

ETHNO- MUSICOLOGY AND INDIA



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SUDHIBHUSAN BHATTACHARYA



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ETHNO- MUSICOLOGY AND INDIA

By
SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA, M. A.



Indian Publications, Calcutta

1968



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*Forthcoming books
of Folklore Series*

WOMEN IN INDIAN FOLKLORE

Edited by SANKAR SEN GUPTA

It is a collection of articles from different scholars in different linguistic regions of India with an introduction by the editor. This is an exposition of the position of women as depicted in the oral traditional materials. Scholars of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madras and other places have joined in this venture. A pioneer and a meaningful study which will provide facts and data for the socio-cultural historians.

FOLKLORE MUSEUM

By DR. S. C. MUKHERJEE

Another pioneer work where the (i) aims and objects of the folklore museum (ii) organization and function of folklore museum (iii) Acquisition (iv) preservation (v) display (vi) administration and others have been discussed. It is an attempt to show how a folklore museum on scientific basis can be designed thus it will stimulate interest of the people interested in folklorology as well as in museography.

Publisher's Note

The purpose of writing this book is clearly said by the author himself and it is superfluous to add anything more. Still it should be pointed out once again that this is not a study to make it a guide book to an occupation, which, in many cases, offer thrills that a few other vocation can give. It is rather prepared to set forth in complete detail the knowledge that is necessary in Ethno-musicology and India. The author perhaps was unable to teach Ethno-musicology of India from a book and to expect that much is something unrealistic, but he does feel very judiciously, that a complete and detailed recapitulation of knowledge will be helpful to the average students, musicians, musicologists of the country and there he has been able to serve the cause with the best of his ability and resources.

In the following pages one will find a good deal of useful information. Some of it is used in other field by the author and might also be found in other musicological literature of the country. Here the author has endeavoured to make the study as a complete and comprehensive one. Every formula presented herein has been tested again and again through practice, conference, lectures and seminar and is selected only because it has passed these tests. Thus the author seems to be conscious of the various problems that facing this great art. Naturally, he did not like to imbibe the usual Indian practice in treating his book descriptively, rather, he preferred to undertake theoretical study, with

the knowledge and experience of a linguist-anthropologist in addition to his early training in musicology.

It is a source book for Indian ethnomusicologists, students of traditional verses, professional singers and musicians, critics and musical archaeologists; not least of all, for genuine readers who are finding new meaning in old tradition. They may well prevent traditionalists from dwelling entirely in the past ignoring continuing tradition of folksong. Let the continuity of tradition flourish on and let it be untouched by commercialism in independent minds of singing. Thus the author at the outset started collecting and recording folk and tribal music through the Anthropological Survey of India, then he joined in discussion, symposia, etc. as mentioned earlier.

It is a pioneer but a preliminary study where the author has said something new from his field experience and knowledge he gathered from his library study and has suggested ways and means to tackle ethno-musicology in India meaningfully.

The author has touched all these and has also defined primitive music and folk music in his own way. He has treated Cultivated and Uncultivated music and has clearly distinguished between revivals importance as musical archaeology and its limited creative influence. This give us that idea of man and music which the literature of Indian music conspicuously lack.

The book contains only a fragment of author's collected materials which is vast and varied. Yet it must not be read as epitome of author's life's work because this is a side work of his who has already earned fame and reputation as a linguist. Most of his books and essays both in English and in Bengali are widely known not only in India but also in the countries outside. Students of ideas who happens to have preserved folksongs uncorrupted by recent usage will recognise this book as a positivist's approach. Even though 'positivist' and rational as he is always, the author did not restrict him to those social problems which Marxists may classify as 'social relation of production'. He had to follow his earlier studies with a further treatise analysing from the point of view of ethno-musicology which is comparatively a new science in India. It is the readers who will judge the merits and demerits of the book keeping in view what the author had in his mind and what he has said in his book. The Publisher's note has been added here to clarify our idea in undertaking the publication of this important and pioneering work.

ETHNO-MUSICOLOGY AND INDIA

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Indian Publications Folklore Series No. 14.

Printed in India by R. K. Dutta at Nabasakti Press, 123, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta-14 and Published by C. R. Sengupta for Indian Publications 3, British Indian Street, Calcutta-1.

Acknowledgements

The author owes a particular debt of gratitude to the editor "Folklore" where entire body of materials of this book appeared serially from January to June, 1968. For the publication of this modest book the author gratefully acknowledges his debt to Sri Sankar Sen Gupta, Hony. General Secretary and Director of Research of the Indian Folklore Society as well as the editor of "Folklore" who has quickly responded to his request for the publication of this monograph. Without his persistent efforts it would probably have not reached the reader so soon. Thanks are also due to Indian Publications for its including it in their books on Indian Folklore series.

S. B.

Cover : Khaled Chaudhury

First print in August, 1968

© This print Indian Publications, Calcutta

Price : In India : Rs. 12.50 ; Foreign : \$3.50

Introduction

Indian culture is not monolithic. In other words, this culture can not be derived wholly from the Vedic source. Even at the time of the Guptas or Harshavardhan Indian culture was not merely a continuum of the Vedic culture. Being a meeting ground for people of different races and cultures India must have witnessed innumerable shufflings and reshufflings of different packs of culture traits. Indian culture is therefore hopelessly mixed up. The enchanting story of the growth of this culture is not fully known to us.

Our knowledge on this subject is progressing very slowly. Language is an important item of our culture. About one hundred and fifty years ago it was generally believed that all the Indian languages spoken to the south of the Himalayas have originated from Sanskrit. Our ignorance about the Indian languages was primarily responsible for this erroneous idea. In the twenties of the last century Brian Hodgson started collecting short samples of tribal tongues from different parts of this country. In the fifties of that century, with the help of these and other studies, Max-Muller spoke with some confidence that there existed some non-Sanskritic, i.e. non-Aryan, languages in ancient India. This gradually led to the establishment of the two non-Aryan speech groups of India, Dravidian and Munda. Later some other non-Sanskritic languages came to light from the outskirts of the Indian mainland. And our studies* on the aberrant speech of the Nahal tribe of Western Madhya Pradesh have strengthened the belief that there was at least one language spoken inside India which was affiliated to a language family still quite unknown to us.

In this way, what at one time appeared to be a very simple situation has become so much complex and revealing in course of one hundred and fifty years ! It is now clear to us that the language of the invading Vedic Aryans gradually became *Indo-Aryan* by acquiring a number of *Indian* speech-habits. A greater impact of the non-Aryan languages on our post-Sanskritic Aryan speeches is also clearly discernible now.

Consequently, we can find out now the sources for most of the different elements of our Bengali language. But can we do the same

*See "Field-Notes on Nahali" by the present writer in *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 17, 1957, pp. 245-58.

for the different elements of our Bengali marriage? The rites observed at the marriage of a Bengali Hindu are Vedic, regional and women's rites. While the Vedic rites can be traced, the regional (*des-achar*) and the women's rites (*stri-achar*) can not be explained now.

We may cite two more instances. Versification and music are the two products of the human brain to akin language. But we do not have any intimate knowledge about the development of the major systems of versification and music of this country, although the picture about the growth of the major Indian languages is more or less clear. Can we smoothly deduce the Classical Sanskrit and Apabhramsa metres from the Vedic metres, and the Classical Indian music from the Vedic music? We may say from our personal experience that the gaps can not be fully bridged.

The next question we would ask is, why should we at all seek to derive everything from the Vedic source? We can not deny now that there were many language families present in India in early times. It points out unmistakably that there were also several distinct racial and culture groups of people speaking those different languages in India in the forgotten past. It is likely that many of those racial and cultural traits are still persisting in us in a diluted form.

It is also quite likely that at the time of the invasion of the Vedic people, the pre-Vedic Indian culture had developed a few pan-Indian norms which the Vedic people gradually absorbed in their culture, and which are known to us now to be typically Hindu culture traits. Thus, caste-rigidity and commensal restrictions are typical of the Hindu culture, and they are also quite common among most of the aboriginal population of this country. But can we explain satisfactorily these two items of our culture from the early Vedic texts alone? Most of the Indian languages both of the North and the South now use scripts that are derived from an ancient script called Brahmi. This Brahmi script can not also possibly have originated from the Vedic source.

The present writer, while carrying on research on Indian music, has felt it again and again that a developed system of music might have existed in India before the advent of the Vedic people in this country. But how can we clinch this issue? A disadvantage of the historical method of research is that it generates a bias in us for explaining every item of a modern culture in terms of a known ancient culture of that region. But synchronic data may counteract this bias in us. If Max Muller did not have the data on the different tribal speeches before him, probably he would also have been quite content with the theory

of the Sanskritic origin for all the inland Indian languages, prevalent at that time.

We have applied the synchronic method in the present series of studies on Indian music. The Indian music has been classified here into two broad divisions, cultivated and uncultivated. The uncultivated music of India has been further divided into tribal, i.e. primitive, music and folk-music. The cultivated music has two well-known component parts, the North Indian and the South Indian Classical music. The remaining innumerable types of Indian music will mostly fall under an intermediary group which we have called "Cultivated folk-music". *Bhajan*, *kirtan*, Tagore music and such other types to be found in every part of India will represent this intermediary group. Adopting this format we can continue our work of collecting more material on the existing types of Indian music for the purpose of describing them, and comparing them with one another.

In our present studies we have put greater emphasis on the traditional music of the Indian tribes which we have designated as "primitive music". This partiality has been shown because so long we knew very little about our rich heritage of the tribal music of India. The Classical music and the folk-music are usually taken to be the only forms of our music. But we can not ignore the tribal music of India, not because it is rich and vast, but also because it may ultimately help us in reconstructing the history of the development of Indian music. The tribal languages of India, we have seen, played this important role in the case of Indian languages.

We have shown on the authority of Matanga, an ancient writer on Indian music, that the music of the jungle folk of India at one time exercised some influence on the Classical Indian music. It has also been shown in our present studies that the traditional music of the Indian tribes, like the early Vedic music, is predominantly pre-pentatonic. Although our present studies are of a preliminary nature, every care has been taken here to compare the different types of tribal music of India that are to be found in different regions and different language groups. The Indian tribal music as a whole has also been compared with the other major types of Indian music. Apart from that, the readers will find here a brief discussion on the relation of music with society, culture and language in an Indian perspective.

The emphasis we have placed here on the tribal music has another significance. The traditional music of our tribal brethren is rapidly disappearing. Most of these tribal areas are also inhabited by more progressive people representing the different castes and other intruders.

As a result of this contact with a high culture, the Indian tribes have been gradually changing from a long time, the pace of which has been recently accelerated due to the inroads of education among them. Indian tribes are therefore in different stages of cultural evolution now. If we analyse their economic and spiritual life, their material culture and language, we may broadly classify them into three groups, namely, primitive tribes, semi-tribes, and semi-castes. Of course, no rigid line can be drawn between one group of tribes and another. The classification shown above merely hints at the gradual process of acculturation and approximation.

The characteristic features of the music of the three classes of Indian tribes mentioned above may be briefly stated now. Music of the primitive Indian tribes is predominantly ditonic, tritonic or tetratonic. It is composed mostly of a single musical line, and the rhythm in this music is predominantly asymmetrical, i.e. without any regular rhythm or *tala* (cf. *alap* of Classical Indian music). This music is also mostly ritualistic or functional, and the musical types are in most cases confined to particular tribes or culture-groups. In the music of the semi-tribes the scales are predominantly tritonic or tetratonic, additional lines are occasionally introduced, and asymmetrical and symmetrical rhythm are both favoured. The musical types are still confined to particular tribes, although traces of overlapping are found among the central Indian tribes. Functional music predominates, though traces of non-functional music are also found. In the music of the third group of tribes whom we have called the semi-castes, the influence of the regional folk-music is clearly perceptible. Tetratonic and pentatonic tunes predominate. The symmetrical rhythm with the common time-scales of 3 and 4 *matras* are predominant. The music is often multilinear. These musical types are not necessarily confined to particular tribes or groups. Functional music is still prominent in the semi-caste music although the non-functional variety is now gradually becoming more and more popular in it. Greater use of meaningful words and literary ideas is another peculiarity of the music of this third group of tribes.

Music being an integral part of the culture of the Indian tribes, it is found that in course of their cultural evolution when a tribe moves onwards to the next higher stage of semi-tribe and semi-caste, its music also changes and acquires more and more the features of folk-music.

Our brief comparative study of Indian music has revealed another important point. It has been found that the gradual change in the music of Indian tribes has generally followed the line of development

of the Classical music of India. Rig-Vedic hymns are to be sung in three pitches, *udatta*, *anudatta* and *svarita*. In this tritonic music the idea of octave was absent. There was no symmetrical rhythm in it which was called by the name of *tala* by later theorists. The musical line was also unitary in the Vedic chantings. By the time Bharata wrote his *Natya-Sastra* around the first century B. C., Indian music seems to have developed the heptatonic scales with the different semi-tones and the idea of *shruti*, and the different *jatis*, *talas*, *layas* and the four musical lines *asthayi*, *antara*, *abhoga* and *sanchari*.

Until the first quarter of the 19th century in modern times Indian society was roughly divided into high castes and low castes. In the second quarter of that century we came to know about the different tribes of this subcontinent. This new knowledge made it necessary for us to subdivide the low castes further into (i) low castes and (ii) tribes. With the progress of our knowledge about the Indian tribes a new idea permeated through every branch of our Indological enquiries, namely, to find out the nature and extent of the contributions of these non-Aryan tribes to Indian culture and civilization.

Classical Indian music is now predominantly a music of the upper class urban people possessing a high culture. The Mohammedan society in India in this respect will fall under the category of upper class. On the other hand, pure folk-music, i.e. the traditional uncultivated folk-music, is predominantly representative of the rural people and rural culture. Tagore music of Bengal occupies an intermediary position between folk-music and Classical music, for it has the openness of the former and the urbanity of the latter. With the emergence of the tribes, we will now have to admit in our repertory a new type of music, i.e. the tribal music, which is very much distinct from the Classical music and the folk-music of India.

Apart from trying to know the interaction of these different types of Indian music on one another on the historical level, a detailed study of them on a purely descriptive level should also be made by us for ascertaining their artistic merits, and for understanding the role played by them in the social groups and cultures they represent. Our present study, in spite of its limitations, may be taken as an introductory work in this field.

The present writer had some training in Classical Indian music in his school and college days at Benares. With this background of music when he visited the different tribal areas as a member of the Anthropological Survey of India to study the tribal languages, he was very much impressed with the charming simplicity of the tribal music. More-

over, it was found that a readiness to learn the tribal music proved to be a sure method of establishing rapport with the tribes. But a systematic study of this music could not be taken up by us. An extensive survey of the tribal speeches of central India being done, it was thought some time ago that something should now be done about the tribal music. Dr. D. K. Sen, Director, and Dr. S. C. Sinha, Deputy Director, of the Anthropological Survey of India, approved of the idea. Two field-trips were undertaken for this purpose, one for studying and recording the folk-music of Belpahari area in the Midnapur District of West Bengal, and the other for studying and recording tribal music of selected tribes in the States of Madras and Kerala. These materials together with the tape-recorded materials collected from other tribal regions of India by members of this Survey belonging to Headquarters at Calcutta and the Central India Station at Nagpur, form the basis of this study.

Finally, the author wishes to express his gratefulness to Dr. D. K. Sen and Dr. S. C. Sinha for the interest they took in this work. We are also grateful to all those members of the Anthropological Survey of India who collected samples of tribal music from different areas during their field-work, and to those who accompanied the present writer in the field and assisted him to collect samples of music and the background informations. We should specially mention the help received from Shri Dipankar Das Gupta, Research Associate, and Shri Abani Kumar Karmakar, Sound Technician, in this connexion. Shri Karmakar's zeal and capacity for hard work both in the field and the Sound Room had always been a source of inspiration to the present writer. Kumari Madhuri Bhattacharya, daughter of the present writer, assisted him in preparing the elaborate Index to be found at the end of this book. We are indebted also to the different State Governments for providing all local facilities to us, and to all our informants and musicians and the local people of the areas wherefrom the specimens were collected, for their excellent co-operation.

We have used a large number of Sanskrit and vernacular technical terms in this book. We had difficulty in transcribing them properly for the typographical limitations. Sometimes long vowels have been shown by using two vowels of the same quality, and the cerebral sounds have been shown by using capital letters.

SUDHIBHUSAN BHATTACHARYA

*Anthropological Survey of India
Indian Museum, Calcutta-13
August 20, 1968.*

CHAPTER : ONE

Ethnomusicology and India

MUSIC which we acquire as members of a society, is an important aspect of human culture. Like all other human institutions music is not inherited but produced by man. But what is more important is that few aspects of human culture can claim to be so old and so universal as music. Being present in all the human societies from very ancient times, music had a unique opportunity of unfolding itself in diverse forms. And yet the core part of music is everywhere the same.

When Darwin's "Theory of Evolution" startled the whole world in the second half of the last century some scholars became interested in the evolution of music. They thought, if they could gather all the details about human music spatially or cartographically, they would be able to deduce the temporal or diachronic missing links from them, and ultimately be rewarded with the knowledge of the evolution of human music. In this way a new branch of studies called "Comparative Musicology" emerged in the eighties of the last century.¹

The scientists of this group of course studied only the technical aspect of music, i.e., its melody, scale, rhythm and other such matters. Some decades later other potentialities of the musicological studies, specially the social and cultural aspects of music, began also to be added to these studies. Gradually, a sister-branch of science called "Ethnomusicology" became established by the fifties of the present century.² Ethnomusicology is the systematic study of music both in its historical and cultural aspects, a scientific study both of the form and matter of music. It lays stress on the traditional and uncultivated music of the world.

So far as the ethnomusicological studies are concerned India is still a field full of possibilities. Although there have been some work on the technical aspect of Indian music, all of which are of an introductory nature, the social and cultural aspects of Indian music, particularly of the Indian folk-music, have not yet been critically examined. But India undoubtedly offers a very good field for such studies, because people of different races and castes have been living here in close symbiosis from old times.

Scholars who study Indian music usually confine themselves to the descriptive analysis of its Classical type.³ Some of them write on the

history of classical Indian music drawing their data mostly from Sanskrit texts.⁴ And those who work on the Indian folk-music usually collect the songs from different regions oblivious of the fact that what they collect are only poems and not music.⁵ It is also seldom noticed that in India people of different tribes, and castes, and even of different creeds, may have distinct types of music of their own. For the last case we may cite an example from the Bengali music. Among the religious-minded Bengali Hindus those who are worshippers of *Shakti* i.e., female deities, prefer a class of Bengali songs called *Ramprasadi* which is distinct both in tune and subject-matter. But those who are worshippers of Vishnu prefer another distinct type called *Kirtan*. On the other hand, the younger population among the Bengalis, particularly those who are more intellectual among them, are more fond of Tagore music or *Rabindra Sangeet*.

In this way we can find out the different social patterns of Bengali music. Similar picture of group-patterns of music may be drawn from other parts of this subcontinent as well. As music involves what is called "group-behaviour", anthropology which is a science of group-behaviour, can not ignore this aspect of the studies of human music. A correlative study of the different social groups of the Indians (i.e. tribal groups, caste-groups, sex-groups, age-groups, etc.) and their music will provide us with a useful bit of evidence which can be utilized in corroborating or rejecting conclusions derived from the study of other aspects of a given culture.

The theories of "Evolution" and "Diffusion" which have been so successfully applied in anthropological studies in interpreting the culture of a given area can also be applied to the music of that area. They can explain why the Santals in certain areas of West Bengal have the *Karma* songs which the Santals of Mayurbhanj seem to lack in. They can also explain why the intricate and interesting "stick-dance" of some Wynad tribes have echoes in tribes living in the far away southern ranges of the Ernakulam District, although all the Wynad tribes do not share this musical trait commonly. Most of the Indian tribes have among them a tradition of Spirit Doctors who practise divination for the cure of illness. But it is doubtful if all of them have an elaborate system of songs with the help of a jingling basket as is to be found among some tribes of Kerala, namely, Kadar, Urali and Malayan. Individualistic features are also quite common in the music of some ethnic groups. Thus, lamentation songs are very common in the music of the Kota of the Nilgiri Hills, while the music of the Todas, their neighbours in the same District, is full of patriotic fervour.

The continuous change in Indian folk-music, which is slowly but

steadfastly transforming its patterns, its spirit and its values, should also interest the anthropologists. As a result of this process of change caste-music has already disintegrated in most parts of this country. The rigidity of tribal music is now gradually disappearing. We find that even important tribes like the Gond and Korku of central India, and the Kota of southern India, who are numerically not insignificant, are trying to become more and more "modern" in their music by imitating the music of the more progressive people of their regions.

The gradual change in Indian folk-music mentioned above leads us to the topic of "culture in music". Music has a special role to play in the primitive society. By "prayer" we now mean "worded songs". But in the earlier stages of our society when the language was not sufficiently developed in man, he relied more on his vocal tunes for his communication with the supernatural powers whom he had to supplicate for food and drink, for a cure from illness, for protection against the enemies, and for so many other daily necessities of life. Apart from using music to please his companions, and for his personal pleasure and relief, music had a much greater use in the daily life of man in the preliterate societies. It is therefore expected that music will be reflected in the culture of man the more he is in a primitive condition. A study of the music of the Indian tribes will bear it out. There are many Scheduled tribes in India who have already started thinking that "singing" is a fine art which only the professional persons can perform properly. In our recent South Indian tour we had great difficulty in drawing out the traditional music from some tribes who were found more proficient in film songs. Music seldom confronts these groups now in their daily life except in connexion with radio, cinema and such other items of amusement. But we have seen the Toda, the Kota, the Kadar, the Urali in south India, and the Pengo, the Dhurwa-Parja, the Abujh-Maria Gond in central India, in whose lives music still occupies a much more important position. Their music is still culture-based. They have different sets of songs and dance for different gods, festivals and ceremonies. Some of them have also special songs and dance for weeding, harvesting and other important agricultural work. Hunting songs and dance are also quite common among some tribes of India.

When we deal with such tribes it is possible to draw up their "musical culture". Take for example the Mullu Kurumba of South Wynad whose musical culture is still intact although they are becoming more and more acculturated. They have different songs for different festivals and ceremonies, but have only two types of dance, namely, *kol-kali* (stick-dance) and *vatta-kali* (dancing in a circle without sticks). They perform the stick-dance at the time of marriage, while on other

occasions they have *vatta-kali*. Both these types have different patterns, possibly suitable for different occasions. The following are the more important occasions in a year when they sing and dance.

Their greatest festival is *uccar* held in the month of February when they sing and dance. They celebrate also the Malayalam festival *Visu* (the New Year Festival) held in April when they sing and dance. Their highest gods are Adi-raran, Mahavishnu and Parvati. By Mahavishnu they seem to understand a God who has combined in Him the attributes of Siva and Vishnu. The worship of all these deities coincide with the greatest Malayalam festival *Onam*, held in August-September. The Mullu Kurumba have special songs for this occasion. They have also *Putteri* festival held in the month of *tula* (October) when they sing and dance. It is the paddy-harvest festival when they worship the bunch of paddy, and also the bow and arrow. This festival bears the relic of an ancient civilization when hunting was their main prop. Gradually they became an agricultural community. More comprehensive study of the music of this festival may throw light on the cultural transformation of this people. They have another festival called *Mandala puja*. This is held in the month of *dhanu* (December) when their harvest is over. This occasion is also celebrated with songs and dances. In addition to these they have special songs and dances also for the marriage.

We have given above a rough picture of the musical life of the Mullu Kurumba, i.e., the cycle of their musical activities in a year. It shows that their music is based on their culture. It is a combination of religion and art. A Mullu Kurumba can distinguish between one festival and another also from the technique adopted in their songs and dances, and not alone from the subject-matter of the songs which deals chiefly with Hindu legendary episodes. Similarly, a Kota can understand from the tune of their *kol* flute the exact function of that musical piece in their culture, whether it is in praise of their God Kambatraen, or it is a Kota funeral tune, or a Toda funeral tune. In Bengal, the *dhakis* (traditional drummers) have special patterns of their drum-music for the *agamani* (invocation) and *vijaya* (immersion) ceremonies during the worship of goddess Durga. In preliterate societies music was a handmaid of culture. There was therefore much culture in the music and also much music in the culture of such societies. As the pre-literate societies have not yet completely disappeared from India, ethnomusicological studies will undoubtedly be quite fruitful in this country.⁶

The technical side of the tribal and folk-music of India is also quite rich. There are many tribes in India whose music is still in a pre-pentatonic stage. Paucity of variations in pitch and musical line, simplicity of rhythm-structure, absence of the predominance of meaningful

words in the song, and asymmetrical rhythm, are some of the peculiarities of this music. It is saddening that no branch of Indian studies of comparable richness and importance has been so much neglected as the scientific study of the uncultivated traditional music of India.

Finally, we wish to stress the need of a comprehensive study of the whole musical field in India. Study of her tribal music is only a part of the job. The study of the vanishing preliterate cultures of India deserves priority. But that does not mean that the study of the more varied and complex high cultures of India should be relegated to a place of relative unimportance. That would deprive us of information we badly need to be able to utilise properly the results of our studies of tribal societies. India is a complex culture-sphere permitting to be drawn inside this big circle innumerable culture isoglosses. If a small portion of this big area be covered by us leaving the major part of it untouched, the results thus obtained can not help us in interpreting Indian civilization as a whole.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

1. Cf. "Musicology is usually considered to have started in 1885 with the publication of the *Vierteljahrschrift für Musik-wissenschaft . . .*," *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology* by Bruno Nettl, p. 14 (1964). Ofcourse a quest for knowing the music of other people of the world started even earlier; cf. Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de Musique*, 1768.
2. Chrls Seeger, "Systematic Musicology: Viewpoints, Orientations and Methods", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 1951. Jaap Kunst, *Ethno-Musicology*, 1955. For earlier publications, see Carl Stumpf, *Die Anfänge der Musik*, 1911, Robert Lach, *Die vergleichende Musikwissenschaft, ihre Methoden und probleme*, 1924, Siegfried Nadel, "The Origins of Music", *Musical Quarterly*, 1930, Curt Sachs, *Die vergleichende Musikwissenschaft in ihren Grundzügen*, 1930, Benedikt Szabolcsi, "Ukulturreise der musikalischen Ornamentik in Europa", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1935, Glen Haydon, *Introduction to Musicology*, 1941, William Rhodes, "Acculturation in North American Indian Music", *Acculturation in the Americas*, ed. by Sol Tax, 1952, Alan P. Merriam, "The Use of Music in the Study of a Problem of Acculturation", *American Anthropologist*, 57, 1955, etc.
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CHAPTER : TWO

Uncultivated Music of India

INDIAN music may be classified into two types, cultivated and uncultivated. The former type is chiefly represented by the Indian Classical music both of the northern and the southern varieties. A number of books analysing and describing this music for the purpose of teaching it, have been written in this country from ancient times. The professional musicians of India are devoted mostly to this type of music the standard of which is consequently very high, and far above the reach of the uninitiated. It is usually associated with the high cultures of India.

These high cultures have created also a new variety of folk-music which is much more refined and well-defined than the traditional folk-music current among the unsophisticated rural people of this subcontinent. The *kirtan* of east India, *bhajan* of north India, Tagore music of Bengal, all of which are mainly based on the Indian Classical music, are a few examples of this variety of folk-music. It has found a place in the University curricula for music, and also in the Radio programmes and the commercial Gramophone discs. This variety of folk-music should also be counted as "cultivated".

Compared to these two varieties, the traditional music of the aboriginal population of India is very much different. It is different because it is more spontaneous in nature. We as members of our particular communities are committed to certain group-behaviours which we pick up from our environments quite automatically and in spite of ourselves. Hence, to learn our mother-tongues, customs, religious rites and other such items of our cultures we do not have to go to the educational institutions. We learn them by observation and natural participation. In the case of those Indian tribes who have retained much of their traditional culture, their music is also one such item which, like their speech, they learn automatically without any idea of the complex process involved in acquiring it. We have, therefore, called this type of music spontaneous.

This quality of spontaneity needs further elaboration. When birds chatter or sing at the advent of spring, it is spontaneous. When they cry out of fear apprehending a danger, that too is spontaneous. But a greater conscious effort is likely to be involved in the latter case. This happens also at the higher stage of evolution. When the baby babbles,

it is just for its own sake. It is in most cases an expression of his inner joy. But when he cries for hunger or some other disability, it has a greater semanticity than his former behaviour, for he now wants to draw the attention of others towards him. A greater portion of the traditional music of the Indian tribes is, like the crying of the birds, spontaneous and at the same time purposeful. Of course it can express many other human feelings than joy and fear. But one of its main features is that this music is predominantly objective.

In this respect the Indian Classical music, as we find them now, differs greatly from this music. Theoretically, the Classical mode *mallar raga* has the potentiality of producing rain; similarly, *dipaka raga* can produce fire. But ancient Indian history does not say that these *ragas* or musical modes were ever regularly used for such purposes. A considerable portion of the traditional music of the Indian tribes, on the other hand, is still used as a magico-religious feat to obtain some definite results. Many Indian tribes still seriously believe that music has the magical power to please the supernatural beings and perform miracles. We may give a few examples below :

The Pengo is an important tribe living in the Koraput District of Orissa. They have a festival called *Bali parab* or Sand Festival¹ when a flower plant is ceremonially fixed in sand. During this festival the young girls and boys of the tribe do some intensive singing for some days. The people believe that if the traditional songs which are meant for this festival are sung properly the plant will bear flower instead of withering. In a Pengo folk-tale collected by us² the failure of the chief girl singer to flower the plant during the Sand Festival has been attributed to her unhappiness over a marriage proposal. The tribes of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands who are still very primitive in their culture have the practice of singing traditional songs to celebrate actions connected with their procurement of food. The significance of these songs seems to be more deep-rooted than mere entertainment. Similarly, the Kat-Nayak and the Urali-Kurumman living in the Wynad forests of Malabar and Mysore have songs to avoid encounters with elephants and tigers. It is to be noted that these primitive tribes do not distinguish between "incantations" and "songs".

Auspicious songs invoking supernatural powers, which are sung at the time of marriage and other ceremonies and different festivals, and also before the commencement, or during the operation, of agricultural and other food-gathering activities, are also quite common among most of the Indian tribes. One of the objectives of these songs, undoubtedly, is to seek the pleasure of the supernatural powers for attaining success in those celebrations and operations. In many cases it has been

found that these tribes can not give the texts of their songs, or can not translate the songs word for word. Singing of the song correctly, and not understanding the meaning of the words used in it, seems to be more important to him. It indicates that the music itself is counted by him as a mode of communication.

A belief that music has also the power to cure illness is quite prevalent among many Indian aboriginal tribes. In most of such songs collected by us from the South Indian tribes, one tribal god or another has been invoked for this purpose. The Kat-Nayaks of Chedalayam village in the Sultan Battery area told us that when some one of them falls ill, they sing in praise of god Bomman, and the sick person is cured. The Malayan of Trichur District perform a particular ritual in the course of which the Spirit Doctor, male or female, shakes a jingling basket called *par* (a basket having inside of it a piece of iron chain) and sings lengthy songs praying to the teacher and to the gods and evil spirits to cure the illness. The circumstances leading to the illness is also described. A portion of a song collected by us from the Malayan of Peechi is as follows :

"O my teacher who taught me ! you see the basket I hold before you, and please do come. O Tunnetamme ! touching your feet I am telling you the truth. O goddess Vallayanceri ! you should come with the sword and stand in the basket I am holding. O goddess ! you can see to your left and right, front and back. You come with the sword and belt. The villagers and the 41 gods are here. Here the boy is lying seriously ill. You should cure him as stones are picked up from grains of paddy. O my people ! you must hear me. When the boy was crossing the paddy field he fell down at the noon time. An evil spirit who was there to drink water, pushed him down and drank his blood. Let me ask my ancestors, "Who has done this ? How much will we have to spend for his cure ? If you do not tell me the truth I will make you suffer and die".

The utterances were made with remarkable conviction, urgency and sincerity. A similar tone reverberated also in the voice of a Kadar lady at Parambikulam while she was singing and praying to Mari-amma, the thousand-eyed goddess of small pox.

Many are the uses of music in primitive society. We have briefly discussed here the ritualistic use of it made by the Indian tribes. It is true that music is basically an entertainer. This non-ritualistic aspect of tribal music is also quite developed in this country. We have already said that the aboriginal music of India is developed enough, and is able to express different human feelings. Music as an expression of human love and affection, as a vehicle of joy and sorrow and humour and pathos,

as an accompaniment of dance and sports, and as promoter of courageous acts, is commonly practised by the Indian tribes. This aspect of their music needs separate treatment. What we wish to stress here is that the ritualistic or the magico-religious music became quite developed at one stage of the civilization in ancient India. This trend may be compared with the emergence of religious and didactic art and poetry in the evolution of Art and Literature when these two powerful media of communication were sought to be exploited for obtaining some tangible results in shaping human society and destiny.

This stage of magico-religious music in Indian civilization is well-attested in the earlier Vedic documents belonging to the period between 1500-1000 B. C. when music seems was unknown among the Vedic settlers for the sole purpose of entertainment. In the earlier Vedic lore music did not enjoy an independent status. It was included in *Siksha* which was then considered as one of the *apara-vidyas* and *vedangas*.³ At that time vocal music was an essential part of the *jajnas* or the magico-religious sacrifices which the Vedic Aryans performed to obtain their desired ends. They believed that the omnipotent gods could be pleased by praising them with the Vedic hymns which they believed had emanated from the gods, and also by offering them oblations in the various sacrifices. The Sanskrit words for song or music are *gana*, *gita*, *samgita*, etc. all of which have been derived from the root *gai*- "to sing", "to recite in a singing manner", "to praise in song", etc. But the most common words used for this purpose in the early Vedic literature are *stava*, *stotra*, *stoma*, all of which are derived from the root *stu*- "to praise", "praise in song". Vedic music was primarily meant for being used as a communication with gods for some benefit. Well-knit verses composed of meaningful words were the other component part of their music. These two powerful modes of human expression were combined by them in a bid to win over the gods usually for some material gain.

As regards the original mode of singing these Vedic hymns Macdonell wrote,⁴ "The Vedic, like the ancient Greek, accent was a musical one, depending mainly on pitch, as is indicated both by its not affecting the rhythm of metre and by the name of the chief tone, *udatta* raised. That such was its nature is, moreover, shown by the account given of it by the ancient native phoneticians. Three degrees of pitch are to be distinguished, the high, properly represented by the *udatta*, the middle by the *svarita* (sounded), and the low by the *anudatta* (not raised). But in the Rigveda the *udatta*, the rising accent, has secondarily acquired a middle pitch, lower than the initial pitch of the *svarita*." Taking into account the rise of the *svarita* *svara* above the peak of the *udatta* pitch, and also the lower pitch level of the toneless *pracaya* utterance, we can

not possibly posit a pentatonic scale for early Vedic music which was essentially tritonic in nature.

The primitive music of the modern Indian tribes agrees with the Vedic songs, firstly because a considerable portion of the former is still magico-religious in nature, and secondly, because this music is also sung or played on mainly in tritonic or tetra-tonic scales. Comparisons in respect of other stylistic matters will be taken up later. But there is one major difference between the Vedic songs and the tribal songs mentioned above. While in the Vedic songs meaningful words play an important part, meaningless sounds are dominant in the traditional tribal songs.⁵

The religious tone predominant in the Vedic music gradually decreased in the next period, called the period of Classical Indian music, when musical artistry gained greater importance. According to *Sangita-Ratnakara*, the most elaborate work on this music, by Sarangadeva (1210-1247 A. D.), music is of two types, *marga* (sacred ?) and *desi* (secular). *Marga* music is old and traditional, coming down from the gods. It aims at attaining salvation. Whereas, *desi* music is composed by mortal experts. It is secular in nature and aims at entertaining people.⁶ It will be a misnomer to call the present-day Classical Indian music *marga sangit*, for it is but a development of the musical theories expounded by Matanga, one of the earliest authorities, in his famous work *Brihad-desi* (the great compilation of *Desi* music). Dhrupad, the earliest type of Classical Indian music extant now, although essentially devotional in nature, lacks in any ritualistic function.⁷ The secular tone gradually increased in the later varieties of North Indian Classical music, namely, *kheyal*, *thumri* and *tappa*. In them the idea was more to express different human feelings with the help of musical tunes. The role of meaningful words was subdued in them, particularly in *kheyal* which is considered to be the most well-developed type of North Indian music on account of its rich musical ornamentations.

But if we follow the evolution of Indian music we find that the religious and lyrical qualities of the Vedic music are better represented in the new type of folk-music we have mentioned earlier. The *kirtan* of east India, *bhajan* of north India and *abhang* of Maharashtra are some of the important specimens of the cultivated folk-music of India which are religious in outlook, musical in effect and lyrical in meaning. In the south the singers of the *Bhakti* school, and also Tyagaraja, the great South Indian poet, singer, composer and the exponent of South Indian music, believed that god is never so pleased as when his praises are sung. But none of these musical systems has any rigid ritualistic function. There is another variety of cultivated folk-music called *gazal* which is

very popular among the Urdu speakers. We find in it a happy blend of poetry and music, but this type is essentially secular in outlook.

The social nature of primitive Indian music is somewhat unique in the field of Indian music. The Classical music of India is full of technicalities which only the specialists can perform properly. It is therefore rather individualistic in nature. But the traditional music of the Indian tribes is essentially communal, because the whole tribe considers it to be their property which all of them can enjoy, and in which all of them can participate. There may be people among the tribe who are more proficient than others in making the music. But those experts have no special social status in their community for their musical proficiency. In many tribes there are different types of music for the different age-groups and sex-groups. Here also this music differs from the Indian Classical type. The shamanistic music to be found in many Indian tribes is, however, somewhat different from the social type of tribal music discussed above. This music is learnt from special teachers and is considered secret and personal. The shamanistic music is slightly professional in outlook, which spirit is usually absent from the general music of the Indian tribes.

But in another respect the traditional music of the Indian tribes agrees with the other varieties of Indian music. Vedic music is predominantly seasonal, because the different *yajnas* (sacrifices) were to be performed in different parts of the year determined by the different astral positions. *Jyotisa* (Astronomy) was an important branch of the early Vedic lore, which people had to master to know when exactly the particular sacrifice is to be performed for better results. The functional music of the Indian tribes is also essentially seasonal. In their case the time is mostly determined from the changes in Nature. This idea of the seasonal effects of music was developed to a very great extent in the Classical Indian music. The idea of personification which is so much associated with the different *ragas* (modes) of Classical Indian music, is embedded in all these seasonal music. Seasonal songs occupy an important place also in Tagore music.

The tribal music discussed above is not the only variety of uncultivated music to be found in India. There is another variety of it, namely, the traditional folk-music current among the rural folk. Before we discuss that variety let us make a few more observations on the Indian tribes and their music. Most scholars now believe that the Vedic Aryans poured into India in batches from the North-Western side around 1500 B. C. Before that time India was populated by different ethnic groups of people the common names used for whom are pre-Aryans, aborigines, etc. The Vedic people brought with them a power-

ful language, the Aryan speech, literally meaning the speech of those who are noble by birth. This speech they not only used for their day-to-day conversation in its uncultivated form, but they also cultivated this speech in expressing their poetical ideas, and their lofty ideas about the *cosmos*, which offered better explanations for the different spiritual and material problems confronting men in India at that time. But these Vedic people, it appears from the Vedic literature, did not possess a developed system of music in the sense in which we use the word now.

Some musical instruments have of course been mentioned in the early Vedic literature. We may give here a few examples.⁸ Thus, *karkari* a kind of lute, is mentioned in Rig-Veda (ii, 43, 3), in Atharva-Veda (iv, 37, 4; xx, 132, 8), *dundubhi* a large kettle drum and *nadi* a flute, are mentioned in Rig-Veda, *bakura*, *dr̥ti-bakura* probably a kind of bagpipe, mentioned in Rig-Veda (ix, 1, 8), *bakura* probably a horn, trumpet (or other kind of wind instrument used in battle), in Rig-Veda (i, 117, 21), *vana*, *bana*, music of flutes, harp, etc., in Rig-Veda (i, 85, 10, etc.) a harp with 100 strings in Atharva-Veda (x, 2, 17), etc. Most of these words denoting musical instruments are either onomatopoeic, or are of obscure origin, and can not be derived from Indo-European roots. The word *vina*, the famous Indian lute, occurring in Taittiriya Samhita, Satapatha Brahmana, etc. is also of obscure origin.

One feels here tempted to count the mythical beings like the Gandharvas, Apsaras, Kinnaras, Nagas, etc. as pre-Aryan ethnic groups. The Jaina literature, the Classical Sanskrit literature, even to some extent the late Vedic literature, contain references to those people as master-musicians. In Gandhara sculptors and elsewhere the Nagas appear with musical instruments. The first book on the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit prosody is *Chandah-Sutra*. It is ascribed to a Naga, named Pingala. The descendants of at least one of these groups can be identified from among the present-day Scheduled tribes of India. They are the Kanaura people (population, 27,251, according to 1961 Census) living in the Sutlej valley of the Himachal Pradesh. They have a rich musical tradition of their own. In this connexion we may draw the attention of our readers to the following observation of Alain Danielou :⁹ "Besides, there remain in many regions, in certain valleys of the Himalayas in particular, archaic forms of music with an upper tonic and a descending scale the study of which would be of great interest for the understanding of ancient music."

When we consider this aspect of music of the Indian tribes our need to study it, apart from the need of an objective study of it as an item of tribal culture, increases manifold. It is interesting to note that some names of the ancient Indian tribes, mostly of the non-Aryan groups,

occur in the names of the musical modes (*jati*, *raga*) listed by ancient authorities on Indian music like Dattila and Bharata (2nd and 3rd cent. A. D., respectively) and Matanga (circa 5th to 7th cent.). For example, Andhri is the name of a musical mode included by Dattila and Bharata in their lists. Andh is the name of a Scheduled tribe of India numbering about 61,733 according to 1961 Census. They live in the States of Andhra, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. In addition to Andhri, Matanga, the author of *Brhad-desi*, mentions also Saka, Votta (or Bhotta), Abhiri, Gurjari, Kulindi, Pulindi and Dravidi *gitis*. Similarly, Savari, Koda and Gondkiri *ragas* occur in the lists of musical modes discussed by later writers. Savar, Koda (i.e. Kora) and Gond are important Scheduled tribes who now live mainly in Orissa, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, respectively.

Matanga made a comprehensive study of Indian music taking into account the different types of it extant in his time. He classified Indian music into 7 types called *gitis* of which *raga-giti* is one. He made an important observation when he said⁹ that "no classical melody can be composed from four notes or less. He further mentioned that melodies with notes less than five are used by tribes such as Savaras, Pulindas, Kambojas, Vangas, Kiratas, Vahlikas, Andhras, Dravidas and foresters. An exception is, however, made by him in the case of a class of stage-songs known as *dhruvas* which, though regarded as classical melodies, are found to be composed of four notes."¹⁰ To mention Andhri, Dravidi, Pulindi, Vangali, etc. as classical melodies, and again, to say that tribes like Savaras, Pulindas, Andhras, Dravidas, etc. used melodies composed of four or less notes, may appear to be a contradiction. Most probably, some of these forest tribes who became advanced by gradually accepting the Hindu culture, improved upon their own melodies and produced new Classical modes which were named after them. The other possibility is that the classical musicians appreciative of tribal melodies, improved upon some of them and made them full-scale Classical modes which were named after those tribes from whom the original modes were borrowed.

There are more than 314 Scheduled tribes in India whose total population, according to the Census of 1961, will be about 30,130,412. Although they are to be found almost in all the States of the Indian Union and Union Territories, those of them who live in the Hill and forest areas have retained much of their traditional culture including music. These areas may be briefly enumerated here. They are the whole sub-Himalayan region, the Garo and Khasi Hills and other hill ranges in Assam, the Chotanagpur Plateau, the Vindhya and the Satpura regions with their sub-ranges, the Deccan plateau, the Eastern and the

Western Ghats, the Mysore plateau and the Nilgiri Hills. The field for the study of tribal music in India is therefore very vast. It is also variegated. Strangways¹¹ sampled the music of some Indian tribes. But a systematic study of this music is yet a desideratum. We shall discuss more about this music later.

It has been already mentioned that Matanga classified Indian music of his time into seven types of *gitis* of which *raga-giti* is one. This *raga-giti* became the Classical Indian music *par excellence*. A later writer on Indian music, Kumbhakarna Mahimendra (c. 1419-1460 A. D.), stated that only those *gitis* which possess the ten required characteristics are *raga*. It is quite likely that the non-*raga gitis* referred to by Matanga were actually speaking the different types of folk-music current in the different regions of this subcontinent. Some of these varieties of folk-melodies were gradually developed into the minor *ragas*. But a major portion of the folk-melodies continued to represent the folk-music of the rural areas catering to the need and entertainment of the Indian masses. We find this variety of folk-music quite alive and rich all over India even now.

This type of Indian music should also be counted as "uncultivated", because, like the traditional music of the Indian tribes, this music, i.e. the folk-music, is congregational. The rural people of the culture area where this music is current, become conditioned or encultured in it in the manner in which they acquire other social behaviours. Of course on account of its popularity among the urban people, the traditional folk-music is also now-a-days being cultivated. One can hear a lot of traditional folk-music, detached from their usual cultural milieu, on the All India Radio and in the commercial Gramophone discs. But in the rural areas every where in this country folk-music has still retained its socio-cultural nature and function.

Apart from the pseudo folk-music mentioned in the previous paragraph, and also the cultivated folk-music (*kirtan*, *bhajan*, etc.) mentioned by us earlier, there are, therefore, three major types of Indian music, namely, Classical music, tribal music (or primitive music) and folk-music. They represent the Indian cultures that are alive. These three types agree in one point that all of them are dependent on oral tradition. Even the Classical Indian music is learnt mostly by hearing it and without the written notation. It is, therefore, called *gurumukhi vidya*, i.e. a discipline to be learnt from the mouth of the teacher. The theories of the musical science and the system of notation are of course quite developed in India. And all the musical performances, particularly in the Classical style, are rigidly pre-planned. But it is also true that an Indian musician even of the Classical style, while

performing his music, has much greater freedom than a musician performing his music in the Western style.

But these three types of Indian music differ from each other in many points. They may be briefly compared here. The primitive music of India is confined mostly to distinct culture groups called "tribes" who can be distinguished from one another from their music. But folk-music, generally speaking, is not characteristic of any particular culture group, and is often current over a culture area where it is practised by different groups. There are of course exceptions. The names of some of the Classical modes, e.g. Saindhavi, Malavi, Gaudi, Saurashtri, Karnati, Puravi, Bihari, etc. also indicate that these melodies were originally current in the regions or culture areas expressed by those geographical names. But when they were modified to Classical modes they became current in a much wider area. Thus, the mode Puravi (literally, "eastern") is sung and understood also in western India, and Sindhu (i.e. Sindh, now in Western Pakistan) is sung and understood in eastern India as well. The primitive music of the Indian tribes is more or less a conventional art, and its understanding and appreciation are mainly confined to particular culture groups. Compared to it the communicability of Indian folk-music is much greater. The Classical Indian music, on the other hand, is current in a much more wider area. People speaking different Indian languages, living in different Indian States and professing different religious beliefs can sit down together and understand and appreciate Classical Indian music. We can at best divide India into two culture zones, North India and South India, so far as her classical music is concerned. We have already mentioned that the cultivated music of India is a product of the high cultures of this country. Folk-music in this respect occupies an intermediary position between primitive music and the cultivated Indian music. Folk-music is the music of the social groups that are part of higher cultures, but are not themselves musically literate. Folksongs in Indian society and elsewhere are composed anonymously and passed from singer to singer by oral tradition. Here folk-music resembles tribal music. The main difference between them in this respect is that folk-music is found in a culture that has also a cultivated music which usually influences its style. But primitive music belongs to simple and unsophisticated cultures that have no writing, and are not directly associated with any high culture.¹³

In India we have a rich heritage of folk-music. We have specially a large variety of folk-songs and folk-dances in every region of this country. Musical instruments are not regularly performed in solo or in orchestra in Indian folk-music except for religious purposes. They are

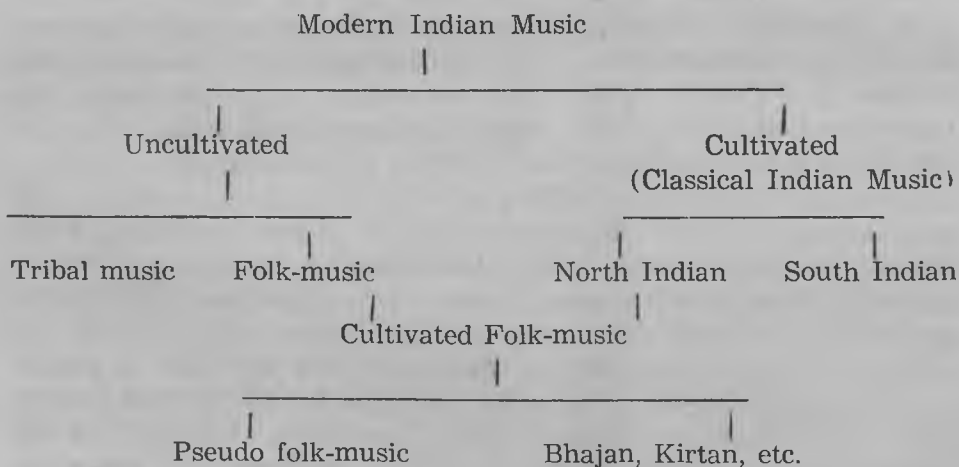
therefore neither numerous nor varied in India. Indian folk-music can be broadly divided into two types, functional and non-functional. By functional is meant a music that is primarily intended for some festival, ceremony or religious rite. The functional folk-music belongs to the same category as that of the magico-religious music of the Indian tribes, described above. Non-functional music is solely for the purpose of entertainment and can be performed at any time of the year. This topic will be dealt with more elaborately in a separate chapter.

But one thing about folk-music should be stressed upon in this context. It has been said that folk-music in India is mainly regional in outlook. But this music has also a tendency to expand its sphere by gradually including more and more territories and peoples in its fold. The Pola festival (i.e. the cattle festival) of central India and the Karam festival which is held in the contiguous areas of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, may be cited as examples. Tribal music is individualistic in this respect. Indian folk-music can even claim to possess a few pan-Indian features. For example, the cattle festival is musically celebrated in different regions of India. The songs and dance-patterns are of course different in different regions. We come across many pan-Indian folk celebrations which have their origin in ancient Hindu India. They are now lying hidden in the folk celebrations of the rural people all over this country. The Indra festival may be cited as an example. We have a great centre of folk-music in West Bengal bordering South Bihar. This area includes parts of the Midnapur, Bankura and Purulia Districts. Here we have come across a folk celebration called Indra-puja or Ind-puja performed along with the Karam festival held in the month of Bhadra (Aug.-Sept.). Agrawala¹⁴ has described a similar festival called Indra-jagya (i.e. *yajna*) performed in the Meerut District in Uttar Pradesh in the month of Asarh (June-July). He says, "On any Sunday in the month of Asarh the villagers celebrate with pomp the festival and worship Indra. This is called Indra sacrifice". Indra Yatra is a big celebration in Nepal performed for eight days from the 8th or 9th day of the Full-Moon fortnight in the month of Bhadra. In the ancient Tamil epic Cilappatikaram an Indrotsava has been described to have been performed with great pomp in the town named Puhar.

It is also to be noted that a festival, variously called Indra-Maha, Indrotsava, Indra-dhvaja, Sakrotsava, etc., was quite common in ancient India as can be seen from the Sanskrit literature. Bharata in his *Natya Sastra* has described how dramatic performances were adapted to Indradhvaja festival that was extant in India from older times. It has been mentioned in *Mahabharata* (Adi Parva, ch. 63, Poona edn. ch. 57) that King Vasu celebrated a festival described as *lokya-dharma* or folk-

religion. Then Indra presented some articles to the king which included a stick which was meant for the protection of the law-abiding peoples. Thereafter the king every year worshipped the stick which he transformed to his flag, for peace and prosperity of his subjects. In Kalidasa's *Raghu-vamsa* (4/3) we find a mention of the Puruhut-Dhvaja or Indra-Dhvaja festival. Mallinath while commenting on this festival had quoted from *Bhavisyottar Purana* in which it is stated that the kings for having sufficient rain celebrated this festival. Many other references to this festival may be quoted from the Sanskrit literature.¹⁵ It is, therefore, clear that Indian folk-music, although now representing regional rural celebrations, may sometimes be traced from festivals that were observed in many regions in ancient India.

We have discussed above the different types of Indian music from the point of Ethnomusicology. Finally, we shall give below a chart showing the mutual relationship of these types of Indian music :



BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

1. A similar Sand Festival is observed by the neighbouring tribe, the Bhatra once in many years. During this festival the Bhatra *gurumai*, the Female Spirit-Doctor, invokes Bhimdeo who is the god of rain and fertility of both the Pengo and Bhatra.
2. The folktale will appear in the book on the Pengo language written by T. Burrow and the present author which will be published shortly by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.
3. The ten *apara-vidyas* are the 4 Vedas, *Siksa* (the science which teaches proper articulation and pronunciation of Vedic texts), *Kalpa* (practice prescribed by the Vedas), Grammar, *Nirukta* (etymological interpretation of the Vedic words), Prosody and Astronomy. The six Vedangas are the latter six *apara-vidyas*. Music in both the places forms a part of *Siksa*, and nowhere it occurs as an independent subject for study in the early Vedic lore. Gandharva Veda (the science of music) as an *Upa-Veda* (i.e. sub-Veda) of Sama-Veda seems to have been introduced later.
4. A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedio Grammar for Students*, 1916, p. 448.
5. Alan P. Merriam says about the Flathead Indians that their songs "do not usually have texts other than nonsense syllables". *Ethnomusicology of the Flathead Indians*, 1967, p. 57.
6. Cf. also *Northern Indian Music*, vol. I, 1949, Alain Danielou, pp. 38-39 for other interpretations of *marga* and *desi* music.
7. An exceptional case of a ritualistic use of Classical Indian music has been shown by O. C. Gangoly from *Kalika-Purana* in his *Ragas and Raginis*, 1948, p. 27.
8. The Vedic references are quoted from *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by M. Monier Williams.
9. *ibid.* p. 33.
10. Quoted from O. C. Gangoly, *ibid.* p. 7.
11. A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan*, 1914, pp. 17-72, and 363.
12. Quoted by Gangoly, *ibid.* p. 46.
13. Cf. Bruno Nettl, *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*, 1964, pp. 5-7.
14. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala's article written in Hindi, "Uttar-Bharat-ke Do Mangalik Utsav aur Unki Prachin Parampara", published in *Loka-Varta*, a Hindi Journal on the Bundelkhand folklore, Sept. 1944, pp. 105-110.
15. See Agrawala, *ibid.*

CHAPTER : THREE

Meaning of Music

THE purpose of this series of studies is to acquaint the readers with the theoretical background of Ethnomusicology with special reference to the situation in India. In the first two chapters entitled "Ethnomusicology and India"¹ and "Uncultivated Music of India"² many important issues on this subject have been raised. It will be seen that in the first article we focussed mainly, though briefly, on culture in music. In the second article we discussed the different types of Indian music and their connexion with social groups. Apart from these two issues, there is a third one, namely the communicating power of music, which is also an important aspect of Ethnomusicological studies. This point has been already touched by us in the previous two chapters, but was not brought into focus before. We intend to do it here.

It is well-known that words of a language have meaning. Can music also have meaning? While the communicating power of language is obvious, it is not so in the case of music. The word "meaning" is not usually applied to music in civilized societies where music is considered as an art whose primary function is to please the audience. Music as a medium of communication is not given much importance in such societies. One does not normally seek there the meaning of music, except for the meaning of the words used in a song. The songs in the advanced societies are generally an object of mixed art in which poetry and music have been combined. But we have shown in the previous chapters that music can also be used, not as a subtle symbol, but as an unambiguous signal for expressing human thoughts, particularly in the preliterate societies. Indian music as a whole, both in the cultivated and uncultivated forms, appears to be more conscious about the communicative power of music.

There is no doubt that music and speech are intimately connected with each other, because both are based on vocal sound, and are perceived by the same sense organ or *jannendriya* called ear. Musical and linguistic sounds are both the results of vibrations of air. When the diaphragm pushes out the human breath through the vocal cords causing vibrations there, it gives rise to the vocal sound which is used both in language and music. In our speech, the breath—either pure, or converted into vocal sound—proceeds further through the oral or nasal

passage and becomes modified and articulated with the help of the tongue and the lips, producing the different vowels and consonants. Whereas in music, the breath is at first produced in the vocal region with the help of the regular and periodic vibrations, and then, instead of being articulated by the tongue and lips as in language, it is diversified with a varying height or depth caused by the difference of the rapidity of vibrations.³ This is called the pitch of the sound which is the chief material for music, and is equivalent to sound in a language. To produce a satisfactory musical effect it is necessary to have (i) a variety of pitch, and (ii) rhythm produced by the duration of sound and accent.

So we find that music and speech are sister branches of studies based on the science of sound. Both are primarily concerned with the action of sound on other persons. According to the musical theorists of ancient India vibrations which give rise to musical sound can be produced by the nail (i.e. strings), by wind (i.e. flutes), from leather (i.e. drums), from metal (i.e. percussion instruments) or from the body (i.e. the voice).⁴ Among these five types of musical sounds, the one produced by human voice is undoubtedly the most important material used for human music. The chief aim of the music produced from other sources is either to immitate or aid this vocal music.

The expressive power of the musical sound has been recognised both by the harmonic school of the West, and the modal school or *raga*-school of India, i.e. the Classical musicians of this country. It seems that the latter has been more overpowered by the parallelism of music and language. Many of our ancient writers on music have tried to show the similarity between articulate sound (which forms word) and musical sound. Even the grammarians and the philosophers of the different schools, while discussing the exact relationship between sound (i.e. word) and its meaning, have taken articulate sound and musical sound together to establish their respective points of view.

Instead of going in for any intricate philosophical discussion, we will briefly discuss here the main point of our musical theorists. A musical sound or a combination of them may act as a medium of communication in two ways. Firstly, a sound or a combination of them may have the inherent potentiality of creating particular ideas or feelings. Secondly, skilfull persons may increase the expressive power of musical sounds while performing them with or without the help of meaningful words. Both these possibilities have been recognised and exploited fully by the Classical musicians of India. Some of these points may now be briefly illustrated.

The ancient Indian theorists are not prepared to accept all the musical sounds as suitable material for high class music. They selected

only those notes for this purpose which are not only pleasing, but are also expressive of special ideas and feelings. They called these notes *svaras*. Some of these authorities, particularly Matanga, held the view that the *svaras* are those musical notes which have lustre and can show us unseen things, as 'light can show us a pitcher in a dark place'.⁵

There are seven major musical notes or *svaras* in Classical Indian music. They are indicated by seven symbols, namely, *Sa* (i.e. Do in Western music), *Ri* (i.e. Re in Western music), *Ga* (i.e. Mi in Western music), *Ma* (i.e. Fa in Western music), *Pa* (i.e. Sol in Western music), *Dha* (i.e. La in Western music), *Ni* (i.e. Si in Western music). Each of these notes is capable of expressing characteristic ideas and feelings. According to one theory which is very popular, these seven notes are imitative, (probably expressive), respectively of peacock, bull, goat, curlew or heron, cuckoo, horse and elephant. It is to be noted that some of these terms (e.g. *Shadja*, *gandhara*, etc.) do not by themselves mean any bird or animal. In addition to these seven *suddha* or unaltered musical notes, there are also *komala* notes, literally meaning "soft" notes (flat note in Western system) and *tivra* note, literally meaning "sharp" (also called *sharp* in Western system), created by lowering or raising the *suddha* note by about half a tone. Indian theorists recognised four *komala* (i.e. flat, lowered) notes, e.g. *re*, *ga*, *dha* and *ni*, and one *tivra* (i.e. sharp, raised) note, e.g. *ma*, in the gamut.

These are the twelve elementary notes which are like twelve colourful jewels that glitter. Many ancient Indian musical authorities have stressed upon the etymological meaning of the word *svara*. Similar terms expressive of the nature and communicative potentiality of the articulated sound have been used also by the ancient Indian grammarians. The word *svara* itself is used for "vowel". And the word *vyanjana* which literally means "manifesting" has been used for "consonant".

As these musical notes or *svaras* can express ideas or feelings by themselves, it is no wonder that these notes will be more communicative when they are used in special combinations. This possibility has been greatly exploited in the Classical Indian music. This music which is also called *raga*-music, i.e. modal music, is practically based on the combinational expressiveness of the *svaras*. Let us cite an example from language. The Sanskrit word *kavi* means "a poet". But if we change the second consonant from *v* to *p*, it expresses a very much different concept, for *kapi* means "monkey". And if the syllables of the second word are reversed, it becomes *pika*, i.e. "cuckoo". By extending this procedure to music we may theoretically postulate that the reasonance which will follow the singing of the combination

Sa-Ga will generate some peculiar feeling in us which is likely to be different from that of *Sa-Ma* or *Ga-Sa*. Similarly, compare the combinations like, *Sa-Ga-Pa-Na* and *Sa-ga-Pa-na*, or *Sa-Ra-Ma-Dha* and *Sa-ra-Ma-dha*, etc. This is in brief what has been advocated in the Indian *raga*-music. Amiyanath Sanyal in his objective study of the North Indian Classical music⁶ has tried to show that, actually speaking, these peculiar combinations were the basis for ancient theorists to classify the *ragas* into male and female modes, and also to use nomenclatures for them which were likewise grammatically masculine and feminine; of. Bhairava and Bhairavi, Lalita and Sri, etc.

This *raga*-music has accepted a fixed note as the tonic. In modern times we have usually this tonic as *Sa*. Apart from it, there is also a dominant note, the sonant or *vadi*⁷ (literally meaning, speaker, indicator), and the consonant (*sambadi*), assonant (*anuvadi*) and dissonant (*vivadi*) notes, all, of which give a shape to the *raga*. The inter-relationship between the tonic and the remaining notes, and between the *vadi-samvadi-anuvadi* notes, are very important in this music, for only the correct combination of them can lead to the right expression. The help of language is not indispensable in this matter, as in *kheyal*. Meaningful words may be used in a *kheyal*-song. But this song is only to serve as the base of the musical composition, and should be of such a structure that it can provide scope for the movement of the different combinations of the musical notes. Independent signalling power of meaningful words is insignificant in *Kheyal*. Only nonsense words are used in *Telena* which is a form of *kheyal*. Like instrumental music it (i.e. *Telena* or *Tarana*) is under no obligation to language.

Theoretically, only the different combinations of the notes in the scale can produce the appropriate effects on the listener. Greater experts, in their bid to express more intricate and varied ideas and imageries, started using finer intervals, or new and intermediary pitch-levels in the scale, which are called *sruti*. The various permutations and combinations of these notes (including *sruti*-notes), or groups of them, both in the ascending order and the descending order, are capable of producing different imageries in the minds of the listeners. This movement of the notes of the modalscales is very important in *raga*-music, and is called *murchana*. In the Vedic literature *murchana* means "expansion", "shape". In Classical Indian music the basic meaning of *murchana* seems to be the development of the musical idea by singing the appropriate combinations of the notes so that it assumes a shape.

A *raga* is therefore a musical mode produced by the formulaic combination of a group of notes around a tonic, each mode conveying some

I can see nothing in the dark,
I have no idea about the ground you are traversing.

You may be crossing now some distant unknown river,
You may be wandering by some unknown dense forest,
It may be a perilous gloom that you are now crossing.

A Classical musician of India may as well try to convey the same intricate feeling of a *prosita-bhartrika*¹¹ heroine by singing or playing on an instrument the Classical mode called *Desh*.¹² Happily enough, the above-mentioned song of Tagore is also usually sung in a tune that very much resembles in structure and temperament the *Desh raga*. Even today Classical Indian music is found at times to touch great heights of expressionism, specially when it does not get lost in the bewildering arithmetic of rhythmic combinations (*talas*), or in the unhelpful controversies over family-styles (*gharana*). A success in transmission is the real success in Classical Indian music. The old masters even claimed that the imagery of the *raga* could be so vividly reproduced with the help of the appropriate combinations of musical notes that they could also be pictorially presented.¹³

We may sum up our discussion on this point by quoting a few interesting lines from Alain Danielou :¹⁴ "The expression of a mode is the sum of the expressions of its different notes, each depending upon its individual relation with the tonic. According to the theory of the *srutis*, many notes can not have the same kind of expression and, therefore, in a scale, there are necessarily contrasts. This is why the most intense *ragas* have often incomplete scales, for they suppress as far as possible that would not support the predominant expression.

"Thus a very sad *raga* will leave out the fifth (*Pa*) because a fifth always expresses sunshine, joy. A very passionate *raga* will have no natural fourth (*suddha Ma*) since that always expresses peace, serenity.

"These contrasts between the notes are a further reason why the *ragas* considered masculine in ancient music were always pentatonic, for a pentatonic scale gives much stronger and more coherent expression than an heptatonic scale which necessarily shows contrasts, indecisions, subtleties, and so is more feminine in character.

"When sounds are used in the treatment of mental or physical disease, the number of notes must be further reduced to a few sounds constantly heard, so as to create an overwhelming impression in one direction only." This possibly explains why the primitive music of the Indian tribes, which is a medium for expressing their basic desires and needs, is still in the pre-pentatonic stage.

From the beginning of Indian music, i.e. from the Vedic age itself, music has been considered as an effective means of communication with god. People believed at that time that a small variation in the pitch of their tritonic chantings may lead to a different result which may as well be disastrous. They therefore prepared elaborate treatises later in the form of the different *Siksha-s* and *Pratisakhya-s* which were meant for proper training and orientation in Vedic music. Man's communication with god through music has also been stressed with the help of the mythological episode of Krishna's playing on the flute to attract Radha who alone in Vrindavan understood fully the language of the tunes produced on Krishna's flute.

According to another tradition, Gorakshanath, the famous *guru* of the Nath sect, once decided upon tasting the worldly pleasures enjoyed by kings. Before secretly disappearing on this mission he left advice with some of his most intimate disciples that he was going to become the king of a certain place for a specific period, and that after the period is over if he does not return, they should come to the place and utter before him the incantation *kaya sadha*, literally meaning "practise your body". When the preceptor did not return after the stipulated period, the disciples went to the king's palace, and finding that no stranger was allowed to meet the king, they started playing on drums outside the palace. They imitated the sound of the incantation *kaya sadha* with such precision on their drums that the king understood the signal and woke up from his slumber of mundane pleasures. This story also speaks of the height of proficiency aspired by the drummers at that time.

The fact that this country is full of such stories indicates that the signalling power of music has been recognised here from early times. The various *mudra-s* of Katthak and Bharat-Natyam dances are well-known. The numerous complicated patterns made with the fingers of the hands, and the various muscular movements of the eye-brows, forehead, neck and other parts of the body, produced with extreme skill and delicacy, have special meanings. These meanings are deeply steeped in the Indian literary theory of *rasa*.

The different movements that go to make the patterns of tribal music, and the different tribal tunes, are also full of semantics. The traditional old-type tribal songs usually contain sound-clusters that have no meaning. But such nonsense words have special meanings in the songs which only the tribals can understand. Sometimes common words are used in tribal songs in an unconventional and uncommon meaning. For example, in a Bonda song¹⁵ the word *rakta* which should have meant "blood" (cf. Sanskrit *rakta*, blood) is found to mean "drinking water". The word is absent in Bonda speech in this meaning. Music

as a mode of communication is a vast field awaiting to be fully explored in India. Drum, trumpet and conch-shell are still used all over India as signalling instruments for various purposes.

Finally, we may point out that music and language, the two sister branches of cultural studies, have a great advantage over other branches of such studies. The advantage lies in the fact that both music and language are amenable to rigorous analysis. This is due to the fact that in both the cases we can go to the bottom of our material. In other words, we can freely handle the smallest element that go to build the structure of music and language. This scope for a microscopic analysis of music and language enables us to perceive on the large canvas of time and space the normal growth and interactions of the different elements and parts of music and language. We may also quantify our results obtained from the musical and linguistic analysis. Our tools in both the spheres already became quite refined as a result of several centuries of research and applications in the past in India and elsewhere. They have now been greatly improved upon by modern workers.

Since a very minute analysis of the musical material is possible, we may make use of this advantage also in determining the different historical strata of India's culture as reflected in her music. Fortunately for us, there are many books on Indian music written during the last two thousand years in different parts of this subcontinent, which will provide us with supporting evidences. In this connexion we would quote a few lines from another book¹⁶ of Danielou before we conclude.

"Like the forms in language, the musical modes are permanent marks of the tradition to which a people belongs. Everywhere, when artificial systems have not destroyed or disfigured traditional modes, it is as easy by the study of musical modes as by that of linguistics to observe the migrations and influences of races upon each other. Striking examples are the importation of Mongolian scales into China by Gengis Khan or that of Persian modes into North India. In the West, inspite of the havoc created by the temperate scale, it is possible quite easily to find the continuity of Celtic modes from Scotland to North Africa ; while the modes of Spanish Gitanos are actually Hindu modes even in minute details of execution".

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

1. *Folklore*, Calcutta, vol. IX, No. 1, Jan., 1968, pp. 1-6.
2. *Ibid.* Vol. IX, No. 2, Feb. 1968, pp. 56-68.
3. *Rudiments of Music* by Stewart Macpherson, New edn., 1939, p. 3.
4. Cf. *Sangita Makaranda* by Veda, 1.7. *nakha-vayuja-carmani loha-sariraja-statha*.
5. The Vedic root from which the word *svara* may be easily derived is *svri-*, *svar-* "to sound". But musical theorists of ancient India, significantly enough, is fond of connecting the word *svara* with *sva*, radiance, lustre. Matanga took *svara* to mean etymologically ("that which shines itself"; see Alain Danielou, *Northern Indian Music*, 1949, p. 42).
6. A. N. Sanyal, *Ragas and Raginis*, 1959, pp. 216-.
7. Sanyal (*ibid.*) did some checking of the old theories with the existing practice. Some of his observations on *vadi* are interesting; see p. ix, p. 199, etc.
8. *Kheyal* is a form of North Indian music. It was developed by the Persian-speaking Mohammedan musicians who were naturally not much interested in the Indian languages.
9. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the famous scholar-novelist, and another well-known prose-writer of his time, Ramdas Sen (1845-1884), both lent their support to the revivalistic movement in Bengal in the second half of the 19th century, that sought to popularize Classical Indian music in Bengal. Chatterji in his article on "Sangit", published in *Banga-Darshan* in 1872, explained the essence of ancient Indian music placing it against the background of modern knowledge. In this article he stated that sentiments like devotion, love and joy are more suitable for musical expression, but not villainy and such other base ideas. (*Bibidha Prabandha* II).
10. Rabindra Nath Tagore, *Gita-Bitan*, II, 1963, p. 463.
11. i.e. a woman whose husband has gone abroad on a journey (cf. *Sahitya Darpana*, 119); one of the 8 *nayikas* (heroines) in Sanskrit erotic poetry. Tagore has effectively introduced here an element of anxiety.
12. The scale of *Desh raga* is Sa-Re-Ga-Ma-Pa-Dha-ni-Ni. Compare with it the scales of *Megha* and *Mallar ragas*, the scales of which are, Sa-Re-Ma-Pa-ni (or Sa-Re-Ma-Pa-ni-Ni) and Sa-Re-Ma-Pa-ni-Ni, respectively. (Quoted from Sanyal).
13. See O. C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, 1948, for some interesting pictures of the *ragas* and *raginis* and other details on them.
14. Alain Danielou, *ibid.*, p. 133.
15. See *A Bonda Dictionary* by the present writer, Deccan College, Poona, 1968, p. 170, for the song.
16. Alain Danielou, *Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales*, 1943, p. 22.

CHAPTER : FOUR

RHYTHM IN INDIAN MUSIC

THE effectiveness of music has been recognised in India from very early times. Various attempts and experiments have therefore been made here to increase its attractive power. The basic element of music, as we have seen, is the musical sound. Special pitch-levels of this sound, called *svaras*, have in the first instance been selected for the purpose of greater efficacy. Much emphasis has also been laid on the clear and sweet utterance of these *svaras*. The next requisite for good music, according to the musical theorists of ancient India, is the formulaic combinations of these *svaras*.

Besides the clear and sweet utterance and the formulaic combinations of the *svaras*, there are two other factors which largely increase and diversify the expressive power of music. They are, (i) language (i.e. the use of meaningful words) and (ii) rhythm. It is well-known that music when combined with language can be very expressive. They combine so well that language has become a part of music in India from the Vedic times.

But when we come to the question of the relationship of rhythm to music, we find that rhythm is even more vital for music than language. The two are usually considered as inseparable. Most of the cultures of the world, past and present, high and low, know of this intimate connexion between music and rhythm. We will discuss here the place of rhythm in the cultivated and uncultivated music of India.

Since there is much similarity between the rhythm in music and the rhythm in literature, we may describe the former with the help of the latter. The different parts used in the sentences of our ordinary conversation (i.e. the length of the different sense-groups in it) do not usually have any balance or symmetry. But if we use these parts in a balanced and regulated manner, and if each of these groups is uttered with a stress (or emphasis), our speech will undoubtedly be more forceful and sonorous. When these stresses or "beats" break up the lines or sentences into a regular pattern it gives rise to an orderly arrangement called *rhythm*. The rhythm is capable of producing an exquisite feeling and has a peculiar magical effect.

The rhythm can be compared with the rise and fall of the wavy movements of a vast sheet of flowing water. When the appearance of

these peaks is regularly timed and balanced it produces a *distinct* rhythm to be found in the verses. If the recurrence of the peaks is not quite regular, but not also haphazard, even then an *indistinct* or veiled rhythm may be produced. We come across this type of rhythm in prose-verse and literary prose. These different types of rhythm play an important part in the different forms of literature.

The musical rhythm is very much similar to the rhythm in literature. When the musical sounds move in a wavy manner with regular rises and falls, there too arises a rhythm with its magical effect. Like the rhythm in literature, the rhythm in music can also be distinct and indistinct, or *symmetrical* and *asymmetrical*, depending on the degree of regularity of the rhythmic patterns. But in music the recurring beats are stronger than in poetry. It is interesting to note that the word used in Indian music to indicate musical rhythm is *tala* which is derived from the Sanskrit root *taD*¹ (तड्) which means "to beat, to strike".

In this connexion we should understand two more technical terms, *laya* and *matra*, used in the Classical Indian music. The word *laya* seems to be of uncertain origin.² It indicates the degree of rapidity of the movements of musical notes. It may be taken as equivalent to "tempo" of Western music. The whole range of this movement has been divided into three categories by the Classical musicians of India. They are *bilambita* or *dhima* (slow), *madhya* (medium) and *druta* or *jalad* (quick).

The unit adopted for measuring the duration of a musical line is called *matra* (mora).³ No time-measuring instrument like Metronome is used in Indian music. It is therefore difficult to express the *laya* (or the degree of rapidity) in terms of any comparable standard. According to some teachers of Classical Indian music, the normal time taken to move one's index finger in the air around the cusp of the knee is nearly one *matra* (mora) in the slow tempo. The medium tempo is roughly double, and the quick tempo four-times, the slow tempo.

In terms of the modern unit of time we may say that in the slow tempo the beat will fall at the rate of about one *beat per second* (BPS). The region of slow tempo begins from much less than 1 BPS. It may be as slow as 20 *beats per minute* (BPM). From there it extends upto 1½ BPS. The region of medium tempo may be said to lie from above 1½ to 3 BPS, and that of quick tempo above 3 BPS. In vocal music quick tempo seldom exceeds 5 BPS. But in instrumental music it is often found even to exceed 10 BPS.

Considering this vast range of *laya*, we may, for the convenience of analysis of the different types of Indian music, adopt a more com-

prehensive subdivisions of *laya* into, (i) *ati-bilambita* (extra-slow), (ii) *bilambita* (slow), (iii) *bilambita-madhya* (slow-medium), (iv) *madhya* (medium), (v) *madhya-druta* (medium-fast), (vi) *druta* (fast) and (vii) *ati-druta* (extra-fast). The approximate rates of BPS will be as follows :

(i) Extra-slow	less than 1 BPS.
(ii) Slow	1 to 1½ BPS.
(iii) Slow-medium	above 1½ to 2 BPS.
(iv) Medium	above 2 to 2½ BPS.
(v) Medium-fast	above 2½ to 3 BPS.
(vi) Fast	above 3 to 5 BPS.
(vii) Extra-fast	above 5 BPS.

It is doubtful if we can say that the slow tempo is a later innovation in Indian music. But we should underline the fact that the slow tempos (particularly the extra-slow variety) are rather uncommon in most types of Indian music. Only the medium and a mild type of quick tempo are found to be used in the tribal music and the pure folk-music of India. This is to a large extent true also of the South Indian variety of Classical music, and of *thumri* and *tappa*, and to some extent also of *dhrupad*. It is only in the *kheyal* that the slow tempos are considered to be very respectable. The *kheyal*-singer finds in them a greater scope for the combinational display of notes and *tans*. Moreover, slow tempos are more suitable for the expression of sober ideas.

Some functions of the slow tempos are performed by *alap* in *dhrupad* and the South Indian Classical music, and by the asymmetrical rhythm in the traditional tribal music and the pure folk-music of India. In the latter types of music the sober and the sacred sentiments are generally expressed with the help of the medium tempos. For example, in the orchestra music of the Kota of the Nilgiri Hills, those tunes in honour of their principal god, Kambatraen, and also the Kota and the Toda funeral tunes, are found to be played on in the medium tempo. Whereas those mirthful Kota orchestra tunes called *kalgucat kol* and *tirginat kol* are in quick tempo.

A shaky or fluctuating tempo is discouraged in every system of Indian music. For a musician of the Classical style it is an unpardonable lapse. The folk-music and the primitive music of India do not also favour a fluctuating tempo, although in such types of music the lapses are not taken very seriously. Sometimes the lapses are not even noticed in the uncultivated music of India, the music there being produced by many at a time.

But in all the systems of Indian music we find a deliberate raising

of the tempo, particularly towards the end of a musical piece, as an expression of a change in the feeling. This raising of the tempo is usually intended to develop the idea or feeling and make it more stimulating and poignant. In the uncultivated music of India this raising of the *laya*, i.e. increasing the rapidity of the movement, appears to be more purposeful, and not merely conventional. In some types of this uncultivated music a deliberate lowering of the *laya* for a shift from mirthfulness to sobriety has also been found.

In the cultivated folk-music of Bengal called *kirtan* we find a deliberate use of a different *tala*-structure in the midst of a musical piece. It is called *tal-pherta*. The idea is apparently to convey a change in the feeling following a change in the situation. Such mixture of rhythm-structures within the same musical piece has also been found in the dance and song of some South Indian tribes.

The movements of the musical notes, rapid or slow, may be patterned. These different patterns produce different shades of rhythm (i.e. *talas*) and make the music more varied, effective and attractive. When the patterns are regular the rhythm becomes pronounced and *symmetrical*. It expresses a feeling of vigorousness. But the patterns, as we have mentioned before, may also lack any regularity or symmetry, and yet may have a subtle balance in their component parts producing a veiled or *asymmetrical* rhythm. This type of rhythm is more suitable for expressing a feeling of neutrality and tranquility.

Asymmetrical rhythm is very common in the primitive music of India. For some primitive tribes, namely, Onge and Andamanese of the Andaman Islands, the specimens of music in our collection show only asymmetrical rhythm. The music of the other primitive tribes tape-recorded by us contains rhythm of both the types, symmetrical and asymmetrical. The folk-music of India also have both these varieties of rhythm.

The Vedic tritonic music, like the Vedic metre, is asymmetrical. The system of *alap* which is so popular in the higher types of Classical Indian music, is also a good example of veiled or asymmetrical rhythm. The slow tempos of *kheyal*, inspite of the underlying regular rhythmic pattern of the musical piece, actually produce the effect of asymmetrical rhythm. The different time-combinations of the *murchanas* and *tans* which obliterate for a while the basic rhythmic symmetry of the *tala* in the Classical Indian music, are also nothing but expositions of symmetrical rhythm. Rabindranath Tagore considered the rigidity of *talas* artificial, and also detrimental to lyrical music. We may therefore conclude that the subtle or asymmetrical rhythm, as distinct from the usual regular and singsong type of rhythm, occupies an important place, and

has a long tradition, in Indian music.

The term *tala* of Indian music is actually applicable to the symmetrical rhythm, i.e. the rhythm arising out of the regular patterns. This type of rhythm is well-developed in Indian music and offers good many varieties and subtleties. The two basic *tala*-divisions found in most categories of Indian music are made of 3 and 4 *matras*. The complete rhythmic cycle is composed of more than two such divisions, each having one *tala*-stress. The *tala*-stress is of three kinds, *sam* (major and initial stress), *tali* (ordinary and non-initial stress) and *phank* or *khali* (minor and medial stress).

The common tri-moric *talas* of the North Indian Classical music are *daḍra* (3+3=6 *matras*) and *khemta* or quick *daḍra*. The common tetramoric *talas* of this music are *kaharawa* (4+4=8 *matras*) and *trital* (4+4+4+4=16 *matras*). *Ektal* and *chowtal* are also regular in their rhythmic structures.

These are some of the most regular *talas* in the North Indian Classical music. Each *tala*-division in them consists of an equal number of *matras*. *Talas* of similar structure are used in the South Indian Classical music, and also in the tribal and folk-music of India. *Trital*, *ektal* and *chowtal* are not characteristic of the traditional tribal and folk-music of India. The most common *talas* found in them resemble the *daḍra*, *khemta* and *kaharawa* of North Indian Classical music.

Apart from these regular or uniform trimoric and tetramoric *talas*, dimoric rhythm-structures are also to be found in the Classical Indian music. There are some *talas* in which unequal or dissimilar parts are combined. They produce an uneven or mixed rhythm. Thus, *teora* of North Indian Classical music is made of 3+2+2, and *jhamptal* of 3+2+3+2, *matras*. Such uneven rhythmic structures are uncommon in the traditional tribal music and traditional folk-music of India. Judging from our collection of the tape-recorded tribal music we may say that whenever such types (i.e. the *teora* and *jhamptal* types) of mixed patterns are found in the uncultivated music of India, those specimens also offer other symptoms to show that they have been lately borrowed from the cultivated music.

There is a *tala* called *dhamar* which is commonly used in *dhruṣpad*. Each half of this *tala* is composed of 3+2+2 beat-divisions. But here in the *theḱa* the last division is made of only one stroke the latter part of the division being left strokeless. Rhythm-patterns made of such pauses or zero strokes are also quite common in the uncultivated Indian music.

In the cultivated music of India the strokes used on the drums are made with the help of syllables called *bol*s which imitate the sound pro-

duced by the strokes on the drum. It is doubtful if the primitive tribes of India used such mnemonic syllables while learning to play on the drums. Our initial attempts to discover such *bols* from the tribal drummers have failed. They say that they learn to play on the drum by beating it from their childhood.

But the case is different in folk-music. In many areas the folk-drummers have been found to be familiar with this system of drum-syllables. The present writer collected from the Dom or Domba people of Ragada village in the Gunupur Taluk a number of such *bols*. The Dom is a low-caste musician-community of the Koraput District of Orissa. They were singing on that occasion a ballad on king Gobinda Chandra in the local Oriya speech. We found them using the following *talas* :

(1) Ektali	12	matras	
(2) AT-tal	8	„	(<i>tala</i> -structure full of <i>zero strokes</i>)
(3) Dui tali	6	„	
(4) Tal jhula	7	„	(contains <i>zero</i> <i>strokes</i>)
(5) Rupak	6	„	
(6) Adi tal	8	„	
(7) Triputa	16	„	
(8) Matham	12	„	(full of <i>zero</i> <i>strokes</i>)
(9) Jhamp tal	15	„	

Adi tal is a uniform tetramoric *tala* commonly used in the South Indian music. Risley in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* has described the Dom people as a caste belonging to the Dravidian culture-group. It will be interesting to find that they have retained South-Indian features also in their music.

We know that the folk-music has a greater tendency to spread than the tribal music. Folk-motif, in general, are very good travellers. Comparative folk-lore would therefore throw much light on the diffusion of culture. A careful study of the *tala*-structures of folk-music, and of the names used for the *talas* in different regions, is very important from this point of view. Indian poetry of the pre-modern age was usually sung. A mention of the *tala* is to be found in many of these compositions. *Sri Krishna Kirtan* of Baru Chandidas, a middle-Bengali poet, may be cited as an example. The names of *talas* mentioned in the literature of different centuries and regions should be carefully collected

Zero-stroke or pause is a common characteristic of the Toda music. Increase of tempo is another feature of it. *Gamaka* (grace) is the most important ornament of the Toda vocal music. Their songs are full of "nonsense" words. Their scales appear to be mostly tetratonic. Some of the scales are also tritonic and ditonic. The Toda music on account of its peculiar rhythmic combinations and *gamaka* is somewhat unique in the primitive Indian music.

We have briefly discussed the place of rhythm in the different types of cultivated and uncultivated music of India. The different types of rhythm, symmetrical and asymmetrical, and the symmetrical rhythm made of divisions of equal and unequal number of *matras*, have also been described by us with special reference to the different types of Indian music. These three may be called asymmetrical rhythm, uniform rhythm and mixed rhythm. The uniform rhythm is believed to be associated with early primitive culture. So far as India is concerned, we have seen that asymmetrical rhythm and mixed rhythm were present here even in the Vedic music. It has been narrated in the *Ramayana* that Valmiki, stricken with intense grief for the bird, uttered a curse in the form of a couplet. Then he became surprised at this new verse-form for the qualities of musical movement (*laya*) of this extraordinary verse, and also for its suitability of being sung in accompaniment of stringed instrument. The use of the term *laya* in this context perhaps indicates that the regular musical rhythm was gradually replacing the Vedic asymmetrical rhythm at the time of Valmiki.

The present writer in his book on Bengali metres⁵ has traced the growth of Indian versification from the Vedic times. It has been shown there that the uniform metrical rhythm predominated only in the *matra-samaka* metres of the Apabhramsa literature. The growth and evolution of musical rhythm is likely to be different from that of metrical rhythm. But, for that reason, we can ill afford to lose this comparison.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

1. The *D* stands for a cerebral sound.
2. It may be connected with the Sanskrit root *lay ray*, 'to go' with *li*- 'to adhere'.
3. In Rig Vedic literature this word meant measure of any kind, i.e. of quantity size, degree, duration, number, etc.
4. See also Alain Danielou, *Northern Indian Music*, p. 98.
5. The book (1956) is written in Bengali and deals with the historical, descriptive and comparative aspects of the Bengali metres. The influence of music on metres has also been discussed in it.

CHAPTER : FIVE

SCALES IN INDIAN MUSIC

WE know that music is present in all the human societies, past and present, high and low. We may therefore use the term "world-music" to indicate this universality of music. The world-music has three common characteristics, namely, (i) the use of sonorous sounds produced by regular vibrations, (ii) some degree of rise and fall of the pitch caused by the rapid and slow rates of vibrations, and (iii) rhythm, distinct or indistinct. Keeping these three principal characteristics in our mind we may broadly define music as a conscious effort to create an idea or feeling by repeating for some time, rhythmically, the special combinations of the musical sounds produced at different pitch-levels, the number of such pitch-levels being preferably more than one.

Of the three characteristics of music mentioned above, the second one, i.e. the rise and fall of the pitch, is most important. Roughly speaking, the range between the low and the high pitch, which may also have some other intervals or pitch-levels between them, is called the musical scale. The most developed musical scale is an octave made of eight major or *suddha* notes divided into two tetrachords. We have been using this octave-scale in different parts of the world for the last two thousand years or so. This familiarity may have generated in many of us a feeling that music and octave-scale are synonymous. But music with shorter scales mostly confined to the first tetrachord (i.e. made of * Sa, Re, Ga and Ma of Classical Indian music) is also quite possible, and is found commonly among culture-groups in India and other places.

From ancient times we are having in India traditions of both the varieties of scales, i.e. the octave and the shorter scales confined to the first tetrachord. In the Classical music of India or *raga*-music a scale

* We will use the symbols that are employed in the Classical Indian music to denote the different notes in a scale. Following is a list of these symbols with their approximate equivalents in the Western music shown in the brackets: Sa (Do) *komal* (flat) re, *suddha* Re or Ri (Re), *Komal* ga, *suddha* Ga (Mi), *suddha* ma (Fa) *tivra* or *kari* (sharp) ma, Pa (Sol), *komal* dha, *suddha* Dha (La), *komal* ni and *suddha* Ni (Si). The tonic Sa has been treated here, as is the custom, as equivalent to C of Western music.

made of five to seven *suddha svaras* spread over the two tetrachords is compulsory. But shorter musical scales made of only two, three or four pitch-levels which need not necessarily tally with the *svaras* used in the *raga*-music, are also quite common in one type of music in this country. These pitch-levels or notes are usually confined to the first tetrachord. We have used the term "primitive" to indicate this type of Indian music. It may be mentioned here that a major portion of the primitive music which is to be found in other parts of the world, use likewise shorter scales, and is in a pre-pentatonic stage. It will be a useful bit of research to find out what other features are commonly shared by the primitive music of India and other places.

We have said that in the *raga*-music of India, scales made of five to seven notes are compulsory. The Indian *ragas* are classified into three types,¹ namely, *oDava*, *shaaDava* and *sampuurna*, in which five, six and seven notes are respectively used. The special utility of the bigger scales is quite obvious. The poets try to portray the various subtle ideas and feelings arising in human mind mainly with the help of words and rhythm. The *raga*-music of India aspires to do the same mainly with the help of musical sounds and rhythm. It is therefore necessary that the singers of *raga*-music should have a greater number of musical notes at their disposal. The minimum number that has been prescribed for this purpose is five. But the load on primitive literature, and also on primitive music, is much less. They have to take care of comparatively simpler feelings and of the basic emotions. It is therefore necessary that the scale-structure of primitive music should also be simple.

Let us now quote the views of some authorities on Indian music, ancient and modern, on the place of the shorter pre-pentatonic scales in Indian music. Both Bharata and Matanga laid much emphasis on the requirement of five notes as the minimum for the production of Classical Indian music. But both of them admitted that the dramatic melodies called *dhruva* is made of four notes.² Over and above this, Matanga spoke of the prevalence of pre-pentatonic scales among the forest tribes of his time.

We may now quote some interesting remarks made by the late scholar-musician, Principal Srikrishna Ratanjankar, about the pre-pentatonic scales in Classical Indian music. In his address at the music section of the 16th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at the University of Lucknow in 1951³, Ratanjankar said as follows :

"After explaining the causes of production of *nada*, the ancient Pandits proceed to analyse the primitive attempts at musical expression. *Archik gana* is chanting in one single tone, *gathik* in two tones of high

and low degrees, *samik* is chanting in three tones of different degrees of pitch, and *svarantara* is a four-toned chant". He then continues, "It is not possible to define the actual intonations recognised in those ancient days which these four types of chantings refer to. We however find in some books an attempt at illustrating these in terms of modern intonations".

Then Ratanjankar demonstrated these four types of musical scales by singing four Sanskrit verses the notations for which have been published in the Proceedings of the Conference. Only one note, i.e. Sa, has been used in singing the *archik gana*. The verse used is :

Mangalam bhagavaan Vishnur, Mangalam madhusuudanah,
Mangalam Pundarikaakshah, Mangalam garuda-dhvajah.

In the *gathik gana* only two notes, i.e. the lower Ni and Sa, have been used. The Sanskrit verse used is :

Purnasyaavaahanam kutra, Sarvaadhaarasya Caasanam
Svacchasya paadyam-arghamca, Suddasyaacamanam kutah.

In the *samik gana* only three notes, Sa, Re and Ga, have been used. The Sanskrit verse used is :

Manobudhyahankaara cittaani naaham,
Naca srotra jihve, nacaaghraana netre, etc.

In the *svarantara gana* four *suddha* notes, Sa, Re, Ga and Ma, have been used. The Sanskrit verse is :

Vighnesa no vighna-viduurakaari,
Nirvighna kaarye sakalaartha-siddhih, etc.

It is a benediction uttered by the wedding priest wishing well to the bride and the groom.

Our present discussion may throw some light on the evolution of musical scales in India. Some people, especially many theorists of the *Thaata*-school of North Indian Classical music, believe that previously there were only the *sampurna ragas*, i.e. the *ragas* in which seven *svaras* are used.⁴ According to them the shorter, i.e. the *oDava* and *shaDava* scales, are defective ones which sprang up later. We know that Ratanjankar was one of the greatest exponents of the *Thaata*-classifica-

tion of Indian *ragas*. But what he has stated above about the primitive attempts at forming the musical scales indicates that he did not rule out the possibility of a simpler beginning.

From theoretical music let us now turn to the living Indian music. We know that like all the major streams of Indian culture music of India may have also flown from the Vedas. We have two samples of Vedic recital recently tape-recorded at the Sanga-Veda Vidyalaya at Varanasi. The first one is a recital of a hymn of the Kaanva Branch of White Yajurveda, and the second one a Rig-Vedic recital. Analysing these samples in our Sound Room we have found that in both the pieces only three notes have been used. These three notes may be roughly represented by our Sa, *komal* re and *suddha* Re. Or we better transcribe them with Ni of the lower octave, Sa and *komal* re. In both the cases the middle note is the predominant one. It is probably the *anudatta svara* in Vedic terminology. The rising note occupies the next place of importance. The raising of the voice is sometimes plain, and sometimes accompanied by a jerk of the *miir* type (glissando). In both the specimens the voice is sometimes found to descend to a lower pitch-level which is perhaps the *prachaya* pitch in Vedic terminology. According to our findings therefore these two pieces of Vedic music is tritonic in their scale-structure. More specimens of Vedic chantings should be recorded from different parts of India and analysed for understanding the musical aspects of these chantings as they are performed now.

Apart from the use of three notes, we find another peculiarity in both the specimens. We find in them that the supporting voices sing simultaneously using the corresponding notes in the low octave. This peculiarity is to be found in some other varieties of primitive Indian music. This aspect of Indian primitive music should be explored fully. It is well-known that Indian music, in general, is monophonic. In other words, a single key-note, called tonic (or *sur* in our terminology), is used in Indian music as the starting point in the scale. In chorus songs or orchestra this tonic in the same octave is used by every one as the basic note. But in Western Classical music more than one musical sounds are sung or played together for which that music is called polyphonic or harmonic. Now, the simultaneous use of a lower octave in such types of primitive music sets us thinking whether it should be treated as "drone" as in modern Western Classical music, or we find in this type of music a crude form of harmony. The other hypothesis we may form from this type of primitive music where a lower octave is simultaneously used is that these people who use shorter scales which are confined to the first tetrachord, should also be credited with

the innate sense of a musical octave.

Besides the Classical music, we have two other major varieties of Indian music, namely, folk-music and tribal music. Let us now see if we can get the pre-pentatonic scales in these two types. The short musical scales are very rare in the traditional folk-music of our country, although they may not be altogether absent in it. In the folk-music of Bengal we find short scales mainly in the songs of the recitation type which is called in Bengali *chaRa*. Such *chaRas* do not represent the important section of Bengali folk-music. Our preliminary enquiries have shown that pre-pentatonic scales are not common also in the folk-music of many other parts of India. Longer scales are in general common in it. But these longer musical scales do not tally with the standard musical scales used in the Classical music of India. This aspect of Indian folk-music needs thorough examination which we are not in a position to do on account of our inadequate collection of folk-music.

On the other hand, our collection of tribal music shows that shorter musical scales are very common in it, particularly in the traditional music of the more primitive sections of the Indian tribes. In the chapter on "Uncultivated Music of India" we have discussed some disagreements between folk-music and tribal music in general. But here lies one of the major differences between the tribal music and the folk-music of India.

Our systematic study of the tribal music of India is still in a preliminary stage. But the existence of the pre-pentatonic (i.e. shorter) scales in the traditional tribal music of this country is so striking that we may make the following general statements without much fear of contradiction. Musical scales with two notes are rare in it, whereas scales of five, six and seven notes are to be found mostly in those tribes who are more acculturated. The traditional music of most of the primitive groups of Indian tribes is composed mostly of three and four notes. Among these tribes some have tritonic scales, and among some tetratonic scales are predominant. The percentage of exceptions, and the reasons therefor, should be investigated.

Apart from the use of shorter scales, this music has other peculiarities too. For example, the simultaneous use of the lower corresponding scale is not infrequent in it. Then, although *avarohana* or descent from high to low pitch predominates in this music, the ascent from the tonic to a higher pitch, and starting from a middle note going up and down, are also occasionally found in it.

The use of refrains is another peculiarity which is found commonly,

though not universally, both in the tribal music and folk-music of India. In many cases the leader, alone or with his group, uses notes of a higher pitch, and the rest follows up the tune using the lower pitch.

Another peculiar feature of the uncultivated music of India is the musical shouting, or the abrupt raising of the voice beyond the scale-structure at some fixed places in the music. This abrupt raising of the voice during a song is a very common feature of some varieties of the non-Classical music of India. It is to be found even in the Sama-Veda chantings where the places are indicated by the use of the expression *hau*, after the stanzas in the texts of the Sama-Veda. In the music of the famous Todas of Ootacamund we find a kind of dance in which only an expression like *hau*, *hau*, and no other song, is used. Croaking and crooning, or producing a humming sound at intervals either in a raised or lowered pitch, inside the throat, are also common in some tribes of Bastar and Assam. These musical shouting and crooning may be mutually exclusive peculiarities distinguishing the tribal groups.

The *tala* or rhythm in this pre-pentatonic music is also very interesting. We have already discussed generally about rhythm in tribal music in a previous chapter. We may repeat here that there are two types of rhythm in Indian music, symmetrical and asymmetrical, i.e. distinct rhythm and indistinct rhythm. The rhythm-structures will be shown here along with the transcriptions of the tribal tunes that will follow now. But we wish to emphasize first the value of the different scale-structures in the study of primitive cultures. We may, for this purpose, draw a parallel from the field of the various types of musical instruments that are used in Indian music to keep time and bring out prominently the distinct rhythm of the musical piece.

Among the musical instruments producing rhythm, drums of various types are most important. The use of the drums of the common cylindrical type with wooden body and membranes on both the sides, which are played either with hands or sticks, is quite widespread in rural India, and also among the Indian tribes. But it is by no means universal. Some tribes and castes of particular regions in middle and east India use a drum called *madal* which has a special shape with one end (which generally produces loud sound) narrower than the other, and whose body is usually made of earth on which leather straps are profusely used for tuning the drum. The drum called *khol* which is used in *kirtan* and some other types of folk-music in Bengal, resembles the *madal* in some respects, but is longer in shape and tapering at both the ends.

These different types of drums are important culture-traits for they

are used by particular culture-groups in a region. The Juang and Bhuyan of Keonjhar in Orissa use a big one-sided circular drum which they call *cangu*. The Kota of the Nilgiri Hills, who are perhaps the only tribe in India having a rich orchestra consisting of nine musical instruments, have a drum of this type which they call *tabaTk*. We have found an unusual practice among the Kotas to use two drums, one for the grave voice representing Sa and the other for the loud pitch tuned to Ma; both the sides of the two drums are tuned to the same pitch. Some tribes of central and southern India use a flat drum which resembles the type of drum played on with *sehnai*-flute in North India. We came across among the Paniyans of South India a small hand-drum of the *Damaru*-type having a narrow middle which they hold with the left hand and the drum-stick with the right. In the dance-songs, the use of the anklets is widespread, although its distribution has not yet been worked out. Various other devices are also employed for this purpose. For example, some tribes in Bastar use waist-bells, and some tribes of Kerala and other regions use sticks, to produce the rhythm while dancing.

The different types of drums and other rhythm-instruments are not only important culture-traits indicating the culture-bloc they represent, but they may also reveal the type of music for which they are used. For example, in Bengal (i) *Dhak* is generally associated with the worship of gods and goddesses, (ii) *Dholak* was at one time used in rural areas with festival songs (but it is now becoming obsolete with the gradual disappearance of these songs), (iii) *khol*, as we have already said, is used with *kirtan* and other such types, (iv) *pakhoaj* (also called *mridang*) is generally used in *dhrupad*, some types of *Kali-kirtan* and such other sober music, (v) and for the remaining various types of music *tabla* is used. The coexistence of different types of drums in a culture is itself an object of useful study. So far as Bengal is concerned it may be posited that some of these types of drums (i.e. *khol* and *Dhak*) are peculiar to Bengal and the neighbouring regions, while *pakhoaj*, *tabla* and *Dholak* represent wider and extra-territorial musical traditions.

The value of all types of musical instruments as culture-traits distinguishing one culture-group from another has been already recognised, although systematic work in this direction has not yet been taken up in India. Our object here is to put a stress on the value of the musical scales, particularly the pre-pentatonic scales, in the study of the primitive cultures of India. A drum or any other musical instrument is of course more tangible a culture-trait than a musical scale. But if we transcribe the music of the primitive tribes of India, this material may

also turn out to be as concrete as the linguistic data. A casual study of the *ragas* and *raginis* will reveal that particular scale-structures and consonance-structures or *vadi-samvadi*-relationship of notes in a scale, can become the markers of particular culture-groups and culture-regions. Thus, the names of the musical modes like *Takka*, *Malavi*, *Savari* can not be accidentally identical with the names of some non-Aryan tribes of ancient India. Similarly, we may take the names of the musical modes like *KanaRa*, *Bihari*, etc. which tally with the names of some geographical areas of India, as the markers of certain culture-regions, because we know it for certain that musical patterns do vary from region to region, from people to people, even now, as has been found in our discussion above on drums.

We have not yet been able to transcribe all the samples of tribal music in our collection. We will give here the approximate notation of some specimens using a simple syllabic system of Indian notation. Let us start from the Andaman Islands which have been the abode of some of the most primitive tribes of India. The samples of the Onge and Andamanese music collected from those two primitive negrito tribes are very good from the point of view of primitive music. It appears from a study of the Onge songs in our collection that a musical scale which is found to be quite common among this people, is made of *Sa* and *komal ga*. Thus, in an Onge dance-song we have the tune approximately like,

ga — ga — Sa — | ga — Sa — | ga — Sa — |
 1 2 3 4 5 6 | 1 2 3 4 | 1 2 3 4 | 14 matras

In another Onge song we have the scale made of *Sa* *Re* and *komal ga*. The basic structure of the tune is as follows :

- (i) Re Sa — | ga ga — | Re Re — | Sa Sa — |
 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 12 matras
- (ii) ga ga — | Re ga — | Re Re — | Sa Sa — |

Incidentally, the musical scale *Sa Re ga*, as above, has been found in the music of many other Indian tribes which we shall see later.

The next specimen is taken from the Andamanese music. It is a mixed chorus song sung by the boys and girls as a prelude to their turtle-catching expedition. The boys sing in a lower pitch-level using only two notes which may be represented by our *Sa* and *komal re* (or preferably *Ni* of the lower octave and *Sa*). Thereafter, the girls sing in

a higher pitch using approximately our Ma Pa (or Ga Ma, if we start from lower Ni as shown above). The approximate transcription of the musical piece will be :

Male : Sa re | Sa re | Sa re | Sa re |

or

Ni Sa | Ni Sa | Ni Sa | Ni Sa
1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2

Female : Ma Pa | Ma Pa | Ma Pa | Ma Pa |

or

Ga Ma | Ga Ma | Ga Ma | Ga Ma |
1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2

We have spoken of a type of primitive music having refrains. This type may be illustrated from the music of the Abor or Adi people, a famous tribe of NEFA. We are transcribing below a portion of their song on the creation of the world. The priest who leads the music uses two notes which may be represented by our Sa and Ga, and the rest sings the refrain in a low voice using Sa :

Leader : Ga Ga — Ga | Ga — Ma — |
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

Rest : Sa Sa Sa Sa | Sa Sa Sa Sa |

We may now compare the Andamanese and the Abor specimens given above with a chorus song sung by two groups of Bhuyan women, the first group consisting of young girls and the second group of elderly women :

First group : Ma PaPa dha dha | (4 times)
1 2 3 4

Pa — — —

Second group : Sa rere Re Re | (4 times)
1 2 3 4

Sa — — —

Like re, the symbol dha has been used here for the *komal* (flat) note. The use of consecutive *suddha* and *komal* notes seems to be a peculiarity of the Juang and Bhuyan of Keonjhar in Orissa. There is therefore a peculiar undulating movement in such musical pieces. Most of their musical scales appear to be tetratonic, although five and higher number of notes are also found in their music. They have another agreement in their musical system in the use of the *changu* drum. The Refrain-type

we have discussed above, which perhaps presents in a crude form a multi-tonic musical structure, is also present among the Juangs. We give below the approximate basic structure of a Juang *changu-geet* where the refrain will be found in the regular return of the tune to the base in the song of the same group of singers :

Sa Sa re re | Sa Sa re re | NiSa — — — |
 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4
 Sa Ma ga ga | ga MaMa ga ga | Sa gaga re re | NiSa — — — |
 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

Another Juang-*changu-geet* is :

Sa re Re ga | ga — ga — | (3 times)
 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4
 NiSa Sa — — |
 1 2 3 4

The same type of refrain will be found in a Bhuyan *Doli-geet* which may be transcribed as follows :

Sa re Re — | ga — ga — | (2 times)
 Sa re Re — | ga — Re — |
 Sa — — —

We may now raise a vital point in our discussion. The point is whether peoples belonging to the same speech-group do also have the same music-structure. In the case of the Juang and Bhuyan of Keonjhar we have seen that they have some similarity in their music although they do not belong to the same speech-group. Now we may cite the case of Korku, an Austro-Asiatic speaking tribe of Madhya Pradesh and the Dravidian speaking Gadba of Pottangi in the Koraput District both of whom appear to have a tune which sounds like a classical tune although not exactly like any particular mode : The Korku tune may be transcribed as :

Dha Sa Dha Sa | Sa Sa Sa Sa | Re Ga Ga Ga | Re Ga Re Sa |
 1 2 3 4
 Re Re Ga Ga | Re Re Sa — | Ga — Ga Ga | Re Ga Re Re |
 Sa — Sa Dha | etc. Here *Dha* is the Dha of the lower octave.

It is a devotional song sung by the Korku in their festivals. It may be compared with the following tune collected from the Dravidian speaking Gadba tribe of Pottangi :

Sa Ga Ga Ga | Ma — — — | Ga Ma Ga Ga | Sa — — — |
 Sa — Ga Ga | Ga — Ma Ma | Ga — Ma Ga | Sa — — — |

We may also mention here that the Korku use sticks in their *DanDa*

geet for producing rhythm. This peculiarity is not found in any other tribe of central India, although it is to be found in many Dravidian speaking tribes of Kerala which they call *Kol-Kali*, i.e. stick-dance.

On the other hand, the Austro-Asiatic tribes of central and eastern India, like the Kharia, Munda, Santal and Korku, do not seem to share many common traits in their music. Even the Dravidian speaking Hill Maria who, like the Muria, speak another dialect of Gondi, appear to have little common in their musical traditions with the Murias. The Murias have been found seldom to use a short scale, while the Hill Maria music is full of short scales. The Murias do not seem to have the practice of crooning in their music, while the Hill Maria songs are full of it. Crooning is also found in the music of the Dhurwa-Parja of Bastar who speak of course Dravidian, but of a non-Gondoid group. Crooning is also found in the music of some tribes of Assam who speak a tongue belonging altogether to a different speech-family, the Tibeto-Burman.

We may now give the notations of a few specimens of tribal music where pre-pentatonic scales have been used. The samples have been picked up at random from the music of the tribes of central and eastern India, and the transcriptions are approximate. Following is the notation of a *Dasai* song of the Santal sung at the time of the Dussera festival in the month of September-October. The song was collected from Belpahari in the Midnapur District of West Bengal.

Sa ma ma Ga | Ga ma ma Ga | Re Ga Ga Re | Sa — — — |
 1 2 3 4
 Sa Ga Ga Re | Sa — — — — |
 Sa Ga Ga Re | Re Ga Re Re | Sa — — |

The regular return to, and the pause on, Sa remind us of the Refrain-type of music discussed before.

The Korku use different varieties of short scales. Songs made of 5 or 6 notes are also found in their music. Following is the tritonic scale used in a *Danda-geet* sung at the time of the Pola festival when they dance beating sticks and drums :

Re Ga Re Re | Re Sa — Re | Ga — Re — |
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
 Re Sa — Re | Ga Re — Ga | Re — Re |

We have only one tune recorded from the Kolam of Baghapur (in the Yeotmal District) in the tetratonic scale. The basic structure of the tune will be :

Sa Re Ga Ma | Ga — Ga Re | Sa Re Sa Sa | Sa — — — |

The music of the Dhurwa-Parja of Bastar, like their dance, is rich in variety and deserves to be studied carefully. We give below the notation of a *Gurgal* dance-song of this tribe :

Dha Sa — | Sa Sa — | Re ga — | — — — |
 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3
 ga ga — | Re Re — | Sa Sa — | — — — |

The *Dha* above is the *Dha* of the lower octave.

We have already mentioned that crooning is present in some types of Dhurwa-Parja songs. During the humming inside the throat, in the case of the Parjas, their voice seems to be lowered.

The Pengo is another important primitive tribe living in the neighbouring District of Koraput. They speak an interesting Dravidian language. We will conclude our demonstration of the music of the central Indian tribes by giving an example from a Pengo marriage-song sung by ladies :

Sa Pa Pa Pa | Ma Pa Pa Pa | Pa — — — |
 Sa Ma Ma Ma | Ma Pa Ma Ma | Sa — — — |

In central India, only the Korku, Hill Maria and Dhurwa Parja seem to have predominantly the shorter scales in their music. But the South Indian tribes, particularly many of those who live in Kerala along the Western Ghats, seem to use shorter scales in a much greater proportion. In our collection of the music of the Kota of the Nilgiri Hills District, whom I am often tempted to call the musician-tribe of South India, we have a lamentation song sung by an old man in which a husband mourns the death of his wife. Only two major notes, *Sa* and *Re*, have been used here. The voice starts from *Sa*, rises upto *Re*, and then descends to *Sa*, and at the end touches one *sruti* of lower *Ni*.

The music of the Parayan, a low caste of Trichur District in Kerala is very interesting. Being a community of professional musicians, they seem to have improved upon the simple tribal tunes of their area. We collected five specimens of their dance-song which are meant to entertain the different communities living in Kerala, viz. Hindus, Christians and Mohammedans. They dance in a circle more like acrobats with wooden shields and swords in their hands. The leader of the party sings in a raised pitch using generally three or four notes, while the rest of them follow him singing the same tune in the lower octave. The other peculiarity of the Parayan music is the musical shouting, or abrupt raising of the voice beyond the scale-structure at some fixed

places in the song. This abrupt raising of the voice during a song, as we have already said, is a very common feature of the non-classical music of India. We may now give below an approximate transcription of one of their songs. The song is in praise of their *guru* (teacher) :

ga ga ga Re — ga | ga ga ga Re — ga |
 1 2 3 4 5 6
 ga ga ga Re — ga | Re Re Re NSa — — |

The musical scale used in the Parayan song is Sa, Re, and *komal* ga, which appears to be a scale very commonly used in the music of the South Indian tribes. In this case the tune starts from *komal* ga and gradually descends to Sa occasionally touching the lower Ni.

The next specimen is the transcription of a portion of the stick-dance song of the Urali tribe collected from them at the Puthadam village of Ernakulam District in Kerala. This dance is called Kol-Kali performed at marriage and other festivals. Here also the scale is made of 3 notes, Sa, Re and *komal* ga, and the movement is in the descending order. The notation :

ga ga Re ga | ga ga Re ga | ga ga Re ga | Re Re Sa — |
 1 2 3 4

Now let us transcribe a portion of a song sung by the Badagas of Idubatty village near Ooty. The song is in praise of the Badaga goddess Hette. The scale is made of 3 notes, Sa Re Ga, the lower Ni occurring only at the end in *miir* with Sa :

Sa Sa Sa Sa | Sa — Re Sa Re — — — |
 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 6 7 8
 Ga Ga Ga Ga | Re — Sa Re Sa — — — |
 Ga Ga Ga Ga | Re — Sa Re Sa — — — | NSa — Re — Sa — — —

Let us now transcribe a portion of another song collected from the Kota of Kolimela village in Kotagiri. The song is in praise of the principal Kota god Kambatraen. The Kota ladies dance in circle and sing this song at the time of Kambatraen festival. It is again a scale made of Sa Re and *komal* ga, descending from high to low pitch :

ga ga Re — Sa — | Sa Sa Re — Sa — |
 1 2 3 4 5 6

The next one is the transcription of a portion of a song sung by the ladies of the Urali Kurumban tribe of Chingeri village near Sultan Battery in Calicut District. It is in praise of Chingeri Appan, a village deity. Here *suddha* Re is used with ga, and *komal* re with Sa. The

lower Ni is also used in *miR* with Sa at the end :

ga — Re — — — | Re Re ga — Re — | Sa Sa re — re |
NSa — Sa — — — |

The next specimen is the transcription of a Kota orchestra in which nine musical instruments were used. The music is performed at the time of mens' dance called *triginaaT kooL*. Here also we find the common tritonic scale made of Sa Re and *komal* ga, but the movement here starts from Sa :

Sa Re Re Re | Sa Re ga — | Re ga ga ga | ga ga ga — |
Re ga ga ga | Re Re Sa — |

We will now hear a Paniyan boy playing on his crude flute made of a twig, and two other Paniyan boys keeping time on their drums of the *damaru*-type. Here we find the same tritonic scale made of Sa Re and *komal* ga. The movement starts from the middle. The tune reminds us of the snake-charmers' flute. The notation :

Re ga ga ga | Re ga ga ga | Re ga Re ga | Re Re Sa — |

We will now transcribe a portion of a tune collected from the famous Kadar tribe of Parambikulam village. It is a tune on their flute which resembles the *nagesvaram* of South India and the *sehnai* of North India. This tune is played at the time of *kumeR* festival when the girls dance and shout while dancing. Here also we find the common tritonic scale made of Sa Re and *komal* ga. The movement is in the ascending order.

Sa — Re Re Re — | Re — ga ga ga — | Re — Re Sa Sa — |
1 2 3 4 5 6

We had an opportunity of tape-recording the Bow and Arrow ceremony of the Todas, a very primitive tribe of the Nilgiri Hills. This ceremony is a part of their marriage festival. We will now try to transcribe a portion of their concluding song in which the ladies including the bride participated. In this song the ladies are requesting their guests to stay on for another night, but if that is not possible the guests should at least be gracious enough to come again next morning. If the Kotas are a tribe of musicians, their neighbours, the Todas, are a tribe of poets. Toda songs are most difficult and interesting from the point of view of music. Here we will not try to transcribe the *gamaka* (grace) which is used profusely in Toda songs. The notation of the basic structure is :

Sa Re Ga Ma | Re Ga Ga Ma | Ma Ga Re Sa |

We have transcribed some samples of the music of Indian tribes to

demonstrate the use of shorter scales in it. Now, we will have to think over why the tribes prefer to use shorter scales. No definite answer can be given. We have already tried to explain it as a primitive attempt to create musical effect. Another reason may be that this music is congregational. It is the property of the whole community. Every one of them participates in it. It is learnt by natural participation, and not by any special coaching. This music is therefore bound to be very simple, for which shorter scales are preferred in it. The anthropologists will perhaps interpret it in this way. While the musical theorists will perhaps suggest that the tribal music is a part of the tribal rituals. The tribes sing to please their gods for the successful completion of their food-gathering activities, social festivals and rites. They have therefore to use few notes and repeat them again and again to make the song more effective. This is also the reason why *our* religious chantings are usually made of shorter scales.

We do not understand the technique of the tribal music which might be the reason of our finding it monotonous. But if we listen to it again and again we will find that many subtle variations are made in the arrangement of the notes within the scale-structure. There is also in some types a sudden raising of the voice which we have called the musical shouting. It reminds us of the Vedic term *krushTa*,⁵ a loud crying. It has been used in some of the *Sikshas* as a term related to Vedic music, meaning something like the notes in the upper octave. From such indications we can guess that the idea of octave was not altogether absent in those primitive days when shorter scales were the standard musical scales.

We have noticed another peculiarity of this traditional tribal music while transcribing it in our Sound Room with the help of a Scale-changing Harmonium. In a sample of some pieces of music, vocal or instrumental, collected from the same set of tribal musicians in a single sitting, the tonic or the starting note has often been found to vary. In some specimens of the Onge music in our collection, the tonic changes once or twice even in the same piece. It may not be due to their carelessness or whim, for it reminds us of the *saDja graama*, *gaandhaara graama* and *madhyama graama* of the ancient theorists of Indian music. A careful study of the traditional tribal music of India may throw much welcome light on the evolution of Indian music.

In order to complete our study of the Indian musical scales, let us now describe briefly the pentatonic, hexatonic and heptatonic modal scales used in the Classical music of India. Having traversed the tribal field when we enter into the arena of Classical music of this country we

find there, to our great relief, a well-developed set of musical theories handed down from generation to generation among the practising musicians, which are also corroborated in a large number of books on Classical Indian music written over the last two millennia. We have not yet been able to elicit the theories about their music from the tribal peoples of India, although they may be there. But our knowledge of the theories of Classical Indian music is in no way poor.

So far as the musical scales are concerned, we find the following basic informations from the earliest books (cf. Bharata ch. XXVII) in which the theories of Classical Indian music have been discussed. They are, (i) the mention of the word *graama*, meaning "a collection of notes", i.e. "a musical scale"; (ii) mention of two such *graamas*, *saDja* and *madhyama*, i.e. two different starting points in a scale; (iii) mention of the pentatonic (*oDava*), hexatonic (*shaaDava*) and heptatonic (*samppuurna*) scales; and (iv) the mention of the theory of consonance expressed by the terms *vaadi*, *samvaadi*, *anuvaadi* and *vivaadi*. (v) The other important contribution made by India in this respect about two thousand years ago is the theory of *shruti*.

There are different methods of measuring the distance between the pitches in a scale in all the developed musical systems of the world.⁶ In Indian Classical music *shruti* is used as the unit for measuring this distance. The word is derived from the root *shru*- "to hear", and occurs in the Vedic literature at first in the sense of "hearing", "the organ of hearing", etc., and in late Vedic literature in the sense of "sound", "noise". Gradually the word began to be used as technical terms. In philosophical literature it began to mean "sacred texts which were originally heard by the Rishis". In music it developed the meaning, "the smallest unit of sound in a scale that can be heard, i.e. distinguished". We find that in Bharata's *Natya Shastra* an attempt has been made to explain the distinction between a *svara* and a *shruti* by using two *vina*-lutes and tuning them, one in the *saDja grama* and the other in the *madhyama graama*. This fact that the teacher wants to be sure that the students have correctly understood the nature of *shruti*, perhaps indicates that the idea of *shruti* was a new concept at the time of Bharata. Even now the *shruti-svaras* are more commonly used for the theoretical purpose of measuring the distance between the musical pitch-levels called *svaras* than they are actually used in the stereotyped modal scales. In the modal scales used in the *raga*-music pitch-levels upto a semitone formed by $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 *shrutis* called *komal* (flat) *re*, *komal ga*, *kaRi* (sharp) *ma*, *komal dha* and *komal ni*, are usually taken into account.

At first there was some confusion among the ancient Indian musical theorists about the account of the *shrutis*.⁷ Gradually, 22 *shrutis* in an octave became established. The distribution of the 22 *shrutis* in a *saDja graama* which became the more common octave later in Classical Indian music, is between Sa and Re 4, between Re and Ga 3, between Ga and Ma 2, between Ma and Pa 4, between Pa and Dha 4, between Dha and Ni 3 and between Ni and upper Sa 2. It is true that the term used in Classical Indian music for octave is *saptaka*, i.e. "a collection of 7 notes". But that the Indian musical theorists were aware of an 8-note octave is clear from the fact that in their classification of the *shrutis* they have taken Ni and upper Sa into their account. Moreover, there are two sets of terms used in the Classical Indian music to signify, respectively, the lower, middle and the upper octaves. The first set is *mandra*, *madhya* and *taara*. All these are good Sanskrit words which were used to denote the 3 octaves in the early period of Classical Indian music. The second set is *udara*, *mudara* and *tara* which came into vogue in the mediaeval period.

The classification of the Indian *ragas* into pentatonic, hexatonic and heptatonic is quite old and occurs also in Bharata. We may give here a short list of these 3 types of scales showing the notes used in them.⁸

Some of the pentatonic scales are :

Maluha Kedara (Sa Re Ga Ma Pa) ; Bhupali, Suddha Kalyan, Bhup-Kalyan, Jet-Kalyan, a kind of Deogiri, Deshkar (Sa Re Ga Pa Dha) ; Durga (Sa Re Ma Pa Dha) ; Hindoli (Sa Ga Ma Dha Ni) ; Hindol (Sa Ga Ma Dha Ni) ; a kind of Saranga and Megha (Sa Re Ma Pa ni) ; Sivaranjani (Sa Re ga Pa Dha) ; Phulasri (Sa re Ma Dha Ni) ; Dhavalasri (Sa re Ma dha Ni) ; Bhupal Todi (Sa re ga Pa dha) ; Nilambari (Sa ga Ma Pa ni) ; Malkhous, Koushiki, Kousiya (Sa ga Ma Dha ni) ; etc.

Some of the hexatonic scales are : Gunakali and a kind of Kalyan (Sa Re Ga Pa Dha Ni) ; Puriya (Sa re Ga ma Dha Ni) ; Dhanasri (Sa re Ga ma dha Ni) ; Mangala (Sa re Ma Pa dha ni) ; Zilaf (Sa re Ga Ma Pa dha) ; eac.

Some of the heptatonic scales are : Bhairava (Sa re Ga Ma Pa dha Ni) ; Iman (Sa Re Ga ma Pa Dha Ni) ; Bhimpalasri (Sa Re ga Ma Pa Dha ni) ; Bhairavi (Sa re ga Ma Pa dha ni) ; etc.

A *raga* may be pentatonic bothways, i.e. while ascending and descending. In that case the raga will be called *odava-odava* or *suddha odava*. Other combinations like *odava-shadava*, *odava-sampurna shadava-shadava*, *shadava-odava*, *shadava-sampurna*, etc. are also possible. A *suddha* and a *komal* of the same *svara* (i.e. flat and sharp)

may also be used in the same scale in particular positions while ascending, e.g. *suddha* Re and *komal* re, *suddha* Ma and *kaRi* ma, etc. In this way a 4-note scale can become 5-noted, as is found in Megha-ranjani, the scale of which is Sa re Ma ma Ni. In this way the actual number of notes used in a *raga*-scale may be more than seven; cf. Behag (Sa Re Ga Ma ma Pa Dha Ni), Kafi (Sa Re ga Ga Ma Pa Dha ni Ni), the popular variety of Pilu (Sa re Re ga Ga Ma Pa dha Dha Ni), etc.

It has become clear by now that the short scales to be found in the primitive tribal music discussed earlier, are mostly confined to the first tetrachord, while the shortest pentatonic scale like Megharanjani (Sa re Ma ma Ni) is also spread over two tetrachords.

The earliest authorities on Indian music treated the classification of the scales into pentatonic, hexatonic and heptatonic as important. It appears therefore that the *ragas* in those days were of simple scale-structure. But the picture we get now of the *raga*-structures is very much complicated. It is likely that with the progress of time various regional and also personal styles grew up diversifying the scales. The appearance of the hybrid (*saalanka*) *raga* also caused much diversification of the scales. The previous clear-cut division of scales into pentatonic, hexatonic and heptatonic started becoming hazy and unsatisfactory. For example, the *raga* Kalyana or Kalyani, according to Sanyal, can be of different varieties using either of the three basic scales of Classical Indian music, *odava*, *shadava* or *sampurna*. Many other variations gradually developed in the scale-structures. The use of additional notes for creating greater musical effect on the listeners was on the increase. The frontiers of the male and female *ragas* were also gradually becoming less rigid. There was also difficulty in fitting in the "new" modes into the old musical set up.

New methods of classification of the musical scales were therefore felt necessary. In the first instance, an attempt was made in South India to classify the *ragas* into father, son and grandson. The second movement which also took place in South India, was more revolutionary. It sought to reclassify the heptatonic scales under some structural types, called *mela*. Ramamatya, the author of *Svara-mela Kalanidhi*, spear-headed this movement. A similar movement took place much later in North India. It is also a movement to reclassify the *raga*-scales into different structural types called *Thaat*s. The protagonists of this theory selected ten heptatonic *raga*-scales having their own fixed arrangements of *suddha*, *komal* and *tivra* (*kaRi*) notes. These ten *ragas* have also been used as the type-names. For example, *Bilaval raga* is a heptatonic scale in which all the *suddha* notes are used, or in

other words, no *komal* or *tivra* notes are used. So all the *ragas* using *suddha* notes, be they heptatonic, hexatonic or pentatonic, will fall under the *Bilaval ThaT* or type. Similarly, *Iman* is another heptatonic scale in which *tivra* ma is used instead of *suddha* Ma. So *Iman* is treated as another *ThaT* under which *ragas* having a similar structure (irrespective of their being pentatonic, hexatonic or heptatonic) are grouped. Thus, *Belaval*, *Alhaiya*, *Yamani*, *Deogiri*, *Kukubha*, *Lacchasaka*, etc. will fall under the *Bilaval ThaT*, and *Iman*, *Suddha Kalyan*, *Hamir*, etc. under the *Iman ThaT*. The other eight are⁹ : *Khamaj*, *Kafi*, *Asavari*, *Bhairavi*, *Purvi*, *Marava* and *ToDi*.

The primitive tribes of India believe in a divine origin of music. The ancient authorities on Classical Indian music also propounded a similar theory. Music in India is therefore enveloped in an aura of mysticism, and its objective analysis is yet a thing of the future. Our object in this chapter has been to look at the scales in Indian music with an open mind. We have seen that the Indians as a whole have thought of a very wide variety of musical scales, ranging from monotonic to decatonic, and made of different combinations of major notes and semi-tones. We have discussed also about the classification of the scales in Classical Indian music. The value of the tribal musical scales as markers of different tribal cultures has also been explored in this chapter. It has also been suggested here that the scales used in *raga*-music may be a continuum of the primitive pre-pentatonic scales which are still so common in the music of the aboriginal tribes of this country.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

1. Bharata called them *panca-svara*, *shat-Svara* and *sapta-svara jatis*. *Natyasastra*, xxviii, 56, English Translation by Manomohan Ghosh, Asiatic Society, 1961, p. 17.
2. Matanga quoted Bharata as his authority in this matter; *Brihaddesi*, Tri-vandrum Sanskrit Series, p. 59. There is another mode, Kalindi, which has been described as tetratonic, see "Non-Aryan Contribution to Indian Music", by O. C. Gangoly, *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol xix, 1937-38, p. 271.
3. Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference, 16th Session, Vol. II, 1955, pp. 388-90.
4. Cf. Amiya Nath Sanyal, *Ragas and Raginis*, pp. 258-59: "It seems as if the primitive experimenters of the music of *raga* had worked first of all with scales of four or five notes. . . . With no idea of what a perfect specimen ought to be, and without the least intellectual directive regarding the relations such a mediance and consonance, they must have instinctively tried to equalise the supercharges by adding the new notes to the primitive scales or designs".
5. The word has been derived from the Vedic root *krush*—"to cry aloud". Another word derived from this root is *krosha* which perhaps originally meant a "crying distance", and later "a measure of distance".
6. See *Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales*, by Alain Danielou, pp. 21.
7. Cf. A. Danielou, *Northern Indian Music*, p. 46.
8. The names of the *ragas* and the details of their scales have been quoted here from Sanyal, *ibid.*
9. See Ratanjankar, *ibid.* pp. 398-400.

CHAPTER : SIX

FOLK-MUSIC OF AN AREA

Some aspects of the folk-music of India have been already discussed by us in the previous chapters. We have taken some care especially to determine the scope of the term "folk-music". Instead of treating it from the point of view of folklore, we have tried to describe it against the background of Indian music. It has been found that the Classical music of this country is based on some well-defined musical theories pertaining to the *svaras*, *rasa*, *bhava*, *grama*, *tala-laya*, *murchana-tana*, *raga* and other matters related to them. This music is therefore to be learnt from a teacher.

We may compare the Classical Indian music with the Sanskrit language. Sanskrit being nobody's mother-tongue, one has to learn it first before one can speak it. It is therefore a purely "cultivated" speech. Classical music of India resembles the Sanskrit language in this respect, for one has to learn its rules first before one can sing or play on in the Classical style. We have therefore called this music "cultivated".

But the unlettered rural folk speaks his dialect without knowing its phonology and morphology. His speech has a phonology and morphology. But he picks up the grammar of his speech imperceptively. His music resembles his speech in this respect, for like his speech he learns also his music by natural participation without having any knowledge of the *grammar* of his music. A common rural man is musically illiterate, so to say.

We have therefore called this music of the rural people "uncultivated". The traditional tribal music which we have already discussed, and the traditional folk-music which we will discuss now, are the two major varieties of the "uncultivated" music of India. Like the tribal music, the folk-music is also an important item of the culture of the rural folk. It is not merely an entertainer with them.

But if the typical rural folk does not cultivate his speech, there are many other people in the country speaking the same speech who cultivate it and learn its grammar and usages in schools and colleges. For example, the illiterate people of Bengal do not cultivate their

Bengali speech, but educated Bengalis do it. So we find that our modern speeches that are used as our mother tongues are uncultivated speeches in their unsophisticated forms, but we may also cultivate them for the sake of greater power and expressiveness.

Folk-music likewise can be both uncultivated and cultivated. But there is one difference in the case of music. Here the same forms of folk-music need not always be made sophisticated as is to be done in the case of language where new forms of speech are not possible. Whereas in music new varieties of cultivated folk-music can also be created which do not have such elaborate rules, and are not based on such rigid musical theories, as in the Classical Indian music. We therefore find that while new types can be smoothly created in the sphere of music, it is not so easy to get a new language or dialect widely current, howsoever sweet and easy the new speech-form may be. Language needs age-old sanction for acceptability. This is also true of bilingualism, although bilingualism is as smooth a process as bimusicalism.

Some of our new types of music have come into existence recently by declaring freedom against the stereotyped Classical music, and some are coexisting with it from earlier times. All these types of non-Classical music should be classified as "folk-music", because they are meant for the vast majority of people who are not experts in Classical music. Most of these modern forms of folk-music are more or less influenced by the Classical music of India. We have called them "cultivated folk-music". Tagore music, *Kirtan*, *Bhajan* and most other popular types of our modern music, in our opinion, will fall under this category.

Folk-music of India is therefore a very vast subject, more enormous in its scope than the tribal music or the Classical music of this country. A scientific study of the Indian folk-music is therefore a most difficult job and is not something that can be performed by a single person or institution. We made a short study of some varieties of the traditional folk-music of an area in West Bengal. Our object is to record here the results of our enquiries so that other investigators working on Indian folk-music may compare their notes with us.

One of the peculiarities of folk-music, traditional or cultivated, is its regional nature. It may be typical of some social, occupational or theological groups, but it is seldom confined to specialized culture-groups like the aboriginal tribes of India. At the same time, the expansiveness or the pan-Indian distribution of the Classical Indian music is also not there. In a majority of cases folk-music is the music of particular regions which are inhabited by different groups of people.

We made an incomplete survey of a portion of Jhargram, the wes-

tern subdivision of the Midnapur District of West Bengal. The position of this subdivision is interesting. It has entered like a wedge into other Districts, Bankura and Purulia of West Bengal in its north and west, respectively, Singbhum of Bihar in its south and south-west, and Mayurbhanj of Orissa in its south-east. It is a strip of fertile land where agricultural activities dominate the life of the inhabitants.

The Tribal Welfare Department of the Government has a training centre at Belpahari, a small settlement in the western part of the Jhargram Sub-division. We camped at this centre for a week in October, 1966, and tape-recorded the caste-dialects and folk-music available in the vicinity. We tape-recorded the speech of ten groups of people of this area who are still known by their group-names, although whether they still retain many peculiarities of their original group-culture is a matter for close investigation.

These ten groups of people may be sub-divided into, (1) Scheduled tribe, (2) Scheduled caste and (3) caste. The groups belonging to the first category are Kharia or Kheria (who call themselves Sabar), Mahali and Santal. The second group consists of Muchi, Hanri and Dule (or Bauri), while the third group consists of Naik (who appear to be a section of the bigger group of people called Bhumiya in Bihar), Tanti (a weaver caste), Bagal (cowherd caste) and Mahato (who seem to be affiliated to the Kurmi of Bihar). Of these ten groups of people, all of whom speak the local dialect of Bengali, the Hanri, Dule and Tanti seem to be of Bengali extraction, because they are found in greater numbers in other areas of Bengal. But the Mahato, Naik and Muchi are to be found in greater numbers in Bihar.

Of the three tribes of this area studied by us, the Santal alone have retained their language and culture, while the Kherias and Mahalis are very much on the way of being absorbed by the regional dialect and culture. The Mahalis of Belpahari were found to remember very imperfectly their original mother tongue which is affiliated to Santali. The local dialect of Bengali is now their mother-tongue. The Kharia or Kheria of Belpahari seem to be a section of the Hill Kharia of Manbhum who speak a peculiar dialect of Bengali called Kharia Thar, and not the Austroasiatic tongue spoken by the Dudh and the Dhelki Kharias of Ranchi and the neighbourhood. The Bengali dialect called Kharia Thar spoken by the Hill Kharias has been mentioned also by Grierson in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part I. Of course, the Kheria families living in the vicinity of Belpahari speak the regional dialect of Bengali and not the Kharia Thar of Manbhum.

It is therefore found that most of the tribes and castes of this area

are outsiders, but so far as their speech is concerned they speak nothing else but the local form of Bengali with the exception of the Santal who have retained their Santali speech in addition to the local Bengali which is also spoken by them with facility. A closer examination of the Santali spoken by the Santals of this area would give us an idea of the degree of influence the local dialect of Bengali has exercised on it.

We tape-recorded short samples of the Bengali spoken by the different groups of people of this area, which, however, show interesting deviations from the local norm. Thus, the Bengali dialect spoken by the Kherias of the locality is characterised by a certain slurring of consonants occurring in the final position. The dialect of the Muchis of the area has also some peculiar features of its own, e.g., the frequent use of the conjunctive verbs compounded with *kore*. The Mahato dialect of this area bears some affinities with the Manbhum dialect of Bengali. A systematic study of these dialects will bring forth more such characteristic innovations. But there is no doubt about it that all these peoples speak dialects which are basically the same as the local form of Bengali.

We studied also the traditional music of these ten groups of people. It was found that the Santal have their own form of music, while the rest of the tribes and castes of the area appeared to have a common stock of traditional music. Even the Santal music, although it is different in its tune and language, has an over-all agreement with the traditional folk-music of the area.

We therefore find that there are two major types of the local speech of this area, Santali and the local Midnapur dialect of Bengali, and that there are also two major types of local group-music, the tribal music of the Santal and the folk-music of the remaining castes and tribes. But whereas the speech of the non-Santal groups of this area is basically a local dialect, i.e. a form of the dialect of Midnapur Bengali, the traditional folk music of these groups is by no means a local heritage. This music is made of different elements coming from different directions. The distributional isoglosses of these elements have not yet been chalked out. For example, the Tusu songs or the Ahira songs are important elements of the folk-music of this area, but these types are also found in other areas of West Bengal, and also in Bihar.

Our survey of the folk-music of this area, although very brief and incomplete, is yet very encouraging, for it brings out clearly the value of folk-music in the study of folk-culture. Folk-music is evidently an expression of folk-culture. The rural folk of this agricultural area is not directly involved in the festivals like *Janmastami* (i.e. god Krishna's

birth-anniversary or *Siva-ratri* (i.e. god Siva's auspicious night) for which ritualistic fasts and other virtuous acts have been prescribed in the *Puranas* (scriptures). The dates are shown in the *Panjikas* or almanacs as auspicious days when the offices and Institutions are generally closed even in the rural areas. These festivals of high culture have little collective effect on the motley population of this area.

But all of them feel a bounce in the heart with the approach of the *karam* festival, although this festival has no mention in the *Panjika*, the official record of the Hindu auspicious days. These people are of course quite awake to *Durga Puja* and *Kali Puja*, the two most important Puranic festivals of the Bengali Hindus, not so much because all of these groups will actively participate in the worship of goddess Durga or Kali on those occasions, but more because they have their own folk-festivals during those periods. These folk-festivals are more in tune with the agricultural life of these people, while the story of the demon-killing Durga has only a superficial impression on their minds.

The folk-music of these groups of people mirrors their collective folk-culture. It follows faithfully the cycle of folk-festivals which revolve round their agricultural life. Let us start from the Bengali month *Bhadra* (September-October). This month marks the end of the rainy season. The people have finished by now the sowing and transplantation. The paddy plants have sufficiently grown up and seeds have started appearing in bunches on them. They have some leisure now for song, dance and merriment. But they should still pray to the supernatural powers so that the paddy plants in the field do not dry up as a result of a most unwelcome drought. So the festivals they have in this month appear to have this two-fold purpose. Some of these festivals have a ritualistic background and have fixed dates expressed in terms of the Hindu calendar.

We have recorded four varieties of folk-music usually sung in the month of *Bhadra*. They are, (i) *Jawar gan* (songs for *Jawa*), (ii) *Indra-pujar gan* (songs for the worship of Indra, an important Vedic god, later described as the god of rains, king of gods, etc.) (iii) *Dhumri nacer gan* (songs for Dhumri dance) and (iv) *Kheriya nacer gan* (songs for the Kheriya dance). These festivals coincide with the *karam festival* observed by the Santal and some other tribes of this, and the neighbouring and even distant regions.

The word *jawa* is perhaps derived from the Sanskrit word *jaata* "birth". Here the songs are therefore most probably meant to celebrate the birth of paddy, or perhaps the sprouting of the forthcoming winter crop (lentils etc.)

On the *Parsva Ekadasi tithi* (i.e. the 11th lunar day in the full-moon fortnight) of the month of Bhadra the seeds of different kinds of lentils (*mug, matar, musur*, etc.) are sown. When they sprout children sing songs. This is the *Jawa* festival which is primarily a childrens' function. We have only one song of this festival in our collection. The first portion of the song means :

O pigeon, I reared thee at the time of famine,
I fed thee with curds, milk and boiled rice.
But now that there is plentifulness around,
You are slipping away unnoticed !
But I shall not let you go, O pigeon,
Wherever you go I shall chase you.
No matter how high you soar,
I shall get you at the Bankura town. *

The song has been sung in a narrative tune. The scale used in the song is Sa Ga Ma Pa Dha. The approximate transcription of the basic structure of the tune is :

Pa Pa - Pa Ma - | Pa Pa - Pa Ma - |
1 2 3 4 5 6
Pa Pa - Dha Pa - | Ma Ma - Ga - - |
Sa - - Ga - - | Ma Ma - Pa Pa - |
Ma Ma

Let us make here an important observation based on the analyses of the musical samples collected by us. We find that Tusu, Ahira, etc. represent actually distinct *That*-scales to which the scales of the different samples of those types conform. There may be differences in the order of the arrangement of the notes and their rhythmic structures. There may be something like a dominant note where the pieces may individually differ from one another. We do not have enough samples of each type to clinch the issue. But all the pieces in *each type* in our collection agree in the basic structure of the musical scale, for which we have used the term *That*-scale. I think we may even restrict them further to the different *raga*-scales. In other words, Tusu, Ahira, etc. may actually represent different *ragas*. Here the term *raga* has been used only to mean a distinct musical scale and a distinct expression.

*The original Bengali songs will be found in the Appendix.

The remaining three varieties of folk-music in our collection, which are to be performed in the month of Bhadra, are *Indra-pujar gan*, *Dhumri-nacer gan* and *Kheriya-nacer gan*. We should treat them as one musical type, because in all of them, according to our material, the same musical scale has been used. The content and expression are also the same in all the three. The scale that has been used in them is Sa Re ga Ma Pa dha ni and Sa. The general tone to be found in them is that of light entertainment, and the subject-matter is either secular or Puranic. The general lay-out of the music is also the same in all the cases.

We have already discussed the ancient origin of the *Indra-puja* festival in a previous chapter. We have only one sample of this variety of folk-music. The meaning of the song is as follows :

I went to collect snails,
I went in Nandalal's paddy-field for this purpose.
I had a basketful of snails
Which on my head I was carrying back.
But lo ! a white kite * hovers above.
Big brother, could you give me a blunt arrow ?
I should hit down the wretched kite.

The general lay-out of the music is that the leader starts the music in an asymmetrical rhythm (the drummers do not operate now). The first and the second lines of the song are usually sung in a medium tempo. The last portion of each stanza is used as the refrain. While singing it, the tempo becomes quick, the rhythm symmetrical, the drummers start operating, the rest of the singers repeat the portion again and again and the dancers also participate at this time. This portion of the music is locally called the *rag* or *rang*. We may call this type chorus music of the *secondary* type, the *primary chorus* type being those varieties where the joint-singing starts from the beginning.

The approximate transcription of the song of Indra-worship will be given now . The first portion sung by the leader (*mul-gayen*) which is asymmetrical in rhythm is as follows :

Pa Pa Pa
Pa dha Ma ga
ga Ma ga Re ga
ga - ga - ga - Ma - M - (here *suddha* Ga has also been used
as variation).

* *Haliastur indur*

Ma-PPa Pa |
ga ga Ma Ma | ga Ma ga Re-Sa

Then the chorus and the symmetrical portion of the song begins :

(Sa Sa) Ma - Ma - Ma - | Ma-PPa Pa - —/

1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 6
ga ga - Ma Ma - | ga Ma - ga Re - | Sa

The tempo is quick, and the rhythmic structure resembles the *khemta* or *druta dadra tala* of Classical Indian music.

We have three specimens of *Dhumri-nacer gan* in our collection. We shall transcribe here only one, the second one. The purport of the text is :

The rosary of the Vaisnavites every one uses. *
Look, Krishna is there standing beneath the *kadamba* tree.
A paramour from a distant land,
He should come along the narrow village lane,
And sit for a while on our house-fence
And cast furtive looks while smoking *hooka*.
But lo ! the stranger does not stop, but melts away.

The approximate notation of the asymmetrical portion is as follows :

Scale : Sa Re ga Ma Pa dha ni Sa
ni - Sa - Sa - | ni - Sa dha Pa - |
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6
Pa - dha Ma ga - | Rsa

Then comes the *rang* or the portion of the song in a symmetrical rhythm :

ga - Ma - Ma - | Ma - Pa Pa Pa - |
1 2 3 4 5 6
ga - Ma ga Re - | Sa ---- SSa |

We have only one specimen of the *Kheriya-nacer gan*. The purport of the song is as follows :

O Radha !

In the marsh are the *kasha* plants. **

* That is, we all pretend to be saints. *Kadamba* tree is *Nauclea cadamba*.

** A tall species of grass bearing thick bunch of white flowers, *Saccharum spontaneum*.

When the lad blows his pipe,
 And the flowers appear on the *kasha* plants,
 It is difficult for girls to maintain their family sanctity.

This song has also two portions, the first one being asymmetrical in rhythm performed by the leader, medium in tempo and loud in pitch. The approximate transcription of this portion is follows :

Scale —Sa Re ga Ma Pa dha ni Sa

ga ga ga-ga |

Re ga - Sa Re Sa | ni

ni ni ni - Re - (The last note Re and all the previous notes are
 in the higher octave).

ni ni - Pa dha pa | Pa

Thereafter the chorus begins in regular rhythm supported by the drums. The tempo is quick, and the *tala* resembles *jalad dadra* of Classical Indian music. The approximate notation of this portion is as follows :

Sa Sa ga - | Ma Ma - Pa - Pa |

Ma ----- | ----- |

Ma ni ni - dha | Pa Pa - Ma Pa Ma |

ga ----- | ----- |

The month of *Bhadra* is now over and the month of *Asvin* (October-November) starts. The sky has become perfectly clear. The merri-ment of the *karam* festival is gradually dying out in its distant echoes. The roads and lanes are gradually drying up having emerged from under the water after a couple of months. In the field the paddy seeds are now ripening on the full-grown paddy plants. The crop is practically out of danger. Every one is happy over the thought of the harvest. The Bengali Hindus have their biggest Puranic festival, the *Durga Puja*, during this month. This perhaps has a sobering effect on the mood of the villagers which is also reflected in the tone and the tune of the folk-music to be performed in this month.

We have in our collection two varieties of folk-music meant for this period. They are *kanthi-nacer gan* and *khemti*. We collected two samples of each variety. It is remarkable that the same musical scale has been used in all the four pieces, and the style of singing resembles *kirtan* which is the most sacred, and technically the richest, among all the forms of Bengali folk-music. The subject-matter of the songs is predominantly mythological. The general lay-out of the music does not

appear to be different from the one we have in the previous month. Here also a leader starts in a medium asymmetrical rhythm which is followed by the chorus in a regular rhythm. Since the poems are in the form of narratives and not lyrics as we have for the previous month, the change from the asymmetrical style to regular rhythmic patterns is frequent here.

The topic of the first song of the *kanthi-nac* variety in our collection is the lament of Nimai's mother over her son's renunciation of the world. Nimai, better known as Sri Chaitanya, was born in Bengali in 1486 A. D., became an ascetic at the age of 24 leaving back at home his mother and wife, and founded the Bengal school of Vaisnavism. We will give here the approximate transcription of the second line of the first stanza of this song. This line is sung in the form of a chorus. The purport of the line is, "O Nimai, you had better died immediately after your birth giving me no opportunity to take you in lap". The scale is made of Sa Re Ga and Ma, occasionally touching Pa, Dha and the lower Ni. The notation :

Re ReRe Re | Re Ga Re Ga (occasionally Re ga Re ga) |
Sa Re Sa Ni | Sa Sa Sa Sa | (The Ni is in the lower octave).

The next variety of folk-music performed in the month of *Asvin* is *khemti* of which we have two specimens in our collection. We were told that this variety of *kanthi-nacer gan* was introduced by the professional female singers (called in Bengal *khemti*) retained by the landlords of the neighbourhood. These songs have also been found to be sung in the *kirtan*-style. Five notes, Sa Re Ga Ma and Pa, predominate in the scale. But the sacred tone of the *kanthi-nacer gan* seems to be somewhat lacking in this variety. The purport of the first part of the song is as follows :

In a dream tonight,
I saw Shyama, the Dark-cloud.
O friend ! he kissed me full of smile.

The latter portion forms the chorus. The approximate transcription of the basic structure of the song is as follows :

Sa Sa - Re Re - | Ga - Re - Re - |
1 2 3 4 5 6
Sa Sa - Re Ga - | Re Re - - - - |
Re Pa - Pa - | Ma - Ga - G - |
Re Sa - Sa Re - | Sa Sa - - - - |

In this way the month of *Asvin* passes away yielding place to the month of *Karttik* (November-December). During this month on the *Kali Puja* day the villagers have the cattle festival which is called by various names, *Ahira*, *Bandhnar Gan*, *Jagan*, *Dohariya*, or to give it a Sanskritised name, *Kapila-mangal*. The Santals have their *Sohrae* festival during this month. The day of *Ahira* festival is a day of rest for the cattle, and a day of much singing, dancing and rejoicing for the villagers. They decorate their buffaloes and cows, take them round every house of the village and make them play and dance with a ritualistic fervour. The subject-matter of some of these songs pertains to the cattle, and are often composed in the form of question and answer. Some of the songs have been found to be prayers to gods. The *Ahira* songs are remarkable both for the freshness of the musical style and the subject-matter of the poems. The language of the poems has unmistakable influence of the dialects of Bihar.

We have four specimens of this type. Everywhere we find the basic scale-structure to be Sa Re Ga Ma Pa Dha ni Sa. The leader starts by singing the first portion slowly and asymmetrically after which, as is usual with the other types of this category already described, the chorus starts with the beating of the drums. The *Ahira* songs, as far as we have seen, are full of musical shoutings. The songs appear to have a number of sections each starting at first with asymmetrical and narrative style followed by regular rhythm in *karfa* or quick *dadra tala*.

We will give here the translation and transcription of the first *Ahira* specimen in our collection. We take the term *Ahira* to be derived from *Ahiriya* i.e. related to the *Ahir* (a cowherd people). The initial shouting *Ahire* is probably a contracted form of *Ahir re* "O Ahir". The meaning of the First part of the first song is as follows :

Question : O cowherd !

Well, whose horns are of zig-zag shape ?

Whose horns are broad ?

Well, again, whose horns go round their ears ?

Whose horns are rather straight ?

Answer : The horns of the female buffaloes are zig-zag.

The horns of male buffaloes are broad,

The horns of the sheep go round their ears,

And cows' horns are rather straight. . .

Question : O cowherd !

Some would bring back on their horns creepers and leaves,

Some would bring horns mud-smeared,
 Some would bring the smell of sandal and *chua* *
 And overpower all with the odour.

Answer : The she-buffalo would bring on her horns creeper and
 leaf,
 The old male buffalo would return with horns mud-
 smeared,
 And cow, the crest-jewel, brings sandal and *chua*
 And overpowers all with the odour.

Then some meaningless sounds are used in the song to indicate perhaps
 the end of one section after which a conversation between the father
 and son starts, altogether a different topic perhaps. The approximate
 transcription of the first portion of the song is as follows :

Scale : Sa Re Ga Ma Pa Dha ni Sa

Leaders' portion (asymmetrical rhythm) :

Sa - Sa Sa, Sa Sa Sa Sa (higher octave),
 ni ni ni Dha Dha Pa -,
 Pa Dha Dha Pa ni Pa Ma -
 Ga --- Re - Sa Sa
 Ma Ma Ma Ma Ma - Ma Ma
 Ga Ga Ga Re Ga Re Sa -
 Ga - Ga G | Re Ga Ga Re | Sa

Chorus (symmetrical rhythm)

Ga Ma Pa ----- |
 Pa Pa Pa Pa Pa Pa Pa Pa
 Ga Ga Ga - | Re Ga Re Sa |
 Ga - Ga Ga | Re Ga Ga Re | Sa

Then the rhythm changes from *karfa* to *druta dadra* :

Ma Ma - Ma Ma - | Ma Ma - Ma Ma - |
 Ga Ga - Ga Ga - | Re Re - Sa - - |
 ni ni - Sa Sa - | Re Re - Ga - Ga Ga - |
 Re Re - Sa - - |

The next festival in this cycle is the *Tusu parab*. It takes place in
 the next two months, *Agrahayana* and *Pausa*. The harvest is complete
 and the villagers in general are in a festive mood. While the men folk

*The fragrant resin of *celosia argentea*.

are now busy planning for the future, the ladies are too much occupied with the new crop. The *Tusu* festival starts in the month of Agrahayana with the establishment of the idol of goddess Tusu, and ends on the last day of Pausa when the idol is immersed. It is a festival primarily of the women folk. But men also know and sing the *Tusu* songs. Our samples have been collected from male singers. This type of folk-music is current over a wide area in West Bengal and Bihar.

We have four samples of this type of folk-music in our collection. The scale is everywhere made of Sa Re Ga Pa Dha ni Sa. Although the purpose and occasion of these songs have a religious background, the subject-matter of the *Tusu* songs is in most cases secular and light, and the rhythmic patterns and the tune are in perfect agreement with the general tone of the songs. *Tusu* is also occasionally treated as a person whose exploits are sung in the songs for creating an atmosphere of fun and frolic. Its style is distinct from the other types of Bengali folk-music. Like *Ahira*, *Tusu* also appears to be a chain of songs.

We will give below a translation of the of the first portion of the first *Tusu* song of our collection which will be followed by an approximate notation :

O mother ! I would make a "flower", *
 But what shall I give to her ?
 The weekly village market is there at Bokultala,
 I should give flower-oil** to my "flower".
 Lo ! the phial is only half-full with flower-oil.
 I should abuse the shopkeeper full to the brim.

The notation is as follows :

Sa - Sa Sa Re - | Ga - M Ma Ma - |
 Pa - Dha Pa Pa - | Ma - Ma Ga - - |
 Ma Ma - Ga - | Re - Sa ni Dha - |
 ni - Sa Re Ma - | Ga - Ga Ga - - |
 Ma Ma - Ga Ga - | Re Sa -
 Dha - ni Sa - - |
 Sa - Re Ga Ga - | Ga - Ga Ga - - |
 Ma Ma - Ga Ga - | Re Sa - Dha - ni | Sa - - - -

The *tala* here is *druṭa dadra*. But *karfa* is also found in the *Tusu* songs. The third song of our collection is in *karfa tala*. The notation :

* A kind of ceremonial friendship where both the girls call each other by the name "flower".

**A hairoil prepared by mixing a little quantity of essence of flower.

Sa Sa Sa Re | Re Ga Ga Ga |
 Pa Dha Pa Pa | Ma Ma Ga - |
 Ma Ma Ma Ma | Ga Ga Re Re |
 ni Sa Re Ma | Ga Ga Ga - |
 Ma Ma Ga Ga | Re Sa, *Dha* ni | Sa - - - |
 Sa Re Ga Ma Ga Ga Ga - |

The cycle of the festivals of the area under review does not stop here, although our field-material does not permit us to proceed further. But our purpose here is to introduce a method of work for studying the culture of a people through their music. We have analysed our field-material to illustrate this point. It is hoped that further work will be done in the lines suggested by us to complete the picture.

We said in a previous chapter that folk-music, like primitive music, can also be classified into two broad divisions. In the case of folk-music we used the terms *functional* and *non-functional* to indicate them. The folk-music we have discussed here so far obviously belongs to the *functional* category. The *Karam*, *Kanth*, *Ahira* and *Tusu* songs are associated with certain festivals. These types of songs and dances have some special functions to perform, because the festival in question would remain incomplete without the typical music of that particular time.

We were able to collect some samples also of the *non-functional* folk-music of the Belpahari area. These types of songs are not associated with any particular time or festival. *Jhumur* and *Pata-nacer gan* are the main varieties in our collection of this category of traditional folk-music of this area. The origin and meaning of the word *pata* could not be ascertained. It was found to be pronounced both *pata* and *panta* (the first *a* of *panta* is nasalized). It was described by some local people as *Palli-sangit*, or rural music. Some vagueness seemed to prevail over the nature and functions of this type of dance-song. On the other hand, *jhumur* as a term denoting a type of music is more well-known. There is a musical mode named *jhumri* mentioned in some books on Classical Indian music. *Sangit Damodar* has described it as a musical mode (*ragini*) which does not observe the canons of Classical music rigidly, and is sweet in tune and predominantly erotic in subject-matter. As musical terms both *jhumri* and *jhumur* occur in the Mediaeval Bengali literature.

We have some samples of both these types in our collection. But the musical notations are not yet ready. We are therefore publishing the texts of the songs in the Appendix. A musical analysis of these two types will be taken up on some other occasion.

Appendix

Texts of Bengali folk-songs mentioned in Chapter Six

A. Functional

ভাদ্রমাস (করমপূজা)

১। ইন্দ্রপূজার গান (Indra-pujar Gan)

গোগলি কুড়াইতে গেলাম নন্দলালের বিল,
মাথায় গোগলি ঠেকা^১ উপরে উড়ে চিল,
দাদা, দে ন^২ বাঁটল রে বিঁধে (বিক্কে) মারি
শালা শাঁখচিল।

২। জাওয়ার গান (Jawar Gan)

আকালে পুষিলি পায়রা দহি ছুখ ভাত গো,
সময়ে পালালি পায়রা নাহি কিছু ব'লে।
যতদূর উড়িলি পায়রা ততদূর উড়িব রে
লাগ^৩ লিব বাঁকুড়া শহরে।
বাঁকুড়া শহরে এত কিসের লোক লো,
ঝুমকা ঝোঝুরি^৪ হাট বসে লো।
তৈঁতুলপাতে ধান ঘাটিলাম পায়রা খদব্দ^৫ করে লো।
উঠ ননদ শ্বশুর আইল নিতে লো।
জাওয়া যে দিলি তোরা হলুদ কোথায় পালি লো।
পায়রাকে নাম দিব মুক্তা গড়্গইড়া^৬ লো
মুক্তাগড়্গইড়া।
হুকুরহুকুর^৭ গঁদলু^৮ কোটে ছইলুকে উঠে চাল লো,
মাইরি শ্বশুর, নাই লুকাই চাল লো।

১. বুড়ি ২. না ৩. সঙ্গ ৪. একপ্রকার কানের গহনা ৫. পায়রার ডানা ঝাপটাই-
বার শব্দ, ৬. নাম বিশেষ, ৭. ঢেকির শব্দ, ৮. একপ্রকারের দানাশস্ত্র।

জ্ঞাতব্য : ১. সংকলিত প্রত্যেকটি গানেই 'শ' 'ষ' ও 'স'-এর উচ্চারণ দন্তমূলীয়, অর্থাৎ অনেকটা
ইংরাজী 'S'-এর মতো। ২. বিকল্প উচ্চারণ বন্ধনীর মধ্যে দেওয়া হইয়াছে।

৩। ধুংড়ি (ধুমড়ি) নাচের গান (Dhumri-nacher-Gan)

(ক) উপর ডালে কারিকুরি^১

নামো ডালে^২ বাসা,
 ধইরব ধইরব মনে করি
 মনে বড় আশা।
 একদিনের হলুদবাটা
 তিনদিনের বাসি,
 কোন ঘাটে সিনাবো^৩ ঠাকুরবি
 সঙ্গে নাই মোর দাসী।
 খাব না খাব না বঁধু ওহে
 কালো মুরগীর মাস,^৪
 আমার তরে এনে দিও ওহে
 দহের মাগুরমাছ।

বঘী^৫ আছে আইড়ে^৬ বইসে,
 বঘা^৭ গেছে মাছ ধইরতে গো।

(মরি হায় হায়)

ঘুরিতে ফিরিতে বঘা গেল পরদেশে,
 বঘী কাঁদিস না লো তোর বঘায় মাছ ধইরছে।

(খ) হরিনামের মালা সবাইর গলায়,
 দেখ, দাঁড়িয়ে আছেন হরি কদমতলায়।
 নানা নারে না...না না নারে না... ..
 কুলি কুলি^৮ আটসবে বঁধু
 বসবে বারনে,^৯
 তামাক খাবার লছনা^{১০} ক'রে
 চাইবে নয়নে।
 কোথাকার বিদেশী বন্ধু রাস্তায় চ'লে যায়,
 দেখি বন্ধুর বিবেচনা কার ঘরে সাগায়।

১. একজাতীয় পাখি ২. নিচু ডালে ৩. স্নান করিব ৪. মাংস ৫. স্ত্রী বক ৬. আল
 ৭. পুরুষ বক ৮. দুই সারি বাড়ির মধ্যবর্তী পথ ৯. বেড়া (বিকল্প পাঠ 'বাখনে') ১০. ছলনা

- (গ) আমার গুণের বধু (বন্ধু)
 খেতে দিব মধু,
 নয়নে নয়নে তুজন থাইকব গো,
 তামাসা দেইখব গো ।

৪। খেড়িয়া গান (Kheria-Gan)

রাই দে^১ বহালে^২ কাশি,
 জি^৩ ছেইলায় বাজায় বাঁশি,
 যখন কাশির ফুল ফুটে যায়,
 বিটি-ছেইলার^৪ কুল রাখা দায় ।

আশ্বিনমাস (দুর্গাপূজা ও দশহরাউৎসব)

১। কান্ঠিনাচের পদ বা গান (Kanthi-nacher Gan)

- (ক) যখন জন্মিলি নিমাই নিমতরুতলে রে
 (ওরে) হ'য়ে কেন না-মরিলি না-করিতাম কোলে রে
 করতাম না, করতাম না,
 হায় গো কোলে করতাম না,
 হ'য়ে কেন র'য়ে গেলি,
 কোলে করতাম না, করতাম না ।
 কটিতে ঘুঙুর (ঘুঙুর) দিলাম পায়েতে নূপুর (নূপুর) ।
 (ওরে) নূপুর আপনি বাজেরে,
 নিমাই রে, নিমাই রে
 রাঙা (রাঙা) পায়ে সোনার নূপুর আপনি বাজে রে ।
 সোনার নূপুর বাজাতে হয় না ।
 কটিতে ঘুঙুর দিলাম পায়েতে নূপুর,
 (ওরে) চ'লে গেলে বাজিত রে শুনিতাম নূপুর রে ।

(ওরে) নিমাই, হাতে খাড়ু বালারে,
 (ওরে) সাধ ক'রে দিলাম নিমাই হাতে খাড়ু বালা রে।
 (ওরে) নদীয়ার বালকের সঙ্গে কে করিল খেলা রে।
 সাধ ক'রে দিলাম বিয়ে কুলীনের বি রে।
 বিয়ে দিয়ে দিলাম রে,
 হায়রে, বিয়ে দিয়ে দিলাম রে,
 নিমাইয়ের কেন বিয়ে দিয়ে যে দিলাম রে।
 ওরে নিমাই রে, নিমাই,
 তোর বিহনে আমি নদীয়ায় কেমনে রব।
 কেমনে রব রে,
 হায়রে, আমি কেমনে রব রে।
 একাকী এ-নদীয়ায় আমি কেমনে রব।

(অসম্পূর্ণ)

(খ) নিকড়িয়ার মুখের বাণী, নিকড়িয়া বাঁশি,
 (ওগো) জলে ভেসে গেল আমার কাঁথের কলসী (গো)।
 কতদূর গিয়ে আমি অঞ্চল খুলে দেখি (সখিরে)
 কোন পথে পালিয়ে গেল আমায় দিয়ে ফাঁকি।
 ঝাড়ের বাঁশ রে তুই কোথাকারে থাকি রে (সখি রে)।
 কতদূর গিয়ে আমি.....আমায় দিয়ে ফাঁকি।
 যে-ঝাড়ের বাঁশ রে তুই ঝাড়ের নাগাল পাব
 (ও ঝাড়ের নাগাল পাব)
 ডালেমূলে উপাড়িয়া যমুনায় ভাসাব।
 কাশীরাম দাসে কয় বাঁশির কী দোষ আছে গো।
 গোবিন্দ দাসে বলে বাঁশির কী দোষ আছে গো।
 (বাঁশির কী দোষ আছে গো)
 যা বলে মুরলীধারী তাই ব'লে সে বাজে গো।

২। খেমটানাচের গান (Khemta-nacher Gan)

(ক) আজকে নিশি স্বপনে দেখেছি শ্যামঘনে
 বঁধু এসে বসিল পাশেতে
 সজনী, চুম দিল হাসিতে হাসিতে ॥
 বলিল মরম কথা জুড়াল প্রাণের ব্যথা
 আলিঙ্গনে আলাপনে খুশিতে
 সজনী, চুম দিল হাসিতে হাসিতে ॥
 আমাদের রাখিয়া বামে নিরালাতে কুঞ্জবনে
 ডেকেছিল রাধা ব'লে বাঁশের বাঁশিতে
 সজনী, চুম দিল হাসিতে হাসিতে ॥
 সে-মধুর স্বপনের কথা পাঁজরে রয়েছে গাঁথা ;
 বিপিন সে-রূপ চায় ভালবাসিতে
 সজনী, চুম দিল হাসিতে হাসিতে ॥

(খ) কুলি কুলি^১ যেতেছিল ক'রে বন্ধু ভালাভালি^২,
 আঁখি ঠের না বন্ধু আঁখি ঠের না—নবীন বয়সে
 আমার প্রেম জাগে না ।
 বার বছর বয়সেতে ডর লাগে প্রেম করিতে,
 আমি করি হে মানা বন্ধু করি হে মানা
 নূতন যৌবনে আমার হাত দিয়ো না ।
 হয়েছে কুসুম কলি, ফুটে না, আছে দেরি
 ভেঙ্গে দিয়ো না অঙ্কুর ভেঙ্গে দিয়ো না,
 ভেঙ্গে দিলে হে বন্ধু আর হবে না ।
 যখন বন্ধু সময় হবে দিব প্রেমের ছয়ার খুলে
 ভুলে যেয়ো না বন্ধু ভুলে যেয়ো না—
 গৌরাঙ্গ ব'লে বুকে শেল দিয়ো না ।

কার্ত্তিকমাস (কালীপূজা ; গো-মহিষাদির পূজা ও উৎসব)
আহিরা গান (Ahira Gan)

১। আরে (যোগে) আহিরে^১ কোনকা^২ শিং ভালা^৩
হেকুজাবেকুজা^৪ রে
আহিরে^৫ কোনকা শিং রে চাতুরা^৬
আরে কোনকা শিং ভালা কান পইঠে^৭ ঘুর এ^৮
কোনকা শিং কোরলপং^৯ ।
আরে আহিরে মইষিনীর শিং ভালা হেকুজাবেকুজা
কাডাকা^{১০} শিং চাতইরা
ভেড়াকা শিং ভালা কানপইঠে ঘুরএ
ভগবতীর^{১১} শিং কোরলপং ।
কেহয়ত আন এ^{১২} লতা বল পাতা^{১৩} যে আহিরে
কেহয়ত আনে কাদালেওয়া^{১৪}
কেহয়ত আনে চূয়াচন্দন
ব্যাকুলিত করে মহমহ^{১৫} ।
মইষিনী^{১৬} আনএ লতা বল পাতা
বুড়া কাড়া আনে কাদালেওয়া
শিরোমণি^{১৭} আনে চূয়াচন্দন
ব্যাকুলিত করে মহমহ ।
আহারে তানা নানা...
উঠরে পুতা^{১৮} জাগরে পুতা
সিরি^{১৯} মইষি কররে ময়দান ।
হাম^{২০} নাহি উঠব
হাম নাহি জাগব
হাম নাহি করব ময়দান ।
ডুঙরি-কা^{২১} ধারে ধারে বুনল^{২২} ময়^{২৩} ধান,
সেই ধান খেয়ে গেল মেজুরারে^{২৪} ॥

১. গো-পালক ? ২. কাহার ৩. ভাণো ৪. আকারিকা ৫. চণ্ডা ৬. কানের
চারিদিকে ৭. ঘোরে (= ঘোরানো) ৮. ঝড়, ৯. পুরুষ মহিষের ১০. গোরুর ১১. অ'নে
১২. লতাপাতা, ১৩. কাদা ১৪. মৌ মৌ, ১৫. গোরু, ১৬. পুত্র, ১৭. স্ত্রী ১৮. আমি,
১৯. ছোটো পাহাড়ের ২০. বুনলাম ২১. আমি ২২. ময়ুর

২। অহিরে আসিন^১ বাইরাতে^২ কার্তিক^৩ সামায়^৪ রে
 পড়ি গেল দ্বিতীয়া-কা^৫ চাঁদ রে।
 দিনে যে দিনে গোয়া^৬ চাঁদ ও যে দেখলো
 ঘুরি চলি আও^৭ রে।
 অহিরে, আর দিনে যে দিনে চাঁদ ও যে দেখ লো অহিরে,
 মর^৮ পরব ঘুরি চলি আওরে।
 (গালবাড়)
 আজুকা^৯ দিনে বাবা জাগিয়ে সুতবে^{১০}
 আগুসালে^{১১} আছে মহাদেব।

৩। রাধে গোবিন্দ জয়,
 হরি বিনে রইতে নারি হো।
 হরি আমার আধা-প্রাণের সহি।
 (আরে) ভাইবন্ধু সকল পর,
 নারীরে জোগাইল ঘর,
 নারীকে তো কে কবে আদর।
 করকটার^{১২} উপরে কুড়াইরেরই^{১৩} চট^{১৪} হো
 হুবকি ডবকি^{১৫} উঠে বান।
 কে রে কাটিলী তোরা চুয়-চন্দনের গাছ
 মহকি মহকি^{১৬} উঠে বাস।
 ডুঙরি-কা^{১৭} ধারে ধারে ফুটল ধাদকিয়া^{১৮} হো
 যত পাখি চুহি চুহি^{১৯} যায়।
 পাড়কি পাকড়িয়া^{২০} চুহিতে না পারে গো
 এদিক ওদিক নজর চালায়।

১. আসিন ২. বাহির হইতে (= চলিয়া যাইতে) ৩. কার্তিক ৪. প্রবেশ করে ৫. সম্বন্ধসূচক বিভক্তি ৬. গো-শব্দ হইতে জাত বিশেষণ ৭. আসিয়াছে ৮. আমার ৯. আধিকার
 ১০. সুমাইবে ১১. সম্মুখে ১২. টিন (corrugated tin). ১৩. কুঠারেরই ১৪. চোট
 (= আঘাত) ১৫. ঢেউয়ের পর ঢেউ ১৬. মৌ মৌ ১৭. ছোটো পাছাড়ের ১৮. একজাতীয়
 ফুল, ১৯. চুষিয়া চুষিয়া, ২০. একজাতীয় গাছের নাম।

৪। কোন দেশের কারিকর
 বানাইল মন্দিরঘর
 চাকুলাইত^১ দিল রে দালান।
 দালানের এমনি গুণ,
 কাছে দেখায় বৃন্দাবন
 কোন দেশে গেল কারিকর।
 হে তারে তানা নানা...
 বেগুনবাড়িয়ে^২ পানভাসা^৩ কুলা হো
 সেই কুলা রাঙ্গা^৪ উড়ি যায়।
 (আব) ছাঁচের^৫ উপরে বোরহইলের^৬ বাসা গো
 দেখে গুনে মন মানে না।
 হলুদ কাপড় রাঙ্গা শাড়ি
 টিকুইরেরই^৭ ফোঁটা হো
 সেই কাপড় টাঙ্গনায় ঝুলিছে।
 উয়ালাকার^৮ বেড়িয়া যমুনাকে যায় বে
 মাজু^৯ ঘাটে করব সিনান।
 তেল হলুদ বিনে না সিনাবে^{১০} রুখালো^{১১}
 সিন্দুরে কাজলে সবাকার।
 তারে তানা নানা...হো।
 হোলির সাজাত সব ছুয়ারে দাঁড়ায়ে রে
 উঠ বাছা রামকানাই রে হো।
 ছোটটিও দিদি বড়টিও দিদি
 চল দিদি পানি আনিতে।
 পানিয়া ঘাটে গাগরি না ভরে
 চল দিদি ঘর ঘুরি যাই।
 কাঁখে নিলাম গাগরি
 চলি গেলাম পোখুরি^{১২}
 এড়ির^{১৩} ধমসায়^{১৪} চলি যায়।
 তারে নানা নানা...

১. একটি গ্রামের বা শহরের নাম ২. একটি গ্রামের বা শহরের নাম ৩. ? ৪. রাঙা
 ধূলি ? ৫. ঘরের ছাউনির বাহিরের দিকের বর্ধিত অংশ (eaves) ৬. বোলতার ৭. ? ৮.
 ব্যক্তি বিশেষের নাম ৯. মাঝ ? ১০. স্নান করিবে ১১. রুদ্ধ ১২. পুতুর ১৩. পাছাড় ১৪.
 জোরে জোরে পা ফেলিয়া

৪। (ক) মনে করি পারকুল^১ যাব পারকুল যাওয়া হ'ল না।

ই^২ বছরটা যেমন তেমন আর বছরকে রইব না।

দে গো দিদি দে গো রংগুলা, আমি যাব কখন ফুলতলা।

দে গো দিদি দে গো রংগুলা। মনে করি.....রংগুলা।

(খ) তোরে দেখলে আমি হই পাগল, তুই লো জানি নয়নের কাজল।

তোরে না-দেখিলে হই পাগল, তুই লো জানি নয়নের কাজল।

(গ) মেদনীপুরে দেখে আইলাম একটি খামে ঘর আছে।

উপরে খোলকীর্তন বাজে, মধ্যে হরিবোল দিছে।

লাগব লি^৩ আয় লারবি^৪ ছাড়াতে।

(ঙ) ভাইয়ের শালা সাজাৎ-ই বটে, পান দিলটা কে বটে?

বেলপাহাড়ীর কণ্টোলের শাড়ি, পরে গেলে ভাইলব^৫ না,

যার সঙ্গে যা মনবিচ্ছেদ প্রাণ গেলে রা কাইড়ব না।

যা গো ধনি, যা গো মানে মানে (আমি) হেরব না ছনয়নে।

তোকে যে গো বলেছিলাম আগছয়ারটি বেঁটাতে।

এককণা লো মুড়ি দিব হাবলা^৬ মুখে তবলাতে।

লাইগব লি আয় লারবি ছাড়াতে তোরা ডাকবিতোদের সঙ্গীকে।

তোদের পাড়া যাব না লো সই, তোদের ডেমড়া^৭ চোখে কাজল কই।

ভালবাসা বলেছিল পৌষমাসে কাপড় দিব, ভালয় ভালয় পৌষ ফুরাল।

ভালবাসা নাই দিল, পৌষ ফুরাল মাঘ ফুরাল ভালবাসা নাই দিল।

ভালবাসার আশা করব না, কাপড় দিলেও কাপড় লিব না,

তোরা যাইস না গো বেগুনবাড়ি, ছিঁড়ে যাবে কণ্টোইলা শাড়ি।

১. স্থানবিশেষের নাম ২. এই ৩. নিয়ে ৪. না পারিবি ৫. দেখিব না ৬. 'মুখে'র বিশেষণ

৭. ভাগর

B. Non-functional

১। পঁতানাচের গান (Panta-nacer Gan)

- (ক) হিমালয়ের কাদাজল কাসাইয়ে নামিল রে।
লাইড়াদের^১ মরণ ভালো পানসি ডুবিল রে।
তানা নানা...
- (খ) কৃষ্ণ কদমতলে বস্ত্র (বসন) হরণ করে,
বসন (বস্ত্র) তুলিয়া রাখে ডালে সারি সারি।
জলমাবে গোপী লাজে মরি।
ওহে হরি গিরিবর, যাইব কেমনে ঘর
শাশুড়ী ননদী ..(অসম্পূর্ণ)
- (গ) কুসুম তুলিতে আমি গেছিলাম কাননে কালো ভ্রমরায় বিধিল পরানে
কুসুম তুলিতে... .. কাননে মনে রেখ বঁধু শয়নে স্বপনে।
কালো কালো কালো কালো নয়নে মনে রেখ.. .. স্বপনে।

২। জুমুর গান (Jhumur Gan)

- (ক) বিধাতার অবিচারে জগৎ সংসারে—দেখে শুনে লাগে চমৎকার।
রাহুগ্রস্ত দিবাকর কলঙ্কিত শশধর—কুপণের ধনের আগার।
রূপ দিল চপলার স্বর দিল কোকিলার যুবতীর বার্ষিক্য সঞ্চার।
দরিদ্রতা কবিকুলে লবণাক্ত সিন্ধুজলে প্রেম বিচ্ছেদে একি ব্যবহার।
ভালবাসিবনা আর ভালবাসিব না আর।
ভালবাসার প্রতিফল পেয়েছি ভালবাসিব না আর।
লোভেতে মরায়^২ মীন শরেতে দগ্ধ হরিণ অনলে পতঙ্গ পুড়ে মরে।

তবে কেন ভালবেসে পোড়া প্রণয়ের আশে মনপ্রাণ সমর্পিয়ে
 করেছিলাম সার—ভালবাসিব না আর ।
 দেখ দেখ সুসময়ে সকলেই বন্ধু (কিন্তু) অসময়ে কেহ কারো নয় ।
 যেন রবি সরসিজ কিরণে প্রফুল্ল করে বারি বিহীন হ'লে পরে
 করে দন্ধকার—ভালবাসিব না আর ।
 তাই বলি বারে বারে আর যেন কেহ করে কদাচ ভালবাসিয়ো না ।
 পরে দিলে ভালবাসা হবে দারুণ দুর্দশা সুখ আশা কভু মিটিবে না ।
 জেনে শুনে এই কথা গো থাকে ভালবাসার মাথা
 শেষে হবে প্রণয়ে ধিক্কার—ভালবাসিব না আর ।

(খ) এমন সুন্দর যৌবন ধ'রে কেন রাখিস ও ধন
 কি হবে সে ফুলরতন যে-ফুল গন্ধ না-বিলায় ।
 ও ভাব ক'রে নে গো মোর সাথে দেখ বেলা যে ব'য়ে যায় ।
 তোর যৌবন কুঞ্জবনে ডাকছে কোকিল ক্ষণে ক্ষণে
 তুই কেন সেই ঘরের কোণে ব'সে আছিস পাণ্ডুরায়'
 ও ভাব ক'রে নে.....ব'হে যায়
 যৌবনের মধুর আনন্দ যে পায় না তার ভাগ্য মন্দ ।
 বিপিন বলে রূপঙ্কর গন্ধ দেনা তোর বিলায় ।
 ও ভাব ক'রে নে.....ব'হে যায় ।

(গ) একে খরখইসা^১ গা, তায় আবার ফাটা পা
 জল পালে^২ দ্বিগুণ উঠে বাড়িয়া রে বিধাতা, জাড়ে^৩ পরান গেল ছাড়িয়া ।
 মাঘমাসের জাড় বড়, ছিঁড়া ছিঁড়ি^৪ যোগাড় কর, পেটপিঠ সকইল গেল চুঁইয়া^৫ ।
 রে বিধাতা, জাড়ে পরান গেল ছাড়িয়া, লবলইবা^৬ বসন কালো
 তারাই নাকি ঘুমায় ভালো, রে বিধাতা, জাড়ে পরান গেল ছাড়িয়া ।

১. পালরিয়া ? ২. কর্কশ ৩. পাইলে ৪. শীতে ৫. ছেঁড়া কাপড়চোপড় ৬. শুকাইয়া ?

- (ঘ) পাতালেতে ছিলে কালী শ্রীরাম লক্ষ্মণে বিয় এলি মাগো ওমা কালী,
মর্ত্যভূমে এসে পূজা নিলি, মা নিলি নমঃ নমঃ ওমা কালী ।
হনুমানকে সঙ্গে করি নিয়ে গেলে মা মর্ত্যপুরী ।
মায়ের গলে হলে মুণ্ডমালা ত্রিভুবন করেছে আলা, মাগো ওমা কালী
কারে মা তুই জনম কাঙ্গালী কাঙ্গালী নমঃ নমঃ ওমা কালী
পরেশ কহে কুতাঞ্জলি—নেই দোয়াত নেই কালি, মাগো ওমা কালী,
দয়া ক’রে এ-অধমে দিয়ো পদধূলি গো ধূলি নমঃ নমঃ ওমা কালী ।
- (ঙ) ফুলশরে গো আমার বিঁধিছে হিয়া, প্রেমশরে গো আমার বিঁধিছে হিয়া ।
অনলিতে^১ অ বিশাখা^২ শুনে যা গো আমার একটি কথা,
আমার শ্রামকে এনে দে লো বেঁধে প্রেমডোরে তোরা ।
ফুলশরে লো আমার বিঁধিছে হিয়া ।
কথাটি গো বলবি গোপনে, মথুরার লোক যেমন কেউ না জানে
আমার শ্রামকে.....বিঁধিছে হিয়া ।
প্রেমের জ্বালা কতই বা স’ব বৃন্দাবনে আর না র’ব ।
হেন চন্দ্রনাথে ভনে আর কাঁদায়ো না রাধায় ।
ফুলশরে.....হিয়া
শ্রামকে আমার বেঁধে রেখেছে কুটিল কুবুজায়^৩ ।

অগ্রহায়ণ—পৌষ মাস (পৌষ রীর পূজা ও উৎসব)

টুসুর গান (Tusur Gan)

১। মাগো মাগো ফুল^১ করিব ফুলকে আমার কি দিব।
বকুলতলায় হাট বসেছে ফুলকে ফুলম তেল^২ দিব।
ফুলম তেলের শিশি আধভরা,
তোকে গাল দিব রে খালভরা^৩।
মাগো মাগো.....কি দিব।

২। (ক) হদবইদা^৪ শ্রাম উঠেছে গাছে
ও যে ডাল ভেঙ্গে প'ড়ে গেছে।

(খ) সাপের মাথায় হাত দিলি কেনে ?
তোরা মরবি গরল বিষমে।
তোরা মরবি বিষের যাতনে।

(এই গানের দু'-একটি পদ অস্পষ্ট)

(গ) আমার টুসুর চায়ের দোকানে
বাবুরা খাচ্ছে সবাই চা কিনে।
আমার টুসুর চায়ের দোকানে, ওলো চায়ের দোকানে।
ব'সে ব'সে খাচ্ছে সবাই হিন্দু আর মুসলমানে।
জাতির বিচার করে না তারা খাচ্ছে সবাই একমনে।
আমার টুসুর চায়ের দোকানে
বাবুরা খাচ্ছে সবাই চা কিনে।

(এই গানের দু'-একটি পদ অস্পষ্ট)

৩। ইস্টিশনে ছাড়ব গাড়ি।
নামতে হবে স্টেশনে।
চল লো দিদি চল লো স্টেশনে।
(এই গানের বাকি অংশ অস্পষ্ট)

১. বকুল ২. গন্ধতেল ৩. জীঘন (শব্দটি গালাগালির বিশেষণ হিসাবে ব্যবহৃত হয়)

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