in unison or heterophony with the leads, but an octave lower. They also sometimes play a continuous tone (with brief gaps for breathing) on the tonic. The general organization of the horn parts taken as a whole is similar to that of the sahnai bands of Banaras. (The sahnai bands, however, use a more traditional kind of percussion accompaniment, similar to the tablā and bāyā drums used in classical music.)

These bands play with much snap and verve, and the performances of some of the larger bands display considerable refinement. Particularly interesting is the alternation of "cooler", moderate passages with "hotter", more exciting ones. The effect is achieved through the alternation of solos and restrained percussion with the dramatic resumption of ensemble blowing and more intense percussion. One band leader said that a good band was one that could generate such "climaxes".

CHAPTER VIII

SONG THEMES FOUND IN LITERATURE: KRISHNA AND RELATED ANOMALIES

Introduction

In previous chapters I have discussed the relationship between the songs of the mendicants and the devotional poetry of Kabir and hortatory style of Surdas (pp. 173-5). I have also showed that the Alha was descended from the earliest North Indian vernacular literature, the bardic chronicles. The use of ghazal themes in kavvali was pointed out in Chapter V. Here I will examine several other important motifs of village song which are shared with literature: the motifs pertaining to Krishna and Rama, and some of the conventions of love poetry and song. Later in the chapter I focus on the 'anti-structural' Krishna and similarly anomalous members of other classes of social and logical phenomena.

In order to put the topic of song themes dealing with Rama and Krishna into perspective, here is a summarizing typology of the themes of village songs:

1. Themes shared with literature. This includes the Alha, mendicant's devotional songs, romantic songs, and the songs pertaining to Rama and Krishna.
2. Themes reflecting current or recent events (topical themes). This includes Song 58, Song 60, and some of the birhas.
3. Themes dealing with social relations and family life (this excludes the romantic songs, almost all of which share motifs with literate traditions). This includes songs 7, 8 and 53.
4. Themes related to ritual proceedings and worship. These are the songs associated only with certain rituals e.g. the turmeric

rubbing songs (12 and 13); some galis e.g. 17, 18, and 29, and other songs associated with specific wedding rites; the songs for the worship of the mother goddess, the sohars; and the obscene kabir and jogira of holi.

5. Residual themes including satirical and humorous songs (songs 5 and 52) and the nondescript syntheses like Song 67.

The Krishna Themes

Of the ninety songs in this dissertation, thirty-three have motifs found in Sanskrit and vernacular literature. Of these, sixteen are concerned with Krishna and eight with Rama. The numbers do not accurately reflect the proportions of village songs concerned with these subjects. In selecting the songs to be included I have tried to represent the scope of subjects extant in the village rather than to present the songs in numbers which would indicate their actual proportion in the corpus of village song. In actuality, songs regarding Krishna and Rama are even more predominant than their numbers here indicate.

Their prevalence is largely a result of the bhakti ('devotional') movements which began in the north around 1400 A.D. In essence these movements represented a reaction against the formal ceremony of Brahmanic worship, its monopolization by the Brahmans, and the exclusion of the sudra and untouchable castes from worship ceremonies. In the North, three heterodox movements can be discerned: (a) the nirgun approach, whose adherents worshipped the 'formless' deity called Rama, shunning icons and temples (see p. 172). The literature resulting from this movement is typified by the poetry of Kabir. (b) the Rama votaries of sagun ('having form') persuasion, who worshipped

the anthropomorphic Rama. The primary sacred literature of this group was the Ram Charit Manas written by Tulsi Das (infra). (c) the Krishna votaries, whose sacred literature is discussed below. This division was given by an informant; it is also used by Keay (1960:29). Keay adds that,

In each group during this period Hindi literature came to be used and was one of the great factors which helped to spread the various movements, while they, on the other hand, helped to stimulate the growth of Hindi literature. Almost the whole of subsequent Hindi literature is impressed with one or another of these forms of Vaishnava doctrine.

Krishna in the Literature

The deity Krishna was first given substantial depiction in the epic the Mahabharata, between 400 B.C. and 400 A.D. (Archer 1958:17). In this epic ". . . it is Krishna the feudal hero who throughout the story takes, by far, the leading part" (Ibid:24). Except for two occasions Krishna is not recognized as God by others and does not himself claim this status. On one of these occasions Krishna speaks as the incarnation of Vishnu, asserting that devotion to himself is the means to release from the cycle of rebirth. This brief passage foreshadowed the subsequent rise of the devotional movement.

Of the songs I heard in the village, only two utilized elements from the Mahabharata--the women's kajali mentioned on p. 111 and the song attributed to Surdas p. 175. These episodes are probably retold in the Bhagavata Purana and elsewhere so that ascribing a source for the village version is not possible. Subsequent scholarly texts filled out the role of Krishna as the incarnation of Vishnu, but it was not until the emergence of the Bhagavata Purana that Krishna became a god who was the object of impassioned personal devotion.

After reviewing the opinions of a number of scholars who have studied the matter, Hopkins (1968:5-6) concludes that the Bhagavata Purana was composed in the Tamil speaking area of South India about 850 A.D. The bhakti poets generally used the episodes of the first two phases of Krishna's life (childhood and early adulthood) in their depiction of the divine Krishna and the promotion of his devotion.¹ There were many such poets, but in seeking the possible correspondences with the song themes included here I will focus on only two.

The first was Jayadeva, a Bengali who wrote the Sanskrit love poem, the Gita Govinda ('Song of the Cowherd') around 1150 A.D. (Keyt 1947:9). This poem "quickly achieved reknown in Northern and Western India and from the early thirteenth century became a leading model for all poets who were enthralled by Krishna as God and lover" (Archer 1958:84). Relative to the themes of rural songs, this poem is significant in a number of respects. The poem is the lyrical narration of the love of Krishna and one of the gopis, Radha (who was married to another, unnamed man). Introductory verses refer to their first tryst (which is very briefly depicted in the Bhagavata Purana, although the gopi is unnamed). The poem then dwells on their painful longing for each other in the subsequent period of separation, and concludes with their passionate reunion. Radha's longing for Krishna became the conceptual model for ecstatic devotion to Krishna; it is thought to symbolize the

-
1. One exception worth noting here is an episode from the princely, or third episode of Krishna's life. Sudama, an old friend of Krishna's, goes to visit the prince with nothing to offer him but a few grains of rice. Krishna is overwhelmed by his humility and rewards him by transforming his broken-down hut into a palace. The story is told in primary texts and sung as an "occasional" song in the village. It was the topic of a poem by the bhakti poet Narottam Das (Keay 1960:32).

soul's intense longing for union with God. Radha's willingness to commit adultery was thought to express the ultimate priority which must be accorded to love for God (Archer 1958:75).

In emphasizing their separation with its attendant longing, the poem employs the virahāhdukh ('pain of separation in love') motif which is found in earlier Sanskrit court poetry (see p. 202 for examples). The older Sanskrit poems also contain two other conventions used in the Gita Govinda--the sexually arousing effects of the breeze, flower scents and other natural phenomena; and the ubiquitous convention of the darting glances of the woman which pierce the heart of her lover like arrows.

Natural beauty's enhancement of desire and the pain of separation are themes combined in Hindi poetry and village song which depict season by season their effects on a woman separated from her lover or husband. The combined theme is called bārahmāsa ('twelve months'). All of these themes, both with and without reference to Krishna, are found in Songs 59. p. 132, 64. p. 145, 66. p. 146, and Songs 1. and 4. from Sir, p. 136.

The next phase in the development of Krishna motifs is the emergence of vernacular bhakti poetry. The most common subjects of this poetry are Krishna's dalliance and love-making with the gopis, especially Radha. Of these poets Surdas was one of the most popular. He was one of the school called the Astchaps ('eight seals'). The founder of this school, Vallabhacarya, introduced Surdas to the tenth chapter of the Bhagavata Purana (Pandey and Zide 1968:174). Vallabhacarya and his son each had four disciples (hence the name of the sect (Keay 1960:68). All resided near Mathura, the mythical home

of Krishna, and

(a dialect of W

poetry was less

Radha as the l

extremes of ph

never made exp

separated from

Although

Bhagavata Pur

episodes of

Zide and Pan

descriptions

with the go

and 6. p. 4

mentioned c

the other

attempt to

subject o

last then

Although

manifest

amusement

The

with Kr

themes

into ve

idealiz

of Krishna, and wrote in the language of that area, called Braj Bhasa (a dialect of Western Hindi). Pandey and Zide point out that their poetry was less sensual than that of the Bengali writers--they treated Radha as the lawful wife of Krishna and were "less addicted to the extremes of physical passion" (1968:184). (Radha's marital status is never made explicit in village song). But Radha remained a woman separated from her lover.

Although the work of Surdas was based on the tenth chapter of the Bhagavata Purana, he adds and omits episodes from it. Many of the episodes of the songs presented here are subjects which, according to Zide and Pandey (1968:179-192), were admixed by Surdas. These include descriptions of the activities of Krishna as a child, including playing with the gopis (referred to in Songs 55. p. 129, 56. p. 130, 63. p. 144, and 6. p. 44); descriptions of Radha (a subject of the phagua mentioned on p. 135); the hypnotic effect of his flute on Radha and the other gopis (Song 73. p. 166); and Udhava's mission to Gokula to attempt to conciliate the gopis with the abstract nirgun philosophy, a subject of several songs recorded but not presented--see p. 166). The last theme has persisted into twentieth century Hindi poetry (Ibid:193). Although Surdas sometimes conceptualizes Radha and the gopis as manifestations of Krishna himself which he created for his own joy and amusement, this concept is not found in any of the songs I recorded.

There is one more development in the vernacular poetry dealing with Krishna and Radha which is pertinent to the tracing of rural song themes sharing the motif. This is the diffusion from Sanskrit poetry into vernacular poetry of the critical study of the depiction of idealized lovers (nayaka-nayika) and the adoption of Krishna as the

ideal lover. Manifesting the brahmanic propensity for classification, these studies posited cross-cutting categories of the traits of both male and female lovers, various phases arising in the course of romance, and the results of the coincidence of traits, phases and situations with respect to passion. In adopting this framework the vernacular poets supplied both poems and commentary, and beginning with the work of Keshav Das, the poet of Orchha in Bundelkhand, the idealized lover was Krishna himself. "As a girl waits at the tryst it is not for an ordinary lover but for Krishna that Keshav Das depicts her as longing" (Archer 1958:91). Archer contends that Krishna is here "regarded as resuming in himself all possible romantic experience . . . He is love itself" (1958:92). The themes of Songs 13 and 86, set in village contexts, identify the male lover or husband as Krishna. It seems doubtful that the villager conceives Krishna in this context in the metaphysical sense ascribed by Archer. In these songs it seems that Krishna, because of his outstanding traits, simply symbolizes 'male lover'.

To summarize, the depictions of Krishna found in rural song in this area are primarily those in which he is a lover. The romantic depictions can be traced to the less important (in this connection) nayaka-nayika works, to the poems of Surdas and other vernacular Krishna-bhakti poets, and to the Gita Govinda, where they were first connected with the pervasive virahahdukh and erotic natural beauty themes.

The Krishna motifs of rural song are generally the simplest concepts and activities of Krishna, rarely the philosophical abstractions used to rationalize his unique and somewhat randy traits

by the scholars. In Eastern Uttar Pradesh the contexts in which the songs are sung are, oddly, never those of ecstatic devotion (although in holi celebrations they contribute to the generation of ecstasy). Rather they are sung in ritual, recreational or occasional settings. Nor is Krishna really glorified by song as, for example, the mother goddess. He is instead merely the sensual protagonist of narrative fragments.

The Rama Motifs

The motifs regarding Rama are also derived from bhakti literature, but in this case there is one source to which most of the rural song motifs can be traced. This is the Ram Charit Manas ('Lake of the Deeds of Rama'), composed by Tulsi Das circa 1575-1600 A.D. (Keay 1960:50). It is not a translation of the much earlier Sanskrit Ramayana attributed to Valmiki, but is similar to it only in the broad outline of the story. Many episodes not found in the Ramayana have been added. Composed in Avadhi, a dialect of Eastern Hindi, it uses words from other dialects as well. Another work of Tulsi Das', which relates the story of Ram entirely in hymns, the Ram Gitavali, was used by a group of village singers I recorded in Ballia District. Such hymn singing was formerly widespread in this region but has now largely disappeared.

The story of Ram is an odyssey which is told by Tulsi Das with much panegyric. Here is a very brief summary of the story, including the episodes depicted in the songs contained in this dissertation:

Ram (called Rama in formal Hindi and Sanskrit contexts) was the elder son of a king of Oudh (the modern Ayodhya in East-central Uttar Pradesh is said to have been the site of the royal court). In the court of a Bihari king Ram competed in a bow-breaking contest for the hand of Sita, the king's daughter. He won, they were married in the most glorious of ceremonies, and returned to

Ayodhya. In accordance with unwitting vows made by his father, Ram was passed over in the succession to the monarchy in favor of the son of a younger wife, and banished for fourteen years. Ram went into exile with Sita and Laksman, his half brother, refusing to return at the death of his bereaved father. While dwelling in their forest abode Sita was kidnapped by Ravan, an evil god of Lanka (Ceylon). In searching for her Ram and Laksman became allied with an army of monkeys (and bears) including Angad and Hanuman. When Laksman was struck by the poison arrow of one of Ravan's henchmen, he was saved by Hanuman's bringing from the Himalayas an entire mountain containing the required antidotal herb. After Angad had failed to negotiate Sita's release with Ravan, Ram and his allies attacked and defeated them and rescued Sita. Ram, Sita, Laksman, and all the valiant monkey-chiefs then flew to Ayodhya in an aerial car, where they received a glorious welcome and lived happily ever after.

The story emphasizes the moral qualities of the courageous Ram; Sita, the faithful wife; their honorable fathers; Hanuman, the ideal devotee; and Laksman, the ever-loyal brother.

The songs pertaining to Ram included in this dissertation are concerned with: (a) devotion to the formless God called Rama (these include the mendicants' bhajans (e.g. 76) and some of the khari birha (e.g. 68); (b) fragmentary episodes in the odyssey such as the kidnapping of Sita, the battle at Lanka, and the bow-breaking (e.g. the Khari birhas 69-72); and (c) Ram and his family members as ideal husband and affines. This last topic is distinguished by its appearance in the sohars (Songs 48 and 49. pp. 99-100) which are sung in auspicious sacred contexts such as the katha. This demonstrates the importance to the women of this aspect of the story of Rama.

Krishna: The Anti-structural Type

The deities Rama and Krishna are not of the same order in the village pantheon. Rama is generally identified by villagers as Bhagvān (the theistic concept in which the deity is both transcendent and immanent, the omnipotent overseer of the mundane world--'God').

He is the apical figure in the pantheon--he presides over the katha, the most auspicious of the pujas not connected with rites of passage (although his identity here is merged, in the minds of some, with Vishnu). Krishna is worshipped only on Janamāsthāmī, the holiday commemorating his birth; he is not invoked in other pujas or in personal devotions.

Not only are the deities of different levels in the pantheon, but in their anthropomorphic depictions they constitute opposing ideal types. The character of Ram is moral and serious as opposed to the lusty, spirited and captivating Krishna. Most of the songs about Krishna describe his pranksterish activities as a child (stealing butter and harassing the gopis) or his amorous activities as a youth (dancing and making love with the gopis). His amorous pastimes are quite contrary to Brahmanical morality, and his līlā ('sport') the opposite of the martial Rajput ethos. (Krishna was an Ahir, a caste whose ranking is beneath Brahman and Rajput and assumed by many in the village to be sudra). Krishna is more mundane and human, and less an ethereal ideal than Rama.

Krishna is juxtaposed to Rama and the rest of the pantheon by certain contrasting traits. Juxtapositions of the same type recur in other classes of phenomena, three of which will be explored here.

In each case there is a type antithetical to the structured and moral--a type characterized by the flaunting of structure, and opposed to the establishmentarianism of the dominant Brahman and Ksatriya

varnas. 'Anti-structure'¹, Victor Turner's term denoting social relations characterized by the absence or inversion of structure, is an apt term for this anomalous type (Turner 1969 passim).

Like Rama, Krishna is really a deified ideal man. The ideal to which he conforms is that of the barī mast ādmī ('a very high spirited man'). In the village the phrase is used to compliment a man. Here, as with the terms 'martial Rajput' and 'devout Brahman', I use mast ādmī as an ideal construct, a model of comportment and behavior which ". . . is reflected more fully in the behavior of some men than it is in the behavior of others: it also may be reflected in the behavior of the same man at one time and not at another" (Hitchcock 1959:16). The mast admi is a man with whom time passes easily and enjoyably because of his witty, unpreoccupied nature. He is one who maintains a flow of jokes and puns, and contributes thereby to a mood of relaxed and spirited gaiety (referred to as masti²) which allows spontaneous, unstructured interaction in which all present can participate. This is a highly valued form of interaction among North Indians (if not all people) and a principal pastime.

The Brahman and Rajput ethos are manifest in the conformance to traditional roles which are defined by reference to the past; the insouciant mast admi operates totally in the present in conformance

-
1. 'Anti-structure', which Turner also calls 'communitas', is the opposite of structure. It is that type of social relation in which individuals interact on equal, human terms without reference to roles or other structural features. This state may be institutionalized in rites or marginal groups. Turner calls this 'normative anti-structure'.
 2. As indicated in Chapter IV, masti is conceived as a kind of intoxication. Intoxication is antithetical to Hindu morality, although exception is made in religious contexts (e.g. the use of marijuana products by ascetics and devotees) and on festive occasions such as holi and Sira Ratra.

with a model of normative anti-structure. (A man's identity as a Brahman or Rajput does not necessarily prevent his entrance into the structureless masti--it is a subjective choice or propensity.) This type, the 'high-spirited man', contrasts with the high minded asceticism that is commonly portrayed as typically Indian.

The 'anti-structural' holi festival (associated with the sudra varna; see p. 119) can similarly be juxtaposed against other major festivals. Holi is a festival of licensed pollution, aggression, intoxication, and obscenity--all forms of behavior prohibited by the Brahman code. Although there are designated sacred rituals in holi, the emphasis is on playing--the spraying of color, the communal music-making, and the obscene word play. Rank and role are temporarily abandoned or inverted. It is the anti-structural ritual par excellence, as Turner has demonstrated (1969).

The class of village music also has its anti-structural members. These are the men's and women's recreational songs, the khari birha, and khisa. The traits which contrast them with the balance of village music are their voluntary participation and performance. Within a season or extended period of time they are sung by whoever in the neighborhood group wants to sing them, when they want to sing them. The sessions are fun for participants. The men's songs are interspersed with boisterous cheers; both men and women laugh and joke with one another between songs. Again there is emphasis on spontaneous, playful interaction as opposed to the ritual and role required delivery of ritual, entertainment, and mendicants' songs. The social state of recreational song sessions is also rank free.

The women's ritual songs, required by the contexts in which they are sung, and specified by the roles ascribed to women, are mostly structural. But within this category there is a genre which has elements of normative anti-structure--the obscene insult song. In one performance situation (the wedding) their singing violates the deferential norm of behavior directed towards the ascendant groom's family, actually expressing an inversion of roles by stating that "our men screw your women." Even when sung by the women of the groom's family at the payment of the dowry these obscene expressions are contrary to normatively respectful relations.

In these four areas, then--the pantheon, ideal personality types, festivals and music, there is a category which is juxtaposed to other members of its class by virtue of salient "anti-structural" features--spontaneous behavior unconstrained by reference to rank in which play and pleasure are dominant goals. This suggests that on the level of 'unconscious mental processes' (as opposed to 'pre-conscious process' cf. Levi-Strauss 1967:199) the hierarchical propensity is neither all-encompassing nor all-powerful. There is a self-contained antithetical force which delimits anti-structural sanctuaries in mental and social systems.

CHAPTER IX

FOLK SONG STYLE AND CULTURE

Introduction

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Alan Lomax's book, Folk Song Style and Culture (1968), is the only comprehensive treatment of Indian folk song combining both anthropological and musicological approaches. In this chapter I briefly compare the findings of my research with Lomax's conclusions regarding Indian folk music and the relationship between song style and social structure.

Lomax's Assumptions, Methods, and Procedures

One of the assumptions basic to Lomax's study is that song reflects basic norms. "Song and dance style then symbolize and summarize attitudes and ways of handling situations upon which there is the highest level of community consensus" (15). "The principle discovery in cantometrics (the term he coined to denote his method) is that a culture's favored song style reflects and reinforces the kind of behavior essential to its main subsistence efforts and to its central and controlling social institutions" (133). The purpose of this chapter is to test Lomax's conclusions regarding India's folk music with the data marshalled in previous chapters.

In the cantometric method, a sample of music from each of two hundred and thirty-three cultures in fifty-six culture areas was coded according to thirty-seven music style parameters. The coding was performed by operators who first learned to discern the musical parameters and their degrees, then listened to the music samples from each culture area and rated them according to the parameters. Examples

of the parameters and their degrees are: "melodic shape," with the degrees of "arched, terraced, undulating, and descending," and "nasalization," which can be rated "extreme, marked, intermittent, occasional, and little or no." Coded ratings were then sorted according to predominating characteristics, and the societies sharing similar sets of predominant traits, or "styles" were studied to determine what geographical, techno-environmental, and social features they shared that resulted in the similarities of their music styles.

One of Lomax's principal general theories connecting song style with norms is that the complexity, information density, and specificity (these terms are explained below) of song style are directly correlated with the complexity and productivity of subsistence activities. "The presumption was that, at any one production level, the song team and the work team operated at a similar level of complexity in communication . . . the norms regulating the activity of work teams provide part of the formal structure for the output of the song team . . ." (122-3) Lomax measures the complexity of subsistence types with the following five-point scale of evolutionary development ". . . in which each higher term in the scale includes the ecological and technological resources of the term below, plus one more:" (Ibid)

1. Extractors: major dependence on gathering, hunting, and/or fishing.
2. Incipient Producers: simple agriculture without animal husbandry prior to European contact.
3. Animal Husbandry: cultures depending on animal husbandry (involving pigs, sheep, or cattle, prior to European contact) and often agriculture, but without the plow or large irrigation works.
4. Plow Agriculture: cultures combining plow agriculture with animal husbandry.
5. Irrigation: agriculture, animal husbandry, the plow, and sizable irrigation works. (122)

Village India is subsumed by the "irrigation" category.

He then demonstrates that the above production scale is also a measure of general social complexity, including: size of the largest community per culture; increase in the number of extra-local levels of political controls; exploitation (compulsory participation in the principal work activity and preemption by owners or managers of the land or the goods produced by labor), and task complexity.

The complexity, information density, and specificity of a song style are measured by the following cantometric parameters:

1. Information density: varies from text-heavy to completely repetitious (or nonsense-filled) with three intermediate degrees. "This is the most potent indicator of complexity on the cantometric coding sheet . . . " (129).
2. Precision of enunciation: varies from precise enunciation of consonants to completely indistinguishable syllables, with three intermediate degrees (74 & 131).
3. Moderate delivery: this is a composite of volume and stress, both of which are measured on a five-point scale relative to the volume and accent of normal speech (132).
4. Embellishment: ". . . the degree to which small, passing, decorative notes are added to the main melody" (150).
5. Free rhythm: ". . . when no regularly recurring beat can be distinguished . . ." (150).
6. Prominent intervals: rated on a five point scale from monotone to very wide, in which intervals of a fourth and a fifth or larger predominate (64 & 136).

The most complex and productive of the subsistence types, irrigation, is shown to have the greatest prevalence of each of these parameters, and songs combining all of the traits are found only in the upper ranges of the productivity scale, i.e. plow agriculture and irrigation.

Lomax has three modes of explanation for the correlation of these parameters with the upper range productive types. Information density and precise enunciation are called for in a society where "action plans are more complicated and full of alternatives; group members need lengthy briefing and extremely explicit indoctrination in order to

bring about effective joint interaction" (138). Moderate delivery is attributed to the "instructive or didactic" strategy of leadership associated with complex cultures. This is manifest in song in the maintenance of volume and stress at speech levels. These three parameters Lomax subsumes under the term "specific" which is a composite trait. He emphasizes that this trait characterizes the "bardic style" i.e. solo male performance, which is confined to the complex cultures of Europe and the "Old High Culture", an area which reaches "from Marrakesh to Manila" (95-96) and includes village India. The prominence of narrow intervals "turns up in cultures whose members are confined spatially or restricted by a system of rigid status differentiation . . ." (136) Embellishment and free rhythm are combined in another composite trait called "elaborate," which is also explained in terms of stratification. Elaboration, we are told, is musical deference. It is equivalent to special forms of address, names, postures, forms of speech, accents, innovations, gifts, flattery, "and a thousand other devices (which) have been used by the lower orders of stratified societies to protect them in their dangerous approach to their powerful social superiors" (153).

The number of types of musical instruments used in a society is also a rough measure of the level of social stratification in that culture (139).

In summary, village India as an example of a socially and politically complex, irrigation culture should have a song style characterized by wordiness, precise enunciation, moderate delivery, embellishment, free rhythm, prominence of narrow intervals, and many types of instruments.

Testing Lomax's Generalizations with this Research

In comparing this model with the genres of song described in the foregoing chapters, we find that only several of the genres exhibit a majority of the traits. The khisa song style (p. 168) accommodates the model in every trait but one--it is sung by two men. The only other genres that exhibit a significant number of these traits are the Alha and the khari birha (pp. 177 and 168). The Alha is wordy, fairly precisely enunciated, and moderately delivered, but it is not highly embellished, it contains more sections of measured than of free rhythms, and rarely uses narrow intervals. The khari birha is dense with information (but it is so brief that little is conveyed). It is fairly precisely enunciated, highly embellished, narrow intervals are prominent, and the rhythm is free. The delivery, however, is anything but moderate (it can be heard for several miles).

There is a wide variety of instruments present in the area.

The participatory genres (Chapters III and IV) which constitute the music of the village and the prevalent style according to its incidence in the village, has few of the traits of Lomax's model. The style of these genres is uniformly repetitious, neither precisely enunciated nor highly embellished, and without prominence of narrow intervals. The men's songs, phagua and kajali, and some of the women's songs, have compelling rhythms. Harikirtan is nearly the antithesis of Lomax's model: it is extremely repetitious, imprecisely articulated, unembellished and heavily rhythmic.

Chapter 4 of the book, called "The World Song Style Map" reveals that participatory music is considered by Lomax to be of only minor

importance in the Old High Culture (the area containing village India¹).

"The cantometric profile for Old High Culture shows a widely shared and a highly distinctive pattern. Probably the most important theme is "exclusive and elaborated dominance" where a solo performer accompanied by an orchestra (frequently playing in heterophony², sings a precisely enunciated, long, and complex text. The length, wordiness, and precision of the text is combined with a complex, multiphrased melodic structure, extreme ornamentation, frequent use of rubato, and a constricted vocal style, all of which effectively prevent participation by others. Such, apparently, has been the style long employed by plowmen in harvest songs, and by priests and bards for the praise of gods, great beauties, and princes . . ." (97)

Lomax's claim for the dominance of the bardic style is consonant with his over-emphasis of dominance/submission patterns in the social structure it is supposed to represent, which is even more evident in the following quotation:

As society grew more complex and leadership more exclusive, the solo bard began to hold the center of the stage. He preempted the communication space as the priests and kings seized and held the wealth and power of the human community. The bard, exercising exclusive dominance and enforcing passive attention through long songs, represented the dominant leaders and helped to train the audience to listen for long periods without replying. More than that, the bard, whether sacred or secular, addressed himself to the powerful leaders who more and more directed the life of ever larger social units . . . (134)

One of the problems of this analysis is a basic contradiction: song styles are said to reflect the organizational structure of basic subsistence tasks, yet they are also said to reflect the macro-structure of social organization which comprehends, for example, the number of extra-local levels of political controls. One cannot assume

-
1. The cantometric sample for village India consisted of music from Bengal, Kerala, and "The Central Provinces." (He neither specifies the areas to which the last term refers nor gives the sizes of the samples.)
 2. Heterophony is the use of slightly differing versions of the same melody by two (or more) performers, e.g. a singer and an instrumentalist adding a few tones (ornamentations) to the singer's melody (Apel 1968:330).

that these highly different orders of structure must share the same organizational principles. Furthermore, Lomax has failed to take into account that, particularly in the lower orders of social structure (e.g. intra-village relations), there are certain classes of interaction in which ritual and political status are ignored or held in abeyance. In Indrapur there are communal work parties in which members of all castes from Dhobis to Brahmans participate on an equal basis (e.g. canal building, sugar cane planting and harvesting, and roof-raising). Women often cooperate in dispatching menial food processing tasks in their own and neighbors' homes. And as mentioned in earlier chapters, village participatory song is a leaderless, inter-caste affair.

The discrepancy between Lomax's model and the data presented here can be explained in the following ways:

1. Northern India differs in song style from the rest of the thirty-seven societies in the Old High Culture.
2. The sample of music analyzed by Lomax was inadvertently biased in favor of the bardic style. Entertainment music, which is closer in style to Lomax's model, is more readily available in the bazaar towns and cities. Women's participatory music is generally performed in the privacy of home or courtyard, except for processions. Men's participatory music, except the harikirtan, is performed less in towns and urban areas than in the village.

Unless a person lives in the village he will rarely be confronted with the participatory types.

To conclude: the "bardic" and "participatory" song styles which coexist in India reflect the coexistence of equivalent and hierarchic structural principles in the operation of India's complex societies.

Hierarchic ranking of statuses may serve as the basis of much interaction, but there are classes of interaction in which the differing ritual or political statuses of the actors do not constrain behavior. Identifying classes of "equivalent" interaction other than those mentioned here is a problem for future investigation.

CHAPTER X
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

To orient the reader, the outline below presents in brief form the types of music discussed in this dissertation and the situations in which each type is found. The discussion which follows the outline explains briefly the social and cultural significance of each category in the outline.

- I. Participatory songs: i.e. songs in which a majority of the people present participate.
 - A. Ceremonial songs: i.e. songs sung by groups of women in ritual contexts requiring their performance.
 - 1. wedding songs: sung in specific wedding rites.
 - 2. obscene insult songs sung to visiting affines and, in wedding rites, to pundits.
 - 3. songs sung to worship and propitiate the mother goddess.
 - 4. songs sung to celebrate the birth of a son.
 - B. Songs of men's devotional meetings: these songs are the medium for the generation of religious ecstasy. In the village meetings are often held in conjunction with rites marking transitions in the lives of family members; in larger communities they are held at bi-weekly or longer intervals.
 - C. Recreational songs: sung by groups of men or women
 - 1. songs sung at leisure primarily by groups of men in the pre-holi season.
 - 2. obscene songs sung by groups of men on the day of holi.

3. songs sung at leisure by groups of men or women in the monsoon season.
 4. songs sung by women on informal occasions prior to the wedding of a child of the neighborhood.
 5. songs sung by women to ease the monotony of menial tasks.
- II. Non-participatory songs: i.e. music performed in the dichotomized context of performer and audience
- A. Songs sung to a small, informal audience
 1. songs of the cowherd
 2. the neighborhood story-song
 3. religious mendicants
 4. the epic ballad singer
 - B. Songs sung by professional musicians to entertain large audiences at wedding and bride-removal rites
 1. in formal contexts by better paid semi- or full professionals
 2. in less formal contexts by less specialized musicians
 - C. English Bands--the auspicious and prestige-endowing leaders of ceremonial processions

The music performed in the village was of two general types: the participatory, in which most of the people present at the event participated in the performance; and non-participatory, in which most people watched and listened while specialists performed. It is important to differentiate the two because participatory music is a unique social experience for the singer in which the coordination of his voice with those of others results in a sense of unity with the group which is affective and tangible. The experience is basically

different from the passive listening of non-participatory music, which in formal contexts suggests domination by the viewpoint and mode of expression of the specialized singers.

A major subdivision of participatory music is that music which is required by certain ritual contexts. With one exception this music is always sung by women; it is a part of their role in the family. Many of the wedding rites employ songs which provide meanings unduplicated by other ritual elements. Songs 41 and 48, for example, illuminate the bride's stereotypical anger and sense of betrayal at being forsaken by her family. Another important type of women's song sung in weddings, the obscene insult song, is the medium of expression of a joking relationship which functions to maintain affinal and pundit-patron relations.

Women from each household in the village convene to worship and propitiate the smallpox goddess with special songs. These songs express their conceptions of the deity, who has both benevolent and malevolent qualities. She afflicts smallpox upon those who refuse to worship her but she rewards those who do worship her with sons. The songs also reflect the conflict between Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic religious cults in the village. For example, in Songs 58 and 59 the humble, faithful devotees (all of lower castes) are contrasted with the upper castes who are 'too proud' to worship the goddess. During smallpox "panics" untouchable devotees of the smallpox goddess are often able to persuade higher caste women (and a few men) to worship the goddess, thus accruing ritual influence in the village as well as the offerings made to the goddess.

A son is important in this patrilineal society not only to perpetuate the lineage, but to perform essential rites at the time of a man's death. The songs sung at the birth of a son are also sung on other sacred occasions, where they confer the auspiciousness associated with the birth of a son. These songs express a wide variety of vital religious concepts such as the benefits of austerities and the attributes of the gods. All of the women's ceremonial music is thought to be auspicious--to glorify the occasion and please the attending deities.

Each of the varieties of women's ritual song is an integral part of the ritual in which the women sing it. Victor Turner's three semantic dimensions of ritual symbols (exegetic, operational, and positional) constitute a comprehensive framework which facilitates systematic observation as well as the ordered analysis of the meanings of ritual song.

A wholly different kind of participatory music is that of the ecstatic devotional meeting. Here groups of men of all castes but the untouchable attain a state of religious ecstasy by singing intensely rhythmic, repetitious verses naming their god and thereby invoking his grace or unifying with him.

In the contexts described above, music is a ritual requirement. There are also many genres of songs for recreational use. During the pre-holi festival season in the spring men occasionally convene to sing the exuberant songs associated with that season. On the day of holi these and a genre of obscene song contribute to the drug-abetted ecstasy of a uniquely communal, vivid and sensual holiday. The men's monsoon songs reflect in text and style of performance the mood of the

rainy season, thought to be the most erotic season of the year. Again the men gather on random occasions to sing them, but the singing often accompanies either a simple, graceful dance or swinging in groups on harrows suspended from tree branches. Men of all castes from Dhobi to Brahman participate in both kinds of recreational singing.

Young women sing other kinds of monsoon songs in similar contexts. On evenings before the wedding of a young person in the neighborhood, women gather at the home to sing special songs to celebrate and bless the impending rite. Women sing other kinds of songs to ease the tedium of monotonous tasks such as flour milling.

Recreational songs are a primary mode of transmission of mythological subjects, which account for over one third of their themes. Rama and Krishna are the deities most commonly mentioned. The episodes depicted are generally those of the Ram Charit Manas (the Hindi Ramayana) and the Bhagavata Purana. Many of the themes have descended from these texts via the vernacular poems of Surdas and other devotional poets. Intra-family social relations are also common topics of women's songs; the social relations treated by the men's songs are romantic heterosexual relationships. A few of the women's songs express nationalistic sentiments.

Of the non-participatory genres, the least formal include the solo performances of the Ahirs (the cow-herding caste). The Ahir sings while tending his herd, or for casual gatherings of friends and relatives. With an elaborate form which is musically distinct from other village song, his songs treat mythological and devotional subjects. Their performance is a hallmark of the caste.

In the winter neighborhood men gather to hear the half-sung, half-recited epic ballads performed by a Dhobi ('washerman') and a Lohar ('carpenter'). The highly ornamented musical portions of the performance are sung in near perfect unison.

Many religious mendicants come to the village, moving from door to door to sing their devotional songs and beg for grain. These didactic and reverent songs, often expressing the precepts of the 'formless' devotional sects, provide a moral setting conducive to charitable donations. Another kind of mendicant is of a Muslim caste called Nat. He receives donations of grain for singing long and complex ballads depicting the glorious and heroic exploits of two eleventh century Rajputs. The ballads reflect and reinforce the proud, martial facet of the North Indian ethos.

Weddings and bride-removal rites are the contexts for all musical entertainment in the village involving large audiences and more or less professional musicians. Particularly in the wedding rites the scale and grandeur of the entertainment signify the economic status of the families involved. The more esteemed groups perform seated, facing their audience in more formal fashion. There are three kinds of these groups, which are called by the names of the primary song genres they sing: birhā, whose repertoire is largely topical and historical and uses Hindi and Bhojpuri languages; and kavvālī. This genre was formerly sung only by Muslims. It employed the Urdu language and themes and conventions from Urdu poetry. Now it is performed by Muslims and Hindus and has added Hindu mythological subjects and more Hindi vocabulary. The style of birha and kavvali is highly forceful, alternating exhortative solos with hard-driving choral refrains. These

groups are evaluated in part by their ability to generate strong emotional responses in their listeners. The third type of "seated" group performs a Bhojpuri genre called purvi. The themes are usually romantic, and the more lyrical singing often accompanied by the dancing of a female impersonator. All of these groups use the most common drum of the area, the dholak, and kavvali and song and dance groups use the harmonium. Patriotic songs are now frequently performed by all of these types, and film songs are increasingly used both as repertoire items and as sources of tunes for compositions. Musicians in these groups are almost always of Hindu castes other than Brahman and Thakur or of Muslim castes.

The less esteemed groups, which perform standing, are often of the same caste as the nuptial families (one of the śūdra or untouchable castes). Their performance is much less formal and their repertoire more similar to the participatory types of song.

The English band leads various processions involved in the wedding and sometimes provides entertainment. The band consists of related members of Muslim families, playing European wind instruments and drums, and dressed in European-style band uniforms. The bigger and more splendidly outfitted the band, the greater the prestige it confers upon the nuptial families, and the more auspiciousness it adds to the occasion. The repertoire of the band, like the band itself, is a synthesis of village, urban, classical Hindustani and Western genres.

Crosscutting participatory and non-participatory classes of village music is another set of opposing types--that of structural and anti-structural. Victor Turner has asserted that "for individuals and groups, social life is a type of dialectical process that involves

successive experience of high and low, *communitas* and structure, homogeneity and differentiation, equality and inequality" (1969:97). He maintains that society cannot function adequately without this dialectic: "Exaggeration of structure may well lead to pathological manifestations of *communitas* outside or against "the law" . . . (but) *Communitas* cannot stand alone if the material and organizational needs of human beings are to be adequately met (129)." The swing from structural to anti-structural is manifest in the corpus of village music. Its unstructured types are important occurrences of the anti-structural states which provide respite from structured activity.

The anti-structure is represented in music by the men's and women's recreational songs.¹ Individual participation is voluntary, as is the scheduling of singing sessions. The gatherings are obviously "fun" for the participants--the women banter and laugh between songs and the men interject boisterous cheers in their performance. This style of humor and relaxed interaction in which there is no rank differentiation among participants is also found in the performance of the *khisa* and the *khari birha*, which can also be termed anti-structural.

The only comprehensive analysis of Indian folk song combining anthropological and musicological approaches is that of Alan Lomax in his monumental Folk Song Style and Culture. The work is essentially a statistically supported discussion of the relationship between song style and norms. His analysis of Indian folk music over-emphasizes the importance of the "bardic style" and the complex and rigidly stratified

1. There is also a kind of unstructured non-participatory usage of music, most often occurring when two or more young men are 'joking around'. The young men usually sing lines (rarely even whole verses) from film songs in this context.

social structure it is supposed to reflect. The style is characterized by Lomax as a solo male vocal (in some cases accompanied by an orchestra) which is dense with information, precisely enunciated, of free rhythm etc.--all traits whose prevalence is statistically correlated with complex, stratified societies. The data presented in this dissertation demonstrates the importance of what I have called the participatory song style, which is in many respects the opposite of the bardic style--it is a group performance, highly repetitious, and often rhythmic. Coordination, cooperation, and equivalence of role are thus essential to this style. If we accept Lomax's assumption that style reflects norms, it must be concluded that the participatory style reflects classes of patterned interaction in which ritual and political status are held in abeyance. In village life various kinds of communal work parties, leisure time and ritual activities such as holi are all contexts in which this type of rank-free interaction occurs. Certain cultural complexes such as ideal personality types and the pantheon also demonstrate the existence and valuation of 'anti-structural' categories. Current anthropological theory of the operation of Indian society and Indian ideology over-emphasizes hierarchy. This dissertation qualifies the hierarchic interpretation by recognizing cultural and institutional complexes which are not hierarchically structured.

Indian village music and its contexts have until now been more or less neglected by anthropologists. This dissertation demonstrates the abundance of music on the rural scene and the wealth of information it can provide about social and cultural systems. The limitations of the dissertation suggest the continuation of certain lines of investigation

and the initiation of others. Two of the more interesting problems broached herein which warrant further consideration are the efficacy and auspiciousness of music (topics which have considerable relevance in non-Indian cultures as well). As a survey even of music of the Bhojpuri area, the dissertation is incomplete--there are many song genres in the region whose study was not possible in this project. More research is needed to learn the actual mechanics of transmission of different musical genres. The perennial unity/diversity problem also suggests numerous investigations: musicological analysis may reveal caste/music form correlations within a region; some of the uses of music e.g. women's wedding songs, may be found throughout the sub-continent, while others are regionally distributed; the uses of music among Muslim groups in India should reveal interesting similarities and differences.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TRANSLITERATED SONG TEXTS

1. Tilak

1. ūṭho bhārat bāsī, ūṭho bhārat bāsī
gādījī ka caran dharo re dharo
2. kab ke tum soyo, kab ke soyo
abahi se khyāl karo re karo
3. kā to carake kā sūtā, kā to carake kā sūtā
kaddar par dhyān dharo re dharo
4. choṛo vidhyā āgrezī, choṛo vidhyā āgrezī
hīdī par khyāl dharo re dharo
5. śiv śākar dānī, śiv śākar dānī
kar mē tirasul birājī rahī
6. hāth sobhailā ḍamarū, hāth sobhailā ḍamarū
lilarā par cādan bīrājī rahī
7. khālāi bhāg ka golā, khālāi bhāg ka golā
baithe bāilava ke piṭh mē
8. gale mūd ka mālā, gale mūd ka mālā
hāth tirasul birājī rahī

2. Tilak

1. beriyā ki beriyā ham barajī ho rāmdhārah sīh
2. jhinavā mat e besā ho lāl māi to barajī rahū
3. jhinavā pahirelī chinaro e murat ka bahina
4. jhalkai unke medani ka bār

3. Tilak

1. nadi kināre ninuā boī hariar rāg rāgayo jī
2. sacatā kī bahan gāvane jāke koī nā mile cahūpāve ke

3. hamare kapil mun äise rasiyā āī gäile cahūpave ke
4. karē phalāg par cumā māge aur khare khare hirakāne ko

4. Tilak

1. jab māi āge se janato jab māi āge se janato
2. racī racī jevana banait jī
3. jabai kṛṣṇā kanhaiyā jabai kṛṣṇa kanhaiyā
4. rase rase biniyā dolai rahā
5. jab māi āge se janato jab māi āge se janato
6. gaṛuā bharāi rakhyo

5. Sagun

1. kṛṣṇā ki āī sagāi sakhinā sab a nācan ko āī
2. kakaṛī becārī kā kambhā gaṛā hai (2x)
3. pānan a māro cavāi sakhinā sab a nācan ko āī
4. kelā becārā ka dulahā banā hai (2x)
5. nāvarangī kī dulahin banāyī sakhinā sab a nācan ko āī
6. koharā becārā ka tablā banā hai (2x)
7. ninuā ki banī sāhnāi sakhinā sab a nācan ko āī
8. ālū becārā cale hai bārātī (2x)
9. murāi ka cavar dolāi sakhinā sab a nācan ko āī
10. palakī becārī kā sejā lagā hai (2x)
11. laukī ki takīā lagāi sakhinā sab a nācan ko āī

6. Sagun

1. madha jamunā jī ke tir lāl mor abharan lūṭāi
2. brij kī banita cale ho jalbharane jamunā tat kī orī
3. yahī bīc mohan āī pare ho ham se karai balajorī
mor śyām abharan lūṭāi
4. dahī mor khāilāi maṭuk ki sir phoralāi geṛūrī jamunā bahāi
5. leke cir kadam charhī baithāi lekar cir kadam charhī baithāi
6. ham jalamājh ughārī, lāl mor abharan lūṭāi
7. cir ka badala pitāambar debai ho jāibū jalavā se nyārī
8. tu to lāl hav, nāda bābā kay
māi bṛṣbhan dulārī
9. kabahūke lāl bhetāibā mil galiyan mē lebai dūno galavā nimorī

10. purāin pat pahirī rādhe niklāi (2x)
11. kṛṣṇa bajāvat tālī, lāl mor abharan luṭāi
12. barajā jasodā māiyā āpan kanhaiyā
13. ham se karat balajorī, lāl mor abharan luṭāi
14. abahī ta lāl khelat galiyan mē
15. kab tūse ki e balajorī, tu ta jasodā māiyā lāl na khūjhe
16. bolat kūj kī orī, lāl mor abharan luṭāi

7. Sagun

1. kiyā khatā mujh kīnā balam itanī dukh dinā
2. kiyā māi rājā re jevanā bigaṛalō kiyā namak kam kīnā
3. kiyā māi rājā re jevanā bigaṛalō kiyā taj kam kīnā
4. kiyā atar kam kīnā balam itanī dukh dinā
5. kiyā tor rājā re biravā bigaṛalō
6. kiyā tor rājā re khair bigaṛalō
7. kiyā tor rājā re sej bigaṛalō
8. kiyā sulan kam kiyā

8. Sagun

1. hamē dhānī rāg sārī māgādā piā
binā pahane na māne morā jiarā
2. koṭhā uṭhāīdā atārī uṭhāīdā
ek the choṭā sā jāgalā kataī dā piā
3. binā jhāke na māne hamār jiarā
4. binā tāke na māne hamār jiarā
5. hamē dhānī rāg sārī māgādā piā
binā pahane na māne morā jiarā
6. bāgo lagāīdā bagāicā lagāīdā
7. ek the choṭā sā nibū lā lagāīdā
8. bin toṛe na māne hamār jiarā

9. Sagun

1. rājā kāgaresiyā bhāilāi jiabai ta hāiye na
2. jiāb ta hāiye nāhī, jevanā ta jei hāi nāhī
3. binu re surajavā lehalē duare ta āi hāi na
4. jiāb ta hāiye nāhī, gaṛuā ta pī hāi nāhī

5. binu re surajavā lehalē, āgane ta āī hāī nāhī
6. binu re surajavā lehalē, bīravā ta khāī hāī na
7. binu re surajavā lehalē, sejiyā par soī hāī na

10. Sagun

1. koi aisā gajab se āī ā re larikā amirō kā
2. maurū jetero lākh kā jhālar hajārō kā
3. joṛā jetero lākh kā jāmā hajārō kā
4. jūtā jetero lākh kā, mojā hajārō kā
5. dulahin jetero lākh kā, paradā hajārō kā

11. Sagun

1. ādat par gai hai pītā jī, ādat par gai hai (this is refrain)
2. rām nām japane ko pītā jī (refrain)
3. sone kī thālī mē jevanā bauāī, jevanā na jebāī prahalād
pītā jī (refrain)
4. āgī mē jalā do cāhē pānī mē dūbā do, cāhē kambhā mē bād̃h
pītā jī
5. jhajhar jhārī himalaya ka pānī paniyā na pīe prahalād
pītā jī (refrain)
6. lavāg khilī khilī birā jorāiyo biravā na kūcai prahalād
pītā jī (refrain)
7. phulā hajārī ka sej lagāyō sejiyā na soe prahalād (refrain)

12. Haldi

1. koirin koirin tū baṛī rānī re
kahāvā ke haradī upar kailū āj are
2. hamarī radhikā deī as sukuvār re sahahi na jānelī haradiyā
ka jhākare
3. telin telin tū baṛī rānī re
kahāvā ka telavā upar kailū āj are
4. hamarī radhikā deī as sukuvār re sahahi na janelī karūvā
ka jhākare

13. Haldi

1. jinare deī ko khel to na dekho se māī re dekhālō cāuk carhī
2. cāuka dekhailō barā sūdar cāuka dekhailō barā sūdar (2x)
3. are māi nahī jāno nāunī ke potalai nahī jāno _____
4. kalas̄ dekhailō barā sūdar kalas̄ dekhailō barā sūdar
5. are māi nahī jāno koharā ke garhalāī nahī jāno _____
6. hariśī dekhailō barī sūdar hariśī dekhailō barī sūdar
7. are māi nahī jāno lohār ke garhalāī nahī jāno kaṭale
8. dulahin dekhailō barī sūdar dulahin dekhailō barī sūdar
9. are māi nahī jāno daivā ke garhalāī nahī re janamole

14. Haldi

1. jāisan hamahū rasīlī väisan sājan nā mile
2. jāisan bāravā hamār väisan bāravā nā mile
3. jāisan līlarā hamār väisan tikā nā mile
4. jāisan rāgavā hamār väisan rāg nā mile

15. Dvar Puja

1. kehī dal utar are amā imilī tar jinare kadam jur chāh
2. tohar balihariyā bābā ho markāde rām jehare khojailā
3. bar ke mātthe sir chat birajailā avela rājā dvarare bālī

16. Dvar Puja

1. lo le lo le sasurārī mē ailāī
2. sughare bar sasurārī mē ailāī

17. Dvar Puja

1. pakalī mochiyā murāighalā e bar
2. lāvā bhāgareyā ka rāg
3. mardāpur ka log are karahū ajorare äilāī dudhaurā ka cor
4. māi ka cor bahiniyā ka corare äilāī dudhaurā ka cor

18. Dvar Puja

1. hāthī hāthī śor kailā hāthī nā liāilā ho
2. torī bahan ka gapadā māro hāthī nā liāilā ho
3. mor gaurā luṭāī äil ho

4. bājā bājā śor kailā bājā na liailā ho

19. Dvar Puja

1. jab baratiyā duare bhiṛī lagāile
2. hani hani maraila nisānī jī

20. Vivah

1. māganī ka gahana liāke maṛavā mor jhamakavalā ho
2. toharī bahin ke bhasur māro mor bigaṛāl ho

21. Vivah

1. dāl maunī leke bar maṛave āe
2. āire bar āī senur sinhorā leke bar maṛave āe
3. āire bar āī sonahulā rupahulā leke bar maṛave āe
4. āire bar āī dhumadharakkā leke bar maṛave āe

22. Vivah

1. ehire bhasuravā ka cilam āisan nakare
2. yahī māro tākayalā gāura hamārire
3. bhasuravā ka lābī lābī ṭāgare
4. vahī ṭāgi nāpayalāya maṛavā hamārire
5. vahī bhasuravā ka lābā lābā dānte cīrelā cailā hamarare

23. Vivah

1. māi tose puchailū supher dularū maṛanā kāhē gūnā
2. māi tohār sutelī khajūr tare maṛanā vahī gūnā
3. māi tohār sutelī kukur tare kariyā vahī gūnā
4. māi tose puchailū supher dularū bhāknā kahē gūnā
5. māi tohār sutelī hūrār tare bhāknā vahī gūnā

24. Vivah

1. koṭhā upar dulā māurū savārayalayā
2. vahā dulā ka māiyā surujū manāvelī
3. hamare dulā ke ko najaro na lāve koi
4. āj dul barake najaro na lāve koi
5. koṭhā upar dulā sonavā savārayalayā

6. vahā̃ dulā ka phūā surujū manāvelī
7. koṭhā upar dulā jamavā savārayalayā̃
8. vahā̃ dulā ka bahinī surujū manāvelī
9. koṭhā upar dulā dhotiyā savārayalayā̃
10. vahā̃ dulā ka kākī surujū manāvelī

25. Vivah

1. māuru dekh jin bhulī hā e bābā māurū hav māgan kā
2. dulahā hav chinār kā, dulahin hav phacibarata
3. kāganā dekh jin bhulī hā e bābā kāganā hav māganī kā

26. Vivah

1. caranā pahiro uparanā julahā bape ka binal hav
2. pahirā chinārī pūtā ī dhotiā ranivāse ka katalī hav
3. pahirā hajarī pūtā ī dhotiyā ranivās ka katalī hav

27. Vivah

1. bidhī bidhī rām milāī
2. nāuā khojala bar babhanā socailā din
3. are bābā bahut dur mor chalavā bichāire māī
4. nāuā ka darhī jaro babhanā ka phothī jaro
5. are bābā ke kavan sarāp re māī

28. Vivah

1. kavan garahanavā lāge sājhe se bihanavā
2. kavan garahanavā lāge ādhī rāt
3. kavan garahanavā lāge mājhe maravā
4. kab jāī ugrah hoi
5. kavan garahanavā lāge bhinusār
6. are suruj garahanavā lāge sājhe se bihanavā
7. dhīā cādra garahanavā ādhī rāt lāge mājhe maravā
8. bhore mē ugrah hoi

29. Vivah

1. are bhāiyā dasarat rām dhariyā na ṭuṭe ho
2. dhariyā ta ṭuṭī jāī hāī bahiniyā se rusit jāibā ho

3. bhāiyā dasarat rām tir dhanūhī bānhī ghalā ho
4. are bhāiyā āvat ta hoi hāī bahanoiā ta kurakhet laṛ jāī na
ho
5. din bhar mere bhaiyā laṛelay ta sūjhī ber hārī gāilāī ho
6. are haralāī tīlā deī bahiniyā ta supher dularu jīt gāilāī ho
7. are bhāiya dasarat rām kavane matī bhulī gāilā ho
8. bhāiyā gāiyā bhāīsī nahī haralā bahinī harī gāila nā ho
9. are are bahini tīla deī bhale mati bhulī gāilī ho
10. bhāiya gāiyā bhāīs hamarī lakṣmī bahini parāye bas ho

30. Vivah

1. baratihavan kaya pādīt paniyā bahāne āpan bahini bolāve
2. hane bajaṛ kevārī ho bābā ke lajiyā māī marō
3. mor bhāiyā amala dhārī ho
4. kul baratihavā āpan bahini bolāvan

31. Vivah

1. jaise ghurvā par cāurāī vaisan bābhanā ka māī
2. suno bābhan bābhan hālī hālī ā hutī de hu dhiyā morī
3. bārī cal ta sukuvārī ta dhuāvā biyaya gāilāī ho
4. jaise pokharī ka cakkā vaisan bābhanā ucakkā
5. suno bābhan bābhan hālī hālī ā hutī de hu dhiyā morī
6. jaisan baniyā ki daṛī vaisan babhana ka aṛhī
7. jaisan bās kaya kainiyā vaisan pādīt ka bahiniyā

32. Vivah

1. mor lāvā tor lāvā ekaya mē milāī dā
2. mor bābū tor māī ekaya mē sutāī dā
3. mor cācā tor cācī sutāī dā

33. Vivah

1. māī bābāke lajiyā māī marū mor bābā jaṭādhārī ho
2. māī cācā ke lajiyā māī marū mor cācā jaṭādhārī ho
3. māī bhāiyā ke lajiyā māī marū mor bhāiyā jaṭādhārī ho

34. Vivah

1. are bābā hi bābā pukārelō bābā na bolāi
2. are bābā ki bariāiyā senur bar ḍālelaho
3. are cācā ki bariāiyā senur bar ḍālelaho
4. bhāiyā bhāiyā ki bariāiya senur bar ḍālelaho

35. Vivah

1. sathī ka cāur hālarī dūbire cumahin calāilī chotū a rām
dhīarī re
2. mathavā cumi cumi dihalī asīsarī
3. jiyasū mor dulahin dulaha lākh barīsare
4. jasare jiyasu jas dharatī hi dhānare vasare
5. bhugut vas rainī ka cānare

36. Vivah

1. kācī pitariyā ka i hai navā kohabar
2. halabal halabal bar cale haravāhe ka janamal ho
3. dhire dhire morī dhīā cala patīśāh ka janamale ho

37. Vivah

1. pāithī jagāvelī māire kavanī deī bahini ho tīlā deī
2. uṭhu pūtā bhāilāi bhinusārarare
3. āisan māi turuk hāthe beco, pathān hathe becatū mōgal
hāthe beco
4. ādhi rātī bole bihānare

38. Khicari

1. bhāi paṭnā śahar gulajārare bhāi paṭnā śahar gulajār
2. bacapan ke bigaṛe bhaṛūe henarī rām rāmsāgar miśra
3. unki bahina bigaṛ gaī mahtar rām se cādā ohip gaī
4. unkar bahina bigaṛ gaī rām nāth se
5. apane bahin ke sagāi khālāi āko mē ave rulāire
6. apane bahin ke henarī rāmsāgar sagāi khālāi
7. apane marāve gaṛī re bhāi paṭnā śahar gulajār

39. Khicari

1. ũcā talāb ka nīcā ghāṭ bāgalā man bhāvelā
2. vahī mē henarī ka bahin racai nahān
3. dayā śākar ka bahin racai nahān
4. tahā kesauram mār gāilā sān bāgalā man bhāvelā
5. tahā laukāī rām mār gāilā sān bāgalā man bhāvelā
6. kholā gughat dekhab gāl
7. gāl ta häue jāise īgur ka dhār
8. kholā colī dekho māl
9. māl häue jāise nībū anār
10. kholā pupati dekhab cād
11. khola lahaga dekhab cad
12. ihāi ta häi jāise bijalī ka cād

40. Khicari

1. barasan lāgal megh badariyā galiyā ki galiyā nirarmal
2. nisaran lāgal sone ka kharauavā bice āgan ṭaharāi jī
3. māi tose puchailō bābū ho henarī rām bahinā tohār nisaral
jāi jī
4. māi tose puchailō bābū ho rām sāgar rām bahinā udaral jāli
jī
5. i hai niahayā re katahū na ṭūṭele ṭūṭe indra jīt rām dvāre
jī
6. das pāc babhanā khiāvā ho henarī rām
7. das pāc babhanā khiāvā ho rām sāgar rām
8. pāp katit hoi jāi jī
9. kāshī viśasar gāj nahvāva ho henarī rām
10. ham to rakhī apāne bāp ka biṭiyavā apānī ājā natiniyā
11. ekar kaun niāiyā jī

41. Khicari

1. bhāge bharūā bhage jāe āge āge dili jāe
2. dilī pare ret mē henarī ka bahin marāve khet mē
3. hinuvānā turkānā vah jirā vah dhaniā vah āg vah pac cōdāi
4. tohare bāp ke muh mē lār tohare bāp ke muh mē pānī
5. māre gariyā ka dām deī dā ho henarī rām deī nātavā

6. tohare bahinin ke mor kamalāleī ho bahin cōd, deī nātavā

42. Mata Mai

1. phulavā māī lorhī lorhī haravā gachavalū
2. le gāilā śital darabar māiyā morī
3. le gāili kālī darabar māiya morī
4. sutalī bārū ki jāgalī kaliyā māiyā
5. duare maliyavā bāre thārḥ māiya morī
6. māgo māgo malini je kichū māg dehulā je tohare hirde
samāi, malini
7. bhītar bārū ki bahare sātō bahini
8. kab ka duare maliniyā bāre thārḥ māiya morī
9. māgo māgo malini je kichū māg dehulā je tohare hirde samāi,
mālini
10. dhan se putra māiya tohare dihal bāre
11. maliyā amar kai dehū māiya morī
12. puruv ka cān pachim cali jāi hāi tabo maliyā amar nahī
hoi mālini

43. Mata Mai

1. kethuā ke hāi potanahar, kethua ka potan haue ho
2. māiyā morī hathave khiāilāi devaghar potat daradiyā nahī
būjhat bārū (this is the refrain)
3. sonavā ka hāue potanahar e rupavā ka potan hāue ho (refrain)
4. korhiyā ta rovelāi anhar ta _____ rove (refrain)
5. anhara ta nayan āi hai, deī korhiyā ka kaya dehalī
6. māiyā morī bajhinī ke māi dehalī godiyā bālak, daradiyā
māi būjhat bārō

44. Mata Mai

1. śighā carḥalī śitalā garajatī ave ho gavaiyā logavā
2. māi ke cinhabo na karāi ho gavaiyā logavānā (this is the
refrain)
3. cinhī hai ta cinhī hai śitala māli ka chokaḥavā haravā
4. devī ke thārḥi darajavā haravā lehalenā (repeated many
times)

5. sīghā carḥalī kālī garajatī ave ho gavaiyā logavā (refrain)
6. cinhī hai ta cinhī kālī sevā ke chokaṛavā ahūtiyā lekenā
7. devī ke ṭharḥī darajavā ahutiya lehalenā (repeated)
8. sīgha carḥalī duṛgā garajatī ave ho gavaiyā logavā
9. cinhī hai ta cinhī hai duṛgā gaṛeriā ka putavā kasiyāvā
lehalenā
10. devī ke ṭharḥī darajavā kasiyā lehalenā (repeated)
11. sīgha carḥalī amaliyā garajatī ave ho avaiya logavā
(refrain)
12. cinhī hai ta cinhī hai amaliyā koharā ka chokaṛavā ho
kalaśavā lehalenā
13. māiyā ke ṭharḥi darajavā kalaśavā lehalenā (repeated)

45. Mata Mai

1. māiyā morī pātarī pātarī kamaṛuā deśavā ārujhe ho
2. kekarā ke dehale śītalā (repeated)
3. kekarā ke dehale kālī
4. das pāc putavā ho (repeated)
5. kekarā ke kăinū nirasātaniyā ho
6. dharamī ke dehalu sev kā
7. das pāc putavā ho
8. garabhī ke kăila nirasātaniyā
9. kekarā ke dehale māiyā
10. māiyā morī pātarī pātarī kamaṛuā deśavā ārujhe ho
11. das pāc gotiyā
12. kekarā ke pīṭhiyā āgaravā ḍaro ho nā
13. dharamī ka dehalo sev kā, das pāc gotiyā
14. garabhī ka pīṭhiyā daro āgaravā ho
15. māiyā morī pātarī pātarī kamaṛuā deśavā ārujhe ho

46. Mata Mai

1. choṭī choṭī bīṭiyā bāse ka dalavā ho phulavā lorḥai e devī
2. maliyā phulavariyā ho apani mādil hoi ke
3. maliyā pukare ho kekare bīṭiyā e logō
4. dhāgāilai phulavariyā ho kekar bīṭiyā logō
5. nahī ham bīṭiyā nahī ham patohiyā

6. ham ta hai e mālin śītalā ka satavā̃ bahiniyā
7. vīdhyācūl bhagavatī ho ham ta kālī ka bhavāni ho

47. Sohar

1. kahavā̃ se āvelī̃ kālī māiyā kahavā̃ se bhavānī māiyā ho
2. kahavā̃ se āve śiv śākar kahā̃ se satya narāyan bābā ho
3. purval le āve kālī māiyā pachim bhavānī māiyā
4. are dakhinā le āve satya narāyan utar śiv śākar
5. kahā̃ baisāve kālī māiyā kahavā̃ bhavānī māiyā
6. kahā̃ baisāve śiv śākar kahā̃ re satya narāyan
7. bagiyā bāithāve kālī māi āuru bhavānī māi
8. āraghī bāithāī śiv śākar caukiyā satya narāyan
9. kāre carhāilā kālī māiyā kāre bhavānī māiyā
10. ab kāre carhāve śiv śākar kāre satya narāyan
11. dhariyā carhāile kālī māiyā phulavā bhavānī māiyā
12. aksat carhāe śiv śākar mevatiyā satya narāyan
13. kā mohī dehalī̃ śiv śākar kāre satya narāyan
15. sātāt dehalī̃ kālī māiyā āuru bhavāni māiyā
16. sāpat dihalāī̃ śiv śākar mukut satya narāyan
17. je yahi māgal gavelā gāy ke sunāvelā
18. se bāikute ha jāī sadā phal khāī

48. Sohar

1. cādan kerī caukiyā ta rām nahalāī na ho
2. bahini śīta se puchē sab sakhiyā kāvan tapa kailu ta
rām bar pāvelu ho
3. māg mahinavā nahāilī̃ agi nahi tāpe
4. sakhi niti ūthī pujīlā śiv śākar mo rām bar pāile
5. jetrahile ekādasiyā āuru duadasiyā
6. bidhī ka rahīla atavār ta rām bar pāilā
7. nevatī ke bamhanā javāilā juthavā ūthāvalo
8. sakhi sīr rakhi dahiya parosalō ta rām bar pāvalō

49. Sohar

1. āgan bedī paṭila o paṭathārīlā
2. bahini bah par bāila satya narāyan orhale pitābar

3. jāumāi janitō satya narāyan orhale pitābar
4. bahini nihuri nihur goravā lagatu caran dhoike pīatu
5. māgan ki cumāgit sasuru mē māgu rājā dasarat sāsū kausiliyā
rānī
6. bahini potiyā bācat māgo bhasur
7. nanadā akeli māgu rām isan māgu puruś
8. lakṣman āisan devar bahin dhiāvā māgolo lavāg yas pūtavā
keval yas
9. sasuru māi pavalu rājā dasarat sāsū kausiliyā āisan
10. nanad akeli pav rām āisan pavalo puruś lakṣman āisan devar
11. bahin dhiāvā pavalo lavāg yas putav keval yas
12. hamari buruki suphal hoi gaili avadapur ke basale

50. Sohar

1. rājā apane māiyā re bulāi leī avatā ho
daradiyā hole bhārī ho daradiyā hole bhārī (refrain)
2. choṭan hoi rājā jāihā ta barāhoi manāihā ta barāhoi manāihā
tū ho
3. gotan dhāilī hāi patari dagariyā ṭhumukat gharavā āi hāi
4. burha dhāilī hai patari dagariya ṭhumukat gharava ai hai
5. jabatū e burhā cāukathavā carhī baiṭhalū cāukathavā
carhī baiṭhalū
6. tu burha lāikan ka kalevā jab khāibyū ta jhoṭā jhoṭiyāibā
ho
7. rājā apani bhaujī bulavtā daradiyā bhārī hole (2x)
8. choṭan hoi rājā jāihā ta barāhoi manāihā ta barāhoi
manāihā tū ho
9. burha dhāilī hāi pātari dagariyā ṭhumukat gharavā āi hāi
10. āilū ta ho gotin dhāilū palāgiyā carhī baiṭhahū ho
11. e gotin pātar piyavā mor bhorāibyū ta jhoṭā jhoṭiyāib ho
12. rājā apane bahini re bulāi le avatā ho
daradiyā hole bhārī ho daradiyā hole bhārī
13. baran hoi rājā jāi ha ta choṭ hoi manāihā hū
14. rājā dhāilī hāi pātari dagariyā ṭhumukat gharavā āi hāi
15. ab ta āilū e nanado palāgiyā carhī baiṭhalū palāgiyā carhī
baiṭhalū

16. ho nanado khudiyā ka kuṛavā jab tu kholabū ta jhoṭā
jhoṭiyāib ho

51. Sohar

1. sabavahī bāisalā rajavā ta raniyāre araj karē ho
2. rājā ekare bāsare kulavā hānī hamahū hobai jogin
jab rānī hobū joginiyā ta ham hobe jogī (2x)
3. rājā dono jānī bhabhūtire ramāibai jāgal bhikṣā māgabai
4. barah baris biti gaila ta baramha ke ban me na ho
5. baramhā sabke ta balakā re urehalā ulaṭī nāhī citavelā
6. jāho tu bajhinīre apane gharavā tohākere hukum nāhī ho
7. bājhin baramhā ke hāthe masi haniyā ta kikkhalē re narāyan

52. Ropani

1. māi tose pūchailō maina morī nanadiyāre
2. kaise torā gāl piyarailāi mor nanadiyāre dilavā rasiyāre
3. bābā kī bagiyā pīsāi gāilī haradiyā haradī citikiyā muhavā
piyar dilavā rasiyāre
4. kāisan toharā petavā phulal āve mor nanadiyāre
5. bābā kī bagiyā pīsāi gāilī satuvavāre are khāilī satuvavā
petavā phulal dilavā rasiyāre
6. kāisan tohari chatiyā savarāilī dilavā rasiyāre
7. bābā kī bagiyā bhavjī mājai gāilī baṭuliyāre baṭulī karikhiyā
chatiyā sāvarī dilavā rasiyāre
8. maciyā hi baithalāi sasuru barhāitāre maina ka uvadavā
dhāi dā ho dilavā rasiyāre
9. abahī ta maina mor laṛikā gadelavāre kheltī hoi hāi suyali
mauniyā dilavā rasiyāre
10. devarā ki coriyā bhavjī bhejāilī citṭhiyavāre maina ka
baduā lei jā dilavā rasiyāre
11. jabare baratiyā goiravā dhāi āilī maina ka bathe kapār
dilavā rasiyāre
12. jabare baratiyā āganavā mē āilī maina ke janamai nāda lāl
dilavā rasiyāre
13. bacce ke rone ki āvāj sunī bhāiyā dhunailā kapaṭiyā biyahāl
bajāi ki sudevas dilavā rasiyāre

14. bati mori mānā bhāiyā jin dhunā kapaṭiyāre duno rāg lakarī
bajāihā dilavā rasiyāre

53. Milling

1. sonavā ke kūchiyā e rāmā āganā bahārī le
2. āgana bahārat e rāmā chutele ho ācalavā
3. maciyā baithalī e rāmā sasur tuhū barhāitin (2x)
4. bhāiyā khāū bhāvji ho khāū āurū ho batijavā
5. sāsūr tohare ihalī ho rāmā sone ke ho garīlavā
6. hathavā ke lihalī ho rama resam ke doriyā
7. garīlā ke bharī ho bharī dāili ho araravā
8. apane dubelī e rāmā jāī jamunā bica (2x)

54. Cahaka

1. suno suno janak kī batiyā sakhiā, suno janak kī batiyā
2. rājā janak jī paran ek thāne
3. duare par dhāile pinakiyā
4. deś deś ke bhupatī āe
5. tāre na tāre pinakiyā sakhiyā, suno janak kī batiyā
6. bārā sur ravan calī āī
7. uho bhāgāi ādhi ratiyā sakhiyā suno janak kī batiyā
8. munī ke sāg duī bālak āe
9. u dhāi torā pinakiyā sakhiyā, suno janak ki batiyā

55. Cahaka

1. le lo dahī nāda lāl, lāl dahiyā morī le lo
2. kahavā kā tū gop gvalī
3. kā tumāro nām lāl dahiyā morī le lā
4. mathurā ki ham gop gavale
5. rādhā hamāra nām lāl dahiyā morī le lā
6. ī dahiyā morī sāsū jamolī
7. becan calī ham āj lāl dahiyā morī le lā
8. kab kar dūhal, kab kar jamāval
9. kab kar jaranav dāl lāl dahiyā morī le lā
10. bhoravā ka dūhal, sājh hi ka jumaval
11. sājhavā joran dia dāl lāl dahiyā morī le lā

12. i ha cahakavā kalp nāth pāḍe gāve
13. henarī bāithale āj lāl dahiyā morī le lā
14. āj ka dinavā hāue mehamanavā
15. holī ka hāue tyohār lāl dahiyā morī le lā

56. Cahaka

1. vrij mē harī horī macāī, lalā (this is the refrain)
2. rādhā ji cāynā diyā sakhiyan ke
3. jhūda jhūda sab āī lale (refrain)
4. kisne lie mohan mālā muraliyā
5. ham nakabesar pahirāī (refrain)
6. kahā gāiyā tār nāda bābā jī
7. kahavā dasomat māī (refrain)
8. kṛṣṇa kahai mukh morī ke
9. kahā gāī caturāī

57. Cahaka

1. mārī dil jānī nayan bhālā
2. tab se cāynā parat na dil mē
3. vah tāmas lagai uthe joālā
4. mārī dil jānī nayan bhālā
5. khān pān kuch dil nahī na bhāve
6. bhītar me ho gae ho joālā
7. mārī dil jānī nayan bhālā
8. śiv parsād bolāe na bolai
9. mānā ho mārī gae kālā
10. mārī dil jānī nayan bhālā

58. Cahaka

1. bābū darogā jī kavane gūnahiyā banhalā piyavā mor bābū
darogā jī
2. nā piavā mor atar patar nā piavā mor choṭ
3. bhāgiyā ka mātāl mor matavalavā gāila sarakiyā par soe
4. pāch rupayā sipāyā ke debai das debai kotvāl
5. bālā jobanavā phirāgiyā ke debai das debai kotvāl
6. sāīyā ke lebai choṛāya

59. Cautal

1. sakhī k̄a ho takasir hamarī taje ho banavārī
2. jet mās tan tapai āg bhāve nā sārī
3. bārhe birahā asārḥ nakhat ādra lalakārī
4. sāvan mās sohāvan lāgat
5. jhulai gāilī amavā kī dāri ho āvadh bihārī
6. bhādō gagan gamhir pīr ati hiraḍe majhārī
7. karigai kvār karār savatasāg pasai murārī
8. kartik rās racat man mohan
9. koel bole lagalī amavā kī dārī ho āvadh bihārī

60. Cahaka

1. nayā phaisān mē sabahī lubhāe, bhāiyā
2. sab cal purāni bhulāe, bhāiyā (this is the refrain)
3. are gore mē jutā būṭadār cāhī
4. rāge birāgā k̄a lūgī lag gai
5. motiyā dhotī mane nahī bhāī
6. bāro mē bagalā kaṭae bhāiyā
7. laṛaka birī piyē harkhāī
8. tel aur sābun sugādh lagāī
9. kāmō par jāte khūb pāno ghulāī
10. dhur māṭī kiye bisarāe bhāiyā (refrain)
11. ek to ā gai mahāgāī
12. ghare k̄a ghī sapnā hoi jāī
13. catanī caukhā se peṭ bharāī
14. iskābanī mē man khūb lagāe, bhāiya (refrain)
15. pahale ka javān sir k̄a nām barhāī
16. bacau ser ke mārī girāī
17. madhu kustī mē nām kar jāī
18. kahe nāgau samjhāe, bhāiya (refrain)

61. Jogira

1. bājā bāje bāg mē bajāvanvālā kaun
2. dharatī māiyā so gai jagāvanvālā kaun
3. yahā par mil ke nāco
4. calī calijā bāg mē mevā khilāūgā

5. mevā kī dār tuṭ gaī cadar bichāũgā
6. cadar kā konā phaṭ gayā darjī bulāũgā
7. darjī kā suiyā tuṭ gaī ghaurā daurāũgā
8. ghaurā kā ṭāg tuṭ gaī hardī lagāũgā
9. hardī nā chorhe jardī, jardī nā chor rāg
10. burhavā nā chorhe burhiyā, burho kā marī garh

62. kabir

1. sunīlā morī kabīr henarī, kahat jā
2. henarī ke bahin ka buriyā barhāile jaise ujainī ka tāl
3. ādhe mē henarī satuā sanāi ki ādhe āskar nahāi
4. dono dāti darerat jāi larhavā
5. bhūsaraibū ta tīgā kātī leb burī rūnaho magoicā ke kāte se
6. burī kūco kudāri ke pāse se
7. hāi hāi horiyā laurhe par carhai tohār buriyā

63. Kajali

1. kharī hoke araj karāi ho brajanārī
2. dedā kādhā cir hamārī nā
3. leke cir kadam carhi baitḥāi
4. ham jāl mājh ughārī nā
5. savaliyā mājh ughārī nā
6. tohāre cir jabai ham debe
7. hoi jāibū jalavā se nārī nā
8. sab sakhiyā mil araj karat hāi
9. rakhā lāj hamārī nā
10. savaliyā lāj hamārī nā
11. pūrāin pāt pahir rādhā nikalāi
12. kṛṣṇa bajāve tālī nā
13. savaliyā bajāve tālī nā

64. Kajali

1. gujariā dhīraj dharā bāraho mahīnavā (this is the refrain)
2. asarh yārī chorā hamārī dhiraj dharā manavā
dhiraj dharā manavā ho pyārī dhiraj dharā manavā
3. sāvan mē dhulamīl ke gāvā sakhiyan sāg mē ganavā

4. bhādō bhar tu rahā bhavan mē mat jāi hāi nāiharavā
5. kal kuār kare nā pāi hāi mat karā rudhanavā (refrain)
6. kārtik mē ek patī bhejab citṭhi bairanavā
7. agahan mē sab sāg kae sakhiyā calelī gavanavā (refrain)
8. pus mē tohāke khelai bade bhejab ek suganavā
9. māgh mē makar nahāyā jāke prayāgarāj sthānavā
10. phāgun phāg ṭarai nā pāi hāi cunarīn par raginavā
11. cait mē cītā karake pyārī bhejab ek dhavanavā (refrain)
12. bāisāk mē as pujāibe toharī jab āibe bhavanavā
13. jaith mē bhēṭ karab ham tohāse hoi jāi hāi milanavā (refrain)

65. Kajali

1. kahanā mānā mat jā bin dekhāl ḍagariyā ho balamū
2. arabar deś śahar bāgālā
3. jātai hoi hāi suratiyā kālā
4. paniyā lagāi karejavā paṛī jāi hāi jhajhariyā ho balamū
ab jhajhariyā ho balamū
5. nariyar kelā kay adhikārī
6. jekare khāile hoke bīmārī
7. okare khāile barhe bīmārī
8. sastā bikai barābar carī aur bajariyā ho balamū
9. sastā bikai barābar carī aur śahariyā ho balamū
10. ek ṭhe narī catur bāgālī
11. ek ṭhe narī catur bāgālī
12. o sab jyādū karanevālī
13. lābī kes suhavan patarī kamariyā ho balamū
14. batiyā samajh na pāiba terhā
15. jyadūā mār banai hāi bherā
16. bas mē kāike rakhī hāi apanī sejariyā ho balamū

66. Kajali

1. pātī ī lehale jāi hā bābhanavā
2. bital jālā savanavā na (2x)
3. pātī hamār lihale jāi hā pir gagan dhan garajanā
4. sāvan phūle gavanavā na, savaliyā phūle gavanavā
5. bhādō rāin pāth nahī sujhe

6. ṭapaṭap cue āganavān
7. kuār mās nit sarag cādanī
8. kārtik jare diyanavān, savaliyā jare diyanavān
9. agahan nīk tanik nahī laga
10. sakhī sab calelī gavanavān
11. pus mās muhi sit satave
12. maghavā ṭharhī āganavān savaliyā ṭharhī āganavān
13. phāgun phāg kekarī sāg खेलab
14. harī mur madhubanavān gaelāia harī madhubanavān gaelāia
15. cait mās banatesur banapūle bahi pavanavān, savaliyā bahe
pavanavān
16. jaitavā mē śyam sūdar nahī āilaia
17. bitī gaelāia baraho mahinavān

67. Kajali

1. gurahin pānī bharajā bābū log khariyān
2. gorikā kajarā hai kaṭilā
3. ūke dūno nayan mē khirā
4. nīlā lahāgā pahine patarī kamariāna
5. gorika colīā hav mulatānī
7. bāh mē curiā dhānī
7. dhakavā chāp cunariā odaile gujariā na ho
8. gorī ke kābar mē karadhaniā
9. pair mē karā charā paijaniā
10. goriā calat ka rahiyā pheraile najariyā na
11. gatē caubejī ostād
12. kajarī nayā nayā taiyār
13. jīlā gāzipur indrapur makanavā ho balamū
14. gurahin pānī bharajā bābū log khariyān

68. Khari Birha

1. kahāi ki jāe ke rahalī badrī nārāyan ki baramhā ji lehalāi
belhamāi
2. pherāi ke rahalō tulasī ka malavā gāilī māyāvā mē bhūlāi
3. are māyāvā mē apāne gāile bhūlāi

69. Khari Birha

1. are kahāĩ rām bhāiyā rām bhāilāĩ jogiyā lakhan bairagiyā
2. lekin dūno bhāiyā ho gāilāĩ phakir
3. are i hai garavā mẽ nāvat hāue tulasī ka malavā lekin
4. ghumke māgat bāre nagariyā mẽ bhikh

70. Khari Birha

1. are sakatī banavā ta ho gāilāĩ rahal lakhan ke bhāĩ lekin
2. rāmji ta rovat rahe lekar jhāgiyā par bilakhāĩ
3. hot bhoravā lakhan mari jāĩ hāĩ
4. ki keke leke avadhpur jāẽ

71. Khari Birha

1. kahāĩ kavanī samāiyā mẽ dharatī ta hilal rahalĩ ki
2. kavanī samāiyā mẽ dolī gayal rahal asamān
3. kavanī samāiyā mẽ sītajī hari gāil rahāĩ
4. kahavā gayal rahala bhagavān

72. Khari Birha

1. are kahāĩ kalāu samāiyā mẽ ta dharatī dolal rahalĩ bhāe
2. lekin satajug samāiyā mẽ dol gayal rahal asamān
3. treta jugavā mẽ māĩ jānakī har gāilĩ
4. jahā miragā mārāĩ mere logavā
5. are miragā mārāĩ gayal rahāĩ bhagavān

73. Khari Birha

1. bīdarā banavā mẽ rahai pakalī bāiriyā lekin
2. radhikā onhavalerahai dar ta ekahu bairiya radhe torahi na
pavali
3. ta kanhaiā dahalire basiyā bajāe kānhā

74. Khari Birha

1. jhākay nārī gokulavā ka dhani re kubariyā torī bārī bhāg
2. sab ke ta mil gāilẽ lāgar a lūjavā
3. a kubarī ke kesun murarī

75. Khari Birha

1. kahai e bhā sugavā hi jān hamē dudhavā piyavalū sugavā
mudāiā baṛe
2. are jab bhā janatō sugavā hoi hāi mudāiya are nanhave
ḍayanavā baṛe re pajiya
3. are nanhavā ḍayanavā are hiravā tor

76. Nirgun Bhajan

1. are āj bhajab harī nām, calā man, aj bhajab harī nām
2. bālāpan bālak mē bītal sīkhat parhat guru gyūn (2x)
3. juvā bhae bikhayan ras mātāl bisari jāt harī nām
4. calā man āj bhajab harī nām
5. bisari jāt harī nām calā man aj bhajab harī nām
6. e nar khāṭ par baithal jhākhai āgurī būjhāvaila śan
7. calā man āj bhajab harī nām
8. āgurī būjhāvaila śan calā man āj bhajab harī nām
9. khaṭiyā se nar bhuiyā bhāilāi jamjī ka gaṛalāi nīśān (2x)
10. are jamjī ka gaṛalāi nīśān calā man āj bhajab harī nām
11. kahat kabir sunā bhāi sādho bhajan karā man lāi
12. binā bhajan kāy mukti na hoi hāi janam akārath jāi
13. calā man āj bhajab harī nām (2x)

77. Nirgun Bhajan

1. are gati terī lakhi na parī re dayānidhi (2x)
(This is the refrain)
2. gurū vaśiṣṭh pādīt as jānī sodhi ke lagan dharī (2x)
3. sīta haran maran dasarath ko ghar ban vipat parī e dayānidhi
(refrain)
4. kāhāvah phād kahā mrig mārīc kāhava mrig cari (2x)
5. sīta ko hari le gaye ravan suvarṇ lāk jarī e dayānidhi
(refrain)
6. are suvarṇ lāk jarī e dayānidhi (refrain)
7. nīc hāth haricād bikāne hali pātāl dharī
8. koṭi gāu rājā nrig dinhe to ghar kop parī e dayānidhi
(refrain)
9. pādav dal ke āp sārathī tin par vipat pari

10. duryodhan ke garab mitāyo yadukul nās̄ karī e dayānidhi
(refrain)
11. are yadukul nās̄ karī e dayānidhi (refrain)
12. rahu ketu aru bhānu cāḍramā bidhi sanyog parī (2x)
13. kahat kabir sunā bhāi sadho honī hoke rahī e dayānidhi
(refrain)
14. are honī hoke rahī e dayānidhi (refrain)

78. Nirgun Bhajan

1. hirā ratan gāvāke jagat se jānā na ho bhāī
2. āj he koi jo sāt lahariyā jo hirā mahāg le jāī jagat se
jānā na ho bhāi
3. semar kāṭh lāle phulavā suganā dekhi lo bhāi
4. mārāt cōc̣ ghuā udhi jāī hāī
5. to suganā man hī man pachataī, jagat se jānā na ho bhāi
6. a gil guṛ par māchī baithe ho pāk gae lapaṭāī
7. dolan ki jo sakati nahī hāī
8. bharam bharam mari jāī, jagat se jānā na ho bhāī
9. kahe kabir sunā bhāi sādho
10. bhajan karo cit lāī, bin bhajan ki mukati na banī hāī
11. svārath birath gavāke, jagat se jānā na ho bhāi

79. Bhajan

1. ũcī prem sagāī jagat mē ũcī prem sagāī (this is the refrain)
2. durayodhan ghar mevā tyāge sāg vidur ghar khāī (2x)
3. mīṭhe phal sevarī kor khayō bahu, bidhi svād batāī (refrain)
4. prem ke bas nrig sevā kinhe āp bane hari nāī
5. raj ka tyāg yudhiṣṭhir kinhā tāme juṭh uthāī (refrain)
6. tāme juṭh uthāī (refrain)
7. prem ke bas pārath rath hākyo bhūli gāi ṭhakurāī (2x)
8. esiy prem barhal bṛndāban gopī nāc nacāī (refrain)
9. kapi sugrīv bādhu bhay vyākul tehi ja cakra churāī (refrain)
10. sur śyām yahi lāyak nahī, kahā tak karau baṛāī (refrain)

80. Birha

1. soyā thā ek din mahal mē sikādar uthāke dekhā duniā ka khākā
2. dil mē tamannā sākālp sādha sāre jamīn mē urā dū patākā
3. kar mē lekar khunō ke pyāle labābab sapanō mē nasīkhā jhāda
jhukānā
4. hiltē sikarī se jarre mahī ka pair utale matu ka kā jamānā
5. visva vijeta bir sikādar vijāi calā hīd ke ādar
6. jhāda gār diā jhelam nadī kinār
7. kabje mē paschamī esiā kiā misar irān śahar
8. kādahīd kā basā najar gayā sīd nadi ko gaya utar
9. udamādi mē sīd aur pājāb rāj ko titar bitar
10. ghor patakī takacasilā kā rājā ābī milā udhar
11. jhelam aur cināb ke bic thā ek rājā poras vahā ka bali
bahādur ek
12. jhāda dusamān ka gārā jhelam nadi kinār poras ke puruṣārth
ko reti uthī pukār
13. dūdh ka lāj bacāi hā bhāiyā bhar javaniyā vatan ka rakhihā
jīda pāniyā
14. nadī jhelam kinār jhāda sikādar ne gārā
15. nadī jhelam jhilmil ācal bhī phukār uthā
16. merī sīma par beṭā bairī to lalakār uthā
17. lage na dāg janābhūmī bacāū koi
18. hamāre sime se dusaman haṭāo koi
19. ākarake bairī birājā ho suno batiyā hamār
20. bājā bigul hai bajāyā uthī reti phukār
21. rotī hai mātā mahīkī bahe asiā ki dhār jhāda sikādar ne gār
22. bali ābī nareś hāi hamare ghar ke milā barhā jātā sikādar
bhed thā ādar kā milā
23. tabhī poras ne lalakāra yunānvālō ko
24. bahādur rok lo bahate lahuke nāle ko
25. mātā ka poras dulārā ho gale gajarā ke dāl
26. bādhe lahukī kaphaniyā lie senā bisāl nikāl jākar sikādar
ko rokā
27. hui sīmā par mār jhāda sikādar ne gār
28. cācal calā gagan se pānī meghaiyā ko phār
29. vatan ka beṭā rakhihā pāniyā ran mē lagī jhumane nāhar

ka nisaniyā

30. dūdh lāj baceyā bhāiyā bhar javaniyā
31. vatan ka beṭā rakhihā pāniyā ran mē lagī jhumane nāhar
ka nisaniyā
32. are calalbā baghelavā jab jhumat ho simavā par
33. hathavā mē jab lehale nāgī ho talavār
34. bhāgelā sipāhī ho yūnānī dekhi ke biravā
35. ākiya se bābū caumukh lāge ādhiyār
36. dekh ke sipahī bhāgi bolelā sikādar
37. kahāvā bhāgi jālā ban ke gīdar ho sīyar
38. javanavā bābū dekhā simavā par
39. donō oriyā se cale lagal talavār
40. bharakā hai gajadal rājā poras ka
41. bhārī senā gaī ho chitarāī
42. bhuiyā javanavā giral ba gajadal ke
43. bādh līā unko us bar
44. cahe de dā rāj cahe le la phāsiyā tohase darabai na
45. videśiyā bahāibe asiyā
46. ājā ho sikādar hāthe lelā hathiyaravā
47. khunavā se bhīg gāilā mātā ka acaravā
48. kahālā sobariyā banāvelā siyār tohase darabe na
49. jīo jīo beṭā bolal jhelamvālā paniyā
50. larake bacavalā hamare hīdvāle saniyā
51. bāje la acaravā sohāle basiyā tohse darabe na
52. guru bihārī guru ganēs _____ bir sikādar
53. grām majuī bhāil kavī gājipur ke ādar
54. kahate rām lakhan dhar sārād ka caraniyā
56. vatan ka beṭā rakhiha jīda paniyā
57. dudh ka lāj bacāi hā bhāiyā bhār javaniyā vatan ka rakhihā
jīdā pāniyā

81. Birha

1. are ta hathavā mē gan lehale ho sajhavā bihanavā simavā par
jhume javan ho
2. kāhavā par halavā bayalavā ke dharale khetavā mē jālā
kisān ho

3. bāre ek gauā mē dūnō ka gharavā
4. khelale laṛakapan mē eke duaravā
5. oharo javān deś ke rakhavaravā eharo kisanavā banal kheti
haravā
6. deśavā ka lajiā javanavā bacavañila rakh ke hathelī par jān ho
7. maṭiā mē khunavā pasīnavā milāke deśava bacāve kisān ho
8. ohar javān torāi ṭāik ho jahājiā, iharo kisān tore usar
paratiyā
9. oharo javān sir lahava ka ṭopiyā, iharo kisān ke gobarā
aur khādiyā
10. vahā ta dāgele ṭopiyā salāmī bajelā bigul nisān ho, iharo ta
ṭhumuk ṭhumuk nāce payaliā goriyā li āve jalpān ho
11. gharavā mē taharaile sājhavā bihanavā sīmavā par jhumē javān
ho kāhava par halavā bayalvā ke dharale khetavā mē jālā
kisān ho
12. oharo javanavā deśava bacāve, iharo ta matiyā ke sonavā
banāve
13. oharo javanavā dusaman bhāgāve, iharo kisanavā garībī miṭāve
14. deśavā ka pālan kisanavā karailā, rakhi ke hatelī par jān
ho rakṣa karaila javān ho
15. rām sevak donō bhārat kay gaurav donō hāi deśavā ka sān ho

82. Kavvali

1. hā paresān hū mohabbat se
2. magar paresānī nahī jātī
3. ki māi barabād hū ki unkī nādānī nahī jāyā
4. are uskī ākho mē sab u kuch hai lekin (repeated three times)
5. dāvatē kaiph mastī nahī hai
6. mere jīdagī se na khele
7. jīdagī itanī sasti nahī hai
8. phūl ko musa ārane ka hak hai
9. phir kalī kislāe musakarāi
10. bākī bākā najariyā galat hai
11. vorotī hai hāstī nahī hai
12. vo to baithā hai dariyā kināre
13. jāl dāle hue khūb macherā

14. machaliyā hāi ye kitānī sayānī
15. ek bhī machalī pāsti nahī hai
16. are kyā pāsāegā jālī vo mujhko
17. uske kaṭihe mē cārā nahī hai
18. uskī ākho mē sab kuch hai lekin
19. dāvatē kaiph mastī nahī ha

83. kavvali

1. is caurāsī mē vṛjdhām bahut acchā hai
2. sarī isthānō se nādagāv bahut acchā hai
3. rām ke nām ka lāka mē bajāya ḍākā
4. bole hanumān merā rām bahut acchā hai
5. lāka mē jab se rakh diā āgad uṭhāke pāv
6. bole jo bir hone haṭā de āke pāv
7. jab sab bir hāre tab calā rāvan barhāke pāv
8. āgad jī bole dhartā hai kyū merā āke pāv
9. agar chūnā hai to chū bhagvān ka jāke pāv
10. bhagvān jidhar tumhāri dayā ki najar gaī
11. pāp inkā pāp kaṭ gaī bigarī sāvar gaī
12. tumhāri kṛpā se dubtī nayā ubhar gaī
13. gautam ṛṣī ke pāve ahalyā bhī tar gaī
14. jis dam śilā par rakh diā raghubar barhake pāv
15. kaise kay sīd kapi kapiō se milkar
16. sīta kī sudhī nā pāi ke ḍūrḥā idhar udhar
17. hanumat samudra lāgh ke pahūcā pahār par
18. sārā pahār dhās gayā pātāl ke ādar
19. are rakhā pavanakumār jo gusse mē āke pāv

84. Furvi

1. deś chūṭe kajarā na chūṭe
2. mehadi na chūṭe mere pāvan kī
3. koṭin koṭin upay karī
4. haliyā jo sunī āvan ki
5. dil leke bhāgā dagā deke bhāgā
6. kasam goiyā sāiyā dagā deke bhāgā
7. dagā denā hi thā to lāye gavanavā kāhē

8. sohanī rāt mē tu bhāilā sapanavā kāhē
9. sejariyā sunī sārī rāt bhayāvan lāge
10. mohī abhāgin piyā lake gavanavā gāilā
11. are he ho gosāiyā sāiyā are milā mor abhāgā
12. jamānā burā hai isasān bure hote hāi
13. javānī joś mē imān bure hote hāi
14. karār kese kailū log lagāve jhakiyā
15. kahāi dil jānī jarā āke lagū lo chatiyā
16. phūṭ jaegī kabhī chalak jāe gagariyā
17. e siā rām tere sāth nahī paūgī
18. are ānā ho to javānī mē ājā
19. morī sunī sejariyā sāiyā are nīkō nā lagā

85. Purvi

1. adhī adhī ratiyā ke bole koilariyā
2. cihūkī uthī goriyā sejariyā se ṭhārḥ
3. amavā mojarī gāilāya mahuvā kocāi gāilāya
4. mor birahiniyā ke niniyā bhorāi gāilāya
5. rahi rahi dehiyā se bahailī bayariyā
6. khulan lāge sudhiyā ke dehalo kevār
7. phulavā phulāi gāilāi bhāvarā lobhāi gāilāi
8. kavane kasuravā se piyā ghar nahī āilāi
9. likh likh patiyā pathavali vipatiyā bahan lāge ratiyā
10. nayan jaladhār
11. pāchi uran lāge gagan magan lāge
12. manavā ke pijarā se suganā bolan lāge
13. hamaro sanehiyā na gune niramohiyā
14. dāiv ho jāne kahiya le kaṭihani gārḥ
15. adhī adhī ratiyā ke bole koilariyā

86. Kaharava

1. birij bhāilāi sūnā birij bhāilāi sūnā birij bhāilāi sūnā
2. tohāi binu śyām ho birij bhāilai sūnā
3. an binā prān dukhi ta bhāilāi sajanī jalabin tarapat minā
4. sun balam nārī dukhi ta hai nārī dukhi ta hai
5. din din hole malinā tohai binu śyām ho birajī bhāilāi sūnā

6. kari ke sīgar palāg carhī baithāī romarom ras bhīna bhīna
7. cole ka bād dharā dhar ṭuṭe
8. pōchā balam hamare cūelā pasena tohāī binu śyām birij
bhāilāī sūnā
9. lāl palāg par jarad bīchauna tāpar kāpar jhīna
10. dhire se pāv dharo palāge par
11. līga līga lāve carhīnā
12. idhar se avelī naval rādhikā udhar se kuvār kanhai
13. śrī br̥ndabanabā ke kūjagalin mē mil gailāī pīavā nagīnā
14. āṭh mās nav kātik nahāilī śiv bar pūjan kinā
15. he vidhanā tohare kāre bigāralī choṭ balam likh dīnā

87. koharava Nirgun

1. khelat rahalō maī bābā ke bhavanavā tab le piyā ho mor
bheje paravanavā
2. ki a ho sajanī pari gailāī gavane kā din jīā ghabarāī
gailā ho na kiyā ho sajanī
3. jab āilī ho baratiyā ho baba ka bhavanavā lālī lālī ḍoliyā
par sabaj oharuvā
4. bajale ek bar ho bajanavā ke dil ghabarāī gailē ho sajanī
5. milī le hū milī le hū sakhiyā saheliyā āj chuṭaile more
bāba kā habailiyā
6. choṭe jale gōdi ka naginavā ki keke leke la khelāīb
7. ghar mē morī mātā rove bābā sirahanavā ḍoliyā pakarke rove
bhāiyā mor biranavā
8. nāiharavā choṭavalāī ta mohiyā satāvelī honā sajanā
9. rim jhim buniyā paraile sārī ratiyā kaise kahō re sakhi
dilavā ka batiyā
10. ki a ho sajanī kājar gailai jhurāī kaval kumhī lāī gailī hona

88. Dhobi Nac

1. e jī gādhī jī ke caran gahā
2. javāhar ke sir nām bhajan karū parameśvar ka kabhī na bhūle
nām
3. rām khudā ekahī hāī sab alag alag hāī nām
4. hīdū musalim bhāī hāī larate ho bekār

5. bābā to pūjan gāilī́ śiv ki mādīravā

APPENDIX II

SYNOPSIS OF TWO ALHA SEGMENTS

Part I

Accompanied by a heavily armed and highly decorated barat, Rudal Singh, the chief of the clan, Debha Tivari, his advisor, and Malkha, the prospective groom, proceeded to a grove outside the village of the Raja of Jhunagarh. There they set up camp and imported dancing girls to entertain them while they waited for amicable gestures from the Raja of Jhunagarh which would indicate he was willing to marry his daughter to Malkha. But the Raja did not welcome them with the dvar puja, or parcan, nor did he send provisions. After several days Rudal had his men fire continuous volleys to communicate his displeasure.

The Raja's advisor, Cura (apparently after arguing with the Raja), took the dowry goods to Rudal's camp. Rudal refused them, and sent Cura away as he pretended to go hunting with several other men. Instead they descended on Cura, but without harming him, and snatched the dowry, which they gave to Malkha. Rudal's party then moved their camp to a tank near the Raja's fortress and began to prepare for the wedding.

The Raja argued with Cura that if he married his daughter to Malkha the family honor would be stained and "the water pipe would be finished," i.e. they would be excommunicated from the caste (because of the low ranking of Rudal's clan). They finally agreed that if Cura could deliver Malkha to the Raja, the Raja would give Cura half his kingdom. Cura went to Rudal's camp where they angrily asked why the preliminary ceremonies had not been performed. Cura told them that all preparations had been made but requested that Malkha come alone with him. Rudal, fooled by Cura, told Malkha to go with him. As Malkha

departed there were unfavorable omens--someone sneezed, a one-eyed Telī ('oil presser') appeared, and a dead man's skull spoke, saying that he too had gone to Jhunagarh to marry. Malkha returned to camp crying but Rudal and the rest of the family were unsympathetic and ordered him to Jhunagarh.

Part II

Malkha, carried in a palanquin by kahars, arrived at Jhunagarh. Cura deceived him into giving up his sword, and sent the Kahars to prepare a meal in a room where dry peppers were stored. The peppers were ignited and the kahars locked in the room to suffocate. Cura locked Malkha in the courtyard and went to the Raja for his reward. The Raja said Malkha first had to be bound up with rope.

Cura recruited nine hundred men in the village, telling them to disguise themselves as women and bring their long wooden pestles. They entered the courtyard singing the appropriate songs. Cura told Malkha that the Kahars were busy and the women would carry him in the palanquin to the mandap. The men hoisted the palanquin to their shoulders, then dropped it at Cura's order. The men fell on Malkha, tied his hands behind his back, beat him with the pestles, drove bamboo splinters under his fingernails and stakes in his sides, and left him in a hole in the ground.

Cura went to the king and threatened to hang himself if the king didn't make good his promise. (The soul of a Brahman who dies in negative circumstances is thought to bring calamities down upon those responsible for the death.)

Meanwhile, the bride Motina, all ready for the wedding, was told by her maidservant of the location of her devastated groom. Motina went to look at him and became hysterical. At midnight she returned to pull out all the stakes and splinters and take him to her room, where she dressed his wounds. They healed before many weeks had passed and he began exercising, in the secrecy of her room, to regain his strength. She asked him to forget the past and take her to his home. But being a

brave Rajput, he refused. One day as he finished exercising he slapped his thighs, as do wrestlers when they begin the match. The report was heard throughout the village. The Raja asked his astrologer what it was; the astrologer told him and advised that he should arrange for the two to be married. The Raja instead called Cura and threatened to take back the reward if he didn't subdue Malkha. Cura called the troops.

Motina begged Malkha to flee, but the brave Malkha refused, saying that to do so would be to lose respect. As a thousand soldiers filled the courtyard, Malkha invoked Durga, who said she would give them all cholera if he wanted. He asked only for a sword. She gave him instead a strong staff (the most common weapon in the countryside). The troops attacked, but twenty men fell with each swing of Malkha's staff. When only ninety remained, Cura ordered the soldiers to cover the floor with dried peas so Malkha would fall. (Part II ends at this suspenseful point.)

APPENDIX III

GLOSSARY OF HINDI AND BHOPURI TERMS

Ahir	The caste whose traditional occupation is cow-herding.
ālāp	The introductory portion of a song, usually a brief solo sung on a vocable such as ah.
Ālhā	A martial ballad consisting of many lengthy segments about the exploits of two legendary Rajput generals, Alha and Udal (or Rudal). See Chapter V.
bārahmāsa	'Twelve months'. The song theme depicting the effects of the seasons on a woman separated from her husband or lover. See Chapter VIII.
bārāt	The group consisting of the groom and his agnates and friends which travels to the home of the bride for the wedding and bride-removal rites.
bhajan	The general term for religious song. It can also mean 'any sort of audible worship' (Bharati 1961: 277).
bhaktī	'Devotion' or 'devotional'.
bhāṅg	An intoxicating preparation consisting of Cannabis indica (Indian marijuana) and other ingredients. (Bhang is the anglicization used here.)
birādarī	The local caste grouping.
birhā	A genre of entertainment song. See Chapter VI.
bisarjan	The closing lines of a song containing the ostensible author's name and a salute to the author's guru or inspirational deities. Also spelled visarjan.
Brāhmaṇ	The priest caste and the uppermost of the varnas.

cauk	An area consecrated by plastering with cow dung and a design drawn on it with flower. Important rites such as the vivah are staged on it.
celā	'Student-disciple'. The complementary role of guru.
cumāvan	The rite of personal blessing and conference of good fortune in which women of the family or neighborhood touch the feet, knees, chest and shoulders of the bride or groom with a blade of grass. See Chapter III.
dakṣinā	A payment made to a Brahman priest for services rendered.
daphalā	The name of a particular type of frame drum (a large, shallow, single-headed drum) and the name of the type of band in which the drum predominates. See Chapter III.
Dhobī	The caste whose traditional occupation is washing clothes.
ḍholak	A double-headed, wood-bodied drum played with both hands.
dhotī	A man's skirt-like garment generally of white cotton, part of which is passed between the thighs and tucked in behind.
dvar pūjā	Literally, 'the sacrificial ceremony at the door'. It is one of the wedding rites.
gālī	'Verbal abuse' or 'a song of abuse, generally obscene'. See Chapter III.
Garṣṇ	The caste whose traditional occupation is herding sheep and goats.
gaunā	The departure of the bride to her husband's home for her first period of extended residence there. Also the name of the rite occurring at the time of departure.
ghazal	A type of Urdu court poetry in couplets or short lyrics, written in the eighteenth century by Mir and other Muslim poets. See Chapter VI.
ghī	'Clarified butter'. A highly valued, ritually pure food.

gopī	A female of the cowherding caste; one of Krishna's many lovers.
Gōṛ	The caste in Eastern Uttar Pradesh whose traditional occupation is parching grain.
gurū-celā	'Master-disciple'.
haldī	'Turmeric'; the name of one of the wedding rites in which the bride or groom is rubbed with turmeric.
harīkīrtan	The class of devotional music sung by Vaishnavites. See Chapter IV.
havan	The offering of ghi and other items to the gods by burning.
holī	A rite of spring; one of the primary Hindu calendrical rites. See Chapter IV.
huruk	A double headed drum with variable tension heads. It is used primarily by Gor and Kahar caste musicians in the Bhojpuri language region.
jājmān	A 'patron' whose 'clients' (parjunias) include men of such service castes as the Brahman, Dhobi, Lohar, Nau, and Kahar. Compensation for services includes shares of harvests and cooked food, cash and clothing on major festivals and certain ceremonial occasions such as the wedding.
janeū	A loop of string worn over one shoulder and under the other arm to symbolize 'twice-born' status. Now worn by men of all Hindu castes except untouchables and "moderns".
Kahār	The caste whose traditional occupations include carrying water and delivering food and other gifts to relatives living in another village.
khari birhā	A type of song sung (only as a solo) by Ahirs and Garers. See Chapter V.
kohabar	A room designated by the pundit for use in certain of the wedding rites.
jhāl	A set of cymbals from three to five inches in diameter.
kajalī	A type of song sung in the monsoon season. See Chapters III and IV.

Kalvār	A business caste whose traditional occupation, some say, was manufacturing liquor.
kathā	The family rite which includes the recitation of moral parables and performance of a havan by a Brahman priest.
kavvālī	A genre of entertainment music formerly sung only by Muslims. See Chapter VI.
khisā	Literally 'story' but also used to denote a cante fable, or narrated story interspersed with sung verses.
khicaṛī	A food whose primary ingredients are rice and lentils; also the name of a wedding rite at which this food is to be eaten.
Kohār	The caste whose traditional occupation is making clay pots and roof tiles.
krishna	A primary Hindu deity, usually depicted playing a flute. He is the subject of many folk songs. See Chapter VIII.
Kṣatriya	The warrior varna.
lāūdā	A female impersonating dancer; an attractive boy or young man.
lāvā	The parched rice used in the wedding rites.
Lohār	The caste whose traditional occupation is making clay pots and roof tiles.
lū	The hot, forceful west wind that blows in the hot season.
māgal	'Auspiciousness'. See Chapter III and especially Chapter VIII.
mandap	The canopy under which major wedding rites are held.
mantra	Chanted pseudo-morphemic phrases thought to have efficacy.
Mātā Māī	A 'mother goddess' who is associated with cholera and smallpox. See Chapter III.
mokṣa	'Salvation', either unification with the absolute or oversoul, or release from the cycle of rebirth.

Nau	The local term for a man of the barber caste. Nai is the Hindi term.
Nat	A caste whose traditional occupations include different kinds of entertainment--singing, comedy and acrobatics. The groups around Indrapur were Muslim; some groups in other areas are Hindu.
nīm	The margosa tree.
Nuniā	The caste whose traditional occupation is construction of buildings.
pacarā	The class of songs about the mother goddess sung by women, and the songs sung by the <u>qjhā</u> ('shaman') to invoke and manipulate the particular mother goddess who is his tutelary deity. See Chapter III.
pān	A stimulant masticatory, containing lime, catechu, and pieces of areca nut wrapped in betel leaf.
parcan	A rite in which one person worships and blesses another by revolving an object such as a pebble over his or her head.
purdah	(<u>Pardā</u>). Literally, 'veil, screen, or curtain'. The institutional complex based on the seclusion of women from public life.
parjuniā	'client'. See <u>jājmān</u> .
phaguā	The types of songs sung in the holi season.
prasād	The food offered to deities in the course of a ritual and subsequently distributed among participants, family, and neighbors.
pūjā	A rite of worship, usually involving a fire sacrifice.
purohit	A Brahman serving in the capacity of family priest.
purvī	A type of entertainment song.
Rāmā	(Rām). 'God'; and one of the primary anthropomorphic deities. See Chapter VII.
sādhū	A religious ascetic.
sāgun	A type of women's song sung in the wedding and preceding rites.

1

sakhī	A girl's female companion.
śahnāī	A simple, conical double reed horn which sounds somewhat like an oboe.
Śiva	(Siva Sakar). One of the primary Hindu deities. He is an awesome ascetic who is associated with marijuana smoking and usually depicted in meditation.
śūdra	The lowest of the 'twice-born' varna.
Telī	The business caste whose traditional occupations included oil-pressing.
Thākūr	The landholding caste of the Ksatriya varna, descended from the Rajputs of Northwestern India.
tilak	The ornamental dot a Hindu woman wears on her forehead and the name of the marriage rite in which the dowry is paid.
varṇa	According to authoritative scriptures (the Vedas), Hindu society is divided into four great varnas or classes--priest (Brahman); warrior (Ksatriya); peasant (Vaisya); and serf (sudra) in descending order. These categories are often used as referents by natives when ranking local caste groupings, and provide a means of comparing the ranks of castes from different areas.
vaiśya	The peasant varna, which today is thought to include most merchant castes.
vivāh	The culminating rite in the series of wedding rites.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1947 Alexander the Great. Encyclopedia Americana 1.
- Archer, W. G.
1958 The Loves of Krishna in Indian Painting and Poetry. Evergreen Books. New York: Grove Press.
- Arya, U.
1968 Ritual Songs and Folksongs of the Hindus of Surinam. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Babb, L. A.
1969 Systemic Aspects of Chhattisgarhi Religion: An Analysis of a Regional Variant of Popular Hinduism. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester.
- Basham, A. L.
1959 The Wonder that was India. Evergreen Books. New York: Grove Press, Inc.
- Bharati, Agehananda
1970 The Ochre Robe. Anchor Books. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company.
- Boatwright, Howard
1963 Indian Classical Music and the Western Listener. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- Chatterji, S. K. and S. M. Katre
1970 India: Languages. New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
- Cohn, Bernard S.
1962 Political Systems in Eighteenth Century India: The Banaras Region. Journal of the American Oriental Society 82 (3): 313-320.
- De Bary, William Theodore
1958 Sources of Indian Tradition. Volume I. New York and London: Columbia University Press.

- Dimock, Edward C.
1968 Doctrine and Practice among the Vaisnavas of Bengal. In Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes. Milton Singer, ed. Phoenix Books. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dimock, Edward C., and Denise Levertov
1967 In Praise of Krishna: Songs from the Bengali. Anchor Books. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.
- Dowson, John
1972 A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Literature. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Dumont, Louis
1970 Homo Hierarchicus. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Eliade, Mircea
1969 Yoga: Immortality and Freedom. Bollingen Series 56. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, Edward E.
1965 The Position of Women in Primitive Society. London: Faber and Faber.
- Fox-Strangways, A. H.
1965 The Music of Hindostan. London: Oxford University Press.
- Grierson, G. A.
1884 Some Bihari Folksongs. Journal of the Royal Asian Society 16:196.

1886 Some Bhojpuri Folksongs. Journal of the Royal Asian Society 18:207.
- Growse, F. S.
1966 The Ramayana of Tulsi Das (translated from the Hindi). Allahabad, India: Ram Narain Lal Ben Prasad.
- Hitchcock, John T.
1959 The Idea of the Martial Rajput. In Traditional India: Structure and Change. Milton Singer, ed. Philadelphia: The American Folklore Society.
- Hopkins, Thomas J.
1968 The Social Teaching of the Bhagavata Purana. In Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes. Milton Singer, ed. Phoenix Books. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Hutton, J. H.
1969 Caste in India: Its Nature, Function, and Origins.
London: Oxford University Press.
- Ingalls, Daniel H. H.
1968 Sanskrit Poetry. Cambridge, Massachusetts:
Harvard University Press.
- Karve, Irawati
1965 Kinship Organization in India. New York: Asia
Publishing House.
- Keay, Frank E.
1960 A History of Hindi Literature. Calcutta: Y.M.C.A.
Publishing House.
- Keyt, George
1940 Jayadeva's Gita Govinda: The Loves of Kṛṣṇa and
Rādhā. Bombay: Kutub-Popular Pvt. Ltd.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude
1967 Structural Anthropology. Anchor Books. Garden
City, New York: Doubleday & Company.
- Lewis, Oscar
1958 Village Life in Northern India. Vintage Books.
New York: Random House.
- Lomax, Alan
1968 Folk Song Style and Culture. Washington, D.C.:
American Association for the Advancement of
Science.
- McAllester, David P.
1954 Enemy Way Music. Cambridge: Peabody Museum,
Harvard University.
- Majumdar, D. N.
1958 Caste and Communication in an Indian Village.
New Delhi: Asia Publishing House.
- 1961 Races and Cultures of India. New Delhi: Asia
Publishing House.
- Mayer, Adrian C.
1966 Caste & Kinship in Central India: A Village and
Its Region. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University
of California Press.
- Marriott, McKim
1968 The Feast of Love. In Krishna: Myths, Rites, and
Attitudes. Milton Singer, ed. Phoenix Books.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Merriam, Alan P.
1964 The Anthropology of Music. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Monier-Williams, Monier
1964 Sanskrit-English Dictionary. London: Oxford University Press.
- Nettl, Bruno
1964 Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology. New York: The Macmillan Company, The Free Press of Glencoe.
- Nicholas, Marta
1972 Personal communication.
- Oman, J. Campbell
1889 Cults, Customs, and Superstitions of India. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company.
- Pandey, S. M. and Norman Zide
1968 Surdas and His Krishna-bhakti. In Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes. Milton Singer, ed. Phoenix Books. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pathak, R. C.
1946 Bhargava's Standard Illustrated Dictionary of the Hindi Language (Hindi-English Edition). Varanasi: Bhargava Book Depot.
- Planalp, J. M.
1956 Religious Life and Values in a North Indian Village. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.
- Popley, H. A.
1966 The Music of India. New Delhi: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.
1964 The Andaman Islanders. New York: The Macmillan Company, The Free Press of Glencoe.
- Rekesagupta
1967 Studies in Nayaka-Nayika-Bheda. Aligarh, India: Granthayan.
- Russell, Ralph
1969 The Pursuit of the Urdu Ghazal. The Journal of Asian Studies 29 (1): 107-124.
- Russell, Ralph, and Khurshidul Islam
1968 Three Mughal Poets. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

- Singer, Milton
 1968 The Radha-Krishna Bhajanas of Madras City. In Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes. Milton Singer, ed. Phoenix Books. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tagore, Rabindranath, and Evelyn Underhill
 1970 One Hundred Poems of Kabir. Calcutta: Macmillan and Co. Ltd.
- Tambiah, S. J.
 1968 The Magical Power of Words. Man 3 (2): 175-208.
- Turner, Victor
 1969 The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- 1973 Symbols in African Ritual. Science 179:1100-1105.
- Upadhyaya, K. D.
 1954 Bhojpurī Lok-gīt (bhāg 1). Allahabad, India: Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.
- 1957 An Introduction to Bhojpuri Folksongs and Ballads. Midwest Folklore 7(2): 85-94.
- 1966 Bhojpurī Lok-gīt (bhāg 2). Allahabad, India: Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.
- Vatuk, Sylvia
 1971 Trends in North Indian Urban Kinship: The Matrilineal Asymmetry Hypothesis. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 27(3): 287-307.
- Vatuk, Ved Prakash
 1969 Thieves in My House: Four Studies in Indian Folklore of Protest and Change. Varanasi: Vishwavidyalaya Prakashan.
- Venkateswaran, T. K.
 1968 Radha-Krishna Bhajanas of South India: A Phenomenological, Theological, and Philosophical Study. In Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes. Milton Singer, ed. Phoenix Books. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Walker, Benjamin
 1968 Hindu world: An Encyclopedic Survey of Hinduism. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Wiser, William, and Charlotte Wiser
 1963 Behind Mud Walls 1930-1960. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 03085 1608