Continuity and Change:

A Restudy of Arnold Adriaan Bake's Research

on the Devotional and Folk Music and Dance of Bengal 1925-1956

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Abstract

This thesis is a restudy of the research that the Dutch musicologist and indologist Arnold Adriaan Bake (1899-1963) conducted on the folk and devotional music and dance of the Bengal region between 1925 and 1956. My thesis pursues two central aims. On the one hand, I study Bake's research and fieldwork methodology, by investigating his interactions with Bengali academics, artists, and recording participants and informants. I argue that Bengali scholars often significantly shaped Bake's views on communities and their performing arts through idealised portrayals, and that he established personal connections to the Indian Civil Service and to missionary organisations to facilitate his fieldwork and recordings. On the other hand, I study the regional performance traditions rāybẽśe, jārigān, Bengali kīrtan, and Bāul music and dance, as they developed from the early 20th century until the present in West Bengal and Bangladesh, and the development of Santali music and dance in Jharkhand and West Bengal. I argue that Bengali scholars reframed the representation of regional folk music and dance in Bengali society between the 1900s-40s, through academic discourses with nationalist overtones, and that their efforts changed performance styles and contexts up until the present day. Furthermore, I argue that missionaries restricted the practice of traditional Santali music and dance among converts, and remodelled their songs into church hymns, to support proselytisation processes.

For my research critique, I evaluated Bake's sound recordings, silent films, and field notes held at the British Library Sound Archive, his correspondence at the British Library, the Berlin Phonogram Archive, Leiden University Library, at the Rabindra Bhavan Archive at Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan, and other published and unpublished resources. I circulated Bake's recordings among performers and academics in West Bengal, Jharkhand, and Bangladesh, for support in the evaluation of the recordings, which provided insights into the relevance of the recordings to them. The recirculation resulted in the repatriation of copies to a museum and to an archive in West Bengal in 2018. For the study of stylistic continuity and change, I analysed Bake's recordings, and compared these with my field recordings from 2017 and contemporary online resources. During my fieldwork, I conducted ethnographic observations, to study the

current living circumstances of performers, and the wider socio-cultural context of genres.

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In the maps of Bake's fieldwork (maps 1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 4.1, 5.1), his base Santiniketan is indicated by a red pin, and his other fieldwork locations are marked by yellow pins. Other relevant places not visited by him but referred to in the corresponding chapters of this thesis are indicated by black markers.

Transliteration Scheme

General Note

Non-English terms are italicised only when they appear for the first time.

Bengali Transliteration

I use the Library of Congress romanisation scheme for the transliteration of Bengali language, with the following modifications:

- The letter য় is transliterated as ẏ

- The letter য is transliterated as y

- The letter is ষ is transliterated as ṣ

- The Bengali sign for nasalisation, *candrabindhu* "ঁ" is represented through a tilde "◌̃" over the vowel. Thus, I transliterate the nasal "e" in the word "rāybẽśe" through an "ẽ", instead of writing "rāybeṁśe". Similarly, I transliterate the nasal "ā" in the words "cãd" and "kãsi" through an "ã", instead of writing "cāṁd" and "kāṁsi".

- The inherent "a" after consonants in Bengali words is not retained unless pronounced in speech, hence "kīrtan" elides the final "a" ("kīrtana"), as it is not pronounced. However, the word "Vaiṣṇava" retains the final "a", as it is sounded in speech.

- Place names are transliterated according to their common English spellings, e.g. Kankalitola, Mongoldihi, and Moynadal. The official name of the city Kolkata was changed from "Calcutta" to "Kolkata" in 2001. Therefore, I use "Calcutta" when I refer to the 20th century or earlier, and "Kolkata" when I refer to the 21st century.

- When there are common anglicised spellings of Bengali terms, I have used these. Thus, I write "Bratachari", not "Bratacārī", and "Rabindrasangit", not "Rabīndrasaṅgīt". The names of performers are given in anglicised form without diacritics, as used by the performers themselves, e.g. "Jagannath Das Baul".

Bengali Transliteration Table

Vowels

অ	a	আ	ā	ই	i	ঈ	ī
উ	u	ঊ	ū	ঋ	ṛ		
এ	e	ঐ	ai	ও	o	ঔ	au

Consonants

ক	k	খ	kh	গ	g	ঘ	gh	ঙ	ṅ
চ	c	ছ	ch	জ	j	ঝ	jh	ঞ	ñ
ট	ṭ	ঠ	ṭh	ড	ḍ	ঢ	ḍh	ণ	ṇ
ত	t	থ	th	দ	d	ধ	dh	ন	n
প	p	ফ	ph	ব	b	ভ	bh	ম	m
য	ẏ	র	r	ল	l				
শ	ś	ষ	ṣ	স	s	হ	h		
ড়	ṛ	ঢ়	ṛh	য়	y	ৎ	ṯ		

Special Symbols

০ং	ṃ	০ঃ	ḥ	০ঁ	m̐	০ঁ	m̐

Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Marathi, Malayalam, Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic Transliteration

I use the Library of Congress romanisation scheme for the transliteration of terms in these languages.

Santali Transliteration

I apply the romanisation system of Bodding for the transliteration of Santali language, with the modification that the letters "e̱" and "e" are both transliterated as "e". Similarly, "o̱" and "o" are both transliterated as "o". Furthermore, I cite published song lyrics in the transliteration system of the corresponding publications.

Abbreviations and Key to Shelfmark References

Abbreviations

ABA: Arnold Bake Archive of the Kern Institute, Leiden University Library, Special Collections

BIRS: British Institute of Recorded Sound

BLSA: British Library Sound Archive

BPA: Berlin Phonogram Archive

JKA: Jaap Kunst Archive, University of Amsterdam Library, Special Collections

SMBC: Arnold Bake Collection, SOAS Music Department

VB: Correspondence File (English), No. 20, Arnold Bake, Rabindra Bhavan Archive at Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan

Shelfmark References

"Mss Eur F191": Papers of Arnold and Cornelia Bake, India Office Records and Private Papers holdings, British Library. The number after the slash indicates the folder number, which is followed by a comma and the letter number: "F191/8, 180" stands for folder 8, letter 180.

"C52": Arnold Bake collection (1931-1956), British Library Sound Archive. The letter after the slash indicates the cylinder number: "C52/2028" means cylinder 2028. Cylinder sequences are abbreviated, "C52/2028-9" thus stands for cylinders 2028 and 2029. When there is more than one song recording on a cylinder, the number of the song is indicated through a colon followed by a number: "C52/1644: 3" refers to cylinder 1644, song 3. The timecodes of the songs are listed in the appendices of this thesis.

"PP MS 21": Papers of Dr Arnold Adriaan Baké (44 folders), SOAS Library Archive. The number after the slash refers to the folder number: "PP MS 21/43" stands for folder 43.

"C1795": Field recordings of Christian Poske (2017), British Library Sound Archive.

Acknowledgements

For Bisakha and Emmanuel

Introduction

1. Theme and Historical Background of the Research

This dissertation is a restudy of Arnold Bake's fieldwork in the Bengal region, which he carried out in the periods between 1925-29, 1931-34, 1942-46 and 1956. In five chapters, I examine Bake's research on the genres *rāybẽśe*, *jārigān*, Santali music and dance, Bengali *kīrtan*, and *Bāul* music and dance, by investigating his interactions with Bengali scholars and performers. I argue that Bengali scholars shaped Bake's views on communities and their performing arts with often stereotypical and idealised characterisations, and that he used his connections to civil servants and missionaries to facilitate his fieldwork. In each of the five chapters, I also study the development of the five genres from the early 20ᵗʰ century until the present. In this context, I examine how Bengali researchers rediscovered and reframed Bengali folk music and dance in the first half of the 20ᵗʰ century, thereby influencing many genres up until the present. Moreover, I discuss changes in networks of patronage, marketing strategies, and gender participation, effected by political, socio-economic and cultural changes.

The evaluation of Bake's fieldwork and recordings has been a central aspect of my research. From the time of early comparative musicology to contemporary ethnomusicology, the approaches to fieldwork, recording and archiving have changed fundamentally. In the late 19ᵗʰ century, the invention of the phonograph revolutionised music research, as it enabled musicologists to record and evaluate musical sound. In a similar way to photography and film, they regarded the phonograph as a scientific instrument that recorded the world's sounds with neutral accuracy. Considering music primarily as musical sound, they measured instruments and evaluated the scales of different cultures, hoping to retrace the global evolution of music. For this, it was regarded as essential to record stylistically "pure" music, sounds unaffected by the rapid global spread of Western culture. Though performers had some influence through choice of repertoire, recordists and archivists ultimately decided what was preserved or omitted. Very often, ethnographers and musicologists imposed their own ideas of authenticity on performers, modified choreographies, or manipulated fieldwork

photography (Stepputat, 2010; Gidley, 2006). The rights of performers usually remained unconsidered.

Noting that "purity is an elusive trait whose pursuit leads quickly to subjectivity and stereotyping..." (Seeger, 1986, p.262), ethnomusicologists critically reassessed the role of audio-visual archives in the 1980s, and began to explore their usage in the context of applied ethnomusicology. Emphasising the need to protect the intellectual property rights of performers, they developed strategies for communities to benefit financially from recordings (Seeger, 1996). They studied how the use of technology impacts performance and recording processes, and recognised that access to recording technology creates power imbalances between performers and recordists (Lysloff, 1997). In cultural anthropology, researchers critically examined the role of archives as institutions of production and interpretation of knowledge, analysing the power relations inscribed in colonial archives. The colonial invention of practices was discovered. In consequence, anthropologists urged for more attention to be paid to "archiving as a process rather than to archives as things" (Stoler, 2002, p.87). Ethnomusicologists reconsidered archiving as a social process, and designed collaborative archiving projects involving cultural heritage communities, to explore how archives could become places of greater cultural equity (Ruskin, 2006). Audio-visual archiving was redefined to include the continuous development of strategies to ensure future access by communities (Landau and Topp Fargion, 2012, pp.136-7). Audio-visual archives increased outreach and engagement activities, including the recirculation of colonial recordings in countries of origin and among diasporas.

Today, we recognise that archives support the continuity of cultural identity through the preservation of cultural heritage material, as "archives provide the raw material for a constant, ongoing reconstruction of history" (Lundberg, 2015, p.673). We regard audio-visual archives as institutions which are relevant to the maintenance and continuity of traditions (Topp Fargion, 2009), and consider archives as part of music ecosystems (Schippers, 2015). But although we now know that "[i]ntangible cultural heritage changes, it is fluid, it is never performed identically..." (Skounti, 2009, p.78), it remains true that "[a]rchival recordings often implicitly suggest authenticity, purity, justness..." (Schippers, 2015, pp.142-3). This underscores the importance of evaluating early sound and film recordings with a critical mind.

2. Life and Work of Arnold Bake

Arnold Adriaan Bake (1899-1963) received his primary education in Hilversum and from 1912 to 1918 attended the Haarlem Gymnasium in the Netherlands. In his schooldays, he developed an interest in music and took singing and piano lessons in the hope of becoming a professional musician. Considerations of employment security and a government scholarship induced him to join a seven-year course at Leiden University, which would have led to a post in the Linguistic Survey of Indonesia. At Leiden University he studied Arabic and Sanskrit under the distinguished orientalists Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) and Jean Philippe Vogel (1871-1958), as well as the Javanese and Malay languages. There, Bake met Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) in September 1920. However, an economic crisis led to a government budget retrenchment, forcing Bake to discontinue the course.

He joined Utrecht University, where he studied Sanskrit, Avestan and Old Persian from 1923 to 1925. Willem Caland (1859-1932), his supervisor in Sanskrit language, taught him about the nature and significance of the chants of the *Sāmaveda* and advised him to combine his interests in music and Sanskrit for his doctoral thesis. Bake decided to translate two chapters of Dāmodara's 17th-century treatise on Indian musicology, the *Saṅgīta Darpaṇa*. Bake sang European folksongs and was interested in the work of the English folksong collectors Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) and Lucy Broadwood (1858-1929). Tagore's songs, which contained strains of Indian folk and classical music, aroused his interest. He studied Bengali, aiming to complete his thesis at Visva-Bharati, a university founded by Tagore in Santiniketan in the district of Birbhum, then part of the province of Bengal in British India (Map 0.1). At Bake's suggestion, his fiancée Cornelia Timmers (1896-1987) also learned the language, attending a course at the School of Oriental Studies in London in 1925.[1] They married in the autumn and departed for India six weeks later.

During the next four years, Bake worked on his thesis, mainly in Santiniketan, studying Indian classical music with Pandit Bhim Rao Shastri and learning to play the

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[1] The School of Oriental Studies was founded in 1916, and renamed School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in 1938.

tablā and *tānpurā* (Fig. 0.1). Bake studied Tagore's songs through his grand-nephew Dinendranath Tagore (1882-1935), who had an excellent memory of Tagore's many compositions. Tagore was fond of Bengali kīrtan, Bāul songs, *bhāṭiyāli* and the music of the Santals, and Bake got acquainted with these music traditions when performances took place in and around Santiniketan. During this period, the Bakes visited Chamba and Dalhousie in the Punjab Province (Fig. 0.2) and the archaeological site of the Bagh caves in Gwalior.

Fig. 0.1: Arnold Bake with tablā and tānpurā

(Santiniketan, 1926-7, SMBC SNT I 55)

In July 1927, they travelled to Java, where Bake communicated with the Dutch authorities to arrange Tagore's visit. The Bakes travelled together with him through Java and Bali for six weeks in August and September 1927. After their return to Santiniketan, Bake finished the first version of a book with notations of Tagore's songs in April 1928. The same year, they relocated to Bombay for a few months, as Bake wanted to continue his lessons with his teacher Bhim Rao Shastri, who had moved. Here, the Bakes performed for the Bombay Broadcasting Company and with the Bombay Chamber Orchestra. On a few occasions, Bhim Rao Shastri and Arnold Bake performed consecutively at concerts. In the autumn of 1928, the Bakes made a three-months lecture-recital tour, visiting Indore, Ajmer, Bikaner, Jodhpur and Ahmedabad, before

returning to Bombay. On the tour, Bake performed Western classical and folk songs accompanied by his wife on the piano, and Tagore's songs and Indian folk songs on his own. The couple were back in Santiniketan by December 1928, and returned to the Netherlands in 1929 (Linden, 2019, pp.12-5).

Fig. 0.2: Arnold Bake singing with Cornelia Bake accompanying him on a pedal harmonium
(Dalhousie, October/ November 1926, SMBC DAL 3)

Bake arranged for the publication of his thesis and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Letters from Utrecht University in February 1930 (Bake, 1930). That year, he visited Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the United Kingdom and France, where he gave talks on Indian music, illustrating them by singing Tagore's songs. One of these lectures took place in London, where Tagore was present in the audience. Hubert Pernot (1870-1946) recorded Bake's renditions of Tagore's songs on Pathé discs at the Musée de la Parole et du Geste in Paris in January 1930.[2] In Germany, Bake was recorded by the

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[2] The French linguist and philologist Ferdinand Brunot (1860-1938) founded the Archives de la parole at the University of Paris in 1911, supported by the record business entrepreneur Émile Pathé (1860-1937). Initially, the Archive was intended for the documentation and preservation of all forms of human speech. When Hubert Pernot became the director of the Archive in 1924, he expanded its scope to include the documentation of poetry, songs, fables and tales from around the world.

musicologist Georg Schünemann (1884-1945),[3] and by staff of the Berlin Phonogram Archive in early 1930.[4] In Paris, Bake met the renowned French indologist Professor Sylvain Lévi (1863-1935), who was impressed by his work and encouraged him to continue his research. Bake soon made plans for a second journey to South Asia, this time with financial support from the Kern Institute and Professor Vogel in Leiden. Bake now planned to document music traditions throughout the subcontinent, and arranged two phonographs to record music on wax cylinders, a silent film camera and a still camera. Initially, he hoped to create a "double archive" of recordings with transcriptions. Realising this would be unfinanceable, he amended this plan in April 1930, and decided to document only between 100-200 "typical" songs through recordings, and to transcribe others.[5]

Arriving in Bombay in January 1931, the Bakes returned to Santiniketan, which remained their base for the next four years. After they had arranged their accommodation, Bake resumed his work. In February and early March 1931, he continued his work with Dinendranath Tagore, notating selected songs of Tagore, which were later published in Paris as *Chansons de Rabindranath Tagore: Vingt-Six Chants Transcripts* (Bake, 1935). In mid-March, he recorded Santali musicians at a Christian missionary school in the Dumka Hills, now Jharkhand. After that, up until June 1931, he recorded students of Visva-Bharati University performing songs from various regions of India.

Lévi was the first European scholar given official permission to visit Nepal. He wrote to the Prime Minister, Maharaja Bhim Shamsher Rana (1865-1932) to facilitate the Bakes' visit to Nepal. Although the permit was initially given for a stay of twelve days only, the Bakes were eventually allowed to stay for four months to document Hindu and Buddhist rituals, music and dance performances through silent film and audio recordings between July and November 1931. After their return to Santiniketan, Bake continued to record Bengali kīrtan, Bāul songs, Santali music, and other regional music traditions of

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[3] Erich M. v. Hornbostel, letter to Georg Schünemann, 6.7.1930, BPA.
[4] Erich M. v. Hornbostel, letter to Arnold Bake, 6.7.1930, ABA, box 51. The three cylinders are catalogued at the Phonogram Archive as Bake I A, Bake II Y, and Bake II Z; see Appendices 1 and 9. Tagore had given Bake the written permission to record and perform his songs in public (Rabindranath Tagore, letter to Arnold Bake, 3rd Pauṣ [c. 17 December] 1929, ABA, box 52).
[5] Arnold Bake, letter to Jean Philippe Vogel, 1.4.1930, ABA, box 46.

Bengal until February 1932. By that time, the funds for his research had been exhausted. Raising further funds by giving occasional lectures and concerts of European and Indian music, he continued to document the performing arts of the subcontinent, making field recordings in the areas of present-day Bangladesh, West Bengal, Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala and Sri Lanka. These included chants of the *Ṛgveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Sāmaveda* from southern India, which were particularly difficult to obtain as orthodox Hinduism did not normally permit access to these to outsiders. During the journey, Bake sent wax cylinders to the Phonogram Archive in Berlin for preservation. After two years without financial assistance, the Bakes returned to Europe in late spring of 1934.

Between 1934 and 1937, the couple stayed mostly in London, where Bake began to work with Arthur Henry Fox Strangways (1859-1948), the author of the influential work *The Music of Hindostan* (1914). Bake translated sections of Sanskrit treatises for Fox Strangways, and rented a flat in his house together with his wife Cornelia for some time. In London, Bake also seized the opportunity to resume his training in Western classical music, studying under the German baritone Reinhold von Warlich (1877-1939). Between November 1935 and May 1936, Bake pursued a tour of lectures on Indian music at the Universities of Yale, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Hawaii, Berkeley and North Carolina. A Senior Research Fellowship from the Spalding Trust through Brasenose College, Oxford, enabled him to resume his research in South Asia.

The Bakes arrived in India again in late 1937. They now had their own means of transport, an estate car, which they called their "elephant". Their improved audio equipment now included a Tefiphon device, recording on Tefiband. This offered improved sound quality and longer recording times. However, the Tefiphon was cumbersome to handle and had to be powered by a noisy motor that needed to be set up some distance from the recording location. Bake used a Teficord device to play back recordings.[6] As an alternative, he took the portable cylinder phonograph with him. He also recorded silent films in monochrome and in the recently invented colour format. In January 1938, his field survey began in Colombo, Ceylon, now Sri Lanka. He continued

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[6] Jairazbhoy (1991a; 1991b) wrongly names the recording device "Teficord". Developed by the company of Karl Daniel in Porz near Cologne in the mid-1930s, the Tefiphon was a device for recording and playback, whereas the Teficord could only play back recordings.

recording in Madurai, now Tamil Nadu, where the Bakes bought another estate car. He proceeded southwards to make recordings at Kanyakumari and then northwards, with stopovers in Madras and Hyderabad, through Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Sindh. In March 1939, the Tefiphon recording unit broke down in Sindh, now Pakistan, and had to be sent back to the manufacturer in Germany. The expedition continued in a northerly direction towards the Himalayas, via Lahore and Kashmir to Ladakh, where travelling had to be done on foot and on mules. The phonograph was re-employed for recordings in Ladakh in the summer of 1939. Following a tuberculosis infection, Bake was then forced to convalesce in Srinagar and Lahore for almost a year.

Although the Tefiphon had been repaired in Germany and was sent back to India by ship in September 1939, the machine never reached its owner. War forced the vessel to halt in Massawa in Eritrea, after which the recording unit was lost. At this time, Bake was preparing a collection of his striking portrait photos of the individuals they had encountered on their travels, including musicians, dancers wearing masks and face paint, and bystanders. The collection, called *Masks and Faces*, was presented to the Spaldings but was never published. The Spalding Fellowship was initially intended for a period of four years, but the outbreak of the Second World War prevented a return to England, leading to an extension of the award until 1944. Bureaucratic obstacles resulted in the temporary withholding of the stipend in 1940, and Bake was forced to take up paid employment. He first worked as adviser for Indian music at All India Radio in Delhi from December 1940 to June 1941, and then as director of European music at the broadcasting station in Calcutta from November 1941 to May 1942.

Travel restrictions forced the Bakes to remain mostly in the Calcutta area until the end of the war, and Bake continued to study the music of Bengal, focussing on Bengali kīrtan. Nabadwip Brajabashi (1863-1951) accepted him as a disciple in 1941, and he started to learn to sing kīrtan. His teacher was satisfied and before the war ended, Bake was allowed to perform as a lead singer of a traditional kīrtan ensemble in Vrindaban, the heartland of Vaiṣṇavism. As the war continued, economic pressure prevented a further renewal of the Oxford Fellowship, and in 1944 the Bakes had to take up teaching and performing European music in India for their maintenance. Bake continued to visit his kīrtan teacher, though less frequently. The Bakes returned to

Europe in late 1946, almost one and a half years after the end of the Second World War and nine years after they had arrived in India.

Bake joined SOAS as lecturer in Sanskrit and Indian Music in October 1948, and was appointed Reader in Sanskrit in 1949. His lectures on Indian music attracted students from SOAS and other colleges. In the academic year 1955-56, he revisited India and Nepal for field research together with John Brough (1917-84) and David Snellgrove (1920-2016), both SOAS scholars of Sanskrit and Tibetan. Bake documented Hindu and Buddhist religious dances, ritual processions and the visit of the newly crowned King Mahendra (1920-72) to Bhaktapur in May 1956. Bake also recorded songs of people from different regions of Nepal who had come to Kathmandu to take part in the coronation celebrations. In the winter of 1955-56, he visited Patna, Delhi, Lahore, Benares, Calcutta and Santiniketan for recordings, radio broadcasts, and conferences. During his stay in Calcutta, a festival of Bengali folk music took place, where he recorded several renowned Bāul musicians. In Santiniketan, he recorded Tagore songs and folk songs from Orissa. Overall, he recorded over fifty hours of music, took several hundred still photographs, and with silent film documented the music of different ethnicities of Nepal between 1955-56. In addition to other previously undocumented traditions, Bake was the first to record and film Buddhist tantric *caryā* songs and dances, performed by Newar Buddhist priests. These are still the only recordings of this secret repertoire.

In the summer of 1958, Bake was seriously injured in a street accident in Leiden when he and his wife were hit by a tram. A broken thigh never fully healed and forced him to use crutches for the rest of his life. But his teaching of Indian music at SOAS continued, and his supervision of students induced the Board of Studies in Music to permit theses concerning non-European musicology to be submitted for a PhD degree for the first time (Fig. 0.3). In 1961, Bake became a member of the Board of Studies in Music. The way was now paved for others to teach Asian and African music traditions at SOAS, and through this, ethnomusicology eventually established itself as the core area of music studies at SOAS.

By the early 1960s, he was a corresponding member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science, committee member of the International Folk Music Council, founder member of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research and member of the Council of the Folklore Society. He was also council member of the Internationale

Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft (International Musicological Society) in Germany, and became Chairman of the Committee for Ethnomusicology of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1963. Recurring bouts of illness led to general deteriorating health in the last five years of his life, and he died in October 1963.

Bake's academic engagement with South Asian performing arts paved the way for the teaching of Asian and African music traditions at SOAS and other British academic institutions. In 1979, the SOAS Centre for Music Studies was established, which eventually grew into the Department of Music in 1997. In the Netherlands, the Dutch Society for Ethnomusicology was named after him when it was founded in 1984. From the beginning, Bake was open to the idea of providing copies of his recordings to South Asian archives. With his permission, the Berlin Phonogram Archive sent thirteen disc copies of his cylinder recordings from Ceylon (1932) to the Colombo Museum in 1935, at the request of the Ceylonese scholar Andreas Nell (1864-1956) who had assisted Bake's fieldwork on the island.[7] Perhaps as a result of this experience, Bake discussed the possibility of depositing his recordings in South Asia with his sponsor Henry Norman Spalding (1877-1953) before his third fieldwork visit:

> My material need not be exclusively in Oxford, as a matter of fact Mr. Spalding would welcome duplication and multiplication, so that, if there was sufficient interest in it in India itself, copies could be deposited a[t] places where that interest is settled.
> (Arnold Bake, letter to Rabindranath Tagore, 13.5.1937, VB, letter 9)

When Bake worked at All India Radio in Delhi between 1940-41, it almost seemed as if this plan would materialise. Sir Maurice Gwyer, the vice-chancellor of Delhi University, asked him to draw up a plan for a sound archive to be established at the University in cooperation with All India Radio and Oxford University, but the scheme was abandoned due to insufficient international coordination and lack of support by All India Radio.[8] Bake's recordings thus remained unavailable in South Asia from the 1940s to the 1970s. His former student Nazir Ali Jairazbhoy (1927-2009) tried to open up possibilities for the

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[7] Correspondence of Marius Schneider with A. H. M. Malpas, director of the Colombo Museum, January-July 1935, BPA.
[8] Arnold Bake, letter to Mr and Mrs Spalding, 6.1.1943, ABA, box 42.

foundation of a modern sound archive through Indian channels in the 1970s, but these endeavours were without success.[9] Eventually, Jairazbhoy established the Archives and Research Center for Ethnomusicology (ARCE) of the American Institute of Indian Studies in 1982. Today, the ARCE is located in Gurgaon near Delhi, where it stores digital copies of a substantial part of Bake's recordings, which are thus again accessible in India.

Fig. 0.3: Arnold Bake with research assistant Nazir Ali Jairazbhoy and Felix van Lamsweerde recording a Filipino nose flute player at SOAS (1962-63)[10]

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[9] Personal communication with Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy, 4.4.2020.
[10] According to Felix v. Lamsweerde, the flute player was probably the ethnomusicologist José Monserrat Maceda (1917-2004) (personal communication, 6.4.2020).

3. Arnold Bake's Fieldwork in Bengal: the extant Archival Material

Map 0.1: Administrative map of the Bengal province with divisions and districts (1931)[11]

Bake's legacy continues through his archival material, which is stored at different institutions in the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, the USA, and India. In the following, I briefly discuss the holdings of the archives, focussing on Bake's

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[11] Map by wikipedia user XrysD - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=63521128, accessed 17.9.2019.

audio and film recordings from the Bengal region between 1931-34 and in 1956. Furthermore, I give special attention to his phonographic wax cylinder recordings from the 1930s-40s, which overlap with his fieldwork in Bengal.

To explain the cylinder holdings at the different archives, let me outline the early history of the Phonogram Archive and the technique of phonographic wax cylinder duplication. Originally established by Carl Stumpf (1848-1936) at the Institute of Psychology at Berlin University in 1900, the Phonogram Archive was a place of central importance for musicologists in the early 20th century. Erich M. v. Hornbostel (1877-1935) and other comparative musicologists of the Berlin School managed the institution "to save what can be saved" of the traditional musics of the world threatened by the spread of Western culture (Hornbostel, 1904-5, p.97). For recordists, it therefore brought recognition and prestige to submit recordings to Berlin. Another, more practical aspect was that they could obtain copies of their recordings. After 1906, the Archive assigned the task of copying cylinders to different companies who galvanised the cylinders (Reinhard, 1963, p.8). In this process, the wax cylinders created a negative imprint of the recording grooves on copper shells, which were called galvanos. This process usually destroyed the cylinders, but theoretically an unlimited number of copies could be made from the galvanos.

Bake initially got in touch with the Phonogram Archive through the Dutch musicologist Jaap Kunst (1891-1960), who had been in contact with Hornbostel since 1921. Kunst had sent recordings from Java, Bali, and from Indonesia to Berlin between 1922 and 1929. He advised Bake to use a phonograph for making musical transcriptions, and to borrow a device for his fieldwork from the Berlin Phonogram Archive.[12] Bake visited the Archive during a lecture tour in early 1930, and subsequently discussed his planned recording schedule and equipment with Hornbostel by post.[13] Hornbostel then sent a phonograph with blank cylinders to the Netherlands in late 1930,[14] which Bake took to India. In the absence of a formal agreement, their understanding appears to have been that Bake could borrow the machine free of cost, if he submitted recordings to the Archive in return. The phonograph was a small, portable device, using 10cm-long

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[12] Jaap Kunst, letter to Arnold Bake, 18.4.1929, ABA, box 46.
[13] Erich M. v. Hornbostel, letters to Arnold Bake, 31.3. and 6.7.1930, ABA, box 51.
[14] Erich M. v. Hornbostel, letter to Arnold Bake, 22.11.1930, BPA.

standard-size cylinders for recordings up to four minutes long, and thus suitable for fieldwork (Figs. 0.4-5). Bake also supported the Archive's work by establishing new contacts, and thereby arranged that the Bengali folklore researcher Gurusaday Dutt (1882-1941) could receive a phonograph from Berlin in 1931.[15]

Fig. 0.4: Arnold Bake recording a girl of the Mannan community
with cylinder phonograph from the Berlin Phonogram Archive
(Kerala, 17.11.1933, SMBC MAL 69)

Fig. 0.5: Portable Edison phonograph similar to the device from Berlin,
with brown standard-size wax cylinder on spindle (BLSA, 2016)

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[15] Erich M. v. Hornbostel, letter to Gurusaday Dutt, 18.9.1931, BPA; Gurusaday Dutt, letter to Erich M. v. Hornbostel, 13.10.1931, BPA.

Additionally, Bake acquired an Ediphone phonograph in the Netherlands, which he used as a stationary recording device in Santiniketan between 1931-34. The machine was built as a dictation machine for office use with electricity and hence too heavy for fieldwork,[16] but had the advantage that it could record up to seven minutes on one cylinder.[17] It comprised three appliances: a recorder (Fig. 0.6), a transcriber, and a machine for shaving the surface of cylinders blank again (Fig. 0.7). The cylinders of this dictation machine were of black wax and fifteen centimetres long (Fig. 0.8).

Fig. 0.6 (left): Recording unit of Ediphone dictation machine with removable stand

Fig. 0.7 (right): Shaving unit of Ediphone dictation machine

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[16] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 5.2.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 176.
[17] Arnold Bake to Jaap Kunst, 5.1.1931, ABA, box 51 (photocopy of letter 6, JKA).

Fig. 0.8: Ediphone wax cylinder[18]

Bake was rather dissatisfied with the Ediphone recording unit,[19] but found a different way to use its cylinders: he could record and play them back on his portable phonograph, too.[20] Sometimes, he used the Ediphone cylinders for test recordings:

> Recently, I had the opportunity to start recording Santal music… Namely, I made test recordings on the large cylinders of the Ediphon before, which can be used for your machine, too. (Arnold Bake, letter to Erich M. v. Hornbostel, 15.4.1931, BPA)

Occasionally, he recorded his own singing to test his recording set-up (C52/2120-4). He often used the recordings of the Ediphone cylinders for musical transcriptions, after which he shaved the cylinders blank, for reuse:

> Usually, I make two recordings of the songs, first on Ediphone cylinders that I have taken myself with me, which I keep with me, transcribe and then scrape off again with the "shaving-machine". (Arnold Bake, letter to Erich M. v. Hornbostel, 17.8.1931, BPA)

Sometimes, he recorded a song in this way just once, to transcribe its lyrics:

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[18] Source: https://obsoletemedia.org/ediphone/, accessed 29.6.2019.
[19] Arnold Bake to Jaap Kunst, 11.10.1931, ABA, box 51 (photocopy of letter 8, JKA).
[20] The Ediphone cylinders were a bit too long for the portable phonograph. Hence, they were inscribed to only about three quarters of their length.

> Some songs, which are only important because of the words, I just record like this, and
> not for galvanisation. (Arnold Bake, letter to Erich M. v. Hornbostel, 17.8.1931, BPA)

As wax cylinders wore out quickly during playback, he recorded a song again on a new cylinder, when he wanted to submit a recording for galvanisation to the Phonogram Archive. For this, he preferably used the standard-size, blank cylinders from Berlin, but sometimes also the Ediphone cylinders, when his supply ran out.[21] The Archive could galvanise Ediphone cylinders, too.[22]

In this way, Bake sent select recordings in batches to Berlin, with notes comprising concise information on the date and place of performance, the name, age, and caste or ethnicity of the performer, and a short title or description of the performed pieces, including information on the instrumentation. The Archive then produced galvanos and cylinder copies of the recordings. Bake received his first copies from Berlin during his fieldwork for lectures in India, but the hot and humid climate caused mould damage to these.[23] The Phonogram Archive also sent about 150 copies to the Kern Institute in the Netherlands between 1932-35.[24] Another, full set of copies was kept in Berlin.

After Hornbostel's dismissal from the Phonogram Archive in 1933 because of his Jewish ancestry, Bake became concerned about the effects of national socialist policies and began to wonder whether he should continue his collaboration with the Archive.[25] From his exile in Switzerland, Hornbostel advised Bake against sending further recordings to Berlin,[26] but Bake eventually did so until November 1934. In this period, he avoided thematising politics in his correspondence with Berlin:

> Of course, I don't have to emphasise that my lectures are <u>absolutely</u> unpolitical. I don't
> attend to politics and in any case I never make a political statement.
> (Arnold Bake, letter to Marius Schneider, 26.2.1934, BPA)

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[21] Arnold Bake, letter to Erich M. v. Hornbostel, 13.10.1931, ABA, box 51.
[22] Erich M. v. Hornbostel, letter to Arnold Bake, 6.7.1930, ABA, box 51.
[23] Arnold Bake, letter to Marius Schneider, 27.8.1933, BPA.
[24] Marius Schneider, letter to Jean P. Vogel, 30.7.1933, BPA; Marius Schneider, letter to Arnold Bake, 9.4.1935, BPA; undated list of copies received by the Kern Institute, c. 1935, BPA.
[25] Bake thus privately questioned the integrity of Marius Schneider, the new director of the Phonogram Archive (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 5.7.1933, Mss Eur F191/13, 297).
[26] Erich M. v. Hornbostel, letter to Arnold Bake, 19.8.1933, ABA, box 51.

Bake normally submitted only one recording of a piece to Berlin, but as he considered his recordings of South Indian Vedic recitations particularly important (Bake II 322-340, C52/1972-2003), he made two recording takes of each recitation, and eventually sent both for galvanisation:

> On 29 November, [I] have sent another box with cylinders to you. It was on the day before our departure to England, and thus I did not have time to write to you anymore. I have sent it by registered post, of course, and eagerly hope that it has arrived safely, because these were the duplicates[27] of the Samaveda, the majority of which are better than the original ones[28] that are galvanised. (Arnold Bake, letter to Marius Schneider, 1.1.1935, BPA)

When he sent the alternative recording takes to Berlin, he marked them with the suffix "bis":[29]

> Please arrange for the not yet galvanised cylinders to be galvanised as soon as possible, because I believe that the "bis" numbers are less spoiled than the original ones, which have been terribly affected by the "mildew".
> (Arnold Bake, letter to Marius Schneider, 18.3.1935, BPA)

After the Bakes had moved to London, he remained in touch with Berlin. The Archive sent replacement and additional copies to him in 1935, which replenished and completed his personal inventory.[30] Before he embarked on his third fieldwork journey to South Asia in late 1937, Bake acquired a Tefiphon recording device from the company of the German entrepreneur Karl Daniel (1905-77) in Cologne, and received new blank cylinders and equipment from Berlin for the portable phonograph.[31] Bake did not

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[27] Here, Bake refers to the recording takes that he had initially kept for himself.

[28] Here, he refers to the recording takes that he had previously sent to Berlin for galvanisation.

[29] The word "bis" (lat. "twice") denotes a repetition. The cylinders "Bake II 323" and "Bake II 323bis" are therefore two different recording takes of two performances of the same recitation. The published catalogue of the Phonogram Archive describes the cylinders with the suffix "bis" wrongly as recording continuations (cf. Ziegler, 2006, p.103).

[30] Arnold Bake, letter to Marius Schneider, 8.3.1935, BPA; Marius Schneider, letter to Arnold Bake, 9.4.1935, BPA.

[31] Marius Schneider, letter to Arnold Bake, 1.11.1937, BPA.

communicate with the Phonogram Archive in 1938. He must have considered sending recordings in the summer of 1939, as Marius Schneider urged him in August to do so as soon as possible.[32] However, Bake's serious illness and the outbreak of the Second World War apparently prevented this.

The Phonogram Archive preserved Bake's recordings from 1930-34 (Ziegler 2006, pp.101-3).[33] The Archive has the galvanos and a set of cylinder copies, with some losses, arguably a result of the evacuation of the institution's inventory to Silesia during the Second World War (Ziegler, 2006, p.103; Koch, Wiedmann and Ziegler, 2004, p.228). There are two collections, entitled "Bake Indien I" and "Bake Indien II". The collection "Bake Indien I" comprises 19 cylinders, with 18 cylinders recorded in Kairabani and Santiniketan in 1931 (Bake I 1-18), and one cylinder of Bake's singing (Bake I A). The collection "Bake Indien II" comprises 375 cylinders recorded throughout South Asia between 1931-34 (Bake II 1-355),[34] and two cylinders of Bake's singing (Bake II Y and Z). The Archive made tape copies of the cylinder recordings in the 1970s-80s. In 1970, Kurt Reinhard (1914-79) sent some of these copies to Alastair Dick, an ethnomusicologist who had assisted Bake in the early 1960s.[35] A comprehensive digitisation project concerning the approximately 16,000 cylinders of the Archive began in 1998 (Koch, Wiedmann and Ziegler, 2004, pp.228-9). During this project, the Bake collections were digitised between 2016-17. A CD publication with some of Bake's recordings is planned.[36]

After Bake's death, his cylinders remained at SOAS for a few years, after which they were handed over to the British Institute of Recorded Sound (BIRS) in 1968. The BIRS was integrated into the British Library in 1983, and later renamed British Library Sound Archive. Today, the Sound Archive's Bake collection comprises many audio and film recordings on different recording media from between 1930-34, 1938-41, and 1955-56. The audio recordings now also include Bake's Tefi tapes and reel-to-reel recordings.[37] The Tefi recordings were made in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), in South India, in western India, and in Sindh (today in Pakistan) between 1938-39. Most of the reel-to-reel recordings

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[32] Marius Schneider, letter to Arnold Bake, 25.8.1939, BPA.
[33] The book is a catalogue, accompanied by a CD-ROM with detailed lists of the Phonogram Archive's collections, including the Bake collections.
[34] Some long songs extend over two cylinders (e.g. Bake II 347-347A).
[35] Kurt Reinhard, letter to Alastair Dick, 10.6.1970, BPA.
[36] Email communication with Lars-Christian Koch, 31.5.2017.
[37] The BIRS received the reel-to-reel recordings between 1982-3.

were made in Nepal, and some in Lahore, in Calcutta (C52/NEP/67-8), and in Santiniketan (C52/NEP/69-70). All reel-to-reel recordings are from the period 1955-56.

The Sound Archive's cylinder recordings are from between 1930-34 and 1938-41. The collection comprises 506 cylinders (C52/1641-2150).[38] Among these are standard-size black wax cylinders, oversized Ediphone black wax cylinders, and standard-size brown wax cylinders. Of the collection, 383 cylinders, that is 75.5%, are standard-size black wax cylinders (C52/1641-1972, 1974-1980, and 1982-2027, 2113). Except for one cylinder (C52/2113), these are copies of the collections "Bake Indien I" and "Bake Indien II" from the Berlin Phonogram Archive. There are 47 oversized Ediphone black wax cylinders (C52/2095-2109, 2112, 2115, 2118-2144, 2146, 2148-2150). Bake recorded these 47 cylinders in Bengal between 1931-34, without sending them to Berlin. Lastly, there are 76 standard-size brown wax cylinders (C52/1973, 1981, 2028-2094, 2110-1, 2114, 2116-17, 2145, 2147). Bake recorded most of these in Ladakh and Jammu and Kashmir in 1939 (C52/2030-2086, 2093-94) and at Himalayan hill stations between 1940-41 (C52/2087-92). Some were recorded in South India in 1933 (C52/1973, 1981), in West Bengal between 1931-34 (C52/2111ff.), and in South India in 1938 (C52/2028-29). These 76 brown cylinders were also not sent to Berlin. The Bengal recordings on the Ediphone cylinders and brown cylinders are, to a large extent, test recordings of songs included in the collections "Bake Indien I" and "Bake Indien II", but also contain some other material that is not part of these collections. Most of Bake's cylinder recordings from the Bengal region are accessible online at the British Library Sounds website.[39]

The Sound Archive also stores Bake's silent film recordings.[40] These are largely fieldwork recordings, but also include scenes onboard ship (C52/FO/78, FO/2, FO/3), and a film that shows Bake and his wife visiting their relatives in the Netherlands (C52/FO/75). Bake and his assistant at SOAS, Nazir Ali Jairazbhoy, cut the original film reels for Bake's lectures (Jairazbhoy, 1991a, pp.10-1). The extant material thus includes edited cuts, ranging in duration from a few minutes to half an hour, but also many short scenes and snippets, from split seconds to minutes long, which remain of their editing

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[38] The cylinders C52/1642, 1699, 2013, and 2104 are missing.
[39] https://sounds.bl.uk/World-and-traditional-music/Arnold-Adriaan-Bake-South-Asian-Music-Collection, accessed 24.4.2020.
[40] Bake's films were copied by the British Film Institute for SOAS, and later handed over to the British Library Sound Archive around 2008.

work. As these fragments were digitised as found, without regard to content, many of the digital video files now consist of extensive sequences of disjointed fragments.[41] The Sound Archive's complete Bake collection was digitised between the 1990s and the early 2000s, with the exception of most Tefiphon tapes, which were in quarantine until recently, due to asbestos contamination. The Sound Archive stores a few additional recordings related to Bake's work, filed separately, including one of his BBC broadcasts on reel-to-reel audio tape. The British Library's Bake papers collection, part of the India Office Records and Private Papers holdings, includes much of his overseas correspondence and some other personal documents. The British Library also holds a copy of Bake's doctoral thesis,[42] and the manuscript copy of the *Saṅgīta Darpaṇa* on which he based his thesis.[43]

The Library Archive and the Music Department at SOAS hold archival material. The Library Archive's Bake collection includes transcriptions, lecture notes, articles, and other documents. The Music Department's Bake collection includes three photo albums with 271 fieldwork photos,[44] and a copy of the album *Masks and Faces*.

Petrus Voorhoeve (1899-1996), the husband of one of Bake's nieces and his fellow student in Leiden, looked after Bake's scientific legacy in the Netherlands, collaborating with researchers from UCLA, SOAS, the British Library and other institutions. The material is now stored at the Leiden University Library, including the Bake Archive from the Kern Institute which was integrated into the Library in 2010. The Bake Archive comprises a near-complete set of Bake's fieldwork photographs, extensive correspondence, diaries, newspaper reports, lecture notes and manuscripts, and lecture audio recordings, amongst other materials. The Kern Institute handed its cylinders over to the Museum Volkenkunde (National Museum of Ethnology) in Leiden. Museum staff assessed their condition as poor in 1965,[45] before some were destroyed in an unsuccessful attempt to copy them to audio tape.[46] Today, the Museum still holds

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[41] See Appendices 10 and 11.
[42] British Library, shelfmark ORW.1986.b.122.
[43] British Library, shelfmark IO SAN 2231.
[44] Jean Jenkins, Petrus Voorhoeve and Carol Tingey catalogued different sections of the fieldwork photos. The British Library holds a copy of the catalogue (Mss Eur F191/333).
[45] P. H. Pott, letter to Lucy Duran, 30.10.1978, BLSA.
[46] Lucy Duran, letter to Nazir Ali Jairazbhoy, 24.11.1978, BLSA.

cylinders of the collection "Bake Indien II". These have not been digitised.[47] The Bibliothèque nationale de France digitised Bake's Pathé records, which are accessible via its website.[48] The British Library Sound Archive holds three of these original records.[49]

Jairazbhoy became a lecturer at SOAS in 1962. He supervised the copying of Bake's Tefi tapes to magnetic tape, carried out by Alastair Dick in the 1960s. The originals were handed over to the BIRS in 1969. Jairazbhoy joined the University of Windsor, Ontario, Canada as associate professor of Asian studies in 1969, and UCLA as professor of ethnomusicology in 1975. UCLA received tape copies of the Tefi recordings and of the collection "Bake Indien II"[50] in the 1960-70s, and in 1987-8 also copies of Bake's silent films and papers (Jairazbhoy, 1991b, p.218). Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy copied the UCLA tapes for the ARCE, where they were digitised in 1983-84. The material is today accessible in digital form at both institutions. The British Library Sound Archive additionally provided digital copies of Bake's cylinder recordings from 1938-41 to the ARCE in 2017. Some of the ARCE's recordings are accessible at www.vmis.in, and a full online catalogue is planned at www.aiis-arce.org. The ARCE published some of Bake's recordings on CDs, distributed by Smithsonian Folkways.[51]

The Rabindra Bhavan Archive of Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan has a digitised collection of Bake's letters, comprising mostly his correspondence with Tagore. In 2010, Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy of UCLA provided digital copies of a selection of Arnold Bake's silent films from the Bengal region from 1931-33 to the Rabindra Bhavan Archive of Visva-Bharati University. It is unknown whether the archives of All India Radio in Delhi, Kolkata or Dhaka (the latter today called Bangladesh Betar) preserved the radio broadcasts that Bake produced in the 1940s.

In this thesis, I have listed Bake's audio and film recordings in the appendices. Appendix 1 provides an overview of the correlation of Bake's cylinder recordings at the

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[47] According to an internal list from the Museum, there are 44 cylinders, but it is unclear whether this number is correct (email communication with Liesbeth Ouwehand, photography curator at the Museum Volkenkunde, 9.9.2019).

[48] https://gallica.bnf.fr, accessed 21.7.2020.

[49] See Appendix 9.

[50] Jairazbhoy received two sets of copies of Bake's cylinder recordings, one from the National Sound Archive in London (formerly called BIRS), and one from the Phonogram Archive in Berlin (Jairazbhoy, 1991b, p.223). The ARCE's digital copies are made from the German copies, as they have announcements in German language, made when the cylinders were copied to tape.

[51] https://folkways.si.edu/search?query=arnold+bake, accessed 2.8.2019.

Berlin Phonogram Archive and the British Library Sound Archive. Appendices 2-8 list his cylinder recordings from 1931-34 and reel-to-reel recordings from 1956 from the Bengal region, sorted by genres. Appendix 9 lists published and unpublished sound recordings of Bake's singing from the period 1930-34. Appendix 10 provides an overview of Bake's film recordings from the Bengal region, sorted by genres. Appendix 11 lists all film recordings that I have evaluated, sorted by files.

4. Previous Restudies of Arnold Bake's Research

The previous restudies of Arnold Bake's research throw some light on possible methodological approaches. Nazir Ali Jairazbhoy and Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy carried out the first restudy in 1984. They published the results of the project as a film (Jairazbhoy and Catlin, 1991), which was followed by the accompanying book *The Bake Restudy in India 1938-84* (Jairazbhoy, 1991a), and a book article (Jairazbhoy, 1991b). The restudy sprang from Jairazbhoy's involvement in the copying of Bake's audio and film recordings at SOAS in the 1960s (1991a, p.v). The central aim of the project was to study the stylistic and socio-cultural changes in the traditions of folk and devotional music and dance that Bake had documented in the late 1930s in the regions of modern-day Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka. To this end, Jairazbhoy and Catlin analysed Bake's sound and film recordings, and compared these with new recordings made at original recording locations.

Their study of continuity and change identified the four patterns of classicisation, modernisation, institutionalisation, and festivalisation, which had influenced the development of performance traditions to a varying extent (Jairazbhoy and Catlin, 1991; Jairazbhoy, 1991a, p.92). Very little change was observed in participatory music practised among communities where normally no external audience is present (1991a, pp.51-2). The process of classicisation manifested itself in the changing repertoire of music ensembles (p.59), in the creation of organised choreographies for dances and dance dramas (pp.69, 82, 88), some of these newly endowed with complex rhythms (p.69), in the replacement of folk instruments with those associated with classical music (p.71), and in the renaming of instruments in Sanskritic terminology (p.72). Modernisation was observed in the adoption of film music and electronic

instrumentation (p.59) and in changes that had occurred in the construction of traditional instruments (pp.84-5). Jairazbhoy and Catlin argue that the processes of classicisation and modernisation are responses to the institutionalisation and festivalisation[52] of performance traditions. They point out that the process of classicisation usually serves to elevate the ranking and status of performance traditions and performers (pp.94-5). Furthermore, they identify the growing influence of mass media, which compels ensembles to adjust their repertoire and sound to the listening habits of contemporary audiences, in order to survive.

Another aim of the restudy was to explore Bake's "background and methodologies, and the conditions under which he worked in 1938" (Jairazbhoy, 1991a, p.1). This was fulfilled to some extent, although Jairazbhoy refrains from criticism, arguably because he studied under Bake and admired his work.[53] Jairazbhoy and Catlin also saw the restudy as an opportunity to reconnect performers and communities with Arnold Bake's recordings, and to study their responses and views on continuity and change (pp.15, 94). The restudy received generally positive reviews. Helen Myers commended the film for throwing light on the history of ethnomusicology, and on the methodology of modern ethnomusicology (1994, p.565). Edward O. Henry praised the film for the wide range of footage of different performance traditions, but pointed out that a geographically wide survey "tends not to allow enough time for researchers to penetrate many of the layers of local meaning of a performance" (1992, p.222). Joan Erdman appreciated the restudy for throwing light on the work of Bake and opening up avenues to the study of historical sound and film recordings, but found that it examined "the nature of the changes, their intentions, and the implications… only vaguely" (1994, p.485). Later on, Jairazbhoy and Catlin studied many of the traditions documented by Bake in greater detail, among these, the music and dance of rituals concerning the worship of the goddess *Yellamma* in southern Maharashtra and northern Karnataka (Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Jairazbhoy, 2007).

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[52] By "festivalisation", Jairazbhoy and Catlin do not mean traditional religious and seasonal festivals, but the showcasing of folk music and dance outside their original context at festivals organised by universities, cultural organisations and similar institutions.

[53] Personal communication with Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy, 16.1.2020.

A number of studies have engaged with Bake's fieldwork and recordings from Nepal. Carol Tingey compiled a catalogue of Bake's sound recordings from Nepal, from the periods 1931 and 1955-56 (Tingey, 1985). The catalogue outlines his fieldwork and lists the recordings with related fieldwork photos, recording notes, correspondence, and publications by Bake. Subsequently, she compiled a catalogue of the visual material of his fieldwork in Nepal (Tingey, 1988). Later on, Tingey conducted research on the Damai, the most important caste of musicians in Hindu Nepal (Tingey, 1994). Richard Widdess (1992; 1997; 2004; 2013) consulted Bake's sound and film recordings from 1956 for his research on the development of Buddhist tantric caryā dance and *dāphā* singing in Nepal. Gert-Matthias Wegner provided copies of Bake's Nepalese recordings to the Department of Music at Kathmandu University in Bhaktapur (Wegner, 2004), and to the Music Museum of Nepal in Kathmandu.[54]

The digitisation of Bake's cylinder recordings, reel-to-reel recordings, and silent films from Bengal at the British Library Sound Archive has broadened the scope of possible approaches to the study of his fieldwork in the region, which has received some attention in recent years. In the course of her research project The Travelling Archive, the Bengali musicologist Mousumi Bhowmik consulted Bake's sound and film recordings from the Bengal region, and explored their relevance to Indian audiences and the Bengali diaspora with exhibitions in Santiniketan, Bengaluru, and east London.[55] In the course of her fieldwork, she provided copies of Bake's cylinder recordings to the kīrtan performers of the Mitra Thakur family of Moynadal in West Bengal.

The Dutch historian Bob van der Linden authored two studies on Bake's life and work, an investigation of his interactions with Rabindranath Tagore (Linden, 2013), and a biography (2019). Linden highlights Bake's contribution to the emergence of the academic discipline of ethnomusicology, observing that Bake combined indological, ethnomusicological, and anthropological perspectives in his research (2019, p.119). On the other hand, he criticises Bake's views on Indian music as eurocentric, and sometimes paternalistic (2019, p.121). Moreover, Linden points out that Bake's activities were "very much embedded in the world of empire", as Bake had a high social status as a European

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[54] http://musicmuseumnepal.org, accessed 5.4.2020.
[55] http://www.thetravellingarchive.org/exhibition/, accessed 5.4.2020.

researcher in British India, which facilitated the assistance and invitations he received from local authorities and from Indian dignitaries on his travels (2019, pp.120-1).

This thesis differs from Linden's biography of Bake in that it focusses less on Bake's interactions with European scholars of indology, linguistics, musicology, and ethnomusicology, and more on his exchanges with Bengali academics who were influential in their respective fields. Furthermore, I scrutinise Bake's interactions with his fieldwork informants, assistants, and recording participants, insofar as corresponding information is retrievable, and examine a selection of his cylinder recordings and silent films in detail, which are two further differences to Linden (2019). Moreover, a significant aspect of this thesis is the study of the temporal development of five different music and dance traditions of the wider Bengal region, a topic that is not addressed in Linden's publications.

5. "Oh no, another restudy!": Considering Methodology

Bake's Bengal fieldwork has only begun to be explored in recent years, and his recordings from the region have never been systematically evaluated to study continuity and change. Nevertheless, I realised that uttering the word "restudy" carries a risk, as it induced one of my Western informants to exclaim in disbelief whether I was aware that "a restudy had been done previously". One reason for this weariness seems to be the erroneous assumption that all restudies necessarily have similar aims and methods. In the following, I first discuss the different forms that a restudy can take, with examples. I then explain the aims and methods of my restudy.

Martin Clayton (1999, pp.86-7) argues that historical field recordings are relevant in at least three different ways. Firstly, these should be made accessible again to the society from which they originate. Secondly, they may contribute to historical ethnomusicology through studies of musical continuity and change. Thirdly, they may shed light on the historical development of ethnomusicological methods. This model constitutes a useful template for the ways how a restudy can be conceptualised. Clayton's first point addresses the repatriation of sound recordings. Early recordists often used connections to colonial administrations to create a position of power to facilitate their fieldwork, potentially intimidating performers to comply, and usually leaving their

rights unconsidered. Through the repatriation of recordings, we try to make amends for these issues of colonial ethnography. Moreover, making recordings available in countries of origin can support living performance traditions. Repatriated historical recordings can thus serve as inspiration for contemporary performers, and support revivals of music traditions (Marett and Barwick, 2003; Hilder, 2012; Kahunde, 2012).

Although the internet has increased the outreach of archives globally, it remains a useful endeavour to make recordings accessible again not only at archives in countries of origin, but also at original recording locations in the field, where digital connectivity is often limited. Noel Lobley used this approach in the fieldwork for his research on the recording series *The Sound of Africa,* produced by Hugh Tracey (1903-77) (Lobley 2010, pp.288-374). Isobel Clouter of the British Library Sound Archive currently heads a similar project "True Echoes: reconnecting cultures with recordings from the beginning of sound" that focuses on the recordings of Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940), Charles Samuel Myers (1873-1946), Charles Gabriel Seligman (1873-1940), and others from the Torres Strait exhibition in 1898. A useful spin-off from this approach is that members of cultural heritage communities can sometimes provide information on historical sound recordings that are insufficiently documented. This makes it possible to enhance the archival documentation, which in turn makes the recordings more meaningful to everyone. The recirculation of recordings can thus benefit archives and cultural heritage communities alike.

Clayton's second point, the study of musical continuity and change, refers to the study of socio-cultural and stylistic changes within traditions. These are two separate, albeit interconnected topics. Jairazbhoy (1991a) combines a study of both, making observations on socio-cultural changes (institutionalisation, festivalisation) and stylistic changes (classicisation). Relevant socio-cultural changes for a restudy are usually those that have consequences for the livelihood of performers. These can be political, economic, religious, demographic, or other changes: the effects of newly emerging national identities and borders, changing networks of patronage and income, religious doctrines restricting music or dance practice, changes in the gender participation of ensembles and the demography of audiences, amongst many other factors. Stylistic change, on the other hand, refers to stylistic changes in music and dance traditions themselves: changes in repertoire, the interpretation of compositions, instrumentation,

stage dress, or other aspects of performance. Old and new performance recordings need to be compared for this. A considerable problem here is that it is difficult for one researcher to evaluate enough recordings to make a statement about the development of a genre as a whole. Furthermore, older sound recordings usually have poor sound quality, making an evaluation difficult and time-consuming.

Clayton's third point, the historical development of ethnomusicological method, makes us think of a restudy as a research critique examining the methodology of early musicologists, anthropologists or other ethnographers. Such a research critique can be framed from a historiographical, cultural-anthropological or musicological angle. Linden (2013; 2019) thus considers Bake's interactions with Indian artists and scholars in a postcolonial perspective, while Lobley (2010) challenges Hugh Tracey's aims and methods by eliciting responses to his recordings from contemporary Xhosa communities in South Africa. The evaluation of historical recordings and transcriptions can support a musicological critique: Hewitt Pantaleoni (1987) re-analyses the transcription of a Dakota American Indian song recorded by Frances Densmore (1867-1957). Mark Trewin (1992) compares the transcriptions of Ladakhi songs made by August Hermann Francke (1870-1930) with his own. Clayton (1999) examines the aims, methods and conclusions of A. H. Fox Strangways by scrutinising three of his recordings and transcriptions of South Asian music.

This overview of methodologies shows that few musicologists compare historical sound and film recordings with contemporary performance practice, to study the development of genres. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, contemporary ethnomusicology generally has a critical view on recordings, as these normally focus on a rendition, rather than on its socio-cultural context. For a similar reason, stylistic studies entail the risk to be deemed irrelevant, as today, many ethnomusicologists consider this approach as contributing little to our understanding of how music and dance relate to society and culture. Even worse, the archival evaluation of recordings carries a notion of armchair ethnomusicology. On a practical note, it is a rather tedious activity to wade through a large number of sound and film recordings of inferior quality and with little documentation.

Contrastingly, there is a strong focus on community engagement in recent research (Landau and Topp Fargion, 2012). Researchers have engaged cultural heritage

communities with archival recordings worldwide, to address issues of cultural ownership (Gray, 1989; Lancefield, 1998; Niles, 2004; Barwick and Thieberger, 2006; Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Weintraub, 2012; Campbell, 2014), to enhance metadata (Toner, 2003; Barwick and Thieberger, 2006), and to study how recordings can contribute to sustaining endangered traditions (Treloyn, Charles and Nulgit, 2013). Engaging communities is an approach that is enjoyable and rewarding, not least because such projects are likely to receive praise from ethnomusicologists and cultural anthropologists, because of their interactive and participatory nature. Another motivation is that national and international funding bodies today generously support outreach and engagement projects of Western archives, libraries, museums, aware that the inventory of these institutions is often partly the product of colonial ethnography. Considering the questionable research methods of colonial ethnography, this focus on repatriating recordings and community engagement is certainly justified. However, the enthusiasm for outreach and engagement sometimes goes so far that it is overlooked when a project amounts to little more than confronting cultural heritage communities with historical sound and film recordings in an indiscriminate manner. Ill-planned outreach projects sometimes just lead to the conclusion that the recordings have little relevance to the communities in question, as their music tastes and listening habits may have changed considerably.

6. Aims and Methods of my Research

My research pursues the two central aims of studying Bake's research and fieldwork methodology, and the development of genres. In addition to this, there are two further aims, namely, to correct and enhance the catalogue of Bake's sound recordings and silent films at the British Library Sound Archive, and to reconnect contemporary performers with his recordings. For my study of Arnold Bake's research and fieldwork methodology, I evaluated his personal and academic correspondence,[56] sound recordings, silent films,

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[56] Bake corresponded in Dutch with his family members and academics in the Netherlands, in German with staff of the Berlin Phonogram Archive, and in English with British and Bengali scholars. In this thesis, I provide English translations of his Dutch and German correspondence, and verbatim quotations from his English correspondence.

field photographs, notes, manuscripts, and publications. To gain insights into the influence of European and Bengali contemporaries on Bake's research, I also evaluated some of their publications.

My study of the development of genres focusses on three aspects: performance style, performance context, and the living circumstances of performers. For the study of stylistic continuity and change, I compared Bake's recordings with new recordings that I made on fieldwork visits to Jharkhand, West Bengal and Bangladesh between April and October 2017. In addition, I evaluated the content of video platforms, social networks, artists' personal websites and other relevant websites on the internet, for information on the practice of genres in regions that I could not visit due to time constraints. To identify changes, I compared the structure of dance performances (Chapters 1-2), and the tonality and structure of songs (Chapters 3-4). In one case, I examined the influence of a modern cinema production on the representation of a genre (Chapter 5).

My fieldwork methodology was participant observation. I attended rehearsals and performances, socialised with artists, and conducted interviews to learn more about their social background, education, family life, hopes and aspirations, and views on the development of genres. I was based in Santiniketan and conducted most of my fieldwork in the district of Birbhum and in Kolkata. I also visited Jharkhand and Bangladesh briefly. As far as possible, I made my recordings at the locations where Bake had recorded. However, he had made some of his recordings at seasonal religious festivals that fell outside the time period of my fieldwork. An example of this was the Jaydev Kenduli melā, which is an annual event in January. In such cases, I did not conduct in-depth fieldwork on site, but visited the place briefly, to get an impression of the locality. I also recorded at some places where Bake had not, such as Nabadwip and Mayapur, two important centres for the study of kīrtan. Due to time constraints, I could not visit Naogaon in Bangladesh, where Bake recorded in February 1932.

I corrected and enhanced the catalogue of Bake's sound recordings and silent films at the British Library Sound Archive in a four-stage process. In the first stage, I conducted a preliminary assessment of the collection, which included a survey of the existing catalogue entries and an audio-visual evaluation of the recordings. Through this, I realised that many entries contained incorrect information, for a number of reasons. When Bake's cylinder recordings were originally digitised, paper inserts were found in

some cylinder boxes, and the information from these sheets was added to the corresponding catalogue entries. Some of the inserts contain Bake's handwritten recording notes, and others are transcriptions of lyrics, lists of songs, and performers' personal details, noted down by his recording participants. However, many of these inserts were not found with the corresponding recordings, but in other boxes.[57] Hence, the relevant information had often been added to the wrong catalogue entries. Furthermore, Bake's notes had frequently been misread by the digitisation engineers, as his handwriting was almost illegible. The digitisation engineers had entered their own notes on some undocumented recordings, which were sometimes misleading, too, and there was also other incorrect information.[58] Some cylinders were found swapped in their boxes. The documentation of the silent films was quite rudimentary and often similarly misleading, a result of multiple editing and copying processes (Jairazbhoy, 1991a, pp. 10-1). Some edited cuts included sections with text, which had information on the content of the film.

In the second stage, I began to correct the catalogue entries. For this, the published documentation of Bake's cylinder recordings at the Berlin Phonogram Archive was my primary resource (Ziegler, 2006), but there were also many cylinders without Berlin numeration, which were often without documentation. A comparison of documented and undocumented recordings showed that many of the latter were test recordings of songs included in the Bake collections of the Phonogram Archive. Others featured the same performer, or the same music genre as documented recordings. When incorrect catalogue information was based on wrong inserts, I compared the inserts with related recordings, which enabled me to assign them correctly. I then consulted Bake's correspondence, field photographs, and publications, which enabled me to identify more cylinder recordings and silent films. However, there was still a substantial amount of material left on which I had little information.

In the third stage, I consulted academics of cultural heritage communities for support in the evaluation of recordings. My wife Bisakha Goswami and PhD researchers

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[57] See Appendices 3 and 8. The reason for this seems to be that Bake kept the original recording notes himself when he sent his recordings to Berlin.
[58] The cylinders of the collection "Bake I" (C52/1641-57) were initially catalogued as recorded in 1925-29, although the recordings were made in 1931. The mistake stems from Jairazbhoy's correspondence with the BIRS from the 1970s.

at SOAS helped me with some recordings in London. Subsequently, I took all cylinder recordings and silent films with me on fieldwork, and contacted members of cultural heritage communities in Jharkhand, West Bengal, and Bangladesh, for support in the evaluation. In many cases, they were able to provide detailed information on the content of the recordings and films. Sometimes, they pointed me towards related publications, such as song books with relevant song lyrics. In the fourth stage, I used this information for follow-up archival research in London, through which I found further information on some recordings.

To reconnect contemporary performers with Bake's recordings, I had to identify the performers he recorded. The detail in Bake's documentation of his cylinder recordings varies. In some cases, he noted down the name of each recording participant, as in the case of his Moynadal recordings (C52/1908-21), which makes it easy to locate the descendants. In other cases, he noted down only the music genre and origin of a group, as in the case of jārigān (C52/1764-1769), which makes it quite difficult to identify the recording participants and their descendants. He also recorded itinerant musicians, sometimes noting down their personal details (C52/1904-7), and sometimes not (C52/NEP/67-8). In both cases, it is almost impossible to trace descendants. In the case of his silent films, the main source of information are his letters, in which he normally does not name performers. Therefore, it is usually very difficult to identify the performers that he filmed.

7. Note on Thesis Structure

The five chapters of this thesis concern the five genres rāybẽśe, jārigān, Santali music and dance, Bengali kīrtan, and Bāul music and dance. Each chapter begins with an introduction that outlines my argumentation. This is followed by a concise description of the relevant genre (Chapter parts 1.0, 2.0, 3.0, 4.0, 5.0). I then provide overviews of Bake's fieldwork and recordings of each genre (1.3, 2.1, 3.1, 4.1, 5.1). Here, I align his recordings with related field photographs, transcriptions, correspondence, and publications, which forms the basis of my research critique concerning different aspects of Bake's work: how Gurusaday Dutt shaped his views on rāybẽśe (1.3), how he reciprocated Dutt's logistic support (2.1), Bake's views on the performing arts of the

Santals and their converts (3.1), his research methodology for the study of kīrtan (4.1), and how Rabindranath Tagore and Kshitimohan Sen informed his views on the Bāuls (5.1). Each chapter also includes a section on my fieldwork, in which I present case studies of performers, and mention noteworthy reactions to Bake's recordings (1.5, 2.4, 3.4, 4.3, 5.3). Each chapter ends with a brief conclusion (1.7, 2.5, 3.5, 4.4, 5.4).

Chapter 1

Gurusaday Dutt, the Bratachari Movement and Rāybẽśe Dance:
Continuity and Change 1931-2017

During his fieldwork on Bengali folk music and dance between 1931-34, Bake met the Bengali folklorist and researcher Gurusaday Dutt (1882-1941), whose Bratachari movement played an important role in the promotion of Bengali folk music and dance in Bengali society in the 1930s. Dutt was the district magistrate of Birbhum between 1930-33 and sympathetic towards Bake's research, and therefore provided logistic support for his fieldwork in the Bengal region for about a year, from January 1931 until February 1932. In the same period, Dutt conducted research on rāybẽśe, a dance with many different regional variants, including cross-dressing dances. Dutt disapproved of the cross-dressing practices, and began to promote rāybẽśe as a martial and acrobatic dance instead, as he sought to present Bengali folk dances as masculine and heroic art forms, in line with the conceptual framework of his Bratachari movement. Bake, on the other hand, criticised Dutt for taking advantage of his official authority to instruct performers. Through a comparison of Arnold Bake's correspondence and film recordings with Dutt's publications and other sources, I demonstrate that Dutt designed a new, standardised dance choreography of rāybẽśe in the early 1930s, with lasting effects on the performance style of the genre. Furthermore, I show that Dutt influenced Bake's views on the dance, through the performances that he organised in Santiniketan and Suri.

I first outline the stylistic characteristics of rāybẽśe and the socio-cultural context of its performance tradition. Subsequently, I discuss Gurusaday Dutt's life and work, the aims and methods of the Bratachari movement, Bake's film recordings of the movement, and previous critiques of Dutt's research. I then address Bake's criticism of Dutt's fieldwork and research and compare it to a historical account of contemporary rāybẽśe dancers. After that, I examine Bake's fieldwork and recordings of rāybẽśe. In the following section, I compare Dutt's publications on rāybẽśe to the films that Bake

recorded. I then discuss my fieldwork in Santiniketan and Kolkata, which is followed by a concluding overview of the practice of rāybẽśe in West Bengal and Bangladesh today.

1.0 Rāybẽśe Dance

The word "rāybẽśe", as understood in the Bengal region today, is an umbrella term for several different types of martial and acrobatic group dances that are practised in various regions of West Bengal and Bangladesh. Dutt (1954) states that rāybẽśe is practised in the districts of Birbhum, Barddhaman and Murshidabad, in West Bengal. A. Halim (1962, p.138) reports that the dance is originally from West Bengal, but also "found today in the districts of East Pakistan bordering West Bengal". Contemporary online sources indicate that today there are also rāybẽśe groups in the district of Jhargram in West Bengal.

There are two different theories on the etymological origin of the word "rāybẽśe". The first theory suggests that its proper spelling is *rāibeśe*, a compound of the words *rāi* and *beśe*. According to this explanation, the word *rāi* has the meaning of *Rāi*, in Bengali vernacular the nickname of *Rādhikā* or *Rādhā*, the consort of *Kṛṣṇa*. The word *beśe*, on the other hand, is the Bengali noun *beś* ("dress", "garment") with the locative suffix -*e*, becoming *beś-e* ("in the dress"). Therefore, *rāibeśe* means "in the dress of Rādhā", a phrase that implies male dancers cross-dressing as female characters. The theory thus suggests that the name of the dance derives from cross-dressing practices with which it was originally associated.[59]

The second theory was proposed by Dutt in the early 1930s. According to this theory, "rāybẽśe" means "royal bamboo", as a compound of "*rāi* or *rāy*; royal king, kingly, and *bānsh* (Bengali) = *bansha* (Sanskrit) = bamboo" (Dutt, 1954, p.26).[60] Dutt explains:

> The Middle Bengali form is *rāy-bānsiyā*, from which is derived the Modern Bengali *rāy-ben'she* or *rāi-benshe*. In the middle ages the Bengali infantry soldiers used lances made

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[59] Cross-dressing practices are widespread in South Asian classical and non-classical dance forms (cf. Morcom, 2013).

[60] The Sanskrit word *vaṃśa* also means "lineage", which Dutt leaves unmentioned.

of the solid species of bamboo (*i.e.*, those which are not hollow within) used as a shaft to which a pointed steel head was attached, so that the epithet *rāi-bānsh* came to signify a big bamboo (*vide* the Bengali dictionary "Chalantikā") and those who wielded the *rāi-bānsh* were called *Rāiben'shes*.[61] (Dutt, 1954, p.26)

Dutt's theory thus suggests that the name of the dance derives from a modern Bengali term for a former class of Bengali infantry from pre-colonial times.

Traditionally, the dance used to be performed mostly by low-caste men. Dutt states that males of the low-ranked *Bāgdi*, *Bāuri*, *Dom*, and *Konai* castes, of the *Bhallā* caste,[62] and of "certain other castes" practised the dance in 1930 (1954, pp.25, 33). Contemporary online documentation suggests that today, most rural dance groups include only men, whereas some academic and urban artistic dance groups also feature female dancers. The online sources further indicate that there are many regional variants of choreography, dance costume and instrumentation. Dance groups normally comprise ten to twenty dancers, who are accompanied by a percussion section of two to five men, who are sometimes supported by melody instrument players. The choreography of the dance usually includes group dance and acrobatics sections. The group dance formation is normally a circle, where dancers perform different martial dance gestures symbolising different aspects of armed combat. After that, dancers often perform individual and group acrobatics in various formations.

The dance costume varies regionally. It is usually plain and without much ornamentation, probably because ornaments can obstruct acrobatics. Dancers often wear short-sleeved t-shirts, tops or vests. Some groups perform with bare upper bodies. The legwear is usually an upfolded dhoti, shorts or tights. Most dancers tie scarves around their hips, and some dancers also wear headscarves or armbands. The dance dress usually features no more than two colours. The dancers usually wear ankle bells. The instrumental accompaniment varies regionally, too. In Santiniketan and Charkalgram, a village near the town, only two instrumentalists accompany the dance. One plays the *kãsi*, a small metal gong of about twenty centimetres in diameter, which

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[61] The term *rāybãś* is listed in 19th-century and early-20th-century Bengali dictionaries as "bambu spear" (Mitra, 1868, p.254) and "spear" (Mitra, 1900-1, p.4075), sometimes together with the derived term *rāybãśiyā* ("spearman") (Mitra, 1900-1, p.4075).
[62] The *Bhallā* caste is a subgroup of the *kṣatriya* caste.

is struck with a wooden stick to mark the beat. The other plays rhythmic accompaniment and improvisations on the *ḍhol*, a large, wooden barrel drum. In some regions, dance groups also use other barrel drums, frame drums, and tambourines. Few groups include a *sānāi* player. Some contemporary, acrobatic rāybĕśe groups also perform occasionally to the audio playback of modern dance music.

1.1 Life and Work of Gurusaday Dutt, the Bratachari Movement, and the Recordings of Arnold Bake

In this section, I outline the life and work of Gurusaday Dutt, and the aims and methods of his Bratachari movement, to elucidate his views on Bengali folk music and dance. Subsequently, I discuss Bake's film recordings of Bratachari, and recent critiques of Dutt's research. Gurusaday Dutt was born a son of a *zamindar*[63] in the village Birasri, in the Zakiganj upazila of the district Sylhet, today in Bangladesh, on 10 May 1882. His father was an accomplished *khol* player,[64] and through him and his neighbours Dutt got to know kīrtan, Bāul songs, jārigān and other genres of Bengali folk music and dance during his childhood (Dutt, 1954, pp.3-5). He graduated from Presidency College in Calcutta in 1901. In 1903, he travelled to England, to attend a course of the Indian Civil Service. After passing his final examination at Emmanuel College Cambridge, he returned to India in December 1905, and began to work for the Indian Civil Service. Through his posts to different districts, he learned about the socio-economic problems of the rural population, which induced him to launch initiatives for the improvement of rural development and social welfare. To this end, he founded the Rural Reconstruction Movement in Birbhum in 1918, which he extended to other districts later on.

On his fourth visit to England, Dutt attended the All-England Folk Dance Festival at the Royal Albert Hall, organised by the English Folk Dance Society in January 1929. The event inspired him to promote the folk dances of Bengal in his home country in similar ways (Dutt, 1954, pp.vi-vii). After his return to Bengal, he was transferred from Howrah to the district of Mymensingh. Here, he began to study the music and dance of

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[63] Urdu word for landowner, derived from the Persian words *zamīn* ("land, earth"), and *dār* ("holder").
[64] See Chapter 4.0 for a brief description of the *khol*.

jārigān, and founded the *Maymansiṃh Loknṛtya o Saṃgīt Samiti* ("Mymensingh Folk Dance and Music Society") in October 1929. In 1930, he refused to carry out orders that instructed the police to fire on protesters demonstrating against Gandhi's arrest for his violation of the Salt Act.[65] As a result, Dutt was transferred by telegram order to the Birbhum district where he began to study rāybẽśe. In Birbhum, he organised the first folk music and dance training camp in the district capital Suri in April 1931 (Bandyopadhyay, 2001, p.15). The same year, he also founded the *Baṅgīya Pallī Sampād Rakṣā Samiti* ("Rural Heritage Preservation Society of Bengal"), an organisation that focussed on the promotion of Bengali folk art and culture. The Bengali poet and folk song collector Jasimuddin (1903-76) worked with Dutt during this period. He later recalled the challenges they faced:

> I met Mr G. S. Datta of the Indian Civil Service, who genuinely loved the folk tradition and was ready to put his money and enthusiasm into work. Together we started the Rural Heritage Revival Society,[66] of which he was President and I was Secretary. We advertised in the papers offering scholarships, from a fund supplied by him, to students who would study folk music under our guidance. Only one candidate came forward, and he was accepted. He learnt three or four songs with the utmost difficulty, because he could not sing without the accompaniment of the harmonium... However, he persevered and learnt at length, and he and I began to tour the schools and colleges giving lecture-recitals. Gradually, a few listeners gathered who cared enough about the songs to study and collect them.[67] (Jasimuddin, 1951, p.43)

Inspired by the folk music and dance of Bengal, Dutt began to compose his own songs and dances, which he began to promote at the folk music and dance training camps and on other occasions. In November 1931, Bake saw two performances of school children in Mongoldihi village, halfway between Suri and Santiniketan:

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[65] Gandhi conducted the first Salt March in Gujarat in March-April 1930, in protest against the salt production and distribution monopoly of the British. He was arrested in early May, which led to mass protests throughout India.
[66] Arguably, the Baṅgīya Pallī Sampād Rakṣā Samiti.
[67] The described events may have taken place around 1931-32.

After the rest, we first went to have a look at the mela, and then with Mr Datta[68] inside the village, first to the school where he let the little ones repeat the dance which he had taught them in the morning. He is, as you know, very eager to get the people to practise dancing again, and he has made many small verses with music, to which they move in a circle and jump, all steps that he has borrowed from the folk dances of the district. He has a big success with that. That was a primary school... [T]here were boys from the big school of Sultanpur [now Abinashpur], an Indian school that follows the methods of Santiniketan and Surul, as it seems to me, but more energetic. There, they have adopted the folk dances in right earnest, and the boys gave a demonstration for the gathered villagers. In one word, it was outstanding. The boys did it with all their heart. That Mr. Datta has managed this is really surprising, and so he is duly proud about that. He is possessed by that, but then one has to be, otherwise you can't manage something like that. (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 26.-27.11.1931, Mss Eur F191/9, 217)

The two performances that Bake saw probably included Bratachari songs and dances. Initially, the British colonial administration monitored Dutt's efforts for the promotion of Bengali folk culture, and engaged an officer to keep an eye on him, because some societies of physical culture were involved in the Indian independence movement (Adhikary, 2015, p.659).[69] The second folk dance training camp of February 1932 is considered the starting point of the Bratachari movement (Chaudhuri, 1982, p.56; Bandyopadhyay, 2001, p.15). Dutt finalised the concept of Bratachari in 1934 (Dutt, 1981 [1937], pp.21-2), and the Baṅgīya Pallī Sampād Rakṣā Samiti was renamed to *Bāṅglā Bratacārī Samiti* ("Bengal Bratachari Society") soon after.

Dutt conceptualised Bratachari as a holistic concept, to perfect the physical, mental, and moral strength of individuals, and to strengthen social unity and solidarity. The name of the movement derives from the Bengali word *bratacārī*, a compound of the noun *brata* ("vow"), and the suffix *-cārī* ("observing, adopting"). The term *bratacārī* thus means "one who observes the vow(s)", or any Bratachari practitioner, but it is also used for the movement as a whole. The practice of folk songs and dances was an integral part of it:

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[68] Bake usually spells Gurusaday Dutt's surname as 'Datta' or 'Dutta'.
[69] The *Anusīlan Samiti* ("Bodybuilding Society"), formed in Calcutta in 1902, was a militant revolutionary organisation that operated under the guise of fitness clubs.

The five Bratas are: Knowledge, Labour, Truth, Unity and Joy…

The ultimate object of a Bratachari is, therefore the attainment of the ideal of the complete man by attaining perfection in self-development in all spheres of life — physical, mental, moral and social; or in other words, the attainment of the ideal of a perfect citizen of the world…

The movement seeks to create in each country a nation-wide discipline of common citizenship among persons of both sexes, of all castes and creeds and of all ages, including children as well as old people, by developing a high standard of character, physical fitness in ideal and practice, the pursuit of constructive work, an observance of the dignity of labour and a joyous community spirit through common participation in national dances and songs as well as community dances and songs. Certain common formulas of salutation and mode of address and a common community yell constitute its outward conventions.

(Dutt, 1981, p.2)

To this end, every Bratachari had to observe sixteen essential *paṇ*-s ("promise, resolve") and seventeen *mānā*-s ("prohibition"), which together constitute a comprehensive framework of strategies for personal development and advice on proper behaviour in daily life. Bratachari quickly became popular among the Bengalis, and promoted interest in folk music and dance. Rabindranath Tagore and other Bengali scholars praised the movement, and the Scotsman James Buchanan, director of physical education in Bengal, adopted Bratachari songs and dances in the curriculum of secondary schools in 1933. The movement also spread to other regions of India in the 1930s. Soon, there was a South India Bratachari Society, an All India Bratachari Society, and even an All-England Bratachari Society. However, the movement resonated mostly with Bengalis.

In 1940, Dutt acquired a large plot of land near the village of Joka on the outskirts of Calcutta, to establish a *Bratacārīgrām* ("Bratachari village"), for the study and practice of Bratachari.[70] Dutt began with the construction of facilities for physical education on the plot, but before much could be completed, he died of cancer in June 1941. He had acquired a large collection of art and handicraft artefacts from different districts of

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[70] Naresh Bandyopadhyay believes that Tagore's Santiniketan inspired Dutt's plan for the village (personal communication, 17.7.2017, C1795/41).

Bengal during his life, and donated his entire collection to the Bengal Bratachari Society before his death. With this material, the Society established the Bratachari Museum at Joka, which was renamed the Gurusaday Museum in 1961. After 1947, the successive state governments of West Bengal promoted Bratachari songs and dances in public schools, which has kept Dutt's compositions alive. Until today, he remains a revered figure in West Bengal and Bangladesh, on account of his lifelong efforts to promote Bengali folk culture.

Bake made two silent films of Bratachari performances, presumably on 31 January 1931.[71] Probably, both films are from the Suri melā, an annual festival of folk music and dance. In the first film, a group of about 50 boys and young men stand in lines on open ground next to a festival tent in front of a large audience. They perform the Bratachari song "Prārthanā", which includes a Hindu prayer gesture, a Muslim *namāz* gesture, and a pan-Indian salute, raising their arms to the call "Jay jay he" (C52/FO/2: 0:00-0:25, Fig. 1.1).[72] In the second film, a group of male dancers perform an athletic Bratachari dance (C52/FO/2: 14:05-14:50, C52/FO/3: 3:52-3:59). The eight dancers wear tied-up dhotis and headscarves, and dance on a stage at ground level, in front of an audience on a raked seating bank. They are grouped in four pairs, aligned in a circular formation around an instructor in the centre, and perform athletic exercises synchronously, intermittently moving in a clockwise direction together. At the Suri melā, Bake also made a short film of the inaugural *Halakarṣaṇ* ceremony (C52/FO/2: 0:25-1:00).[73] In the film, Gurusaday Dutt and another guest of honour light a ceremonial candle lamp. Subsequently, they conduct the Halakarṣaṇ ceremony, walking behind four decorated bulls that plough a furrow.[74]

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[71] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 5.2.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 176.

[72] According to one publication, the song was composed in Suri in 1932 (Dutt, 2012 [1934], pp.38-9). The Hindu prayer gesture is not visible in Bake's film, it may therefore be an early version of the song.

[73] Snippets of the ceremony, some of these laterally reversed, are scattered in the files C52/FO/02 and C52/FO/03. I rejoined these digitally into a new video file for the British Library Sound Archive.

[74] Rabindranath Tagore invented the Halakarṣaṇ ("ploughing") festival to promote agriculture. The festival centres on a ploughing ceremony with decorated bulls, and usually includes music and dance. It was first celebrated in July 1928, and continues to take place annually in Santiniketan and nearby locations. After Tagore's death, the date of the festival was moved to 9 August. In 1932, the Suri melā also included a Halakarṣaṇ ceremony (see Mss Eur F191/70), but Bake did not attend the opening day of this melā.

Fig. 1.1: Boys and young men performing the pan-Indian salute of the Bratachari song "Prārthanā" (Suri, 31.1.1931, still from C52/FO/2: 0:00-0:25)

A number of researchers have studied the Bratachari movement. Frank Korom speculates that R. C. C. Baden-Powell's (1857-1941) Scout Movement in England inspired Dutt to conceptualise his movement (Korom, 1989, p.74). Furthermore, Korom points out that "Dutt was a key player in the romantic reconfiguration of the folk among Bengal's elitist minority that made concerted efforts to bolster vernacular nationalism in colonial Bengal" (Korom, 2010, p.260). Korom thus argues that Dutt promoted Bengali folk culture through the Bratachari movement to support nationalistic sentiments among the Bengalis.

Sayanti Adhikary (2015) argues that Dutt's Bratachari movement was a reaction against the notion that the Bengalis were an 'effeminate' people, an idea that had been promoted through British colonial discourses since the second half of the 19th century (Sinha, 1995). According to Adhikary, Dutt sought to counteract such notions by creating the Bratachari movement, which aimed to strengthen the physical, mental, and moral constitution of the Bengalis. For this purpose, the movement promoted a regimen of physical exercise, which included the practice of folk dances. Dance was a contentious issue in this period, as Bengali urban society tended to regard dance performances as a depraved form of entertainment, mostly performed by prostitutes for the decadent elite,

and dance in general was regarded as a performing art imbued with feminine qualities. Adhikary argues that Dutt sought to promote Bengali folk dances with the exact opposite qualities, namely as inherently masculine and heroic dances, practised by virtuous common folk. Through this, Dutt wanted to cancel out notions of Bengali effeminacy, and put forward the idea that the Bengalis were in fact a 'martial' race.

Beatrix Hauser (2002) examines Dutt's research on the Patuas in the 1930s. The Patuas are a Muslim Bengali community of scroll-painters and storytellers who narrate Hindu myths through their art, and are traditionally considered of low social status. Through his research, Dutt sought to identify the community as descendants of the Chitrakars, a different social group representing an ancient classical tradition of South Asian painting. Dutt organised exhibitions for the Patuas in Calcutta and Santiniketan, and encouraged them to explore new painting formats and techniques, to reach new viewers and open up new avenues of patronage. The Patuas cooperated, as Dutt's activities raised their social status and brought them economic benefits. Dutt's research thereby contributed to long-term changes in the tradition of Patua scroll painting, which gradually developed from an oral tradition, in which scrolls functioned as a medium of storytelling, to a primarily visual art form, centring on the sale of scrolls. In this way, Hauser's study suggests that Dutt may have inadvertently contributed to a shift of genre through his research. This opens up the question of whether Dutt was always aware of the long-term consequences of his work, which was driven by a deep interest in the promotion of Bengali folk culture, but sometimes exhibited a questionable methodology.

1.2 Gurusaday Dutt's Interactions with Rāybẽśe Dancers and other Performers

In this section, I discuss Gurusaday Dutt's interactions with rāybẽśe dancers and other performers, as described by Arnold Bake in the early 1930s and by performers today. Bake appreciated the logistic support he received from Dutt, but had concerns about his personality and research methods. Bake's correspondence suggests that Dutt displayed dominant behaviour in the field, and used his authority as a district magistrate to instruct performers. As Bake depended on Dutt's assistance, he did not criticise him openly. Instead, he expressed his concerns in his personal correspondence:

I think one has to be very tactful when interacting with Mr. Datta, because, notwithstanding all his qualities, he is very conceited, as it seems, and extremely proud of his own poems and compositions. I can't judge about the former yet, but his compositions were far from fine, but I am convinced that the friendship would be over, if one told him this. Anyway, it is nice to know that there is somebody in the neighbourhood where you can get information and help.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 11.2.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 177)

After Bake had witnessed Dutt's behaviour on several occasions, he became concerned about Dutt's habits. He especially disliked the fact that Dutt instructed performers during fieldwork, and he had the impression that Dutt took advantage of his authority as district magistrate to impose his ideas on performers:

Namely, he is terribly restless and has his preconceived ideas about how something has to be. For example, he always lets the people sing standing just when they sit and vice versa, he wants to make them dance when they don't want to, and so on. He is so terribly proud that he, as a magistrate, is interested in the things, and has some kind of lust for power. (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

One month later, Bake concluded that he could not collaborate with Dutt anymore, because Dutt interfered too much in his fieldwork. He found that Dutt lacked the methodological diligence for research:

Mr Dutt himself was more oppressive than ever with his interference and excessive excitement. It is impossible to do anything if he is nearby, he has to make changes everywhere… I am now sure that in terms of real work, nothing can [result with him]… [H]e is… so startlingly superficial and overhasty in his conclusions. It is a pity, because he has a good intention, and with the renaissance of folk dances he really does a great work. (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 25.2.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 230)

In the following months, Bake distanced himself from Dutt, and continued his research again without his support.

Contemporary accounts of rāybẽśe performers suggest that Dutt took advantage of his authority as district magistrate to reshape rāybẽśe dance. Around 2014, researchers from Jadavpur University conducted an interview[75] with the rāybẽśe dancers Shibram and Madhab Pramanik from Charkalgram, who belong to the Dom caste. In the interview, Madhab Pramanik narrates how Dutt demanded Pramanik's grandfather Rampada's group to perform at the Suri melā. Pramanik then tells how Dutt interrupted the group, because he disapproved of their cross-dressing choreography. Dutt then advised the group to perform more manly, heroic dances instead. According to Pramanik, the event occurred in 1931, or 1932:

Tārpar, sab haye gelo…, haye ỳābe pare ỳakhan rāybẽśe dal ebār ỳābe, takhan kintu ei ghāgrā pare. Ỳe õnār nāc dekheche uni, baleche: "Ei calbe nā. Get out. Ei calbe nā. Rāybẽśe āmi ỳeṭā ceyechilām, seṭā koi? Bīr, āmi sunechi, bīratvabyañjak bād diye ājke ei ki? Ek meyer se ỳe ghāgrā pare puruṣ, puruṣocita nāc to nay…" Eṭā bale odikini duyārer edike bār kare diyeche. Āmār dādu beṛar bāire basechilen, uni dekhlen āmāder dal keṭe diyeche, tāhale āmi ekṭā kichu kari. Ỳadi jāygā hay, to habe. Takhan, beṛa diye lāpiye ese pālāś śuru karlo… "Eṭā āmār darkār chilo!" Gurusaday Dutta ballen. "Tāhale tumi rāybẽśe ek jan sainik, takhan āmi pratham pelām. Ei jiniṣṭā āmār darkār chilo, āmi khũjchilām eṭā. Tār janye eto āmār kichu karā. Emni itihās habe. Tomrā to ghāb niyo nā, eso."
(Madhab Pramanik, c. 2014)[76]

When all [the other performances] were over, the rāybẽśe group went [to perform], however then they were wearing the *ghāgrā*.[77] When Dutt saw their dance he said: "This won't do. Get out. This won't do. Where is the rāybẽśe I wanted? I heard about valour. No sign of heroism, what is this today? A man who wears the dress of a girl, that is not a manly dance…" With these words, he sent them out. My grandfather, who had been sitting outside the boundary, when he saw that Dutt had stopped our group, [he thought]: "Then I will do something. If there is some space, that's possible." He leaped over the boundary and started to perform the *pālāś*[78]… "This is what I needed!" Dutt

[75] The interview was part of the research project Physical Cultures of Bengal (http://granthsouthasia.in/physical-cultures-of-bengal.html, accessed 28.3.2018).
[76] Own transcript from YouTube video (https://youtu.be/3vSM8n4JKfM, accessed 28.3.2018).
[77] The *ghāgrā* is a long, embroidered skirt that is a traditional female dress in northern India.
[78] The *pālāś* ("whirlwind") is a series of quick turns.

said. "Then you are a rāybẽśe warrior, the first I have come across. I have looked for this, I have searched for it. For this reason, I gave so much effort. This will make history, don't be afraid, come." (Madhab Pramanik, c. 2014; translation by the author)

Although the story may have been dramatised in the course of intergenerational transmission, it strikingly corresponds to Bake's observations. In the interview, Pramanik states that in consequence, the dance group composed a new choreography, which was approved by Dutt. The account thus illustrates how Dutt used his authority as district magistrate to make the group transform their choreography according to his ideas. A photo from one of Dutt's publications illustrates the type of dance costume Pramanik's grandfather's group may have worn (Fig. 1.2).
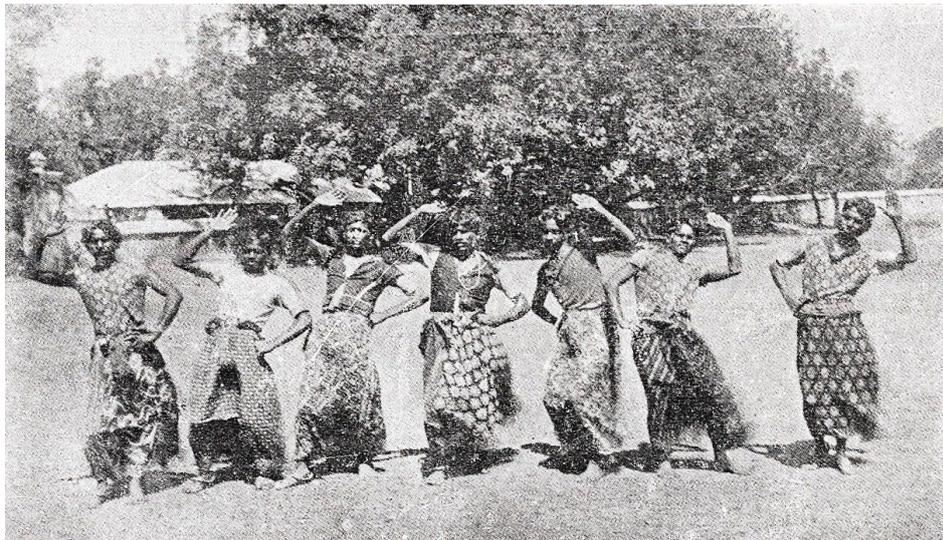
Fig. 1.2: Cross-dressing "rāi-beśe" dance group, c. 1930
(Dutt, 1992, unnumbered plate)

Dutt's proclaimed aim was to restore the "original glory" of rāybẽśe as a martial dance, and he pursued this aim not only by inducing stylistic changes, but also by devising strategies to improve the social prestige of performers. Rāybẽśe dancers traditionally belong to the lowest castes, such as the performers of Charkalgram who belong to the Dom community. Moreover, their cross-dressing dance may have been reminiscent of the dances of *nautch girls*, a class of professional women dancers who had been stigmatised by the anti-nautch drives of the colonial administration since the late 19th

71

century. As Dutt sought to improve the social recognition of rāybẽśe dancers, he bestowed the honorary title of "professor" on some of them.[79] Working with Dutt thus brought the prospect of an improved social status for dancers, which must have motivated them to cooperate with him. Dutt also changed the name of the village *Chorkolgram* to *Charkalgram*, to remove the connotation of dacoity, as the Bengali word *cor* means "thief".[80]

Dutt also composed a motivational song to promote the practice of rāybẽśe. The song invites listeners to learn rāybẽśe, and seeks to dispel notions of low social status associated with the dance:[81]

> Āy morā sabāi miśe khelba rāibiśe[82]
>
> morā khelba rāibiśe
>
> morā khelba rāibiśe
>
> āy morā sabāi miśe khelba rāibiśe.
>
> nahe ghr̥ṇya jinis e
>
> mahāmūlya jinis e
>
> āy morā sabāi miśe khelba rāibiśe
>
> moder bhābnā bhay kise?
>
> haye khelāy may bhābnā bhay bhāṅba nimeṣe
>
> naye n̥tyemay bhābnā bhay nāśba nimeṣe.
>
> (Chaudhuri, 1982, p.42)

> Let us all join in the play of Raibenshe!
>
> In the play of Raibenshe - in the dance of Raibenshe!
>
> It is not a thing to be despised -
>
> It is a thing of high value!
>
> What shall we fear? What shall we fear?
>
> By losing ourselves in play, we shall shatter

---

[80] www.youtube.com/watch?v=3vSM8n4JKfM, 11:00-11:50, accessed 8.4.2018.
[81] Contemporary rāybẽśe performers are familiar with the song. Madhab Pramanik performed it for the research team from Jadavpur University: www.youtube.com/watch?v=3vSM8n4JKfM, 0:00-0:55, accessed 8.4.2018.
[82] Dutt may have used this spelling here, which corresponds to vernacular pronunciation, for rhyme purposes in the song.

all worry and fear in the twinkle of an eye;

By losing ourselves in the dance, we shall banish

all worry and fear in the twinkle of an eye.

(English translation by Dutt, 1981, p.54)

Overall, then, the sources suggest that Dutt may have imposed the choreographies he preferred on performers, and that he may have taken advantage of his authority as district magistrate to enforce his ideas. Pramanik's account indicates that Dutt may have used a 'carrot and stick' approach in his interactions, by denying non-compliant artists the opportunity to perform, while offering potential collaborators the prospect of fame and recognition. At least, Dutt appears to have used this approach with Pramanik's grandfather's group, as he denied the cross-dressing dancers the opportunity to perform, but supported the vigorous dance act that Pramanik's grandfather offered as an alternative. Dutt's research activities show how he sought to improve the prestige of rāybẽśe performers through a multifaceted approach: he awarded them honorary titles to improve their social status, changed the name of their village to remove connotations of lawlessness and crime, and composed a motivational song to disassociate their dance from notions of social inferiority. In all, the available documentation thus suggests that Dutt did not study rāybẽśe as a neutral observer in the field, but made use of his official authority to reshape the dance according to his ideas.

1.3 War Dances and Dom Warriors: Arnold Bake's Fieldwork on Rāybẽśe

Map 1.1: Locations of Bake's fieldwork on Rāybẽśe

In this section, I examine Bake's fieldwork on rāybẽśe, to show how Dutt influenced his views on the dance through the performances that he organised. Dutt began his research on rāybẽśe in December 1930 (Dutt, 1954, p.25), and three months later he invited Rampada Pramanik's group to perform on the opening day of the Suri melā, 31 January 1931 (Chaudhuri, 1982, p.56). Bake attended the performance, but could not film it:

> When the second dance began, it was already too dark to record a film, fortunately, because I didn't have film anymore and if that had been possible I would have become terribly annoyed, naturally. But that was no irretrievable loss, namely, that is the dance of the district, danced by men of the lowest caste, and in Siuri,[83] where the magistrate, a Bengali, Datta, is very interested, it is performed regularly, thus I will surely still have the chance to record it later. That is an old war dance, and very primitive, it reminds you of Zulu dances or so. The Doms - that are the men of the caste, were professional warriors in earlier times and naturally this dance stems from those days. It is called Ray Bishi… (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 5.2.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 176)

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[83] "Siuri" is a spelling variant of the name of the town Suri.

Bake stayed in Santiniketan, 40 kilometres from Suri, but he was fortunate that Rabindranath Tagore appreciated Dutt's engagement with Bengali folk culture. Dutt frequently visited Santiniketan, and Tagore supported his research on the "manly" rāybẽśe dance:

> Dance of such a manly type is rarely met with. In Western countries, dance is the handmaid of valour. This dance will be able to remove the feebleness of spirit in our country. (Rabindranath Tagore, n.d., quoted by Dutt, 1981, p.58)

Six weeks later, Dutt brought two rāybẽśe groups to Santiniketan, and Bake filmed both performances.[84] The first performance took place on 9 March 1931:

> [At the Suri melā] I did not have the opportunity... to film the dances of the district, the Raibeshe. But now I was surprised, because on Monday [9.3.1931] morning, suddenly two dancers and two musicians came, from the surroundings of Burdwan [Barddhaman],[85] I believe, and then I was able to make a whole film of that... Mr Datta was wildly enthusiastic about my work and promised all possible help. Considering that he is the highest government authority in the district[,] he can probably be of great help to me. (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 11.3.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 181)

The film shows two dancers, dancing barefoot without ankle bells, on an earthen square in front of a university building. They are accompanied by a ḍhol player and a sānāi player (C52/FO/1: 3:43-6:03, Fig. 1.3). No audience is visible. In the first part of the film, the dancers wear white, knee-long dhotis, together with pieces of cloth that are tied around the hips, between the legs, and around the shoulders, as well as long headscarves tied up as turbans. In the second part, they wear their dhotis tied-up, with pieces of cloth tied around the hips and between the legs, and thin, short headscarves, with bare upper bodies.

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[84] According to Naresh Bandyopadhyay, Santidev Ghosh and other students incorporated rāybẽśe in the choreography of Tagore's play *Nabin* (1931), to Tagore's satisfaction. They then asked him to organise a rāybẽśe performance, which may have been the dance that Bake filmed on 12.3.1931 (Interview with Naresh Bandyopadhyay, 17.7.2017, C1795/41).

[85] The identity of the performers is unknown, but the dance style suggests they may have been from Rajnagar in the Birbhum district, where Dutt claimed to have found dancers upholding the original, martial rāybẽśe dance tradition (cf. Dutt, 1954, p.33).

Fig. 1.3: Two rāybẽśe dancers in stalking step position, with two accompanists
(Santiniketan, 9.3.1931, still from C52/FO/1: 3:43-6:03)

The two dancers perform dynamic body movements and resolute gestures, which evoke the impression of a martial dance. They perform different dance sections in quick succession, each section focussing on a different dance movement. In most scenes, they move at a distance of a few metres from each other. Sometimes, they dance side by side, performing the same movements almost synchronously. At other times, they dance opposite each other, or move in different directions, performing different movements individually. The two dancers appear to choose their movements and gestures spontaneously, and there does not seem to be an overarching choreography. The musicians play their instruments at the side, without taking part in the dance itself.[86] The dancers perform a number of different movements and gestures:[87]

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[86] Bake's film shows the musicians only for a few seconds (C52/FO/1: 4:36-4:38).
[87] My numeration of movements does not represent their temporal order in the performance filmed by Bake.

1. Stalking step with raised arms

The dancers walk forwards slowly, extending the left arm to the front and holding the bent right arm behind them (Fig. 1.3). At other times, they hold both arms bent in front or upwards. In these postures, they sometimes perform a series of short jumps in a forward direction, or slowly rotate their bodies. All the while, they move their shoulders to the rhythm of the music.

2. Quick 360 degree turn

The dancer moves forward a few steps with raised arms, and then performs a quick 360 degree turn. During the turn, he bends the upper body forwards, and moves the arms downwards. After the turn, he moves the upper body back up to a straight position and raises the arms upwards again.

3. Horse riding movement

The dancer performs a series of small jumps, moving forward on both legs. With each jump, he moves the knees inwards and outwards alternately, and swings his arms upwards and downwards alternately.

4. Concentration gesture

This gesture occasionally interrupts the flow of the other movements and appears to symbolise an act of focussing the mind. The dancer stands still for a few seconds, the legs apart. Meanwhile, he lifts his arms to join the hands in front of the face, the palms directed outwards. He then extends the arms to the sides. At other times, the dancer extends his arms to the front with clenched fists or raises his hands in the air. During this gesture, the dancer appears to make a yell.

A few days later, the group of Rampada Pramanik came.[88] As Dutt worked with the group in this period, it seems likely that he also organised this performance.

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[88] Rampada Pramanik's group is depicted in the rāybẽśe photographs of Dutt's publications (Dutt, 1954, Figs. 1-13; 1992, plates 1-9). The same dancers are recognisable in Bake's film.

We had during the week, I believe on Thursday [12.3.1931], a dance group, again Raibeshe, but now from a different part of the district. There were more people, a group of six, and it was very different, much more acrobatic and at least as interesting as the first time. I again took a film of it. Unfortunately, the film turned a bit loose when I took it out after I had taken it, so that the last part of it is very likely spoiled.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 17.3.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 182)

This film shows six dancers, dancing barefoot on a large, earthen square in front of a university building. Two of the dancers play ḍhol and kā̃si, two wear ankle bells on the left foot, and two are without any instruments (C52/FO/1: 6:03-8:41, Fig. 1.4). There is a large audience of about 100 people, who watch the performance from the sides of the square. The dancers wear white and light-coloured, tied-up dhotis, and dark-coloured pieces of cloth, tied around the hips, and between the legs. The ḍhol player wears his dhoti knee-long, with a vest. Two of the dancers wear scarves and neck pendants.

Fig. 1.4: Rampada Pramanik's rāybē̃śe group, with one dancer performing a quick turn
(Santiniketan, around 12.3.1931, still from C52/FO/1: 6:03-8:41)

The six dancers perform athletic dance movements and feats of strength in a very physical performance. Most of the time, they perform their dance gestures individually, aligned in a near circular formation. Sometimes, they dance on the spot, and at other times they gradually move clockwise together. Occasionally, one of them leaves and rejoins the circle. In some scenes, one of the dancers performs a slow rotation, or a quick turn (Fig. 1.4). There is a movement similar to the horse riding movement, but the dancer performs it from a squatting position. One dancer performs push-ups in one of the scenes. The concentration gesture is missing. The ḍhol player and the kā̃si player dance together with the group. Many times, the kā̃si player plays his instrument alternately under the left and right knee, sometimes slowly rotating at the same time. Also here, the performers appear to dance spontaneously, and there does not seem to be an overarching choreography. Overall, the dance appears to be even more free. Acrobatics with bamboo sticks were also part of the performance, as Bake's photos show (SMBC SNK I 70, 72, 75 and 77).

One year later, Bake photographed the same group at the Suri melā 1932 (Fig. 1.5).[89] In the photo, eight dancers march synchronously in a neat circle formation, their arms raised in the same position. There are two ḍhol players, one inside and one outside the circle. The setting is picturesque, an open space with trees in the background. Apparently, Dutt organised the photo shoot.[90]

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[89] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 9.3.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 232.
[90] At the Suri melā 1932, the Bakes stayed in a tent in the garden of Dutt's house. Dutt later published two photos of the same photo shoot in his book *The Folk Dances of Bengal* (1954, Figs. 8-9).

Fig. 1.5: Rampada Pramanik's rāybẽśe group in circle formation
(Suri, February 1932, SMBC SNK I 71)

Bake's films, photos and correspondence, then, show how Dutt informed his views on rāybẽśe, through the performances that he organised. Dutt invited groups performing martial, athletic, and acrobatic rāybẽśe dances in Suri and Santiniketan, and thereby shaped Bake's understanding of the dance. For the groups, the performances brought social recognition and probably also some income, as well as the prospect of gaining new audiences and patronage. In this context, it is important to note that Dutt states in one of his own publications that cross-dressing rāybẽśe dances were popular and widespread in 1930, whereas only few groups performed the dance in a "manly" way (1954, p.33). Nevertheless, Dutt presented only those groups whose performances corresponded to his idea of rāybẽśe as a martial dance, probably approving their choreographies in advance. Bake therefore concluded that rāybẽśe was a martial acrobatic dance. Impressed by the athleticism, he also believed it was "a splendid form of physical exercise."[91] Dutt's presentations of rāybẽśe performances were, of course, part of his wider agenda to promote Bengali folk dances as inherently masculine and heroic dances, a narrative that he sought to promote not only in India, but also abroad. Santiniketan was a centre of Indian and international scholarship, and therefore an ideal location for

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[91] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 25.2.32, Mss Eur F191/10, 230.

this purpose. Moreover, Dutt was aware of Bake's research on Indian folk music and dance and knew that he would document performances through film and sound recordings, to present his research abroad. In this way, their interests met when the two groups performed in Santiniketan: Bake made the film recordings he wanted, and Dutt presented rāybẽśe the way he wanted it to be seen.

1.4 A Comparison of Dutt's Publications and Arnold Bake's Recordings of Rāybẽśe

In this section, I examine how Dutt presented rāybẽśe as an ancient martial dance tradition in his publications, and scrutinise the evidence that he provides for his theory. Furthermore, I compare some of Dutt's descriptions to Bake's film recordings, to demonstrate that Dutt probably merged stylistic elements from different regional variants to create a standardised rāybẽśe choreography.

Dutt wrote the book *The Bratachari Synthesis* (Dutt, 1981 [1937]) to outline the origins, aims and methods of the Bratachari movement. Apart from five chapters concerning Bratachari, the book also includes a short chapter with information on the traditional dances incorporated in the movement, with the ambiguous title "Chapter VI: Notes on the Traditional Bratachari Dances" (1981, pp.56-60). Dutt describes nine Bengali folk dances, most of these concisely in one short paragraph, except rāybẽśe, which he describes on two pages, under the headings "Raibenshe Dance" and "Raibenshe Acrobatics". In the first section, Dutt introduces the dance as an ancient Bengali war dance, and declares that contemporary rāybẽśe dancers descend from lineages of Bengali soldiers:

> This is an ancient Bengalee war dance and derives its name from the Raibenshe soldiers who were the spearmen and lancers in the armies of the Hindu and Muhammadan kings of ancient Bengal. This name was applied to the lancers because the handles of their spears or lances were made from a particular kind of tough bamboo called "*rai* - (king) *bānsh* (bamboo)." The Raibenshe soldiers were thus the original "Bengal Lancers."[92]…

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[92] "Bengal Lancers" was the name of a number of cavalry regiments in the British Indian Army. The first one was originally called "Skinner's Horse", after Colonel James Skinner, an Anglo-Indian who formed the regiment for the East India Company in 1803.

The traditional Raibenshe dancers are the descendants of these soldiers and they now-a-days perform their dances and acrobatics for a small remuneration on the occasion of weddings and other festivals. They do not, however, now carry any lances in their hands while dancing, but dance bare-handed. This heightens the artistic character of the dance…

This dance is one of the manliest and most vigorous folk dances extant in any country of the world. It is marked by a remarkable dignity, orderliness and rhythm and brings every muscle of the body into vigorous play. The scheme of dancing is absolutely free from all traces of effeminacy or sensuality, and displays a high order of symmetry and an innate sense of discipline of the dancers. It is essentially a Tāndava or war dance. (Dutt, 1981, pp.57-8)

Here, Dutt distinguishes the dance by giving it the epithet *Tāṇḍava,* the eternal dance of creation and destruction, performed by the god *Śiva*.[93] After that, Dutt briefly outlines the "Raibenshe Acrobatics", which he describes as "a complete system of acrobatics which are in the nature of agility exercises". Dutt concludes both sections with supportive statements by Rabindranath Tagore and James Buchanan, who laud the beneficial effects of rāybẽśe on body and mind. The length of Dutt's two-page description is indicative of the importance that he places on the practice of rāybẽśe as physical exercise in the Bratachari movement. In chapter four, "The Bratachari Conventions", he also points out that the Bratachari salutation derives from a rāybẽśe gesture (Dutt, 1981, p.34).

Bratacārī Sakhā ("The Companion to Bratachari") (Dutt, 2012 [1934]) is a small booklet, published by the Bengal Bratachari Society. It outlines the principles of Bratachari, lists the lyrics of Bratachari songs, and also includes a section on Bengali and Indian folk songs and dances. Apart from serving as a guide for Bratachari practitioners, the booklet has also been used for the teaching of Bratachari songs and folk dances at secondary schools in West Bengal. Under the heading "Rāybẽśe nr̥tya" ("rāybẽśe dance"), Dutt introduces rāybẽśe as "the most glorious among the Bengali national dances" (2012, p.88), and describes its structure concisely. He then provides a

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[93] *Śiva* is also known as *Naṭarāja* ("the divine dancer").

transcription of the *bols*[94] that are played on the ḍhol in seven dance sections. The section names are:

1. Drut lamphane prabeś o dikbandanā	Quick leaping and assembly
2. Dhanuścālnār bhaṅgī	Bow handling section
3. Sāmarik kasrat	Martial exercise section
4. Aśva cālnār bhaṅgi	Horse riding section
5. Bhalla nikṣep bhaṅgī	Spear throwing section
6. Raṇ-pā ārohaṇer bhaṅgi	War cry section
7. Asicālnār bhaṅgī	Sword wielding section

(Dutt, 2012, pp.88-90)

Dutt names the sections in Sanskritic Bengali, using the term *aśva* ("horse"), instead of the more common Bengali term *ghoṛā* ("horse"), the term *bhalla* ("spear"), instead of *ballam* ("spear"), and *asi* ("sword"), rather than *tarbāri* ("sword"). Thereby, he gives his description a subtle connotation of antiquity. The bols of the first section are:

1. Drut lamphane prabeś o dikbandanā

      Ghiur gijjā ghiur gijjā ……

(Urr) ghinitā ghinitā ghiur tā tā tā (iyā)

(Urr) jāghin jāghin jāghin jhāṃ - tā tā tā tātāk tā

(Dutt, 2012, p.88)

Dutt's transcription is unique, because its bols are more varied than those that ḍhol players traditionally use for teaching and learning. Moreover, ḍhol players usually learn the bols of their instrument orally. These circumstances have led modern Bratachari practitioners to believe that Dutt probably created the bol system for ḍhol drumming in rāybẽśe himself.[95] Yet, he seems to have used the Sanskritic terminology intentionally, to give the dance and its drumming patterns an aura of antiquity and authenticity.

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[94] Spoken syllables representing different drum strokes, used for the teaching and learning of drumming patterns in Indian music.
[95] Interview with Naresh Bandyopadhyay, 17.7.2017, C1795/41.

The book *Bāṃlār Bīr Ỳoddhā Rāybẽśe* (Dutt, 1992) ("The Rāybẽśe Warriors of brave Bengal") was posthumously published by the Bratachari Society. Here, Dutt writes about the history of rāybẽśe and cites works of Bengali epic poetry from the 16th–18th centuries (1992, pp.22-4), to prove that rāybẽśe is an old martial dance, formerly practised by Bengali infantry soldiers. Among others, Dutt cites verses from a modern edition of the *Kabikaṅkan Caṇḍī*, an epic poem also known as *Caṇḍīmaṅgal*, written by Mukunda Chakravarti (c. 16th century).[96] The work includes an autobiographical introductory section, and a main part that merges mythological themes with "pictures of the domestic, social, economic and cultural life of the day and of the region" (Sen, 1979 [1960], p.119). Dutt first quotes from the section "Śālbāner raṇ-sajjā" ("The Battle March of Shalibahan"):

> Bājan nūpur pāy, bīr ghaṇṭā pāik dhāy,
> rāybẫśyā dhāy kharśān.
> (Chakravarti 1906-7, p.265, quoted by Dutt, 1992, p.23)

Dutt translates the verse in his "Note on the folk-dances of Bengal", in the *Census of India 1931. Volume V. Bengal & Sikkim. Part I*:

> Footmen with bells round their waists and sounding anklets round their ankles press on
> - the *Rāibeshes* also rush forward.
> (Chakravarti, 1906-7, p.265; translation by Dutt, 1933, p.540)

Notably, dance is not mentioned. Moreover, the free translation of the word *rāybẫśyā* ("Rāibeshes") seems suspect. Dutt then quotes another verse, from the section "Kaliṅga Rājer ỳuddhasajjā" ("The Battle March of King Kalinga"):

> Bājan nūpur pāy, bīr muṭhā pāik dhāy,
> rāybẫś dhare kharśān.

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[96] Kabikaṅkan is the pen name of Chakravarti, which appears in the work. A *Caṇḍīmaṅgal* is an epic poem in praise of the Hindu goddess *Caṇḍī*. Caṇḍīmaṅgals are a subgenre of *Maṅgalkābya*, Bengali Hindu poetry concerning the indigenous deities of rural Bengal, written between the 13th and 18th centuries.

(Chakravarti, 1906-7, p.95, quoted by Dutt, 1992, p.22-3)

Dutt translates the verse as:

> Footmen with sounding anklets march on with closed fists, the *Rāibeshes* carry their
> *Rāibansh* (lances) in their hands.
> (Chakravarti, 1906-7, p.95; translation by Dutt, 1933, p.540)

In this case, the term "Rāibeshes" does not appear in the original verse at all. Moreover, no such verse appears on page 95 of the *Kabikaṅkan Caṇḍī* (1906-7). However, Dutt's reference to the section "Kaliṅga Rājer ỳuddhasajjā" indicates that he meant to quote a verse from page 94:

> Bājan nūpur pāy, bīrghaṭā pāik dhāy,
> rāybãś dhare kharśāṇ.
> (Chakravarti, 1906-7, p.94)

Here, the term *ghaṭā* ("grandeur") appears, instead of *muṭhā* ("fist"). The translation of the phrase "bīrghaṭā pāik dhāy" is therefore "footmen march on with bravery and grandeur", not "footmen… march on with closed fists". It is unclear whether Dutt misread the verse, misquoted it intentionally, or assumed there was a printing mistake; his translation makes the verse seem more martial than it actually is. The other citations are similarly unconvincing. The terms *nṛtya* ("dance"), *nāc* ("dance"), or any indirect reference to dance do not appear in any of them. Therefore, they do not prove the existence of a martial rāybẽśe dance tradition.

Dutt (1992) also refers to supposed evidence from temple sculpture. Among the plates, there are two illustrations. The first illustration depicts an engraving of two human figures from the outer facade of the Gaurāṅga temple in Ilambazar, a town 15 kilometres west of Santiniketan (Fig. 1.6).[97] Dutt identifies the figures as rāybẽśe fighters, presumably because of the sticks they carry, which is scant evidence. The second

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[97] The construction date of the temple is unknown. According to the Archaelogical Survey of India, it was built in the 19th century.

illustration is a photo of two rāybẽśe dancers, instructed by Dutt to assume the same posture (Fig. 1.7). Through this juxtaposition, Dutt apparently wanted to highlight parallels between the appearance of modern rāybẽśe dancers and historical depictions of rāybẽśe fighters.
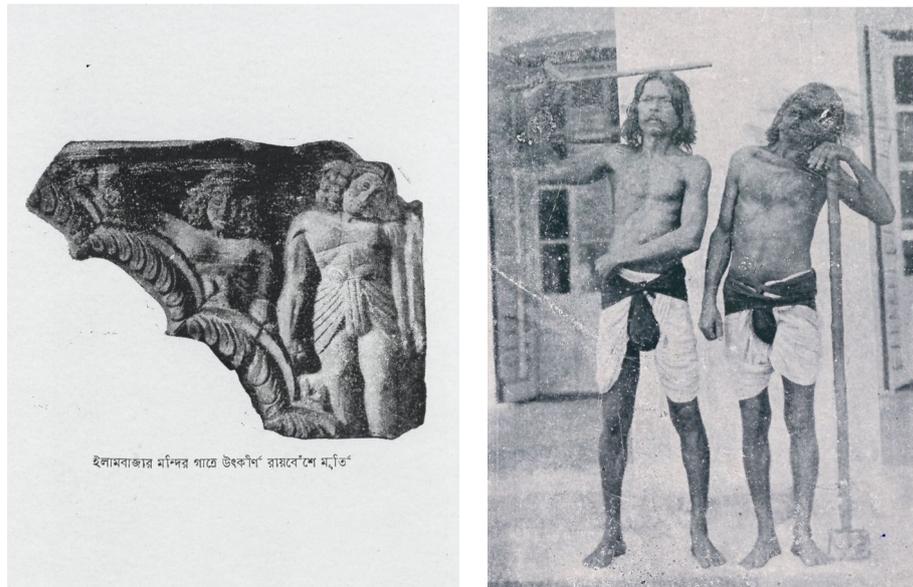
Fig. 1.6 (left): Engraving of two human figures at the Gaurāṅga temple (Ilambazar)
(Dutt, 1992, unnumbered plate)
Fig. 1.7 (right): Two rāybẽśe dancers re-enacting scene of temple engraving
(Dutt, 1992, unnumbered plate)

In *The Folk Dances of Bengal* (1954), Dutt explains why rāybẽśe became a cross-dressing dance:

> The *Rāibenshes* were soldiers in ancient days and their dance was a war dance, but in recent years the only demand for these dances has been on the occasion of weddings in Hindu families. With the decline in public taste in this country, dancing as a martial and manly art and as a vehicle for the expression of pure joy fell into disfavour. The *Rāibenshe* dancers belong to what is called the lower and depressed classes of society, and being in a state of poverty and semi-starvation, were obliged to cater for a corrupted public taste. They started to grow long hair and adopted women's dress as their dancing ensemble. In consequence of this, their style of dancing underwent, in many instances,

regrettable deterioration, inasmuch as it often became distinctly effeminate and suggestive of vulgar ideas, in puerile imitation of *nautch* girls. (Dutt, 1954, p.33)

Dutt thus blames a corrupt and decadent public taste for the decline of rāybẽśe's status from a martial dance to a cross-dressing dance. In the book, he describes the presumed original martial form of rāybẽśe in detail, explaining its dress, instrumentation and choreography. Dutt reports that the dance dress is very simple, consisting only of an upfolded Bengali dhoti, which may be accentuated by a red piece of cloth, tied around the waist and between the legs (1954, pp.26-7). The description seems to correspond to the outfit of Rampada Pramanik's rāybẽśe group from March 1931 (cf. Fig. 1.4). Presumably, Dutt declared this dress as the standard for rāybẽśe to emphasise the masculinity and rigidity of the dance.

Dutt further explains that "[t]he dance is performed to the accompaniment of *dhol* (the ancient Bengali military drum) and the *kānshi* (a gong of bell metal making a sharp clanging noise)" (1954, p.26). Dutt does not provide supporting evidence for the theory that the ḍhol, today a Bengali folk music instrument, was once used as a military drum. He adds that "[i]n olden days… the dance was also accompanied by the sounding of the *ran-singā* (literally, 'war trumpet') which is an imposing-looking copper trumpet with a beautifully curved shape" (1954, p.26). The described instrument is usually simply called *śṛṅga*, or *śiṅgā* ("horn"). In *Bāṃlār Bīr Ẏoddhā Rāybẽśe* (Dutt, 1992), there is a corresponding picture, which carries the caption "Rāybẽśe group from Birbhum in a part of the dance" (Fig. 1.8).

Fig. 1.8: Rampada Pramanik's rāybẽśe group with two śiṅgā and two kãsi players
(Dutt, 1992, unnumbered plate)

The photo shows eight dancers of Rampada Pramanik's group, which Bake filmed in Santiniketan in a smaller line-up with six dancers (cf. Fig. 1.4). In the photo, two performers play śiṅgā, and two play kãsi. There is no ḍhol. The background suggests that Dutt brought the group to a mansion or palace, to evoke an atmosphere of former glory. Notably, the śiṅgā does not appear in the rāybẽśe performances that Bake filmed (cf. Figs. 1.3-4). However, the instrument appears in his documentation of the kīrtan performances at the *Rās-līlā* festival in Mongoldihi (November 1931) (Figs. 1.9, 4.3). At the festival, he met Dutt unexpectedly.[98] These circumstances raise the suspicion that Dutt took the śiṅgā from a wholly different performance context and added it to rāybẽśe, to invent an imaginary historical instrumentation. He then probably arranged the photo shoot and instructed the group to hold two śiṅgās for the picture. Apparently, Dutt selected the instrument because it looks impressive, and because it appears in the context of warfare in ancient Indian texts.[99]

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[98] See Chapter 4.1.

[99] The śiṅgā is mentioned in the *R̥gveda* as an instrument of warfare and signalling.

Fig. 1.9: Śiṅgā player

(Mongoldihi, November 1931, SMBC KEN 18)

Dutt (1954) finally states that the dancers wear ankle bells, and that "[b]eing a war dance, the *Rāibenshe* dance is not accompanied by any song" (1954, p.27). The last statement conflicts with Bake's first film, in which one accompanist plays a sānāi (cf. Fig. 1.3). Presumably, Dutt omitted the sānāi from his description of rāybẽśe because the mellifluent sound of the instrument or the social background of the player did not fit with his idea of a martial dance.

Dutt (1954) also describes the dance choreography in detail. He explains the basic dance step of rāybẽśe (Fig. 1.10):

> The impression conveyed to the spectators is one of a line of bowmen advancing with drawn bows as if stalking an enemy with caution and firmness. This stalking march motion with arms in the attitude of drawing a bow or of holding a shield in the left arm and a spear in the attitude of hurling in the right, is the basic step of the *Rāibenshe* dance… (Dutt, 1954, p.29)

Fig. 1.10: Rampada Pramanik's group performing

the basic dance step of rāybẽśe (stalking march)

(Dutt, 1954, Fig. 4)

Furthermore, Dutt explains the different sections of the dance (1954, pp.27-32), which creates a clear overall structure of the dance (Fig. 1.11). According to Dutt's description, the dance has five main sections (Fig. 1.11: A1-A5). The third section (A3) is divided into a number of subsections, in which action movements (A3a-A3e) alternate with the stalking march.

A1) The assembling: leaping run entering circle, full run with "āwā, āwā" yell, stop		Stalking march
⇩		A3)a: alternate hops on each leg, back flip, 3 hops, hurling gesture, back flip, war yell
A2) Getting into the attitude of preparedness: stretching arms sidewards with clenched fists and "yee-āh" war yell, crouch, back flip, stretching arms to the front, entering bow drawing gesture		Stalking march
		A3)b: horse riding movement, back flip, war yell
⇩		Stalking march
A3) Marching, manoeuvring and action movements		A3)c: hurling blows upward in circle, war yell
⇩		Stalking march
A4) Repetition of centre dance: stalking march at high speed, kānshi played in varying postures, 3 x "āwā, āwā, āwā, yee-āh" yell & leap in the air		A3)d: victory dance, war yell
		Stalking march
⇩		A3)e: shield & sword movement, one man standing on the shoulders of the other
A5) Acrobatics		

Fig. 1.11: Structure of a rāybẽśe performance according to Dutt (1954)

Dutt describes the dance sections in minute detail:

> The next or second series of action-movements much resembles that of cavalrymen riding horses at a trot, the knees of the bent legs being alternately brought inward and then thrown outward in a series of hops performed in that attitude with both legs towards the centre of the circle, the two arms swaying in the act of controlling the reins of the horse... A backward movement from the centre is then performed in a series of hops with both legs, and this is followed by a capriole in the air which ends with the usual yell bringing the series of movements to a close.
>
> After twenty of the basic movement of the dance have been again gone through, the third series of action movements is enacted... (Dutt, 1954, p.30)

The stringent choreography is highly unusual for a Bengali folk dance, as these are normally performed rather freely, like the two rāybẽśe performances Bake filmed. Yet, there are certain similarities between the two performances and Dutt's published choreography. Some dance gestures of the duo performance (Fig. 1.3) reappear in Dutt's choreography, including the stalking march, the horse riding movement, and the gestures of the war yell (Fig. 1.11: A2-A4). The acrobatics of Rampada Pramanik's group

(Fig. 1.4) may have inspired Dutt to include an acrobatics section in his choreography (Fig. 1.11: A5). Assembly sections appear to be missing in the rāybẽśe performances that Bake filmed. Therefore, Dutt may have created a new assembly section for his choreography (Fig. 1.11: A1). The uniform circle walks of Dutt's choreography (Fig. 1.5; Fig. 1.10) are also missing in Bake's films, but they are notably similar to the circle dance of jārigān (Fig. 2.1), which Dutt had studied one year before in Mymensingh. Thus, Dutt appears to have merged stylistic elements from two different rāybẽśe groups with some new ideas and elements from other folk dances, to create a new, standardised, and clearly structured rāybẽśe choreography (Fig. 1.11). Dutt illustrates this choreography on several plates in his book, which show Rampada Pramanik's group performing the different dance sections (1954, Figs. 1-13).

The prominence of Rampada Pramanik's group in Dutt's publications (1954, 1992) indicates that Dutt collaborated with them when he developed the new standard choreography, whose well-organised form strongly suggests that Dutt's views and opinions were a dominant factor in the creation process. The complex, final structure probably emerged over the course of a few months, or perhaps even years. Bake's documentation illustrates how the collaboration gradually altered the choreography of Rampada Pramanik's group during this time. Bake filmed them in March 1931, probably a few weeks after the group had begun to work with Dutt. By then, Dutt had convinced them to discontinue cross-dressing dances, and he had probably approved the group's own revised choreography temporarily, but he had not yet developed the standard choreography. One year later, the group had fully adopted the new choreography (Fig. 1.5).

Overall, the available material demonstrates that Dutt sought to present rāybẽśe as an ancient martial dance tradition in his own and government publications, and asserted that modern rāybẽśe dancers were the descendants of a medieval class of Bengali warriors. Dutt tried to underpin this theory with historical evidence from literary sources and sculpture, which, however, does not stand up to scrutiny. To support the notion of an ancient tradition, Dutt alluded to Hindu mythology in his description of rāybẽśe, created a Sanskritic terminology for the dance, and probably invented a historical instrumentation, which he documented through a staged photograph. Through

this reinterpretation of the dance, he sought to disassociate it from cross-dressing practices, which he considered the result of a corrupted public taste.

Bake's documentation, however, illustrates that Dutt created a new martial standard choreography of rāybẽśe, which appears to have merged stylistic elements from two different rāybẽśe groups together with new ideas, and presumably with some elements from other folk dances. The new, sophisticated ḍhol accompaniment may have been Dutt's finishing touch. After the creation was complete, Dutt promoted the new choreography as a traditional one through his publications. Later authors regarded Dutt's publications as authoritative, and replicated his description of the dance in their own publications (Halim, 1962, p.138; Devi, 2002 [1972], p.195). This reinforced the impact of Dutt's work, to the extent that his definition of rāybẽśe constitutes the standard one today.[100] Contemporary Bratachari practitioners believe Dutt may have standardised rāybẽśe to enable its teaching and learning in the environment of the Bratachari movement.[101] This may have been one of Dutt's intentions, however, Bake's documentation demonstrates his actions went far beyond that, as he reshaped the stylistic characteristics of the dance completely. Judging from Bake's characterisations, Dutt was probably genuinely convinced of the correctness of his theories about the history of the dance. Arguably, he cast away any doubts he may have had, as his research was driven by the wish to discover a Bengali martial dance that was vigorous and energetic in character, the way he wanted to envision the Bengali people.

1.5 Fieldwork in West Bengal

For logistical reasons, my fieldwork was limited to Santiniketan and Kolkata, where I visited Visva-Bharati University, the Gurusaday Museum, and the Bengal Bratachari Society. These visits gave me insights into the relevance of Dutt's life and work to contemporary Bratachari and folk dance practitioners, and to Bengali society in general. In Santiniketan, my accommodation host brought me in contact with Naresh Bandyopadhyay, a lifelong Bratachari practitioner, who is now engaged as a folk dance

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[100] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raibenshe, accessed 18.3.2020.
[101] Personal communication with Naresh Bandyopadhyay, 17.7.2017.

teacher at Visva-Bharati University. I contacted Bandyopadhyay by telephone, and he invited me to attend an afternoon practice class of his rāybẽśe group at Dinendrakunj, a lush green grove on the campus of Visva-Bharati University.[102] When I arrived, four young women practised the rāybẽśe dance, accompanied by two ḍhol drummers and one kãsi player (Fig. 1.12). Bandyopadhyay directed the group from the side.

Fig. 1.12: Practice class of rāybẽśe group at Visva-Bharati University
(Santiniketan, 14.7.2017)

Bandyopadhyay worked as curator of the Gurusaday Museum in the 1970s, and he learned rāybẽśe from the descendants of Rampada Pramanik's group in Charkalgram for some time. As a member of a Bengali folk dance group, he toured in India and abroad between the 1980-90s. After that, he began to give folk dance workshops, including rāybẽśe, at universities in West Bengal. The first workshops took place at Rabindra Bharati University in Kolkata, in 2003-4. Since 2014, he has taught rāybẽśe at Visva-Bharati University, on a course on Bengali folk dances that is part of the *Rabīndra Nṛtya*[103] BA syllabus. With students from this and other performing arts courses, he formed a rāybẽśe group, which has since then not only performed in Santiniketan, but also at regional and national dance competitions, with considerable success. Most of the

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[102] Dinendrakunj is named after Tagore's nephew, Dinendranath Tagore.
[103] *Rabīndra Nṛtya* ("Rabindra dance") is a dance genre created by Rabindranath Tagore.

dancers of the group are young women students, and the percussionists are young men students. Some of them study tablā as a main subject at Visva-Bharati University.

The day after the practice class, I visited Bandyopadhyay at his home in Santiniketan. At our meeting, I showed him Bake's silent films of Gurusaday Dutt, Bratachari, and rāybẽśe performances (Fig. 1.13). It quickly became clear that the films had a special relevance for him, because of his long engagement with the life and work of Gurusaday Dutt, a topic that he has researched extensively. Moreover, he pointed out that these were probably the only existing film recordings of Gurusaday Dutt. He helped me to identify some sections that I had not recognised, including the scenes of the Halakarṣaṇ ceremony and the song "Prārthanā". Other films seemed to surprise him, especially the performance of Rampada Pramanik's rāybẽśe group from March 1931, apparently because of its uncoordinated choreography (Fig. 1.4, C52/FO/1: 6:03-8:41). Before leaving, I asked for an interview, which we held at his home two days later (C1795/41).

Fig. 1.13: Naresh Bandyopadhyay evaluating Arnold Bake's silent films
(Santiniketan, 15.7.2017)

During the interview, I mentioned Bake's views on Dutt's interference in performances. As Bandyopadhyay had devoted his life to upholding the legacy of Gurusaday Dutt, this

was a difficult topic. He emphatically denied that Dutt could have altered choreographies without the consent of performers:

> But, to make [a short form of the dance], to make it easier to teach to other[s], [Dutt] suggested the choreography, and obviously with the [agreement] of that original dancer. But [he] never thought that being a [district magistrate], he forced them: "What I am telling you, you *have* to do this." - No. He was *not* that type of man. Because, I have not seen Gurusaday Dutt, but I have [been] attached more than ten to twelve years with his two disciples, Alaji and Priyaji,[104] and I have heard from them a lot about Gurusaday Dutt's personality, behaviour, his mind, etc.
> (Interview with Naresh Bandyopadhyay, 17.7.2017, C1795/41)

Because of his reaction, I did not pursue the question further, and we continued the interview with other topics. One day later, I visited him again, to complete some formalities related to the interview recording. When I arrived, he was teaching a theory class to a young woman studying folk dance with him. We began a conversation about her own work as a dance teacher, during which I briefly mentioned my research topic and Bake's films. Bandyopadhyay interfered angrily and downplayed the relevance of Bake's material, criticising how Rampada Pramanik's group danced like a group of drunkards in the film. After all formalities were concluded, I left.

I could not watch a performance of Bandyopadhyay's rāybẽśe group during my fieldwork, but they performed at Visva-Bharati University in November 2017, which was documented on film.[105] The performance took place on one of the open-air stages on the university campus, as part of a university seminar on performing arts. The group comprised 21 performers in total, including 15 women dancers, three men dancers, two ḍhol players, and one kãsi player. The costume of the group was uniformly coloured in red and white. The women dancers wore red blouses, white dhotis with red seams, and ankle bells. The men dancers wore white shirts, and white dhotis. The percussionists wore red chequered vests over white shirts, and white dhotis. All performers wore red loin cloths and head scarves (Fig. 1.14).

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[104] Alaji and Priyaji were the short names of Nabanidhar Bandyopadhyay (1902-78) and Priyalal Sen (1908-95), two close associates of Gurusaday Dutt.
[105] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fqy2g5aTzpI, accessed 16.5.2018.

Fig. 1.14: Rāybẽśe acrobatics with bow-drawing gesture and war yell

(Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, 2017)

Naresh Bandyopadhyay directed the group from the side, announcing the different dance sections. The choreography (Fig. 1.15) followed Dutt (1954) (cf. Fig. 1.11), with some minor modifications. The performance began with an additional introductory section (Fig. 1.15: B1), in which single dancers demonstrated the stalking march and the other dance movements of rāybẽśe, one by one, with stylised weapons of bamboo and wood. Some stilt walking was included in this section, too. The remainder of the performance closely corresponded to Dutt's choreography. Some difficult movements had been replaced, as the dancers performed pirouettes, instead of backflips. The main section (Fig. 1.15: B4) corresponded in structure to Dutt's main section (Fig. 1.11: A3), with one more subsection (Fig. 1.15: B4a-f, cf. Fig. 1.11: A3a-e). The final acrobatics section included some *lāṭhi khelā*, stylised fights with bamboo sticks, also not included in Dutt's choreography. The percussionists appeared to follow the rhythmic patterns described by Dutt (2012, pp.88-90).

B1) Single dancers demonstrate dance movements with weapons: Stalking march with bow and arrow, march with spear, horse riding movement, victory dance, stiltwalking, shield & sword (stick)	Stalking march, 2 boys stilt walking in the end
⬇	B4)a: alternate hops on each leg, 360˚ turn, 4 hops, pirouette
B2) assembling: percussion introduction, leaping run entering circle, full run with "āwā, āwā" yell, stop	Stalking march with intermittent war yell
⬇	B4)b: horse riding movement, one hop, pirouette
B3) preparing: crouch, ḍhol bols spoken by all, "yee-āh" yell, standing up, stretching arms sidewards with clenched fists, pirouette, stretching arms to the front, entering bow drawing gesture	Stalking march with intermittent war yell
⬇	B4)c: one girl on the shoulders of the other, others in half circle hurling blows upward
B4) Marching, manoeuvring and action movements with acrobatics	Stalking march
⬇	B4)d: 2 girls' acrobatics & victory dance by others, then by all, war yell
B5) Acrobatics by some girls, while others crouch and perform war yell repeatedly, 2 boys stilt walking, acrobatics, lāṭhi khelā	Stalking march
	B4)e: 8 girls' acrobatics & others cutting strokes
	Stalking march slowly increasing speed
	B4)f: 4 girls' acrobatics & others do alternate hops on each leg, 360˚ turn, 4 hops, pirouette
	Stalking march slowly increasing speed

Fig. 1.15: Structure of a rāybẽśe performance (Visva-Bharati University, 2017)

One week after my meeting with Naresh Bandyopadhyay, I visited the Gurusaday Museum and the Bengal Bratachari Society in Kolkata. Today, the Museum is located on the southern fringes of Kolkata, next to a busy main road. Before my visit, I had made an appointment with Bijan Kumar Mondal, the executive secretary, whom I had informed about Bake's films by telephone. When I showed the films to him in his office, the scenes with Gurusaday Dutt immediately caught his attention. We decided to initiate the repatriation of Bake's films and some of his cylinder recordings to the Museum. Subsequently, Mondal showed me the Museum, which houses a wide range of artefacts, instruments, and textiles from rural Bengal, from Gurusaday Dutt's collection. After I returned from my fieldwork in October 2017, I started the formalities for the planned repatriation of recordings. On my next visit to India in June 2018, I sent the recordings to the Museum.

On the day of my visit to the Gurusaday Museum, I also visited the Bengal Bratachari Society in the centre of Kolkata. At its office, portraits of Gurusaday Dutt, his relatives and close associates are displayed prominently (Fig. 1.16). The Society also

offers many of Dutt's publications for purchase. I showed Bake's films to some members in the office, which, however, brought no new insights. As the Society is in close contact with the Gurusaday Museum, we decided not to initiate another repatriation process. Apart from performing at cultural programmes,[106] the members of the Society meet annually at the Gurusaday Museum for a Bratachari camp, which includes workshops of Bratachari and Bengali folk dances. At the annual meeting in December 2018, Mondal showed Bake's films to Society members, who appreciated the opportunity to see the films of Gurusaday Dutt, Bratachari, and rāybẽśe.[107]

Fig. 1.16: Portraits of Gurusaday Dutt and associates at the Bengal Bratachari Society
(Kolkata, 25.7.2017)

1.6 Online Sources on the Practice of Rāybẽśe in West Bengal and Bangladesh today

In this section, I give an overview of contemporary online sources concerning the practice of rāybẽśe in West Bengal and Bangladesh, which illustrate the long-term effects of Dutt's work. In Charkalgram, 15 kilometres from Santiniketan, Madhab Pramanik continues the rāybẽśe dance tradition of his grandfather Rampada Pramanik. His group follows the choreography of Dutt (1954) closely (Fig. 1.17).[108] The dance groups comprise male performers only. There is one kãsi player and one ḍhol player, who appear to follow

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[106] Rāybẽśe performance by members of the Bengal Bratachari Society at the Ramakrishna Mission, Kolkata: https://youtu.be/l87pCCMJUvw, accessed 24.4.2018.
[107] Dance performance based on Bratachari and Indian folk dances, performed at the annual meeting 2018 of the Bengal Bratachari Society: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ga4VGZy6DYU, accessed 14.3.2020.
[108] https://youtu.be/3vSM8n4JKfM, accessed 28.3.2018.

the rhythm patterns of Dutt (2012). Apart from Dutt's dance choreography, the local groups also perform a freer form of rāybẽśe dance that centres on acrobatics. This style is performed at communal festivities, such as weddings.[109]

Fig. 1.17: Rāybẽśe group of Madhab Pramanik, performing the basic dance step (Charkalgram, c. 2014)

In Palsit, a village in Barddhaman district 65 kilometres from Santiniketan, rāybẽśe is performed similarly as in Santiniketan and Charkalgram, with a group dance section and an acrobatics section. Like in Charkalgram, the group is male-only. The overall choreography and single dance movements are similar to the descriptions given by Dutt (1954). The basic dance step is performed a bit differently, as the dancers raise their legs not as high, stretch the arms sidewards, and tilt back and forth with the torso as they walk (Fig. 1.18).[110] In the introductory assembly section, the dancers enter a circle formation, split up into two smaller circles, and then rejoin into one circle again. The percussion section comprises one kãsi player, two ḍhol players, and a frame drum player. They appear to play rhythms that are different from those described by Dutt (2012, pp.88-90). The dance dress is white and green, and the dancers wear a waist band in the colours of the Indian national flag.

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[109] Personal communication with Naresh Bandyopadhyay, 17.7.2017.
[110] https://youtu.be/7fR1DuAG3JM and https://youtu.be/Yojdh0BSHws, accessed 15.4.2018.

Fig. 1.18: Rāybẽśe group from Palsit, performing the basic dance step

(Palsit, 2017)

In Jhargram, a district in southwest West Bengal, rāybẽśe groups are male-only, too. They perform the dance in a way that is quite different from Dutt's choreography (1954). Their group dance includes line and circle formations, which are interspersed with acrobatics. The basic dance step is a wide swaying movement, in which the dancers raise the legs high up in the air, while holding their arms upwards (Fig. 1.19).[111] A sānāi player and a percussion section accompany the dance. The percussion section comprises a kettledrum played with sticks, two barrel drums played with the hands, and a stick tambourine. The instrumental accompaniment is thus very different from the descriptions given by Dutt (1954; 2012). The dancers wear a multi-coloured costume, with yellow dhotis, red waist-cloths, red headscarves, blue armbands, and wristbands in the colours of the Indian flag. In terms of choreography and instrumentation, the dance appears to be influenced by *Chhau* dance, a different regional folk dance tradition from the western regions of West Bengal, which incorporates martial, acrobatic and religious themes.[112]

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[111] https://youtu.be/dh0Hz9fSunA, accessed 9.6.2018.
[112] Example of Chhau dance: https://youtu.be/XfrIlob04gE, accessed 9.6.2018.

Fig. 1.19: Rāybẽśe group from Jhargram, performing the basic dance step

(Jhargram, c. 2015)

Dutt's rāybẽśe choreography also informs the repertoire of modern urban dance groups. The dance group Shadhona from Dhaka merges traditional Bengali dance and modern dance in their productions.[113] Amongst other pieces, the group have choreographed the piece "Raibeshe", which includes elements of Dutt's choreography. The performance begins with a stylised assembly section, in which the dancers perform the war yell described by Dutt (1954). There also is the stalking step gesture (Fig. 1.20),[114] and other dance movements derived from the descriptions given by Dutt. A ḍhol plays the bols described by Dutt (2012, pp.88-90), which are synchronously spoken by the dancers. Additionally, there is a tapestry of keyboard sounds in the background, and melody accompaniment on a trumpet. The piece also includes sections inspired by other Bengali folk dances. The dancers wear black shirts, red embroidered dhotis and red-white scarves.

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[113] http://www.shadhona.org, accessed 15.3.2020.
[114] https://youtu.be/xBZkdkxqQsU, accessed 15.4.2018.

Fig. 1.20: "Raibeshe" dance piece by the dance group Shadhona

The rāybẽśe of Murshidabad district is exclusively acrobatic. Here, rāybẽśe groups perform balancing acts on wheels, rods and boards, as well as knife throwing and costumed stilt walking acts. Except for the assembly section, Dutt's choreography does not seem to play a role. Open-air performances include various types of folk music percussion.[115] The groups also perform on Indian television shows, to the playback music of modern Indian dance music (Fig. 1.21).

Fig. 1.21: Rāybẽśe group from Murshidabad, in a Telugu TV Show

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[115] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BgFkLTmBGwk, accessed 15.3.2020.

Overall, the available online sources show that Dutt's rāybẽśe choreography informs the practice of the dance in West Bengal and Bangladesh to a considerable extent today. Especially in Birbhum and adjoining districts, rāybẽśe groups appear to follow Dutt's choreography closely, whereas groups in other districts seem to take more liberty with their interpretations. Moreover, Dutt's choreography appears to inform the rāybẽśe performances of academic and urban dance groups, arguably because written sources tend to play a greater role in these contexts than in rural ones. The appearance of rāybẽśe groups in TV shows, lastly, points towards a commercialisation of the dance, a development that seems to bring with it a focus on its most spectacular and entertaining aspects, namely the acrobatics.

1.7 Conclusion

In all, the available sources demonstrate that Dutt redefined the theory and practice of rāybẽśe, not only in the Bengal region but also beyond. In South Asia, the dance is now widely regarded as an ancient Bengali martial dance, whereas cross-dressing practices appear to have become completely disassociated from it. Today, Dutt's martial rāybẽśe choreography is considered as an authoritative account of the stylistic characteristics of the dance, which has led to a certain assimilation of choreographies, as contemporary online sources demonstrate. As a result, most contemporary rāybẽśe choreographies seem to offer less room for individual and spontaneous expression than those of 1931. Dutt's promotion of rāybẽśe through the Bratachari movement certainly contributed to this standardisation process.

Dutt's work transported rāybẽśe out of its original, rural performance contexts into the sphere of Bengali middle-class society. This development began when he organised rāybẽśe performances at Visva-Bharati University in 1931, which brought the dance closer to the students of Tagore's university in Santiniketan. After that, Dutt continued to promote the dance through his folk dance training camps and the Bratachari movement, which was open to all sections of Bengali society. Through this, members of the Bengali middle class began to engage with rāybẽśe, which ultimately led to its inclusion in academic degree courses and adaptation by urban dance groups several decades later, a development that can be regarded as an institutionalisation of

its practice. In these contexts, the dance now tends to be performed predominantly by female dancers, because the study of dance tends to be more popular among women than among men of the Bengali middle class.

Dutt's reinvention of rāybẽśe brought with it a classicisation of the dance. This classicisation manifested itself in his creation of a standard choreography that he described in Sanskritic terminology, in his creation of a bol notation system for ḍhol drumming in rāybẽśe, and in his fabrication of alleged historical evidence that rāybẽśe was an ancient performance tradition. Through this, Dutt successfully created a comprehensive, near-classical theory framework for the dance, which certainly supported its acceptance among the educated sections of Bengali society. Bake must have been able to observe the effects of Dutt's work. However, he kept his concerns to himself, as he depended on Dutt's logistical support. Moreover, as a young, foreign researcher, he could hardly criticise a district magistrate openly. As Dutt remains a revered figure in West Bengal and Bangladesh on account of his lifelong efforts to promote Bengali folk culture, it is unsurprising that criticisms of his work remain a difficult topic in the region. Nevertheless, Bake's correspondence and films highlight the need to study Dutt's research output with caution.

Chapter 2

Jārigān: Continuity and Change 1931-2017

On a day visit to the Suri melā 1931, Bake made a silent film of a jārigān group, who had come from Mymensingh in East Bengal to perform at the festival. Due to some misinformation, he failed to record their songs before they returned to East Bengal. After he had established contact with Dutt for the facilitation of further recordings, he began to reciprocate Dutt's support by sharing his recordings, and arranged a cylinder phonograph for him from the Berlin Phonogram Archive. Through favours like these, he maintained Dutt's support, who offered him accommodation on the premises of his official residence in Suri one year later when Bake made his cylinder recordings of jārigān. During his tenure in Mymensingh, Dutt had promoted jārigān performances to quell communal discord between Hindus and Muslims. Dutt tried to further his plan of achieving communal harmony through the practice of jārigān by publishing patriotic jārigān songs advocating intercommunal cooperation, in line with the agenda of the Bratachari movement, but after the partition of British India along communal lines in 1947, his vision of jārigān became largely redundant. In the following decades, jārigān became a symbol of Bangladeshi Muslim identity, as artists explored the genre as a medium for the commemoration of the struggles of the Bangladeshi population for cultural autonomy, political independence, and socio-economic progress.

After an introduction to jārigān, I discuss Bake's fieldwork and recordings of jārigān and the Muharram festival from 1931-32. I then discuss Gurusaday Dutt's interpretation of the genre, by examining three of his publications. Subsequently, I discuss the cultural and political developments of the Bengal region in the 20th century, with examples of jārigān songs from different periods. Lastly, I give an account of my fieldwork in 2017, which throws some light on the contemporary practice of jārigān in rural Bangladesh.

2.0 The Music and Dance of Jārigān

The term "jārigān" is a compound of the words *jāri*, the Bengali derivative of the Persian and Urdu word *zārī*, ("lamentation'), and the Bengali word *gān* ("song"). It stands for a genre of Muslim devotional music performed in the Bengal region at the time of the Muharram festival.[116] Traditional jārigān songs derive from works of Bengali epic poetry on the Karbala tragedy,[117] and from other Islamic stories (Dunham, 1997, p.35). Through this, there are parallels between the themes of jārigān, and *marsiyā*[118] and *pũthi-paṛā*[119] recitals, which also often concern the Karbala tragedy. Jārigān songs on the Karbala tragedy localise its narrative "into a Bengali landscape, so that a cast of protagonists from the Middle East – prophets, warrior-saints, and dedicated women – dwell in the imaginations of the *jarigan* audience as familiar figures" (Dunham, 1997, p.93). However, jārigān songs can also concern other themes. Jasimuddin and S. M. Lutfor Rahman include romantic and humorous songs in their jārigān collections (Jasimuddin, 1968; Rahman, 1986), and Mary Frances Dunham points out that jārigān singers also perform songs with contemporary topics (1997, p.67). Rahman (1986, p.5) outlines the sentiments of jārigān in the *rasa* system of Indian aesthetics,[120] as *karuṇa* ("compassion, sorrow"), *vīr* ("heroism"), *madhur* ("sweetness"), and *śānta* ("peace"). The prosody of jārigān is based on the verse metres *payār* and *tripadī*,[121] which often occur in Bengali folk music and poetry.[122]

Jārigān is sung throughout Bangladesh, and rural Mymensingh is an important historical centre of the genre (Hai and Shahidullah, 1963, p.104). Recent research has

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[116] Sunnis and Shias celebrate the festival together in the first ten days of the month Muharram in West Bengal and Bangladesh. In both regions, the vast majority of Muslims are Sunni, while Shias constitute a small minority.

[117] The battle of Karbala is part of the history of conflicts among Muslims that unfolded after the death of the prophet Muhammad in 632 CE. In the year 680 AD, the prophet's grandson Husain and his followers were assassinated and killed by the army of Yazid, who claimed the prophet's successorship as caliph. Karbala is now located in central Iraq.

[118] *Marsiyās* are elegiac poems and dirge songs on the Karbala tragedy.

[119] *Pũthi-paṛā* ("manuscript reading") is a performance tradition of reciting and chanting Islamic texts.

[120] *Rasa* literally means "juice" or "essence". The rasa system describes the sentiments of drama, music and dance performances. It was originally codified in Bharata's Sanskrit treatise *Nāṭyaśāstra* (c. 200 BC - 200 AD).

[121] In the *payār*, each line comprises 14 syllables, which are subdivided into 8+6 syllables. In the *tripadī*, each line comprises 20 syllables, which are subdivided into 6+6+8 syllables.

[122] *Payār* and *tripadī* also occur as verse metres of *kīrtan* (Mukhopadhyay, 1951, pp.67-8), *pũthi-paṛā* (Kane, 2008, pp.174-274), and *pãcāli* (d'Hubert, 2015, p.427).

focussed on rural Mymensingh (Dunham, 1997) and Netrakona (Zakaria, 2012; 2017 [2011]). Some Muslim communities in West Bengal may also perform jārigān (Hai, 1962, p.158; Dunham, 1997, p.56). Jārigān songs are traditionally performed by male vocal groups. The lead singer and composer is called *bayāti*.[123] He sings and enacts the Karbala narrative. His singing alternates with that of the other singers, who are called *dohārs* ("repeaters")*.* Women bayātis are very rare, but some urban folk music groups perform jārigān with female dohārs and instrumentalists (Dunham, 1997, pp.54-6). Sometimes, there are two dohārs, called *ḍāinā* and *bāiyā*,[124] who temporarily lead the jārigān group for part of a performance. In rural settings, jārigān performances may take place in the form of group competitions, where bayātis hold poetic debates, similar to the performance style of *kabigān*.[125]

A jārigān performance usually begins with a *bandanā*,[126] a song of praise, in which the group pay their respects to Allah and his prophet, the martyrs of Karbala, and salute the audience. Subsequently, the group perform jārigān songs, sometimes with interjections of spoken verse, narrated by the bayāti. Often, only sections of songs are performed, as one song can comprise several hundred couplets. The songs usually include short refrains, which are called *diśā*, *dohār*, or *dhuyā*, three terms used interchangeably (Zakaria, 2012, p.98). The *ḍāk* ("call") is a short, exclamatory verse, interjected by a single singer or the whole group. Occasionally, a series of ḍāks is performed at an up-tempo speed, as an interlude that contrasts with the solemn character of jārigān songs. A performance usually finishes with a few verses announcing the end of the narrative. These sometimes include a *bhaṇitā*,[127] a verse featuring the composer's name.

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[123] The term *bayāti*, derived from the word *bayt* (ara. "couplet"), means "couplet-maker" or "couplet-reciter".

[124] The words *ḍāinā* and *bāiyā* mean "the right one" and "the left one", indicating the relative positions of the performers in the group.

[125] *Kabigān* ("poet's song") performances usually include two groups. Each group comprises a lead singer and dohārs, similar to the line-up of jārigān groups. On stage, the lead singers of each group compete with each other, by exchanging challenging questions and ironic remarks.

[126] The Bengali word *bandanā* is derived from the Sanskrit word *vandanā* ("worship", "praise"). Bandanās also appear in genres of Hindu devotional music, such as kīrtan.

[127] *Bhaṇitā* is a Sanskritic term, too*.* Signature lines are common in Sanskrit poetry, e.g. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. They also occur in South Asian classical and devotional music related to Hindu and Buddhist culture, such as *prabandha*, *bhajan*, *dhrupad*, caryā and dāphā (Widdess, 2013, p.39).

The instrumentation of jārigān varies. Some groups perform without instrumental accompaniment, others use the string instruments *dotārā, sārindā* and *behālā* ("violin")*,* or the kettledrum *ḍuggī*. Folk music bands performing jārigān often include further instruments, such as the ḍhol, the tablā, the metal cymbals *kartāl*, the frame drum *khañjani*, the sānāi, or the transverse bamboo flute *bā̃śi* (Dunham, 1997, pp.54-5). Bayātis usually start learning jārigān from a renowned performer (*ustād*), outside their own family. Many bayātis are semi-professional performers, who pursue other professions for their livelihood, and only few are able to make a living from their art. Most dohārs are amateur performers, employed in other professions.

Jārigān performances sometimes include a male group circle dance, the jārigān dance. Today, it is mainly practised in the districts Mymensingh and Netrakona. Normally, 15-20 male dancers perform the dance together. The bayāti leads his group, but rarely participates in the dance himself. The ḍāinā and bāiyā assist him in coordinating the group. The other dancers are called dohār, or *kheloyāṛ* ("player, performer"). During a performance, the group move in a circle formation, and vary their dance movements in different sections. Usually, the only instrumental accompaniment are ankle bells, worn by the dancers. The bayāti usually wears a *kamiz*[128] or a shirt, and a *dhoti* or *lungi*.[129] The other dancers usually wear shirts, t-shirts or sleeveless vests, dhotis or lungis, and coloured headscarves, and perform the dance with coloured handkerchieves.

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[128] The *kamiz* is a kind of tunic, worn by Muslims.
[129] The *dhoti* is a long cloth that is folded around the legs. The *lungi* is worn similarly, but a bit shorter. It can be folded up, and is more casual than the *dhoti.*

2.1 Arnold Bake's Fieldwork on Jārigān and the Muharram Festival
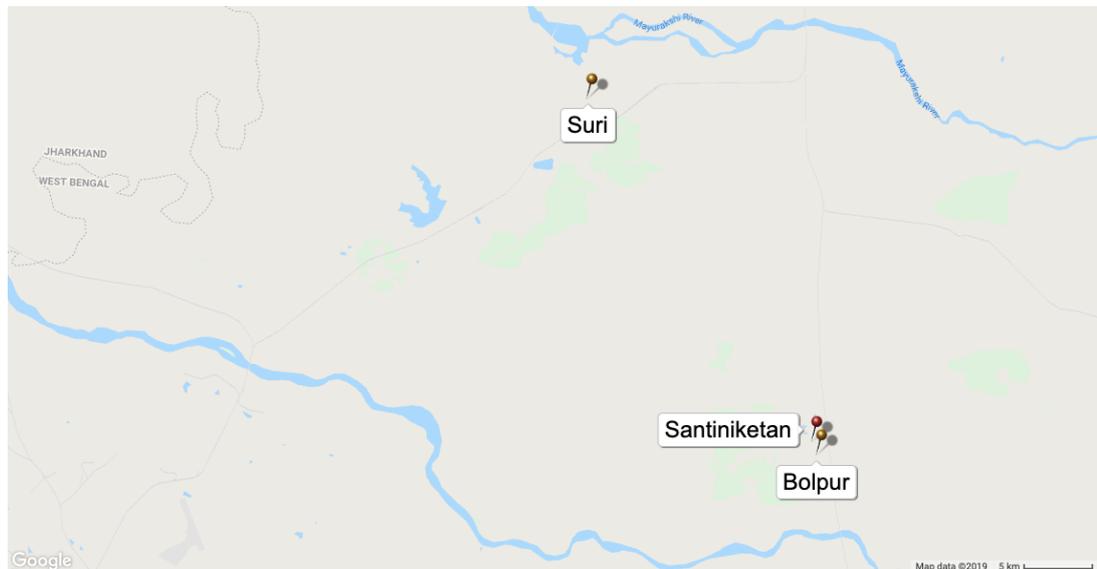
Map 2.1: Locations of Bake's fieldwork on Jārigān and the Muharram Festival

In this section, I discuss Bake's fieldwork on jārigān and the Muharram festival during 1931-32, which shows how Gurusaday Dutt supported him in the organisation of recordings, and how Bake reciprocated Dutt's support by sharing his recordings and arranging a phonograph for him from the Berlin Phonogram Archive. Bake made his first recording of jārigān on the opening day of the Suri melā 1931, which was also attended by Gurusaday Dutt. The Bakes accompanied Dinendranath Tagore and his wife to Suri on a day trip. After the official opening of the festival, Arnold recorded a silent film of a jārigān dance, performed by a group from the Mymensingh district in East Bengal. His correspondence suggests that he had not previously engaged with jārigān:

> Saturday [31.1.31] was the opening day of the mela in Siuri, and Dinubabu [Dinendranath Tagore] and his wife went there and had asked us to come along. We enjoyed it a lot. First the tour to Siuri, twenty miles through the countryside, which we didn't know yet, and then the mela, or rather the opening ceremony. The official part was naturally quite tedious, but the essential, for which we went, came after that, namely folk dances. Two different kinds, one from Mymensingh, East Bengal, danced by Mohammedans, very strange. I took a whole film of that, we will have a look soon

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whether it is good. I hope that I will still have the opportunity to record the melodies these days, but I rather fear that won't happen. The Ediphone is too heavy to walk around with it for a day and the small [gramophone] by Hornbostel has not arrived yet, as you know… [T]he dance from Mymensingh is called jari.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 5.2.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 176)

Bake was satisfied with the film, but could not make cylinder recordings of the group, because the group left soon after the Suri melā. He then planned to approach the district magistrate Gurusaday Dutt for help. He understood that Dutt could facilitate recordings:

Last week… we went to see the film of the [jārigān] folk dance, which has become very good, and of which I am very proud. When we came back to Santiniketan, we heard that the same dancers would also come to the mela of Surul, and thus we did not make a plan to go once more to Suri. Furthermore, that would have been difficult, because the small gramophone from Berlin is not there yet. Unfortunately, there came a telegram [stating] that the dancers went back to Mymensingh, thus the [jārigān] melodies remain until later. Fortunately, the magistrate of the district, who stays in Suri, is a big enthusiast for all folk art, thus I will surely be able to count on his support. I will make some connection with him, he is a very energetic man. We had already met him previously, but never had much opportunity for contact. I was really delighted that the film had become good, but Rathi's[130] screen is not yet in order, so that the people here, also Mr. Datta, the magistrate, could not see it yet.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 11.2.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 177)

One month later, he received an encouraging reply from Dutt:

Just yesterday I received an enthusiastic letter by Mr. Datta, who wants to aid me in all kinds of ways, therefore I have to seize the opportunity with both hands.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 4.3.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 180)

One week later, the screen was repaired, and he showed the film of the jārigān dance performance to Dutt at a cultural programme in Santiniketan. Dutt asked for a copy:

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[130] An acquaintance of the Bakes in Santiniketan.

> The magistrate, Mr Datta, was also there, and for the presentation Rathi showed the film to him that I made in Suri at the mela. He was much delighted about it, and asked if I would get a copy made for him, at his cost of course. It was the dances from Mymensingh…
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 11.3.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 181)

It is unclear whether Dutt received the film, but Bake's copy was preserved. He made an edited cut (C52/FO/1: 1:52-3:43), and the remaining snippets are also preserved (C52/FO/2). He did not document the name of the performers, but related literature suggests they were a group from Atharabari village in eastern Mymensingh.[131] In the film, the group perform a circle dance with different sections. The basic dance structure is a circle walk, during which the dancers wave their handkerchieves. Sometimes, they dance on the spot, and in one scene they slowly move downwards into a crouching position. In another scene, they break into pair formations, and step forwards and backwards alternately to the left and right, a movement that is called jāri crossing, because the dancers cross their paths. The dancers appear to sing, and there seems to be no instrumental accompaniment. The bayāti moves outside the circle, and there are two dohārs assisting him, who sometimes lead the group from within the circle, and join the dance at other times. The dance dress is uniform. The bayāti wears a white kamiz and a bright dhoti. The dohārs wear white t-shirts, shirts, kamiz, and bright-coloured dhotis, but no headscarves. Most of them wear ankle bells on the right foot, except the bayāti. In some scenes, Gurusaday Dutt is visible. He watches the performance attentively at a close distance, in the company of other officials. Occasionally, he walks around, swaying to the rhythm of the dance. Bake probably filmed him unintentionally, because Dutt was close by (Fig. 2.1).

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[131] See Chapter 2.2.

Fig. 2.1: Jārigān dance group at the Suri melā, with Gurusaday Dutt and bayāti to the left

(Suri, 31.1.1931, still from C52/FO/1: 1:52-3:43)

On 29.5.1931, Bake made a silent film of the Muharram celebrations in the centre of Bolpur. Most of the film is included in one file (C52/FO/1: 0:00-1:52), while two other files contain shorter sections and snippets (C52/FO/2, C52/FO/3). The film shows a traditional Muharram procession, which comprises only male participants. Many of the men carry bamboo sticks and poles. One man carries a pole with a piece of cloth attached at the top, symbolising the *alam* ("ensign") of Husain's army at Karbala. Ḍhol drummers and sānāi players accompany the procession, whose participants jump to the beat of the drums.[132] Some throw their arms up and down, and perform *mātam*, beating their chests in an act of mourning.[133] Bake noted that the men chanted "Hasan! Husain!", in commemoration of the martyrdom of the prophet's grandsons.[134] In some scenes, the participants carry a large *tazia*, a tower-like construction of bamboo and paper decorated with tinsel, symbolising the tomb of Husain (Fig. 2.2). In other scenes, boys perform lāṭhi khelā, in memory of the battle of Karbala. Bake writes that there were several tazias, which were immersed in water at the end of the procession. He noted that Muslims and Hindus participated together in the procession peacefully, unlike in

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[132] Bake writes of flutes and drums, without providing further information on the music that was performed (Mss Eur F191/8, 193). In his film, ḍhol drummers and sānāi players are visible.
[133] The term *mātam* (urd. "mourning") refers to the gestures and acts of mourning that are performed at Muharram processions. In South Asia, Sunnis usually perform chest-beating, whereas some Shia communities perform self-flagellation with chains, blades, knives, or swords.
[134] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 3.6.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 193.

other regions of India, where there were communal tensions at the time of Muharram.[135]

Fig. 2.2: Muharram procession with tazia

(Bolpur, 29.5.1931, still from C52/FO/1: 0:00-1:52)

Dutt appreciated Bake's fieldwork on jārigān and other performance traditions and arranged transport for him to Kairabani (March 1931) as well as accommodation in Mongoldihi (November 1931), Jaydev Kenduli (January 1932) and Suri (February 1932). Bake reciprocated, not only by sharing the outcome of his research, but also by arranging a cylinder phonograph from the Berlin Phonogram Archive for Dutt. In this period, Phonogram Archive staff were eager to establish contacts with recordists from all over the world, in order to expand and diversify their recording collections in Berlin. In August 1931, Hornbostel sent the device to Dutt, with instructions on the documentation of recordings:

> We were informed by Dr. A. A. Bake, Santiniketan, that you were anxious to get a phonographic outfit in order to take records of native songs and music on your frequent trips through the country. Very little has been done so far in India along these lines and our Phonogramm-Archiv would welcome any records of songs and music which has not

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[135] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 3.6.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 193.

yet been influenced by European tunes and instruments. I suppose that Dr. Bake has shown you the phonographic technique (which is very simple indeed) and should recommend to number the cylinders from I on[,] and in case that more than one song is recorded on one cylinder, to number these a, b etc. We use to note down on the cylinder-box besides the number: the locality where the record is taken, tribe and sex of the singer, character of the selection recorded. E.g. 31. Suri. Hindustani girl with vina. a. Raga Katian. b. Raga Behar.

We have sent a phonographic outfit to your address… [on] August 3rd.

(Erich M. v. Hornbostel, letter to Gurusaday Dutt, 18.9.1931, BPA)

Dutt appreciated the cooperation that was offered, because of his interest in Bengali folk music and dance. However, he had to concede that his musical expertise was limited:

I have just received your very kind letter of the 18th September last[,] and I am writing to thank you most cordially for your kindness in sending me, at the suggestion of my friend A. A. Bake[,] a phonographic outfit in order that I may take records of Indian songs and music on my frequent trips through the country areas of Bengal…

I am very gratified to note the great interest which you take from a cultural point of view in obtaining a record of Indian songs and music which have not yet been influenced by European tunes and instrument[s][,] and as I am also very keenly interested in the matter it will be a pleasure to me to work in cooperation with you in this field. I am therefore very grateful to you for supplying me with the necessary phonographic outfit for taking records and for the instructions which you have given me regarding the numbering and marking of the records which I shall note and comply with as far as practicable; for I may tell you frankly that although I am interested in music[,] I have not got sufficient technical knowledge regarding <u>Rags</u> and <u>Raginis</u> to be able to note the particular <u>Rag</u> or <u>Ragini</u> of a tune. This, however, I may be able to note later on by consulting specialists after I have made the record, so that I am hoping that the records which I shall be able to make will be of sufficient interest and value for preservation in your phonographic Archives.[136]

(Gurusaday Dutt, letter to Erich M. v. Hornbostel, 13.10.1931, BPA)

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[136] Underlining for emphasis from original letter.

Dutt was keen to make recordings with the phonograph. When Bake returned from his fieldwork in Nepal, he requested his advice on how to handle the phonograph:

> Gurusaday Dutta comes for lunch, he has bought a whole recording equipment set from Hornbostel and would like to get instructions[,] and is also very interested in everything that I have brought with me. I hope that he will not be disappointed.
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 18.11.1931, Mss Eur F191/9, 216)

Dutt also wanted to follow the instructions of the Phonogram Archive, and avoid recording europeanised music. On one occasion, he asked Bake about his opinion, which resulted in some complications:

> [H]e knows of course quite little, his musical talent is really minimal, he only has a strong sense for time, but he can, for example, not keep a tune. This got me once in a predicament, when he sang a song for me and asked whether it was purely Indian or influenced by European music. Fortunately, he told the name of the composer, so that I could tell my opinion confidently.
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 25.2.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 230)

Dutt's official duties ultimately prevented him from recording for the Phonogram Archive. Bake therefore purchased back 50 of Dutt's 100 blank cylinders for his own fieldwork in January 1932.[137] Bake considered visiting Mymensingh in this period, but abandoned the idea due to financial constraints.[138] Instead, he made cylinder recordings of jārigān at the Suri melā 1932. This time, Dutt accommodated the Bakes in a tent in the garden of his house. They stayed for two and a half days:

> We came back from Suri, where we stayed with the magistrate for the mela there. Actually we had planned to go for a day, going there on Sunday [21.2.1932] and coming back on Monday, but once we were there, there were such interesting things that we decided to stay until Tuesday evening [23.2.1932]… Our visit to Suri was not at all

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[137] Arnold Bake, letter to Erich M. v. Hornbostel, 22.1.1932, BPA.
[138] Gurusaday Dutt, letter to Arnold Bake, 20.12.1931, ABA, box 51.

unfruitful… I am tremendously happy that I finally got to record the songs that belong

to the [jārigān] dances I filmed there last year… We stayed in a palace of a tent in the

garden of Mr. Dutt…

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 25.2.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 230)

These comments suggest that Bake recorded the same group he filmed one year before.

He made six cylinder recordings (C52/1764-1769).[139] Following the instructions from the

Phonogram Archive, he documented the recording location and date, the music genre,

the geographical origin of the group, and song titles:

> 112. Suri mela, Febr. 23rd, '32.
>
> Jarigan (from Maimensingh) "badona"
>
> 113. idem. "hai re mero nisan"
>
> 114. idem. "kande sopinai"
>
> 115. idem. "ore bahir bedon"
>
> 116. idem. "khuler bare"
>
> 117. "bahir shamne" idem.
>
> (Ziegler, 2006, CD-ROM, Bake Indien II, p.4)

The exact circumstances of the recordings are unclear. As their sound is fairly balanced,

Bake may have made them at his tent at the district magistrate's house.[140] This suggests

that Dutt played some role when the musicians were called for the recordings. The songs

feature the alternating singing of bayāti and group that is typical for jārigān. There are

no ankle bells audible, which suggests that the performers were probably sitting when

they were recorded. The sound quality is not always sufficient to identify the song lyrics,

but some sections indicate that the songs concern the Karbala story. Bake made some

errors in his documentation of the song titles (Table 2.1). This suggests that he did not

note the titles down when he recorded them, but tried to identify them retrospectively

from the recordings, without the help of the group or other informants.

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[139] See Appendix 2.

[140] Due to the limited recording quality of the cylinder phonograph, performers had to be placed in close proximity to the device for recordings.

BLSA No.	Bake's song title	Identified song title
C52/1764	"badona"	Bandanā
C52/1765	"hai re mero nisan"	Hāy re maharamer cā̃d dekha, tumi dekhā dio nā
C52/1766	"kande sopinai"	Kānde Sakhinā
C52/1767	"ore bahir bedon"	Ore bāhire
C52/1768	"khuler bare"	Khuler bāre
C52/1769	"bahir shamne"	Bāhir sāmne

Table 2.1: Comparison of song titles of Bake's jārigān recordings (January 1932), as documented by him and identified in this research

Bake appears to have made only one musical transcription, namely the song "Kānde Sakhinā" (Fig. 2.3). It tells the story of Husain's daughter Sakhina, who laments at Husain's camp over her newly-wed husband Qasim, who was injured in the battle of Karbala:

Kānde Sakhinā, hāy hāy, piyārā āmār
ke māilo śeler ghā, badane tomār
kānde sakhinā

Sakhina cries: "Oh my Dear,
who inflicted the spear wound to your face?"
Sakhina cries.
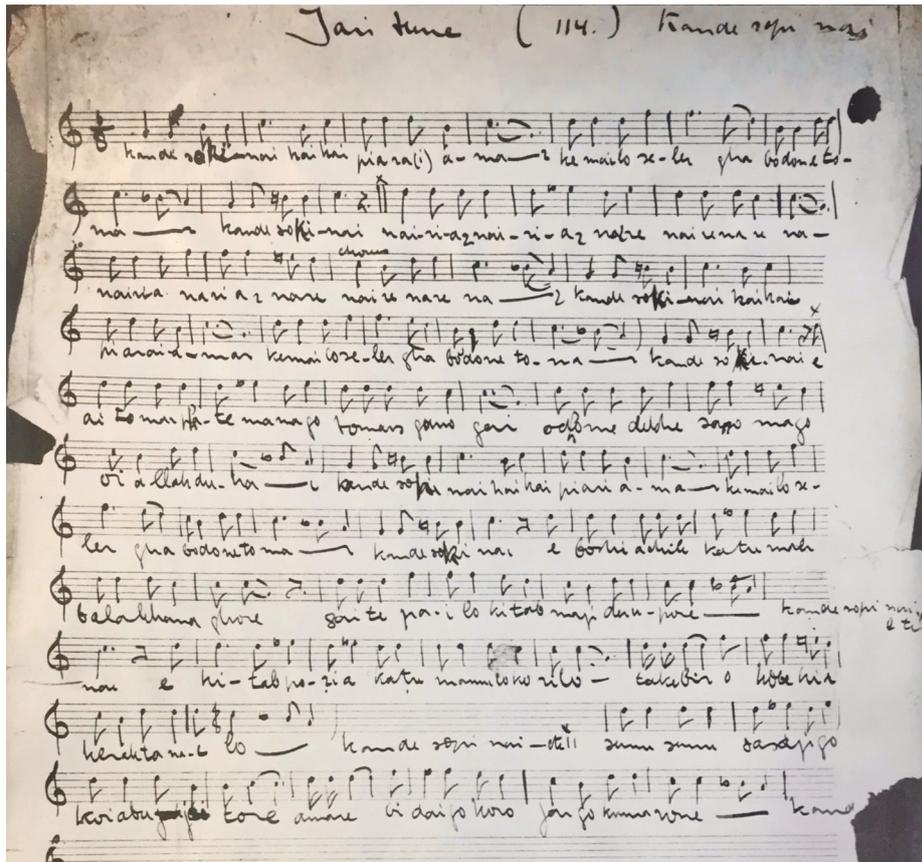
Fig. 2.3: Arnold Bake's transcription of the jārigān song "Kande Sakhinā"

(n.d., PP MS 21/43)

The heading "Jari tune (114.) Kande sopi nai" corresponds to the details Bake sent to the Phonogram Archive. He corrected the lyrics later, by amending the phrase "kande sopi nai" to "kande soki nai" in all places (Fig. 2.3). Bake's engagement with his jārigān recordings was thus quite limited. After 1932, he did not conduct further fieldwork on the genre. Ten years later, he met Jasimuddin, the future author of the book *Jārigān* (1968). They met in Calcutta in autumn 1942,[141] and a few months later, Jasimuddin asked him for advice on pursuing a PhD in Oxford.[142] In 1944, they met again in Dhaka.[143] However, there is no tangible evidence that Jasimuddin guided Bake in his research on jārigān at any time.

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[141] The British Library holds a copy of Jasimuddin's nursery rhyme book *Hāsu* (1938). The front matter includes a handwritten dedication to Bake, dated 8.11.1942.
[142] Arnold Bake, letter to William Stallybrass, April 1943, ABA, box 42.
[143] See Chapter 5.1.

Thus, Bake's research on jārigān was quite limited. He recorded a silent film and made cylinder recordings of a jārigān group from Mymensingh at the Suri melā in 1931 and 1932, which was an achievement. However, he did not visit Mymensingh, the heartland of jārigān, and apparently did not conduct further background research. Although his fieldwork schedule often kept him busy, there were probably also other reasons for his limited engagement with jārigān. On the one hand, he was influenced by a narrative that dominated modern South Asian historiography for a long time, namely the assumption that Indian classical music and other art forms had declined during the Mughal period (Linden, 2019, pp.41-2). Moreover, he conducted much of his research in the academic environment of Santiniketan and Calcutta, where most scholars were Bengali Hindus, who generally paid little attention to the Muslim performance traditions of eastern Bengal. Therefore, he did not engage with Indian Muslim music and musicology as much as with Hindu music traditions and Sanskrit musicology in his lifetime (Bake, 1930; 1931; 1935; 1947; 1948; 1957; 1961; 1964).

Bake's fieldwork on jārigān also throws some light on his cooperation with Gurusaday Dutt in the 1931-32 period. Dutt supported his fieldwork, and Bake reciprocated Dutt's support by sharing his fieldwork output, and by arranging the cylinder phonograph from Berlin. The fact that Bake assumed the role of an intermediary between Dutt and the Phonogram Archive shows that he considered his support important, and sought to sustain it, by supporting his research in turn, with the means available to him. For Dutt, collaborating with the Phonogram Archive brought the prospect of international prestige and further recognition for his research. Bake, on the other hand, probably benefited from the district magistrate's influence when he made his cylinder recordings of jārigān in February 1932. His interactions with Dutt thus show that he was keenly aware of the advantages of receiving support from a district magistrate of the colonial administration.

2.2 Gurusaday Dutt's Publications on Jārigān: the Bratachari Connection

The artist seeks anonymity, so necessary for him to continue to create.
(Mitra, 1954, p.v, preface of *The Folk Dances of Bengal*)

In this section, I examine how Dutt sought to portray jārigān as a genre whose songs feature the themes of communal harmony, collaborative work, and patriotism, although these topics are not central aspects of traditional jārigān. Hence, I argue that he superimposed these three themes upon jārigān, to utilise the genre as a means to promote the values of communal harmony and patriotism in the Bratachari movement. Dutt knew jārigān from his childhood in the Sylhet countryside, where he and other Hindus participated in the dances of their Muslim neighbours at the Muharram festival:

> Our Mohammedan neighbours also danced their traditional dances during the Muharram festival. Hindus often joined in these dances with their Moslem brethren, and I remember having done so myself on more than one occasion. (Dutt, 1954, p.4)

Extensive jārigān festivals with large audiences were common in eastern Bengal in the early 20th century (Jasimuddin, 1968, p.8). Thus, Dutt must have had a fairly good idea about jārigān when he began his research during his tenure as district magistrate of Mymensingh in 1929-30. In this period, there were occasional land disputes between the predominantly Hindu landowner class and the Muslim peasant population in eastern Bengal. Dutt was aware of these conflicts and began to organise folk music programmes to reunite the two communities. For these events, he engaged Bāul musicians from Netrakona and the jārigān group of Imam Baksh from Atharabari. Initially, the performances did not attract many listeners, but this changed when word got around that the district magistrate himself was dancing shirtless among villagers. Hindus and Muslims began to attend, which improved intercommunal relations. With members of both communities, Dutt then established the Mymensingh Folk Dance and Music Society (Bandyopadhyay, 2001, p.5).

In this period, Hindus constituted 23% of the population in the Mymensingh district, and between 15-50% in the other districts of eastern Bengal (Porter, 1933, pp.389, 392). These demographics were reflected in the cultural life of Hindus and Muslims, who participated in each other's religious festivals, and shared ceremonial practices (Porter, 1933, p.390). Their interactions also occurred at the jārigān performances of Muharram, as Dutt's childhood memories suggest. Golam Saklayen reports that jārigān singers used to include praises to Hindu gods and goddesses in their

bandanās, for the large number of Hindus who attended performances (1969, p.452, paraphrased by Dunham, 1997, p.128). The Bengali literature scholar Dinesh Chandra Sen (1866-1939) published the English translation of a similar bandanā in his anthology *Eastern Bengal Ballads* (1923):

> I bow to the great Pir-Saheb Gazi.[144] Now play on the flute, oh musicians! To the great Pir Saheb Gazi do I offer my salutes with all humility. First do I make obeisance to Allah and then bow to the feet of my parents. My preceptor do I salute next. I bow to the earth with its four corners and stand firm on the solid basis of my devotion. Oh! Hindus and Musulman who have assembled here, I salute you all. All the great religious places, Makka, Madina, Kasi and Gaya should also receive my homage. To seas and lakes do I bow, and prostrate myself in reverent humility before the holy tomb of Saheb Ali.[145] My obeisance goes to this house which I am just going to address and now my purpose is settled. I do not know the modes of music, nor how to keep time. Conscious of this limitation I tremble with fear. Once more do I bow to this assembly and crave your permission to begin my song. (Sen, 1923, p.28, cited by Dunham, 1997, p.128)

The singer first salutes a Muslim saint, and then pays respect to Allah, his parents, and his preceptor, which could mean a jārigān ustād. Subsequently, he greets the assembled Hindus and Muslims, by expressing his reverence for Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist pilgrimage sites. Dutt probably knew similar bandanās from his childhood, which may have inspired him to arrange jārigān performances to ease communal tensions in Mymensingh. Correspondingly, the theme of Hindu-Muslim unity is prominent in his description of jārigān in *The Folk Dances of Bengal* (1954, pp.84-8). Under the heading "Jari Dance", Dutt describes the context of jārigān performances:

> The name of this dance is derived from the Persian word "*zār*" which means 'lament' or 'groan', and '*zāri*' 'weeping' or lamentation. Certain sections of Muslims in Bengal perform the Muharram festival in memory of the historic tragic battle which took place

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[144] Gazi Pīr is a Muslim saint revered in southern Bengal, for spreading the word of Islam. According to legend, he tamed wild animals and controlled the natural elements. Today, he is worshipped for protection against tigers. (Roy, 1983, pp.222-4, 235-41; Blurton, 2006, pp.67-72).
[145] Presumably the tomb of the 15th-century ruler Khan Jahan Ali, in the town of Bagerhat, Bagerhat district, Khulna division.

in the plains of Karbālā in Arabia. Besides the mourning itself, the celebrations during Muharram include singing, dancing, *lāthi* play and mock fights. (Dutt, 1954, p.84)

Dutt highlights the theme of communal friendship in his description of the dance, and reports that Hindus and Muslim sing together at performances:

Before starting chanting the ballads the *Boyāti* sings a *bandanā* song, a song of greeting to the audience, which generally is sung by both Hindus and Muslims. (Dutt, 1954, p.85)

After two pages, he states that jārigān songs often concern the topic of communal harmony:

The *Jāri* dances are not confined to songs of mourning over the tragic historical events in the desert of Karbālā or the doings of Muslim heroes. The *Boyāti* often composes songs breathing ideals of religious harmony between Hindus and Muslims and these are sung in chorus by the entire party while dancing. (Dutt, 1954, p.87)

Dutt's claim seems peculiar, as the topic of communal harmony is not usually mentioned as a characteristic feature of jārigān. There are no corresponding songs in Jasimuddin's anthology (1968), and neither does Rahman (1986) highlight the topic. Dunham states the views of the Bangladeshi folk music singer and researcher Mustafa Zaman Abbasi (b. 1937):

He stressed that *jarigan* singing is "totally different" in its textual themes and style of performance from other Bengali genres of folk song performances. *Jarigan* songs are thoroughly Muslim in their themes, he said, whereas other Bengali folk songs show significant Hindu influence. (Dunham, 1997, p.78)

Dunham herself defines jārigān as follows:

Thus, in general, the term *jarigan* refers to songs that are of considerable length based on Muslim stories of considerable national import, whether the themes concern specifically Karbala episodes or not. (Dunham, 1997, p.35)

These descriptions conflict with Dutt's portrayal of jārigān, which opens up the question of why Dutt described it in this unusual way. A possible explanation is that he wanted to use the genre as a means to promote communal harmony, in line with the agenda of the Bratachari movement.[146] Dutt ends his descriptions with the remark that Hindus and Muslims participate together in the dance:

> [T]he leading motive in *Jāri* songs is one of mourning… Though there is a general atmosphere of mourning, a feeling of social sympathy between all classes of the villagers is created with the result that Hindu villagers often eagerly join their Muslim brethren in the *Jāri* dance in the villages of western Bengal. (Dutt, 1954, p.88)

Dutt describes the structure of the dance in detail, with illustrations of a jārigān group performing the different sections (1954, Figs. 58-63). In one section, the dancers are in pairs and join their hands (Fig. 2.4).

Fig. 2.4: Jārigān dancers in pair formation (Dutt, 1954, Fig. 62)[147]

One of Bake's silent films suggests that Dutt composed Bratachari choreographies based on such dances. The film shows a Bratachari dance, where the dancers stand in pairs,

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[146] See Chapter 1.1.
[147] Dutt's other illustrations of jārigān show the same group. It appears to be the group that Bake filmed at the Suri melā 1931 (cf. Fig. 2.1).

join their hands, and move in a circular direction, as in jārigān (C52/FO/2: 14:05-14:50, Fig. 2.5, cf. Fig. 2.4).

Fig. 2.5: Bratachari dancers in pair formation
(Suri, 31.1.1931, still from C52/FO/2: 14:05-14:50)

The booklet *Bratacārī Sakhā* (2012) lists the Bengali lyrics of a few short jārigān songs, which provide further insights into Dutt's plans for jārigān.[148] In the section *Jāri nṛtyer gān* ("The songs of jāri dance"), Dutt lists the lyrics of seven songs, under the subheadings "Ḍāk" ("call"), "Bayāt" ("couplet"), "Gān" ("song"), and "Bandanā" ("song of praise"), using some of the subheadings more than once (2012, pp.83-6).[149] Except for two songs, no composer is mentioned. "Ḍāk", the first song given by Dutt, appears to be a traditional song (2012, pp.83-4). In style, it corresponds to the songs that are normally sung at the beginning of a jārigān dance performance, when the dancers are lined up in a row, and then march forwards to form a circle. The bayāti and the group sing alternately, a characteristic stylistic feature of jārigān. The verses include imagery of rural nature and agriculture, the traditional performance context of jārigān:

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[148] Dutt translates the same songs in the section "Jari Dance" in *The Folk Dances of Bengal* (1954, pp.84-8).
[149] The precise meaning of the subheadings is not clear, and Dutt's application of some terms seems questionable. "Bayāt" could mean songs performed by the bayāti alone, while "gān" may be songs performed by the whole group.

Āro bhālo bhālo bhālore bhāi

āre o o āhā beś bhāi

āmrā āllār nāmṭi laiyāre bhāi

āmrā nāicā nāicā sabāy ỳāi

āre śon kyān, śon kyān, momin bhāi

āmrā beyādapir māpṭi cāi ||

e ỳe tilete tail hay dudh hay dai - (bayāti)

e ỳe dhānete taiyār hay muṛi chiṛā khai - (sakale)

e ỳe beś beś beś bhāi - (bayāti)

sābās sābās sābās bhāi - (sakale)

sābās sābās sābās bhāi - (bayāti)

beś beś beś bhāi - (sakale)

sābās bhāi - (bayāti)	bes bhāi - (sakale)
beś bhāi - (bayāti)	sābās bhāi - (sakale)
sābās go - (bayāti)	bes go - (sakale)
cup kara bhāi - (bayāti)	sabur - (sakale)

e ỳe maumāchira bale morā caudikete dhāi - (bayāti)

e ỳe bhur (bhore) uṭhi kata dauṛi phul ỳethāy pāi - (sakale)

e ỳe ki ỳatane rākhi madhu mumeri (momeri) kuṭhāy - (bayāti)

e ỳe ki kauśale kari ghar ke dekhibi āy - (sakale)

e ỳe beś beś beś bhāi - ityādi |

e ỳe sabuj baraṇ ghās pātā lāl śimul phul - (bayāti)

e ỳe halud-baraṇ pākā kalā kālo māthār cul - (sakale)

e ỳe beś beś beś bhāi - ityādi;

(Dutt, 2012, pp.83-4)

Oh, it is well, it is well, it is well, oh brothers!

Oh yes, it is fine indeed, brothers!

We take Allah's name, brothers

And we all walk, dancing along

Oh listen, listen, brothers in belief

We ask for forgiveness for our impudence.[150]

Oil is made from sesame, and curd is made from milk (bayāti)

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[150] The group ask for forgiveness because they sing and dance, which conflicts with orthodox Islam.

Muṛi, *chiṛā* and *khai*[151] are made from rice (all)

These are fine, fine, fine, brothers! (bayāti)

Great, great, great, brothers! (all)

Great, great, great, brothers! (bayāti)

Fine, fine, fine, brothers! (all)

Great, brothers! (bayāti)	Fine, brothers! (all)
Fine, brothers! (bayāti)	Great, brothers! (all)
Great! (bayāti)	Fine! (all)
Quiet, brothers! (bayāti)	Hold on! (all)

The bees say: "We search all around." (bayāti)

"We get up at dawn, and fly far to the place where we find the flowers." (all)

"Carefully we put the honey in our home of wax." (bayāti)

"Look, how neatly we build our house" (all)

It is well, it is well, it is well, brother (etc.)

The leaves of the grass are green, and the *śimul* flower is red (bayāti)

Ripe bananas are yellow and the hair on the head is black. (all)

These are fine, fine, fine, brothers - etc.

"Bayāt", the second song, appears to be a bandanā (2012, pp.84-5).[152] Also here, no composer is mentioned. The song is a greeting to Hindus and Muslims, which draws parallels between their religious practices:

Sabhā kaiyā baisa bhāire hindu musalmān |

bandanā sāriyā āmi (āmār) gāimu jārir gān ||

musalmān bhāider jānāi mor sālām |

hindu bhāider āmi kari go pernām ||

āllār nāme bāindā ghar rasuler nāme chāio |

sei gharer mājhe bāndā sukhe nindrā jāio ||

sei gharer mājhe bhāire tīrtha vārāṇasī |

musalmāner tiriś rojā hindur ekādaśī ||

musalmān balen khodā hindu balen hari |

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[151] *Muṛi* and *khai* are two types of puffed rice; *chiṛā* is flattened rice.

[152] Dutt (1954, pp.85-6) calls his English translation of this song "a typical bandanā". His translation corresponds exactly to the Bengali song that he published as "Bayāt" in *Bratacārī Sakhā* (2012, pp.84-5), and only omits lines seven and eight.

mane bhāibyā dekha bhāire dui nāmetei tari ||

(Dutt, 2012, pp.84-5)

Sit together in this meeting, Hindu and Muslim brothers!

After performing the bandanā, I (we) will sing the jārigān.

I perform my *sālām*[153] for my Muslim brothers,

I make a *praṇām*[154] for my Hindu brothers.

Build the house in the name of Allah, thatch it in the name of the prophet,

In this house sleep at ease.

In this house, brothers, is the holy town Varanasi.

The *Rozah*[155] of the Muslims is the *Ekādaśī*[156] of the Hindus.

The Muslims say *Khodā*,[157] the Hindus say *Hari*,[158]

Think about it and you see, brothers, both names give salvation.

The topic of Hindu-Muslim unity is the main theme of this bandanā, which Dutt published in English (1954, pp.85-6) and Bengali (2012, pp.84-5). There is a brief reference to the jārigān performance in the second line, but apart from this, the song focusses on the theme of communal harmony. It thus differs considerably from the bandanā published by Sen (1923, p.28), which touches a wider range of themes. There are also no similar bandanās in the monographs that have been published on jārigān so far (Jasimuddin, 1968; Rahman, 1986; Dunham, 1997; Zakaria, 2012). This raises the question of whether the bandanā published by Dutt is traditional or not. The context of his research provides some clues. Dutt was district magistrate in Mymensingh between 1929-30. In this period, Gandhi's non-cooperation movement was in full swing, and Gandhi often sang religious songs at his gatherings, together with his followers. One of his favourite songs was the Hindi *bhajan*[159] "Raghupati Rāghava Rājā Rām", which he sang to bring Hindus and Muslims together:

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[153] The *sālām* is a respectful religious salutation among Muslims.
[154] The *praṇām* is a reverential salutation of the Hindus.
[155] *Rozah* is the term for the 30 days of fasting during the month of Ramadan.
[156] *Ekādaśī* is the 11th lunar day of the waxing and waning moon phases, when orthodox Hindus fast to attain spiritual merit.
[157] *Khodā* is the Urdu term for "god".
[158] *Hari* is an epithet of Kṛṣṇa.
[159] *Bhajan* is a generic term for Hindu devotional song.

Raghupati Rāghava Rāja Rām, patita pāvana Sītā Rām

Sītā Rām, Sītā Rām, bhaja pyāre tū Sītā Rām

Īśvara Allāh tere nām, sabako sanmati de Bhagavān

Rāma rahīm karīm *sāman*, hama saba hai unakī santān

Saba mila māṅge yaha varadān, amara rahe mānava kā jñān.

(Garg, 1989, p.94, transliterated by Beck, 2006, p.137)

O Lord Rāma, descendant of Raghu, Uplifter of the fallen.

You and your beloved consort Sītā are to be worshipped.

All names of God refer to the same Supreme Being,

including Īśvara and the Muslim Allāh.

O Lord, Please give peace and brotherhood to everyone,

as we are all your children.

We all request that this eternal wisdom of humankind prevail.

(Garg, 1989, p.94, translated by Beck, 2006, p.137)

Like the bandanā published by Dutt, this bhajan places Hindu and Islamic names of god side by side, to highlight the universal nature of god. Gandhi's supporters sang his favourite bhajans not only at his gatherings, but also at supportive demonstrations, which took place throughout India in this period. As Dutt had to monitor the district Mymensingh, he may have heard the bhajan at their gatherings. This could have inspired him to compose a similar bandanā for jārigān singers, to quell communal discord with their help. Possibly, he did not mention his authorship intentionally when he published the song later in his *Bratacārī Sakhā* ("Bayāt", 2012, pp.84-5), and intended to promote it as a traditional jarigān song in the Bratachari movement.

"Gān", the third song (2012, p.85), is also anonymous. It merges nature imagery with the topic of grieving, two characteristic aspects of jārigān. It is therefore probably a traditional song. "Bayāt", the fourth song, picks up the Hindu-Muslim theme again. Also, here, no composer is mentioned (2012, pp.85-6).

Jagaṯ pitār aṃśa morā ỳatek bhagni bhāi

mānuṣe mānuṣe kona jāter bibhed nāi.

Choṭa baṛa keu nay sakale samān

sakalei kari morā sakāle sammān.

Āy jāti bhed bhule sabāi galāy jaṛājaṛi

Ei deśete janma āy ei deśer kājei mari.

Eker guru abatār bā imān nabī ỳāhārā

aparer śraddhā upahār pāben bhāi tāhārā.

Tāiriyā nāiriyā nāre nāre - ityādi.

(Dutt, 2012, pp.85-6)

We are all part of the father of the world, sisters and brothers,

there is no division of caste or creed among humankind.

No one is small or big, we are all equal,

We greet all others respectfully in the morning.

Come, let us forget divisions of caste or creed and fall in each other's arms,

We were born in this country, come, let us sacrifice our lives in our work for the country.

Those whose guru is a divine incarnation, and those who have faith in the prophet,

Brother, they will receive the gift of the other's reverence.

Tāiriyā nāiriyā nāre nāre - etc.[160]

This song merges the topic of communal harmony with the patriotic theme of work and sacrifice for the country, a combination that is very unusual for traditional jārigān. Therefore, the song is almost certainly a composition by Dutt, although no composer is mentioned. "Gān", the fifth song, is a patriotic work song (2012, p.86). The song urges listeners to find self-realisation through work for the country, and to discard *māyā* ("illusion") and *moha* ("delusion").[161] A short footnote indicates that Dutt composed the song. Apparently, the footnote does not stem from him, but from an unnamed editor of the *Bratacārī Sakhā*.[162]

E e deśer kāje go kāje, deśer kāje āy sabe nāmiyā

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[160] This line consists of syllables without semantic meaning. Phrases like these often appear in jārigān songs, where they serve as a means to extend the vocal melody.

[161] *Māyā* and *moha* are two important concepts of Hindu and Buddhist philosophy, where they represent character faults that obstruct the path to enlightenment.

[162] The footnote states: "The song parts marked by a star were composed by Gurusaday Dutt." (2012, p.86).

(o ki beś beś) svārthajāler māyā moha āy pheli bhāṅgiyā

āyre deśer kāje sabe parāṇ deha ḍhāliyā re -

(Dutt, 2012, p.86)

Oh, we get down to work for this country!

(Oh, it is well, it is well) We break and discard the selfish net of illusion and delusion!

Oh, we devote or lives and bodies to work for the country!

"Bayāt", the sixth song, merges the themes of grieving and communal harmony with work and sacrifice for the country, similar to song four. Again, no composer is mentioned, although the unusual combination of topics quite clearly indicates that it is very likely a composition by Dutt. "Bandanā", the last song, comprises four lines of verse (2012, p.86). Here, the footnote markers indicate that Dutt composed only the first two lines. Lines three and four feature a well-known Karbala theme, and are therefore traditional:

bandanā sāriyā āmrā gāimu jārir gān

kārbālār kāhinīr duḥkhe bidare parān ||

kānde sākīnā hāy hāy piyārā āmār

ke māila śyāler ghā badane tomār ||

(Dutt 2012, p.86)

After doing the bandanā we will sing the jāri song.

[Our] hearts break hearing the pain of the Karbala story.

Sakhina cries: "Oh my dear,

who inflicted the spear wound to your face?"[163]

Thus, Dutt apparently mixed his own compositions with traditional jārigān songs in his publications *Bratacārī Sakhā* and *The Folk Dances of Bengal*, often without declaring his authorship, in order to create the impression that his songs were part of the traditional jārigān repertoire. Dutt's "Note on the folk-dances of Bengal", in the *Census of India*

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[163] Lines three and four correspond to the chorus of Bake's cylinder recording "Kānde sakhinā" (C52/1766) (see Chapter 2.1). Dutt may have taken the lines from the same group that Bake recorded in 1931-2.

1931. Volume V. Bengal & Sikkim. Part I, includes a brief stylistic description of jārigān that corresponds to this pattern. As in *The Folk Dances of Bengal*, he outlines the themes of jārigān as follows:

> The songs sung either have reference to the tragic historical events in the desert of Karbala in Arabia connected with the life of Imam Hussain, as the meaning of the word "Jāri" (mourning) indicates, or breathe sentiments of religious harmony and goodwill. (Dutt, 1933, p.539)

In this way, Dutt misrepresented the theme of communal harmony as a central topic of jārigān, and introduced the themes of collaborative work and patriotism to the genre. The bandanā published by Sen (1923) and Dutt's childhood memories do indicate that jārigān performers aimed to support communal harmony by including Hindus in their performances in the early 20th century, however, research on jārigān as a whole shows that the topic is certainly not a central theme of its traditional song repertoire. The patriotic themes of work and sacrifice for the country were also not part of the jārigān repertoire until Dutt's engagement with the genre, as there seem to be no similar songs from this period. Therefore, Dutt appears to have introduced all three themes, in order to promote the values of unity, labour, and patriotism through jārigān, in line with the agenda of the Bratachari movement. As in the case with rāybẽśe, Dutt appears to have obfuscated his agency intentionally here also, which once more raises questions about his engagement with Bengali folk music and dance. Clearly, Dutt was inspired by the work of other Indian scholars and activists, who composed and performed songs to support Hindu-Muslim cooperation and political unity in India.[164] However, his publications show that he allowed his personal ideas to take the upper hand in the context of his research, where a more neutral standpoint would have been more appropriate. These issues highlight the need to engage critically with the effects of Dutt's research on performance traditions, a topic that has received little attention so far.

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[164] Apart from Gandhi, perhaps the most influential figure was Rabindranath Tagore, who composed several songs in protest against the divide-and-rule policy of the British administration. Examples are his "Ỳadi tor ḍāk śune keu nā āse, tabe eklā calo re" (1905), a patriotic song composed in the year of the first partition of Bengal, and "Bhārata bhāgya bidhātā", which features the theme of interreligious unity. The song later became the Indian national anthem "Jana gaṇa mana".

2.3 The Twentieth Century: Continuity and Change

In the 20th century, there were a number of significant political, cultural, and socio-economic changes in eastern Bengal, which altered the living circumstances of the population drastically. This had effects on the livelihood of jārigān performers, and led to an emergence of new forms of jārigān with social-critical and socially activist themes.

In the 1920s, more than 80% of landowners in the Bengal region were Hindus, and the majority of land cultivators were Muslim.[165] These conditions were, in part, the result of the landownership system that the East India Company had introduced in the late 18th century. Before the arrival of the British, private landownership did not exist in India. Zamindars, appointed by the Muslim rulers, had the right to collect taxes, and peasants had the right to till the soil. The East India Company then introduced the Permanent Settlement agreement in 1793, first in Bengal and Bihar, and after that throughout India. The agreement brought with it an oppressive land taxation system, and many Bengali Muslim zamindars soon fell into arrears, and had to sell their estates. Hindu merchants profited from the situation and acquired the land, and eventually came to own three-quarters of the land in eastern Bengal. Most of the new landowners cared little about improving the productivity of their estates, and were usually absent. They entrusted the supervision of their estates to intermediaries, which resulted in a lease system with multiple subtenants, sometimes up to fifty. This led to exorbitant rents, which impoverished large sections of the rural population by the 1830s. The colonial administration aggravated matters by investing very little in agricultural development (Hartmann, 1982, pp.13-4). A considerable part of the rural population migrated to towns and cities in search for work from the 1880s onwards.[166] Population growth added to the economic pressures on the rural population between the 1920-30s, and agricultural productivity became barely sufficient to sustain livelihoods. Crop failures and government wartime policies aggravated matters further and led to the Bengal famine of 1943, which resulted in two to three million deaths.

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[165] *Census of India 1921. Vol. V. Bengal. Part II*, Table XX, p.362.
[166] The population of industrial and commercial towns increased rapidly between 1881 and 1921 (*Census of India 1921. Vol. V. Bengal. Part I*, pp.109-11).

In August 1947, British India was divided into India and Pakistan, according to Hindu and Muslim majority populations. Bengal was divided into West Bengal, which had a Hindu majority population and became part of India, and East Bengal, which had a Muslim majority population and became part of Pakistan. In the following months, Hindu-Muslim riots displaced a considerable part of the rural population in the Bengal region. Many Hindu landowners from East Bengal fled to West Bengal. In the following years, a number of discriminatory laws were enacted in East Bengal, which enabled the dispossession of Hindu landowners.[167] This led to a substantial decrease in the Hindu population in East Bengal in the 1950-60s. Moreover, East Bengal had considerable differences with the government of Pakistan. Though Bengalis constituted the majority of the Pakistani population, its government declared Urdu as the sole national language in 1948. This sparked the *Bhāṣā āndolan* ("Language movement") in East Bengal, which aimed at the recognition of Bengali as an official language in Pakistan. The Pakistani government tried to suppress the movement violently. Police forces committed atrocities against the civilian population, and killed several student protesters on 21 February 1952 in Dhaka, which led to a general strike and civil unrest. The government eventually yielded, and declared Bengali as an official language in 1956. However, demands for greater political and cultural autonomy continued, which the government of Pakistan opposed. The resulting political tensions led to the Bangladesh independence war of 1971, during which the Pakistani military and supporting militias carried out atrocities against the civilian population. With the support of the Indian army, the *Mukti bāhinī* ("Liberation army") of East Bengal won the war, and the country Bangladesh was established in December 1971.[168]

Apart from these far-reaching political events, there were also other substantial cultural changes that changed life in eastern Bengal in the 20th century. The new mass media of recorded sound, cinema, radio, and television spread throughout South Asia,

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[167] The laws continue to exist in the form of the Vested Property Act, which enables the government of Bangladesh to confiscate the property of persons considered enemies of the state. The Hindu population of Bangladesh has lost around 50% of its land through this law between the 1960-90s (Barkat, 2001).

[168] The war crimes of 1971 have only been addressed quite recently. The International Crimes Tribunal was set up in Dhaka in 2009, and has delivered several capital punishments since then, which resulted in violent protests of supporters of the Bangladesh *Jamāt-e-Islāmī*, an Islamist party. The trials are ongoing.

and with these, new types of Anglo-European and Indian commercial music began to reach rural populations. Like in other regions of South Asia, this led to a declining interest in folk music and dance in rural East Bengal. Sponsorship for large-scale folk music and dance festivals declined, and fewer performers learned the songs and dances of jārigān. Through this, the number and size of rural jārigān dance performances decreased in the course of the 20th century. The new cultural economy now required jārigān singers to explore new avenues of earning their livelihood. In this regard, the jārigān singer and composer Abdul Gani Boyati (1905-1979) was a significant figure. He performed with commercial success for the record industry and radio in the 1950-60s, and even received the title *Jāri Samrāṭ* ("Emperor of Jārigān") from the Pakistani government. In the 1970s, jārigān singers began to market their music on cassettes (Dunham, 1997, pp.66-7).

Since the 1950s, jārigān performers have increasingly engaged with social criticism and social activism. The folk music singer Jahur Uddin Sarkar thus formed a female jārigān dance group with sex workers from the Kendua region in Netrakona in the late 1950s, disregarding the social conventions of jārigān, which is traditionally a male group dance. The group performed in the region for about three years, and their performances were appreciated (Zakaria, 2012, pp.71-3). In the 1960s, the East Pakistan Academy for Rural Development worked with jārigān singers, to support the outreach and engagement of the Academy's family planning programme in the Comilla region. The singers were asked to compose and perform songs on the topic, which they performed at local markets and villages. They also recorded their songs on cassettes so that they could be played in homes, because of the rules of *pardā*.[169] The songs outlined the concepts of family planning (Raper, 1970, pp.180-1):

> Let me explain why a man should plan in his life,
>
> and why family planning is important.
>
> How does God create human beings?
>
> He does it within a plan.
>
> God made a plan, so man should plan in every sphere of his life.
>
> If a man builds a house he has a plan.

---

[169] *Pardā* ("curtain"), are rules that restrict the social interactions of women. *Pardā* is observed not only by Muslims, but also by some Hindu communities in South Asia.

The plan is made first of all, and after that the builder is called in.

Then the work can begin.

Such planning is necessary in every sphere of life.

In family life the husband and wife should first make a plan,

and then with this plan build a family.

Without planning a man is quite helpless in this world.

A planned family brings happiness to a man's house, to his home.

(Raper, 1970, p.181)

The singers also included information on the local sale of contraceptives in their performances. The concerts attracted between 300-1,000 listeners. The group also recorded three songs on the topic for Radio Pakistan. According to the Academy's report, the collaboration supported the family planning programme successfully (1970, pp.230-1).

In 1995, the Bangladeshi author and activist Ahmed Sofa (1943-2001) wrote the patriotic song "Bāṃlādeśer Jāri" ("The Lament of Bangladesh"), on the political, economic and cultural challenges that Bangladesh has faced in its history. Sofa studied Bengali language and literature, and political science at Dhaka University, and supported disadvantaged communities in Bangladesh through various projects in his lifetime, which is reflected in his song. The song thus exemplifies how the jārigān song format has been explored by urban poets of the Bengali middle class. Correspondingly, the song is written in refined language, and not in a rural dialect of Bengali, like traditional jārigān. Its verse structure and prosody are derived from traditional jārigān (Dunham, 1997, pp.259-60):

Śonen śonen bhāibonerā śonen diyā man

deśer sukh-duḥkher kathā kariba barṇan

(Dunham, 1997, p.264)

Listen, Listen, brothers and sisters, listen attentively,

I tell you about the joys and sorrows of our country.[170]

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[170] Translation after Dunham (1997, pp.260-3), with some modifications.

The first line "Śonen … diyā man" is a typical jārigān phrase, with which the singer calls on the audience to listen attentively. Sofa then describes the landscape of his home country in picturesque terms:

> Ei āmāder bāṃlādeś himālayer nice
> dakṣiṇete baṅgopasāgar ḍheu kheliteche |
> Nad-nadi pāhāṛ ḍhilā samatal prāntar
> ei māṭite basta kari ỳug ỳugāntar |
> (Dunham, 1997, p.264)

> Our Bangladesh lies beneath the Himalayas
> The waves of the Bay of Bengal play in the south.
> Rivers and streams, hills and valleys, plains and fields
> On this soil we have dwelled for generations.

Sofa then narrates the terrors of the Bangladesh independence war, including the sacrifice of the freedom fighters:

> O bhāi ekāttorer kathābali śunte bhayaṃkar
> lakṣa koṭi mānuṣ māre bideśī taskar |
> Kāmān māre bomā māre śatru dey hãk
> sei samaye uṭhla bāji mukti ỳuddher ḍāk |
> Ei āmāder bāṃlābhūmi sarba loker mātā
> santān rakte sinān kari pāiche svādhīnatā |
> (Dunham, 1997, p.264)

> Oh brothers! I will tell you the story of seventy-one.
> It's terrible to hear.
> The foreign thugs killed millions of people.
> The enemy shelled, bombed, and shouted their war cries.
> At that time the call to fight for freedom was raised.
> This soil of Bengal, the mother of all our people,
> became independent through the blood of her children.

After that, Sofa commemorates the martyrs of the Bengali language movement:

Ei sūrỳa ei cã̈d ỳatadin jvalibe (sabāi)

bāṅgālīrā bāṃlā bhāṣā sakale balibe |

Śahīder rakte lekhā sonār bāṃlā nām

ei āmāder mātṛbhūmi sālām sālām |

(Dunham, 1997, p.264)

This sun, this moon, as long as they shine on all,

all Bengalis will speak the Bengali language.

In the blood of martyrs is written the name of golden Bengal,[171]

We offer sālām to our motherland.

Eventually, Sofa hints at to the issue of overpopulation:

Śiśu nārī bṛddhā ỳubā santān o santati

bāra koṭi mānuṣ kare ei deśete basti.

(Dunham, 1997, p.264)

Children, women, old and young people, sons and daughters,

One hundred and twenty million people live in this country.

Sofa also addresses the issues of poverty, hunger and economic hardship, and highlights
the importance of education for the improvement of conditions:

Natun deś, natun jāti buke natun āśā

śikṣā dīkṣār lāgi mane ananta pipāsā

duḥkha āche, kaṣṭa āche, kṣudhā tṛṣṇā āche bhāi

sarba muśkil āsāner āmrā ekṭā panthā cāi.

Ei ỳe mānuṣ sonār mānuṣ sab kṣamatā āche

ākkel buddhi hũs jñān samasta diỳāche

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[171] The phrase "*sonār bāṃlā*" ("golden Bengal") alludes to Tagore's song "Āmār sonār bāṃlā", an ode to Bengal that became the national anthem of Bangladesh.

svabhābe abhābe duḥkhe dāridrete mānuṣ bhāi

ākaṣṭha ḍubiyā āche kāran kāro śikṣā nāi

ei jāti ỳadi bhāire saṭhik bhābe śikṣā pāy

mastak tuliyā bhāire sojā jagate dā̃ṛāy

jāgiyā uṭhiche jāti himālay ṭaliche

bidyā śikṣār mahātr̥ṣṇā antare jvaliche.

(Dunham, 1997, p.264)

A new country, a new nation, with new hope in our hearts,

We have an endless thirst for education and knowledge.

There is grief, there is hardship, and hunger and thirst, brothers,

We long for a way to end all these problems, we long for a way to end all these problems.

These people, these golden people,[172] have great capability,

(The creator) has given intelligence, wisdom and common sense.

In our natural state, due to lack of means, we suffer grief and poverty, brothers.

Miseries are drowning us because many of us are without proper education.

Brothers, if this nation gets appropriate education,

it will stand erect and hold its head high.

The nation is rising, making the Himalayas tremble.

A great thirst for knowledge and learning burns in our hearts.

He then highlights the importance of interreligious tolerance and collaboration, in a way that is reminiscent of the jārigān songs that Dutt wrote for the Bratachari movement:

Hindu kiṃbā musalmān bauddhā ki khrīṣṭān

viśva sraṣṭār sr̥ṣṭa sabe sakale samān |

Mānuṣ sakale baṭe sabe morā bhāi bhāi

ekai rakta ekai praṇ choṭa baṛa nāi

ekai rakta ekai praṇ choṭa baṛa nāi |

Āmrā ỳakhan saṃgha bā̃dhi grāme gañje cali

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[172] *Sonār mānuṣ* ("golden people", "golden man") is a phrase that has a special significance in Bengali Vaiṣṇava Hinduism and Bāul philosophy. It is used as epithet of the Vaiṣṇava saint Caitanya (1486–1534), believed to have been of golden complexion, and to denote any other enlightened or valuable person.

jege uṭha bhāibonerā ei kathāṭi bali

jege uṭha bhāibonerā kona śaṃkā nāi

āmāder ei karma ỳajñe tomāder o cāi

jege uṭha bhāibonerā chāṛa paritāp

saṃgha bā̃dhi ekjoṭe karme dāo jhāp |

(Dunham, 1997, p.265)

Whether we are Hindus or Muslims or Buddhists or Christians

In this world, as the creations of the Creator, we are all equal.

We are human beings and we are all brothers

One blood, one breath; no one is big or small,

One blood, one breath; no one is big or small.

As we make a group and travel in the villages and markets,

We say: "Wake up and rise up, brothers and sisters!"

"Wake up, rise up, brothers and sisters. Have no fear.

We are eager for you to join our efforts.

Wake up. Rise up, brothers and sisters. Have no regrets.

Organize yourselves, form groups, plunge into work.

In the following section, Sofa seems to make a point for gender equality in education and employment. He criticises the social conventions of pardā, and points out that a society can only thrive if females are included in the work towards progress:

Mā bonerā gharer koṇe adhikār hīn

jaṛ bastur mata sabe kaṭaiteche din

jāgi uṭha mā bonerā sab mane āna hũs

ek joṭe bala sabe āmrāo mānuṣ |

Nārī puruṣ samājete samān adhikār

nārī nā jāgile ghaṭe samāje bikār

nārī ỳadi nā jāgibe puruṣer sane

puruṣ ki kare jite saṃsārer raṇe

(Dunham, 1997, p.265)

Mothers and sisters confined to the four walls of their homes without rights

they all spent their lives like inanimate things.

Awake and rise, mothers and sisters, realise your situation!

Say together: "We are also human beings!"

Woman and men have equal rights in society.

If women do not awake from sleep, the society is handicapped.

If women do not rise with men,

how can men succeed in the struggle of life?

In this way, Sofa addresses various social-critical topics through the medium of jārigān. Since the 2000s, there have been further changes in the genre. Jārigān singers and groups began to explore the internet as a means of marketing their songs. Today, they reach out to global audiences through the music videos that are posted on internet platforms. On platforms like YouTube, numerous jārigān songs are accessible that reflect the wide thematic spectrum of the genre, which ranges from the Karbala tragedy to contemporary social-critical themes. An example of the latter category is a jārigān song about child labour in Bangladesh, commissioned by the Bangladesh Shishu Adhikar Forum ("Bangladesh Child Rights Forum") for the Child Rights Week 2011.[173] Examples like these suggest that socially critical and socially activist themes have become an important aspect of jārigān in the second half of the 20th century. Contrastingly, there is only very scarce online documentation of traditional jārigān dance, which points towards a declining practice.

2.4 Fieldwork in Bangladesh

In the following, I describe my fieldwork on jārigān music and dance in Bangladesh, which I conducted in September and October 2017. Through my fieldwork account, I demonstrate that the genre recorded by Bake and used by Dutt for his own purposes still survives in Bangladesh, despite the political and social changes that have occurred over

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[173] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rSk5b6lfKUA, accessed 28.3.2020.

the intervening years. Furthermore, my descriptions throw light on the different socio-cultural contexts in which jārigān is performed today, which allow some conclusions about the relations between performance context and performance style.

I was in Bangladesh from 16 September to 2 October 2017, which included the first ten days of the month of Muharram, the time when jārigān music and dance are traditionally performed in rural Bangladesh. After a lengthy train journey from Kolkata to Dhaka, I travelled by bus to the town of Mymensingh, where I stayed for nine days. As there appeared to be no jārigān performances in the town, I visited Atharabari village in eastern Mymensingh, the presumed home village of the group that Bake recorded between 1931-32. I travelled by auto rickshaw in rainy weather, two hours on roads lined with green paddy fields. In Atharabari, I asked the Imam of the local mosque and other locals about jārigān, but they did not know any groups and seemed generally unaware of the genre. Empty-handed, I returned to Mymensingh.

I had met a Bangladeshi PhD student in Santiniketan, who had scheduled his next home visit to coincide with my fieldwork in Bangladesh. When he arrived, we visited Kavi Kazi Nazrul Islam University in Trishal, an important regional centre for the study of performing arts. He introduced me to lecturers at the Department of Folklore, who put me in touch with Md. Abdul Helim Boyati (b. 1943), perhaps the most well-known jārigān performer in Bangladesh today. A few days later, I conducted an interview with Helim Boyati in his hometown Kendua, 12 kilometres east of Atharabari (C1795/88). Before the interview, I showed him Bake's film recording of jārigān dance from 1931. He watched the film attentively, but was unable to identify the group. I then mentioned Dutt's research on jārigān and his books *The Folk Dances of Bengal* (1954) and *Bratacārī Sakhā* (2012), but these seemed of no interest to him.

Md. Abdul Helim Boyati was born as the eldest of four siblings in Dighalkursa, a village near Kendua. At the age of three, he contracted an infection in his leg. His father was unable to afford treatment, so his illness worsened and eventually resulted in a partial paralysis of his right leg, which led to a lifelong walking disability. His family could not finance his school education beyond class eight. In his youth, he learned pũthi-paṛā recitation from his father, and started to perform professionally as a reciter. At this time, jārigān performances took place frequently, and his father used to lead a group. Through this, he got interested in jārigān and started to learn from the bayāti Abdus Chhoban.

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However, his parents objected, and so he left home to continue his studies with Chhoban and other performers. Later on, he began to compose his own jārigān songs, based on the novel *Biṣād-Sindhu* (1935-6 [1885-91]) by Mir Mosharraf Hossain (1847-1911), a fictionalised account of the Karbala story, and a classic of Bengali literature. Helim Boyati's compositions constituted a significant innovation, as jārigān songs are traditionally based on works of Bengali epic poetry on the Karbala tragedy, written between the 16-19th century. The songs based on the *Biṣād-Sindhu* launched his career as a jārigān singer. In the course of his life, he has participated with jārigān groups in more than 100 jārigān competitions in the districts of Netrakona, Kishoreganj and Mymensingh, winning most of these. In 2016, his group performed at the Dhaka Literature Festival.[174] He is also still active as a pũthi-paṛā performer today. His performances of jārigān and pũthi-paṛā have been broadcast on various TV channels in Bangladesh in recent years. The Government of Bangladesh honoured him as an eminent folk artist at the Shilpakala Academy in Dhaka in 2010.

Md. Abdul Helim Boyati's life story illustrates the consequences of the widespread poverty that the rural population had to endure in the Bengal region in the 1940-50s. During the interview, he read his biodata, which includes some interesting details on the practice of jārigān in the 1950s:

Sei samaye maharamer mās chāṛā o jyaiṣṭha, āṣāṛh māse netrakonā o kiśorgañj jelāy prāy prati grāmei jārigāner dal hato ebaṃ takhankār samaye jñānī-guṇījan pratiyogitār āyojan karten. Āmār pitā jārigāner ekjan kheloyār o chilen. Āmār pitār bayaser 10/15 jan kheloyār niye āmār pitā ekṭi jārigāner dale nṛtya karten.

In that time, apart from the month of Muharram, there used to be jārigān groups[175] in almost every village in the districts Netrakona and Kishoreganj in the months of *Jyaiṣṭha* and *Āṣāṛh*, and connoisseurs used to arrange [jārigān] competitions in those days. My father also was a jārigān dancer. In his time, he used to dance with a jārigān group of ten to fifteen dancers. (Interview with Md. Abdul Helim Boyati, 24.9.2017, C1795/88)

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[174] www.youtube.com/watch?v=RYEmGBFuWY4, accessed 30.10.2018.
[175] Helim Boyati uses the term *jārigān dal*, by which he means groups performing music and dance.

The reference to the arrangement of jārigān competitions suggests some form of sponsorship by rural patrons, who may have been affluent landowners. Apart from this, the section includes another interesting detail. The month of Muharram is part of the Islamic lunar calendar, and moves back annually in the solar calendar by eleven days. In contrast, the Bengali calendar is based on the solar calendar, which is congruent with the agricultural calendar. The period *Jaiṣṭya-Āṣāṛh* therefore always corresponds with mid-May to mid-July, the onset of the monsoon, a time that is celebrated by farming communities in northern India. The performance of jārigān dances in these months thus suggests that the dances were part of the cultural life of farming communities. Helim Boyati expressed the view that the spread of modern mass media and entertainment has contributed to the declining popularity of rural jārigān festivals:

> Mānuṣ bibhinna bhābe ādhunik jagate, se jagatguli dekhe to bibhinna bhābe - anuṣṭhan TV pardāy, ba bibhinno bhābe cale eseche. Sei janya, jārigān grāmer gañje jārigāṇṭar gaṇ bilupta paṛte cale giyeche. Kam hay. Sampūrṇa giyeche tāi nai, kam hay.

> In modern times, man can see worlds in various ways - on the TV screen, or in other ways. For this reason, the crowds of jārigān have vanished from the village markets. They get less. They have not disappeared completely, they get less.
> (Interview with Md. Abdul Helim Boyati, 24.9.2017, C1795/88)

After the interview, I asked for a film recording of his group, and we set a date one week later. After we had agreed on time, location and remuneration, I returned to Mymensingh.

Subsequently, I visited the Mymensingh Shilpakala Academy, a regional branch of the Bangladesh Shilpakala Academy, the national organisation for the promotion of fine arts and performing arts in Bangladesh. At the Shilpakala Academy, I met the folklore researcher A. K. M. Hashim Uddin, who accommodated me for a few days in Churkhai, a village south of Mymensingh. He put me in touch with a jārigān group from the surrounding villages, which comprised twelve performers. As there was intense rain for several days, I could not film their dance performance. Instead, I recorded some of their

songs at the house of Hashim Uddin. The songs featured the typical alternating singing of bayāti and dohārs. The group started with a bandanā that began with the verse:

Bandan kari o Āllāh, Rāsul ore, Haẏrat Ālī, Mā Phātemā, Hāsen, Hosen re.
(C1795/89: 0:00-0:43)

The subsequent verses praised each of the figures individually, namely Allah, his prophet Muhammad (c. 570-632) ("Rāsul", i.e. "messenger, apostle"), and four of his family members. Ali ibn Abi Talib (601-661) ("Haẏrat Ālī") was Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, who ruled the Arab world as the fourth caliph from 656 to 661, the year he was assassinated by his political adversaries. Fatimah (c.605-c.632) ("Phātemā") was Muhammad's daughter, and Hasan ibn Ali (624–670) ("Hāsen") and Husain ibn Ali ("Hosen") (626–680) were two of her sons. Hasan ibn Ali was poisoned by his adversaries in the political struggles for the successorship of the caliphate after the death of Ali, and Husain was killed in the battle of Karbala. The following songs were thematically similar, concerning events in the life of Muhammad's family members, and the battle of Karbala (C1795/90-93). According to Hashim Uddin, the verses of the songs were from a book with the title *Jaṅganāmā*, written around 300 years ago by the Bengali poet Karri Amir Uddin.

Amin Ali Boyati, the leader of the group, was around 80 years old at the time of the recording. He had previously worked as a rice farmer and trader, but retired from this profession and is now without a pension. He began to learn jārigān from his uncle around 1967 and started to perform on stage one year later. Later on, he learned from other teachers. He started to teach jārigān in the 1970s, and has taught a number of students since then, one of whom established his own jārigān group. Amin Ali Boyati still teaches jārigān and performs at regional festivals with his group. They have performed at the Mymensingh Shilpakala Academy, amongst others, and for the national broadcasting network, Bangladesh Television. The other singers of his group are middle-aged men, who work as farmers, carpenters, welders, drivers and shopkeepers in the Churkhai region. In some songs, they had difficulties in coordinating their singing with that of their leader (C1795/91).

One week later, I filmed the jārigān dance performance of Md. Abdul Helim Boyati's group (C1795/166-168), with the assistance of a lecturer and a student of Kavi Kazi Nazrul Islam University. The group gave a one-hour performance, with songs based on chapter 25 of the novel *Biṣād-Sindhu*. Hossains' novel is an extensive work that comprises three parts, with 61 chapters of about 500 pages in total. The first part, *Maharam Parbba* ("The canto of Muharram") comprises 26 chapters, which narrate the events leading to the death of Hasan and Husain. The second part, *Uddhār Parbba* ("The canto of the rescue") has 30 chapters, concerning the aftermath of the battle of Karbala. The third part, *Ejid Badh Parbba* ("The canto of Yazid's killing"), comprises five chapters, concerning Yazid's death and the aftermath. Chapter 25 of the first part concerns the events of the tenth day of Muharram.[176]

Md. Abdul Helim Boyati's jārigān group performed in a wide house yard in the village Panchhar near Kendua. The mud ground was wet from the rain, and some local helpers made a circle of straw for the dance. The audience were men, women, and children from the village. The jārigān group had 15 members, including Md. Abdul Helim Boyati, a ḍāinā, a bāiyā, and 12 dohārs. Most of the dohārs were farmers and fishermen from the Kendua region. All of them were dressed in white vests, t-shirts and dhotis. The dohārs wore red headscarves and red handkerchieves, and some had a piece of red cloth tied in an x-shape across their torsos and waists. The torso cloth of the ḍāinā, and the headscarf and handkerchief of the bāiyā were yellow. Most of the dancers wore ankle bells on their right feet, whereas the ḍāinā wore ankle bells on both feet (Fig. 2.6). There was no instrumental accompaniment. The group performed the first 23 minutes without Md. Abdul Helim Boyati, which seemed to be a normal procedure (C1795/166, C1795/167: 0:00-6:00). At the beginning, the dancers stood in a line formation with the ḍāinā and bāiyā at the front. The ḍāinā uttered a short call, and the dancers held their right arms across the body. He then began to sing short ḍāks ("calls"), which were repeated by the bāiyā and dohārs. The first ḍāk was:

O ki bhālo, bhālo, bhālo re bhāi.
(C1795/166: 0:00-0.30)

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[176] In other songs, the events take place on the seventh day of Muharram (cf. Dunham, 1997, pp.222-33).

Oh, it is well, well, well, brothers.

Slowly, the line of dancers marched forwards, singing their verses to the rhythm of the ankle bells. After half a minute, the ḍāinā gave another signal, and the dancers began to alternate backward and forward steps, waving their handkerchieves and scarves with the rhythm. Gradually, they marched into a circle formation (Fig. 2.6).

Fig. 2.6: Ḍāinā, bāiyā, and dohārs marching into circle formation
(Panchhar, 30.9.2017, still from C1795/166)

For about five minutes, they performed ḍāks in question-answer style.[177] The ḍāinā and bāiyā then led the group alternately from within the circle, each of them singing in turns with the dohārs. In this section, the group performed bandanās, greeting Md. Abdul Helim Boyati and the audience. The songs also introduced the main characters of the Karbala story, including Hasan, Husain and Yazid.

The dance stopped after 23 minutes into the performance, and Md. Abdul Helim Boyati entered the circle. The dancers raised their right hands to their foreheads in a respectful gesture. He then led the group for the next 37 minutes, sometimes from the

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[177] This section was similar to the ḍāk song published by Dutt (2012, pp.83-4).

inside of the circle, and sometimes from outside it (C1795/167: 6:00-43:00). Occasionally, he marked the rhythm with hand claps (Fig. 2.7).

Fig. 2.7: Md. Abdul Helim Boyati marking the rhythm with hand claps
(Panchhar, 30.9.2017, still from C1795/167: 6:00-43:00)

He first performed his own bandanā section (C1795/167: 6:00-13:00), which started with a short verse. He sang the first line with melodic ornamentation in free rhythm, and the second line as a plain melody with rhythm:

> Nabir nāme mālā para galete
> tarbe ỳadi bhabasindhute.[178]
> (C1795/167: 6:10-6:48)

> Wear the prayer chain in the name of the prophet around your neck
> if you cross the ocean of existence.

The dohārs repeated the lines and started dancing again. Helim Boyati then sang his bandanā, praising his jārigān teachers, the prophet and his family, and the martyrs of

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[178] Cf. Zakaria, 2012, pp.84-8.

Karbala. His singing alternated with that of the dohārs, who repeated the first two lines as a refrain. In between, the ḍāinā and bāiyā performed some ḍāks, which were answered by the dohārs. Some of the ḍāks were:

ḍāinā: Ei ỳe āmār hailā ḍāk:
dohārs: Āllāhr nabīr smaraṇ rākh[179]

ḍāinā: This was my call:
dohārs: "Remember Allah's prophet."

and

ḍāinā: Hāsen! Hosen!
dohārs: Ācchā beś!

ḍāinā: Hasan! Husain!
dohārs: That is fine!

When Helim Boyati praised Fatimah, the prophet's daughter, the group performed the following ḍāk once:

ḍāinā: Lakṣmī, Lakṣmī!
dohārs: Jay hok!

ḍāinā: Lakṣmī, Lakṣmī!
dohārs: So be it!

Apparently, this type of ḍāk is performed when a new character is introduced in the context of a jārigān performance (Zakaria, 2012, p.116). Notably, the name of *Lakṣmī*, the Hindu goddess of good fortune, occurs here in the context of the Muslim genre jārigān. This occurrence constitutes an example of the stylistic eclecticism of jārigān,

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[179] Cf. Zakaria, 2012, pp.116-9.

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which is shaped by the religious syncretism of the cultural history of the Bengal region. Yet, it is important to note that Lakṣmī is not addressed directly in the bandanā. The ḍāinā only exclaims her name because she signifies auspiciousness, therefore, her figure remains an external ornament of the bandanā. The group then approached the main topic of their performance, chapter 25 of the *Biṣād-Sindhu*. The group introduced the chapter with the following refrain:

> Kāliyār meghe karla andhakar,
> kisti nāi gudārā nāi kemne haba pār?
> Pār karo go māmud Āllāh jāni nā sā̃tār.
> (C1795/167: 15:55-16:40)

> The black cloud has thrown darkness,
> There is no boat and no ferry, how will I cross?
> Oh, praised Allah, let me reach the other shore, I do not know how to swim.

These lines introduce the gloomy mood of the chapter. Husain and his last companions suffer from thirst, and are near their end in battle.[180] The group then sang the following lines:

bayāti:	Tripadīte gāiba jāri śuna kheloyāṛgaṇ.
ḍāinā:	Sābās go!
bāiyā and dohārs:	Beś go!
bayāti:	Bali ebār biṣāderte śunen diyā man.
ḍāinā:	Bhālo.
bayāti:	Biṣāder pañcabiṃśa jārigān uṭhāi.
ḍāinā:	Bhālo.
bayāti:	Maharamer prabāherte śunen bandhu bhāi.
ḍāinā:	Bhālo.

(C1795/167: 16:40-17:05)

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[180] Helim Boyati may have chosen the verse not only for the mood, but also because of the weather on the day of the recording. It had started to rain, and the dance ground became muddy and wet.

bayāti:	Listen, dancers, I will perform a jāri song in *tripadī* metre
ḍāinā:	That is great!
bāiyā and dohārs:	That is fine!
bayāti:	Listen attentively, now I will speak of the grief.
ḍāinā:	Good.
bayāti:	I begin the twenty-fifth jāri song of the *Biṣād-Sindhu*.[181]
ḍāinā:	Good.
bayāti:	Friends and brothers, listen to the canto of Muharram.
ḍāinā:	Good.

Helim Boyati now launched into the narrative and sang about the events of chapter 25. In between, his group repeated the refrain "Kāliyār meghe…" periodically. After a few minutes, they changed their refrain. They now sang about the suffering of Husain's army in the desert heat:

Bātāse bātāse prāṇ hay nā re śītal,

kāfere ghiriyā rākhche phorāt nadīr jal,

hāy, nadīr jal kare ṭalamal.

(C1795/167: 20:56-21:26)

The breath of the wind just will not cool down,

The infidels besiege the waters of the Euphrates,

Oh, the waters of the river surge restlessly.

Helim Boyati continued to sing, and after a few minutes the refrain changed again. The group then interrupted the Karbala narrative, to perform an up-tempo dance section with ḍāks in a question-answer style:[182]

ḍāinā:	Sābās go!
bāiyā and dohārs:	Beś go!
bayāti:	Sābās, sābās, sābās, bhāi.

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181 Chapter 25 of the *Biṣād-Sindhu*.
182 Cf. Zakaria, 2012, pp.116-9.

ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Beś miyā, beś bhāi.
bayāti:	Sābās bhāi.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Beś bhāi.
ḍāinā:	Ei ỳe āmār pratham ḍāk.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Āllāhr nabīr smaraṇ rākh.
bayāti:	Sābās bhāi.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Beś bhāi.
bayāti:	Ỳāyo nā keu bhejāle.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Pā bāṛāio ek tāle.
bayāti:	Sābās bhāi.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Beś bhāi.
bayāti:	Gāite eso dhīre dhīre.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Bhoger mata… dhare.
bayāti:	Sābās bhāi.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Beś bhāi.
bayāti:	Ei daler ustādji?
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Abdul Helim Boyati.
bayāti:	Sābās bhāi.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Beś bhāi.
bayāti:	Kon deśer kon namunā?
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Śahar bhālā madinā.
bayāti:	Sābās bhāi.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Beś bhāi.
bayāti:	Sabuj baraṇ gāch pātā lāl śimul phul.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	E ỳe halud baraṇ pākā kalā kālo māthār cul,
	o ki jhum, o ki jhum, ācchā beś!
(C1795/167: 32:40-33:30)	

ḍāinā:	That is great!
bāiyā and dohārs:	That is fine!
bayāti:	Great, great, great, brothers.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Fine *miyā*,[183] fine brothers.
bayāti:	Great, brothers.

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[183] *Miyā* is an Islamic title of honour.

ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Fine, brothers.
ḍāinā:	This is my first call:
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Remember the prophet of Allah.
bayāti:	Great, brothers.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Fine, brothers.
bayāti:	And no one walks into trouble.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	And we raise our legs in the rhythm.
bayāti:	Great, brothers.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Fine, brothers.
bayāti:	Come slowly, singing along.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	holding the [*unidentified word*] like an offering.
bayāti:	Great, brothers.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Fine, brothers.
bayāti:	Who is the leader of this group?
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Abdul Helim Boyati.
bayāti:	Great, brothers.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Fine, brothers.
bayāti:	Which example is there in which country?
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	The blessed town of Medina.
bayāti:	Great, brothers.
ḍāinā, bāiyā and dohārs:	Fine, brothers.
bayāti:	Tree leaves are green, and the śimul flower is red.
all others:	Ripe bananas are yellow and the hair on the head is black, oh how quiet, oh how quiet, that's alright!

Notably, these ḍāks are not directly connected to the narrative of the *Biṣād-Sindhu* or the Karbala story. Some have Islamic themes, some refer to the group's singing and dancing, and some refer to the Bengali fauna.[184] The last three lines signalled the end of the section. The group now settled in a crouching position in a circle. Helim Boyati remained standing, and introduced a new refrain:

Loke bale, bale re,

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[184] The last three lines were published similarly by Dutt (2012, pp.83-4), and are thus probably a stock phrase of jārigān (cf. "Ḍāk", cited in Chapter 2.2).

ghar-bāṛi bhālā nā āmār[185]

(C1795/167: 33:30-33:40)

People say, oh, they say,

my house is no good.

He cited these two lines from the refrain of the Sylheti folk song "Loke bale, bale re" by Hason Raja (1854-1922). Raja's song concerns the transience of human life:

Loke bale, bale re,	People say, oh, they say,
ghar-bāṛi bhālā nā āmār.	my house is no good.
Ki ghar bānāimu āmi	What house shall I build
śūṇyero mājhār?	in the midst of the void?
Bhālā kari ghar bānāiyā	If I build a nice house,
kay din thākmu ār,	how many more days will I stay,
hāy re, kay din thākmu ār?	oh, how many more days will I stay?
Āynā diyā cāiyā dekhi,	When I look at my reflection in the mirror,
pāknā cul āmār.	I see my grey hair.
E bhābiyā Hāsan Rājā	Thinking of this, Hasan Raja
ghar-duyār nā bāndhe,	does not build a house or fasten a door,
hāy re, ghar-duyār nā bāndhe.	oh, he does not build a house or fasten a door.
Kothāy niyā rākhba āllāy	Where will Allah take and keep him?
tāi bhābiyā kānde.	- thinking like this, he cries.
Āge jānta ẏadi Hāsan	If Hasan Raja knew in advance
bā̃cba kata din,	how long he will live,
hāy re, bā̃cba kata din,	oh, how long he will live,
bānāita dālān-kāṭhā	then he would build a stone house
kariyā raṅgin.[186]	in many colours.

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[185] Cf. Zakaria, 2012, pp.82-3.

[186] Source: https://lyricstranslate.com/en/লোকে–বলে–বলেরে–ঘর–বাড়ি–ভালা–না–loke-bole-o.html, accessed 30.7.2018.

Helim Boyati sang only the first two lines of this song, which were repeated by his group. He then continued to sing about the events of chapter 25 of the *Biṣād-Sindhu*, while his group repeated the first two lines of the song "Loke bale, bale re" intermittently. All the while, they remained in a crouching position in circle formation. They now sang with a driving rhythm, clapped their hands to the rhythm, and marked the beat with their right feet. Apparently, the group sang the two lines of the song because its topic, the transience of human life, connects to the central theme of the Karbala story, the martyrdom of Husain and his companions.

Helim Boyati continued to sing, and the narrative reached the point where Qasim declares his readiness to sacrifice his life in battle. In this section, his group repeated the phrase "Sonār Bāṅglādeś" ("Golden Bangladesh") at short intervals, an expression that alludes to Tagore's song "Āmār sonār bāṃlā", the national anthem of Bangladesh. This thematic combination seemed to hint at the Bangladesh independence war of 1971, in which many freedom fighters lost their lives. The bāiyā and one of the dohārs now danced inside the circle, gesturing like fighters engaged in a sword battle. They cut across with their arms repeatedly, and moved in a circular direction (C1795/167: 38:10-40:00, Fig. 2.8).

Fig. 2.8: Ḍāinā and dohārs squatting in circle formation, with two dancers inside
(Panchhar, 30.9.2017, still from C1795/167: 38:10-40:00)

The group performed the last two minutes of the performance without Helim Boyati. They reversed the choreography from the beginning, and marched off in a line formation (C1795/167: 43:00-45:00, C1795/168).[187] The one-hour format appeared to be the standard performance format of the group, although there was some rainfall that probably shortened the performance slightly on that day. Overall, the performance seemed very organised and well-rehearsed. The audience watched attentively and with pleasure, but without participating actively in song or dance at any time. Certainly, one reason for this was our filming, however, it appears likely that the complex choreography would not have offered much scope for participation.

The following day, I had the opportunity to document jārigān singing in its original performance context, the Muharram celebrations. The performance took place on Ashura, the tenth day of Muharram, when celebrations reach their peak. My Bengali colleagues had heard of a performance near Kishoreganj, where we travelled by auto rickshaw. After some enquiries, we reached Bhatgaon, a small village surrounded by leafy groves. Locals had gathered at a colourful festive tent that was erected in front of a small stone house, next to a banyan tree. Inside the tent, there were chairs, a table for donations, and a decorated arch leading to the entrance of the building. Inside, a decorated seat was faintly visible (Figs. 2.9-10).

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[187] The dancers were dissatisfied with their first rendition of the end of the dance (C1795/167: 43:00-45:00), and hence performed it again (C1795/168).

Fig. 2.9 (left): House of worship (Bhatgaon, 1.10.2017)

Fig. 2.10 (right): Seat of pīr inside house of worship (Bhatgaon, 1.10.2017)

The mud ground was wet and full of rain puddles. At the tent, we met a farmer, Abdul Rashid, a middle-aged man who led the jārigān singing as a bayāti. He told us there had been jārigān singing at the tent for the last nine days, since the first day of Muharram. He gave us some information on the venue, and told us that the tree and building served for the worship of the saint *Norā Pīr*.[188] According to local legend, the saint came to the village a long time ago, set up his camp under the tree and performed *sādhan.*[189] According to Rashid, the building next to the tree serves to commemorate the saint, and to invite his spirit to be present during worship. Regional visitors give offerings, to pray

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[188] *Pīr* (per. "elder") is a term that denotes a spiritual guide among Muslim Sufi mystics. However, it has been argued in the context of Norā Pīr that "[t]he particular association of the banyan tree with this *pir's* rituals suggests a possible pirification of a tree-spirit" (Roy, 1983, pp.209-10). Asim Roy thus speculates that *Norā Pīr* may be a fictitious figure who emerged in popular belief in the period of Islamisation, through an anthromorphosis of an animist ritual of tree worship. The dual worship space of tree and house seems to support this theory.

[189] *Sādhan* or *sādhana* is a broad term for various kinds of spiritual practice. In the given context, it could refer to prayer, meditation, or spiritual advice.

for the cure of children's disabilities. They offer rice, sweet dishes of *sinni,* chickens, and goats. Rashid also mentioned that they offer *norās*.[190]

The jārigān singing took place in the morning and afternoon, with a lunch break in between, when a vegetable thali and sweets were distributed to the singers and the audience. The singers were men from the village, dressed casually. Most of them carried red handkerchieves. They sat in a circle on a large mat in the middle of the tent, and sang traditional jārigān songs on the Karbala tragedy, waving their handkerchieves to the rhythm (Fig. 2.11). Occasionally, one singer left and another joined in. Two men led the singing from outside the circle for some time (Fig. 2.12). Later on, Rashid took over their role and led the group as bayāti, walking around the circle of singers. The audience were local men, women, and children, who sat on chairs and stood around the tent, but did not participate in the singing.

Fig. 2.11: Circle of jārigān singers (Bhatgaon, 1.10.2017)

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[190] Roy (1983) describes the *norā* ritual as performed by people who "took vows in the name of the *pir*, tied a knot called *norā* on a wisp of grass or hay, and placed it under a banyan tree (*ficus bengalensis*)" (Ray, 1932, pp.217-8, paraphrased by Roy 1983, p.209). It is unclear whether this description still applies to the current practice of the ritual.

Fig. 2.12: Two lead singers of jārigān group (Bhatgaon, 1.10.2017)

At noontime, the singing stopped. Women now placed rice offerings at the banyan tree, in worship of the pīr (Fig. 2.13).

Fig. 2.13: Women placing rice offerings at banyan tree (Bhatgaon, 1.10.2017)

Soon after, the tazia procession arrived (C1795/169). Men and youths carried the tazia, chanting short Bengali verses on the Karbala story. After each verse, they broke out in chants of "Hasan! Husain!", which increased in intensity as the procession approached the banyan tree. Women threw rice on the chanting youths as a token of blessing (Fig. 2.14). After the youths had placed the tazia at the tree, they continued chanting "Hasan! Husain!" for several minutes, jumping to the rhythm of their chant and throwing their arms up and down, performing mātam. With that, the procession ended.

Fig. 2.14: Muharram procession with tazia
(Bhatgaon, 1.10.2017, still from C1795/169)

In the afternoon, local youths resumed the jārigān singing in the tent (C1795/94-6, C1795/170). Like the group of singers in the morning, they also sang traditional jārigān songs on the Karbala tragedy. Rashid led their singing. Amongst others, they performed a song with the following refrain, on Sakhina's lament over the plans of her husband Qasim and her half-brother Ali al-Akbar to join the battle of Karbala:

Kānde Sakhināi, piyār dulāy Kāsem Ālī raṇe ỳāy to cāy re, kānde Sakhinā.
(C1795/94)

Sakhina cries: "My dear Qasim and Ali want to go and join the battle", Sakhina cries.

The circle now expanded constantly, as more and more singers joined the performance. After one hour, they had occupied all of the space available on the mats. They waved their handkerchieves and swayed in the rhythm. Towards the end, the singing became more and more emotional, as they concluded each refrain with the exclamation "Hasan! Husain!". Meanwhile, it had started to rain profusely, and water poured down in streams over the side of the tent. After the last song, there was a final, ecstatic chant of "Hasan! Husain!", which lasted for several minutes. The singers flung their arms up and down, some of them standing and others kneeling. One or two threw themselves on the ground and beat their chests, performing mātam (Fig. 2.15). After that, all got up again and spoke a concluding prayer, together with the audience (C1795/171).

Fig. 2.15: Jārigān singer performing mātam at tent
(Bhatgaon, 1.10.2017)

My fieldwork thus demonstrates that there are substantial differences between the performances of jārigān groups who form spontaneously in the villages of Bangladesh during Muharram, and those of groups who perform at music festivals and other cultural events in rural and urban environments. On the one hand, there are the jārigān singing sessions that occur in the original ceremonial context of jārigān, the Muharram celebrations that take place in villages in rural Bangladesh. On these occasions, jārigān groups seem to form spontaneously, and there is some degree of audience participation,

as male community members can join and leave the groups at any time. The repertoire of these groups appears to be limited to traditional jārigān songs on the Karbala story. The ceremonial context of the performances suggests that this kind of jārigān singing constitutes a religious ritual in its own right, which may merge with other ritual practices connected to the Muharram festival. Moreover, it seems to serve the purpose of supporting the maintenance of social cohesion among village communities. The ceremonial context further suggests that this type of jārigān singing is still practised widely in rural Bangladesh.

On the other hand, there are ensembles like the jārigān dance group of Md. Abdul Helim Boyati. Their performances are based on the jārigān dances that used to be performed in the context of seasonal and religious festivals at communal celebrations in rural Bangladesh until the mid-20th century. This type of festive jārigān dance seems to have all but disappeared, arguably because modern mass media has brought along new forms of entertainment that are now more relevant to the rural populations. Hence, jārigān dance groups now tend to perform at organised cultural events in rural regions and in cities, usually for a fee. In these settings, there usually is little scope for audience participation. The repertoire of such ensembles appears to be more eclectic and sophisticated, and their stage choreography is refined and well-rehearsed. Arguably, these stylistic characteristics are partly an effect of the group's adjustment to the viewing expectations of urban Bengali middle-class audiences, who tend to expect sophisticated performances of a high artistic standard. In a way, Md. Abdul Helim Boyati's group represents a type of jārigān ensemble that has separated from its original ceremonial context and thus moved towards the sphere of commercialised folk culture.

2.5 Conclusion

Overall, my research shows that in contrast to the development of rāybẽśe, Gurusaday Dutt's engagement with jārigān did not have a significant impact on the genre, as the changing demographics of eastern Bengal seem to have made his vision of jārigān largely redundant. The continued use of Hindu symbology indicates that the genre has retained its syncretic features, but the topic of communal harmony does not seem to play a role in performance anymore, arguably because Hindus constitute less than 9% of the

population of Bangladesh today.[191] The Karbala story is still the main topic of the jārigān that is performed at Muharram, which is reminiscent of Jairazbhoy's observation that there is a high degree of stylistic continuity in participatory music that is performed in ritual contexts among communities (Jairazbhoy, 1991a, p.93). Some modern jārigān composers may have been inspired by Dutt's patriotic jārigān songs, but their songs now refer to the country Bangladesh. Social critical themes related to its society and culture have emerged as an important aspect of jārigān over the past 50 years, which seems to be connected to the fact that jārigān performers commonly engage with contemporary topics, to keep their songs with the pulse of the times. In particular, the Bangladesh independence war of 1971 has become a recurring theme in jārigān, which points towards the social relevance of the genre as a medium for the commemoration of significant cultural events, which now form part of the collective memory of the people of Bangladesh. Little is known about the contemporary practice or stylistic features of jārigān in West Bengal, as there has been no corresponding research so far.

My fieldwork suggests that the practice of jārigān dance has declined more than the practice of jārigān music in the 20th century. The main reason for this seems to be that jārigān singers have been able to partly substitute the declining patronage in rural regions with income, generated through the urban recording industry, whereas there has been no similar financial substitute for the large-scale jārigān dance festivals that used to be sponsored by rural patrons in eastern Bengal until the mid-20th century. The television, and national cultural organisations like the Shilpakala Academy offer some performance opportunities for jārigān dance groups today, as do academic research projects (Dunham, 1997; Zakaria, 2012; 2017). However, the financial support generated through such initiatives certainly does not match the level of sponsorship that was generated through rural patrons decades ago. Further initiatives by regional, national or international cultural organisations could offer additional support for jārigān dance groups in eastern Bengal, but no such initiatives are currently in sight. Therefore, it appears likely that jārigān dances will become even rarer in future.

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[191] Census of Bangladesh, 2011:
http://203.112.218.69/binbgd/RpWebEngine.exe/Portal?BASE=HPC2011_long&lang=ENG, accessed 14.7.2020.

Bake's recordings, then, constitute an important historical documentation of jārigān dance from a time when its practice used to be widespread in rural eastern Bengal. Though he did not document the songs and dances in their original cultural context at rural festivities, his recordings may nevertheless provide some information on the stylistic characteristics that have defined jārigān in this period, a topic that offers scope for further research. Moreover, it would be desirable that his recordings become accessible again at an audio-visual archive in Bangladesh, an issue that I could not address during my fieldwork due to lack of time.

Chapter 3

Santali Performing Arts and Proselytism:
Continuity and Change 1931-2017

In March 1931, the Bakes visited a Christian mission in Santal Parganas. At the mission, the practice of traditional dances was prohibited, but Arnold could record traditional Santali songs, and the songs of converts. Bernhard and Muriel Helland, two missionaries of the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches, were the Bakes' hosts. Arnold later sent the cylinders to Berlin, but staff of the Phonogram Archive assessed the recordings as unsuitable, because they were made in a mission environment. Influenced by colonial clichés about aboriginal communities, Bake regarded the Santals as a natural and pleasure-loving, but rather unrestrained people, and therefore deplored the restrictions that mission staff had imposed on the practice of Santali dance. Subsequently, he focussed on the Santiniketan region, where he documented a Hindu festival with Santali music and dance, and Santali flute songs. Since the 1930s, Santali activists have agitated for the rights of aboriginal communities, and later campaigned for greater cultural and political autonomy in Bihar, which eventually led to the creation of the state of Jharkhand in the year 2000. These developments also influenced the policies of Christian missionary organisations in the region, who now adopt a more liberal stance towards Santali performing arts.

I first give a brief overview of traditional Santali music and dance. Then, I discuss Bake's fieldwork, recordings, and publications, and demonstrate how these were influenced by colonial clichés about aboriginal communities. I then outline the engagement of missionary organisations with the Santals since the early 19th century, which led to the creation of church music repertoires. Subsequently, I examine the means by which missionaries transformed Santali music into church music, through a comparison of traditional songs with derived church songs. Lastly, I give an account of my fieldwork from the year 2017.

3.0 Santali Music and Dance

The Santals are a *Munda* people.[192] The major part of their population live in the region of the Chota Nagpur plateau, which covers much of Jharkhand, and parts of Bihar, Odisha, West Bengal, and Chhattisgarh. There are also Santal communities in Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya, Bangladesh and Nepal (Raj, 2002, pp.39-40). The Santali religion is a polytheistic, animist religion that revolves around the worship of *boṅgas*, nature spirits that inhabit and influence animate and inanimate nature. The chief of the boṅga pantheon is called *Maraṅ buru* ("the great mountain") (Troisi, 1979, p.80).

Santali religion manifests itself in seasonal rites and life-cycle rituals. The seasonal rites centre on ritual sacrificial offerings, which give the Santals the opportunity to connect with the nature spirits on whom they depend. The rites take place in conjunction with communal festivities including music and dance, which thereby support the social cohesion of communities. The most important seasonal festival is the *Sohrae*, which usually takes place after the rice harvest in the Bengali month of *Pauṣ* (December-January) (Troisi, 1979, p.126). The spring and fertility festival *Baha* is celebrated in the month of *Phālgun* (February-March) (1979, p.134). There are also non-seasonal festivals. These include the *Karam* festival, which is conducted "to seek an increase in wealth and progeny and to ward off any evil through the worship of the *karam* tree (*adina cordifolia*)" (1979, p.141). The *Mora karam* festival is conducted to commemorate the dead. In some regions, communities celebrate festivals that appear to be of Hindu origin. Examples are the *Chata*, *Jatra*, and *Pata* festivals. Apart from these, the Santals also participate in Hindu festivals, including *Kālī pūjā* and *Durgā pūjā* (Troisi, 1979, pp.143-5; Archer, 1974, pp.133-5). Therefore, it has been pointed out that the Santals "are religiously, ethnologically and linguistically under the influence of the peoples surrounding them, specially of the Hindus" (Bodding, 1986 [1925-40], p.45).

The Santali language includes the words *rǝṛ* ("melody"), *sereń* ("song") and *eneć* ("dance"). There are work songs, dance songs, and religious chants and incantations. *Horo rohoe* are songs that are performed when the rice paddy is sown (Archer, 1974,

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[192] *Munda* people is the term for ethnic groups who speak one of the Munda languages, which belong to the Austroasiatic language family. The Munda peoples include the Santals, the Oraon, the Munda, and the Ho.

pp.22-3). There are various types of dances and dance songs, including *lagre*, *danta*, *dhurumjak'*, *dahar*, *golwari* and *dasãe*. *Doń* songs are performed at weddings (Prasad, 1985, p.4). Santali poets have also composed songs with modern themes, on topics like the arrival of the railway (Culshaw, 1949, p.45). *Bakhẽṛs* are invocations to boṅgas and ancestors, which are performed by the *naeke*, the village priest, and by household heads (Mahapatra, 1980). The *ojha* ("diviner, medicine man") performs *mantars*[193] (magic spells and recitations) and *jharnis* (magic incantations), to invoke benevolent boṅgas and subdue malevolent nature spirits (Troisi, 1979, pp.199-237).

The tonality of Santali music does not correspond to that of Indian classical music or any form of Western music, and there has been little research on the topic so far. Onkar Prasad ignores this topic in his *Santal Music: A Study in Pattern and Process of Cultural Persistence* (1985), and compares different types of Santali songs through transcriptions in Indian and Western syllabic notation. Prasad observes that certain melodic patterns occur across genres, and therefore concludes that song genres are less defined by their melodic characteristics, but rather by their lyrics, which refer to different social contexts. Prasad further suggests that other indicators also signify the performance of a specific genre, such as certain phrases that are uttered during performance, dance dresses, and the rhythmic patterns of melodies (1985, pp.114-5). Furthermore, Prasad's study shows that most Santali songs are pentatonic or hexatonic, and that their tonal gamut is usually limited to one octave.

The Santals use a number of percussion instruments. The two drums *tumdak'* and *ṭamak'* are commonly used, and are regarded as icons of Santali culture. The tumdak' is a medium-sized, double-headed conical clay drum covered with bullock skin, which is played with the hands. The smaller right face of the drum has a *gab* in the centre, a black circle made from a paste of brittle black stone and boiled rice. The ṭamak' is a medium-sized, metal kettledrum covered with bullock or buffalo skin, which is played with two sticks (Prasad, 1985, pp.94-9). There are also other types of drums, such as the flat-bottomed kettledrum *leṛda* (Culshaw, 1949, pp.42-3). The *raha* or *rahaṛ* is a large cylindrical drum played with two sticks, similar to the Bengali *ḍhāk*, and the Santals also use the ḍhol drum. The *capṛa ḍhol* is a large, double-headed cylindrical drum, played

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[193] The word *mantar* is derived from the Sanskrit term *mantra* (Troisi, 1979, p.207).

with one large stick. The *ḍeḍger* is a small kettledrum, and the *ḍhulki* a small wooden double-headed drum (Bodding, 1986, p.70). The Santals also use a number of idiophones. The *saṛpa* is made from a pole, which is attached to a small wooden cross with small holes. The player holds a set of strings that pass through the holes and hold small wooden clappers underneath, which he pulls up against the cross to create a percussive sound (Culshaw, 1949, p.40). The *baṭa* is a bronze plate that is struck with a small stick. *Jhuṅka* is the generic term for bronze pellet bells. They can be attached to a *lipur*, a leather strap tied to the calves or ankles, or to an *urmal*, a loin belt. *Paiṅgan* is the term for metal rings filled with pellet bells, which are worn around the ankles. The *kartāl* or *rankhi* is a pair of medium-sized metal cymbals.

Among the melody instruments, there are both string and wind instruments. The generic term for bowed string instruments is *banam*, but it is sometimes also used for other melody instruments. The *ḍhoḍro banam* ("hollow" banam) is a one-stringed, bowed box lute that is carved from a single piece of wood, often with ornamental carvings. Animal gut, skin and hair are used for its string, membrane and bow. The *hukạ banam* is a small spiked bowl lute, whose resonating body is made from a coconut that is covered with animal skin. A wooden or bamboo stick serves as a neck, to which one string is attached which is played with a bow. The *phentor banam* is a four-stringed, plucked lute with a long neck and a small resonating body. The *buạṅ* is a single-stringed, plucked musical bow, which has a gourd attached as a resonator. The *kabkubi* is a one-stringed, plucked cylindrical membranophone, made from a dried bottle gourd. There are also a number of wind instruments. These include the *tiriya*, a transverse bamboo flute, and the *murli* or *bhuia*, a thick duct flute made from wood. The *joṛā murli* or *bheṛe* is a double flute, on which melody and drone are played. The *mandanbheṛ* is a metal horn that is played in pairs at weddings, and the *sakwa* is a buffalo horn that is used at rituals of boṅga worship. The *tumbri* is a snake-charmer's pipe. The Indian harmonium has been adopted, too, and is called *ota banam* ("pressed" banam) (Bodding, 1936 p.285; Culshaw, 1949, pp.40-4; Prasad, 1985, pp.100-13; Killius, 2012b, p.12). In performances with music and dance, men usually play the instruments, and the women sing (Culshaw, 1949, p.44).

Santali dances are group dances, in which men and women participate, in separate groups. Some dances, like the Mora karam dance, are traditionally restricted

to men. The group dances usually feature line formations, semi-circular, and circular formations. In many group dances, the women dance side by side in lines or half-circles, holding each other by the hands, while a group of men play drums in front of them.

3.1 "A real nature dance": Arnold Bake's Research on Santali Music and Dance

Map 3.1: Locations of Bake's fieldwork on Santali music and dance

In this section, I examine how colonial clichés about aboriginals informed Bake's views on the Santals and their performing arts, and how his encounter with converts conflicted with his notions of Santali culture. Hindus and Muslims always regarded aboriginals as "others", but the British imported the idea of "tribe" to South Asia:

> The British did not introduce the concept of an indigenous, non-Aryan, dark-skinned "Other" to India, but they did introduce the European paradigmatic idea of "tribe" to designate peoples they found to be geographically, socioculturally, and often linguistically isolated from or marginal to mainstream Indian society.
> (Babiracki, 2000-1, p.36)

British officials used the term "tribe" for South Asian peoples since the early 19th century (Bates, 1995). Generally, they were more concerned with the administrative and political implications of their work than with anthropological definitions:

> Ethnographic material from India did not figure prominently in the general discussion regarding the definition of tribe. The problem in India was to identify rather than define tribes, and scientific or theoretical considerations were never allowed to displace administrative or political ones. This is not to say that those engaged in drawing up lists of Indian tribes did not have their own conception of tribe, but those conceptions were neither clearly formulated nor systematically applied. Lists of Indian tribes were in fact drawn up, with or without benefit of clear and consistent definitions.
> (Béteille, 1986, p.299)

H. H. Risley thus describes *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (1891-2), without defining the term "tribe". Other colonial ethnographers followed suit, an example being Edgar Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (1909). The colonial portrayals proliferated certain clichés, which created a tribal stereotype:

> By the last decades of the 19th century, when the term began to be applied regularly to indigenous, hill and forest peoples of the Jharkhand area, an "ideal type" had become fairly well established. This type, as applied to the tribal people, or "tribals" as they were known, characterized them as isolated, self-sufficient, egalitarian, primordial, unchanging, natural, childlike, free, happy and spontaneous, and of course at other times lazy, savage, uncivilized, violent, criminal, drunken, untrustworthy, irresponsible and irrational…. (Babiracki, 2000-1, p.36)

British publications on South Asian music and musicology show changes in the application and meaning of the term "tribe", which was used rather indiscriminately until the 1860-70s. Captain N. Augustus Willard does not distinguish clearly between "caste" and "tribe" (1875 [1834], pp.27, 30), while P. T. French mentions "snake-charmers and various tribes of jugglers, acrobats, and the like" who play the reed pipe *pungi* (1875 [c. 1860s], p.252). William C. Stafford reports of "the Nutt and Bamallee tribes, who appear to be a kind of wandering gipsies" (1875 [n.d.], p.224). Following

Darwin's theory of human evolution, a more distinct meaning of tribe began to crystallise, that of aboriginal peoples presumed to be at a low cultural evolutionary stage. Captain C. R. Day found:

> There are also echoes of an indigenous music which prevails among the hill tribes, remaining in the Indian music of to-day; but yet not so clearly heard that we can say we identify here or there a refrain of an original or pre-historic music, although we may unconsciously be very near it. (Day, 1891, p.X)

A. H. Fox Strangways also reports of tribes in his *Music of Hindostan*, stating that "[t]he most primitive tribe I came across were the *Kānikas*" (1914, p.44). H. A. Popley speaks of "Assam hill tribes" (1921, p.118).[194]

The music of South Asian aboriginals was also regarded with interest elsewhere. Comparative musicologists had studied the music of non-European peoples since the late 19th century (Martinelli, 2014). Amongst others, they regarded measurements of musical instruments as helpful to understand foreign tonalities (Hornbostel, 1910, p.156; Schneider, 1976, pp.102-11, 120-1). By 1931, the Phonogram Archive had received samples of the music of Hindus, Muslims and Parsis (Ziegler, 2006, CD-ROM, collection 13), and of ritual and indigenous music from Ceylon (Ziegler, 2006, CD-ROM, collections 274, 276-7), but they had no recordings of aboriginal peoples from India. Consequently, Hornbostel requested Bake to record "Indian primitive tribes".[195] Such recordings were expected to be made in an environment without European cultural influences, to be suitable for evaluation.

Bake knew the Santals since his first stay in Santiniketan,[196] and wanted to meet the expectations of Berlin when he began to record in 1931. He knew that the Santals lived close to the Bengalis in West Bengal, and was therefore concerned that their performing arts had been affected by acculturation processes. Therefore, he arranged a visit to Santal Parganas, where he hoped to find authentic Santali culture. Acquaintances

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[194] Bake mentioned the works of Day, Fox Strangways and Popley in his All India Radio talk "A foreigner studies Indian music", n.d., ABA, box 35.
[195] Erich M. v. Hornbostel, letter to Arnold Bake, 6.7.1930, BPA.
[196] He photographed Santals at the Surul melā in 1928 (letter from 21.3.1928, Mss Eur F191/5, 117). One year later, he photographed a Santali musician (letter from 13.2.1929, Mss Eur F191/7, 161).

put him in touch with the Norwegian missionary Paul Olaf Bodding (1865-1938), who worked for the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches:

> The Tuckers have promised me that they will introduce us to an old Norwegian missionary who [stays] in the Dumka hills, the homeland of the Santals, you know that they appreciated Santal music etc. in Berlin, I will have the best opportunity to record it on-site there, naturally they are still purer there regarding their traditions than here where they live in the midst of Bengalis.
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 11.2.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 177)

> [Mr Tucker] came to bring the answer of a missionary in the Dumka Hills, where we wanted to go in the end of next week to record Santal music... I would like to record dances, too, but nothing of that is allowed with the old Mr. Bodding at any rate. He considers the dances very objectionable and cannot bestow his cooperation under any condition. But certainly for the songs. These are there, in the heart of Santal Parganas, probably still purer than they are here.
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 24.2.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 179)

Bodding arranged that the Bakes could visit the Kairabani Mission, 30 kilometres southwest of Dumka. Dutt arranged transport by car from Suri:

> First of all, I have requested for his help to arrange a vehicle to bring us to Kairabani in the Dumka Hills, where we want to record music, at reasonable cost. That is a boarding school where they apparently hold Santal music in high esteem. I am very curious what that will be. In every regard, it is very difficult to get there, because it is located miles distant from the next [train] station.
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 11.3.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 181)

The Bakes visited the mission from 17 to 20 March 1931.[197] It included a boys' boarding school and a church (Fig. 3.1).

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[197] Cornelia Bake's diary 1931, ABA, box 24.

Fig. 3.1: "The new Kaerabani Church at the consecration, 1926"

(Photographs of the Danmission, Copenhagen/

International Mission Photography Archive, USC Digital Library)[198]

They were received by the missionaries Bernhard and Muriel Helland. Bernhard was the director of the school, where Bake could record Santali songs, but not dances:

> The reception in Kairabani was very cordial[.] The Hellands, two Swedish Americans, are sociable and still young people, not much older than we, who really felt a lot for the work, and then also did their utmost to help. I made eight records [cylinder recordings], each with at least three songs, so that I have got between twenty-four and thirty-two songs of different kinds. Naturally they still have to be worked out, but first they have to be sent to Berlin for the casts. There is a singing teacher who knows a lot about Santali music. I expect the words of the songs with translations shortly. They could not help me regarding dances, because the mission is quite turned against that, because of the liberal customs associated with the dances, and so they gave me an introduction to the deputy commissioner in Dumka, who was very enthusiastic about everything that can be called Santal. We did not find him at home....
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 25.3.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 183)

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[198] Source: http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15799coll123/id/98570/rec/44, accessed 19.7.2020.

At the mission, he recorded boys and adults singing traditional Santali songs and Santali church songs, based on traditional melodies. He was glad that the mission offered safe surroundings for his work:

> In the beginning, the students of the school found it a bit strange to sing in front of the gramophone, but they quickly got used to it, and enjoyed it. There are young boys and older ones, and also adults, who come for training as a village teacher. It is the principle that their language is held in high esteem to bring them as little as possible out of their own sphere, and all the songs they use in the church are with their own folk melodies, even though the original words were such that these do not belong in a Christian church at all. That's why it was also safer than I thought to make records there, I could even take a few hymns, but by far the largest part is with the original village wording. I also have [recorded] flute and banam, an instrument with a string that is played with a bow. I believe that the recordings are quite good overall, although they are not perfect. (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 25.3.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 183)

Bake's photos show the students in a relaxed mood, playing their instruments at the mission (Figs. 3.2-3).[199]

Fig. 3.2 (left): Santali musician playing tiriya

(Kairabani Mission, March 1931, SMBC SNT 3)

Fig. 3.3 (right): Santali musician playing ḍhoḍro banam

(Kairabani Mission, March 1931, SMBC SNT 4b)

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[199] One recording of a vocal song also ends with laughter (C52/2131: 4).

Two photos stand out, which show a tiriya player in a picturesque setting, by the side of a pond (SMBC SNT 2a-b, Fig. 3.4). Arguably, Bake arranged the photo shoot outside, to get pictures of a Santali musician in a natural environment.

Fig. 3.4: Santali musician playing tiriya by a pond
(Kairabani Mission, March 1931, SMBC SNT 2b)

The Santals' talent for choral singing surprised him:

> We had a few extraordinarily pleasant days. The last night when we were there, we went to the school where the boys performed their own plays and sang. It was only to see how they were at it. They are fanatically musical and feel very much for harmony, very different from the Bengalis. When they have heard harmony a few times, they start to sing their own music in four voices themselves, and enjoy it a lot. And the craziest thing is that it also works, probably because their music is much less specialised than Hindu music, to put it like that. For fun, I have recorded such a four-part Santal song, although that has got little to do with Santal music anymore, of course.[200] They sing a capella. (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 25.3.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 183)

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[200] Here, Bake refers to the song "Bogi gupi do" (see Chapter 3.3).

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The Bakes returned to Santiniketan via Dumka, where they visited Bodding and his wife. When Bodding told him a bit about the Santals, Arnold realised he needed to know more about their music:

> I need to know various things more about Santal music, otherwise the notes that I made are of no use to me. It is a whole world in itself.
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 25.3.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 183)

Kairabani was the first opportunity for him to make recordings with his portable phonograph. He sent eight cylinders to Berlin (Bake I 1-8) in late March or early April, without an index of the songs, as he had not received the lyrics and their translations yet.[201] He then sent a letter to Hornbostel, pointing out that most of the church songs were set to traditional melodies:

> Recently, I had the opportunity to start recording Santal music. I have sent you eight cylinders, each with three to four little songs… I expect the texts and translations shortly, and then I can already start with the notation…
>
> The music is purely Santal, the words often not, but I will note that down each time. To get really in touch with the Santals, I have turned to the currently most important authority in this field, Dr Bodding, who dedicated his entire life to the study of the Santal language. But he is a missionary, and as he helped me along, we arrived at a huge boarding school for Santals. But it looks worse than it is. The mission has the policy to change as little as possible. Language, music and customs are, if anyhow possible, retained. All the melodies used in the church are pure Santal melodies, although the words were made Christian. But in many cases I have succeeded in recording the original village wording. This is because after school, many adults come to the training class and they have a large stock of folk songs. They also play their own instruments. I have recorded flute [Fig. 3.2] and banam [Fig. 3.3]. I did not hear the harmonium there, fortunately. The music as such is quite different from Hindu music, and their whole

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[201] Arguably, Bake never received the texts. In early April, he planned to remind the Hellands, as he feared they could depart for Kashmir before sending them (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 7.4.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 185). In August, he wrote to Hornbostel from Nepal, claiming to have received "the complete index" of the recordings "only recently", but apologised that it was in Santiniketan (Arnold Bake, letter to Erich M. v. Hornbostel, 17.8.1931, BPA). I did not find the song lyrics or their translations at any archives.

musical sense is very different. They love polyphony a lot when they get to hear it. I have recorded a sample (which hardly has any scientific value) how the Santal singing master of the school edited a song with four voices without actually ever having a European education, he does not speak a word of English, for example. The boys sing it with passion, what you could never expect from the Hindus…

The Santal language is completely unrelated to Bengali, and hence I greatly appreciated the initial help of the singing master, who spoke Santali and Bengali. And as I wrote already, the music is real Santal music (except for the song with four voices which I just recorded as curiosity). (Arnold Bake, letter to Erich M. v. Hornbostel, 15.4.1931, BPA)

With the letter, Bake sent measurements of instruments and details about their construction, and pictures of instruments and musicians. Hornbostel was not too enthusiastic about the recordings:

Generally: the more you record, the better, provided that the music is not europeanised yet. (Erich M. v. Hornbostel, letter to Arnold Bake, 5.7.1931, BPA)

Hornbostel marked the recordings as "worthless" (Ziegler, 2006, pp.101-2), because they were made at a mission, and therefore included music that was presumably europeanised.[202] The recordings of the Sound Archive are on two cylinder sets. The first set (C52/1641, 1643-8) are copies from Berlin (Bake I 1, 3-8). The second set (C52/2127-35, 2137-8) are test recordings, which Bake intended to use for the transcription of songs. The recordings include vocal songs, instrumental pieces, and songs with instrumental accompaniment, without percussion. Most songs are traditional, with some relating to festivals like Sohrae, Mora karam and Dasãe. There are also a few songs with Christian themes.[203] The documentation is limited to two sheets with Bake's handwritten notes from Kairabani, which were found as inserts of C52/2127. They list the songs recorded on the cylinders Bake I 1-8 (Figs. 3.5-6). One of the sheets carries cylinder stains (Fig. 3.6). For some songs, he noted down the genre or the first words of the lyrics, and for others, only the gender and number of singers and instrumentation.

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[202] The published catalogue of the Phonogram Archive does not include any further information.
[203] See Appendix 3.

On the back of one sheet, he wrote down the measurements of a large and a small banam. I found no other archival material related to the recordings, arguably because Bake did not engage with them further, as he did not receive the song lyrics. He also probably sensed Hornbostel's scepticism.
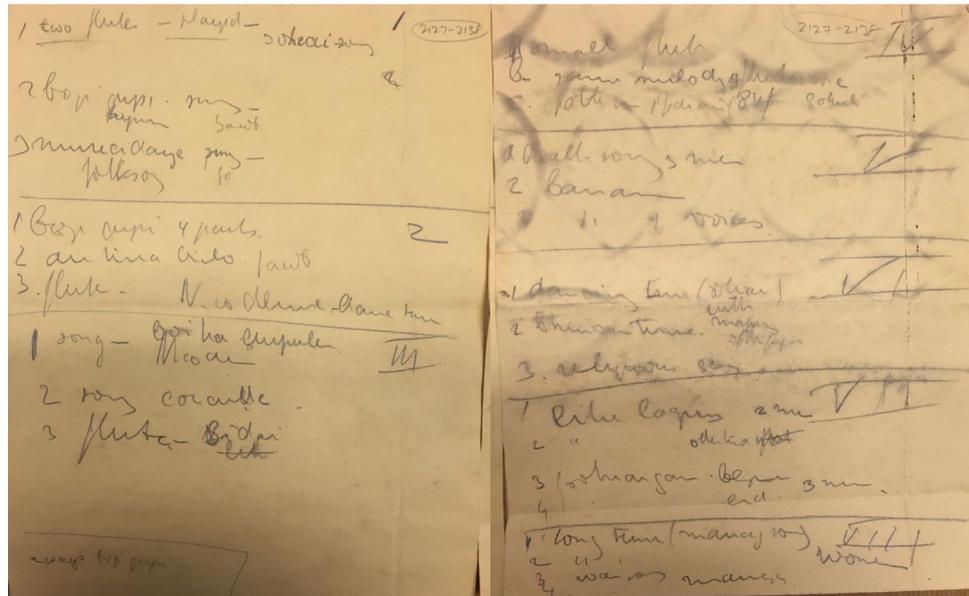
Fig. 3.5 (left): Bake's notes on the songs of the cylinders Bake I 1-3

(n.d., insert of C52/2127, BLSA Bake collection)

Fig. 3.6 (right): Bake's notes on the songs of the cylinders Bake I 4-8

(n.d., insert of C52/2127, BLSA Bake collection)

Music was an important part of the curriculum at Kairabani, which attracted students. They had a brass band, who occasionally played for other congregations (Hodne, 1967, pp.66-7; Fig. 3.7). Bake did not record, photograph, or write about the band in any form.[204] However, it appears unlikely that the Hellands did not mention it, considering its role at the school, and Bake's interest in music.

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[204] Bake generally detested the music of South Asian brass bands, and found that such bands should not be recorded at all (personal communication with Richard Widdess, 20.12.2016).

Fig. 3.7: "The Kaerabani School Brass Band visiting Narainpur, 9th March 1931"

Bernhard Helland at the back, Muriel Helland and Jakob O. Soren to the right.

(Photographs of the Danmission, Copenhagen/

International Mission Photography Archive, USC Digital Library)[205]

The deputy commissioner of Dumka later replied by post he would be happy to arrange Santali dance performances for Bake.[206] Arnold thought about revisiting Dumka for this purpose,[207] but did not do so, probably because he filmed Santali dances elsewhere.

On 13 April 1931, he visited the village of Kankalitola, five kilometres northeast of Santiniketan, where he filmed Santals performing their dances at the annual melā, which revolves around a local Hindu shrine.[208] He enjoyed the dances, but found that the Santals drank too much:

> It was Monday, namely the Bengali old year, and then there is in Kankalitola, a village a
> good six kilometres from here, a huge puja and mela. We hadn't been there yet, but this
> year we went to have a look, mainly because we had heard that there were always many

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[205] Source: http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15799coll123/id/98657/rec/42, accessed 19.7.2020.

[206] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 25.3.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 183.

[207] Arnold Bake, letter to Erich M. v. Hornbostel, 15.4.1931, BPA.

[208] Kankalitola is a pilgrimage site for Śakta-s, worshippers of the Hindu goddess Śakti. In the myth Dakṣa Yajña, Viṣṇu cuts the corpse of Śiva's wife Sati, and her body parts fall to earth. The name of Kankalitola is believed to be derived from the Bengali word kãkāl ("waist", "hip"), the body part that fell to earth in the village.

Santals dancing. The Santals who have left the Dumka Hills, in the plain they take an interest in the Hindu festivities and regard them as their own. Especially, because there is an opportunity to dance and drink[,] and they rush to drinking. Well, there was plenty of opportunity here, too. I made two films. The men had splendid outfits with high feather tufts on their black heads. The women were ordinary. It was really strange that many ladies danced below an umbrella because of the sunshine. Everyone here uses umbrellas instead of parasols, sometimes with a white cover, but usually just like that… Kankalitola has a very nice location on the high bank of the [river] Kopai. There are many trees, and all the tents were set up underneath. We did not see much of the puja itself, only the preparations, and the few little boats of coloured paper that people let float on a pond. There were masses of sheep and goats tied up, and it is a huge butchery, on which we were not very keen. The animals are laid with the head in a sort of harp-shaped wooden frame and then the head is chopped off with a large bent knife. A very gory matter, for which we did not come at all.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 15.4.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 186)

He found the Santali dances sensuous and natural:

I am so curious what you will think of the films from Kankalitola that we left behind in Calcutta last week to reproduce. It was the typical male and female dances. You will see, I think, why the missionaries are against this dancing, it is very sensuous, yet it has great charm… And so entirely unaffected, a real nature dance.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.5.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 191)

There are two edited cuts, and snippets. The first edit (C52/FO/23: 6:20-9:22) begins with a text that addresses a Western audience and refers to the district of Bengal, which suggests it was made in the mid-1930s. The Santals are introduced as a cheerful and exuberant people, fond of celebrations and dancing:

Amongst the aboriginal tribes of India the Santals occupy an important place. Their home is the district of the Santal Parganas on the S.W. Border of Bengal[,] they have spread, however, and one may see Santals even as far as Calcutta engaged as coolies for heavy labour[.] Although they have their own religion the Santals never miss an opportunity for merry-making at Hindu festivals. Here they are seen dancing at

Konkalitola, a village in S.W. Bengal at the first day of the Bengali New Year about the end of April[.] (Opening lines of C52/FO/23: 6:20-9:22)

The film shows Santali women performing group dances, accompanied by male drummers and other instrumentalists. They dance on an open ground, with trees and fields in the background. The women dance side by side in straight and curved lines, each group accompanied by male tumdak' and ṭamak' drummers. Some drummers have straps with metal pellet bells tied around their ankles, and some of their drums are ornamented with small flower bouquets. There are also tiriya flute players, and one man plays a large rattle, made of plant material. All wear plain white and light-coloured clothes. Some of the women have metal ornaments on the face, on the ears, around their necks, and in the hair, and others wear flowers in their hair. Most of the instrumentalists wear turbans or headscarves, some of these ornamented with flowers and plants. Some children play drums, too. The groups are surrounded by onlookers of all ages, including Bengali villagers and Santals. Some festival visitors squat or sit on the ground, eating sugar cane. All performers and onlookers are barefoot (Fig. 3.8).

Fig. 3.8: Santali musicians and dancers with bystanders
(Kankalitola melā, 13.4.1931, still from C52/FO/16)

Arnold made the second edit (C52/FO/16: 0:00-6:15) for a presentation on "Dance in India, Pakistan and Ceylon", sometime between 1948 and 1963. This edit has no

introductory text, possibly because he had become aware of the clichés that his first edit conveyed. Snippets are included in three other files (C52/FO/2, C52/FO/3, and C52/FO/25). He made another recording of Santali music in Mongoldihi, where he recorded three dance songs played on tiriya flutes in November 1931 (C52/1731). In his correspondence, he mentions a Santal melā, where the recording may have been made.[209]

Bake did not publish much on the music and dance of the Santals, and what he published suggests that he did not study their culture in depth. At the Royal Musical Association in London, he gave a talk on Indian folk music, which provides some insights into his views on the Santals and their performing arts, and into his views on the evolutionary development of music in general.[210] In the talk, he discussed the living circumstances of communities, the construction and playing techniques of their instruments, the tonal compass of melodies, and the complexity of scales and compositions, to make statements about their presumed cultural evolutionary and musical development. He began by stating that "[t]he folk-music expresses in its variety the variety of cultural stages of the population of this immense sub-continent", and that "looking at Indian folk-music as a whole… we find the whole scale of musical development from its most elementary beginnings in practice to-day" (1936-7, pp.65-6). He found that "[n]aturally we may look for the simplest forms of music among the aboriginal tribes… scattered in the jungles and out-of-the-way places of India" (1936-7, p.66). Correspondingly, he first discussed the music of the South Indian Toda, the Kota, the Urali and Korava people; after that Santali music, and then Bengali and Nepalese folk music. He then proceeded to the medieval songs of Kabīr and Vaiṣṇava kīrtan, and concluded the talk by mentioning the poems and music of Tagore, and the work of other contemporary Indian performers and composers. In his talk, he portrayed the Santals as a half-civilised people, working in towns and cities, but fond of drumming, and potentially dangerous:

[The] Santals, agriculturists where they have not flocked away to rice-mills or railway-stations in which they work as labourers, are great hunters with bow and arrow. Even

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[209] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 26.-27.11.1931, Mss Eur F191/9, 217.
[210] The talk was later published as the article "Indian Folk-Music" (Bake, 1936-7).

when living amongst the Bengalis where there is no hunting to be done, the men are very often seen carrying bow and arrows. Next to the drum, their beloved instrument, is the bamboo flute of unequal length with six holes. They often use their flutes as walking-sticks…. (Bake, 1936-7, p.68)

He asserted the Santals had not been influenced by Bengali culture, which would occur only under the influence of Christian missions, and speculated that the relative melodic simplicity of their music enabled them to learn choral singing quickly:

They have preserved their independence of language, religion and music through decades of close contact with Bengalis, and it is only under mission influence that they are now changing all of these. It was a sad experience to hear them sing their changed folk-melodies, in four parts, to religious words after the fashion of our hymns. The fact that their music has not reached the melodic perfection of the music of Hindu India apparently makes them take to part-singing with greater ease than I have noticed anywhere else in India. (Bake, 1936-7, p.68)

He then played his recording from Mongoldihi, for examples of traditional Santali melodies. In another talk, he also emphasised that Santali music had not been influenced by acculturation processes in Bengal:

A remarkable instance I have noticed in the S.W. [southwest] of Bengal[,] where large groups of the aboriginal tribe of the Santals have come down from the Dumka Hills and have settled amongst the Bengalis. Men and women work in the Bengali villages and townships, in rice mills and on railway stations, in constant contact with Bengalis for many generations. When they go home, however, after a day's hard work, singing to the accompaniment of the flute, their melodies show no sign or trace of Bengali influence[,] but are just built along the lines their ancestors have sung them for centuries and centuries, vastly different from what they hear around them day after day. (Arnold Bake, "The importance of Research of Indian Music", n.d., ABA, box 35)

Notably, Bake never elaborated on any aspect of Santali culture in his talks and publications, which suggests that he never engaged with studies of their society,

religion, language, and traditions. Instead, colonial ethnographic clichés of aboriginal peoples appear to have shaped his views on the Santals and their performing arts to a considerable extent, especially in his early career, when he portrayed them as a natural and pleasure-loving people, fond of music, dancing, and drinking, but overall living in a half-civilised state.

Concerned about the security of his wife and himself, Bake was glad to be accommodated at the mission, which provided a safe environment for his work, an advantage that outweighed the concerns he had about the mission's engagement with the Santals, notably their restrictions on the practice of traditional dances, and their conversion of Santali music. Hornbostel's reservations against the Kairabani recordings were a setback for Bake, who had to establish his credentials as a recordist at that time. His subsequent U-turn in judging the authenticity of Santali music and dance from the Bengal region raises an interesting question: did he really come to the conclusion that it was unaffected by Bengali culture, or did he bury his doubts despite knowledge to the contrary, to be able to claim that he documented original Santali performing arts? Arguably, he was unaware of Bodding's observations on the influence of Hinduism on Santali culture, which would have probably altered his opinion.[211] Nevertheless, Bake's recordings remain fascinating sonic artefacts, which elucidate the recording policies of the Berlin Phonogram Archive in the early 1930s, and his responses to them.

3.2 Heathen Dances for Satan: Christian Proselytism and Santali Culture 1824-1947

In this section, I discuss the proselytism activities of the Indian Home Mission to the Santhals, later renamed Santal Mission of the Northern Churches, which led to the creation of Santali church music repertoires at Kairabani and other mission stations in the second half of the 19th century. When the East India Company established control over the Indian subcontinent from the 1750s onwards, its officials were opposed to proselytism activities, as these entailed the risk of social tensions that conflicted with their commercial interests. The Company permitted Catholic and Protestant preachers to work in its ranks as military chaplains, schoolteachers, and diplomatic emissaries, but

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[211] See Chapter 3.0.

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they did not conduct missionary work. Protestants therefore established missionary organisations independently in Britain in the 1790s, among these the Baptist Missionary Society, founded in 1792. Until the early 19th century, the Company did not allow them to carry out their work on its territory. William Carey, one of the first missionaries of the Society, thus had to settle on the Danish territory of Serampore, outside Calcutta. Concerned about the extravagant lifestyles of Company officials and the ruthless exploitation of natural resources, the British Parliament enacted changes when it renewed its charter for the Company in 1813, to promote missionary and educational work in India (Viswanathan, 2015 [1989], p.24). Yet, the Company remained the authority that issued licenses to foreigners to reside within its possessions in India, and it had the power to deport them if they were found to be undesirable.

In 1833, Parliament enacted further changes that allowed citizens of other nations almost unrestricted residence in British India, which led to a surge in missionary activity (Neill, 2002 [1985], pp.176-7). Committed Christians, working in the British administration and military service, welcomed missionaries in the field of education and social support, and invited them to take up work (Neill, 2002, pp.332-3). Proselytism often resulted in tensions among Hindu communities. Conversions among the lower castes led to the disruption of the traditional order of life, and converts had to face social ostracisation and economic repercussions as a result, and sometimes they even suffered violent attacks (Neill, 2002, pp.381-4). Therefore, missionaries increasingly turned their attention to ethnic minorities who lived more separately from Hindu society. Missionary work among these communities sometimes resulted in a high number of conversions, but it also often meant working in remote regions, which entailed the dangers of disease and death. Missionary organisations therefore supported each other (Neill, 2002, p.359), but at the same time, there also was some competition for access to promising regions (Brandt, 2011, pp.24-5).

The Santals were one of the ethnic minorities who were approached by the missionaries. Economic mismanagement, famines, and a general state of lawlessness had led to the depopulation of southern Bihar in the period between 1765-1790 (Jha and Mishra, 2006, pp.12-4). The Permanent Settlement agreement of 1793 motivated zamindars to reclaim uncultivated land with the help of Santals and members of other ethnic minorities who were known as adept agriculturists. Santals were called to the

lowlands around Dumka, where they recultivated unused stretches of land. Typically, the Santals were not paid for this work, but the landowners allowed them to cultivate the land without rent for the first three years. After that, they usually had to pay a small rent for a further period of three years. Subsequently, the rent was steadily increased, which often induced the Santals to move away again to other uncultivated land, where the process was repeated. From the 1820s onwards, the British also encouraged the Santals to clear the jungles of the Rajmahal Hills, without zamindars as intermediaries. The Santals took on the task gladly, and established hundreds of new villages in the region until the late 1840s. Their population increased, and the government profited by collecting steadily rising land revenues in the 1830-50s. However, the Santals' inexperience in financial matters made them vulnerable to the fraudulent practices of zamindars and moneylenders. While the landowners were able to bribe police and judges in the case of legal disputes, their victims usually had no legal support. The exploited Santal population thus became impoverished in the first half of the 19th century, which led to the *Santal Hul* ("Santal rebellion") of 1855-56 (Mallick, 1993, pp.3-9). As a result, the British created the Santal Parganas district, where special administrative rules were introduced to ensure fair jurisprudence for all, including illiterate peoples (Carrin and Tambs-Lyche, 2008, p.80).

Protestant missionaries began to engage with the Santals in the 1820s. The English missionary R. Leslie of the Baptist Missionary Society started to work in the town of Munger in Bihar in 1824, but returned to England in 1841 (Carrin and Tambs-Lyche, 2003, p.278). Missionaries of the American Freewill Baptist Mission arrived at the Orissa coast in 1835, and met Santals in northwest Orissa in 1838 (Brandt, 2011, pp.21-3). To increase their outreach among the community, the missionaries began to study Santali culture, religion and language; and to familiarise the Santals with the Western worldview, they offered them school education, in the hope that this would help the community to understand the relevance of the Christian faith. For the Santals, education had the advantage that it empowered them against exploitation and fraud by landowners and moneylenders. The Freewill Baptist missionary Jeremiah Phillips (1812–1879) established the first primary school for the Santals in 1845 (Hodne, 1967, introduction). He translated sections of the bible, published a hymn book, and authored

the book *An Introduction to the Sántál Language* (1852).[212] British missionaries of the Church Missionary Society sent a missionary to Bhagalpur in 1850, who contacted the Santals in 1852, but he could not speak their language (Carrin and Tambs-Lyche, 2003, p.278). After the rebellion of 1855-56, missionaries increased their engagement with the Santals, and founded mission schools in Santal Parganas that offered education, medical care and social support. The rebellion also showed the British administration that the Santals' lack of secular education made them vulnerable to economic exploitation, which could result in civil unrest. In 1854, the East India Company rejected a proposal to educate the Santals with the help of missionaries, and founded some of their own institutions to impart secular education instead. After 1858, the British administration changed its approach, and began to provide grants to the Church Missionary Society, to support their educational work among the Santals (Mallick, 1993, pp.160-3).

The Baptist Missionary Society sent out the Englishman E. C. Johnson, who founded the Ebenezer Mission station near Benagaria in Santal Parganas in 1867, together with two Lutheran missionaries, the Dane Hans Peter Børresen (1825-1901) and the Norwegian Lars Olsen Skrefsrud (1840-1910) (Fig. 3.9). The Mission began with a boys' boarding school, and a girls' boarding school was added in 1868 (Hodne, 1967, p.40). When Johnson left for England in 1868, the two Scandinavians continued the mission, under the name Indian Home Mission to the Santhals. In the 1870s, the Mission separated from the Baptist Missionary Society, and Skrefsrud began to secure funding by establishing committees in England, Scotland, Norway and Denmark. The indigo planter Harington James Muston (1846-1919), an Indian-born Scotsman, became the accountant of the Mission in 1878 (Carrin and Tambs-Lyche, 2008, p.174). In the following decades, the Mission expanded and established stations in Dinajpur, Malda, Cooch Bihar, Rajshahi and Assam, employing Scandinavian, British and American missionaries (Hodne, 1967, pp.21-86). In 1910, the organisation was renamed Santal Mission of the Northern Churches. The Ebenezer Boys' School was moved to Karikador in 1908, and from there to Kairabani in 1911.[213]

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[212] Phillips used the Bengali script to transcribe the Santali language, which was until then a scriptless language. He and other missionaries contributed to E. G. Man's *Sonthalia and the Sonthals* (1867), which includes English translations of Santali songs (1983 [1867], Appendix, pp.1-12).
[213] Olav Hodne states: "As a temporary measure the Boys' School was moved to Karikador in 1908, and from there to Karikador in 1911", which should be, "to Kairabani in 1911" (1967, p.52).

Børresen and Skrefsrud envisaged the Mission as a congregational, national church for the Santals that respected their traditions. Skrefsrud studied Santali language and culture for this purpose, and published the results in his seminal work *A Grammar of the Santhal Language* (1873), thereby introducing the romanisation of the Santali language.[214] At the Mission, the Santals were allowed to maintain their traditional customs, as long as these did not conflict with the missionaries' interpretation of Christian values. Skrefsrud tried to remodel traditional rites into Christian rituals, and Santali music played an important role in the church, too:

> From the start, Skrefsrud and the Börresens showed their concern for the culture and traditions of the Santals. The converts kept their Santal names, and there was no attempt to Westernize their dress. Pastors and missionaries did not wear gowns, reflecting a tradition where laymen preach and priests have no special status. Instead of infant baptism, Skrefsrud tried to Christianize the traditional name-giving ceremony (*janam chatiar*), which was combined with baptism when the mission turned toward Lutheranism. The church did not use bells but drums to call believers to services and meetings. (Carrin and Tambs-Lyche, 2003, p.281)

Similarly, Skrefsrud tried to reinterpret the figure of the Santals' primordial god *Ṭhạkur* as the Christian god. However, he vehemently opposed the belief in boṅgas (Carrin and Tambs-Lyche, 2003, p.288). Converts were named as catechists and pastors from the 1870s onwards, who assisted the conversion of 275 Santals until 1873. Skrefsrud tried to prevent an alienation of converts from non-convert communities, but tensions were ultimately inevitable. Some Santal chiefs were concerned that the new religion would alter their way of life, and urged their followers to exclude converts and to expel the missionaries. Skrefsrud organised communal feasts as a countermeasure, at which he urged chiefs to re-accept converts. Skrefsrud's long-term plan was to convert the chiefs themselves, a task at which he had some success, due to his good oratory skills (Carrin and Tambs-Lyche, 2003, pp.278-85).

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[214] Later on, Skrefsrud studied the languages of other South Asian ethnic minorities (Carrin and Tambs-Lyche, 2008, p.234).

Fig. 3.9: (From left:) H. P. Børresen, H. J. Muston, L. O. Skrefsrud, hunting priest,

Santal chiefs (with turbans), two tiriya players, ṭamak' drummer, and hunters

(Santal Parganas, 1874)

(Photographs of the Danmission, Copenhagen/

International Mission Photography Archive, USC Digital Library)[215]

Skrefsrud and Børresen used the support of the colonial administration to further their work. When a famine swept over Bihar and Bengal in 1873-74, Børresen obtained permission to supervise the irrigation works that had been initiated, and used the opportunity to deliver sermons to thousands of Santali workers. The Mission baptised 1600 new Christians that year, and was in consequence severely criticised by the local press, for taking advantage of the distress of destitute people (Carrin and Tambs-Lyche, 2003, p.280). Some missionaries coined the term "rice-Christians" in response (p.290). Skrefsrud and Børresen regarded the Santals as an intemperate people, who needed to be educated to learn restrained behaviour, in order to facilitate their spiritual, societal and economic progress. In particular, they regarded the Santals' habit of social drinking as a problematic custom. Skrefsrud addressed the Board of Revenue in person about this matter in 1875 and 1876, and with the help of the Scottish official William Muir (1819-1905), his reports were placed before the lieutenant governor in charge. As a consequence, the administration issued fewer licenses to liquor shops, and restricted

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[215] Source: http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15799coll123/id/99271/rec/32, accessed 19.7.2020.

permission for the home-brewing of *haṇḍi*[216] to festival periods. Skrefsrud worked in the Nankar district, where all liquor shops were closed, an arrangement that he tried to maintain for the rest of his life (Hodne, 1967, p.45). Apart from this, he also supported the British administration in the suppression of the Santali nationalist Kherwar movement, by providing information on its activists.[217] When a Kherwar group suggested they might want to convert, but then refused to do so, Skrefsrud advised the assistant deputy commissioner to flog the Kherwar leaders in public (Chaudhuri, 2012, p.113).

The views of Skrefsrud and Børresen on Christian piety were influenced by the puritanical spirit that pervaded public life in Scandinavia in the 19th century, which manifested itself in the Scandinavian temperance movements that advocated teetotalism. The two Scandinavians projected these values onto Santali society, and therefore found certain aspects of traditional Santali life objectionable, namely the social and ritual activities related to communal festivities, such as dancing, drumming, consumption of rice-beer, and rice-beer libations for boṅgas. Female group dances were banned among convert communities (Mallick, 1993, p.161), apparently because of their erotic connotations. The restrictions on the consumption of rice-beer were also intended to promote self-restraint, especially among the youth (Carrin and Tambs-Lyche, 2008, pp.195-6). In the sixth annual report, Børresen exults over the achievements:

> It is heart-cheering to hear fervent prayers and Christian hymns ascend to the throne of grace from those, who last year only knew how to beat the drum and play the flute at their indecent dances at their heathen festivals, and to see those, who last year constructed synagogues of Satan, this year building Churches in their respective Villages for worship of the true God. (Børresen, 1873, pp.8-9)

The Mission established a Christian colony with Santali settlers in Assam in 1881, where strict rules of social life were enacted:

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[216] *Haṇḍi* is an alcoholic drink made from rice.
[217] The Kherwar movement originated in the 1870s. Its leaders argued that a moral and spiritual regeneration of the Santals was necessary. They were opposed to the British Raj and Christian proselytism, but sympathetic to Hinduism (Andersen and Foss, 2003).

Certain rules were framed for the conduct of the Christian life of the Colony. No heathen worship or practices were allowed, no intoxicating liquor was to be brewed, sold or drunk, no dancing, no Sunday labour, buying or selling. (Hodne, 1967, p.34)

Bodding saw the Assam colony as an example of missionary work unlocking the potential of the Santal people:

A casual visitor of the Colony may not see what level the Santals up there have really reached. Anyone who knows the Santals in their old home cannot avoid being forcibly struck by the difference. Outwardly there is not much to be seen, but even here it is visible that a new spirit is guiding them. Let me mention one thing, – they plant trees of all kinds in their villages. Every man who is not lazy is well-to-do; and lazy subjects in the end go away. The Santal up there has no fear of the lying and cheating moneylenders. He becomes an honest, straightforward, and independent character who stands up for right and justice. We can here in the Colony see what Santals are capable of developing into when they get an opportunity of living without fear of the moneylenders…. We have here a place, an almost solitary instance, of an aboriginal people getting an opportunity of showing what they may develop into.
(Bodding, letter to Skrefsrud, 22.10.1906, quoted by Hodne, 1967, p.35)

However, many Santals did not appreciate the promoted restrictions on celebrations, music, dance, and drinking. In 1890, Skrefsrud reported on the sceptical replies he had received:

[W]hen we exhorted them to turn back to the God of their forefathers[218] and believe in His son Jesus Christ, who died for our sins and rose again for our justification – we have generally been answered in the following manner: "Although we do not believe in our gods any more, and although we are convinced that Christianity is the only true religion – yet we feel no inclination to become Christians, as we can not conceive of any other kind of happiness, than eating and drinking, getting drunk and dancing and altogether living a sensuous life." (Skrefsrud, 1890, p.5)

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[218] Here, Skrefsrud argues that the Santali deity Ṭhạkur is the same as the Christian god.

and:

> "It is much better for us to be without the blessed state in heaven altogether, and to struggle on in the next world very much in the same way that we are doing here, suffering privations and getting sick, yet sometimes having the opportunity of a drink and a dance. It is not our gods that we care any more for, but it is the restrictions on all pleasures in Christianity that makes it unpalatable to us: – Allow us to drink and dance, and do not trouble us too much with praying to God, and we will gladly all become Christians, as we know very well, that there is but one real God, who is greater than all, and who gives us all things." (Skrefsrud, 1890, p.6)

John Houlton (1949) quotes an anecdote from a gazetteer, which suggests that Santals, especially the elderly, may have rejected conversion:[219]

> 'Will the Christian God allow old people to get drunk twice a week?' he asked. 'Certainly not' was the reply. 'Then teach our boys and girls' said the old man 'but leave us alone'. (Houlton, 1949, p.79)

To spread the gospel, missionaries began to compose church songs in the Santali language for their congregations. At the Church Missionary Society, the majority of these were based on European melodies (Gausdal, 1935, p.9), but the Indian Home Mission to the Santhals took a different approach, as Skrefsrud knew that Santali melodies had a greater appeal for the parish:

> [W]e… start with the new hymn-book, which contains partly translations and partly original hymns. We have as much as possible to keep to the Santals' own melodies, because the villagers know them, and as they besides seem to like hymns to their own melodies better than hymns to ours. There is a hymn for every Sunday to the Gospel, so that the people learn the same through the hymns, which they retain better than the sermon. (Skrefsrud, 1886a, p.2, translated by Gausdal, 1935, p.8)

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[219] Houlton does not reference the source.

He also understood that it was effective to use the Santals' own figures of speech:

> Our new hymn-book is now in print at our Mission press. There will be in all about 150 hymns. This is not much, but hymns, you know, do not come mechanically, if they are to have any inward value and become a real help in the growth of the congregational life. There are only few translations, because our melodies and metaphors do not, as a rule, fall in with the people. Most of the hymns must, at the present stage of development of the Santals, be to their own melodies, and in any case their own metaphors must be used, if the heart of the people is to be touched.
>
> (Skrefsrud, 1886b, p.34, translated by Gausdal, 1935, p.9)

Fig. 3.10: Birạm Hãsdak, the Santali language assistant of L. O. Skrefsrud and H. P. Børresen (Benagaria, c. 1890s)

Skrefsrud composed at least 80 hymns based on Santali melodies in his lifetime, together with his Santali language assistant Birạm Hãsdak (c. 1843-97) (Fig. 3.10) and the pastor Sibu Besra (Gausdal, 1935, pp.21-3, 28, 34). The Norwegian missionary Johannes Gausdal (1888-1981) later portrayed Skrefsrud's musical work as an important achievement that supported the Mission's progress:

> The christianizing of a number of the melodies in common use among the Santals is one of the most remarkable features in Santal hymnology, chiefly achieved through the able and creative spirit of Skrefsrud…. [I]t is evident that the late Mr. Skrefsrud made a masterstroke when he presented the Gospel message within the melodies known by

the Santals themselves…. There can be no doubt that the Santal Church will come to look upon Skrefsrud as the rarely gifted man who discovered a golden chord in the soul of the Santal people, and played on it to their joy and admiration, thereby drawing them to the eternal God. (Gausdal, 1935, pp.21-3)

By 1898, the Mission had baptised around 10,000 Santals (Børresen and Skrefsrud, 1898, p.35). This was a considerable, but not outstanding number, considering the size of the Santali population of about 1,800,000 people at that time (Gait, 1902, p.399). Most of the Santals retained their traditional beliefs and customs, to the displeasure of the two Scandinavians:

> The Lord has in mercy given the land an abundant rice harvest this season, the like of which we have seldom seen. Only a few of the heathen have remembered that this was God's gift, and have on that account forsaken their demon worship. The most of them have only got this bountiful crop to their own condemnation, as they have but increased their offerings to the devil. Drunkenness and dancing have been constantly and freely indulged in of late. (Børresen and Skrefsrud, 1898, p.25)

Although the objections of Børresen and Skrefsrud are thus well documented, it has been argued that they were overall relatively tolerant towards traditional Santali culture, whereas the next generation, represented by Bodding amongst others, was "considerably more restrictive and dismissive of leniency towards native custom" (Bleie, 2007, pp.17-8). This assessment seems to be confirmed by Bodding's writings, which often feature a peculiar blend of detailed observations and dismissive comments on Santali culture. An example is his description of the Sohrae festival:

> [According] to tradition, the Sohrae festival was formerly observed in the month of Sohrae… It is very likely a harvest festival. When the people cultivated jungle grain, the month of Sohrae would be the time when these were harvested. Now that rice has become their principal food, the harvest festival has to come later, and it has consequently been moved to the latter half of the month of Pus [Pauṣ]… It should regularly be started on a Wednesday, but this is not always observed. All people bathe and have their clothes washed; sacrifices are offered by the village priest outside the

village (not in the *jaher*),[220] near water, and in every house by the master of the house to the house-gods (*oṛak' boṅga*). The young men go from house to house to bless the cattle (*jagao*); the girls do the same in their respective cow-sheds. On the third day, big posts are fixed in the street, and bullocks or buffaloes are tied to these… Five days are spent in dancing, drinking and debauchery. It is significant that, at the commencement, the village headman gives a talk to the village people, in which he says that they may act as they like sexually, only being careful not to touch certain women; otherwise, they may amuse themselves. The village people reply that they are putting twelve balls of cotton in their ears and will not pay any heed to, nor hear or see, anything. This festival is in many ways a disgrace to the people. (Bodding, 1936, p.336-7)

Accounts from other missionary organisations suggest that they had a more lenient attitude. W. J. Culshaw worked for the Methodist Missionary Society in Bankura from 1932 to 1943, where converts were not required to completely abstain from alcohol (Culshaw, 1949, p.168). Dances to Christian songs took place at churches, too (pp.185-6). Thus, the rules of the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches appear to have become stricter in the early 20th century, which appears to be the reason why Bake could not film any dances or record any drumming at the Kairabani Mission in 1931. The transformation of traditional Santali melodies into church songs, on the other hand, seems to have supported the Mission's proselytism activities, as it allowed converts to retain a part of their culture dear to them, which were the melodies of their music.

3.3 No one can serve two Masters: Santali Songs become Church Hymns

In this section, I examine how missionaries used traditional Santali melodies to compose church songs with Christian lyrics, in consideration of the effects of staff notation on tonality, and with reference to Bake's recordings from Kairabani. I argue that the practice of church songs changed the listening and singing habits of Santali converts, which also affected their renditions of traditional songs, as captured by Hornbostel.[221]

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[220] The *jaher* or *jaherthan* is the sacred village grove, where, on some occasions the priest performs sacrifices.

[221] In this way, my observations can be regarded as a contribution to the ethnomusicological debate on the transcription of non-European music (Nettl, 2015 [1983], pp.65-81).

To consider the effects of the missionaries' songs on traditional Santali music, it is necessary to firstly have a look at the tonality of traditional Santali music. Bake's recordings of Santali instrumental music throw some light on the topic. In the graphs below, the tones of two songs are displayed to a pitch grid of the equal twelve-tone temperament. Pitches are displayed on the vertical axis and time on the horizontal axis. The grey horizontal lines indicate the pitches of the equal temperament scale. The orange dots on the white background indicate the detected tones. The light green regions indicate their pitch variance, and the horizontal green lines indicate their estimated median pitch. The tones are numbered one to four to the right.
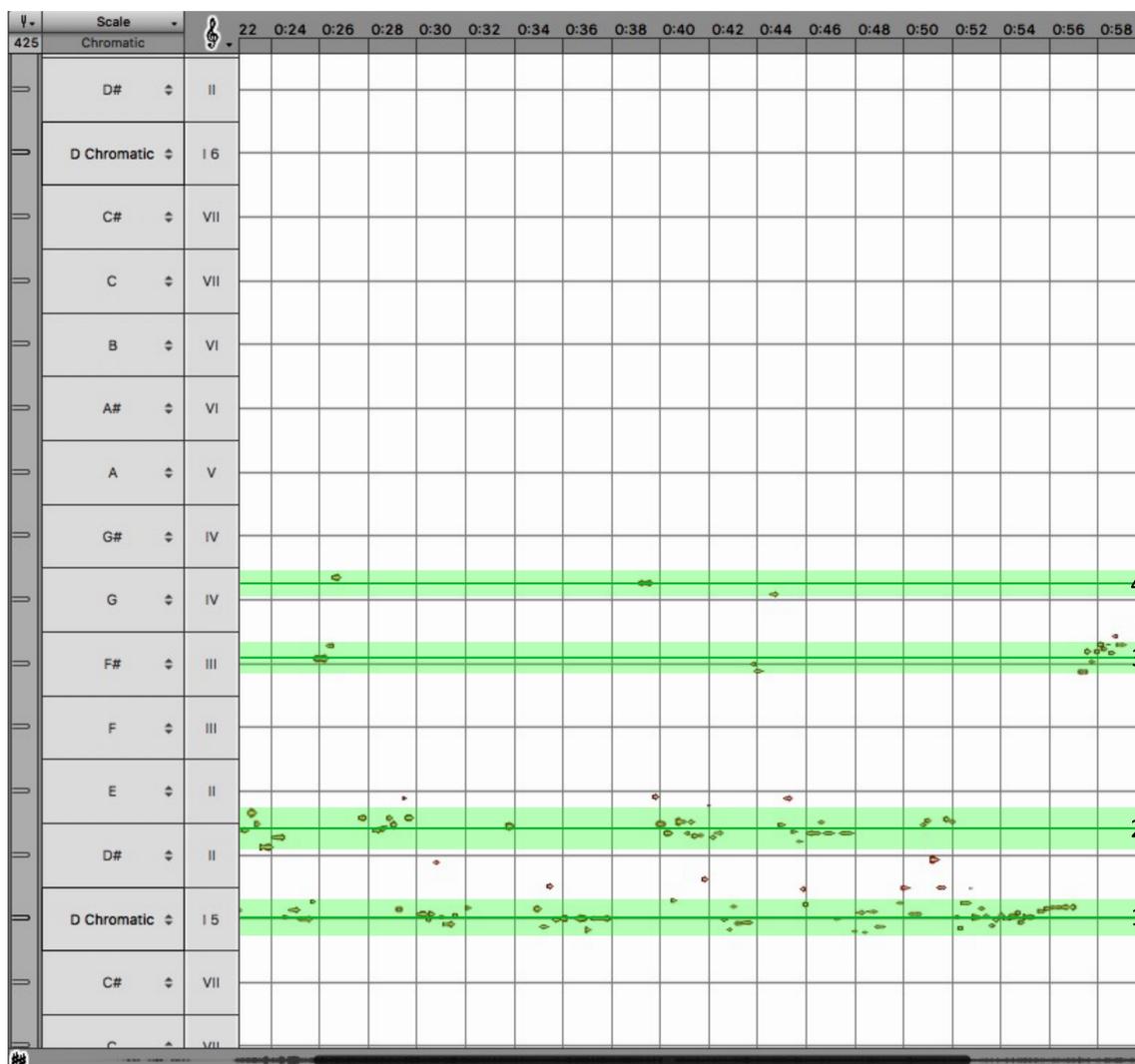
Fig. 3.11: Pitch grid of Sohrae song played on two large tiriya flutes

(Kairabani Mission, March 1931, C52/1641: 1)

The first example is a Sohrae song, played on two large tiriya flutes (Fig. 3.11). The tones played on the two flutes are almost identical, with small deviations.[222] In the graph, the reference pitch of the tone A is set to 425 Hz, so that the tonic aligns with the tone D. There are four tonal degrees: above the tonic, the second tonal degree is in the middle between the minor and major second, the third degree is slightly higher than the major third, and the fourth degree is above the perfect fourth of the equal temperament scale.
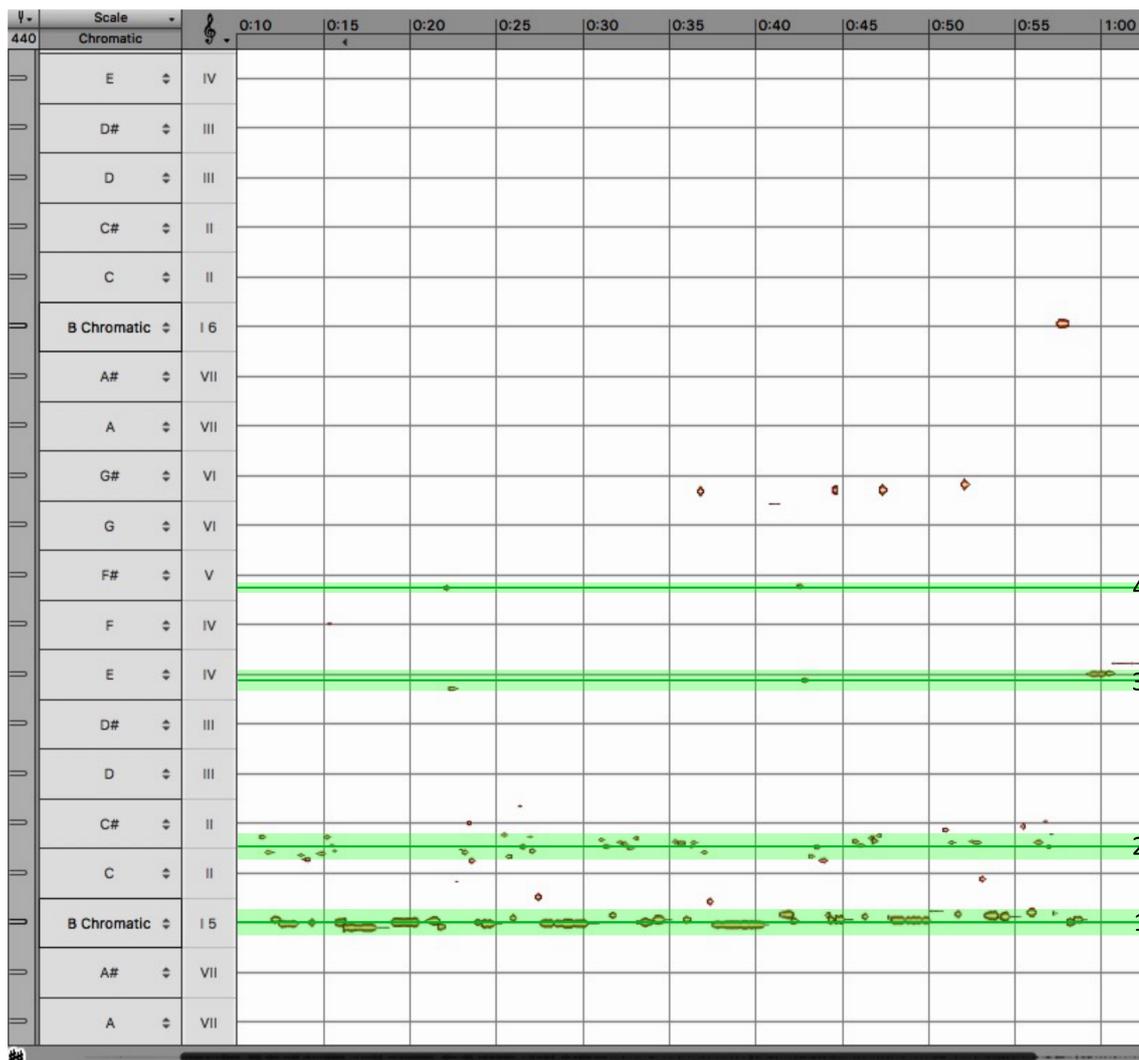
Fig. 3.12: Pitch grid of Dasãe song played on a small tiriya flute

(Kairabani Mission, March 1931, C52/1644: 1)[223]

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[222] Tiriya flutes were always made in pairs and tuned together (Bodding, 1986, p.70).
[223] In this and the previous example (Figs. 3.11-2), I conducted the pitch analyses with the program Melodyne (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Celemony_Software#Melodyne, accessed 22.7.2020).

The second example is a Dasãe song played on one small tiriya flute (Fig. 3.12). The tonic is on the tone B. Also, here, there are four tones. As in the first example, the second degree is in the middle between the minor and major second. However, the third degree is slightly below the perfect fourth, and the fourth degree is a little below the perfect fifth. The other high tones seem to be playing errors caused by overblowing. The two examples (Figs. 3.11-2) thus indicate that the tonality of Santali music does not correspond to the equal temperament. Moreover, they suggest that the tonality of Santali music varies, either according to genres, or perhaps according to the preferences of instrument makers or performers.

The two examples point to the difficulties of transcribing traditional Santali music in staff notation. Missionaries opted to solve this problem by selecting the nearest tones of the equal temperament scale, as described by the Norwegian missionary Johan Johansen Ofstad (1879-1963), the first director of the boys' school at Kairabani:

> Santal melodies have the peculiar characteristic of containing notes not indicable by our scale, as for example, tones lying between E and F. Our only alternative is to use either E or F. (*Rạṛ Puthi*, 1929, preface)

There are ways to indicate such 'in-between' tones in staff notation through double accidentals or arrow markers, but the missionaries were probably unfamiliar with these methods, as Ofstad's statement suggests, and would have considered them impractical anyway. As evident from their musical output, the creation of a Santali church song repertoire was their main concern, not the accurate transcription of traditional Santali music. Therefore, they strove to find ways of making Santali melodies usable for composing church songs, based on the Western tempered scale. According to the conventions of European church music, they composed their songs in simple rhythms, paying little attention to the rhythmic complexity of Santali music, which they apparently found strange.[224] Later on, organists helped to create four-part harmonisations for church choirs:

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[224] See, for example, Bodding's description of Sohrae drumming and dances (1936, p.337).

> In respect of the harmonizing, I am unable adequately to express our thanks to [the organists] Malmstrøm, Stenberg and Rev. Edmund for their excellent work. It is our hope that it will be a blessing to the Santal churches. It was no easy task to write harmony to the monotonous Santal melodies. (*Rọṛ Puthi*, 1929, preface)[225]

The practice of church songs gradually changed the listening and singing habits of converts:

> But a change in the atmosphere of the Santal world from the time when Mr. Skrefsrud made up the L 1886 [song book edition] must not, however, be lost sight of. Christianity had somehow established itself among the Santals. Second and third generation Christians were growing up in the mission compounds and in the boarding schools, and these were not so attached to the old Santal folktunes as the villagers, and the foreign melodies were not so foreign to them, because they had been imbibing them from childhood. A constant hunger for more and more melodies of the foreign type became evident, especially when school children had advanced far enough to make up choirs with all four voices. (Gausdal, 1935, p.12)

The developments, outlined by Gausdal, probably had an effect on the renditions by Santal converts of their own traditional songs, as I will demonstrate in the following at the example of Bake's recordings. Furthermore, my discussion throws light on the way traditional lyrics were replaced with Christian ones in the composition process, whereby the original meaning of songs became usually erased completely.

One of Bake's recordings is a Santali song traditionally performed at the Dasãe festival, a rite of initiation for those Santals who learn the practices of Santali medicine. In traditional village communities, the ojha holds an annual course for disciples, which lasts from May to September-October (Bodding, 1986, p.46). The disciples gather daily in the evening at the courtyard of the ojha's house to learn the art of healing, including the recitation of mantars and jhạṛnis, and the use of medicine (1986, pp.49-50). In the first evening, the ojha invokes five boṅgas whose influence is considered important to the art of healing:

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[225] According to the title page, Ofstad also harmonised some of the songs compiled in the book.

The *ojha* has certain special *boṅgas* whom he is in the habit of invoking. The first evening the disciples bring along with them some *sindur*[226] which is given to the *guru*. In five different places in the court-yard the *ojha* makes *sindur* marks in the name of five different *boṅgas*, viz., *Ḳạmru guru* (the reputed first teacher of *ojha*-science to the Santals, now considered a *boṅga* and worshipped as such by all *ojhas*), *Serma siṅ Ṭhạkur* (lit. heaven, or sky, day *Ṭhạkur*; also called *Siṅ boṅga*, the day god, the sun, representing the Supreme Being), *Ḳạli mãi* (the Hindu goddess Kali), *Dibi mãi* (the Hindu goddess Durga), and *Gaṅga mãi* (the Ganges goddess). In the three last names sometimes the form *mãi*, in Santali meaning 'girl' is used, sometimes *mae*, the Hindi pronunciation, meaning 'mother.' To each of these he offers [an] invocation (a kind of *bakhẽṛ*)....
(Bodding, 1986, p.47)

The disciples learn the art of healing until August-September. After that, they learn the songs and dances that are performed during the final *Dasãe dạran* ("September wandering"), a festive ritual procession leading through their home village and surrounding villages, which marks the conclusion of the course. At the procession, the disciples move around in a group and perform songs and dances in front of houses, where they receive food offerings. During their performances, the dancers personify boṅgas associated with ojha gurus, animals, and other characters (1986, pp.51-61, 68-83).[227] The disciples have to learn to play either the kabkubi or the buạṅ for the Dasãe dạran, two instruments only used on this occasion (1986, p.58). They play other instruments at the procession, too:

[The group] consists of some twenty to thirty young men... One such party will carry with them some four to five pairs of cymbals, one or two brass cups, four to five *kab kubi*, a couple of *buạṅ* (the carriers of this are always placed at the end of a row because the *buạṅ* would otherwise interfere with the movements of the other dancers), one *ḍẹḍgẹr*, one *ḍhulki*, three to four small bells (*ghạṇṭi*), a couple of *banam* and one pair of flutes.... (1986, p.70)

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[226] *Sindur* is a red pigment made from a mixture of minerals and plants.
[227] Bodding (1986) calls these performances "possession" and "play-acting". W. G. Archer speaks of "plays", which he describes as "a mixture of dancing, pantomime and trance" (1974, pp.72-7; cf. Troisi, 1979, pp.215-6).

Bodding describes their dress as follows:

> Those who participate have to dress in a special manner. Instead of the ordinary
> *ḍeṅganak'*, or loincloth, such as worn by the Santals, they wear what is called *kącni*. This
> is a bit of cloth some three to four yards long, taken plaited round the waist and fixed
> by being turned in over the *ḍora* (this is the string worn by all male Santals round the
> waist). The *kącni* is consequently a kind of skirt; over the *kącni* they have a narrow bit
> of cloth tied around the waist…
>
> To cover the breast they may use anything, even a coat at the present day, often
> a small bit of cloth just thrown round the shoulders and breast. On the head they have
> a kind of turban, never anything very elaborate…
>
> All have peacock feathers; during their dancing these are kept in the right hand
> high up, and the hand is twisted in time with the dancing steps, giving the feathers a
> peculiar roundabout swing. (1986, p.69)

W. G. Archer's *The Hill of Flutes* (1974) features a photograph of a Dasãe procession
corresponding to Bodding's description, except that the dancers do not wear turbans
(Fig. 3.13).

Fig. 3.13: Dasãe dancers, c. 1942-46

(Archer, 1974, illustration 32)

Dasãe songs often use veiled language, which makes it difficult to decipher their meaning (Bodding, 1986, p.99). Some of their themes have been described as follows:

> [The ojha] presents [the disciples] in the villages, where they sing of how they must climb the mythical strings that link the sun to the earth, to attain the flower of knowledge. They describe how the master dismembers their body, then reconstitutes it. This transformation implies sexual conversion as the boys return half male, half female. (Carrin and Tambs-Lyche, 2008, p.190)

Bodding quotes the following Dasãe song, whose meaning is rather obscure:

> Ǫt ma lǫlǫ, kạmru guru, serma setoṅ, buạṅ guru,
> Yǫ haere, cela dǫlaṅ lalaoket'ko.
> Sui sutạm gutukate sẹnẹrre laṅ galaṅkako,
> Reạr kaṇḍa, sitạ nala latarrelaṅ dǫhǫkako.
>
> That is,
> The earth is hot, o Kạmru guru, the sky is fierce sunshine, o Buạṅ guru;
> Alas, alas, we two have tantalised the disciples;
> We two shall thread a needle and weave them on the rafter,
> in a cool waterpot, below the Sita valley we two shall put them.
> (Bodding, 1986, p.84)

The song addresses Kạmru guru and Buạṅ guru, two of the gurus revered by ojhas:

> Among the *gurus* the following are specially remembered and invoked: First of all the reputed original teacher, *Kạmru* (or, *Kạmbru*) *guru* who is mentioned in the great majority of *mantars*. Further, *Gaṇḍo guru, Sidhạ guru, Bir hǫr guru, Kẹoṭa guru, Ḍaṇḍo guru, Rohṛa guru, Bhaerǫ guru, Mạnsiṅ guru, Ṭirom guru, Buạṅ guru,*[228] *Poṭa guru, Lǫhbǫr guru, Jitu guru, Kẹrha guru, Būhǫr guru.* (Bodding, 1986, p.67)[229]

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[228] Bodding does not explain the term *Buạṅ guru*, which may refer to the primordial inventor of the buaṅ.

[229] Some names appear derived from the names of Hindu gods: *Rohṛa guru* and *Bhaerǫ guru* seem to correspond to *Rudra* and *Bhairava*, two manifestations of Śiva.

Bodding provides musical transcriptions of songs related to the ojha's work, grouped under the subheadings *Jhạṛni tunes*, *Dasãe tunes* and *Buạṅ tunes* (1986, pp.128-31). One of the buạṅ tunes (Fig. 3.14), without translation, features similar lyrics as the song quoted above (1986, p.84).

Fig. 3.14: Notation of song listed under "Buạṅ tunes"

(Bodding, 1986, p.131)

The classification as a buạṅ tune suggests that the song is traditionally performed with buạṅ accompaniment at the Dasãe daṛan. Some of the musical transcriptions in Bodding's book, including the example above, were made by Jakob Soren, who may have been the choir leader who assisted Bake in Kairabani:

> With reference to the tunes here recorded, I have to acknowledge the assistance rendered by Mr. Jakob Soren, a Santal bandmaster and singing master in the Santal Mission's Boarding School for boys at Kaerabani. (Bodding, 1986, p.128)

Bake's recordings from the Mission include a song that is very similar to the Dasãe songs documented by Bodding and Soren (Bodding, 1986, pp.84, 131). A transcription of the recording is given below (Fig. 3.15).

Fig. 3.15: Transcription of the song "Ọt ma lọlọ", as recorded by Arnold Bake
(Kairabani Mission, March 1931, C52/1644: 3)

The performer appears to be a male adult, who sings without instrumental accompaniment. He sings the whole song twice, including line repetitions. As he repeats the song, the recording stops after the second bar of the last line. The lyrics of the song are largely identical to the song quoted by Bodding (1986, p.84), only the last line deviates by two or three words.[230] Melody and rhythm are similar to the song transcribed by Soren (Bodding, 1986, p.131). Bake's recording thus appears to feature a traditional Dasãe song that would have been performed at the Dasãe daṛan, with accompaniment on the buaṅ and other instruments. The singer may have been an adult attendee of the Mission's training classes. The tonality of the song, as performed by him, corresponds closely to the equal temperament.[231]

The history of the song "Ọt ma lọlọ" provides some clues on the reason why the singer may have performed it in the Western tempered scale. Forty-five years before Bake's visit, Skrefsrud's assistant Biṛam Hãsdak wrote the lyrics of the church song "Barea kisãṛ ṭhen guti", which was set to the melody of "Ọt ma lọlọ" when it was

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[230] I have been unable to identify the words; they are marked by dots in the transcription.
[231] This is an aural assessment, as I was unable to perform a pitch analysis due to the background noise of the recording.

published in 1886 (Gausdal, 1935, p.34). The choral book *Rǫṛ Puthi* includes a four-part notation in common time (Fig. 3.16).[232]

Fig. 3.16: Notation of the Santali church song "Barea kisãṛ ṭhen guti"

(*Rǫṛ Puthi*, 1929, p.108)

A comparison of the church song's first voice (Fig. 3.16) with Soren's transcription of the buaṅ tune (Fig. 3.14) and Bake's recording (Fig. 3.15) shows that its melody is based on the song "Ǫt ma lǫlǫ". The first voice expands the melodic gamut to the lower seventh, arguably for the purposes of harmonisation. Considering the tonality of Santali instrumental music (Figs. 3.11-2), it appears quite likely that the melody of "Ǫt ma lǫlǫ" was originally incongruent with the Western tempered scale, and that the practice of "Barea kisãṛ ṭhen guti" and other church songs induced Bake's singer to align its melody to the Western tempered scale, to make it sound more "correct". Similar processes may have affected the renditions of other traditional songs that Bake recorded at the Kairabani Mission.

The song "Barea kisãṛ ṭhen guti" illustrates how converts assisted missionaries in the creation of church songs accessible to the Santals. The lyrics of the song are based on the following section of the Gospel of Matthew (6: 24-34) (Gausdal, 1935, p.34):

> No one can serve two masters; for a slave will either hate the one and love the other, or be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and wealth. Therefore I tell you, do not worry about your life, what you will eat or what you will drink, or about your body, what you will wear. Is not life more than food, and the body more than clothing? Look at the birds of the air; they neither sow nor reap nor gather

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[232] In this and the following example (Figs. 3.14-5), the arrangers are unknown; they are only mentioned collectively in the front matter of the *Rǫṛ Puthi* (see above).

into barns, and yet your heavenly Father feeds them. Are you not of more value than they? And can any of you by worrying add a single hour to your span of life? And why do you worry about clothing? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they neither toil nor spin, yet I tell you, even Solomon in all his glory was not clothed like one of these. But if God so clothes the grass of the field, which is alive today and tomorrow is thrown into the oven, will he not much more clothe you – you of little faith? Therefore do not worry, saying, "What will we eat?" or "What will we drink?" or "What will we wear?" For it is the Gentiles who strive for all these things; and indeed your heavenly Father knows that you need all these things. But strive first for the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well. So do not worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow will bring worries of its own. Today's trouble is enough for today. (Matthew 6:24-34, *New Revised Standard Version, Anglicised*)[233]

Hãsdak modifies this topic as follows:

Barea kisą̀ṛ țhen guti	For two masters, a servant
Ohom khatao daṛelena;	cannot work.
Mit' hoṛ dom sec'waea.	He will agree to one man
Ețak'ic' em neṅghaoe.	and despise the other.
Isorren ar Soetanren do	Between Jesus and Satan
Ohom tahẽ daṛelena;	you may not keep on running
Mit' hoṛge jok'bab hoyok',	A man needs a direction,
Hoe Soetan hoe Isorge.	either Satan or Jesus.
Isor amren kisą̀ṛ khane	Jesus is your lord; sometimes
Jomak' lągit alom bhabnak'	you worry for food,
isor doe anțaoama,	Jesus will suffice,
Dhoromtaege disąime.	keep in mind his truth.
Coțren cẽṛẽ beṅget' akom,	Look at the birds in the sky,
cas se basge banuk'tako,	they do not have crops or houses,

[233] https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew+6%3A24-34&version=NRSVA, accessed 27.4.2020.

Enre hõ Jomko ńameť'.	still they find food.
Am do cak'em bhabnak' kan?	So why do you worry?
Isor raj ar uni dhorom,	For the kingdom of Jesus and that truth,
Am do ńam marańoanme;	increase your search;
Enkhante jạruṛok'ak'	then what is required,
Isor anṭaoamgeae.	Jesus will provide sufficiently.[234]

(*Sereń Puthi*, 2015, p.37)

In the bible passage, the metaphor of the two masters is used to illustrate that attachment to material wealth is incompatible with Christian life. In Hãsdak's song, on the other hand, the same metaphor is used to exhort listeners to make up their minds and to choose between Jesus and Satan, in the given context, arguably symbolising Christianity and the Santali religion. The metaphor of the two masters also reminds us of the predecessor of "Barea kisạ̈ṛ ṭhen guti", namely the song "Ọt ma lọlọ" that addresses the two ojha gurus Kạmru guru and Buạń guru. Thus, Hãsdak's song can also be understood as an admonition against the polytheistic worship practices of the Santali religion. Its last three verses seem to allude to the material support that converts could expect from missionaries in times of hardship, a factor that often contributed to conversions, as discussed previously.

Bake was surprised to hear Santali boys performing such choral songs at the Kairabani Mission. Therefore, he recorded several renditions of the song "Boge gupi do", which was composed by Skrefsrud and first published in 1886 (Gausdal, 1935, p.70). Bake recorded the song as performed by a solo singer (C52/1641: 2 and C52/2132: 2), and by a choir (Bake I 2: 1 and C52/2128). Its melody is derived from the doń song "Boeha bokoeha" (*Sereń Puthi*, 2015, p.168), the details of which are unknown.[235] The *Rạṛ Puthi* includes a four-part notation in common time (Fig. 3.17), corresponding to the choral renditions recorded by Bake.

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[234] The words given here are my own tentative translation, based on my self-study of Santali language.
[235] Bake recorded a song with the title "Boeha dupular" (C52/1643: 1, C52/1648: 1, C52/2131: 4), but its melody and rhythm are quite different from the song "Boge gupi do".

Fig. 3.17: Notation of the Santali church song "Boge gupi do"

(*Raṛ Puthi*, 1929, p.110)

The melody of the first voice includes the four tones G, A, C, and D only, and therefore appears to be derived from a traditional Santali song, as indicated in the *Sereń Puthi*. The lyrics of the church song are as follows:

Boge gupi do	A good shepherd –
Ac'ren bhiḍhiko, boeha,	for his sheep, brothers,
Ạḍiy' jotonko;	he cares a lot.
Sahre jaegate	Towards a good place,
phạria dak' jharanatey'	to a spring of clean water,
Ạyur idiko.	he leads them.
Mit' bhiḍiy' at'len khan,	If a sheep gets lost –
Ạuri ńame dhạbic' doe	until he retrieves it,
Gupi pańjaye.	he searches it.
Uni ńamkate	When he has found it,
Tarenrey' ladeye	he carries it on his shoulder
Rạskạ monte.	gladly.
Ac'ak' orak'te	At his home,
Seṭerkate do boeha	when he has arrived, brothers,
Peṛae jarwako,	he invites its kin,
Onkoe metako	and tells them,

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| Rạskạk'pe iń tuluc', | rejoice with me, |
| Bhidin ńamkede. | I have found the sheep. |

Tạruc'e hec'len khan	When the tiger comes,
Ṭheṅga epelkate doe	he brandishes the stick
Teṅgo darame;	and saves them. .
Ac'ren bhiḍiko	His sheep,
Maraṅ mũhim khongey'	from huge danger
Aḍ bańcaoko.	he saves.

Bhiḍi ńutumte	For the sheep,
Boge gupi do boeha,	a good shepherd, brothers,
Jiwiy' alaea;	sacrifices his life.
Jisui nonkaket',	Jesus does like this,
Bańcao akat'bonae,	he has saved you
Soetan tạrup' khon.	from the grasp of the devil-tiger.[236]

(*Sereń Puthi*, 2015, p.168)

Skrefsrud's song illustrates how he presented Christian themes to the Santals in an accessible way, through the use of metaphors with nature, imagery familiar to them. The topic of the song are the virtues of a Christian priest who looks after the parish well, which can be interpreted as an indirect reference to Skrefsrud's own work among the Santals, or to that of his convert assistants. In verse one, the path to clear water symbolises the priest's guidance on the Christian way of life that leads the parish to salvation. In verses two and three, the sheep going astray could be a metaphor for a convert who abandons this way of life again, and is then brought back on the right track by the priest, with the ensuing collective celebration symbolising the solidarity of the parish. In verses four and five, the figure of the tiger seems to represent any form of external danger, potentially threatening the well-being of the convert, either a human adversary, or a natural disaster, a disease, or indeed a wild animal. Here, Skrefsrud's

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[236] English translation, based on Bengali translation by Mansaram Murmu.

wordplay on the term *maraṅ ṭarup'* ("tiger") illustrates his skillful use of the Santali language for the purposes of proselytism.[237]

The two examples of "Qt ma lolo" ⇢ "Barea kisāṛ ṭhen guti" and "Boeha bokoeha" ⇢ "Boge gupi do", then, demonstrate how missionaries and converts used Santali melodies to compose church songs that were accessible to the Santals. In these processes, the original song lyrics were replaced with Christian ones, which modified the bible content and other Christian themes through the use of Santali idioms, in such a way, that their meaning became comprehensible to the community. The two examples that I have discussed suggest that the derived church songs included allusions to the rites of the Santali religion which converts were expected to discard, and to the material and moral support that converts could expect from the missionaries. Moreover, the examples suggest that the practice of church songs changed the listening and singing habits of converts, as described by Gausdal (1935, p.12). Therefore, it appears likely that the converts' renditions of traditional vocal songs at the Kairabani Mission were indeed to some extent "europeanised", as Hornbostel had suspected. Therefore, he may have had a point, when he rejected Bake's recordings from the Mission in their entirety, as potentially affected by European cultural influences.

3.4 Fieldwork in Jharkhand and West Bengal

My fieldwork in Jharkhand and West Bengal included visits to the Kairabani Mission, Kankalitola, and Santiniketan, where I documented performances of Christian Santali music and traditional Santali music and dance, to study the development of the genres. To understand the context of these performances, it is necessary to briefly summarise the changes that have occurred in Santali society in India since 1947.

In 1950, the Santals were declared one of the "Scheduled tribes" in the Indian constitution, a term that perpetuates notions of subalternity.[238] The term is still used officially, to designate certain disadvantaged population groups for whom special quotas are allocated in education and employment to support them economically, a

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[237] *Maraṅ ṭarup'* is a Santali expression for "tiger", in which *maraṅ* ("large, great") carries the connotation of animist deference. Skrefsrud transforms this into *soetan ṭarup'* ("devil-tiger").
[238] A list of "Scheduled tribes" was included in the Indian constitution in 1950 via article 342.

policy that encourages their assimilation to mainstream Indian society. Community activists coined the term *Ādivāsī* ("initial resident") as an alternative in the late 1930s, a word that carries the positive connotation of indigenousness and right to land ownership. Dissatisfied with its social-critical implications, Hindu nationalist circles introduced the words *girijan* ("mountain dwellers") and *vanvāsī* ("forest dwellers") in response (Hardiman, 2015), which are now also used, albeit less frequently. Another important development occurred in the field of linguistics, when Raghunath Murmu (1905-1982) created the *Ol Chiki* script for Santali language in 1925. Santal communities began to adopt the script in the second half of the 20th century. It is now widely used among the Santals in South Asia, including at government schools in Odisha. Convert communities continue to learn the Santali language in Roman script.

Since the 1930s, there have been calls for a separate state to be formed from parts of Bihar and adjoining areas, to ensure a greater cultural and political autonomy for the regional Ādivāsī population. These demands led to the Jharkhand movement, which gained traction in the 1970s through the political activities of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha ("Jharkhand Liberation Front"). The activists of the movement had to consider that Ādivāsī communities were now a minority in the region, a result of the influx of Hindus, Muslims, and other communities over the centuries.[239] Therefore, they conceptualised the movement as culturally inclusive (Babiracki, 2000-1, pp.40-1). Western-educated Ādivāsīs played an important role in the Jharkhand movement (Babiracki 2000-1: p.37), and Santali converts spearheaded it regionally, despite their minority status (Mahapatra, 2008, pp.22-3). The movement eventually led to the creation of the state of Jharkhand, which was carved out of Bihar in the year 2000. Students of the Department of Tribal and Regional Languages of Ranchi University showcased Ādivāsī music and dance in Jharkhand itself and beyond in this period.[240]

The Naxalite movement has been far more radical in its aims and methods. The Naxalites are far-left Maoist-Communist revolutionaries, who have led an armed

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[239] The Scheduled tribes constituted 26.3% of the population of Jharkhand in 2001 (Census of India, 2001: https://censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_data_finder/A_Series/SC_ST.htm and https://censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_data_finder/A_Series/Total_population.htm, both accessed 14.7.2020).
[240] The movement's Marxist faction construed these dance performances as a replication of colonial stereotypes. Others have argued that the active appropriation and reinterpretation of cultural stereotypes may have contributed to the movement's success (Babiracki, 2000-1, pp.38-48).

struggle against the Indian government since the late 1960s, to achieve a communist revolution. Named after a revolt in the village of Naxalbari, the rebels mainly operate in economically underdeveloped regions of eastern and southern India, where they "draw strength from and build upon popular dissatisfaction with social stratification and economic disparity, and work primarily in rural areas, among tribal and lower-caste peoples" (Bauman, 2015, p.2). The Naxalites have operated in Bihar since the 1960s and expanded their grip over rural areas of Bihar and Jharkhand between the 1990s-2000s (Bhatia, 2005). The Indian government then increased its military presence and gradually regained control over most affected areas. As of today, the rebels still exert influence over some regions of Jharkhand. Sections of the Santali population have supported the armed struggle of the Naxalites, and some Santals actively participated in it.[241] The political rise of Hindu nationalism is another factor that has implications for the work of missionary organisations in Jharkhand today. The activities of Hindu nationalist circles have led to increasing hostility towards missionaries and converts throughout India over the last two decades.[242] Often, the perpetrators are associated with the *Rāshṭrīya Svayamsevak Saṅgh* ("National Volunteer Organisation"), an organisation founded in 1925 to preserve and promote Hindu culture, which tends to regard non-Hindu cultural influences as a threat to Indian nationhood (Bauman, 2015, p.3).

During my fieldwork in Jharkhand, I was able to carry out my research without complications, although I had to get permission for my fieldwork in Kairabani from the headquarters of the Northern Evangelical Lutheran Church (NELC) in Dumka, the successor of the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches. I stayed in Dumka for one week and visited Kairabani three times, a one-hour taxi drive westward through the barren landscape of rural Jhakhand. Due to organisational problems, my first visit was unannounced. Nevertheless, staff of the mission school supported me without hesitation, and gave me a tour of the large mission campus on the first day. The campus comprises a school, two dormitories for boarding students, a church, and a training

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[241] As part of the movement, Naxalite activists composed songs representing their insurgency as the logical continuation of the struggle of the Santals against exploitation, to gain support from the community (Duyker, 1987, pp.119, 161).
[242] https://www.opendoorsuk.org/persecution/world-watch-list/india/, accessed 9.7.2020.

centre. The school hall prominently features a portrait of the first director J. J. Ofstad, who received the epithet *Koṛa Saheb* ("Youthful Sahib"), because of his physical strength (Fig. 3.18).

Fig. 3.18: Portrait of J. J. Ofstad, the first director of the boys' school at Kairabani
(Kairabani School, 3.5.2017)

The teachers told me a bit about the history of the school. By the 1930s, it included an elementary school and a middle school for boys, and a high school section was added after the Second World War (Hodne, 1967, pp.104-5). The school was opened to girls in the late 1970s.[243] Now there are around 1200 students overall, 250 of whom are accommodated on the campus. Today, only 35% of the students are ethnic Santals. The remainder are Bengalis, or they speak Hindi as their first language. Since the Indian government introduced restrictions on the teaching of religion at public schools in the 1980s, bible classes are no longer part of the syllabi. The school admits Christian and non-Christian students, and charges the same fees for all. The gospel is promoted subtly on the campus nowadays, through religious iconography and signs with bible quotes (Fig. 3.19).

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[243] Personal communication with Sharmila Sarkar, head teacher of the Kairabani middle school, 4.5.2017.

Fig. 3.19: Bible quote in Santali language on the campus

(Kairabani Mission, 3.5.2017)

The school syllabi do not include music, but students can participate in vocal music groups, who meet after school to practise Bengali, Hindi and Santali songs. Religious festivals of any kind are not celebrated at the school, but Christian festivals take place at the campus church. Christian songs are also performed at the weekly services on Sundays. School staff do not object when student converts participate in traditional Santali festivals at home.[244] As there is no longer a choir at the Mission, Christian songs are now only sung in one voice.

During my first visit, there was an assembly in the school hall, where the high school director asked Santali students who among them knew how to play an instrument. Two or three students raised their hands and said they played the tiriya, tumdak', and ṭamak'. There seemed to be no ḍhoḍro banam players. For my second visit, school staff asked students to perform some songs and dances, which I filmed (C1795/98). There were several groups, who sang Santali, Hindi and Bengali songs confidently. Some Santali girls also performed group dances in school uniforms together with other girl students, in a rendition that seemed rather unrehearsed. Afterwards, I recorded one of the schoolboys, who sang two traditional Santali songs and played the tiriya (C1795/6-9).

On the last day, I visited the Outreach and Training Centre (OTC), where bible classes for adult students are held. I first conducted an interview with a teacher about the practice of church songs in classes (C1795/10), and then visited a classroom. Men

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[244] Personal communication with Sharmila Sarkar, 4.5.2017.

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and women students with children sat on benches to the left and right, segregated by gender. They sang two Christian Santali songs for me (C1795/12-3). Some of the men played tumdak' and ṭamak' drums, and tambourine sticks, which the Santals call *jhika* (Fig. 3.20). Several women played jhika, too (Fig. 3.21). The men and women sang and clapped their hands to the beat, swaying their heads with the rhythm.

Fig. 3.20: Santali men singers with drums and tambourine sticks
at the Outreach and Training Centre
(Kairabani Mission, 7.5.2017, C1795/12-3)

Fig. 3.21: Santali women singers with tambourine sticks at the Outreach and Training Centre
(Kairabani Mission, 7.5.2017, C1795/12-3)

Their songs had pentatonic melodies, which were set to a rhythm of six beats. The lyrics of the second song were:

Burure haṭ baha bahaena	*Kuṛci*[245] flowers have blossomed in the jungle.
Balaṅ bahaea loṛe gea	We will not put them in our hair, they carry a sticky juice.
Buru re matkom dare pereć rasa	In the jungle there is a *mahua*[246] tree, filled with sweet juice.
Balaṅ cepeja bubul geya	We will not drink it, we will become intoxicated.
Jisu Mạsi reyem biswạs ena menkhan	If you put all our trust in the Holy mother,
Jonom jonom Jisui goṛoam.	Jesus will assist you all your life.[247]

(*Sereń Mala*, 2013 [2002], p.106)[248]

The song reminds converts not to participate in two cultural practices associated with the Baha festival; adorning their hair with flowers, and drinking *pạuṛạ*, an alcoholic brew made from mahua flowers (Troisi, 1979, p.134). Thereby, they are asked to disassociate themselves from the rites of the Santali religion, and to place their faith in the Holy mother and Jesus instead. According to my fieldwork informants, it is a relatively recent phenomenon that Santali church songs are performed to drum accompaniment.[249] At the Kairabani Mission, the tumdak' and ṭamak' are only played at the classes of the Outreach and Training Centre, but not at the church.[250] Yet, online sources suggest that it is a fairly common occurrence that Santali converts perform Christian songs with drums and other percussion accompaniment today, at churches and other places, sometimes with dance.[251] These developments could be a by-product of the Jharkhand movement, which may have encouraged converts to express their cultural identity more

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[245] *Kuṛci* (*holarrhena pubescens*) is a shrub with white fragrant flowers and a milky latex.
[246] The *Mahua* tree (*bassia latifolia*) carries flowers and fruits.
[247] English translation, based on Bengali translation by Mansaram Murmu.
[248] The publication provides no information on the composer of the song.
[249] Personal communication with Rev. Lucia Tudu, 9.5.2017.
[250] Personal communication with Sharmila Sarkar, 7.5.2017.
[251] See, for example, Christian Santali music with keyboards, drums, and tambourines performed at a village congregation: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ySLazDq4Cg; Christian Santali music with keyboard, phentor banam, drums, tambourines, and dance, performed at Christmas in a village: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WRxPT6j31jM; Christian Santali music with drums and tambourines, performed at a church wedding: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I30w5bbPN6w; all accessed 25.4.2020. Dwight D. Thomas (2007) describes the music at a Santali Christian wedding.

freely through traditional music, not only in the public sphere, but also in the context of Christian religion, which may have effected a certain liberalisation of the cultural policies of missionary organisations.

Through my visits to the mission, I also gained some information on Bake's recordings from Kairabani. At the school, I met the Santali language teacher Ignatius Besra, a Santali Christian, who agreed to help me with the evaluation of the recordings. I visited him at his home in Dumka later, where he identified several traditional and church songs among the recordings (Fig. 3.22). When he recognised the choral rendition of the song "Boge gupi do" (C52/2128), he got up from his desk and brought a copy of the song book *Sereń Puthi* from the next room, to show me the lyrics. He remarked that the song is still popular today, and later donated his copy of the book to me. At the Kairabani Mission, I recorded a schoolteacher who sang the song for me (C1795/11). Mansaram Murmu, a Santali language teacher at Visva-Bharati University, evaluated the remaining recordings in Santiniketan in July and August 2017 (Fig. 3.23). Due to the inferior sound quality of the cylinder recordings, both of them could identify the lyrics of some songs only partially, but with their notes, I was able to fully identify some of these through follow-up archival research in London.
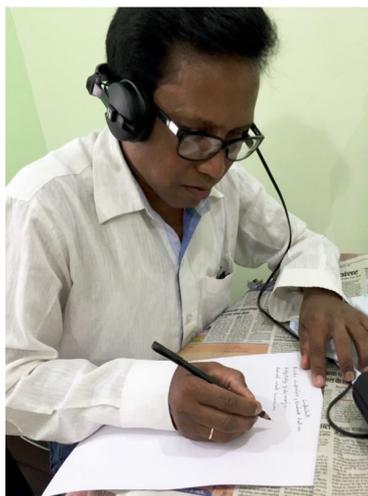
Fig. 3.22 (left): Ignatius Besra evaluating Arnold Bake's Kairabani recordings
(Dumka, 6.5.2017)
Fig. 3.23 (right): Mansaram Murmu evaluating Arnold Bake's Kairabani recordings
(Santiniketan, 1.8.2017)

In Dumka, I also visited the recording studio of the Northern Evangelical Lutheran Church, which supports the missionary work of the organisation. Since the 1980s, the studio produces radio programs and CDs with Christian music in Santali language. The radio programs cover not only Christian themes, but also contemporary topics relevant to the Santali community, including HIV awareness and environmentalism. The studio also runs bible correspondence courses in Santali and Hindi language, and distributes bibles and the song books of the NELC. Occasionally, promotional seminars are held in Jharkhand and adjoining states among congregations to gain new listeners. Outreach workers also visit congregations individually (Tudu, 2011; 2012). At the studio, I met the recording technician Xmas Marandi (Fig. 3.24), who was a former member of the Kairabani brass band. Marandi played trumpet, saxophone, guitar, piano, and drums in the band from 1987 to 1989. Three years later, the band was dissolved, apparently due to financial issues.[252] During my visit, I introduced Marandi and his colleagues to Bake's recordings of Santali music at the British Library Sounds website.

Fig. 3.24: Recording technician Xmas Marandi at the NELC Recording Studio
(Dumka, 9.5.2017)

Most of the Christian Santali music produced by the studio features electronic instrumentation with plenty of keyboard sounds, and electronic drums imitating the

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[252] Personal communication with Xmas Marandi, 24.4.2020.

sounds of traditional Santali percussion. The musical style of these modern church songs is similar to Santali popular music, which is in turn oriented at Indian film music in its aural and visual aesthetics.[253] An example are the songs of the CD "Disạ Uihạr" ("Affectionate Remembrance"), produced by the studio in 2016 (Fig. 3.25). Besides the CD, I received copies of other Christian Santali music at the studio. A survey of the recordings showed that relatively few songs include traditional Santali instruments. Very few songs feature a capella choral singing, reminiscent of the church songs of the early 20th century. The modern choral songs feature a lighter, gospel-like style.
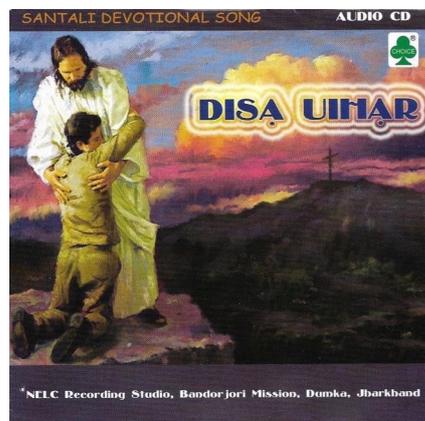
Fig. 3.25: CD "Disạ Uihạr", produced by the NELC Recording Studio
(Dumka, 2016)

Through my fieldwork in Kairabani and Dumka, I gained the impression that Christian songs continue to play an important role in the cultural life of convert communities. According to my fieldwork informants, the regional Ādivāsī communities rarely have objections against missionary work today, although some members of the Santali community have recently expressed displeasure about the replacement of traditional lyrics with Christian themes in church songs. The general consensus of my informants was that the monitoring through Hindu nationalist circles presents a far greater obstacle to missionary work today. Indeed, such opposition against proselytism activities has induced some missionary organisations to be cautious about displaying their activities

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[253] See, for example, the Santali Christian song "Noa dharti purire" by Sushil Hembrom: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=37qhF3qoeJM, and the Santali pop song "Bir buru" by the singer Geeta: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xLNQoeZ2KWM, both accessed 25.4.2020.

openly. The office of the Friends Missionary Prayer Band, an organisation active among the Santals since the 1990s,[254] is thus hidden inconspicuously in a side lane in Dumka. When I visited the office to purchase one of their publications, I met a member of staff who did not allow me to take photographs. He telephoned a senior official for permission to sell me a copy of their song book, which was granted.

The ubiquity of Hindu culture in Indian society has also affected the performance practices of traditional Santali music and dance, to some extent. Recent recording projects have shown that a wide range of intact traditional music and dance genres is performed among Santali village communities in Jharkhand (Killius, 2012a; 2012b). However, the situation is often different when Santali dance groups perform commercially at Hindu festivals, as I witnessed in West Bengal. The Kankalitola melā near Santiniketan continues to take place annually, and I visited it in April 2017. The Trinamul Congress, currently the ruling party in West Bengal, instrumentalises the festival to promote their candidates (Fig. 3.26), similar to other parties who politicise Hindu festivals in India. According to my fieldwork informants, the Kankalitola melā has become increasingly commercialised since the 1990s.[255] Food stalls, souvenir shops, and toy shops cover a large area on the festival grounds today, and there are many visitors, mainly from the wider Santiniketan region.

Fig. 3.26: Street banner with politicans' portraits

(Kankalitola melā, 13.4.2017)

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[254] http://www.fmpb.co.in, accessed 24.4.2020.
[255] Personal communication with Arnab Ghosal, May 2017.

The festival took place between 13–18 April, and I attended the first two days. In the evening of 13 April, it began with a procession of Santali dance groups. Around ten different groups performed on the main road, more than 100 performers overall. Each group comprised seven to ten women dancers, wearing colourful, uniform dance dresses. They danced side by side, balancing large, decorated clay flowerpots on their heads (Fig. 3.27).

Fig. 3.27: Santali women dancers balancing decorated flowerpots on their heads
(Kankalitola melā, 13.4.2017)

Each group included three to six male tumdak' and ṭamak' drummers, who wore metal pellet bells around their ankles. Most of the drummers wore colourful t-shirts, batik shirts and lungis, and some wore turbans or headscarves. There were no other instrumentalists. The groups slowly moved forward on the festive illuminated main road.

After the procession had passed the main road, some groups continued to perform between the stalls, where they danced more freely (Fig. 3.28). Meanwhile, the inauguration ceremony began on the main stage, with regional politicians as guests of honour, and short vocal performances of Rabindrasangit. After the Santali groups had finished, they drove home on the wooden loading spaces of motorised carriages. The following day, there were no Santali dances, but many Bāul musicians performed. I did

not conduct interviews with the Santali performers from the opening day, but it was obvious that the local festival committee had booked their performance.

Fig. 3.28: Santali dance group performing between stalls
(Kankalitola melā, 13.4.2017)

There are significant differences between the Santali dances that I saw in Kankalitola and those that Bake witnessed in 1931 (Fig. 3.8). Firstly, there are no women dancers balancing flowerpots in Bake's film, because there seems to have been no such Santali women dance until the mid-20th century (cf. Culshaw, 1949; Archer, 1974). Secondly, women dance groups generally wear colourful dance dresses today. It is notable that such Santali women dances with flowerpots are today regularly performed not only in Kankalitola, but also in other places where Santali dance groups perform commercially for Indian audiences, including at Khoaihat in Santiniketan, at the annual *Rath Yātrā*[256] festival of ISKCON in Mayapur (C1795/129: 06:00-09:40), at Durgā pūjā celebrations in Kolkata, and in Jharkhand.[257] Some male dance groups also wear colourful outfits today, for dances that used to be performed in plain dress until the mid-20th century (Fig. 3.29;

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[256] The *Rath Yātrā* ("chariot journey") is a Vaiṣṇava Hindu festival that is celebrated in Puri in Odisha and in other places; see Chapter 4.3.
[257] See, for example, a female group dance with the instrument saṛpa, including a choreography featuring the balancing of flowerpots, performed by a group from Jharkhand for a YouTube channel on Indian performing arts: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5DCy8_XQO2A; and Santali women dances near Dumka: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kAyO8ym4VQI, both accessed 24.4.2020.

cf. Fig. 3.13).[258] These circumstances suggest that commercially performing Santali dance groups have remodelled their choreographies in such a way that their performances become as eye-catching as possible, in order to draw the attention of Indian audiences. This development can be described as a process of exoticisation, as the dances have been "selected and transformed so as to appear very different, without a rational meaning, and above all aimed at creating the sensual-intellectual attraction of being intriguing" (Seitel, 2001, p.6).

Fig. 3.29: Dasãe dancers with percussion instruments, c. 2016

(still from YouTube video, unknown location, c. 2016)

Another difference between the Santali dances of the 2017 Kankalitola melā and Bake's film is that there were no tiriya players in 2017, whereas the drums, tumdak' and ṭamak', are still played today. Again, this development is also observable at Khoaihat (Fig. 3.30), and at other locations where Santali dance groups perform commercially for Indian audiences.

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[258] Https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PRiLXeXavCw, accessed 29.2.2020.

Fig. 3.30: Santali girl dancers and boy drummers with Indian tourists

(Khoaihat, Santiniketan, 27.5.2017)

These circumstances suggest that dance groups today focus on showcasing the drums tumdak' and ṭamak' prominently, as Indians tend to regard these two instruments as icons of Santali culture. Moreover, Santali drumming is more accessible than the sound of melody instruments, like the tiriya, whose tonality may sound "wrong" to non-Santali listeners.[259] This simplification of instrumentation seems to constitute a kind of folklorisation, a process that has been described as "the re-stylization of traditional expressions so that they become less complex aesthetically and semantically" (Seitel, 2001, p.6). Perhaps as a result of this widespread reduction of the instrumental accompaniment of Santali dances to iconic percussion, the practice of traditional melody instruments has declined, a development for which the receding practice of the hukạ banam is an example.[260] Arguably, the exoticisation and folklorisation of Santali performing arts are both a result of their commercialisation, which has induced dance groups to modify their performances according to the expectations of Indian audiences.

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[259] See Chapter 3.3.
[260] To counter the decline of the hukạ banam, the cultural organisation Daricha organised construction workshops with instrument makers a few years ago:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NxAuReMWQhU, accessed 3.3.2020.

3.5 Conclusion

Previous studies have indicated that traditional Santali music and dance continue to be performed with few stylistic changes within the community (Onkar, 1985; Killius, 2012a; 2012b), whereas I have shown that there have been significant stylistic changes in those contexts where they are performed at Hindu festivals and for Indian audiences. These developments partly mirror the changes that have occurred in jārigān, where there are similar patterns of stylistic continuity and change in intracommunal and intercommunal performances.[261] I have shown that the commercialisation of Santali performing arts may result in stylistic distortions, as these tend to be reduced to the showcasing of eye-catching dance feats, which are performed to simplified instrumental accompaniment focussing on percussion. These changes exemplify the dangers that the commercialisation and commodification of traditional performing arts entails, a phenomenon that is not limited to South Asia (Fitzgerald, 1984; Tsetsentsolmon, 2015; Kaul, 2007). Changes of a different kind have occurred in Santali popular music and Santali church music, which show an assimilation to Indian film music, a genre that has changed listening habits in South Asia since the early 1950s (Bake, 1953, pp.59-60). These changes are effected by the assimilation pressure that Indian mainstream culture exerts on ethnic minority cultures in India. Also here, there are global parallels, as the cultural dominance of ethnic majorities tends to result in the cultural assimilation of ethnic minorities in nation states worldwide (Eriksen, 2010 [1994]).

I have shown that the influence of Indian culture on Santali performing arts was less significant in the 1930-40s, which may explain why Bake regarded his recordings of Santali music and dance from Kankalitola and Mongoldihi as thoroughly authentic. In their entirety, his recordings are probably the earliest audio-visual documentation of the genres. Considering the changes that have occurred in the past 90 years, his recordings are especially relevant today, as cultural products from a time when Santali performing arts were less affected by the impact of Indian culture than they are now. Although his recordings and films are accessible at the ARCE, it would be desirable that they are also

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[261] See Chapter 2.5.

made accessible at a cultural or educational institution in Jharkhand, a task that I could not tackle during my fieldwork, as I spent only a week in the region.

Chapter 4

Bengali Kīrtan: Continuity and Change 1931-2017

Bake's research on Bengali kīrtan began in Santiniketan during the period 1925-29, when he studied Tagore's songs. He then documented different regional variants of kīrtan through cylinder recordings, silent films, and photography, during his second stay in West Bengal between 1931-33. In the course of his fieldwork, he got to know Khagendranath Mitra (1880-1961) and Nabadwip Brajabashi, two scholars who reframed the public discourse on Bengali kīrtan in the early 20th century. Through his fieldwork, Bake became especially intrigued by the rhythmic complexity of kīrtan, but other work prevented further research by him on the genre for nearly a decade. Between 1942-46, he extensively studied kīrtan in theory and practice with Brajabashi and others in Calcutta. In this period, he not only studied the stylistic characteristics of different kīrtan *gharānās*,[262] but also participated as a singer in kīrtan performances, a research approach that can be described as participant observation.

I first give a brief introduction to Bengali kīrtan. After that, I discuss Bake's fieldwork over the three different periods, drawing on his recordings and correspondence. Subsequently, I analyse two of his cylinder recordings from 1932-33, which throw further light on his research in the early 1930s. I then give an account of my fieldwork from 2017, to discuss the changes that have occurred in the genre over the past 90 years.

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[262] The term *gharānā* ("household, lineage") has been defined as "[i]n North Indian art-music, a community of musicians, linked by ties of family and discipleship and identified by a distinctive musical style" (Widdess, 2001).

4.0 Bengali Kīrtan

The music and dance of Bengali kīrtan is shaped in content and form by the branch of Hinduism known as *Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism*,[263] which focusses on the practice of *bhakti* ("devotion") as a means to attain salvation. Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism revolves around the worship of the god Kṛṣṇa, considered an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and on the worship of Kṛṣṇa's divine consort, Rādhā, his favourite among the *gopīs* ("female cowherds") of Vrindaban.[264] The Vrindaban region therefore has a special significance as a centre of worship for Vaiṣṇava devotees. The performance of kīrtan, devotional song in praise of a Hindu deity, is considered an expression of bhakti. Kīrtan is thus practised not only among Bengali Vaiṣṇava communities, but also among other communities who adhere to bhakti-based forms of Hinduism (Slawek, 1986; 1988; Henry, 1988; Ho, 2007; Schultz, 2013). The religious reformer Caitanya (1486-1534) is regarded as the founder of the philosophical system of Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism, which has influenced Bengali Hindu culture to a significant extent.

Bengali kīrtan can be divided into the two main branches *nām-kīrtan* ("name-based kīrtan") and *padāvalī-kīrtan* ("versified kīrtan"). The term nām-kīrtan stands for the singing of the name of a deity, which occurs in Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism in the context of the worship of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, and Caitanya. The term *saṃkīrtan* ("collective kīrtan") denotes the communal singing of kīrtans, and *nām-saṃkīrtan* ("name-based collective kīrtan") correspondingly stands for the communal singing of nām-kīrtans. Another term that is occasionally used is *nagar-kīrtan* ("urban kīrtan"), which refers to a mode of performance when groups of kīrtan singers move in processions through a town, usually on the occasion of a religious festival. Saṃkīrtan, nām-saṃkīrtan, and nagar-kīrtan can be classified as participatory music forms, where performers encourage the audience to join in.[265] Singers often perform nām-kīrtans at an increasing speed, a technique that

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[263] The term *Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism* is derived from the word *Gauṛa*, the ancient name of the Bengal region, and the word *Vaiṣṇavism*, denoting the worship of the Hindu god Viṣṇu. It is synonymous with the terms Bengali Vaiṣṇavism and Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism.

[264] Rādhā is not characterised as a goddess in the Sanskrit Purāṇas, but she is portrayed as Kṛṣṇa's divine consort in Vaiṣṇava literature from the 12th century onwards (Wulff, 1998 [1996], p.109).

[265] Here, I use Turino's definition of participation "in the restricted sense of actively contributing to the sound and motion of a musical event through dancing, singing, clapping, and playing musical instruments when each of these activities is considered integral to the performance" (Turino, 2008, p.28).

contributes to the creation of a mood of religious ecstasy, which is also used in the ritualistic music of other cultures (Jankowsky, 2010, pp.112-30). In some areas of Bengal, there are specific regional forms of nām-kīrtan, such as the *marāī-kīrtan* ("circular kīrtan") of Rāṛh (La Trobe, 2010, pp.26-7).

Padāvalī-kīrtan, on the other hand, is based on Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava poetry, which has the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story as its central theme. The Sanskrit poet Jayadeva (c. 1170 - c. 1245) is generally considered the first author of Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava poetry. He wrote the *Gītagovinda*, a work of Sanskrit poetry on the divine play of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, which came to influence many later authors. Vidyāpati (1352-1448) composed Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa poems in Maithili and Sanskrit language. Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa poetry was possibly written by more than one author, but in Bengali, under the name Caṇḍīdās (c. 14th-15th century). Further influential authors of Vaiṣṇava poetry in Bengali are Narottamdās Ṭhākur (b. c. 1533) and Govindadās (1535-1613), two followers of Caitanya's teachings. The treatise *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* ("The bright Sapphire") from Caitanya's disciple Rūpa Gosvāmī (1489-1564) is a work of special importance, which adapts the aesthetic classification system of the *Aṣṭanāyikā* ("the eight heroines") of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* to the context of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story, to describe the different emotional states that Rādhā experiences in regard to Kṛṣṇa.

The lead singer of a kīrtan ensemble is called *kīrtanīyā* ("kīrtan performer"), or *mūl-gāyan* ("main singer"). He is accompanied by a dohār, a singer who repeats his lines and often plays harmonium. Each kīrtan ensemble also includes a kartāl player, who marks the rhythm of the *tāla* ("rhythmic cycle") through sounding strokes and gestures with his instrument. Another essential instrument of kīrtan is the khol, a double-headed barrel drum made of clay that is played with the hands, and sometimes also referred to as *mṛdaṅga*. An ensemble can include one or two khol players, who perform complex rhythmic accompaniment and solos. Modern kīrtan ensembles frequently use the keyboard, and, more rarely, traditional melody instruments like the bā̃śi or the behālā. The *setār* ("sitar") is sometimes used for studio recordings (Graves, 2014, pp.252-61).

The *pada*-s ("verses") of padāvalī-kīrtan are often written in a medieval form of Bengali that is not easily understood by audiences. In performance, kīrtanīyās therefore

usually intersperse these with *ākhar*-s,[266] sections sung in modern Bengali that elucidate the narrative in a comprehensible way (Wulff, 1996). In addition, kīrtanīyās may perform *kathā* ("spoken") sections in modern Bengali, which explain the narrative further. Kīrtan performances that include song, dance and acting are known as *līlā-kīrtan* ("kīrtan on the divine play [of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa]") or *pālā-kirtan* ("narrative kīrtan") (Chakraborty, 1998 [1995], pp.57-9). Each līlā-kīrtan performance covers only one section of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story, which is called a līlā or pālā, and comprises padāvalī-kīrtan and nām-kīrtan compositions. Here, the kīrtanīyā often plays a *jhãjh,* a pair of large rim-cymbals. A performance usually lasts two to four hours. Padāvalī-kīrtan and līlā-kīrtan performances do not depend as much on audience participation as nām-kīrtan performances. Occasionally, listeners exclaim "Hari bol!" ("Say Hari!", an epithet of Kṛṣṇa) and raise their arms, thereby expressing their appreciation of a rendition. Apart from this, there is normally little active audience participation.

Indian musicology recognises five different kīrtan gharānās that differ in musical style, which are called *Garāṇhāṭī,*[267] *Manoharsāhī*, *Reṇeṭī*, *Mandāriṇī* and *Jhārkhaṇḍī* (Chatterjee, 1996, p.108). Contemporary kīrtan performers often learn the style of more than one gharānā, which has blurred the stylistic boundaries between gharānās to some extent.[268] The teaching of kīrtan occurs in *guru-śiṣya* ("teacher-disciple") lineages, which are often family lineages. Some of these claim the status of their own gharānā, such as the Mitra Thakur family of Moynadal, who refer to themselves as the Moynadal gharānā. They perform a regional variant of the Manoharsāhī style of kīrtan.

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[266] The term *ākhar* is believed to be derived from the Sanskrit word *ākṣara* ("syllable").
[267] The *Garāṇhāṭī* style is sometimes also called *Gaṛerhāṭī* (Chatterjee, 1996, p.106).
[268] Personal communication with Suman Bhattacharya, 13.7.2017.

4.1 The Dutch Kīrtanīyā: from Observation to Participation

Map 4.1: Locations of Bake's fieldwork on Bengali kīrtan, Calcutta excluded

> Participant observation – establishing a place in some natural setting on a relatively long-term basis in order to investigate, experience and represent the social life and social processes that occur in that setting – comprises one core activity in ethnographic fieldwork… But participant observation involves not only gaining access to and immersing oneself in new social worlds, but also producing *written accounts and descriptions* that bring versions of these worlds to others.
> (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2007, p.352)

In this section, I discuss Bake's research on Bengali kīrtan in the 1920-50s period, to demonstrate how his fieldwork methodology gradually changed from the mere attendance at performances to an approach that can be regarded as participant observation. To appreciate the significance of his interactions with Khagendranath Mitra, Nabadwip Brajabashi, and other kīrtan scholars and performers he met in the early 1930s, it is necessary to outline the developments that had led to a revival of Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengali society since the mid-19th century.

Since the 1860s, sections of Bengali *bhadralok*[269] society had endeavoured to recover and preserve Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism and the cultural expressions related to it, in a multi-layered socio-religious movement, that "located an authentic Bengali identity and a moral religion par excellence in Gaudiya Vaishnava traditions in order to counter the supposed loss of significance of Bengali life under colonialism" (Bhatia, 2009, p.2). Organisations and societies were founded to collect, preserve and disseminate Bengali Vaiṣṇava literature, in order to promote the teachings of Caitanya through public lectures and discussions, which sometimes included recitals of kīrtan music. One of the movement's central figures was the Vaiṣṇava reformer Kedarnath Dutta (1838-1914), who focussed on the recovery of Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava religion and philosophy, a topic on which he published numerous books. His teachings were carried on by his son and spiritual heir, Bimla Prasad Dutta (1874-1937), who founded the *Gauṛīya Maṭh* in 1918, a monastic organisation for the study of Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism, which established branches throughout India and in Europe between the 1920-30s. Another important figure of the movement was the journalist Shishir Kumar Ghosh (1840-1911), the editor of the Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava periodical *Biṣṇupriyā Patrikā* that was published in Calcutta between 1891-99. Other organisations also increased their engagement with Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava culture in this period, among them the *Brāhma Samāj* ("Society of Brahma"), which propagated a socio-religious reform of Hinduism.[270] Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-1884) established the breakaway *Bhāratbarṣīya Brāhma Samāj* in 1866, whose members sang saṃkīrtan at their meetings, and held public processions with nagar-kīrtan through urban Calcutta from the early 1870s onwards (Rosse, 1995, pp.18-9; Chatterjee, 1993, p.39). At the Brāhma Samāj, the young Rabindranath Tagore composed kīrtan-based songs for seasonal festivals in the 1880s (Som, 2009, pp.56-7). In his later life, he continued to draw on Vaiṣṇava themes for his songs, but without adhering to the musical structure of kīrtan (pp.84-5).

Bengali scholars continued to engage with Vaiṣṇava padāvalī-kīrtan in the early 20th century. One of them was Khagendranath Mitra, a professor of Bengali language

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[269] The term *bhadralok* ("gentle, respectable person") stands for the educated middle-class of Bengali society.
[270] Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) founded the Brāhma Samāj in 1828, which was later led by Rabindranath Tagore's father Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905).

and literature at the University of Calcutta, who was concerned about what he considered the "downfall of kīrtan" (Mitra, 1926, p.377). Mitra thus criticised the rising popularity of *ḍhap kīrtan* ("shapely kīrtan"), a simplified variant of the Manoharsāhī style (Chatterjee 1996, p.157), characterised by songs with erotic themes, set to short tālās. At that time, ḍhap kīrtan was predominantly performed by urban women singers, often from the *Baiji*[271] social sphere or working with the emerging recording industry. Mitra therefore held that the authentic padāvalī-kīrtan was at risk of extinction and argued that it needed to be restored to its former glory, which he localised in the post-Caitanya age. Through his lectures and writings, he therefore emphasised that "real" padāvalī-kīrtan was a form of *sādhanā* ("spiritual practice"). Stylistically, he regarded compositions with elaborate melodic ornamentation in long rhythmic cycles as one of the main characteristics of padāvalī-kīrtan. Mitra further argued that padāvalī-kīrtan was *uccāṅga kīrtan* ("a high art of kīrtan"), a term that placed it near the sphere of Hindustani classical music, known as *uccāṅga saṅgīt* ("high art of music") in Bengal. Mitra regarded male performers from rural lineages as torchbearers of the kīrtan he sought to preserve, and with Nabadwip Brajabashi, he found a kīrtanīyā whom he came to regard as an archetypical representative of this performance tradition (Graves, 2017, pp.5-14).

Brajabashi grew up in Vrindaban, where he learned padāvalī-kīrtan singing and khol playing with his father and uncle, two adept performers of padāvalī-kīrtan. Later, he continued his studies with the renowned kīrtanīyā Advaita Das Babaji, who taught in Murshidabad at the palace of Manindra Chandra Nandy (1860-1929), the Maharaja of Kasim Bazar (today Berhampore) (Graves, 2014, pp.103-7). Brajabashi moved to Calcutta around 1898, where he established the kīrtan school *Śrī Vraja-mādhurī Saṃgha* ("Association relishing the Sweetness of Vraj [the Vrindaban region]"), at the house of the Bengali nationalist leader Chittaranjan Das (1870-1925). The school organised padāvalī-kīrtan performances at private homes and concert halls throughout Calcutta, which attracted many students to study with Brajabashi. Its activities thereby contributed significantly to the popularisation of padāvalī-kīrtan in Bengali bhadralok society. Khagendranath Mitra became one of Brajabashi's students, and later helped him

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[271] *Baijis* were a class of courtesan singers and dancers, who formerly entertained the nobility at royal courts in the Mughal age.

to get appointed as kīrtan lecturer at Ashutosh College at the University of Calcutta (Mukhopadhyay, 1971, p.272, quoted by Graves, 2017, p.30). Eventually, they edited the padāvalī-kīrtan anthology *Śrī-Padāmṛta-Mādhurī* together (Brajabashi and Mitra, 1910-30s), a work that includes a section on khol performance, where Brajabashi outlines the rhythmic framework of padāvalī-kīrtan (Brajabashi, 1953-4). Furthermore, Mitra edited the anthology *Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī* together with Dinesh Chandra Sen (Sen and Mitra, 1930), while Brajabashi authored a serial on the music theory of padāvalī-kīrtan in the Bengali journal *Saṅgīt Bijñān Prabeśikā* ("Introduction to the Science of Music") in 1931 (Graves, 2017, pp.14-7).

Arnold Bake was unaware of the relevance of Caitanya when he embarked on his first journey to India (Bake, 1948, p.281), but through his prolonged stays in West Bengal he gradually came to understand the significance of Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism to Bengali society and culture. He began by studying Tagore's songs in the period 1926-29, for which he had to engage with kīrtan, one of the genres that had influenced Tagore's music. After his return to Europe, he held the talk "Indian Music and Rabindranath Tagore" at the India Society in London, in which he discussed his research. In the talk, he described kīrtan briefly:

> Side by side with this mystical Baul music, we find another kind of folk-music, specially used in religious practice. It is the Kirtan music, which originated at the time of the spiritual renascence in the sixteenth century, of which Chaitanya was the centre; it has survived up to the present day, in the singing of mystical, or generally religious, lyrical poems. It cannot be classed with the songs of the Bauls, for it is bound to a sect,[272] and further it has often adopted such a special style that it comes nearer to art-music…. (Bake, 1931, p.88)

During his second stay in West Bengal, he documented kīrtan performances in the wider Santiniketan region. Initially, he asked his music teacher Dinendranath Tagore to get a good kīrtan singer for recordings to Santiniketan, but Dinendranath was busy with his work at Visva-Bharati University.[273] Meanwhile, Arnold tried to learn some kīrtans from

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[272] Here, Bake refers to Vaiṣṇavism.
[273] Arnold Bake, letters to his mother-in-law, 4. and 11.3.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 180-1.

Shyam Bhattacharjee, a singer engaged by the Tagores to perform kīrtan at their temple in Santiniketan on a daily basis. Arnold found his songs very difficult.[274] The Bakes had two attendants in Santiniketan, Ganapati and Pashupati, who invited them to see a celebration with nām-saṃkīrtan in the village of Bandhgora on 3.-4.6.1931 (Figs. 4.1-2). Here, Arnold met a khol player from Moynadal:

[W]e sat on iron chairs below a tent set up on the square, gazed at by half of the population of Bandgora [Bandhgora]... We were rewarded well. Musically, it means nothing, rhythmically quite interesting, but mainly as a means to arouse ecstasy, [this] is what this kind of ceremony serves for. It is from the time of Chaitanya, the early sixteenth century, and consists of the group-singing of various names of Krishna-Vishnu, dancing and with drum accompaniment... Namely, this is also a type of Kirtan, namsankirtan, singing the name together. Again and again, a group of dancers came out from the dark street through a ceremonial arch of green, fantastically illuminated by small gasoline lights... the rhythm of the drum was lively, the dancing a simple jumping and flinging up of the arms with a twist of the hands. So it went on, one group after the other, until around seven or eight [o'clock]. They danced forwards and backwards, and to that the small cymbals were clashed against each other, with very little variation in the basic rhythm, but with indescribably many cross-rhythms of the drums, a pair with each group.

There were mainly a few drummers who stood out as especially good... The following day, the closing ceremony took place... Fortunately, I had been able to do a series of photographs. There was enough sun. Good grace, it was so hot. Heaven knows how the people could stand that, to continue the whole way dancing and jumping, certainly a type of ecstasy. I managed to get to know the good drummer. He seemed to be from Mainadal [Moynadal], a village 24 miles from here, and from a respectable family. His name was Çri Çankarabihari Mitra Thakur [Sanket Bihari Mitra Thakur][275].... (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 10.6.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 194)

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[274] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 7.4.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 185.
[275] Bake evidently misheard the name, as there was no khol player with the name "Shankara Bihari Mitra Thakur" (personal communication with Milan Mitra Thakur, 10.5.2020).

Fig. 4.1: Nām-saṃkīrtan performance with khol player Sanket Bihari Mitra Thakur (left)

(Bandhgora, 4.6.1931, SMBC KEN 20)

Fig. 4.2: Children dressed as Kṛṣṇa and his brother Balarāma

(Bandhgora, 4.6.1931, SMBC KEN 21)

In Bandhgora, they heard of another kīrtan performance taking place in the town of Ilambazar on 6.6.1931, which turned out to be a padāvalī-kīrtan performance by other members of the Mitra Thakur family. Also here, Arnold found the drumming particularly impressive:

[W]e did not regret it for a moment. I had hoped to find the drummer [Sanket Bihari Mitra Thakur] there, but he was not there. But there was a whole group of his family, all

from Mainadal [Moynadal], which is, as we now slowly got to know, a really renowned centre of kīrtan. Thus, I could not use my rolls [cylinders], because I could not get hold of anyone I knew, but instead of that we have heard real [kirtan] now... When we came to the market square, near the temple..., the kirtan was in full swing... It was a bit related to the way how the Ramayana is recited which we had here, a few months ago, but this group was immensely better. They had, thank god, no harmonium, and both drummers were unsurpassable. That was outstanding in itself, how they intercepted each other and made the dance steps according to tradition, towards each other and away from each other, kneeling down and standing up again. The young man who was precentor had a really decent voice. The recitation comprised verses in Bengali and sometimes in Sanskrit (Bhāgavata purāna), alternating with songs and melodic ornamentation by the choir. All accompanied on the drum, without coming to the fore too much. It was difficult to follow because everything is pronounced differently, the stresses are put differently. It is a very old way of doing things… We didn't last all the way to the end. At nine o'clock it became too hot for us under our jute-covered shelter, and we blew the retreat. We nearly fell over from lack of sleep because we had got up at half past two… [After rest], we made friendship with the singers from Mainadal. I feel like a king that I have finally traced good kirtan….

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 10.6.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 194)

The Bakes attended another kīrtan performance by a different group in Bhubandanga on 20.6.1931:

On Saturday evening we heard Kirtan again in Bobandanga [Bhubandanga], the village closest by ... It was a more folkloristic group than the one in Ilambazar, no Sanskrit and more music ... Now as we heard it for the third time[,] we also could recognise the structure much better; it is so wonderfully real and alive, a pleasure to listen to... The precentor's voice was, of course, completely worn out from singing, one has to listen through that, that is always so. I think the drums would fascinate everyone. From time to time, the singer gets rest and both drums play solo (by the way, there were three drummers, two adults and a juvenile)[,] sometimes alone, and sometimes softly accompanied by the choir who vary the last thing the precentor has sung. It is a very peculiar development, full of variety.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his family, 24.6.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 196)

Impressed by the musical skills of the Mitra Thakur family, Arnold hoped to visit Moynadal in August for the *Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī* festival,[276] but his fieldwork in Nepal throughout the summer prevented that. After his return to Santiniketan, he began to record kīrtan performances. The first opportunity for this was the Rās-līlā festival[277] in Mongoldihi that took place from 24. to 26.11.1931. At the village, the Bakes were offered a room without basic facilities near the temple, but luckily they met Gurusaday Dutt, who offered his tent as accommodation and moved to his servants' tent. Arnold recorded the local musicians on the second day:

> [F]irst the school children came to perform for the magistrate, and then there came all musicians, singers and instrumentalists, with whom I was busy until 1pm, I got six cylinders, if I am correct, and some film.... [T]he previous evening [24.11.31], we had seen a dance by men in front of the other temple... That was fantastic with huge drums and enormous bent horns, solemn melodies and a wild choir....
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 26.-27.11.1931, Mss Eur F191/9, 217)

In the evening of the second day, they watched the festival procession. Dutt's presence enabled them to watch everything from close by:

> The idols of Balarama and Krishna were carried out of the temple with music and song, and they were brought to a pond with a stone island in the middle, with a path leading to the shore. They were put down on that, and cool air was fanned to them, while fireworks were lighted to honour and please the gods. As Mr. Datta [Gurusaday Dutt] was present, we were allowed to get very close everywhere, much closer than we would ever have dared ourselves. There was a huge crowd on their feet....
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 26.-27.11.1931, Mss Eur F191/9, 217)

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[276] The festival concerns the birth (*janma*) of Kṛṣṇa, which occurred on the eighth day (*aṣṭamī*) of the dark fortnight of the month *Śrābaṇ* (July-August), according to Hindu mythology.
[277] The annual Rās-līlā festival centres thematically on the story of Kṛṣṇa's nocturnal dance with Rādhā and the gopīs of Vrindaban. According to village chronicles, the local practice of Vaiṣṇavism dates back to Caitanya's time or earlier (Chatterjee, 2013).

Bake's silent film (C52/FO/45: 2:35-4:19) begins with the caption "Kirtan music in honour of God Krishna by low caste villagers", and then shows music groups playing in the open. One group comprises only ḍhāk players and a kā̃si player, which suggests they were a percussion ensemble, rather than a kīrtan ensemble.[278] There also is a group of musicians playing sānāis, behālā, khol, kartāl, and śiṅgā (Fig. 4.3). In another scene, the sānāi players sing, holding bã̃śis in their hands. The cylinder recordings comprise Bengali kīrtans thematically linked to the festival, performed by male singers with khol accompaniment, as well as instrumental pieces (C52/1727-30, C52/2109). Bake also took photographs of the groups (SMBC KEN 18, 26-9, 30, 30a-b), which he shared with Dutt, and possibly also with the performers.[279]

Fig. 4.3: Group of musicians playing sānāis, behālā, khol, kartāl, and śiṅgā
(Mongoldihi, 25.11.1931, still from C52/FO/45: 2:35-4:19)

In December 1931, Arnold asked Khagendranath Mitra for a meeting in Calcutta,[280] and through him he got to know Nabadwip Brajabashi, who started to teach him (Linden, 2019, p.29). In January 1932, he recorded a performance of Brajabashi's

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[278] Ḍhāk ensembles often perform at Bengali Hindu ceremonies and festivals.
[279] Dutt gave Bake the work address of a "Babu Bon Behari Thakur" for this purpose (Gurusaday Dutt, letter to Arnold Bake, 20.12.1931, ABA, box 51). This individual may have been a member of the Thakur family who safeguard the statues worshipped at the festival (cf. Chatterjee, 2013).
[280] Arnold Bake, letter to Rai Bahadur Saheb, 5.12.1931, Mss Eur F191/18. Mitra's honorary title was Rai Bahadur.

ensemble in Calcutta. According to the archival documentation, the recordings are from 5 January 1932,[281] but arguably Bake made them one day earlier at the house of Nani Gopal Mukherjee,[282] who was a student of Brajabashi (Mitra, 1910, p.ii).[283] Arnold wrote that he recorded four cylinders,[284] which corresponds to the archival documentation (C52/1750, 1752-3, and 1762). However, another cylinder recording features Brajabashi's ensemble, too, and is therefore probably from the same event (C52/1754).[285] Bake provided details on the tālas of compositions with his recording documentation to the Berlin Phonogram Archive.[286]

In the same month, he recorded kīrtan at the Jaydev Kenduli melā, a Hindu festival celebrated annually on the occasion of *Makar Saṅkrānti*.[287] He visited the festival together with his wife from 13. to 16.1.1932. On the first day, Gurusaday Dutt introduced them to the priests of the central Rādhābinod temple.[288] Subsequently, the Bakes attended music and dance performances that had been arranged for Dutt at the temple compound. Among the groups was an ensemble with middle-blown double flutes that Bake found "immensely interesting".[289] Apparently, he recorded one of their songs (C52/1751).[290] On 14.1.1932, they attended a reading of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[291] in the morning, and a kīrtan recital of the Gītagovinda in the evening (Fig. 4.4):

First, there was an endless namsankirtan, the singing of god's name, sometimes with dances and sometimes sitting on the ground, and then [the] Gitagovinda, which was interesting and also quite nice, stylistically there was little difference from the kirtan we

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[281] Ziegler, 2006, CD-ROM, Bake Indien II, pp.3-4, cylinders 98, 100-2, and 110.
[282] Cornelia Bake's diary entry for 4 January 1932, ABA, box 24; Arnold Bake, letter to Suvarna Sham Shere Yang Bahadur Rana, 7.3.1932, Mss Eur F191/20.
[283] Mukherjee was also a member of the Bengal Theosophical Society and interested in occultism. In the early 1920s, he sang kīrtans at a neighbour's house to ward off spirits (Ghosh, 1987 [1934], pp.361-89).
[284] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 8.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 222.
[285] At the Phonogram Archive, the cylinder was documented as recorded in Jaydev Kenduli, which is probably a mistake. Recordings from Calcutta and Jaydev Kenduli alternate in the relevant cylinder sequence.
[286] See Appendix 4.
[287] *Makar Saṅkrānti* is a Hindu festival in honour of the deity *Sūrya* ("sun").
[288] Bake's film shows the temple and crowds of visitors: C52/FO/12: 09:49-10:03; C52/FO/45: 00:15-01:08.
[289] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224.
[290] See Chapter 4.2.
[291] The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, one of the 18 major Purāṇas, centres around Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa.

had heard on various occasions. Mainly rhythmically it was quite strange,[292] but also musically here and there quite worth the effort.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

Fig. 4.4: Temple priests with khol player at Rādhābinod temple

(Jaydev Kenduli, c. 14.-15.1.1932, SMBC KEN 37)

In the afternoon of 15.1.1932,[293] he recorded a recital of the Gītagovinda at the temple (C52/1747-49):

It was fairly quiet, and now I could experiment to my heart's content. [T]hat was difficult enough, because the leader of the group had a rather feeble voice, so that in order to get three acceptable cylinders I had to spend six, which I naturally can shave off again here and use anew.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

From March 1932 to March 1933, the Bakes travelled through Ceylon and southern and western India, where Arnold recorded south Indian kīrtans and other Vaiṣṇava devotional songs and prayers (C52/1813-8, 1827-8, 1836, 1838, 1869, 1875). After their return to West Bengal, he continued recording Bengali kīrtans. In Santiniketan, he

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[292] Here, Bake possibly refers to the aṣṭatāl (C52/1747); see Chapter 4.2.
[293] According to the documentation of Bake's recordings at the Phonogram Archive, he made his recordings on 16.1.1931. According to his correspondence, he made them on 15.1.1931.

recorded two kīrtans performed by singers from Sylhet and Dhaka in April and May 1933 (C52/1895, 1899). Later that year, he visited the Mitra Thakur family in Moynadal for the Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī festival, accompanied by his attendant Ganapati. They stayed from 11 to 14 August. Moynadal was a busy centre for the study of padāvalī-kīrtan in those days. The khol player Nandalal Mitra Thakur (1927-2003)[294] later referred to the 1920-30s as the "golden age" of the Moynadal gharānā:

> By fortune, I was born into this lineage at a time that was the golden age of our *ṭhākurbāṛi*,[295] especially regarding song and music. The valiant kīrtanīyās and mṛdaṅga players of the Mitra Thakur family illuminated the ṭhākurbāṛi with their presence constantly. Their godlike countenance and conduct attracted Vaiṣṇava devotees.
> (Mitra Thakur, 2016, p.13)

At that time, the gharānā had a wide network of patronage supported by maharajas and other affluent patrons in western and eastern Bengal. The family's musicians travelled eastwards to perform, and students came from there to Moynadal to learn:

> Rajas, maharajas and wealthy devotees, delighted by the padāvalī-kīrtan and khol playing of Moynadal, used to support the teaching and learning of music in those days… The Hindus [of eastern Bengal] were wealthy and educated pandits, devotees of Kṛṣṇa, and fond of kīrtan. They used to come to Moynadal, the holy place of kīrtan, to learn the padāvalī-kīrtan and khol playing of the Moynadal gharānā in the kīrtan school. The kīrtan pandits and mṛdaṅga experts of Moynadal used to visit Mymensingh and Dinajpur in East Bengal to perform kīrtan at palaces. They pleased the devotees at those places by performing the padāvalī-kīrtan of the Moynadal gharānā for one month, then they returned. There were invitations the whole year. (Mitra Thakur, 2016, pp.99-100)

One of the family's renowned artists was Rasbihari Mitra Thakur (1868-1947), who was praised by Khagendranath Mitra at a kīrtan conference in Pabna in 1926 (Mitra, 1926,

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[294] Nandalal Mitra Thakur was the second son of Govardhan Mitra Thakur (1890-1946), who was recorded by Bake in 1933 (C52/1917).
[295] The *ṭhākurbāṛi* is the temple of the Mitra Thakur family, which is maintained by the different branches of the family in a rotating schedule (Mitra Thakur, 2016, pp.112-7). At its shrine is a statue of Caitanya, which was originally installed by Nrisinghballabh Mitra Thakur (1556-1633) in Moynadal in the year 1593 (p.18).

pp.377-8). Rasbihari Mitra Thakur's four sons followed in his footsteps. Three of them performed at All India Radio in the 1930s (Fig. 4.5).

Fig. 4.5: (l. to r.) Gauragopal Mitra Thakur (1909-1939), Nabagopal Mitra Thakur (1901-1990), and Govindagopal Mitra Thakur (1904-2000) at All India Radio
(Calcutta, c. 1936; Mitra Thakur, 2016, p.xii)

The music school of Moynadal was a busy place:

> [T]here were some clay houses in the courtyard of the *Gaursundar*[296] temple, and there was a three-storey clay house at the farmyard of Haridas Mitra Thakur. In these houses, Vaiṣṇava devotees used to stay to learn music and khol playing, they used to receive the *prasād*[297] of Gaursundar. They did not have to pay any charge for that... After the nap of Gaursundar,[298] the teaching, learning, and research on music and khol playing used to go on continuously; to hear this teaching and learning was the first lesson for everyone... I remember vividly how Haridas Mitra Thakur taught kīrtan and khol playing to disciples from eastern Bengal and Vaiṣṇavas from Vrindaban in the long house of his farmyard in his old age. (Mitra Thakur, 2016, pp.99-100)

Arnold was accommodated in this building:

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[296] *Gaursundar* ("the fair-complexioned beautiful one") is an epithet of Caitanya.
[297] *Prasād* is the term for food that has been offered to a Hindu deity. The leftovers are considered blessed and consumed by devotees.
[298] In Hinduism, idols of deities are often treated as living beings following a daily routine.

[T]here is a kirtan school, where five or six young students stay together in an attic above a cow shed. Two of them were ousted from their quarters at the left of the staircase, where I was accommodated, the others stayed to the right… My nice attic room was not quiet, and when it didn't rain it was dry. Naturally, everybody came to have a look at me, curious heads moving continuously on the staircase. Moreover, the students practised their rhythm exercises busily on the other side, either just speaking them, letting the patterns sound, or with the drum. Apart from that, loud conversations were held. The drummers were obsessed with their work till midnight, and at one o'clock I suddenly woke up from a constant drumming on the other side of the stairway. I don't know whether that was a fit of fervour or a religious act, or both. It did not happen the next night. (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 16.8.1933, Mss Eur F191/13, 303)

On the first day, he attended the family's kīrtan singing after the evening *ārti*[299] at the temple. The next morning, Govindagopal Mitra Thakur showed him the properties of the family in the surroundings, including the tomb of Nrisinghballabh Mitra Thakur, the founder of the Moynadal gharānā. Inside the village, Arnold was taken aback by the poor infrastructure:

Everything was muddy, of course, which does not make a big difference for me outside, but I found it dirty in the village. The temple yard was just a quagmire. And the staircase to my attic room was obstructed by mud puddles. Everything made a strangely shabby impression. It was mostly thick, dull, grey clay. [M]y slippers kept getting stuck, so I got used to walking barefoot…, I let Ganapati pour some water over my feet to remove the worst dirt, [before] I ascended the muddy staircase with its uneven steps.
(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 16.8.1933, Mss Eur F191/13, 303)

He mainly wanted to record kīrtan tālas to study the rhythmic framework of kīrtan, but had to compromise with the musicians, who were keen to display the full scope of their repertoire:

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[299] The *ārti* is a Hindu worship ritual that usually includes the brandishing of a lamp or fire in front of a deity, often with devotional singing.

The head of the school where I was accommodated, an old man, Haridas Mitra Thakur, is an excellent drummer, and so I got a clear overview from him of the different, very complex rhythms of kirtan. The rhythm of kirtan music is very complex and very important. Thus, I am very happy that I was able to note down and record on cylinders a clear overview first of all… The recordings were not done that quickly, and I was afraid that I would not succeed to record all 18 or 19 rhythms with all the delays and distractions. But it went well. They themselves found it of course nicer to let the different members of their family have a turn with other things, when one or two cylinders of rhythms were recorded. Of course, I had to avoid that tactfully, because I had not taken with me so many cylinders, and the rhythmic canvas of kirtan is as basis for study the most important thing.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 16.8.1933, Mss Eur F191/13, 303)

He eventually recorded eight musicians, the singers Nabagopal Mitra Thakur (C52/1910, 1912-3) and Haladhar Mitra Thakur (1908-1970) (C52/1909), and the khol players Sanket Bihari Mitra Thakur (C52/1915), Gauragopal Mitra Thakur (C52/1916), Govardhan Mitra Thakur (C52/1917), Advaitachandra Mitra Thakur (C52/1909-10, 1912-3, 1917, 1921), and Haridas Mitra Thakur (1893-1955) (C52/1908, 1911, 1914, 1918-20), on one cylinder with his son Kaliyakanta Mitra Thakur (C52/1918; Fig. 4.6).[300] He thus documented eighteen tālas on eight cylinders (C52/1914-21), four cylinders with Bengali padāvalī-kīrtans (C52/1909, 1911-3), one cylinder with a Sanskrit padāvalī-kīrtan from the Gītagovinda (C52/1910),[301] and one cylinder with three "drum poems"[302] recited and played on the khol (C52/1908). The drum poems are attributed to Caitanya himself, who is said to have been inspired to create the compositions by the rumbling of the wheels of Jagannāth's chariot at the Rath Yātrā in Puri. Arnold noted down the stroke patterns of the khol for some of the recorded tālas (C52/1914-5, Fig. 4.7).

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[300] Bake later sent a copy of the photo to Moynadal. It remained in the possession of the Mitra Thakur family, but a record of his visit fell into oblivion. In 2014, Moushumi Bhowmik informed the family about Bake's fieldwork in Moynadal (see http://www.thetravellingarchive.org/record-session/mainadal-birbhum-19-august-2014-nityananda-mitra-thakur/ and http://www.thetravellingarchive.org/related-research/letters-from-mainadal/, accessed 23.5.2020).
[301] See Chapter 4.2.
[302] Bake used the term "drum poems" because these compositions combine the names of Vaiṣṇava saints and other phrases together with drum syllables in the spoken recitations.

Fig. 4.6: Kaliyakanta Mitra Thakur (1916-1995) with khol

(Moynadal, August 1933, SMBC KEN 23)

Fig. 4.7: Arnold Bake's transcription of kīrtan tālas recorded in Moynadal

(n.d., PP MS 21)

He did not film in Moynadal, as there were no performances in the daytime, but he took some photographs.[303] The Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī celebration began in the evening of the third day, with kīrtan singing and dancing in the temple yard. Around 2 a.m. the next morning, the ceremony began. Arnold was not allowed to watch the beginning, but he saw the main part:

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[303] Arnold took photos in the daytime and in the evening, but the photos from the evening were probably underexposed (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 16.8.1933, Mss Eur F191/13, 303).

Govinda had promised to call me at night, and he also did that. But I had already awakened through the pipes and the drums of the naubat[304] above the entrance of the temple yard, who let their instruments sound at auspicious moments. But I was not allowed to that yet. The picture of krishna was brought outside from its storage room in the temple. When the baby was finally out, I was allowed to come. A sort of cross had been dug, two sides of the same length with a deep opening at the intersection, and twelve banana trees on the corners, four around the centre hole and eight at the outer corners. It must have been a reproduction of the place where the child is washed after birth. Facing towards it, a brahmin squatted on a stone in the mud in front of a leaf on which two small sculptures of krishna stood, one as a baby and one as adult with a flute. The latter was wrapped up to the arms with a red cloth. Next to the Brahmin stood various requisites for offering, a lamp with five wicks, a bent horn – this time not used for blowing but for pouring water over the small sculptures, furthermore a leaf with vermillion, milk, and tens of other leaf sachets with other substances. First the sculpture was worshipped with the small lamp – a brahmin... read the text in Sanskrit, after which the assistant priest murmured the same words and carried out the described actions, and in the end the requisites were strewn one after another... It was a marvellous sight.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 16.8.1933, Mss Eur F191/13, 303)

The following evening, Bake saw the *Nandotsab*,[305] a festival celebrated in conjunction with Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī:

On Monday evening, there was more some kind of celebration in the mud, but that was exactly the point. Big jugs of water were poured out to make things even muddier. Then all the people danced around, singing and jumping, boys ran here and there, moving their heads and tripping each other's legs, they fought and rolled around with immense exuberance. The mud splashed high up in the air, but people did not care. It was the same kind of mood like the holi festival. At eleven pm it was over, and all the people went bathing. Finally, there was some solemn singing and then it was all over.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 16.8.1933, Mss Eur F191/13, 303)

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[304] A *naubat* (urd.) is a space on top of an arch, where a sānāi and drum ensemble signals important events through music. The term is also used for the ensembles themselves. Naubat ensembles were common at Muslim forts in the Mughal age.

[305] According to Hindu mythology, *Nanda* was the foster-father of Kṛṣṇa, who celebrated his birth on this day.

Arnold wanted to continue his studies of kīrtan in 1934,[306] but had to conclude his fieldwork in March, as doctors advised the Bakes to recuperate in Europe over the summer.[307]

Arnold's fieldwork experiences informed the portrayals of kīrtan that he published in the period 1934-37. Paul Geuthner published his book on the music of Tagore (Bake, 1935). In the introduction, Bake highlights the stylistic variety and complexity of kīrtan, but questions its effusive emotionality:

> The *Kirtan* is a kind of music of varied forms often extremely intricate but always belonging to the people. It is sung in chorus and does not belong to the classical tradition. It is often danced and is pre-eminently the expression of that gushing and sometimes too emotional feeling to which those night assemblies gave rise when Chaitanya went into a trance. (Bake, 1935, p.28)

In the article "Indian Folk Music" (Bake, 1936-7), he portrays kīrtan as a genre of devotional folk music that has reached the stylistic refinement of art-music, without having become socially exclusive like art-music had:

> Exceptionally high is the place of music in a religious movement originating in Bengal in the fifteenth century… *Kirtan* is a form of worship also known in other parts of India, but in Bengal it has developed into an art. Folk-music grown into art-music. Art-music insofar that it has become so technical that only trained singers and players can execute it; folk-music insofar as it has remained *for* the people by singers *from* the people, not like the musicians of the classical style connected with courts and temples.
> (Bake, 1936-7, p.69)

In the article, he explains kīrtan through comparisons with European classical music, and highlights the complexity of its rhythms and drumming:

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[306] Arnold Bake, letter to Marius Schneider, 27.8.1933, BPA.
[307] Bake fell ill after lecturing in Hyderabad in late January 1934 (Linden, 2019, pp.38-9), and initially planned to leave for Europe in late May. When Cornelia fell ill, too, they decided to embark for Europe in early March (Arnold Bake, letter to Marius Schneider, 26.2.1934, BPA).

The nearest thing in European music the Bengali *Kirtan* can be compared to is the oratorio. In a group of *Kirtan* singers one finds soloists, instrumentalists, and a chorus. The soloist unfolds the story, connected in one way or another with the worship of Vishnu; the chorus repeats his words, or comments upon them in lyrical stanzas. There are instrumental interludes, especially on the drum, giving an exhibition of unparalleled skill and fascinating beauty. The art of drumming (always with the fingers, never with sticks) has reached the highest perfection. It requires at least ten years of hard practice. The result is exceedingly pleasing. Apart from its importance in the instrumental interludes[,] the drum is indispensable as giving the rhythmical background to the melody and the drone in its tuning. It is here that one can safely speak of rhythmic counterpoint. Voice and drum move to the same basic time, but each is allowed an extraordinary amount of freedom within the limits of certain fixed periods which may contain as many as thirty-six units. The theoretical study of drum-metres with their mystical significance is in itself an arduous task not yet undertaken by any Westerner. (Bake, 1936-7, p.70)

During his third stay in India, Arnold took on the task of studying kīrtan in depth. After his Fellowship from the Spalding Trust had been renewed, he resigned from All India Radio Calcutta in June 1942 to continue his research. Wartime policies such as petrol rationing made it difficult to travel and record. Therefore, he focussed on studying kīrtan in Calcutta:

…I am concentrating on Kirtan, which fully justifies being called the backbone of Bengali Religious Culture. It is one of the very few kinds of Indian music where a group of people co-operate in creating the true religious atmosphere, each individual adding his special contribution. It has a history of about four hundred years and is equally attractive from the literary as from the musical point of view. Naturally it is properly approachable only through Bengali, and consequently I have taken that study up in right earnest again.

In the present circumstances with the absolutly [sic] impossibility of travelling about, it is a matter of great good fortune that the very best people I could have to guide my steps are all in Calcutta or its immediate neighbourhood. Knowing about them was one of the main attractions that decided us onto Calcutta and not being able to get in touch with them, one of the things which galled me most during the period of my work at the Radio Station. (Arnold Bake, letter to Mr and Mrs Spalding, 6.1.1943, ABA, box 42)

Khagendranath Mitra guided Arnold's research on the cultural background of kīrtan:

> The immediate link between myself and the world of Bengali Kirtan is Rai Bahadur
> Khagendranath Mittra[,] a professor of Calcutta University, head of the Department of
> Bengali Literature, who has been a devotee of Bengali Kirtan for many, many years, and
> knows the practice as well as the history and spiritual background of it. He has taken a
> warm and invaluable interest in my endeavours.
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to Mr and Mrs Spalding, 6.1.1943, ABA, box 42)

Nabadwip Brajabashi, on the other hand, guided his musical studies of kīrtan:

> My real teacher of Kirtan is an old village man of nearly eighty, who is one of [the]
> greatest living exponents of the art of Kirtan and knows not only his own particular
> school [gharānā] but also the tenets of the three other divisions. Naturally he doesn't
> understand a word of English but we manage to get along very well.
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to Mr and Mrs Spalding, 6.1.1943, ABA, box 42)

Arnold therefore resumed his studies of Bengali language with the schoolteacher
Shashanka Chatterji, who also studied kīrtan with Brajabashi:

> My teacher for Bengali is a school teacher who is also a pupil of the old village guru, and
> no mean performer of Kirtan himself, so that with him I have the advantage of the
> language as well as the music. He is an extremely fine man and we get on very well. I
> must say that this work makes me very happy indeed.
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to Mr and Mrs Spalding, 6.1.1943, ABA, box 42)

As Arnold suffered from poor health in this period, Brajabashi and Chatterji often taught
him at his flat at Dalhousie Square:

> My teachers, both the old man with whom I do Kirtan and my Bengali teacher came to
> our house regularly after the worst period of illness was over, and consequently that
> work went on more or less normally…

I think that by August I'll be able to round off my study of Kirtan, fully conscious of the fact that a sea of important material will have to be left untouched. The subject of Vaishnava music in Bengal – especially Kirtan – is immense and of incredible importance for the understanding of religious life in this province…

As far as my work is concerned I could go on for years on the subject of Vaishnavism and Bengali language….

(Arnold Bake, letter to Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, 30.4.1944, ABA, box 42)

He could not record much in this period, as the Tefiphon was gone and he only had a limited stock of blank cylinders left.[308] Therefore, he listened and sang at his classes with Brajabashi, similarly as an Indian student of music would do. Additionally, he made musical transcriptions in a colour-coded notation system to remember solo and chorus parts. He wrote the solo parts in blue ink, and the chorus parts in red ink (Fig. 4.8).
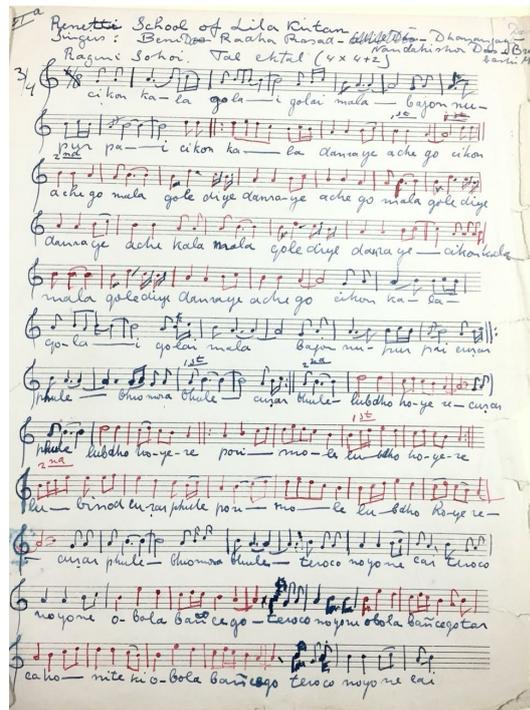
Fig. 4.8: Arnold Bake's transcription of the padāvalī-kīrtan "Dekhlām cikan kālā galāy mālā" as performed in the style of the Reṇeṭī gharānā (n.d., PP MS 21/7)[309]

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[308] Arnold Bake, telegram to William Stallybrass, 3.6.1942, ABA, box 42.
[309] Bake transcribed the composition four times, as performed in the styles of the Garāṇhāṭī, Manoharsāhī, Reṇeṭī, and Mandāriṇī gharānā (PP MS 21/7).

Initially, Brajabashi was not at all in favour of Arnold making transcriptions, but then he realised that his disciple could not remember the melodies when their work was interrupted for longer periods. Eventually, he became enthusiastic about the progress that Arnold made with the help of transcriptions.[310] Through his Bengali teacher, Arnold also learned kīrtans of the Vaiṣṇava saint Sadhu Baba. He transcribed several of his songs as performed by Chatterji.[311] In addition to his classes, Arnold attended kīrtan performances in Calcutta where he sometimes participated in the singing,[312] as well as other cultural programmes, including a play on the life of Caitanya held in Howrah (Bake, 1948, pp.288-9). As he progressed in his studies, he began to perform kīrtan in public. In May 1944, he sang a kīrtan of Sadhu Baba at the celebration of the Indo Polish Association at the University of Calcutta.[313] In March 1945, he visited Vrindaban together with his wife. When Brajabashi heard about their journey, he had an idea which Bake explains:

> [I]t was so that I had loosely sung some small Kirtan songs there [in March], and when the old Brajabashi heard about that, he said that I definitely had to present a chapter when he was there himself (which happens once a year around October-November) [and] that he would play the drum for me. That was not a small task because it takes at least a few hours to sing such a chapter,[314] because one sings it properly, throughout beginning, middle and end.
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his family, 27.12.1945, Mss Eur F191/16, 346)

Arnold thus eventually performed as the lead singer of a padāvalī-kīrtan ensemble in Vrindaban, sometime in late October or early November 1945. He struggled to coordinate his singing with his accompanists during the performance, but Brajabashi's khol playing kept him on track:

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[310] Cornelia Bake, "Trot's Leven", 1964, ABA, box 41.
[311] Music transcriptions, PP MS 21/1.
[312] Arnold Bake, letter to Prof Rustum Choksi, 7.9.47, Mss Eur F191/16.
[313] Speech script, PP MS 21/2; see also Arnold Bake, letter to Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, 30.4.1944, ABA, box 42.
[314] Here, Bake refers to a pālā/ līlā, a section of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story.

Namely, each piece is divided into 64 chapters.[315] Some can only be sung at specific times of the year (those related to certain festivals), and others one can sing anytime. There is always a specific development that has to be there, but at each stage one can go into details so that you can expand it to six or seven hours or more, according to your ability, at least. I found two hours (five or six songs) more than sufficient. I had participated in some small kirtan parties in Calcutta, but then imagine being in the choir in Brindavan where I had to be leader. One performs a line which the choir repeats, sometimes with some expansions... , and then there is the difficulty to know when you have to join in yourself again and silence them doing so, there are specific rules for that. I did not really feel sure, but I avoided too horrible mistakes, mainly because of the marvellous drumming of the old Brajabashi (he is old, nearly 80), who held me in line. The drumming is really something that you have to hear to believe, so lively and sensitive. There were many Brindavanites, and some people from outside, surely a few hundred, and I was so crammed in between the other musicians that I couldn't have changed my place even if I had wanted to, but I didn't realise how stiff I was until the two hours were over and I tried to move my legs from the cross-legged position.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his family, 27.12.1945, Mss Eur F191/16, 346)

Retrospectively, Bake described the performance as "one of the most cherished memories" of his life.[316] Coincidentally, Sadhu Baba also was in Vrindaban at that time. He invited him to sing at other temples:

Apart from the big Kirtan party, I also had to sing daily at one of the many other temples (it is said there are 7000 temples of various sizes in Brindavan), because an old Sadhu (hereafter referred to as Sadhu baba) – of whom I had noted down a few compositions here, and who is also from Brindavan – just chose this time to honour Brindavan with his presence. He stayed with the manager of the temple of the Maharaja of Burdwan, and then I had to walk there daily on a tightrope that I was not so good and not so bad, but the songs are not so difficult, it is a more popular type of Kirtan, consisting of the singing of Krishna's name and synonyms on melodies of different Ragas, of which I have noted down a couple in Calcutta, too. My Bengali teacher, namely, a certain Shashanka Babu – this time not old – is a hugely devoted follower of this sadhu baba, and from him I also

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[315] Here, Bake refers to the division of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story into 64 pālās/ līlās.
[316] Arnold Bake, letter to Edward M. Groth, 1.8.1947, ABA, box 51, quoted by Linden, 2019, p.83.

noted down most of the songs then. Thus, we surely did not spend our days in Brindavan idly…. (Arnold Bake, letter to his family, 27.12.1945, Mss Eur F191/16, 346)

Arnold performed with Brajabashi in Calcutta at least twice the following year, at a concert in May (Linden, 2019, p.84), and for the *Sāhitya, Śilpa o Saṃskṛti Pariṣad* ("Literature, Art and Culture Society") in August.[317] He also began to perform kīrtan at the concerts he gave with his wife, including in Simla in June 1946 (Linden, 2019, p.84).

After the Bakes' return to Europe, he held lectures in the Netherlands, France and Germany in 1947-48, which often included his own renditions of kīrtan. In London, he held four lectures on kīrtan at the Royal India Society in April-June 1947, who then asked him to write a book on the topic with musical transcriptions. As the Society did not offer financial support for the writing period, he approached the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust[318] and the Maharaja of Indore[319] for support. Due to insufficient funding, he eventually did not write the book, but one of the lectures was published as the article "Kīrtan in Bengal" (Bake, 1947). In the article, he describes kīrtan as "a unique instance of perfect co-operation between language and music, in which each in its turn heightens the effect of the other" (p.36). The Bakes also made some broadcasts for the BBC in spring 1947, including one about "Some Krishna songs".[320] Arnold held a lecture at the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences in February 1948, which became the basis for the article "Çri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu". As his final and longest publication on the topic, the article not only throws light on Caitanya's life, but also on the historical, religious and cultural background of kīrtan and its different stylistic variants. The article includes transcriptions of some kīrtans he learned from Chatterji (Bake, 1948, pp.299-305). He met Mitra and Chatterji briefly again in Calcutta on his fieldwork during 1955-56 (Linden, 2019, p.93), but Brajabashi had passed away by then. In his book section on "The Music of India" in the *New Oxford History of Music. Vol. 1: Ancient and Oriental Music*, Bake included two short transcriptions of excerpts from Bengali kīrtans, to illustrate the rhythmic complexity of Indian music (1957, pp.217-8).

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[317] Programme leaflet in Bengali and article from the newspaper *Ỳugāntar*, 5.8.1946, PP MS 21/3.
[318] Arnold Bake, letter to Prof Rustum Choksi, 7.9.47, Mss Eur F191/16.
[319] Arnold Bake, letter to Maharaja Holkar of Indore, 29.10.47, Mss Eur F191/21.
[320] Arnold Bake, letter to Prof Rustum Choksi, 7.9.47, Mss Eur F191/16.

Arguably, Bake's studies of kīrtan contributed substantially to his understanding of the relevance of the guru-śiṣya system in Indian music, which he had already experienced with Bhim Rao Shastri and Dinendranath Tagore in Santiniketan in the 1920-30s:

Notwithstanding the spread of Western methods of teaching it is still the attitude, disciple-guru, that alone makes it possible to get to the heart of Indian music, and also true is it that the best of Indian music is the music of quiet and intimacy. For centuries all gurus, whether giving music or other things, have had the ideal of choosing their pupils and revealing the best they could give only to a chosen few.

(Arnold Bake, All India Radio talk "A Foreigner studies Indian music", n.d., ABA, box 35)

Bake's fieldwork on Bengali kīrtan, then, demonstrates how he changed his fieldwork methods through time. He attended kīrtan performances mainly as an observer and recordist in the early 1930s but studied the genre and its cultural context extensively in theory and practice in the 1940s, experiencing traditional modes of teaching and learning, and participating in performances as a singer. Yet, his interactions with Brajabashi and Chatterji were also influenced by his social status as a European researcher in British India. This is evident from their visits to his home that occurred contrary to the conventions of traditional Indian didactics, which require the disciple to visit the teacher, especially when the latter is a renowned senior scholar or performer.

Overall, the nature of Bake's fieldwork from the 1940s reminds us of the ethnographic research method of participant observation, which spread in anthropology through the influence of Bronislaw Malinowski's seminal work *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922). However, there are no indications that Bake was influenced by Malinowski's work in any way, or that he was otherwise influenced by the idea of participant observation. Indeed, the *Manual for Folk Music Collectors* (Karpeles, Bake and Plaister, 1951) is the only publication in which Bake elaborates on the topic of fieldwork methodology. The manual is a short booklet with advice on the strategies and methods of collecting folk music, which advises collectors to acquire appropriate language skills, and to demonstrate their own musical abilities in the field (1951, pp.6-7), but it does not mention participant observation. Therefore, it appears unlikely that

Bake conceptualised his participatory study of Bengali kīrtan consciously. Arguably, he chose the approach intuitively, as he seems to have done when he studied other genres of Indian music with Bhim Rao Shastri and Dinendranath Tagore in the 1920-30s. Yet, his research on Bengali kīrtan in the 1940s stands out because of his deep engagement with the genre in theory and practice. In fact, his fieldwork from this period seems to constitute one of the earliest instances of the participatory study of South Asian music by a European musicologist, two decades before Mantle Hood advocated the practical study of foreign music traditions as a research method in ethnomusicology (Hood, 1960).[321]

4.2 Arnold Bake's Study of the Aṣṭatāl and a Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa song

In this section, I discuss three of Bake's recordings from 1932-33 and one from my fieldwork in 2017, to elucidate the stylistic variability and rhythmic complexity of kīrtan. Two of Bake's recordings feature a padāvalī-kīrtan from the *Gītagovinda*, which exemplifies the genre's rhythmic intricacy that he admired so much. The composition is commonly known as "Vadasi yadi kiñcid api", which are the words from the beginning of the *gīta* ("song") 19 of *sarga* ("chapter") 10 from Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. The song marks the culmination of Jayadeva's Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa narrative. Rādhā has rejected Kṛṣṇa because of his amorous pastimes with other gopīs, and now he apologises to her. Kṛṣṇa discloses his innermost emotions as he reveals that he depends on her:

> Vadasi yadi kiñcidapi dantarucikaumudī harati daratimiramatighoram |

> If you speak, moonlight gleaming on your teeth
> Dispels the dread darkness of fear.
> (*Gītagovinda*, sarga 10, gīta 19, verse 2, translated by Miller, 1984, p.111)

In the *Gītagovinda*, the section is preceded by the note "deśavarāṛīrāgeṇa gīyate", an instruction that the song should be sung in *rāga deśavarāṛī*. To understand the rhythmic

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[321] In his article "The Challenge of 'Bi-Musicality'", Mantle Hood advocates the practical study of foreign music traditions in addition to the music of one's own culture (Hood, 1960).

structure of the song, it is necessary to outline the rhythm theory of padāvalī-kīrtan. In the genre, compositions are set to metrical cycles that are called tālas, which can be performed at different speeds, similar to the different *laya*-s ("tempos") of tālas in Hindustani classical music. The basic time unit of a tāla is called a *mātrā*. The metrical cycle of each tāla comprises a certain number of mātrās, and is subdivided into shorter sequences of mātrās that are called *vibhāg* ("segment"). In stage performance, the metrical structure of a tāla is denoted by a clap pattern, in which individual beats are marked with up to four different types of gesture that are performed by the kīrtanīyā and the kartāl player. The first gesture is a sounded gesture called *tāl*, which is represented by a clap of the hands and a clash of the kartāls. It usually denotes the first mātrā of a vibhāg. The other three gestures are called *kāl*, *phā̃k*, and *kol*, which are represented through other, silent gestures (Graves, 2017, pp.255-7).

The song "Vadasi yadi kiñcid api" is traditionally performed as a heterometrical composition with eight different tālas played at different speeds, a construction that is called *aṣṭatāl* ("eightfold tāla"), or *aṣṭatālabhāṅgi* ("split into eight tālas"). The sequence of tālas is one cycle of *ārtāl* (10 mātrās with three tāls), one cycle of *doj* (12 mātrās with two tāls), one cycle of *jot-samtāl* (28 mātrās with four tāls), one cycle of *śaśiśekhar* (22 mātrās with six tāls), one cycle of *gañjal* (16 mātrās with four tāls), one cycle of *biṣampañcatāl* (16 mātrās with five tāls), two cycles of *rūpak* (12 mātrās with four tāls), and finally one cycle of *somtāl* (28 mātrās with four tāls). The composition is thus performed over a total length of 144 mātrās comprising 32 tāls.[322] A schematic representation is given below (Table 4.1).[323]

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[322] This is the view of the Moynadal gharānā. Other gharānās argue that the aṣṭatāl comprises 31 tāls (personal communication with Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur, July 2017).
[323] The mātrās of each tāla are numbered individually. Their tāls are represented through vertical lines with bracketed numbers in the lower rows, which are numbered consecutively. The three other mātrā types of kāl, phā̃k and kol are not differentiated here, and are represented equally through dashes in the lower rows.

I. 1 cycle āṛtāl (1x10=10 mātrās)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
|(1)	-	-	-	|(2)	-	|(3)	-	-	-

II. 1 cycle doj (1x12=12 mātrās)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
|(4)	-	-	-	|(5)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

III. 1 cycle jot-samtāl (1x28=28 mātrās)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
|(6)	-	-	-	|(7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
|(8)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
|(9)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

IV. 1 cycle śaśiśekhar (1x22=22 mātrās)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
|(10)	-	-	-	|(11)	-	-	-

9	10	11	12	13	14
|(12)	-	|(13)	-	-	-

15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
|(14)	-	-	-	|(15)	-	-	-

V. 1 cycle gañjal (1x16=16 mātrās)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
|(16)	-	-	-	|(17)	-	-	-

9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
|(18)	-	-	-	|(19)	-	-	-

VI. 1 cycle biṣampañcatāl (1x16=16 mātrās)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
|(20)	-	|(21)	-	-	-	|(22)	-	-	-

11	12	13	14	15	16
|(23)	-	|(24)	-	-	-

VII. 2 cycles rūpak (2x6=12 mātrās)

1	2	3	4	5	6
|(25)	-	|(26)	-	-	-
1	2	3	4	5	6
|(27)	-	|(28)	-	-	-

VIII. 1 cycle samtāl (1x28=28 mātrās)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8				
|(29)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
|(30)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	|(31)	-	-	-
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28				
|(32)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				

Table 4.1: The eight tālas of the aṣṭatāl

When Bake recorded the composition for the first time in Jaydev Kenduli (C52/1747), he documented it as follows:

> 95. Jayadev Kenduli. (Jan. 16th, '32)
>
>   local singers. Gitagovinda. Sarga 10; Gita 19
>
>   rag desbarair[324]
>
>   tal astatalabhangi (32 matras)
>
> (Ziegler, 2006, CD-ROM, Bake Indien II, p.3)

Here, the statement "32 matras" seems incorrect, as the composition has 144 mātrās with 32 tāls. A possible explanation for Bake's error could be that he received the information "batriś tāl" ("thirty-two tāls") from the performers, which he interpreted as "a tāla with thirty-two mātrās". In August 1933, he recorded the song again, this time in Moynadal (C52/1910). Nabagopal Mitra Thakur sang, and Advaita Chandra Mitra Thakur played the khol. Bake now documented the composition as follows:

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[324] The inversion of the final "r" and "i" is probably a result of Bake's handwriting, misread at the BPA.

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261. Badashi Astaman 32 tal Gitagovinda "badashi yadi kincid api"

sung by Nabagopal M. Th. drum. Advaita Ch. M. Th.

(Ziegler, 2006, CD-ROM, Bake Indien II, p.10)

Here, the note "32 tal" seems correct, as 32 is the number of tāls in the aṣṭatāl. Bake's changing documentation of the composition thus seems to reflect his growing understanding of the rhythm theory of padāvalī-kīrtan, which he studied in the period between 1931-33.

I recorded the same composition in Moynadal in 2017, as performed by Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur (b. 1955), who is a son of Kaliyakanta Mitra Thakur. Nirmalendu performed it without khol accompaniment.[325] A transcription of the performance is given below (Fig. 4.9). The tālas are indicated through square boxes above bars. One bar corresponds to one rhythmic cycle of a tāla. The first, second, fourth and fifth tāla are performed at single speed. In the transcription, one mātrā corresponds to one crotchet for these tālas. The third, sixth and seventh tāla are performed at double speed, therefore one mātrā corresponds to one quaver in the transcription. The eighth tāla is performed at quadruple speed, with one mātrā equalling a semiquaver. The 32 tāls are represented through *marcato* signs above the corresponding notes, which are numbered consecutively in brackets.

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[325] I had expected khol accompaniment for the recording. Nirmalendu's brother Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (b. 1952) did not play the khol for the composition, possibly due to a lack of preparation.
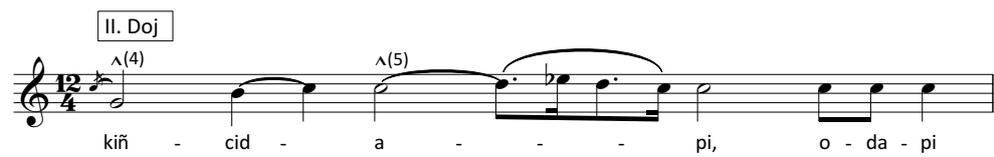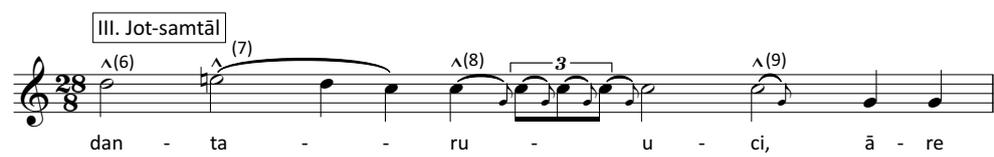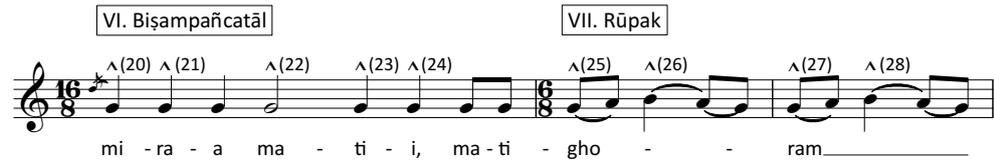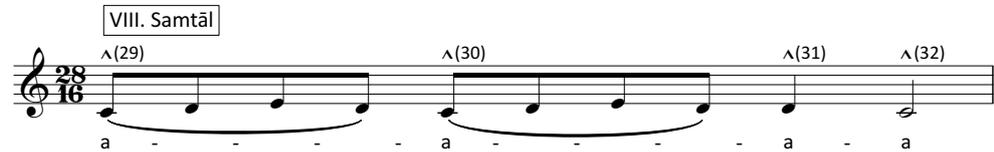
Fig. 4.9: Transcription of the padāvalī-kīrtan "Vadasi yadi kiñcid api"

as performed by Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur

(Moynadal, 21.7.2017, C1795/55)

Nirmalendu marked some of the 32 tāls by clapping his hand on the leg during the performance. He added exclamatory particles ("E", "āre") and repetitions of words ("api, odapi", "daratimiramati, mati") before the beginnings of some tālas, which form an upbeat before the *sam* ("first mātrā"), similar to the *mukhṛā* of Hindustani classical music that leads to the sam. Nabagopal and Advaitachandra Mitra Thakur's rendition of the composition, recorded by Bake in 1933 (C52/1910), appears to be largely identical with the one I recorded in 2017, although there are some differences in the melody line and melodic ornamentation.[326] Arguably, the musicians chose the composition when Bake recorded, as it allowed them to demonstrate their musical skills and thereby the authenticity of their lineage. The rendition that Bake recorded in Jaydev Kenduli (C52/1747) is similar, but less accurate in terms of intonation. Although the vast majority of padāvalī-kīrtan compositions are isometric, heterometric compositions such as the aṣṭatāl suggest that the genre may have historical links to medieval Indian art-music, which also included heterometric *prabandha*-s ("compositions") (Widdess, 2019).

The third Bake recording that I will discuss features a composition that is less complex in terms of melody and rhythm, but particularly interesting in its instrumentation. In Jaydev Kenduli, Bake made a recording that he documented concisely as follows:

99. Kenduli. "Jaya Radhe Govinda".

flute cymbals, voice, madol (drum)

(Ziegler, 2006, CD-ROM, Bake Indien II, p.3)

The lyrics of the song, as recorded by Bake (C52/1751), consist of the only phrase "Jaya Rādhe Govinda",[327] which places the song in the sphere of Vaiṣṇava kīrtan. A male singer sings the phrase over and over again, and a flautist repeats the singing melody. There is percussion accompaniment on kartāl and *mādal,* a medium-sized, two-headed barrel drum played with the fingers. The instrumentation suggests that the song may have been performed by the ensemble with middle-blown double flutes (Fig. 4.10) that Bake

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[326] I have been unable to analyse the rendition from 1933 in detail, due to the inferior sound quality of Bake's recording (C52/1910).

[327] *Govinda* ("cowherd") is an epithet of Kṛṣṇa that refers to his youth in Vrindaban.

photographed near the Rādhābinod temple (Fig. 4.11), when he attended the performances organised for Gurusaday Dutt.
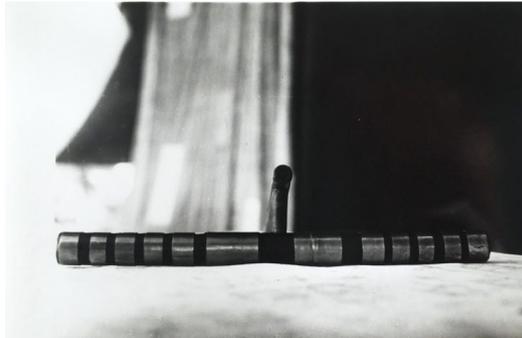
Fig. 4.10: Close-up of middle-blown double flute

(Jaydev Kenduli, c. 13.-15.1.1932, SMBC KEN 15)

Fig. 4.11: Ensemble with middle-blown double flutes and mādals

(Jaydev Kenduli, c. 13.-15.1.1932, SMBC KEN 43)

The song has a melody with an antecedent-consequence structure (bars 1-4/ 5-8), which is set to a four or eight beat tāla that gradually increases in speed. A transcription is given below (Fig. 4.12).

Fig. 4.12: Transcription of the song "Jaya Rādhe Govinda"

(Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932, C52/1751)

The two-phrase structure of the song and its driving, accelerating rhythm suggest that it constitutes a nām-kīrtan, an assumption that is supported by the instrumentation with kartāl and mādal. Dutt's *The Folk Dances of Bengal* (1954) includes the section "*The Bānshi* (Flute) *Dance*" that elucidates the recording further. Dutt describes a music ensemble corresponding to Bake's recording and documentation:

> The *Bānshi* (flute) dance is a form of ballad dance (fig. 57) which is prevalent among the working classes in western Bengal particularly in the district of Birbhum. The dance is generally performed by two or three men who play on flute [sic] of a special T-shape. The flute is made in three pieces. Two pieces of bamboo, each about a foot in length and 1 1/4 inches in diameter and plated with round bands of brass, form the main horizontal shaped flute. To the middle of this is attached a mouth piece a little less than one inch in diameter and about a foot in length. The flute has a powerful wind.[328] The dancers alternately sing verses from popular ballads, mostly from the *Rādhā-Krishna* legend, and repeat on the flute the tune which they have been singing. Two players on the *mādal*

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[328] Arguably, Dutt here means "a loud tone".

accompany the singing and dancing by the flute players, themselves dancing at the same time. (Dutt, 1954, pp.82-3)

Dutt's illustration (Fig. 4.13) shows an ensemble similar to the one photographed by Bake (cf. Fig. 4.11). The illustration also shows a kartāl player on the left, corresponding to Bake's recording.

Fig. 4.13: Ensemble of "the Bānshi (flute) dance"
(Dutt, 1954, Fig. 57)

Although Dutt's descriptions of folk music and dance must be studied with caution, the correlation between his description and illustration of the "Bānshi Dance" and Bake's recording and photograph is remarkable. This allows us to draw the conclusion that Bake's recording (C52/1751) was probably performed by the group he photographed near the Rādhābinod temple (Fig. 4.11).

4.3 Fieldwork in West Bengal

On my fieldwork, I visited Moynadal, Ilambazar, Kolkata, Mongoldihi, and Mayapur, where I studied how kīrtan is practised today at places where Bake recorded and in other locations. In this section, I describe the performances I attended and provide case studies of performers, to illustrate the enduring significance of kīrtan as a genre of devotional music that is integrated into Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava religious culture and practised

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in manifold ways at religious festivals in West Bengal. To put my fieldwork into perspective, I first offer some general observations on the development of Bengali kīrtan in West Bengal, Bangladesh, and abroad.

Recent research has shown that padāvalī-kīrtan performers now operate in a highly competitive cultural economic environment in West Bengal, where success depends on the deployment of effective marketing strategies, amongst others the promotional distribution and commercial sale of CDs and VCDs (Graves, 2014, pp.296-359). The resulting economic challenges have induced performers to establish themselves in organisations who represent their interests in the public sphere (pp.233-46). Another notable development is the spread of the academic teaching of kīrtan. Today, the subject is taught as a module of the BA and MA courses in Rabindrasangit at Visva-Bharati University, at the Bengal Music College in Kolkata (est. 1940, affiliated to the University of Calcutta in 1956), and as a module of the BA and MA courses in Vocal Music at Rabindra Bharati University (est. 1962). There are also numerous private music schools throughout West Bengal where kīrtan is taught. Some of these schools are associated with the Prayag Sangit Samiti (est. 1926), an organisation dedicated to the promotion of the teaching and learning of Indian classical music. Apart from courses focussing on other regional genres of devotional music, the organisation today also offers courses in Vocal Music with the examination subject of Bengali kīrtan.

Hindu artists from Bangladesh continue to perform kīrtan in their country, too. Zakaria reports of padāvalī-kīrtan programmes taking place annually on the occasion of Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī in Dhaka, some of them a week in length. He describes the performance of a kīrtanīyā from the Tangail district, who has toured throughout Bangladesh for 24 years (2017, pp.79-84). There are also performances of plays with Kṛṣṇa-līlā themes and plays on the life of Caitanya, amongst others, in the Gazipur district (pp.85-90). David Kane documented recitations of Bengali Vaiṣṇava texts and kīrtan performances in Sylhet in 2005.[329] Kīrtan ensembles from West Bengal also regularly perform in Bangladesh.

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[329] C1092/15-21; the documentation of the recordings is available online at cadensa.bl.uk, accessed 10.5.2020.

Bengali kīrtan is also practised in many other regions of the world today. To a large extent, this development is the result of the activities of organisations founded with the aim of promoting the practice of Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism globally. The most influential of these has been the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), which was established in New York City in 1966 by A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami (1896-1977), one of the disciples of Bimla Prasad Dutta. Since then, the organisation has expanded and established centres throughout South Asia and worldwide, although its authenticity remains contested, especially in India (Sarbadhikary, 2015, p.23). ISKCON devotees practise Bengali kīrtan at the centres of the organisation. This kīrtan is frequently merged with other music genres, especially at the western centres, to include pop, jazz, folk, or even rap, often with the corresponding instrumentation (Puyang-Martin, 1996, pp.145-50; Cooke, 2009, pp.1-13, 56-63, 69-98; Brown, 2012; DelCiampo, 2012).

In West Bengal, the Moynadal gharānā was particularly affected by the 1947 partition and the subsequent socio-economic changes in both West and East Bengal. On the one hand, the gharānā suffered from the general decline of patronage by maharajas and zamindars that affected many traditions of Bengali performing arts in this period.[330] Moreover, it was directly affected by the partition, which interrupted the flow of cultural exchange between eastern and western Bengal that had characterised musical life in Moynadal in the first half of the 20th century (Map 4.2). Due to the fraught Indo-Pakistani relations in the period 1947-71, it became difficult for the gharānā's musicians to visit East Bengal, and fewer students visited Moynadal to learn kīrtan. These developments diminished the relevance of the village as a centre for the study of kīrtan, which induced more family members to pursue professions other than music. Some musicians of the older generation continued to make their living as performing artists. Nabagopal Mitra Thakur was thus recorded by Deben Bhattacharya (1921-2001) in Asansol in 1954.[331] Govardhan Mitra Thakur's son Sakalananda Mitra Thakur (1915-89) also earned his living as a khol player, like his father. Sakalananda's younger brother Nandalal Mitra Thakur

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[330] Cf. Chapter 2.3.
[331] The recording was released in 1966 on the LP "Chants religieux du Bengale" (http://bolingo69.blogspot.com/2011/02/religious-songs-from-bengal-recorded-by.html, accessed 10.5.2020). The LP was reviewed by Jairazbhoy (1968).

played khol, but worked in the office of a colliery from 1956 onwards. Nandalal's son, Milan Mitra Thakur (b. 1954), studied Fine Arts at Visva-Bharati University and worked as an art teacher in Jharkhand, without learning padāvalī-kīrtan. Haladhar Mitra Thakur's son, Prabhatkumar Mitra Thakur (b. 1945), pursued a career as a padāvalī-kīrtan singer and still performs today. Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur also still performs and teaches kīrtan to some male and female students from Jharkhand, but none of them were present on my visits to Moynadal. Sakalananda's grandson, Sanjib Mitra Thakur (b. 1975), is one of the few younger kīrtan performers of the family. As a singer and khol player, he occasionally performs on stage but earns his living from working in an office. His two sons learn padāvalī-kīrtan, and harmonium and khol. In 1989, the family began to publish the journal *Saṃkīrtan* that focusses on Vaiṣṇava religion, philosophy, poetry, music and folk culture. The journal was discontinued after two years and resumed only in 2016.
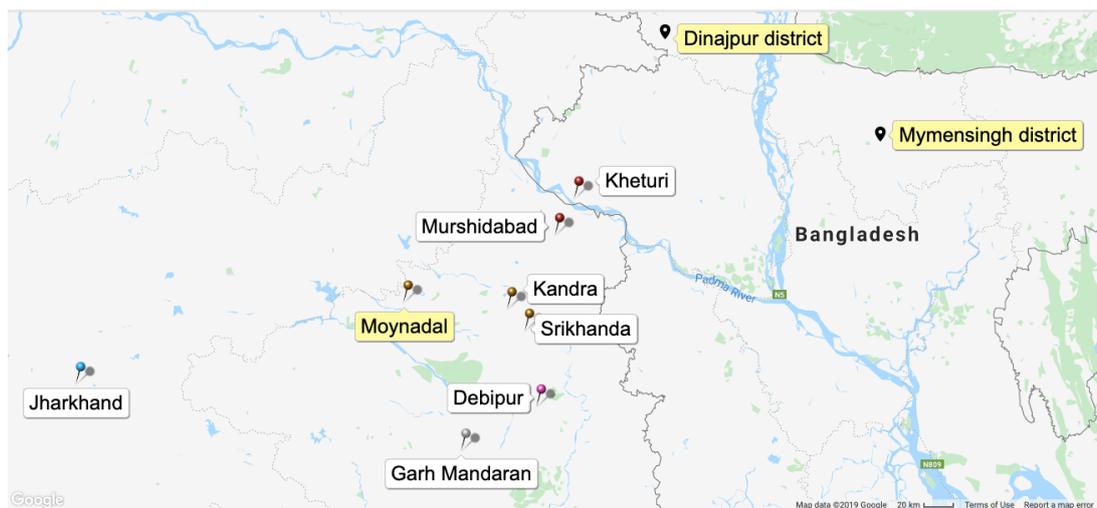
Map 4.2: Former eastern Bengal network of the Moynadal gharānā (yellow labels),
and historical centres of kīrtan gharānās in western Bengal (coloured pinheads):
Garāṇhāṭī (red), Manoharsāhī (yellow), Reṇeṭī (pink), Mandāriṇī (grey), and Jhārkhaṇḍī (blue)

I established contact with the musicians of the Moynadal gharānā through my host in Santiniketan, who was acquainted with Milan Mitra Thakur who lives in Santiniketan. I visited Moynadal three times. Milan showed me the temple compound and the surroundings on my first visit in June. That day, I also conducted interviews with Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur, Sachidananda Mitra Thakur, Prabhatkumar Mitra Thakur, and

Manikchand Mitra Thakur (1931-2019) (C1795/35), who told me about the history of their gharānā and their careers as performers. On my second visit in July, I recorded Prabhatkumar Mitra Thakur and his son Vivekananda Mitra Thakur (C1795/42-3), Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (C1795/44-54, 57-62), and Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur (C1795/55-60) performing some of the compositions Bake had recorded in 1933.[332]

My third visit to Moynadal occurred on the occasion of the Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī and Nandotsab festival, which was celebrated on 15-16 August 2017.[333] When my car drove up towards the temple compound, I saw that stalls were lined up along the road, where food, souvenirs, and toys were sold. Advertisements blared through loudspeakers. I was welcomed by Milan Mitra Thakur and other members of his family, who accommodated me in a room inside the temple compound, where the celebrations were held. The festival began on the morning of 15 August with a līlā-kīrtan performance by Sanjib Mitra Thakur's group (C1795/146-7). They performed for about three hours at a festively decorated pavilion in front of the ṭhākurbāṛi. Approximately 100 locals had gathered in and around the pavilion to watch the performance. At noon, everyone sat down in lines in the compound, and a vegetable meal was distributed on leaven plates by the temple kitchen as prasād. The līlā-kīrtan group of Malay Chand Ghosh from Dubrajpur then performed for three hours in the afternoon (C1795/148-50). Later on, the evening ārti was held, where men of the Mitra Thakur family played kãsi, jhãjh, khol and kartāl in the pavilion. Subsequently, they began to sing kīrtans. Manikchand Mitra Thakur first led the singing, sitting in a chair facing the ṭhākurbāṛi. When he had finished, the musicians began to move around during their singing, first walking slowly in a circle, and later dancing to and fro, facing the temple (Fig. 4.14, C1795/151). The women in the audience ululated as the excitement rose. Around ten in the evening, everyone went to take some rest before the ceremony early the next morning. The musicians went to their houses, and the festival visitors slept on mats inside the temple compound.

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[332] See Appendix 13.
[333] The official date of Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī was 14 August 2017, which is calculated according to the Vedic calendar. The Mitra Thakur family celebrates Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī according to the Vaiṣṇava calendar, which set the date at 15 August that year.

Fig. 4.14: Prabhatkumar Mitra Thakur (left), Vivekananda Mitra Thakur (second from left),

Sanjib Mitra Thakur (second from right), Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (right),

and others performing kīrtan after the evening ārti

(Moynadal, 15.8.2017, still from C1795/151)

The Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī ceremony took place around 3 a.m. the following morning. A crowd of approximately 200 locals, mostly women, waited around a small well inside the festively illuminated compound. The well was surrounded by a metal railing with four small banana trees tied to its corners. As the women waited, a CD with modern Vaiṣṇava devotional songs sung by a young boy sounded through loudspeakers (C1795/152). After about half an hour, the women began to ululate when a procession brought the statue of Kṛṣṇa from the temple to the well. A man walked in front with a coloured umbrella, followed by the priest and his assistant. They were accompanied by a group of men who played a one-beat rhythm on kãsi, khol, and jhãjh, similarly as it is done during the ārti. They circumambulated the well several times in a clockwise direction and then sat down. The priest and his assistant sat down at the open side of the railing, from where they placed a Kṛṣṇa statue in a red-green dress on a platform on top of the well (Fig. 4.15, C1795/153). Then they began to recite Sanskrit verses, sprinkling the prescribed ingredients on the ceremonial requisites they had placed in front of the well. After about half an hour, the priest began to focus his activities on the statue. The musicians now marked his actions with their instruments, while the women ululated intermittently. Towards the end, the priest poured water over the statue from bowls, and gave it a new,

lemon green dress. When the statue was brought back to the temple, everyone rushed to the well to collect some of the blessed water.

Fig. 4.15: Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī ceremony with Kṛṣṇa statue in red-green dress
(Moynadal, 16.8.2017, still from C1795/153)

After the ceremony, there was an early morning pūjā at the temple (C1795/154), and then the day of the Nandotsab began. In the morning, there was a līlā-kīrtan performance by Paban Das Babaji from Nabadwip, who was accompanied by musicians from Krishnanagar and Murshidabad (Fig. 4.16, C1795/155-7).

Fig. 4.16: Līlā-kīrtan performance by ensemble of Paban Das Babaji
(Moynadal, 16.8.2017, still from C1795/155)

After lunch, there was another līlā-kīrtan performance that lasted several hours. Men of the Mitra Thakur family again accompanied the evening ārti with percussion in the pavilion, after which they began to sing kīrtans. After a few minutes, a priest handed over a clay bowl with *dadhi haldi*[334] to an elderly man of the Mitra Thakur family, who sprinkled its contents with a leaf on the musicians, their instruments, and the festival visitors in an act of blessing (Fig. 4.17, C1795/158). The men then left the temple compound in a procession, singing and dancing with their arms raised, to visit a village temple to perform kīrtans.

Fig. 4.17: Elderly man of the Mitra Thakur family blessing khol with dadhi haldi
(Moynadal, 16.8.2017, still from C1795/158)

After 40 minutes, the procession arrived back at the outer temple gate and the singing stopped. The khol players, Sachidananda and Sanjib Mitra Thakur, now placed their instruments on the ground at the entrance of the passage. The men and boys then prostrated themselves one after the other in front of the instruments towards the temple, seniors first, after that middle-aged men and then boys. Some spoke prayers while doing so (Fig. 4.18, C1795/159: 0:00-6:45).[335]

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[334] *Dadhi haldi* is a mixture of curd, turmeric, and water.
[335] Kīrtan musicians regard the khol as a sacred instrument (Graves, 2014, pp.258-9).

Fig. 4.18: Men of Mitra Thakur family prostrating in temple passage
(Moynadal, 16.8.2017, still from C1795/159)

Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur then began a chant on the phrase "Ohe Gaurāṅg!" ("Oh Caitanya!").[336] He first sang the words very slowly and with melodic ornamentation, after which the other men repeated the phrase. Sachidananda and Sanjib Mitra Thakur and another musician accentuated the singing with short strokes and rolls, played on two khols and a kartāl. After a few minutes, the singing became livelier. Sachidananda and Sanjib now started to play longer, more complex rhythmic patterns on their khols, exclaiming the bols emphatically. The singers then lifted their hands and slowly set the procession in motion again, singing the chant faster and faster as they walked and danced through the passage towards the inner temple gate. Sachidananda and Sanjib played their khols in front, jumping synchronously to the sound of the drums (C1795/159: 6:45-12:41).

The men continued the chant as they entered the compound, where they began dancing forwards and backwards on an earthen square purposely soaked with water (Fig. 4.19, C1795/160-4).[337] They sang kīrtan chants for the next three hours, sometimes standing, and sometimes dancing in line and circle formations. Intermittently, they left the square for short breaks, to make space for groups of young men and boys who

[336] *Gaurāṅg* ("the fair-complexioned one") is another epithet of Caitanya.
[337] A video recording of the chant from the celebrations of 2010 is accessible at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Db3ejyjfT8A, accessed 23.5.2020.

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romped around in the mud, doing somersaults on the wet ground to the beat of a ḍhol and a jhā̃jh.

Fig. 4.19: Men of Mitra Thakur family singing and dancing in temple yard
accompanied by Sachidananda and Sanjib Mitra Thakur on the khol
(Moynadal, 16.8.2017, still from C1795/160)

After the singing and dancing, the men took a break for about an hour. Nirmalendu, Sachidananda, Sanjib and a few other musicians then assembled for a final kīrtan singing in the pavilion after midnight, which lasted for about half an hour (C1795/165). Subsequently, all men assembled once more on the earthen square and knelt down in two rows (Fig. 4.20). Nirmalendu then chanted the names of the male ancestors of the Mitra Thakur family, while the men prostrated themselves on the ground. With that, the Nandoṭsab ended.

Fig. 4.20: Chant of ancestors' names by Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur (left)

and prostration of men of Mitra Thakur family

(Moynadal, 17.8.2017)

The songs, chants and dances performed by the men and boys of the Mitra Thakur family during the celebrations illustrate the cultural significance of kīrtan as religious ceremonial music, whose performance constitutes a ritual in itself (Graves, 2014, pp.18-26). The ecstatic singing and dancing thereby exemplify the lasting importance of the religious concept of bhakti ("devotion"), which manifests itself as a highly charged emotional experience and practice in the communal rendition of kīrtan. According to the knowledge of the family, the Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī and Nandot̲sab are celebrated only in Moynadal in this unique way.[338] Notably, active participation is restricted to males, arguably because the family adheres to a conservative interpretation of Hinduism that demands married women to behave modestly towards male family members and outsiders (Menski, 2007 [1996], p.20). On my visits, I gained the impression that the senior men of the Mitra Thakur family, especially, tend to regard public performances by women as rather inappropriate in the context of kīrtan. Female kīrtanīyās are therefore not allowed to perform on the temple premises up to the present day and are consequently not invited to the festival. For the same reason, the musical tradition of

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[338] Personal communication with Milan Mitra Thakur, August 2017.

the Moynadal gharānā is maintained exclusively by male family members.[339] Furthermore, the festival has become commercialised in recent decades. Kīrtan ensembles are now invited to perform for a fee, and there is a roadside market where vendors profit from the crowds.

Concerns that female kīrtanīyās misdirect the attention of audiences from religious devotion towards sensuality also exist at other Vaiṣṇava temples in West Bengal, where female kīrtanīyās are barred from performing. Gauri Ray Pandit from Nabadwip is one of the artists who are occasionally confronted with these restrictions. Ray Pandit started learning padāvalī-kīrtan in her childhood from her father Jaldhar Ray, who was a professional khol player. Her mother sang kīrtans, too. Her father initially did not consider a career for her as a kīrtanīyā but changed his mind when he watched her performance of the *Naukā-bilās*[340] at the house of a local Brahman family, after which he began to teach her padāvalī-kīrtan and khol. Eventually, she left school after the tenth class to pursue a career as a kīrtanīyā. Meanwhile, she continued to learn padāvalī-kīrtan from Gopaldas Babaji Maharaj from Nabadwip and Dijendra Dey from Murshidabad. Since the 2000s, she has toured throughout northern India, including to Delhi, Assam, and Tripura, and performs in Bangladesh five to six times a year.[341] According to her, the demography and listening preferences of audiences have changed in the past 20 years, which is why she includes light kīrtans in her performances, in addition to padāvalī-kīrtans in long tālās:

> Earlier, senior experienced listeners, they used to listen. In today's society, all age groups
> listen to kīrtan, the audience has expanded. But the style has become a bit light… Today's
> listeners, they enjoy a style that is a bit light. (Interview with Gauri Ray Pandit, 4.7.2017)

She also adjusts to audiences by including a keyboard player in her group, although she does not like the instrument.[342]

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[339] For research on the roles and representations of women in padāvalī-kīrtan and Vaiṣṇavism, see Wulff (1985; 1997; 1998) and Graves (2014; 2017).

[340] The *Naukā-bilās* ("Boat journey") is an episode of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story about their rendezvous on a boat on the Yamuna river.

[341] https://www.anandabazar.com/state/kirtania-gauri-shares-how-she-became-famous-1.767282, accessed 13.5.2020.

[342] Personal communication with Gauri Ray Pandit, 4.7.2017.

She uses social media intensively to increase her public outreach, by live-streaming and posting concert videos on her facebook page.[343] She also made studio-produced music videos that are also accessible online.[344] Furthermore, she gives press interviews, attends talk shows, and networks with regional cultural organisations. In 2014, she was a committee member of a kīrtan conference in Nabadwip that was supported by the West Bengal government and attended by one of its ministers. The conference included performances, and discussions on the history of kīrtan and on the economic situation of contemporary kīrtan performers. Through her own work as a līlā-kīrtan performer, she contributes to the livelihood of seven accompanists. On my fieldwork, I documented a performance of her ensemble at the Ilambazar melā (Fig. 4.21, C1795/111-5), which is celebrated annually in honour of Caitanya. Subsequently, I attended another performance of her group at a folk music festival near Nabadwip, which was organised by a local festival committee on the occasion of the Rath Yātrā (C1795/120-1).

Fig. 4.21: Līlā-kīrtan performance by Gauri Ray Pandit and ensemble at the Ilambazar melā
(Ilambazar, 8.6.2017)

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[343] https://www.facebook.com/gouri.pandit.56, accessed 16.5.2020.
[344] Music video of a līlā-kīrtan performance of the *Śrī Rādhār Mānbhañjan* ("The allaying of Rādhā's anger") by Gauri Ray Pandit, an episode of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story in which Kṛṣṇa apologises to Rādhā about his amorous escapades: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_NKG6TnY0uc, accessed 28.4.2019.

Suman Bhattacharya (b. 1974) is probably the most well-known kīrtan performer in West Bengal today. He grew up in northern Calcutta as a son of a kīrtanīyā, who started to teach him kīrtan at the age of four. His father also practised other performance traditions, including *Rāmāyaṇa*[345] recitation and kabigān. Later on, Suman studied with a number of renowned kīrtanīyās, khol players, and kīrtan scholars, including Nilamani Das, Brindaban Banik, Monoranjan Bhattacharjee, Mriganka Sekhar Chakraborty, Dijen Dey, Saraswati Das, and Monoranjan Kansabanik. He participated in music competitions during his childhood, and later stood first in the kīrtan category of the West Bengal State Music Academy's competition in 1995. In addition to his music studies, he obtained an MA in English from the University of Calcutta in 2001. Kīrtan associations from Murshidabad and Nadia twice awarded him the title *Kīrtan Samrāṭ* ("Emperor of kīrtan"), and the Chief Minister of West Bengal bestowed upon him the award *Saṅgīt Sammān* ("Honour of music") for the category kīrtan in 2016. The same year, Bhattacharya joined Visva-Bharati University as a professor, where he now teaches the module *Śuddha kīrtan* ("Pure kīrtan") within BA and MA courses of Rabindrasangit. In 2017, he also obtained an MA in Rabindrasangit from Rabindra Bharati University. Currently he follows a tight performance schedule that takes him throughout West Bengal and other states. Like other performers, he uses social media and online video platforms to increase his outreach through concert videos[346] and music videos.[347]

In my fieldwork, I attended a līlā-kīrtan performance of Suman Bhattacharya's group at the *Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava Sammilanī* ("Bengali Vaiṣṇava Society") in Chaltabagan in northern Kolkata (C1795/135-6, Fig. 4.22). The venue was a large marble-floored hall with portraits of Vaiṣṇava deities and saints on the walls, which had been adorned with flower garlands. The audience were from the Bengali bhadralok class, men and women above the age of 40, who sat segregated by gender on large mats to the left and right. Bhattacharya's group performed the *Jhulā-līlā* ("Swing play"), an episode of the Rādha-Kṛṣṇa story about their enjoyment on a swing. The performance started with a

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[345] The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are the two most important and well-known Sanskrit epics of ancient India.
[346] Līlā-kīrtan performance by Suman Bhattacharya and ensemble at Panbazar, Mecheda, East Midnapore on 20.7.2018: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uohg_wJ5eQQ, and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-tE48lDNBu0, accessed 28.4.2019.
[347] Kīrtan performance by Suman Bhattacharya about the life of *Śyāmānanda*, one of Caitanya's followers: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2UZx2IuyLDY, accessed 14.5.2020.

Maṅgalācaraṇ ("auspicious invocation"), a section with introductory prayer songs, which began with a nām-kīrtan. This was followed by a *Gaur-candrikā*, a prelude about Caitanya's reflections on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, which lasted 55 minutes. Then followed the Jhulā-līlā, which lasted one and a half hours. The performance ended with another short nām-kīrtan. During the rendition, Bhattacharya announced the different sections of the performance, sometimes including names of rāgas and tālas, which may have been in part because of my filming.

Fig. 4.22: Līlā-kīrtan performance by Suman Bhattacharya and ensemble
at the Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava Sammilanī
(Kolkata, 4.8.2017, still from C1795/135)

On my fieldwork, I also visited Mongoldihi, where Bake recorded in November 1931. I could not document the Rās-līlā festival as I visited the village in July, but I was able to gather some background information on it from fieldwork informants and video footage of the celebrations of 2016 from locals. The festival revolves around the worship of a set of Vaiṣṇava statues of Rādha, Kṛṣṇa, and Balarāma, which are said to have been given to village inhabitants around 500 years ago according to village chronicles (Chatterjee, 2013). The festival lasts for three days. In the evening of the first day, the statues of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are carried on a palanquin in a procession (Fig. 4.23) from a local temple to a small pavilion, where they are worshipped at midnight (Fig. 4.24). The

former destination of the procession described by Bake, a platform in a pond, still exists but is now out of use, and the pond has dried up. The festival is still celebrated with music and dance. The recordings I obtained included scenes of a ḍhol group and a sānāi player (Fig. 4.25), and of a brass marching band. On my visit in July, I filmed kīrtan singing (C1795/131-2) and an evening ārti (C1795/133-4) at the local Śyāmcā̃d temple.

Fig. 4.23: Palanquin with statues of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma at Rās-līlā procession
(Mongoldihi, 15.11.2016)

Fig. 4.24: Midnight worship of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma statues at pavilion
(Mongoldihi, 16.11.2016)

Fig. 4.25: Ḍhol group with sānāi player at Rās-līlā festival

(Mongoldihi, 16.11.2016)

Additional to revisiting Bake's recording locations, I also conducted fieldwork at the Indian headquarters of ISKCON in Mayapur near Nabadwip.[348] As presumed birthplaces of Caitanya, both towns attract a large number of Vaiṣṇava pilgrims throughout the year (Sarbadhikary, 2015, pp.34-69). Many Indian and foreign pilgrims visit the ISKCON centre, among them also non-members of the organisation. On the road leading to the centre, stalls are lined up where miniature statues of dancing Caitanyas and other souvenirs are sold (Fig. 4.26). The centre itself is a large compound with offices, temples, auditoriums, refectories, restaurants, shops, dormitories, residential flats, gardens, and other facilities. A book shop sells publications on Vaiṣṇavism, including kīrtan song books and CDs, and the publications of the Sankirtan Department, which distributes the books of the founder of the organisation, A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami.[349] Besides day visitors, there are long-term visitors who attend courses on topics related to the Vaiṣṇava religion and philosophy, including Bengali and Sanskrit language courses and kīrtan music courses. Many of them also perform voluntary services. Here, a long-standing ISKCON member, Murari Hari Das, runs a music school that offers lessons in khol, kartāl, harmonium, bā̃śi and other instruments during the winter season. Das worked at ISKCON

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[348] http://www.mayapur.com, accessed 6.5.2019.

[349] http://mayapurvoice.com/svagatam/brihat-mridanga-epicenter-waves/, accessed 18.5.2020.

in the USA for some time previously. At the ISKCON centre in Mayapur, he teaches kīrtans that are easy to learn, and allows his students to learn kīrtan with Western instruments, which makes his courses accessible to European and American visitors. His students occasionally meet up to perform kīrtan on the compound. The school also offers instruments for sale, including a service for shipment abroad. Additionally, Das offers services in Vedic palmistry.

Fig. 4.26: Roadside stall with miniature statues of Caitanya and other souvenirs

(Mayapur, 2.7.2017)

Kīrtan singing sounds through the spaces of the compound daily, amongst others, at a shrine where kīrtan groups alternate in shifts to perform continuous nām-saṃkīrtan (Figs. 4.27-8).

Fig. 4.27: Shrine with continuous nām-saṃkīrtan

(Mayapur, 4.7.2017)

Fig. 4.28: Kīrtan singers at annex of shrine

(Mayapur, 4.7.2017)

Kīrtan is also regularly performed at the pūjā ceremonies that are held in the main hall of the central Śrī Śrī Rādhā Mādhava temple. These ceremonies attract many visitors, not least because of their participatory kīrtan performances that have been described as "most sensuous and ecstatic" (Sarbadhikary, 2015, pp.23-4). The ceremonies are also

streamed online,[350] and film recordings are available on VCDs at shops in the compound. On one of my visits, I documented a noontime ceremony, at which Murari Hari Das performed with his group (C1795/125-8). Das sang padāvalī-kīrtans and played harmonium, accompanied by a khol player and three kartāl players. In the beginning, the group sat on a mat in the centre of the hall, facing a large stage with drawn curtains (C1795/125). Visitors gathered in the hall in anticipation of the ceremony. Meanwhile, a Western devotee sat with the group for some time, accompanying Das as a dohār. Then they stopped, and the shrine on the stage was revealed for the *darśan*[351] (Fig. 4.29).

Fig. 4.29: Shrine with statues of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, and gopis at Śrī Śrī Rādhā Mādhava temple
(Mayapur, 1.7.2017, still from C1795/126)

The audience raised their arms in excitement and the women ululated. A speaker then recited Hindi and Sanskrit prayers in honour of Caitanya, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, which the audience repeated line by line (C1795/126). Subsequently, the visitors dispersed in the hall again, and the ensemble resumed their performance. They now stood on the mat and performed with an additional singer, Kamal Gopal Das (C1795/127). After a few minutes, the singing became faster and the musicians began to walk and dance in changing formations. Finally, they performed a nām-kīrtan at an increasing speed,

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[350] https://www.mayapur.tv, accessed 12.7.2020.
[351] The term *darśan* ("observation, sight") refers to the act of seeing and worshipping an image of a Hindu deity.

jumping together intermittently (Fig. 4.30, C1795/128). Kamal Gopal Das now encouraged the audience to dance with their arms raised, as Caitanya did (Fig. 4.31). The audience joined in the dancing, and slowly moved towards the shrine, from where a priest began to throw white blossoms and flower garlands over them. The group then led the audience in a wide circle dance through the temple hall (Fig. 4.32). One of the accompanists formed a smaller circle with children in the middle. After another fast nām-kīrtan and a prayer, there was a further darśan at the smaller *Narsiṃha*[352] shrine at the side of the hall (Fig. 4.33). The group concluded their performance with a nām-kīrtan in front of this shrine, after which everyone dispersed.

Fig. 4.30 (top left): Kīrtan ensemble jumping during performance

Fig. 4.31 (top right): Kīrtan ensemble animating audience to dance

Fig. 4.32 (lower right): Circle dance with audience

Fig. 4.33 (lower left): Ārti and darśan at Narsiṃha shrine

(Śrī Śrī Rādhā Mādhava temple, Mayapur, 1.7.2017, stills from C1795/128)

The Rath Yātrā is a festival observed by many Vaiṣṇava devotees in West Bengal. At ISKCON, it is one of the major annual festivals celebrated with participatory song and

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[352] *Narsiṃha* ("man-lion") is another incarnation of Viṣṇu, half-lion and half-man, with the power to destroy evil on earth.

dance. On the first day, three chariots with the idols of *Balabhadra*, *Subhadrā* and *Jagannāth*[353] are pulled in a procession from the Jagannāth temple in the north to the Chandradoya temple on the ISKCON compound for worship. After seven days, the *Ulta Rath* ("the opposite chariot [journey]") takes place, when the chariots are pulled back to the Jagannāth temple. On my visit, I documented the Ulta Rath procession (C1795/129-30). It began with some burlesque in the form of costumed stilt walkers, who were followed by a brass marching band and a man in a Mickey Mouse costume. After that came a Santali dance group with tumdak' and ṭamak' drummers. Then came the three chariots with the statues of Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Lord Jagannāth that were pulled by the festival visitors, sometimes supported by the police (Fig. 4.34). As the chariots stopped intermittently, procession participants handed over flower garlands and green coconuts to the priests on the chariots, who distributed sweets as a prasād.[354] ISKCON devotees sang kīrtans through a sound system and danced, and procession participants joined in (Fig. 4.35). After a few hours, all chariots had reached their destination and the procession dispersed.

Fig. 4.34: Procession participants pulling Jagannāth's chariot

(Mayapur, 3.7.2019)

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[353] *Balabhadra* is a different name for Kṛṣṇa's elder brother Balarāma, and *Subhadrā* is considered their sister. *Jagannāth* ("Lord of the universe") is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and hence for Vaiṣṇava devotees near-identical with Kṛṣṇa.
[354] Vaiṣṇavas consider the pulling of the chariots a devotional act contributing to the accumulation of spiritual merit.

Fig. 4.35: ISKCON devotees animating procession participants to sing and dance
(Mayapur, 3.7.2019, still from C1795/129)

4.4 Conclusion

The variety of kīrtan traditions that are maintained in West Bengal and Bangladesh illustrate how Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism and its bhakti ideal perennially inform the musical practices of Bengali religious culture. Yet, there have been significant changes in the field of kīrtan in the past century, amongst others, the institutionalisation of its teaching, learning, and performance. This development began with the scholastic activities of Nabadwip Brajabashi in Calcutta, which set the foundation for the introduction of kīrtan as a subject of study at music schools and universities in West Bengal. There are indicators that this institutionalisation of kīrtan teaching and learning went along with a classicisation of padāvalī-kīrtan, which began with Khagendranath Mitra's portrayal of the genre as uccāṅga kīrtan ("high art of kīrtan"), a stylistic classification that is today reiterated by university lecturers who argue that kīrtan is not folk music, but a regional tradition of classical music (Graves, 2014, p.224). This reframing of discourses on padāvalī-kīrtan is aimed at an improvement in the social status of padāvalī-kīrtan performers and facilitates the acceptance of the genre among the educated sections of Bengali society.

The institutional practice of kīrtan at ISKCON in Mayapur follows a different purpose, namely to support the engagement of the general public with Vaiṣṇavism, which is the central aim of the organisation. The local kīrtan ensembles therefore offer their audiences an entertaining participatory performance experience to stimulate visitors to engage further with Vaiṣṇava kīrtan, and ultimately with Vaiṣṇavism itself. As part of the regional pilgrimage industry, the commercial activities in and around the centre are characterised by a commodification and brandification of cultural expressions associated with Vaiṣṇava religion and kīrtan, as evident from the sale and distribution of instruments, books, CDs and VCDs, and souvenirs under brand names like "Sankirtan", "Krishna Books", and of course "ISKCON".

The example of Moynadal shows that family lineages continue to maintain their musical heritage through traditional modes of teaching and learning. The strict adherence to the gender restrictions in the intergenerational transmission of padāvalī-kīrtan within the Mitra Thakur family seems anachronistic compared to the developments that have occurred in other regional performance traditions,[355] but it remains to be seen what the future brings for Moynadal. The commercialisation of the Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī festival is an effect of the wider processes of commercialisation that have occurred in regard to padāvalī-kīrtan in West Bengal in recent decades (Graves, 2014). On account of the wide-reaching changes that have occurred in the field of Bengali kīrtan over the past 100 years, Bake's recordings remain a valuable audio-visual documentation of performance practices from a period when the effects of institutionalisation, classicisation, and commercialisation were not as pronounced as today. Some of his recordings have found their way back to descendants of performers,[356] but this task is pending in the case of others, which could be addressed through further follow-up research on the different regional performance traditions discussed in this chapter.

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[355] See Chapter 1.5.
[356] See Introduction, part 4.

Chapter 5

Bāul Music and Dance: Continuity and Change 1931-2017

Bake learned about the Bāuls from Rabindranath Tagore and the Sanskrit scholar Kshitimohan Sen (1880-1960) in the 1920s, and he recorded Bāul music and dance in the early 1930s, guided by Sen and Muhammad Mansuruddin (1904-1987), who also studied Bāul culture. Tagore and Sen presented Bāul songs and poetry as the epitome of Bengali folk culture in their publications and thereby shaped the views of Bengali bhadralok society on the community in the first half of the 20th century. Their idealised Bāul portrayals also shaped Bake's views, although he became aware, through his fieldwork, that the community comprises not only genuine followers of the tradition but also individuals with questionable motives. The perpetuation of Tagorean Bāul stereotypes through Bengali arts and media influences performance practices in West Bengal until today, most notably in the Santiniketan region, where Bāul musicians cater to the expectations of urban tourists by aligning their choreographies with Bāul clichés. Few performers attempt to break away from these stereotypes to develop individual styles.

I first outline the concepts of Bāul philosophy, music and dance. In part one, I examine Bake's fieldwork and publications. In part two, I analyse the film *Moner Manush* (2010) to demonstrate how Bāul clichés are perpetuated through modern mass media. In part three, in the account of my fieldwork, I discuss the living circumstances and performance practices of Bāul musicians in the Santiniketan region, drawing on my interviews and observations in 2017.

5.0 Bāul Music and Dance

There are conflicting opinions over the term "Bāul", and whether it stands for a religious sect, a community, a tradition, or if its meaning transcends these categorisations. Jeanne Openshaw (2002, pp.2-3) distinguishes between two recent perceptions: on the one hand, the Bāuls as a heterodox class of itinerant mystics, a characterisation propagated by Rabindranath Tagore and Kshitimohan Sen (Tagore, 1922; Sen, 1961, p.103), or on the other hand, the Bāuls as a community or sect (*sampradāy*), as argued by Upendranath Bhattacharya (1899-1970) (1981 [1957]). Most scholars agree that Bāul philosophy integrates a wide array of concepts and customs of Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism and Sufism. Some of the Bāuls' spiritual exercises concerning the control of bodily functions point to a connection with tantric yoga (Capwell, 1986, pp.22-3). Corresponding to the eclecticism of their faith, the Bāul community includes individuals from both Hindu and Muslim backgrounds. The majority of Bāuls in West Bengal come from Hindu backgrounds, and most Bāuls in Bangladesh are from Muslim backgrounds. Many Bāuls from Hindu families belong to the middle and lower castes, but this is not necessarily the case, as there are also examples of Bāuls from Brahmin families (Openshaw, 2002, p.53). Although the attitude of male Bāuls towards women varies, men and women are usually regarded as equal within the community (pp.169-82).

Etymologically, the word *bāul* probably derives from the Sanskrit term *vātula*, meaning "windy, affected by the wind disease, mad", or *vyākula* for "restless, disoriented" (Capwell, 1986, p.11). The name of their tradition emphasises the unconventionality of their philosophy and life, which is characterised by a rejection of traditional social structures and hierarchies, such as the Hindu caste system. The epithets that Bāuls append to their surname, including *Khepa* or *Khepi* (m./f.) ("the mad one"), *Pāglā* ("the crazy one"), or often just "Bāul", proclaim this disregard for social conventions. They reject religious scriptures, and emphasise the relevance of individual, direct religious experience for spiritual growth instead; a way of learning which they call the *sahaj path*, meaning the "simple" or "natural" way. The Bāuls transmit their teachings orally through songs that often use coded language (*sandhyābhāṣā*, eng. "twilight language"). There is a guru-śiṣya system, but its teaching is usually informal, comprising the imitation and repetition of songs. A disciple can have several gurus at

different stages of learning. Traditionally, the *dīkṣā-guru* gives the disciple an initiation (*dīkṣā*), by telling him a secret mantra. The *śikṣā-guru* instructs the disciple through teachings (*śikṣā*), and the *bhek-guru* or *sannyās-guru* finally introduces the adept into the life of renunciation (*sannyās*) (Openshaw, 2002, p.141). Bāul centres of teaching and learning are called *āśram*, or *ākhṛā*.

Music plays a major role for Bāuls but only in some regions of West Bengal and Bangladesh. The Santiniketan region is thus well known as a centre of Bāul music, whereas songs are less relevant for Bāuls in other places, such as Krishnapur in Nadia (Openshaw, 2002, pp.75-121). Today, Bāul music is performed within a wide range of contexts throughout West Bengal and Bangladesh, in informal and formal settings, with varying degrees of audience participation. The settings include congregations of teachers and disciples (*sādhu-saṅga* or *sādhu-sabhā*), music festivals organised at pilgrimage sites on the occasion of annual religious celebrations, tourist markets, and even urban auditoriums where rock bands perform modern interpretations of Bāul songs, sometimes together with Bāul musicians (Lorea, 2016, pp.153-80).

Capwell (1986, pp.89-114) distinguishes between frequently and less frequently used musical instruments. Bāul musicians often use the chordophones *gopīẏantra*, *khamak* and dotārā. The gopīẏantra is a one-stringed, hand-plucked membranophone with a gourd resonator that is held by a v-shaped neck. Performers vary its pitch rhythmically during play, by pressing both sides of the neck with one hand. The gopīẏantra is often called *ektārā*, although this is actually the name of a different one-stringed drone instrument with invariable pitch, which is less commonly used. The khamak is a plucked drum with a cylindrical wooden resonator, which is connected through a string to another, very small resonator. The player plucks the string with a plectrum and holds the small resonator with his other hand, varying the pitch through wrist movements. Some performers play this instrument with great virtuosity. Alternative names for this instrument are *gubgubi* and *ānandalaharī*. The dotārā is a small, four or five-stringed lute with a wooden, skin-covered body and a fretless neck, the string plucked with a thick bone plectrum.

The *ghuṅgur* and *nupur* are two often used idiophones that are played for basic rhythmic accompaniment. The ghuṅgur is a piece of cloth or string with small, metal petal bells, which is tied around the ankle. The nupur is a hollow metal anklet filled with

tiny metal balls. The ḍuggī is a smaller version of the kettledrum *bā̃yā*, which is used in Hindustani classical music. Bāul musicians often include additional instrumentation in their performances, such as the metal cymbals kartāl and *mandirā,* the drums ḍhol, khol and tablā, the conical frame drum khañjani, a pair of wooden clappers with jangles called *premjuṛi*, the transverse bamboo flute bā̃śi, the bowed string-instrument *sarinda,* the behālā, and also the harmonium.

Bāul musicians often include dance in their performances, which is executed individually and with a variable choreography. Dress and appearance are important aspects of Bāul performances. Traditionally, Bāuls do not cut their hair but coil it on top of the head in a bun (Capwell, 1986, pp.13-4), which does not, however, apply anymore to many contemporary Bāul musicians. Their traditional dress is a saffron-coloured, red, or multi-coloured punjabi or kurta, and a white dhoti. They often wear sandalwood necklaces, metal pendants, amulets, or wristbands as ornaments.

5.1 Arnold Bake's Search for the Tagorean Bāul
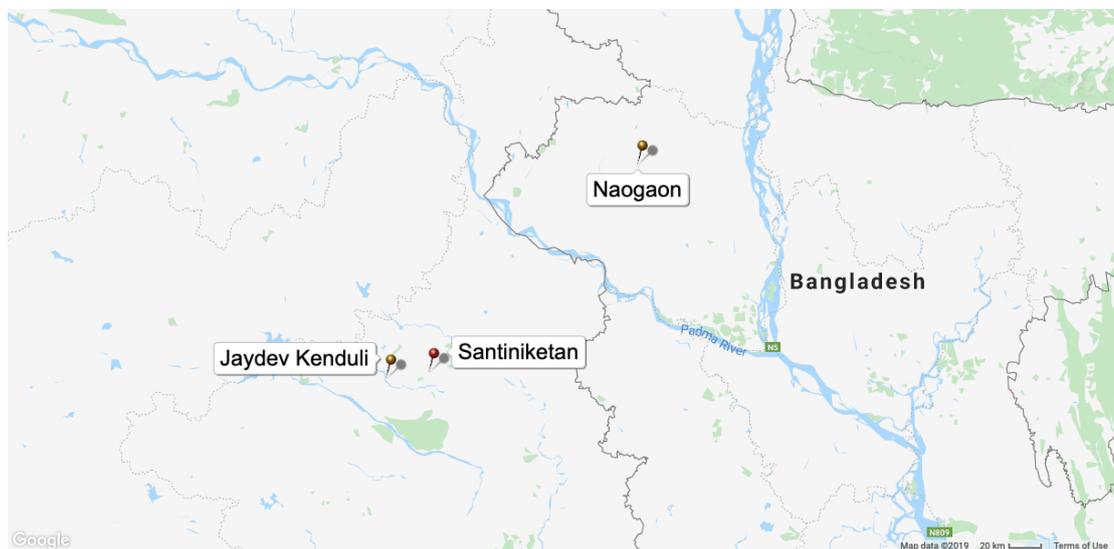
Map 5.1: Locations of Bake's fieldwork on Bāul music and dance

In this section, I examine how Rabindranath Tagore and Kshitimohan Sen informed Bake's views on the Bāuls with their idealised portrayals of the community that he replicated in his own publications, although Bake experienced the Bāuls as a very diverse

social group on his fieldwork. Until the late 19ᵗʰ century, Bengali bhadralok society tended to look down upon the Bāuls, an attitude that is reflected in the ethnographic literature from that period. Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya thus lists the Bāuls among "the disreputable Chaitanite sects of Bengal" in his *Hindu Castes and Sects* (1896), where he portrays them as cheap entertainers for the common folk:

> The Bauls are low class men, and make it a point to appear as dirty as possible. They have a regular uniform, which consists of a cone-shaped skull cap and a long jacket of dirty rags patched together, extending from the shoulders to the lower parts of the legs. Not only their dress, but their musical instruments, their dancing, and their songs are all characterised by a kind of queerness which makes them very amusing. The quaint allegories and the rustic philosophy of their songs are highly appreciated by the low classes. Their exhibitions are upon the whole so enjoyable that, in most of the important towns of Bengal, amateur parties of Bauls have been organised who cause great merriment, on festive occasions, by their mimicry…
>
> [A]ccording to their tenets, sexual indulgence is the most approved form of religious exercise, and it is said that they have been known to drink a solution made from human excretions.[357] The moral condition of these… is deplorable indeed, and the more so as there is no sign of any effort in any quarter to rescue them… But they seem to be considered as too low or incorrigible by even the proselytising religions. If the Chaitanite Gossains,[358] Christian Missionaries or Mahomedan Mullas could reclaim these they would be entitled to the everlasting gratitude of mankind.
> (Bhattacharya, 1896, pp.482-3)

Risley paints a similar picture in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal. Ethnographic Glossary. Vol II* (1892), explaining that the "Báola" include "a number of disreputable mendicant orders which have separated from the main body of Vaishnavas, and are recruited mainly from among the lower castes" (1892, p.347). He further states that they "never shave or cut their hair, and filthiness of person ranks as a virtue among them" (p.347).

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[357] The Bāul ritual of the "four moons" involves the consumption of urine, faeces, semen and blood. The *Hevajra Tantra* (c. 900 AD) describes this ritual in sandhyābāṣā, naming the ingredients as musk (*kasturikā*), a potion of four ingredients (*catuḥsama*), camphor (*karpūra*), and frankincense (*sihlaka*). (Capwell, 1986, p.22; Snellgrove, 1959, pp.99-101).
[358] "Gossai" is the colloquial form of the name "Goswami". Vaiṣṇava Brahmins with the last name Goswami consider themselves descendants of the six Goswamis, who were the disciples of Caitanya.

Hence, "Báolas as a class are believed to be grossly immoral, and are held in very low estimation by respectable Hindus" (p.347). A neutral description is given by Aksay Kumar Datta (1820-86), who describes the Bāuls with scholarly objectivity in his *Bhāratīya Upāsak-Sampradāy* (1911-2 [1870-1], pp.231-5).

From the 1880s onwards, Rabindranath Tagore took steps to promote the poetry and songs of the Bāuls, which he regarded as the epitome of Bengali folk culture. He and other members of his family reviewed and published collections of Bāul songs, which thereby gradually came to be regarded as an object of culture in Bengali bhadralok society. Tagore also used the melodies of Bāul songs for some of his own compositions. The Bāul song "Āmi kothāy pābo tāre", amongst others recorded by Bake (C52/2150), inspired him to compose "Āmār sonār bāṃlā", an ode to Bengal.[359] In this way, Tagore saw Bāul songs as a suitable vehicle to promote intercommunal harmony between Hindus and Muslims, in a period when communal unrest and political events threatened peaceful coexistence (Som, 2009, p.78).[360] Tagore also lectured (Tagore, 1922) and wrote poetry on the Bāuls, which popularised an idealised notion of the community as itinerant mystics. An example is the poem "Orā antyaja, orā mantrabarjita" ("They are untouchable, without initiation") from the book of poems *Patrapuṭ* (1938 [1936]):

> They are untouchable, without initiation,
> Priestly touts bar their way
> To the temple, abode of the gods.
> They seek the divine in its own place
> Beyond all confines,
> In the splendour of simple devotion,
> In the star-studded sky,
> In the flower-strewn wilderness,
> In the deep agony
> Of separation from one's companion.
> These fabricated visions, cast in a mould,
> Behind closed doors in enclosing walls

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[359] The song "Āmār sonār bāṃlā" later became the national anthem of Bangladesh.
[360] One such event was the first partition of Bengal along community lines in 1905, an administrative act that was reversed in 1911, after prolonged public protest.

Forever elude them.

Long have I seen their practitioners

Alone at dawn by the Lotus [Ganges] river –

She who destroys without a thought

The solid foundations of ancient temples.

I have seen them, one-stringed lute in hand,

Floating on a stream of song,

On a secret lonely path

In search of the Man of the Heart[361]…

(Tagore, 1938 [1936], pp.54-5, translated by Openshaw, 2002, p.40)

Tagore himself played a blind Bāul in his own dance drama *Phālgunī* (1926-7 [1916]), and occasionally even signed his writings with the name "Rabīndra Bāul" (Openshaw, 2002, p.36). His endeavours consequently improved the image of the community, so that "[f]or Bengalis, the romantic image of the wandering, unattached and unworldly Baul became the embodiment of ancient indigenous wisdom" (Linden, 2019, p.51). The Bengali literature scholar Shashibhusan Dasgupta accordingly called Tagore "the greatest of the Bāuls of Bengal" (Dasgupta, 1946, p.215). Kshitimohan Sen shared Tagore's enthusiasm for the Bāuls and reiterated his idealised representations in his own publications, in which he described the Bāuls as "ever on the move, removed from all traditional ties", and "free as the wind" (Sen, 1961, p.103). Apart from literature, visual arts also influenced how Bengali society perceived the Bāuls. Tagore's nephew Abanindranath Tagore (1871-1951) thus painted Tagore enacting the blind Bāul in the play *Phālgunī* (Fig. 5.1), which became a replicated image. Abanindranath also provided a painting of a Bāul for the first volume of *Hārāmaṇi* (1930) (Fig. 5.2), an anthology of Bāul songs compiled by Muhammad Mansuruddin with a foreword by Rabindranath Tagore. Both paintings depict an elderly male Bāul dressed in a long, flowing robe with a gopīẏantra in his hands. Portraits like these influenced the works of later painters, which in turn began to inform the stage choreography of Bāul musicians in the 20th century (Openshaw, 2002, pp.41-7).

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[361] *Maner mānuṣ* ("man of the heart") is a concept of Baul philosophy that can be summarised as "the divine within man" (Tagore, 1922).

Fig. 5.1 (left): Rabindranath Tagore as Bāul in *Phālgunī*,

painting by Abanindranath Tagore (1916)

Fig. 5.2 (right): "Bāul", painting by Abanindranath Tagore, from *Hārāmaṇī*, Vol.1 (1966 [1930])

In the late 19th century, it had become fashionable for poets and songwriters to compose songs in Bāul style, and urban educated musicians began to form music groups to perform traditional and modern Bāul songs in corresponding stage dress. The most well known among them was Harinath Majumdar (1833-1896), who gained fame under the name Kangal Harinath. Majumdar's profession was journalist, but he became a disciple of Lalon Fakir (1774-1890), arguably the most renowned Bāul figure in history. Majumdar's ensemble performed throughout Bengal, and similar groups soon formed in towns and villages. Performers dressed up in long robes, wore anklets on bare feet, and sometimes wore false beards and long curly hair (cf. Bhattacharya, 1896, pp.482-3). Sukumar Sen, Upendranath Bhattacharya, and other Bengali scholars later commented disapprovingly on this development, describing the groups as amateur Bāuls and performers of fake Bāul songs (Openshaw, 2002, pp.28-30).

Rabindranath Tagore, Kshitimohan Sen, and the wider academic environment of Visva-Bharati University shaped Bake's views on the Bāuls when he began his research on Bengali folk music in Santiniketan in the 1920s. After his return to Europe, he gave a

talk on *Indian Music and Rabindranath Tagore* at the Royal India Society in London, in which he addressed the topic of the Bāuls and their music. He acknowledged that not all Bāuls were ascetics and mendicants, but nevertheless portrayed them rather idealistically as a community of enlightened individuals:

> Bauls are found in all strata of society, but more frequently in the lower ones – persons who, by their spiritual experience, have risen above the limitations imposed by caste or sect. Baul means fool, and denotes the state of ecstasy they have reached through the realization of their unity with God. Sometimes these Bauls renounce the world, but more often they remain in it, as they consider the full realization of God to be only possible by a complete acceptance of life and not by asceticism. Nor do they acknowledge the semi-divine place of the Guru, the teacher, so prominent in other sections of India religious life. (Bake, 1931, p.87)

From early 1931 onwards, Arnold looked for an opportunity to record Bāul songs. Kshitimohan Sen was his Bengali language teacher in Santiniketan in this period, and he promised to invite Bāul singers time and again, which usually did not materialise, to the frustration of Bake:

> The lessons by Kshiti[mohan Sen] are great, it benefits my Bengali a lot. Recently, he promised, perhaps I wrote that already, that he will get hold of somebody for me who will sing Baul songs. I hope that he will do that.
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 24.2.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 179)

He eventually made his first recordings at the Jaydev Kenduli melā in January 1932. Dutt organised a tent for the Bakes, but Arnold was concerned that the district magistrate's behaviour would irritate the Bāuls at the festival:

> The magistrate arranges a tent with equipment for us, so that we fortunately do not have to take care of that. We stay until Friday evening. [I am] curious whether there will be much to do this year regarding Bauls and suchlike. Mr Datta himself also comes, that is certainly enjoyable, but I am rather a bit afraid that he will scare the Bauls to death

with his excessive activity, if they are there at least. In any case, I shall collect quite something. (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 12.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 223)

Initially, the Bakes were unsure whether it was worth the effort to visit the melā, but retrospectively they were glad they did:

> There happened so much in the last week that I am not sure if I can quite remember everything, it rather seems like a month in my head. Namely, we have been to Kenduli and had the most wonderful days one can imagine. Mr Datta had organised a tent for us, and he had set it up next to his at a quite nice spot. An open view to the east and in some distance from the hustle and bustle of the mela itself… Actually, none of us two had really felt much like going there. I was quite afraid that it would be disappointing, most of all because Kshiti Babu said all the time that it was not worth the effort to go there anymore.
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

They travelled 33 kilometres on a bullock cart overnight from Santiniketan and reached Jaydev Kenduli in the morning. Then they needed a few hours rest at the tent (Fig. 5.3).

Fig. 5.3: Cornelia Bake in front of the Bakes' tent

(Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932, still from C52/FO/12)

Through the experiences he had made with Dutt in the course of 1931, Arnold had become concerned about Dutt's conduct with performers, and now began to fear this would affect his own fieldwork. He weighed up the disadvantage of the district magistrate's interference against the advantage of receiving logistic support, and decided to tolerate the difficulties, for the greater good of being able to make recordings:

> And then I was also quite afraid about the company of the magistrate under these circumstances. Namely, he is terribly restless and has his preconceived ideas about how something has to be. For example, he always lets the people sing standing just when they sit and vice versa, he wants to make them dance when they don't want to, and so on. He is so terribly proud that he, as a magistrate, is interested in the things, and has some kind of lust for power. Now, that is certainly not the right attitude to make a study of Baul songs possible. Fortunately, it eventually turned out to be rather better than expected. I suggested to him to wait quietly and to see what happens, and he stuck to that more or less. Besides, we have to be very grateful to him for the help that he always gives to us. It was terribly nice of him to arrange the tents and all, and one meets many people through him all the time. If you get so much help on the one side, you also sometimes have to put up with the difficulties to make the best out of it.
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

After rest, the Bakes explored the village. Soon, they met a *Sādhu,*[362] who led them around:

> He let us see the sunset over the river from a beautiful spot, and then he took us with him to the camping place of bauls and such people [Fig. 5.4]. Outside the actual village a huge banyan tree stood at the high bank of the river, and that is the place where all extraordinary people camp. A devotee also founded a temple there, where all pilgrims are fed for free for three days. There was a lot of activity there. 2000-3000 people eat there daily. The friendly sadhu let us have a look at everything, so that we had an idea about the situation before the actual fair began.[363]

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[362] A Hindu ascetic, mendicant, or holy person.
[363] Bake filmed the Bāul camp later during their stay (C52/FO/12: 01:55-02:18).

Fig. 5.4: Group of Bāuls at camp near banyan tree
(Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932, still from C52/FO/12)

Later that day, Bake saw music and dance performances organised for Dutt at the Rādhābinod temple, where a group of three Bāuls impressed him. But he realised there were also cases of fake spirituality on display:

> There was a man whom Datta had seen earlier and about whom he was terribly delighted, some sort of discovered wonder of the world, but that was a total sham, after all the guy turned out to be the priest of a kali sculpture travelling around, begging and fraud of the worst sort. Big disappointment for Datt [Dutt]. It really seemed like nothing. Initially, it had already upset me so much that the man literally crept behind us and made use of each opportunity to take the dust from our feet, a real hunter of favour and baksheesh. But the real Bauls that sang were good... There is terribly much chaff among the wheat, and it was quite difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff on the first day, and accordingly we did not hear much good: one sadhu who acted like possessed, but wasn't at all, and so on...
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

Dutt's police officers accompanied Arnold when he searched for Bāuls the following day, but he found the overbearing behaviour of his cohort irritating. He realised that questionable performers seemed to be attracted by the commotion the police officers created:

> [T]hen we went one more time searching bauls that were good, but again did not succeed, although we saw various very interesting types. That just did not seem the right way to me, to hunt for bauls with one police officer in front and one behind to clear the way. The people who asked us to come listening to their songs were far below average…
> I already started to despair a bit about how to find among the hundreds of gathered bauls and sadhus the good ones, who just hid away, of course.
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

Arnold was lucky in the evening, when he met a group of Bāuls sitting peacefully near the banyan tree:

> [Cornelia], Charley and I enjoyed the silence, and headed towards a small camp much closer to the way, where we had heard such nice flute playing. It was quite unreal. Some women and men, marvellous figures, sat in a circle, and a quite old man warmed a pair of long, thin hands over the small fire. Facing with his back to us, a man played on a bamboo flute, experiencing something in complete detachment from the outer world. It was splendid. We remained standing for quite some time and listened… The flute player stopped, and one of the others sang a song that was also very nice. To my great surprise, they agreed to come to the tent in the afternoon of the next day to record songs. I was very happy. That was the first really good thing that we had heard.
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

The flute player was the Bāul Haridas Khepa, whom Sen had recommended to other festival visitors from Santiniketan. Arnold was impressed by the personality and appearance of Haridas:

> If Kshiti's Baul friends are like this one, well, then I can understand his enthusiasm, because that is really something quite special. I can't describe him, except by saying that

he is fascinating personality, and so very dignified and unpretentious. A tree of a man, with long hair and a full beard, and dressed in a sort of small rag… If we had not surprised Haridas when he played flute in the calm of the night, I don't know how we could have come into contact with him. Now this meeting has become the best of the mela without the least doubt.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

That evening, Bake also saw a Bāul dancer with a group of musicians, whom he filmed the following day. The film shows the Bāul dancing while playing a small frame drum, inside a circle of Bāuls playing gopīẏantras and frame drums. Another Bāul stands in the background, holding a ḍuggī and an ektārā. Festival visitors stand by and watch. The dancer's name was Ganesh Shyam (Fig. 5.5):

> I have recorded two films. One of our camp and furthermore the mela and the bathing in the river, and one film with various dances. The man and the woman from Bankura and the one Baul, or whatever that was, Ganesh Shyam.
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

Fig. 5.5: Bāul dancer Ganesh Shyam inside circle of Bāul musicians

(Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932, still from C52/FO/12)

Bake also photographed the musician in the background separately. The photo shows him in a relaxed mood (Fig. 5.6).

Fig. 5.6: Bāul with ḍuggī and ektārā[364]
(Jaydev Kenduli, 13.-15.1.1932, SMBC KEN 24)

For Arnold's audio recordings, select performers were ordered to come to his tent at 4 pm that day. He did not return until 5.30 pm, delayed by a meeting with Dutt and the temple priests. In the meantime, the musicians waited outside the Bakes' tent in the cold. Arnold recorded the three Bāuls who had performed at the temple (C52/1757), Haridas Khepa's singing and flute playing (C52/1755, C52/1759),[365] and some other Bāul musicians (C52/1756, 1758, 1761). The following day, he visited Haridas at the Bāul camp again, where he expressed the wish to learn more about their music. Haridas offered to teach him:

> Finally, that was a very nice meeting. We also got to see his guru, a giant of a man, very old, 120 years, he nearly could not walk anymore and was almost blind, he came and also went again. Hari Das played flute very nicely, and when I said that I have such a desire to learn the songs, he said that he would gladly do that. Well, let's see if we can

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[364] Bake shared the photo with Dutt, who published it in *The Folk Dances of Bengal* (1954, Fig. 46).
[365] C52/1759 is not an actual Bāul song, but a *Jhumur* song, played on flute and drum.

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do that. That would certainly be wonderful. He said: "Just come, then I can let you hear what lives inside the heart of a khaepa." You understand that we did not forget that. That requires some preparation, but how wonderful that would be.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

However, Arnold's fieldwork schedule seems to have prevented the lessons with Haridas Khepa. He also considered studying the Bāul song anthology *Hārāmaṇi* (1930) together with Mansuruddin:

A book of poems has been published by our friend Mansuruddin from Naogaon, and first of all I want to study it with him, because these are all collected folk poems, through that I will perhaps learn to understand the dialect a bit, because that is naturally very different from what one usually hears.

(Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224)

It is unclear whether this plan eventually materialised, but Mansuruddin did organise the next recording tour the following month, which led the Bakes to Naogaon in East Bengal. Mansuruddin worked as a school sub-inspector in Naogaon at that time.

Afterwards, we went to Naogaon (Rajshahi district) and made records of the mystical songs of the Muhammadan *bauls* of the neighbourhood. (Bake, 1933, p.11)

In Naogaon, the Bakes stayed at the dak bungalow[366] of Mansuruddin's friend Annada Shankar Ray (1904-2002). Ray was a renowned Bengali poet and essayist, who worked as a sub-divisional officer for the Indian Civil Service. As there was no suitable guest room, the Bakes stayed in a tent in the garden, and joined Ray and his American wife for meals in the house. The Bakes arrived in the evening, and Bāuls came the next morning for recordings (C52/1734-43, Figs. 5.7-8), which was presumably organised by Mansuruddin. The same day, the Bakes also visited a hemp plantation, where Arnold

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[366] Dak bungalows ("mail houses") were the official residences of district magistrates, who could invite visitors.

recorded the folk songs of local workers (C52/1744-6). The next day, the Bakes returned to Santiniketan.

> It was an immensely interesting day, but very packed. I have never managed to make sixteen cylinder recordings on one day previously. When I recorded the second, I sent the first singer outside the circle with someone to note down the words and so on, so that I have everything complete.
>
> (Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 2.3.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 231)

Fig. 5.7: Bāul musicians

(Naogaon, 28.2.1932, SMBC NAO 9, C52/1734-8)

Fig. 5.8: Bāul singer Jaura Khatan Khaepi

(Naogaon, 28.2.1932, SMBC NAO 11, C52/1739-43)

After the Bakes had returned to Europe in 1934, Arnold's book on the songs of Tagore was published (Bake, 1935). In the introduction, he provides a description of the Bāuls which adds few details to the portrayal he gave in 1931:

> How may the Bauls be defined? They stand outside all sects, religions or castes. Though living in extremely varied conditions, they are united by a community of feeling and a passionate aspiration towards the Divine Presence with which they become possessed and even "dazed" as their name implies. Some of them withdraw from society and become wandering beggars; others find this mystic union in the simple daily routine.
>
> They live for the most part in lowly conditions. Song to them is a necessity, for it expresses the yearning of their soul. The wandering beggars sing as they go, to the accompaniment of the one-stringed *ektara*; those who remain in the world sing as they work. Thus they have developed a mystic and popular chanted poetry, simple and tender songs of wonderful mystic insight, often with a quick, clear-cut, and flexible rhythm. (Bake, 1935, p.28)

During his third fieldwork in South Asia, Bake hoped to continue his research on the Bāuls of eastern Bengal. The Bakes visited Dhaka in March 1944, where he held four lectures on Indian and European folk music for Dacca Radio. During their stay, Jasimuddin introduced them to Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, the curator of the Dacca Museum, who was a connoisseur of Bengali folk music. Bhattasali then tried to organise a follow-up visit for the month of August that would include a boat journey to the surroundings of Dacca, so that Arnold could experience regional Bāul songs and other folk music,[367] but wartime travel restrictions apparently stalled the plan.[368] On his last fieldwork in South Asia in 1955-56, Arnold recorded some of the most renowned Bāul musicians of the 20th century at the *Baṅga-Saṃskr̥ti Sammelan,* a yearly festival of Bengali culture (C52/NEP/67-8). Among the recordings are two songs performed by Naboni Das Khepa, who gained fame through his association with Rabindranath Tagore, and one song performed by Naboni's son Purna Das Baul (b. 1933), who achieved international fame in the 1960s. Apparently, Arnold was unaware of the performers'

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[367] Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, letters to Arnold Bake, 16.4., 17.5. and 6.7.1944, Mss Eur F191/21.
[368] Arnold Bake, letter to Mr and Mrs Spalding, 30.4.1944, ABA, box 42.

identity when he made the recordings, as he merely documented them as "[r]eligious Vaisnava songs, sung by mendicants".[369] A few days later, the Bakes revisited Santiniketan, where they met the Rays again, who had been their hosts in Naogaon 24 years earlier.[370]

Retrospectively, Bake described Bāul songs as the first genre of Bengali folk music to enchant him.[371] Although he wrote little on the Bāuls and their music, his publications and correspondence suggest that he was to some extent influenced by idealised portrayals of the community that were proliferated through the works of Rabindranath Tagore, Kshitimohan Sen, Mansuruddin, and others. In his publications, Bake acknowledged that not all Bāuls were mendicants, but nevertheless represented the community rather idealistically as individuals driven by lofty spiritual ideals throughout, although he knew by 1932 that there were also rather different characters among the community. Notably, he appears to have been particularly fascinated by male, elderly Bāuls, which suggest that his notions of authenticity were influenced by corresponding Bāul portrayals in Tagore's works and those of his associates.

Bake's fieldwork account from Jaydev Kenduli also throws some light on his attitude towards performers. His concerns about the effects of Dutt's presence show that he had deep apprehensions about the district magistrate's overbearing conduct with performers. This suggests that his own behaviour must have been more considerate. This assumption is supported by the fact that he gave Dutt the advice "to wait quietly and to see what happens".[372] Bake's fieldwork photography evokes a similar impression, as it shows a musician who seems at ease (Fig. 5.6). Bake's writings further indicate that he sought to establish personal connections with performers, and tried to do so in a respectful manner. An example are his interactions with Haridas Khepa, whom he approached deferentially with the wish to learn. The occurrences of his fieldwork in Jaydev Kenduli thus illustrate the ambiguous nature of his relationship with Dutt, on whose support he depended, despite his concern over Dutt's behaviour. On the one

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[369] See Appendix 5. Moushumi Bhowmik identified the recordings with the help of Purna Das Baul in 2019 (see http://www.thetravellingarchive.org/record-session/kolkata-4-september-2019-purnadas-on-nabani-das-baul/, accessed 25.10.2020).
[370] Lila Ray, letter to Arnold Bake, 31.8.1955, ABA, box 34.
[371] Arnold Bake, letter to Mr and Mrs Spalding, 30.4.1944, ABA, box 42.
[372] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 20.1.1932, Mss Eur F191/10, 224.

hand, Dutt provided accommodation and security through his staff, and he apparently also played a role when select musicians were called to the Bakes' tent for recordings. To avail of these advantages, Bake tolerated the adverse effects of Dutt's presence and initially accepted the support of his staff, but later continued his explorations without the policemen when he realised that their assistance had an intimidating effect on performers. Also in Naogaon, it may have had some effect on performers to see the Bakes associating with the district magistrate Annada Shankar Ray. In either case, it ultimately remains unclear whether the musicians felt honoured to be called for recordings, or compelled to appear and perform, or perhaps both, as their views were not documented.

5.2 Goutam Ghose's Film *Moner Manush* (2010)

Stereotypical portrayals of the Bāuls and their music, influenced by Tagorean representations of the same, are perpetuated in Bengali culture until today. In this section, I examine how such portrayals recur in Goutam Ghose's *Moner Manush* (2010), a film about Lalon Fakir.

Little is known about Lalon Fakir's life. Due to a lack of written sources, researchers compiled information mostly from oral accounts by his followers, which are sometimes contradictory. According to Bhattacharya (1981, pp.533-45), Lalon was born to Hindu parents around 1775, in a village near the town of Kumarkhali in the district Kushtia. His family belonged to the *kāyastha* caste, one of the higher castes of Bengali society.[373] Lalon was married as a child. In his early youth, he fell ill with smallpox on a pilgrimage to Puri. His companions left him for dead, but a Muslim couple found him and nursed him back to health. As a result of the disease, he remained visually impaired in one eye. When he returned to his family, he was rejected by his relatives because he had already been given the last rites. Moreover, he had lost his caste by accepting food and drink from Muslims. As a result of these experiences, he became a disciple of the mendicant

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[373] *Kāyasthas* were traditionally employed as writers and accountants in medieval and early modern India. In the Mughal period, they became the dominant landholding caste in Bengal. Under British rule, they engaged in business. Kāyasthas owned 20% of the Indian-owned mills, mines and factories in Bengal in 1911 (Owens and Nandy, 1978, p.81).

Siraji Sain, and eventually became a Bāul himself. On account of the universality of his spiritual teachings, Lalon gained many followers in his lifetime. It is believed that he had hundreds of disciples, and composed hundreds of songs in the course of his life, which remain an important part of the Bāul music repertoire until today. Today, most of his followers consider him as having been illiterate because his disciples wrote down his songs. Yet, Bhattacharya points out that Lalon apparently had a good knowledge of Hindu and Muslim scriptures, and that his poetic expressivity also speaks against the assumption that he was illiterate (1981, p.540).

There had been two film adaptations of Lalon's life previously, which were both produced in Bangladesh. The first was *Lalon Fakir* (1972), directed by Syed Hasan Imam, and the second *Lalon* (2004), directed by Tanvir Mokammel. Goutam Ghose's film *Moner Manush* (2010) is an Indo-Bangladesh co-production that was well received by the public and critics, and won an award for Best Feature Film on National Integration at the 58th National Film Awards in India in 2011. As of today, the film is still popular in the Bengal region and beyond. Ghose (b. 1950) is an acclaimed director of Bengali cinema from Kolkata, who won numerous national and international awards. According to his own words, he conceived the idea for the film around 1992, concerned about the demolition of the Babri Masjid by Hindu fanatics in Ayodhya. The occurrence inspired him to highlight the contemporary relevance of Lalon's philosophy of interreligious tolerance, a value Ghose sees threatened by the rise of communal strife in modern India.[374] After some years of other work, he wrote the script for his film *Moner Manush* (2010) based on the narrative of Sunil Gangopadhyay's novel *Maner Mānuṣ* (2008), a fictionalised account of Lalon's life.

In response to public interest in film-making and direction, Ghose published an English translation of the film script in 2012. The published script follows the film scene by scene, with English translations of dialogues supplemented with technical notes on direction. The script begins with an introduction authored by Ghose (2012, pp.9-18). The director outlines his reasons for making the film, and then discusses Lalon Fakir, the Bāuls, and the political and social conditions in Bengal in the 19ᵗʰ century, pointing out

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[374] "Reels of poetry", *The Hindu*, 15.10.2010, https://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-fridayreview/Reels-of-poetry/article15780320.ece, accessed 9.11.2019.

that his film is not a biography of Lalon Fakir. Ghose further describes how he conceptualised the film script around the historical meeting of Jyotirindranath Tagore and Lalon, when the only known portrait of Lalon was drawn (Fig. 5.9):

> While I was composing the film-script it had struck me that Lalon Fakir had visited the house-boat of Jyotirindranath Tagore at the latter's invitation, when his portrait was drawn. At that time there must have been some interaction between the two, one – a young man, enlightened and highly educated in the prevailing tradition and the other – and ancient sage, who had no book-learning. (Ghose, 2012, p.15)
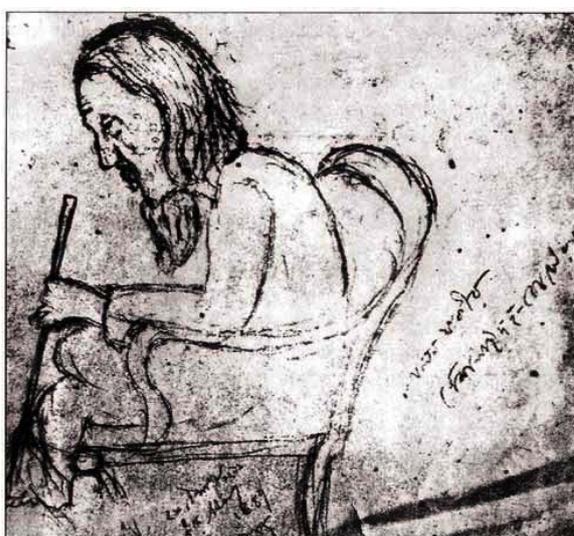
Fig. 5.9: Portrait of Lalon, sketched by Jyotirindranath Tagore in 1889[375]

Finally, Ghose makes an emotional appeal to his Bengali readers that echoes the sentiments of the movement for the revival of Bengali folk culture from the early 20th century. Like Tagore, Ghose hails the Bāuls as ambassadors of Bengali folk culture and Hindu-Muslim unity, urging his readers to rediscover their own culture:

> Today, driven by the arrogance of our English education we have come to ignore our popular folk-lores and we have looked down upon the *Baul* fakirs, addressing them as corrupt debauches belonging to the lowest scum of society. But the time has now come

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[375] Source: https://www.departmag.com/index.php/en/detail/29/Lalonand-andconandtextualized-, accessed 12.12.2019.

to make amends for our mistakes, to revive our heritage and restore our lost culture. The film *Moner Manush* is a step in that direction – an invitation to adopt the non-communal, liberal and human attitude of Lalon Fakir in our own lives and thoughts. (Ghose, 2012, p.17)

Ghose's film narrates Lalon's life story as a sequence of long flashbacks, framed by the aged Lalon's encounter with Jyotirindranath Tagore on a houseboat on the Padma river. While Jyotirindranath paints Lalon's portrait, he enquires about his life and spiritual ideals. Lalon reminisces about his life experiences and recites Bāul songs and poetry in reply (Fig. 5.10), which Jyotirindranath tries to align with Indian and Western philosophy, with moderate success. After hearing Lalon's complete account, Jyotirindranath expresses his gratitude to him for sharing his wisdom, and draws up a deed declaring the settlement of Lalon's community on the Tagore estate as tax-free land.

Fig. 5.10: Jyotirindranath Tagore painting Lalon on the Tagores' houseboat
(Scene from film *Moner Manush*, 2010)

Between the different sections of the conversation of the two men, the film features long flashbacks recounting the story of Lalon's life, from his youth to an advanced age. Young Lalon is portrayed as a fatherless, impecunious villager, who lives together with his wife Golapi at his mother's home. To the concern of his mother, he cares little about worldly matters, and prefers to spend time in nature to compose songs (Fig. 5.11). Occasionally, he rides with Golapi on a white horse through the forests after

sunset, without the permission of its owner, the *kabirāj*[376] Krishnaprasanna Sen, who is an affluent ayurvedic physician. Lalon's nocturnal adventures are discovered, and he is taken to Sen's mansion. Here, he surprises the physician by mounting the impetuous horse effortlessly. As punishment for his nightly escapades, Sen orders him to chop a tree felled by a storm. As Lalon takes on his task, he meets the mendicant Siraji Sain, who gives him some glimpses into Bāul wisdom.

Fig. 5.11: Young Lalon singing beside a pond

(Scene from film *Moner Manush*, 2010)

Later, the physician's family embarks on a pilgrimage to the Ganga, together with Lalon, who is brought along to entertain the group of travellers with his singing and to look after the physician's horse. Lalon contracts smallpox on the way. By the time they have reached their destination, his condition has deteriorated so badly that the physician considers further treatment pointless. The unconscious Lalon is considered dead, put on a raft, and sent floating on the sacred river, for his soul to gain spiritual merit. The raft reaches the shore near a Muslim village, whose inhabitants rescue Lalon and nurse him back to health. At the village, he meets Siraji Sain again, who becomes his guru. After Lalon has fully recovered, he starts to remember his name and village. He travels back to his parental home, but his family rejects him as they consider him an outcaste because of his contact with Muslims, and he leaves again.

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[376] *Kabirāj* is a title that used to be given to Ayurvedic physicians in eastern India.

Lalon then begins to live as an ascetic, learning to control his mind through different forms of spiritual exercise, including sexo-yogic practices and meditation. Eventually, he forms a philosophy of religious tolerance, and establishes a small community of like-minded companions from Hindu and Muslim backgrounds. Together, they build a settlement in a forest, where Lalon resolves conflicts and provides moral support to his followers (Fig. 5.12).

Fig. 5.12: Lalon consoling his follower Kalua

(Scene from film *Moner Manush*, 2010)

At the settlement, Lalon conveys his teachings through songs that eventually reach the countryside, where they are picked up by the writers Harinath Majumdar and Mir Mosharraf Hossain, who decide to visit his community to find out more about him. At Lalon's camp, they alert him to legal dues which exist for his community, because they live on the Tagore family's estate. Lalon replies that his community does not have the means to pay any taxes. In leaving, Majumdar and Hossain warn him that orthodox Brahmins and Mullahs rally against his community, and advise against remaining defenceless. To prepare themselves for the possibility of an assault, Lalon and the male members of his community then start to practise fighting with bamboo sticks (Fig. 5.13), as well as stilt walking.

Fig. 5.13: Stick fighting practice at Lalon's camp

(Scene from film *Moner Manush*, 2010)

In the meantime, they rescue a Hindu woman coerced by her relatives to commit *satī* on the funeral pyre of her husband. Enraged by her rescue, the family's Brahmin priest conspires with local Mullahs to inform the Tagores of Lalon's illegal settlement, and of the immoral conduct of his community. When the regional estate manager Nitai Chandra Pal organises a music performance with Lalon and his followers at the village Atgharia, Brahmins and Mullahs conspire to expose them publicly. At the performance, they confront Lalon (Fig. 5.14) and instigate a riot.

Fig. 5.14: Hindu and Muslim leaders instigating a riot at Lalon's performance

(Scene from film *Moner Manush*, 2010)

The ensuing stone throwing and brick batting leaves one of Lalon's companions dead. The zamindar's guards eventually dissolve the commotion. Lalon and his surviving companions finally meet the zamindar, who expresses his solidarity and promises swift and severe punishment of the culprits. Lalon, on the other hand, asks him to forgive his adversaries.

At a length of nearly two and a half hours, the film interweaves biographical narrative, poetic imagination, social criticism, and music and dance scenes skilfully. Concurrently, it integrates historical facts, including Lalon's settlement on the Tagore estate and his disciple Harinath Majumdar's activism for the underprivileged classes of rural Bengal. Yet, it also caters to the expectations of urban Bengali middle-class audiences by featuring numerous Bāul clichés of Tagorean origin. Ghose's screenwriting and direction convey these through a range of narrative and cinematographic devices. The film establishes a connection between Tagorean scholarship and Bāul wisdom early on, through the dialogue of Jyotirindranath Tagore and Lalon on the houseboat. Their conversation continues at intervals throughout the film, which anchors its narrative firmly in the realm of Tagoreana, thereby offering educated Bengali middle-class audiences a familiar access point. Some scenes of the film further suggest an inadvertent conflation of Lalon's character with contemporary portrayals of Rabindranath Tagore. An example is the scene in which Lalon remembers his wife Golapi (Fig. 5.15). Here, the screen composition resembles the cover of a Tagore biography from the 1990s (Fig. 5.16).

Another scene ascribes Rabindranath Tagore's unsteady musical memory to Lalon. Lalon sits on a riverbank and listens to his follower Bholai singing a song, and lauds him for his poetic talent. Bholai then reminds Lalon that he himself composed the song (Ghose, 2012, pp.189-90). Notably, not Lalon, but Rabindranath Tagore is known for forgetting his own compositions (cf. Som, 2009, pp.133-4).

Fig. 5.15 (left): Lalon reminiscing about his youth

(Scene from film *Moner Manush*, 2010)

Fig. 5.16 (right): Book cover of *Rabindranath Tagore: The Myriad-Minded Man*

(Dutta and Robinson, 1995)

The flashbacks give a dramatised and romanticised account of Lalon's life, replete with Bāul clichés. Young Lalon is portrayed as illiterate and at risk of poverty, corresponding to the image of Bāuls as mendicants from the lower classes. Yet, research suggests that he spent his childhood in a family of a privileged caste (Bhattacharya, 1981, p.540). Furthermore, Lalon's screen alter-ego is endowed with poetic sensitivity, despite his lack of education. He composes songs full of profound meaning, inspired by nature (Fig. 5.11):

> O jale ḍheu dilo ke?
> tāre dekhite keman, keman or baran, kothāy thāke?
> tāre dekhite nā ri, chuyite nā ri
> śudhu tāre śunte pāri.

> Who made those ripples on the water?
> What does he look like, what is his colour, where does he dwell?
> I cannot see him, I cannot touch him
> and yet, I can hear him so well.
> (Ghose, 2012, pp.36-7)

Like his songs, Lalon's exceptional command over an impetuous horse hints at a deep understanding of nature, which constitutes another Bāul stereotype. His daredevil approach to borrowing the horse, on the other hand, portrays him as an adventurer, a characteristic corresponding to the Bāul stereotype of disregard for social conventions. The fictional young Lalon thus seems predestined to become a Bāul, "ever on the move, removed from all traditional ties", and "free as the wind" (cf. Sen, 1961, p.103).

The well-known Bengali actor Prosenjit plays the grown-up and aged Lalon, enacting him as a saint-like figure (Fig. 5.12), who is soft-spoken, gentle, modest, immersed in his spiritual quest, and literally free from aggression. Notably, Lalon practises mostly Hindu spiritual exercises. He blows a conch-shell, meditates on the *Om̐* syllable, sits cross-legged in a lotus seat, and wears sandalwood necklaces, but is not shown performing any Islamic rituals. In this way, the film portrays him closer to Vaiṣṇava Hinduism than to Sufism in spirit and mind – arguably because Goutam Ghose is from West Bengal, where Bāuls are portrayed correspondingly. Yet, Lalon lived in a Muslim-dominated region of rural East Bengal and carried the Islamic epithets "Shah" and "Fakir", which suggests the strong influence of Muslim society, culture and religion on his personality. The film makes up for this disparity by endowing Lalon with a strong eastern Bengali accent and a vocabulary comprising many Urdu loan words, linguistic markers of the Muslim population of rural eastern Bengal.

As Lalon is known for his songs, the film abounds in music and dance scenes. On the one hand, Lalon's songs are performed at communal gatherings (Figs. 5.17-20). In these scenes, the renditions of his songs are informed by the aesthetics of Indian classical music. The songs have elaborate arrangements featuring not only instruments typical for Bāul and folk music, such as the dotārā, khamak, ghuṅgur, ḍhol, khol and kartāl, but also instruments more commonly associated with Indian classical and light classical music, including the behālā and harmonium. The vocalists sing with precise intonation and elaborate melodic ornamentation, and there are virtuoso instrumental solos, which are also features of Indian classical music rather than of Indian folk music. In terms of visual representation, one of the well-known stereotypes of Bāul performance practice recurs, namely dancing with a lifted gopīyantra (Figs. 5.18, 5.20). In other scenes, Lalon sings alone, accompanying himself on ḍuggī and gopīyantra. Here, Lalon's songs are performed in a more plain and rustic style. Apart from the music and

dance scenes, the film has an evocative background music that is composed in the style of modern Indian art cinema with elaborate instrumental arrangements oriented at Indian classical music. As a whole, the score thus presents Bāul music in a semi-classicised format to make it appealing to Bengali middle-class audiences.

Fig. 5.17: Lalon singing at Siraj Sain's camp

(Scene from film *Moner Manush*, 2010)

Fig. 5.18: Komli singing at Lalon's camp (1)

(Scene from film *Moner Manush*, 2010)

Fig. 5.19: Komli singing at Lalon's camp (2)

(Scene from film *Moner Manush*, 2010)

Fig. 5.20: Lalon's group performing at Atgharia

(Scene from film *Moner Manush*, 2010)

Overall, then, the film places the life story of Lalon, the Bāuls and their music in the context of Bengali bhadralok culture. The film achieves this through a range of cinematographic devices, which present the subject matter in a format corresponding to the viewing expectations and listening preferences of Bengali middle-class audiences. In this process, the film integrates numerous Bāul clichés of Tagorean origin in its script, screenplay, dialogues, and music and dance scenes. Ghose's work even goes so far as to ascribe some personal characteristics of Tagore to Lalon, a transferral that may have been caused by the discursive amalgamation of Bāul philosophy and the world of

Tagorean thought that has been practised in Bengali society for a long time. In this way, the film can be regarded as an example of the perpetuation of Tagorean Bāul clichés in contemporary Bengali cinema.

5.3 Fieldwork in West Bengal

Over the past 100 years, the Bāul tradition has evolved from a regional cultural phenomenon into a global one. Rabindranath Tagore, Kshitimohan Sen and other scholars from the academic environment of Santiniketan paved the way for this development by familiarising Western readerships with Bāul poetry and philosophy in the first half of the 20th century. Bāul musicians later contributed to the spread of Bāul culture by pursuing international careers. The most well known among them is Purna Das Baul. Purna has performed throughout northern India since his youth. In the 1950s and 1960s, he contributed to the popularisation of Bāul music among urban audiences in West Bengal by performing for cultural organisations in Calcutta and other towns.[377] He achieved international fame by touring with Bob Dylan in the USA in the 1960s. Since then, he has received several awards from the Indian government for his artistic achievements which contributed to the popularisation of Bāul culture. He settled in a well-off neighbourhood in south Calcutta in 1970, where he now lives with two of his sons, who have received private school education. Due to his commercial success and social status, a section of the Bāul community criticises him for having abandoned Bāul values for the sake of material wealth. The urban elite, on the other hand, tends to criticise him for having abandoned the rustic village style of Bāul singing to adopt a polished performance style (Capwell, 1986, pp.45-7). He continues to tour abroad, and recently collaborated with the Bangla rock band Fossils, with whom he recorded the Bāul song "Ỳe jan premer bhāb jāne nā" ("Whoever does not know the nature of love") in 2014.[378]

Purna Das Baul has been characterised as an "Indian Bono Vox" who is "the model of a new spirituality shaped after the examples of Western pop-stars who

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[377] See Chapter 5.1 and Appendix 5.
[378] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x_UMYz16gBM, accessed 20.12.2019.

combine music, philanthropy and spirituality" because of his collaborations with cultural organisations, academic institutions, NGOs, charities, and the Indian government (Ferrari, 2012, p.31). In Santiniketan, he set up an ashram that became the base for local projects to support AIDS patients and educate villagers on HIV/AIDS through songs. He also works with hospitals and prisons. In the USA, he established the Purna Das Baul Academy in San Diego in 2001, and later founded a similar institution in Kolkata (p.31). Moreover, he authored a comprehensive monograph on Bāul philosophy (Baul and Thielemann, 2003). As of today, Purna continues to tour abroad, together with his son Dibyendu and an ensemble of Indian musicians. They perform at international festivals of sacred music,[379] and sometimes collaborate with Western musicians.[380] Purna's eldest son Krishnendu Das Baul pursues a career as a Bāul singer in Canada, while Bapi Das Baul, another son, is a Bāul musician based in Paris.

Other performers followed suit and ventured abroad. One of them is Papia Ghoshal, a graduate of the University of Calcutta who is now based in Prague, where she is active as a Bāul musician, poet, and artist. She also performs with musicians from Germany who are trained in Indian classical music.[381] Like other contemporary Bāul performers, she promotes her music and other artistic activities online. Her self-characterisation aligns her personality with the Bāul tradition and Western notions of a bohemian lifestyle:

> Fine artist, poet, singer, dancer and an actor from Kolkata, Papia Ghoshal is a versatile personality who has built up a prominent brand name in the international art and poetry scenario, for her uniquely alternative style, boldness and imagination that left an eternal impact to her followers. She is also known for her distinguished raw voice while singing traditional Baul and other rare forms of Bengali folk songs.
>
> Her way of life, she believes has much in common with the ancient philosophy and practices of the Bauls of Bengal. Papia, being a bohemian by nature, chose to be based

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[379] Concert in Konya, Turkey: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SsZDVedJpaU, accessed 29.5.2020.
[380] Concert in Sedona, USA: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cESL5n1w8Yo&t=3093s, accessed 20.12.2019.
[381] Concert with Sebastian Dreyer (setār) and Ravi Srinivasan (tablā) at the Tagore Centre in Berlin: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2rjIneLiAOA, accessed 20.12.2019.

in the south of Bohemian Prague, surrounded by the nature, where the holy Celtic Oppidum, river Vltava and the preserved forests at Zavist Zbraslav mingle in ecstasy.[382]

Other artists engage with the Bāul tradition, too. The British Bangladeshi photographer and filmmaker Enamul Hoque conceptualised the audio-visual installation "Portrait of Baul" featuring Bāul musicians from Bangladesh, which was presented at the Barbican in 2015 and at the documenta 14 in Kassel in 2017.[383] In the course of the project, Bāul musicians also engaged with street children in Bangladesh.[384] The UNESCO significantly raised the international profile of the Bāul tradition when it declared Bāul songs an "intangible cultural heritage of humanity" in 2005.[385] Japan subsequently financed the project "Safeguarding of Baul songs",[386] which yielded two publications (UNESCO, 2010a; 2010b). Apart from these planned activities for the promotion of Bāul culture, there were also some unforeseen developments which resulted from its internationalisation. The spiritual movement of the Hohm community thus emerged in the USA in the 1970s. Its followers have been characterised as "Western-style Bāuls" (Crovetto, 2006).

The global spread of Bāul culture has led to an influx of folklore enthusiasts from India and abroad who visit West Bengal, especially Santiniketan, to meet the Bāuls. Inspired by the success of Purna Das Baul and others, many musicians from the Santiniketan region now try to make a living as performers of Bāul music with awareness of its commercial aspects. They perform at markets, on trains, and of course at music festivals, including the annual *Pauṣ melā* in Santiniketan and the Jaydev Kenduli melā 30 kilometres to the west. The accelerating commercialisation of other performance traditions added to the competitiveness of the scene, which is exemplified by the long-term developments that have occurred at the Jaydev Kenduli melā. The festival used to be known as a "Bāul melā",[387] which tallies with Bake's fieldwork account from the early

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[382] https://www.baul-papiaghoshal.com, accessed 20.12.2019.
[383] http://portraitofbaul.com, accessed 28.5.2020.
[384] https://www.facebook.com/fakirlalonsaid/, accessed 25.1.2020.
[385] https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/baul-songs-00107, accessed 20.12.2019.
[386] https://www.unesco.emb-japan.go.jp/htm/d_ich_baul.htm, and https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/action-plan-for-the-safeguarding-of-baul-songs-00047, accessed 20.12.2019.
[387] Statesman News Service, "Bauls battle kirtan surge", *The Statesman*, 10.1.2004.

1930s and Deben Bhattacharya's film documentary from the 1970s (Bhattacharya, 1973). However, more and more kīrtan groups began to perform at the festival since the 1980s, to a point where they outnumbered Bāul performers in the early 2000s. To address this problem, the *Jaydev Saṃskṛtik Pariṣad* ("Jaydev [Kenduli] Cultural Association") made arrangements that places for Bāuls performers were reserved at each of the approximately 160 local ākhṛās, where performances take place during the festival.[388] In my fieldwork, I briefly visited the town on the way to Moynadal, because I had met a dancer from Santiniketan who had directed me towards one of the ākhṛas of Jaydev Kenduli. The ākhṛa was the family home of an elderly Bāul musician and his wife and daughter, who also had some experience in performing Bāul music, as I could see from the posters and photographs at their home. On my visit, he led me around the town to show me some temples and other sites. After that, he offered to record a few songs for me,[389] which I declined as his interactions with me seemed motivated by financial interests.

Except for this short excursion, I only examined the living circumstances and repertoires of Bāul musicians in Santiniketan and surrounding areas, as time did not permit a wider survey. Although my observations and conclusions are geographically limited, the regional focus had the advantage that I was able to have a close look at the lives of Bāul musicians in and around Santiniketan. Urban tourists from Kolkata and other cities constitute a major part of their audience, and this raises a question among critical visitors about their authenticity. At popular venues, tourists occasionally attempt to establish through persistent questioning whether the performer they are witnessing is a "real" Bāul, or perhaps a "fake" impostor, dressing and acting like a Bāul and performing their songs, but actually devoid of spirituality.

Recent research suggests that the dichotomy of "real" and "amateur" Bāuls is hardly feasible anymore, as there are no valid criteria of assessment left. If anything, the boundaries between the categories have become very blurred, because of the strong influence of the image of the Tagorean Bāul on both rural "real" Bāuls, and on urban, educated, middle-class "amateur" Bāuls (Openshaw, 2002, pp.53-4). Yet, senior Bāuls

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[388] Statesman News Service, "Bauls battle kirtan surge", *The Statesman*, 10.1.2004.
[389] One of the songs he performed as demonstration of his musical skills was "Ỳadi tor ḍāk śune keu nā āse, tabe eklā calo re", a patriotic song in Bāul style, composed by Tagore in 1905.

often state that many young Bāul musicians have little interest in pursuing sādhanā, the tedious path of attaining self-realisation through lived spiritual experience:

> As performers they are good. However, the numbers of Bauls who practice true 'sadhana' are far less today. In future, there will be fewer of them still. Maybe one or two will remain. But these people never advertise themselves. You need a 'guru' in order to learn true 'sadhana'. But these days, it is difficult to come across such a guru. And without a guru, how will you learn? (Sanatan Das Baul, April 2008)[390]

Purna Das Baul also painted a bleak picture of the situation in the 1990s:

> Frankly, much of baul music is already dead. It died with the great bauls. Only about four or five gharanas still remain in Birbhum.[391] The rest are fakes. They just hang around, hoping to catch firangees ["foreigners"] and go abroad. (Purna Das Baul, c. 1997)[392]

The Bāul musicians I met in and around Santiniketan were from Vaiṣṇava Hindu families, and most of them had little formal education. During my interviews, singers usually stated that singing was a form of spiritual practice (sādhanā) for them. Many pointed out that they received a formal initiation (dīkṣā) into the tradition, and spiritual instruction (śikṣā) by a guru. However, when I tried to find out what it means for them to be a Bāul in daily life, most of them appeared unable to elaborate. Therefore, I gave up on this line of enquiry quickly, and focussed more on finding out about their living circumstances. I found that most of the Bāul musicians from the Santiniketan region are Bengali middle-class householders who try to make their living with music, but have to prop up their income through part-time jobs. Although most of them strive to achieve a high artistic standard as performers, my observations suggest that their commercial success depends not only on their musical skills, but, perhaps more importantly, on their ability to present and market themselves as authentic Bāuls, on and off stage.

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[390] Quote from translation of interview with Sanatan Das Baul: https://baularchive.com/interviews/12, accessed 21.12.2019.

[391] Many Bāul performers consider there to be four Bāul subgroups (gharānās), namely *Āul*, Bāul, *Sāĩ* and *Darbeś* (interview with Parvathy Baul, 24.6.2017, C1795/33-4, 116-7).

[392] https://www.rediff.com/news/oct/16nandy.htm, accessed 25.1.2020.

Khoaihat[393] is the most well-known venue of Bāul music in Santiniketan, a weekly handicraft market located at an idyllic spot on the banks of the river Kopai on the fringes of the town. Locals sell souvenirs to tourists, including handicraft items, dresses, bags, ornaments, and miniature gopīȳantras, ḍuggīs, and khols, as well as real-size bãśis. At the market, Bāul musicians can buy some of their stage outfits, too, in the form of multi-coloured, chequered punjabis (Fig. 5.21).

Fig. 5.21: Handicraft market at Khoaihat

(Santiniketan, 27.5.2017)

The market is also a competitive commercial space in terms of music and dance, where Bāul music ensembles and other groups perform for donations, often in close proximity to each other. Urban tourists from Kolkata constitute a substantial part of the audience. Often, several groups perform concurrently, which creates a dense sonic texture that affects the audibility of individual groups. The Bāul music groups normally use wide mats, which not only serve as a seating area on the sandy ground, but also as a demarcation of their performance spaces. At the front, they usually place a small sheet

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[393] The market derives its name from the Bengali word *khoyā* ("broken stone"), as it is located at a spot where soil erosion has formed small canyons.

for donations, where they put their business cards. Some also set up small portraits of deities and burn incense in front of these (Figs. 5.22-3).

Here, I met the group of the singer and dotārā player Kajol Das Baul.[394] Apart from him, his group comprises another singer who plays kartāl, a second dotārā player, and a ḍhol player. Sometimes, they are supported by a harmonium player (Fig. 5.22). I recorded his group a few days later at a large house in a quiet neighbourhood on the outskirts of Santiniketan (C1795/20-8), where he works as a caretaker to earn additional income. The owner of the house lives in Kolkata and occasionally visits Santiniketan. Kajol is the only member of his family who tries to make a living from music:

> I was born in 1978, in Taltor [a village near Santiniketan]. My parents used to work as farmers. I went to school, but could not learn because of our financial situation. I went up to class four or five… I learned singing from Dibakar Das. I saw him performing and introduced myself, and he agreed to teach me… he stays in Paligram [a village 20 kilometres southwest of Santiniketan]. I learned from him for about two years. I still meet him nowadays, sometimes we perform together… You see, we are singers. If there is no opportunity to sing, we practise at home. Apart from that, I do some light work. Just singing isn't sufficient [to make a living]… Singing is a form of spiritual practice… I like singing and listening to songs. Singing is my life these days.
> (Interview with Kajol Das Baul, 5.6.2017)

Although Kajol would like his sons to learn singing from him, he understands that they want to find regular employment to have a secure income:

> I have two sons, twenty and eighteen years old. They currently study. At the moment, singing does not reach their minds. They are young, they are thinking about finding some good work, like governmental service. I am thinking, after making their way, I will be here, they can come later to learn singing.
> (Interview with Kajol Das Baul, 5.6.2017)

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[394] "Das" is a Vaiṣṇava Hindu surname, used among several castes. I did not enquire about the individual caste background of each performer.

Fig. 5.22: Kajol Das Baul and group performing at Khoaihat

(Santiniketan, 27.5.2017)

Jagannath Das Baul, another performer I met at Khoaihat (Fig. 5.23), lives with his wife and two sons in Santiniketan. His residence is a modestly furnished brick house, in a lower middle-class residential area on the outskirts of the town. He struggled with financial difficulties in his youth, but can make his living through music nowadays:

> I learnt from my Guru, he taught me. Sometimes I could give him some offerings in return, at other times I was unable to do so. I earned my livelihood through daily performances. I had a difficult time then… Now my life is better and settled. I earn my living through public performances. Whenever I get a call to perform at a place, I go there to sing. (Interview with Jagannath Das Baul, 29.5.2017)

He is glad that his elder son Sumanta Das Baul, now in his thirties, makes his living as a Bāul musician like him. Jagannath's younger son Jayanta used to play music, but left it when he began to study for his BA at Bolpur College. Jayanta hopes to find work in government service or in the private business sector. Notably, Jagannath is more worried about Jayanta's future than Sumanta's, although his younger son's career plans can be expected to result in a more regular and secure income than Sumanta's. In a way, Jagannath's concerns thus reflect a mindset that is typical of the Bengali middle-class,

as he is concerned about the child who pursues a career that is "unconventional", in that it is radically different from his own:

> I am not concerned about my eldest son, because he is a good singer. He will be able to manage everything and maintain his livelihood through earnings from performances. He has already established himself as an artist. But I am concerned about my younger son, as he cannot sing at all, and has followed a path not familiar to me.
> (Interview with Jagannath Das Baul, 29.5.2017)

Jagannath and Sumanta have differing performance styles. Jagannath performs Bāul songs in a traditional plain style with a focus on the lyrics and melody of the song (C1795/15-6). Sumanta, on the other hand, integrates virtuoso instrumental solos influenced by Hindustani classical music in his renditions of Bāul songs. Bāul musicians have integrated *tihāi*-s[395] in their song renditions at least since the early 1970s (Capwell, 1986, pp.58-9), to make their performances appealing to urban audiences familiar with Indian classical music. Contemporary Bāul musicians like Sumanta go a step further to include instrumental *ālāp*-s,[396] *tān*-s,[397] and *jhālā*-s[398] played on dotārā and khamak in their renditions (C1795/17-8, 30-2). Amongst others, Sumanta recorded songs for an MP3 CD compilation of banglanatak.com, an organisation from West Bengal developing initiatives to support the regional cultural economy in cooperation with the state government and UNESCO. Banglanatak.com distributes its products throughout India. Abroad, Sumanta performed at a music festival in the Czech Republic in the summer of 2017, and he asked me whether I could help him in finding other performance opportunities in Europe. He also aspires to establish a Bāul ākhṛā as a centre of teaching and learning in Santiniketan.

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[395] Three-fold repetitions of musical phrases performed during a rāga rendition.
[396] A slow introduction in free rhythm performed at the beginning of a rāga rendition.
[397] Quick melodic runs performed during a rāga rendition.
[398] The fast part performed at the end of a rāga rendition.

Fig. 5.23: Jagannath Das Baul and group performing at Khoaihat

(Santiniketan, 27.5.2017)

Many Bāul musicians struggle to make their living in the region. At Kankalitola, I met a middle-aged singer who lives with his wife and son in a straw-thatched clay house without doors or glass windows in a village near Santiniketan. He supplements his income by selling lottery tickets at a street stall. I found out about his part-time job by coincidence when I visited his village unannounced. My discovery seemed to cause him discomfort. Another day, I watched a performance of his Bāul music group during a religious festival at a Hindu shrine in his village. The group roamed through the streets and alleys for hours to perform for donations. Several kīrtan groups including khol and kartāl players did the same, occasionally crossing our way. After some time, there was a break, when he and his group bought a bottle of beer to share among themselves. They opened the cap with a kartāl. On that occasion, he mentioned to me that he needed to drink to be able to perform for hours at a stretch.

The large number of Bāul musicians in the Santiniketan region entails stiff competition. If booked by a local organiser or festival committee, their payment is usually quite low, often not more than a few hundred rupees per group. Performers thus

rely on donations, which listeners provide to groups as a whole (Figs. 5.22-3), or to individual musicians by pinning rupee notes to their kurtas (Fig. 5.24).

Fig. 5.24: Bāul music group performing in a village near Santiniketan
(Mallikpukur, 27.5.2017)

To stand out among competitors, groups try to make their performances visually and acoustically appealing through the choice of their stage dress, song repertoire and dance choreography. In the Santiniketan region, performers often wear orange, ochre or red punjabis, which are colours associated with Hindu asceticism and sainthood, to signify the genuineness of their spiritual pursuit (Figs. 5.22-5). Male musicians usually wear their hair shoulder-long or longer and have no beard, which gives some of them a somewhat androgynous appearance (Figs. 5.22-4), a visual marker commonly associated with Bāul identity (Openshaw, 2002, p.89).

In terms of repertoire, I noted that local Bāul musicians perform certain songs more regularly, among these the pieces "Dhanya dhanya bali tāre" (C1795/21) and "Milan habe kata dine" (C1795/23), which I frequently heard at Khoaihat. Notably, these are two of Lalon Fakir's songs that are featured prominently in the film *Moner Manush*

(2010), which suggests that Bāul music groups perform songs from its soundtrack[399] to attract audiences.[400] Many Bāul musicians also perform other modern folk songs. An example is the song "Lāl pāhāṛir deśe ỳā", originally written as a poem by Arun Chakraborty in 1972. This poem was set to music in 1976, and has since then been performed by many folk music groups in West Bengal.[401] Several Bāul singers performed the song at the Kankalitola melā in April 2017. Many also showcased the well-known cliché of dancing with a gopīỳantra lifted overhead (Fig. 5.25).

Fig. 5.25: Dancing young Bāul musician, lifting gopīỳantra overhead
(Kankalitola, 14.4.2017)

Few Bāul musicians attempt to break away from such clichés to establish their own, distinct performance style. Parvathy Baul (b. 1976) is one of them. Her family

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[399] The performances of Bāul musicians in Europe suggest that this phenomenon is not limited to West Bengal. Papia Ghosal performed the Lalon song "Jaler upar pāni", also featured in the film *Moner Manush*, at the Tagore Centre in Berlin in 2017: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wHp9h-iK2Fg, accessed 26.12.2019.

[400] Indian film music has informed South Asian folk music traditions for some time. *The Bake Restudy 1984* mentions an example of folk musicians in Tamil Nadu, who adopted the song "Lailā o Lailā" from the Hindi film *Qurbani* (1980) (Jairazbhoy, 1991a, p.59).

[401] In 2011, the filmmaker Spandan Banerjee made the documentary *You Don't Belong*, which traces the history of the song: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TmW-bs96qvs, accessed 28.12.2019.

background, musical style and success set her apart from other performers from Santiniketan. She was born in Assam into a Bengali Brahmin family, as the daughter of a schoolteacher and a railway engineer engaged in bridge construction work. In her youth, she learned Kathak dance and Hindustani classical music, in the traditional guru-śiṣya way, living with her teacher as a disciple. Dissatisfied with the repetitive character of her practice, she decided to study visual arts at Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan. On the campus, she had her first introduction to the Bāul tradition, from the visiting Bāul singer Phulmala. She began to teach Parvathy music and dance. When Phulmala advised her to find a guru, Parvathy approached Sanatan Das Baul (d. 2016), a senior Bāul performer with a large following in West Bengal and beyond. He accepted her as a disciple, under the condition that she would devote her life to the tradition. Parvathy's parents initially objected, because a formal initiation to the tradition tends to bring with it a distancing from conventional family life, but then they agreed.

For some years, Sanatan Das Baul instructed her in the Bāul tradition by teaching its concepts and methods through song and dance, and she learned to play the gopīẏantra and ḍuggī. According to Parvathy, his teaching of music was informal, and mainly consisted of the repetition of songs. Within a few years, she learned a large repertoire of traditional Bāul songs, and began to accompany him on stage. Later on, she continued her study with Shashanko Goshai, who is believed to have been 97 years old when she became his disciple. He died three years later. In contrast to the informal mode of teaching songs, Parvathy experienced the teaching of Bāul dance as defined by a structured and systematic approach.[402] Her personal website now characterises her as "the most recognized woman Baul performer in the world" who is "a practitioner, performer, story teller, painter and teacher of the Baul tradition from Bengal, India". The website features performance videos, as well as paintings and woodcarvings with Bāul themes designed by her.[403] She follows a puristic and minimalist performance style, and usually sings alone while accompanying herself on ḍuggī and gopīẏantra. Sometimes, she collaborates with performers of traditional music from other regions of

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[402] When I interviewed Parvathy, she also noted that dance plays an important role in the gharānā of Sanatan Das Baul, whereas she characterised the gharānā of Lalon Shah as literally devoid of dance (interview with Parvathy Baul, 24.6.2017, C1795/33-4, 116-7). The focus on dance thus appears to be another inaccuracy of Ghose's film *Moner Manush* (2010).
[403] https://parvathybaul.com, accessed 30.1.2020.

the world.[404] As of today, she has performed in over 40 countries worldwide and follows a busy concert schedule. Abroad, her English language skills enable her to establish rapport with international audiences.[405] With her earnings, she has established the organisation Ekathara Kalari that focusses on the promotion of Bāul culture including music and dance, but also engages with other performing arts. She founded the organisation together with her husband, the Keralite Ravi Gopalan Nair, who has studied *pāvakathakaḷi* ("glove puppet *kathakaḷi*"), and other forms of regional folk theatre. Ekathara Kalari organises Bāul retreats in West Bengal, Kerala and other places, offering interested individuals the opportunity to learn with Bāul practitioners.[406] The organisation is currently building the Sanatan Siddhashram near Santiniketan, a centre of Bāul culture named after Parvathy's first guru.

I met Parvathy at an almost unfurnished but very clean flat in a well-off neighbourhood of Santiniketan, which appeared to be her temporary residence in town. She was accompanied by a disciple, a Japanese woman of about her age, dressed in an orange robe. The only furniture in the living room were two plain textile mats. Soon after I had entered, Parvathy lit some incense. I initially introduced her to Bake's audio-visual documentation of Bāul musicians from 1932, and she explained some of the audio recordings and silent films, including some of the stylistic aspects of the Bāul dance filmed at Jaydev Kenduli. I then conducted an interview with her (Fig. 5.26, C1795/33-4, C1795/116-7), which had some surprises in store. A common idea of Bāuls is that they display somewhat eccentric behaviour because of their rejection of social norms. Most performers seek to fulfill this expectation by behaving somewhat wildly on stage, where they may break suddenly into frenetic dances during their performances. What distinguished Parvathy's interactions with me was that her behaviour during the interview was rather unpredictable, too. Though she never made the point directly, her answers implied that she considered such spontaneity a consequence of spiritual attainment:

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[404] Performance of Parvathy Baul with the Gnawa musician Mehdi Nassouli at the World Sacred Music Festival in Fes, Morocco, 2016: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZMZNLkINEzI&t=54s, accessed 30.1.2020.
[405] Performance of Parvathy Baul at the community gathering of the organisation Science and Nonduality, Italy, 2019: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H73_THDtYvQ, accessed 25.1.2020.
[406] https://ekatharakalari.org, accessed 25.1.2020.

Dīkṣā guru is someone who initiates you, and gives you the mantra, gives you the spiritual part and, you know, start open the door for you. And śikṣā guru, one who is giving you… (Interview with Parvathy Baul, 24.6.2017, C1795/34)

At that point, she noticed a parrot outside and suddenly remarked:

[Whispering:] Look at that, look at that, that is a parrot. [laughs] I am sorry, I am a bit crazy… Have you seen the parrot? You should have miss[ed] it. Look! That's just amazing. I [have] never seen a parrot like this so close. [laughs]
(Interview with Parvathy Baul, 24.6.2017, C1795/34)

Then she continued:

Śikṣā guru is someone who gives you the *yoga*, the knowledge. Because, there are two things: one is wisdom, and [the second is] knowledge – *jñān* and *vidyā*. Ok.? Jñān comes from vidyā, so you must have vidyā… you must know all the intricacies of the practice. You must know the science of this practice. You must practise exactly the way the method is given. And by doing it, by repeating it for many, many, many days, many years… you become *sahaj*. *Sahaj* means, something that comes spontaneously.
(Interview with Parvathy Baul, 24.6.2017, C1795/34)

She elaborated on this point through an allegory:

It's like – very easy way to understand this – it's like how we eat food and take it in the mouth. It doesn't matter where you are sitting. It doesn't matter if you are thinking something, or attending to someone, you are not even looking at your plate. But your hand naturally will go to the plate and go in the mouth. Even if it is dark. It's because, when we're child, we were given the food, and we didn't know where to put. Sometimes we put it here, sometimes we put it here, then the mother would scold us and say: "No, you have to take the food in your mouth!" And how to take it, you know. Then we learned, we learned the way of eating it, and then it became sahaj… you don't think! So, in [the] same way, this yoga, when you repeat, and repeat, and repeat, all these methods, all this vidyā, all this knowledge, it becomes sahaj in you. Then you don't think

about it, it just naturally happens. Your being, your presence itself tells about your practice. Then the jñān arrives. Wisdom comes from there, from this sahaj.

(Interview with Parvathy Baul, 24.6.2017, C1795/34)

Other answers were more cryptic. When I asked whether she chose senior Bāul performers as her gurus because the younger Bāul generation lacked authenticity or knowledge, she replied:

Oh, this is not because of that. We don't use our mind when we choose our guru. In fact, we never choose our teachers. The teachers choose us. It's almost like you found Bāul in your bath [laughs], that you have to work….

(Interview with Parvathy Baul, 24.6.2017, C1795/34)

Yet, her explanation indicated that she selected her first guru, rather than vice versa:

Phulmala said: "I want you to learn more", and then I said: "How can I learn more?" Then she said to me: "Just singing and dancing, you will not learn. You have to initiate, take dīkṣā, and you must find your guru." Then I said: "How to find a guru?" [laughs] And, she said: "You'll find. You really ask from inside. He will come and give you." Then I started really asking inside me, very sincerely: "I want my guru." So, every Bāul [who] passed by, I think: "This is my guru…? No, no, no." But, when I saw my teacher, I knew, that moment. I think that is how you know. It is not because somebody is greater… Your guru can be very younger to you. Even a child can be your guru, if he has that wisdom. So, age doesn't matter. It matters with the sādhanā. And, not only sādhanā. The connection that you have with this person, that matters most.

(Interview with Parvathy Baul, 24.6.2017, C1795/34)

During the interview, she offered me some nuts from a coconut bowl. When I asked whether Bāuls settling in urban environments risk being compromised by a materialistic lifestyle, she replied:

Well, if you sit in a heap of turmeric with a white cloth, will your cloth stay white, or [will] a little bit of turmeric touch your white cloth? It will touch. But if you can take it

out, you are safe. So, it depends absolutely on the individual. It also shows how mature they are in their practice. (Interview with Parvathy Baul, 24.6.2017, C1795/34)

Furthermore, she told me that she does not practise other types of spiritual or physical exercise for her Bāul sādhanā in addition to music and dance, and that she does not regard this as problematic, as there is no formal code of practice for Bāuls.

Fig. 5.26: Interview with Parvathy Baul
(Santiniketan, 24.6.2017)

I also asked her about other aspects of the Bāul tradition and its history. At one point, she highlighted the similarities between Bāul songs and Buddhist caryā songs, as both express spiritual concepts through veiled language (sandhyābhāṣā) which only the initiated can understand. Moreover, she argued that both genres were transmitted by itinerant mendicants. Arguably, such analytical observations are not only the result of her sādhanā as a Bāul practitioner, but are also a consequence of her academic education. When I asked whether age or gender issues had obstructed her path as a practitioner or affected her professional career at any point, she downplayed the relevance of these topics, and pointed out that the tradition is gender-inclusive.

Overall, the interview not only demonstrated her knowledge of the Bāul tradition, but also that she has internalised modes of communication associated with Bāul discourse, notably the use of symbolic language and the display of spontaneous behaviour guided by intuition, rather than reasoning. I was left wondering whether this was indeed a sign of authenticity, or whether she had perhaps simply understood how audiences, especially foreign ones, expect a Bāul to talk and behave.[407] After my return to London, we initiated the formalities to provide copies of Bake's recordings to the Bāul Ashram of Ekathara Kalari, but the formal process remained incomplete, which prevented the planned repatriation of recordings.[408]

5.4 Conclusion

My fieldwork observations indicate, then, that many Bāul musicians from lower middle-class backgrounds struggle to make a living in Santiniketan, because a lack of financial means and limited educational qualifications restrict their ability to market themselves effectively. My observations further suggest that Tagorean representations of Bāuls tend to inform their repertoire and performances. In comparison, Bāul musicians from upper middle-class backgrounds like Parvathy Baul and Papia Ghoshal appear to be exceptionally successful, arguably not only because of their skills as performers. In their cases, an important factor seems to be that well-off parental homes enabled them to pursue higher education at prestigious universities, through which they have acquired an understanding of the ways in which the Bāul tradition has been represented in Bengali culture, which complements the first-hand experiences they may have gained as disciples of Bāul gurus. Together, these experiences enable them to represent the Bāul tradition in such a way that their performances seem authentic as well as accessible. My fieldwork suggests that in their representation of the Bāul tradition as

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[407] Another common notion of Bāuls is that they have an extraordinary control over their bodily functions that enables them to perform supernatural feats. Dibyendu Das and Parvathy Baul included corresponding anecdotes in their interviews. Dibyendu asserted that his grandfather Naboni Das Khepa could hold his breath underwater for three to four hours, and that his great-grandfather was able to walk on water. He ascribed both feats to exceptional breath control. Parvathy mentioned a two or three-day long kīrtan festival where she listened continuously without having to visit the washroom.
[408] The repatriation stalled because Parvathy did not provide her signature for the formal agreement, for unknown reasons.

performers, it is not only important for them to sing and dance well, but also to communicate and behave in ways that seem "Bāulesque", in order to satisfy the expectations of audiences and gain critical acclaim, two important factors that attract disciples. Furthermore, their knowledge of English language seems to be an important factor that contributes to their success, as it enables them to market themselves beyond South Asia to represent the Bāul tradition abroad. Notably, performers like Parvathy Baul and Papia Ghoshal receive more national and international acclaim as authentic representatives of the Bāul tradition than most of their less privileged counterparts from rural backgrounds, who face an uphill struggle to establish themselves as performers because of their limited financial means.

In a way, the success of contemporary Bāuls from Bengali upper middle-class backgrounds can be construed as a result of the appropriation of Bāul culture by Bengali bhadralok society since the late 19th century. Although there are historical examples of individuals from higher castes and educated backgrounds who became Bāuls (Openshaw, 2002, p.53), the recognition that performers like Parvathy Baul and Papia Ghoshal receive seems to point towards a possible inversion of earlier conditions, when urban Bāul musicians were regarded as counterfeiters of the tradition. Considering the challenges that underprivileged Bāul musicians from rural backgrounds face, initiatives like banglanatak.com appear to be a useful means to support them, but overall there appears to be a lack of initiatives contributing to the improvement of their socio-economic situation.

From a gender perspective, the international success of young, female Bāul musicians constitutes a new phenomenon that deserves some consideration. Virtually all successful Bāul performers of the 20th century were males, a phenomenon connected with the popularity of the Tagorean image of the elderly male Bāul. Young, female Bāul singers challenge this stereotype, and thereby constitute a novelty on the global market that is bound to capture the attention of national and international audiences. In a way, their success thus contributes to a correction of Tagorean stereotypes, as the Bāul tradition has always included male and female practitioners of all ages.

Conclusion

This conclusion is divided into four parts. I first summarise the results of my study of Bake's research and fieldwork methodology, and their implications. Subsequently, I summarise the results of my study of continuity and change, and their implications. I then discuss the methods used in this research, and their implications. Lastly, I discuss possible areas for further research.

Arnold Bake's Research and Fieldwork Methodology: Summary and Implications

In this thesis, I have demonstrated that Bengali scholars and artists played a significant role in shaping Bake's views on communities and their performing arts in the Bengal region, as his extensive fieldwork schedule often prevented him from studying genres in the field in greater detail. I have shown that he witnessed only very few performances of rāybẽśe, which were organised by Gurusaday Dutt, and that he did not conduct further fieldwork on the genre. Through the selection of groups, Dutt informed Bake's views on the dance (Chapter 1). Similarly, Bake only saw two performances of jārigān, and did not visit the genre's heartland, rural eastern Bengal (Chapter 2). I have demonstrated that colonial clichés of aboriginal communities shaped his views on the Santals and their performing arts, as he knew little about their culture (Chapter 3). I have shown that he engaged in depth with Bengali kīrtan over a prolonged period of time, guided by Khagendranath Mitra, Nabadwip Brajabashi, and other scholars and performers (Chapter 4). Lastly, I have shown that the writings of Rabindranath Tagore and Kshitimohan Sen substantially shaped his views on the Bāuls, as he had little opportunity to engage with the community personally (Chapter 5).

Thus, my research suggests that Bake's investigation was sometimes quite cursory, as his recording schedule usually prevented him from investigating the views of performers and their living circumstances in greater detail, a prerequisite for penetrating the layers of meaning that define performance traditions in their original cultural context. Due to this lack of ethnographic fieldwork, Bake relied on the research of his Bengali and European contemporaries in his descriptions of communities and their

performing arts. An example is his idealised portrayal of the Bāuls, which he adopted from the writings of Tagore and Sen. Of course, most of the scholars he consulted knew the relevant performance traditions well. Undoubtedly, Tagore and Sen had a good knowledge of Bāul religion and philosophy as embodied in the songs of the community. Mitra and Brajabashi were experts in the theory and practice of Bengali kīrtan, who helped him to gain a well-founded understanding of the stylistic features, performance practice, and cultural context of the genre (Bake, 1947; 1948). Bodding had a comprehensive knowledge of Santali culture through his work as a missionary, and Dutt was familiar with Bengali folk culture through his work as a regional district magistrate. Yet, the research of all these scholars was also shaped by other, more personal agendas, which led to idealised and stereotypical portrayals of communities and their performing arts, and, in the case of rāybẽśe, to a complete transformation of a performance tradition. Bake sometimes adopted their descriptions too uncritically, which is apparent in the case of rāybẽśe which he regarded as a martial acrobatic dance, informed by Dutt's descriptions, although it used to be known as a cross-dressing dance until 1931. In this way, his views and opinions were shaped not only by the factually correct aspects, but also by the processes of re-imagining that the research of his contemporaries entailed. Despite these shortcomings in Bake's research, we need to consider that there had been almost no ethnographic fieldwork on the regional performance traditions of the Bengal region before the 1930s, which necessitated his use of the work of the scholars who had engaged with the relevant performance traditions in other ways previously as a reference point. Moreover, the survey was a recognised research methodology in the first half of the 20th century and the documentation of unexplored performance traditions a significant achievement in itself, which may also explain why his writings are often descriptive rather than interpretative.

Furthermore, I have demonstrated that Bake established personal connections with the Indian Civil Service and with missionary organisations to facilitate his fieldwork and recordings in the Bengal region in the period 1931-34. The Indian Civil Service official Gurusaday Dutt provided logistical support for his fieldwork on several occasions, and Annada Shankar Ray similarly provided accommodation when he recorded in Naogaon. At Kairabani, he had the support of Bernhard and Muriel Helland, two missionaries of the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches. Bake's correspondence illustrates that he

had apprehensions about the policies of some of his associates, notably Dutt and his staff, whose overbearing conduct irritated him more than once. Similarly, he deplored the restrictions that mission staff had imposed on the practice of Santali dance. These concerns indicate that he did consider the ethical issues of accepting assistance from colonial officials and missionary organisations. He weighed up his concerns against the presumed benefits of his fieldwork, namely the documentation of traditional performing arts endangered by the spread of Western culture. Moreover, the support of the Indian Civil Service and a missionary organisation brought with it the advantage of physical security, a considerable factor in the period of the independence movement, when conditions in India were often volatile. Bake was concerned about the well-being of his wife, who accompanied him on most of his journeys, and therefore gladly accepted accommodation provided by the Indian Civil Service and the Kairabani Mission. The external circumstances of his fieldwork thus suggest an imbalance of power between him and his recording participants, induced by his status as a European researcher receiving support from the colonial administration and missionary organisations.

However, there is no indication that Bake tried to exert pressure on performers to cooperate by utilising this position of power. To the contrary, the available evidence suggests that he was cautious to engage with recording participants in a polite and considerate manner. Jairazbhoy and Catlin (1991) found that performers remembered the Bakes as a gentle couple in South India. His research associates and family members likewise remembered him as an exuberant, affectionate and generous personality.[409] These assessments are confirmed by some of the fieldwork photos and cylinder recordings discussed in this thesis (Chapters 3.1, 5.1), which indicate that performers were at ease working with him. Thus, it appears unlikely that his recording participants felt intimidated, or that they regarded the act of being recorded as an affront to their dignity. Indeed, the recording work may have brought the joy of artistic recognition to some of them. Bake was also open to sharing his photographs with performers (Chapter 4.1), and endeavoured to make his recordings accessible at an archive in South Asia, even

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[409] Personal communication with Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy about Nazir Ali Jairazbhoy, 4.4.2020, and personal communication with Clemens Lambertus Voorhoeve, 18.8.2019. I also conducted an interview with the singer Chitralekha Chowdhury (C1795/80-2), who was recorded by Bake (C52/NEP/70), but she met him only briefly.

in the early 1940s, two further indicators that he considered the interests of communities with whom he worked.

Lastly, it needs to be considered that Bake's recordings now constitute an important historical documentation of performance traditions that now rarely exist in the form in which he encountered them. In this thesis, I have demonstrated how five genres have undergone substantial changes since the early 1930s, and these changes underscore the relevance of his recordings as historical documentation of performance practices. In the case of rāybẽśe, jārigān, and Santali music and dance, his cylinder recordings and silent films seem to be the earliest audio-visual documentation. In the course of my research, I provided copies of recordings to the Gurusaday Museum and to the Rabindra Sangit Gabeshana Kendra of Visva-Bharati University. Staff at both institutions appreciated the recordings, as did other scholars and performers whom I reconnected with the recordings. This demonstrates their relevance to cultural heritage communities in South Asia today.[410]

Continuity and Change: Summary and Implications

Each of the genres studied in this thesis has developed differently over the past 90 years, but there are some common patterns. I have demonstrated that Bengali scholars reframed the representation of rāybẽśe, jārigān, kīrtan, and Bāul music and dance in the first half of the 20th century. Gurusaday Dutt established a standard definition of rāybẽśe as a martial acrobatic dance, which had a lasting effect on the theory and practice of the genre. Contrastingly, his engagement with jārigān did not have a major impact on the genre, due to the political and demographic changes that have occurred in eastern Bengal since then. Khagendranath Mitra reshaped academic discourses on padāvalī-kīrtan by presenting it as a regional classical music tradition, and Rabindranath Tagore and Kshitimohan Sen promoted Bāul songs as the epitome of Bengali folk poetry through their publications. The common pattern that emerges here is that all of them were urban educated Bengali intellectuals, who presented idealised portrayals of Bengali folk culture in their publications, to promote discourses on the theory and practice of Bengali folk

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[410] I also deposited my own field recordings at the ARCE.

music and dance in Bengali society. To understand why this occurred, it is necessary to briefly recapitulate the broader historical and cultural context of these developments.

Korom (2010) points out that scholars like Tagore believed that the Bengali urban elite had alienated themselves from their own culture through the influence of a Westernised education system that had been introduced in Calcutta in the first half of the 19th century, and through the dominant influence of British culture on Bengali urban life in general. Scholars like Gurusaday Dutt and Rabindranath Tagore therefore attempted to revive indigenous cultural practices, which they believed to be in a state of decline as a result of Westernisation. Through this promotion of Bengali folk culture, they hoped to re-establish a broken link of discourse between the rural population and the urban elite minority (2010, pp.263-4). Korom summarises the engagement of Gurusaday Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, and other Bengali intellectuals with Bengali folk culture in this period as follows:

> Stated succinctly, it was the urban, western-educated intelligentsia that took on the task of imagining the folk, which they collectively understood to be the subaltern population of the agricultural hinterlands beyond the borders of Calcutta. The Bengali intelligentsia, those economically-privileged individuals who had access to western education, thereby imagined the essence of Bengali culture to be located in the non-cosmopolitan countryside, and it was to be found among the sons of the soil who toiled there, while presumably continuously enacting "authentic" Bengali culture. (Korom, 2010, pp.260-1)

Gurusaday Dutt, Khagendranath Mitra, and Rabindranath Tagore shared this idealised notion of Bengali folk culture, whereas the methods and effects of their engagement with Bengali folk traditions differed.

Jairazbhoy and Catlin (1991) identified the four processes of classicisation, modernisation, institutionalisation and festivalisation that occurred in the regional performance traditions of southern India between the 1930s and the 1980s.[411] This provides a useful template for the identification of similar patterns of change regarding the Bengal region. Dutt's stylistic modification and historical reinterpretation of rāybē̃śe (Chapter 1), Khagendranath Mitra's reframing of discourses on padāvalī-kīrtan (Chapter

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[411] See Introduction, part 4.

4), and the adoption of stylistic elements from Hindustani classical music in Bāul music (Chapter 5.3) constitute processes of classicisation concerning the theory and practice of regional performance traditions, which find parallels in southern India (Jairazbhoy and Catlin, 1991). These similarities suggest that a classicisation of folk and devotional performing arts has occurred throughout India since the 1930s. Jairazbhoy and Catlin (1991, p.72) observed that such processes of classicisation sometimes go along with a Sanskritisation[412] of the relevant subject-specific terminology, which is confirmed by my study of the methods that Dutt employed in his engagement with rāybēśe.

The term modernisation applies to a number of changes that have occurred in the folk and devotional performing arts of the Bengal region. There has been a modernisation of instrumentation in some variants of rāybēśe (Chapter 1.6), in Santali performing arts that now include popular music and dance forms (Chapter 3.4), in padāvalī-kīrtan (Chapter 4.3), and in Bāul music, where performers now collaborate with rock musicians (Chapter 5.3). Furthermore, I have shown that modern mass media has opened up new avenues for the promotion and distribution of Bengali and Santali folk and devotional music and dance, through the introduction of new recording formats like CDs and VCDs, and through the emergence of the internet, which provides spaces for artists' personal websites, video platforms and social networks (Chapters 1.6, 2.3, 3.4, 4.3, 5.3). These two developments also constitute forms of modernisation.

Processes of institutionalisation have occurred in the course of Dutt's engagement with Bengali folk music and dance (Chapter 1.1), which led to the foundation of well-organised rāybēśe dance groups in West Bengal (Chapter 1.6). Other processes of institutionalisation occurred when cultural organisations were founded to promote jārigān and other performing arts in Bangladesh (Chapter 2.4); when Bengali kīrtan was introduced as a subject at music schools and universities in West Bengal while the genre was popularised globally by ISKCON (Chapter 4.3); and when Bāul musicians founded organisations for the promotion of their religion and culture including song and dance, at home and abroad (Chapter 5.3). In some cases, this institutionalisation opened

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[412] Srinivas (1952) introduced the term "Sanskritisation" to describe processes in which communities of low social status emulate the practices of Brahmin and Sanskrit culture to elevate their own social standing.

up avenues for females to participate in performance traditions formerly restricted to males (Chapter 1.5).

My research confirms Jairazbhoy and Catlin's observation (1991) that the institutionalisation of performance traditions often leads to a festivalisation.[413] The Bengal Bratachari Society organises rāybẽśe performances at their annual meetings in Joka and at other cultural events in Kolkata, and jārigān groups perform at festivals organised by the Shilpakala Academy and other cultural organisations in Dhaka and other cities and towns. Since the time of the Jharkhand movement, there has been an increasing number of festivals with Santali music and dance, organised by educational and cultural organisations in Ranchi and other places (Chapter 3.4). Urban cultural associations like the Gaurīya Vaiṣṇava Sammilanī provide performance opportunities for padāvalī kīrtan performers in Kolkata. Bāul musicians have performed at cultural events in Kolkata since the 1950s, at pop music festivals abroad since the 1960s, and more recently at festivals of sacred music worldwide (Chapter 5.3).

Moreover, there has been an increasing commercialisation of regional performance traditions. Santali dance groups now perform for a fee at Hindu festivals and for donations at tourist hotspots, while līlā-kīrtan ensembles perform in Moynadal and many other places for payment. Bāul musicians play their songs at tourist markets in Santiniketan and other towns, and at music festivals in West Bengal, Bangladesh and abroad. This commercialisation has led to an increasing competition between performers and groups, who today market themselves through the distribution of business cards and promotional recordings, and through the maintenance of an online presence on personal websites and social media profiles. Furthermore, many venues in West Bengal are now surrounded by street markets where souvenirs of instruments and similar items are sold (Chapters 3.4, 4.3, 5.3). I have shown that these processes of commercialisation entail the risk of stylistic distortions of music and dance traditions, which may occur when groups adjust their repertoire, choreography and instrumentation to audience expectations informed by cultural stereotypes (Chapters 3.4, 5.3).

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[413] See Introduction, part 4, for the definition of the term "festivalisation", as used by Jairazbhoy and Catlin (1991).

The Methods Used: Summary and Implications

In the course of this research, I accessed a number of archival collections containing material related to Arnold Bake's life and work. These included the Bake collection at the British Library Sound Archive, the Papers of Arnold and Cornelia Bake collection at the British Library, the Bake collections at the SOAS Library Archive and the SOAS Music Department, the Bake correspondence file from the Berlin Phonogram Archive, the Bake collection at Leiden University Library, and the Bake correspondence file of the Rabindra Bhavan Archive at Visva-Bharati University. The content of these collections overlaps, but each collection includes some material that is unique. Therefore, it was essential to evaluate all archives, in order to get a comprehensive overview of Bake's scientific legacy.

For my study of Arnold Bake's research and fieldwork methodology, the most important resources were his correspondence and publications. His letters provided a wealth of information not only on the context of his cylinder recordings, silent films, and field photographs, but also on his research aims, methods, and conclusions, which supplemented the concise information that I could gain from the published documentation of his recordings (Ziegler, 2006) and from his unpublished recording notes. For my research critique, I also derived information from his publications and unpublished manuscripts. In addition, it was important to consult the publications of Gurusaday Dutt, which clarified the context of some of Bake's field recordings and photographs (Chapters 1-2, 4.2).

For my study of continuity and change, the evaluation of Bake's cylinder recordings and silent films was particularly important. In many cases, I had to access a cylinder recording or silent film multiple times to fully understand the relevance of its content. My own field recordings and online sources were a useful means to evaluate continuity and change, but I was only able to look at a few of my recordings in greater detail, due to time constraints. In one case, online sources provided a substitute for recordings that I could not make in the field (Chapter 1). The interviews that I conducted provided useful information, and it was also important to evaluate academic publications from different periods. The combination of these methods may provide a useful template for future restudies of historical sound and film recordings.

For the correction and enhancement of the documentation of Bake's recordings, the input of members of cultural heritage communities was essential. In many cases, they helped me to get a better understanding of the content of undocumented recordings, and in some cases, their input enabled me to identify such recordings completely. Their input was particularly useful for the identification of the recordings of Bratachari, rāybĕśe, and Santali music and dance, which had very little documentation. Examples like these demonstrate the usefulness of recirculating historical recordings in countries of origin. Through my research, I was able to identify the performers on some undocumented films, but I could not always contact or visit them, as my fieldwork schedule was quite intense. When I reconnected members of cultural heritage communities with Bake's recordings, the results were often surprising. Some of them were very interested (Chapter 1.5), and others less so (Chapter 2.4). In some cases, my assessment of films conflicted with theirs, which created complications (Chapter 1.5). Examples like these highlight the complexities of engaging members of cultural heritage communities with archival recordings, which underscores the importance of considering the ethical implications of such engagements (cf. Campbell, 2014). These ethical issues indicate that there is a need for a framework of guidelines for the recirculation of historical sound and film recordings in countries of origin, a topic that continues to be explored in ethnomusicology (Gunderson, Lancefield and Woods, 2018).

Possible Areas for Further Research

For reasons due to time and space, I had to exclude some aspects of my study of Bake's research, fieldwork, and recordings from this thesis, while others have been touched upon only briefly. An important question related to the recirculation of historical sound and film recordings among cultural heritage communities is how information gathered through such engagements can be integrated in the recording documentation in such a way that it stands in an equitable way alongside the information that audio and video technicians, cataloguers, and Western researchers have added to the recordings. Toner points out that the knowledge systems of indigenous people often do not correspond to Western systems of knowledge management, and therefore argues that archives should "expand the categories of metadata to include culturally-significant styles and types of

knowledge" (2003, p.14). In recent years, organisations concerned with the development of international metadata standards have begun to address this issue,[414] but its rectification is certainly impeded by the fact that metadata standards like Dublin Core and other cataloguing standards are by design based on taxonomy systems and terminologies rooted in the Western world of thought. There is a need that ethnomusicologists engage further with the theory and practice of cataloguing and archiving to achieve progress in this field.

Another, related problem is the annotation of faulty original recording documentation, which should be carried out without compromising the authenticity of the relevant collection as a historical document. Nevertheless, archival guidelines often do not state clearly how to proceed in cases of incorrect documentation, and guidelines tend to be equally ambiguous whether and how corrections should be made to the information that other researchers have added to the recording documentation. In the Appendices 2-9 of this thesis, I have addressed this issue by retaining Bake's recording documentation, while adding separately the information I gathered on the recordings during my research.

Perhaps the most important question related to the recirculation of historical sound recordings is how cultural heritage communities can be supported in establishing their own audio-visual archives. Shubha Chaudhuri of the ARCE has advised South Asian researchers and members of indigenous communities in this regard, and other ethnomusicologists have done so in different regions of the world (Seeger and Chaudhuri, 2004). As of today, there still are relatively few regional audio-visual archives in South Asia, and their technical facilities are often quite limited. More ethnomusicologists should further such undertakings in future, not only in South Asia but also on a global scale.

Bake's interdisciplinary research approaches and his contribution to South Asian ethnomusicology have been discussed by Jairazbhoy (1991b), Linden (2019), and in one of my previous publications (Poske and Widdess, 2017). However, his interactions with European scholars like A. H. Fox Strangways, Jaap Kunst, Erich M. v. Hornbostel, Marius Schneider, and Sylvain Lévi, are discussed only in abridged form in these studies, and the

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[414] https://www.dublincore.org/groups/cultural-heritage/, accessed 14.11.2020.

same is the case with this thesis. Bake's correspondence offers a wealth of information on the way his research was influenced by the schools of thought his European contemporaries represented, and how he adapted and modified their theories and methods to suit the needs of his own research. A detailed evaluation of these written exchanges would throw further light on the originality and significance of his research.

In this thesis, I have addressed the colonial context of Bake's research to some extent, discussing how the power relations resulting from his status as a European researcher influenced his interactions with Bengali scholars, fieldwork informants and recording participants. Considering the wide range of individuals from different strata of Bengali society with whom he came into contact between the 1920s and 1950s, this field offers scope for studying further the influence of the colonial environment on Bake's research. His interactions with Bengali scholars in particular could be investigated in light of the interaction of the agendas of European and local elites in the colonial era with respect to music and dance.

Each of the genres discussed in this thesis deserves further investigation. This especially applies to the genres of rāybẽśe and Santali music and dance, on which there has been little ethnomusicological work so far. Some of Bake's cylinder recordings and all of his reel-to-reel recordings offer a sufficient sound quality to examine in detail the melodic and rhythmic structures of the songs he recorded. Through a comparison with new recordings, this may offer greater insights into stylistic continuity and change. Arnold Bake was the first European musicologist to engage with the wide range of regional music and dance traditions of the Bengal region, and through my research, I hope to have opened up pathways for further research in this field.

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Appendix 1

Correlation of Bake's Cylinder Recordings at the Berlin Phonogram Archive and the British Library Sound Archive

- Unless indicated otherwise, the Berlin Phonogram Archive holds a galvano and a cylinder copy for each recording, and the British Library Sound Archive holds a cylinder copy made in Berlin.

- The status quo of swapped cylinders and wrong box labels has been retained (e.g. Bake II 201, Bake II 347).

- Ziegler (2006) does not list separately the cylinders Bake II 323-40 and the alternative recording takes of these recitations, labelled by Bake with the suffix "bis". Here, I have used the Phonogram Archive's internal cylinder list from the Bake correspondence file to make tentative statements about galvanos and cylinders which are possibly missing in Berlin.

BPA cylinder number	BLSA cylinder number
Bake I 1	C52/1641
Bake I 2	C52/1642 (box at BLSA, cylinder missing)
Bake I 3-13	C52/1643-53
Bake I 14 (galvano and cylinder missing)	not included
Bake I 15-6	C52/1655-6
Bake I 17	C52/1654
Bake I 18	C52/1657
Bake I A	C52/2022
Bake II 1-2	C52/1658-9
Bake II 3	not included
Bake II 4-8	C52/1660-4
Bake II 9 (galvano missing)	C52/1665

Bake II 10-4	C52/1666-70
Bake II 15 (galvano missing)	C52/1671
Bake II 16 (galvano missing)	C52/1672
Bake II 17	C52/1673
Bake II 18 (galvano missing)	C52/1674
Bake II 19	C52/1675
Bake II 20 (galvano missing)	C52/1676
Bake II 21 (galvano and cylinder missing)	not included
Bake II 22-5	C52/1677-80
Bake II 26	not included
Bake II 27-42	C52/1681-96
Bake II 43	not included
Bake II 44-5	C52/1697-8
Bake II 46	not included
Bake II 47	not included
Bake II 48	C52/1699 (box at BLSA, cylinder missing)
Bake II 49-87	C52/1700-38
Bake II 88-88b	C52/1739-40
Bake II 89-192	C52/1741-1844
Bake II 193	not included
Bake II 194-6	C52/1845-7
Bake II 197	not included
Bake II 198-200	C52/1848-50
Bake II 201	C52/2011[415]
Bake II 202-5	C52/1851-4
Bake II 206-38	C52/1856-88
Bake II 239	not included
Bake II 240-287	C52/1889-1936
Bake II 288-288a	C52/1937-8
Bake II 289	C52/1939

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[415] "347" on box, "201" on cylinder.

Bake II 290 (galvano and cylinder missing)	not included
Bake II 291-291a	C52/1940-1
Bake II 292-321	C52/1942-71
Bake II 322 "Tyagaraja Kirtanam" (6.12.33)	C52/1972 (song also on C52/1973)[416]
Bake II 322[417] "Kasya nunam (…)" (3.11.33)	C52/1974 (labelled "Bake II 322a")
Bake II 323	C52/1975
Bake II 323bis	C52/1976
Bake II 324	C52/1977
Bake II 324bis	not included
Bake II 325	C52/1978
Bake II 325bis	C52/1979
Bake II 326	C52/1980 (recitation also on C52/1981)
Bake II 327	C52/1989[418]
Bake II 327bis	C52/1983
Bake II 328 (galvano and cylinder missing?)	not included
Bake II 328bis	C52/1984
Bake II 329	C52/1985
Bake II 329bis	C52/1986
Bake II 330	C52/1987
Bake II 330bis	not included
Bake II 331	C52/1988
Bake II 331bis	C52/1982[419]
Bake II 332	C52/1990
Bake II 332bis	C52/1991
Bake II 333	C52/1992

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[416] The cylinders C52/1973 and C52/1981 carry Bake's handwritten note "duplicate – self" on the boxes. These are alternative recording takes of the pieces he recorded on the cylinders Bake II 322 (C52/1972) and 326 (C52/1980) respectively. As Bake did not send these alternative recording takes to Berlin for galvanisation, there are no cylinders "Bake II 322bis" and "Bake II 326bis" at the Phonogram Archive (see Introduction, part 2).

[417] In the Berlin catalogue (Ziegler, 2006), there are two recordings with the number "Bake II 322" (C52/1972 and C52/1974), which are completely unrelated. This double numbering was probably an error that Bake made when he sent the cylinders to Berlin.

[418] "India II 327" on cylinder, "India II 331bis" on box.

[419] "India II 331bis" on cylinder and box, "India II 327" on lid.

Bake II 333bis	C52/1993
Bake II 334	C52/1994
Bake II 334bis	C52/1995
Bake II 335	C52/1996
Bake II 335bis	C52/1997
Bake II 336	C52/1998
Bake II 336bis	C52/1999
Bake II 337 (galvano and cylinder missing?)	not included
Bake II 337bis	C52/2000
Bake II 338 (galvano and cylinder missing?)	not included
Bake II 338bis	C52/2001
Bake II 339 (galvano and cylinder missing?)	not included
Bake II 339bis	C52/2002
Bake II 340 (galvano and cylinder missing?)	not included
Bake II 340bis	C52/2003
Bake II 341-341a[420]	C52/2004-5[421]
Bake II 342-6	C52/2006-10
Bake II 347	C52/1855[422]
Bake II 347a	C52/2012
Bake II 348	C52/2013 (box at BLSA, cylinder missing)
Bake II 348a	C52/2014
Bake II 349	C52/2015
Bake II 350	C52/2016
Bake II 351	C52/2017
Bake II 352	not included
Bake II 353	C52/2018
Bake II 354	C52/2019
Bake II 355	C52/2020

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[420] Both cylinders are listed as 341 by Ziegler (2006), which should be 341 and 341a.
[421] C52/2004 has "371" written on cylinder, which should be "341".
[422] "205" on box, "547" on cylinder ("547" is a numbering mistake as there is no such cylinder; it should be "347").

Bake II 356 (not listed by Ziegler, 2006)	C52/2021
Bake II B (not listed by Ziegler, 2006)	C52/2023
Bake II C (not listed by Ziegler, 2006)	C52/2024
Bake II D (not listed by Ziegler, 2006)	C52/2025
Bake II Y	C52/2026
Bake II Z	C52/2027

Notes on Appendices 2-9

General Notes:

- Cylinders are listed sequentially according to their catalogue numbers, not chronologically.

- In the line "Recording documentation", Bake's recording documentation is given, which has been retained in the published BPA cylinder catalogue (Ziegler, 2006). Spelling mistakes have not been corrected here (e.g. Appendix 2, C52/1766), but occasionally, I have added commas in square brackets to improve the legibility (e.g. Appendix 4, C52/1894). For recordings not documented in detail at the BPA, Bake's handwritten notes from cylinder inserts have been transcribed, where relevant (e.g. Appendix 3, C52/1641-8). These are given in square brackets. I have marked illegible sections as such, and added questions marks in square brackets after hardly legible words. Cylinder recordings without any recording documentation carry the remark "n/a" in this line (e.g. Appendix 3, C52/2129).

- The lines "Identified performer(s)", "Identified genre", "Identified recording location", "Identified recording date", and "Identified recording sections" summarise the information found during this research, deduced from various archival sources, and from the aural evaluation of recordings.

- Missing beginnings and endings of performances are not annotated, as this is a general feature of most of Bake's cylinder recordings.

- Song lyrics already given in a chapter of this thesis are not listed again here.

Technical Notes:

- Cylinder and tape tracks were timecoded in minutes and seconds, in the format [mm:ss]. During the original digitisation process, two of the reel-to-reel tapes were subdivided into several digital files with sequential BLSA tape track numbers (tapes C52/NEP/70-1, see Appendices 6 and 8). Three other tapes were not split,

but the songs contained were digitised into one file, which carries the BLSA tape track number 1 only (tapes C52/NEP/67-9, see Appendices 7 and 8).

- Most cylinder recordings of the BLSA begin with an English announcement of the cylinder number and of the playback speed applied during digitisation. I did not timecode these announcements, except for cases where these were misleading and therefore required a note (e.g. Appendix 4, C52/1728).

- Digitisation notes on playback speed (rotations per minute, rpm) are included, to facilitate a recalculation of the timecodes given here to match the digital sound files of the BPA Bake cylinders, whose playback speeds may have been different during digitisation.

- Recording quality notes are derived from the digitisation engineers' notes.

References:

- Cross-references to related recordings are included: the note "also on C52/2132: 1" means that another rendition of the same composition, usually by the same performer, was recorded on cylinder C52/2132, track 1.

- For all recordings discussed in detail in this thesis, a reference to the relevant chapter part is given: the note "see ch. 2.1" means the recording is discussed in Chapter 2.1.

- References to related film and photo material have only been included in those cases where these are not mentioned in the relevant chapters of this thesis. For the identification of further related photo material, the photo catalogues of Petrus Voorhoeve and Jean Jenkins should be consulted.

- References to Bake's publications are only given when these include a reference to a particular recording.

Note on Appendices 2-13

Place Names:

Recording locations are given with contemporary details. Recording locations in India are thus listed in the format [locality], [district], [state], [country] for places in West Bengal, and in the format [locality], [district], [division], [state], [country] for places in Jharkhand. Recording locations in Bangladesh are listed in the format [locality], [upazila], [district], [division], [country], when the exact recording location is known, or in the format [district], [division], [country], when the exact recording location is unknown.

Appendix 2

Arnold Bake's Sound Recordings of Jārigān
at the British Library Sound Archive

Cylinder Recordings

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1764

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 112

Recording documentation: Suri mela, Febr. 23rd, '32. Jarigan (from Maimensingh) "badona"

Identified performer(s): Jārigān group of Imam Baksh from Atharabari, Mymensingh (?)

Identified genre: Jārigān

Identified recording location: Suri, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 23.2.1932

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Jārigān: "Bandanā"   [00:13-02:41]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1765

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 113

Recording documentation: idem. "hai re mero nisan"

Identified performer(s): Jārigān group of Imam Baksh from Atharabari, Mymensingh (?)

Identified genre: Jārigān

Identified recording location: Suri, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 23.2.1932

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Jārigān: "Hāy re maharamer cãd dekha, tumi dekhā dio nā"   [00:08-02:15]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1766

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 114

Recording documentation: idem. "kande sopinai"

Identified performer(s): Jārigān group of Imam Baksh from Atharabari,

Mymensingh (?)

Identified genre: Jārigān

Identified recording location: Suri, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 23.2.1932

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Jārigān: "Kānde Sakhinā" (see ch. 2.1)   [00:11-02:22]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1767

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 108 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 115

Recording documentation: idem. "ore bahir bedon"

Identified performer(s): Jārigān group of Imam Baksh from Atharabari,

Mymensingh (?)

Identified genre: Jārigān

Identified recording location: Suri, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 23.2.1932

Recording quality: weak signal with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Jārigān: "Ore bāhire"   [00:08-02:26]

[reference tone]   [02:27-02:34]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1768

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 108 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 116

Recording documentation: idem. "khuler bare"

Identified performer(s): Jārigān group of Imam Baksh from Atharabari,

Mymensingh (?)

Identified genre: Jārigān

Identified recording location: Suri, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 23.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Jārigān: "Khuler bāre" [recording drops 01:43-01:48]   [00:12-02:41]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1769

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 108 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 117

Recording documentation: "bahir shamne" idem.

Identified performer(s): Jārigān group of Imam Baksh from Atharabari,

Mymensingh (?)

Identified genre: Jārigān

Identified recording location: Suri, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 23.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Jārigān: "Bāhir sāmne"   [00:12-02:13]

Appendix 3

Arnold Bake's Sound Recordings of Santali Music
at the British Library Sound Archive

Cylinder Recordings

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1641

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 102 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 1

Recording documentation: Insert of C52/2127 [1: 1. two flutes - played

- sohrai song, 2. boge gupi [illegible], sung [illegible], 3. [illegible] folksong,

sung [illegible]]

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana,

Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Sohrae song, played unisono on two large tiriya flutes	[00:14-01:02]

(see ch. 3.3; also on C52/2127, and C52/2132: 1)

2. Santali church song: "Boge gupi do" (stanzas one and two),	[01:02-02:06]

sung by male (see ch. 3.3; also on Bake I 2: 1 [cylinder C52/1642

missing at BLSA], C52/2128, and C52/2132: 2)

3. Sohrae song, sung by male, ending with some spoken words.	[02:06-02:53]

    Lyrics: "For the last five years, there has been a bad harvest.

    Now, after five years, a good harvest has come, and we can fill

    our stomachs and enjoy the food." (also on C52/2132: 3)

[reference tone]	[03:06-03:11]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1643

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 103 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 3

Recording documentation: Insert of C52/2127 [III: 1. song - boiha dupuler

[illegible], 2. song - cot culle, 3. flute - Sohrai]

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana,

Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Traditional Santali song: "Boeha dupuḷar" (complete song),   [00:12-01:16]

    sung by male (parts of song also on C52/1648: 1, and C52/2131: 4)

    Lyrics: "Boeha dupuḷar supuluk tahen, aḍigi aḍigi do mońja,

    bohoḱ reak sunum so, mohu kao leka."

    Translation: "When two brothers are dear to each other and in

    harmony, then things are really fine, just like the scent of hair oil."

2. Santali church song: "Coṭ cuṛa", sung by male.   [01:16-02:16]

    Lyrics: "Coṭ cuṛa digir-digir ńelok'kan do ńalak' ńalak',

    digir-digir amdom taṛam ḍai, bir siri te do daina toho dok' pe

    naṛgona. Bir siri te do daina soetan kạṛayem."

    Meaning: Song about the right path to god, which is likened to a way

    through a forest where Satan dwells, posing dangers to those who

    walk carelessly.

3. Lagre song played on a large tiriya flute   [02:16-03:01]

    (played on a small flute on C52/2134: 3)

[reference tone]   [03:03-03:10]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1644

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 4

Recording documentation: Insert of C52/2127 [IV: a. small flute, b. same melody as flute [illegible], c. folklore[?] medicine (84)][423]

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Dasãe song played on a small tiriya flute (also on C52/2137: 2)　　[00:10-01:02]

2. Dasãe song (same as 1.), sung by male(?), with unisono　　[01:02-01:55]
   accompaniment on small tiriya flute (also on C52/2137: 4)

3. "Ọt ma lọlọ, kạmru guru": Dasãe song, sung by male　　[01:55-03:24]
   (see ch. 3.3)

[reference tone]　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[03:24-03:30]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1645

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 5

Recording documentation: Insert of C52/2127 [V: 1. death song 3 men, 2. banam, 3. banam + voices]

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

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[423] A reference to Bodding's *Studies in Santal Medicine & connected Folklore* (1986 [1925-40]), where the lyrics of the song are quoted on page 84.

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Mora karam song, sung by three males [00:11-01:22]

2. Unidentified song, played on a large ḍhoḍro banam, [01:22-03:20]

    possibly with male singers in the background towards the end

    (also on C52/2129: 1)

[reference tone] [03:20-03:28]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1646

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 6

Recording documentation: Insert of C52/2127 [VI: 1. dancing tune (sohrai)

with [illegible], 2. bhinsar tune [illegible], 3. [illegible] song]

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana,

Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Sohrae song: "Tahareta nana tarena", [00:12-01:43]

    sung unisono by two or three males (also on C52/2138: 1)

2. Bhinsar song, sung unisono by two or three males [01:43-02:48]

    (also on C52/2138: 2)

3. Unidentified song, probably Lagre, sung unisono by two males [02:48-03:38]

    (also on C52/2138: 3)

[reference tone] [03:38-03:42]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1647

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 7

Recording documentation: Insert of C52/2127 [VII: 1. [illegible] lagre[?]

2 men, 2. [illegible] other [illegible], 3. sohrai gan, beginning. 3 men.,

4. sohrai gan, end. 3 men.]

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana,

Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Lagre song, sung by two males.   [00:10-00:52]

    The song compares human life to the flow of raindrops:

    Raindrops gather on young leaves and fall on the earth shortly

    after. Likewise, human life is of short duration, as the human

    body ultimately returns to the earth after death.

    (also on C52/2134: 1)

2. Lagre song, sung by two males   [00:52-01:41]

    (also on C52/2134: 2)

3. Sohrae song (beginning), sung by three males   [01:41-02:15]

    (also on C52/2134: 4)

4. Sohrae song (end), sung by three males (also on C52/2134: 5)   [02:15-03:17]

    Lyrics of 3. and 4.: "The Sohrae festival is as huge as an

    elephant. Elder sister, come out and see, the festival is going on

    that is like an elephant!"

[reference tone]   [03:17-03:20]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1648

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 8

Recording documentation: Insert of C52/2127 [VIII: 1. dong [long?] tune (marriage song) 2. dong [long?] tune (marriage song) women, 3. mar. [?] song, 4. marriage [?]]

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Traditional Santali song: "Boeha dupuḷar" (first two lines only), sung by male (also on C52/1643: 1, C52/2131: 4; for lyrics see C52/1643: 1).	[00:11-00:28]
2. Doń song, sung by female group	[00:28-01:39]
3. Doń song, sung by female.	[01:39-02:20]
4. Doń song, sung by female (also on C52/2130: 5)	[02:20-03:06]
[reference tone]	[03:06-03:16]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1731 (see ch. 3.1; Bake (1936-7))

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 80

Recording documentation: Santal flutes. idem. a. lagare; b. sohiar; c. dong.

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Mongoldihi, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 24-26.11.1931

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Lagre song, played on a small tiriya flute	[00:02-00:53]
2. Sohrae song, played on a small tiriya flute	[00:53-01:32]
3. Doń song, played on a small tiriya flute (part 1?)	[01:32-02:16]

4. Doń song, played on a small tiriya flute (part 2?)   [02:23-03:05]

[reference tone]   [03:06-03:11]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2127

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm, reducing to 106 rpm towards the end

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana,

Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but short duration due to several

attempts at recording

Identified recording sections:

1. Sohrae song, played unisono on two large tiriya flutes.   [00:15-01:19]

   (also on C52/1641: 1, C52/2132: 1)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2128

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana,

Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Santali church song: "Boge gupi do", sung by boys' choir,   [00:11-00:40]

from beginning until verse 1 "… dak' jharanatey'"

2. Santali church song: "Boge gupi do", sung by boys' choir   [00:40-01:39]

    from beginning until end of verse 2 "… Ṛaskạ monte."

3. Santali church song: "Boge gupi do", sung by boys' choir   [01:39-02:10]

    from beginning until end of verse 1 "… Ạyur idiko."

4. Santali church song: "Boge gupi do", sung by boys' choir   [02:10-02:44]

    from beginning until end of verse 1 "… Ạyur idiko."

5. Santali church song: "Boge gupi do", sung by boys' choir   [02:44-03:22]

    from beginning until end of verse 1 "… Ạyur idiko."

    (see ch. 3.3; also on C52/1641: 2, Bake I 2: 1 [cylinder C52/1642

    missing at BLSA], and C52/2132: 2)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2129

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana,

Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Song played on a small dhodro banam (also on C52/1645: 2)   [00:11-01:03]

2. The same song as 1., sung by male singer,   [01:03-02:50]

    accompanied on a large dhodro banam.

3. Doń song with erotic lyrics, sung by female: a woman asks   [02:50-03:12]

    her teacher why he stands in front of her. He replies that he is

    searching for his pen that has fallen from his pocket.

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2130

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana,

Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable/ poor, with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Vocal song, sung by female choir	[00:11-00:53]
2. Fragment of vocal song, sung by female choir	[00:58-01:08]
3. Vocal song, sung by female choir	[01:11-02:06]
4. Doń song, sung by female	[02:09-02:44]
5. Doń song, sung by female. (also on C52/1648: 4)	[02:44-03:18]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2131

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana,

Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable/ poor, with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Song, played unisono on two large tiriya flutes	[00:10-00:41]
2. Song, played octaved on large and small tiriya flute	[00:41-01:32]
3. Song (other than 2.), played octaved on large and small tiriya	[01:32-02:34]

4. Traditional Santali song: "Boeha dupuḷar"   [02:34-02:59]

   (lines 2-4, repeated once), sung by male,

   ending with laughter (also on C52/1643: 1; C52/1648: 1;

   for lyrics see C52/1643: 1)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2132

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana,

Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Sohrae song, played unisono on two large tiriya flutes   [00:10-01:16]

   (also on C52/1641: 1, C52/2127)

2. Santali church song: "Boge gupi do" (stanzas 1-3), sung by male [01:19-02:39]

   (see ch. 3.3; also on C52/1641: 2, Bake I 2: 1 [cylinder C52/1642

   missing at BLSA], and C52/2128)

3. Sohrae song, sung by male (also on C52/1641: 3; for lyrics   [02:54-03:35]

   see C52/1641: 3)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2133

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: poor, with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Mora Karam song, sung by three males (also on C52/1645: 1)   [00:11-01:19]

2. Song played on a dhodro banam,   [01:19-03:02]
   with male singers in the background

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2134

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Lagre song, sung by two males   [00:10-00:53]
   (also on C52/1647: 1; for meaning see C52/1647: 1)

2. Lagre song, sung by two males (also on C52/1647: 2)   [00:56-01:40]

3. Lagre song No.2 played on a small tiriya flute   [01:43-02:07]
   (also on C52/1643: 3)

4. Sohrae song, sung by three males   [02:14-02:45]
   (beginning; also on C52/1647: 3)

5. Sohrae song, sung by three males (end; also on C52/1647: 4;   [02:45-03:14]
   for lyrics of 4. and 5., see C52/1647: 3 and 4)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2135

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Traditional Santali prayer song for protection   [00:10-00:42]
   of the village community, sung by male

2. Santali Christian prayer song for the protection of children,   [00:42-01:20]
   sung by female

3. Lagre song, sung by a group of males   [01:20-02:34]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2137

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Unidentified song, played on a large tirya flute   [00:11-00:58]

2. Dasãe song, sung played on a small tirya flute (also on 1644: 1)   [00:58-01:48]

3. Dasãe song (same as 2.), sung by female(?)   [01:48-02:40]

4. Dasãe song (same as 2.), sung by female(?),   [02:40-03:25]

    accompanied on a small tiriya flute (also on 1644: 2)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2138

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm (tracks 1-2), 105 rpm (track 3)

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Santali musicians

Identified genre: Santali music

Identified recording location: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana,

Jharkhand, India

Identified recording date: 17-20.3.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Sohrae song: "Tahareta nana tarena",   [00:15-01:27]

    sung unisono by two or three males (also on C52/1646: 1)

2. Bhinsar song, sung unisono by two or three males   [01:33-02:42]

    (also on C52/1646: 2)

3. Unidentified song, probably Lagre, sung unisono by two males [02:42-03:35]

    (also on C52/1646: 3)

Appendix 4

Arnold Bake's Sound Recordings of Kīrtan
at the British Library Sound Archive

Cylinder Recordings

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1727

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 76

Recording documentation: Mongoldihi, Nov., 1931. Kirtan (tal Lopa.)

Rag Jhingit

Identified performer(s): unidentified

Identified genre: Kīrtan

Identified recording location: Mongoldihi, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 25.11.1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Kīrtan in rāga jhingit, tāla lophā, sung by male   [00:12-03:39]

    In the song, Kṛṣṇa is asked to return from Mathura to Vrindaban,

    to meet Rādhā and the Gopīs.

[reference tone 1]   [03:39-03:43]

[reference tone 2 (same pitch)]   [03:49-03:53]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1728

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 77

Recording documentation: idem. One Shannai, tal lopa, rag jhingit

Identified performer(s): unidentified

Identified genre: Kīrtan

Identified recording location: Mongoldihi, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 25.11.1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

[Incorrect announcement of cylinder number as 1727;   [00:00-00:11]
    should be 1728]

1. Instrumental composition in rāga jhingit, tāla lophā,   [00:11-03:35]
    played on a sānāi

[reference tone]   [03:38-03:44]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1729

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 78

Recording documentation: Kirtan idem.

Identified performer(s): unidentified

Identified genre: Kīrtan

Identified recording location: Mongoldihi, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 25.11.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with repeating grooves

Identified recording sections:

1. Kīrtan, sung by male with khol accompaniment   [00:12-03:37]
    One of the songs traditionally performed at the Rās-līlā procession
    in Mongoldihi, when the idols of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are brought
    from the temple to the pond.

2. Śinga solo   [03:37-03:55]

[reference tone]   [03:55-04:00]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1730

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 79

Recording documentation: idem. Instrumantel. 3 shannai, one khol,

one cymbal

Identified performer(s): unidentified

Identified genre: Kīrtan

Identified recording location: Mongoldihi, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 25.11.1931

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Instrumental composition, played by sānāi ensemble   [00:11-03:42]

   with khol and kartāl accompaniment

[reference tone]   [03:42-03:48]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1747

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 95

Recording documentation: Jayadev Kenduli. (Jan. 16th, '32) local singers.

Gitagovinda. Sarga 10; Gita 19 rag desbarair

tal astatalabhangi (32 matras)

Identified performer(s): unidentified

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.1.1932

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Gītagovinda, sarga 10, gīta 19: "Vadasi yadi kiñcid api",   [00:11-03:53]

   sung by group of male singers with khol and kartāl

   accompaniment (see ch. 4.2; also on C52/1910)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1748

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 96

Recording documentation: idem. Sarga 1; Gita 1;

Identified performer(s): unidentified

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.1.1932

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Gītagovinda, sarga 1, gīta 1 (unverified), sung by group   [00:12-03:31]
   of male singers with khol and kartāl accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1749

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 97

Recording documentation: idem. Sarga 4; Gita 11 (1-4) ragini gurjari

tal lopha (choto aektala)

Identified performer(s): unidentified

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.1.1932

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Gītagovinda, probably sarga 5, gīta 11 (1-4),[424] sung by group of [00:12-03:34]
   male singers with khol and kartāl accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1750

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

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[424] In the *Gītagovinda*, gīta 11 is part of sarga 5, not sarga 4 (cf. Jayadeva, 1984, p.145).

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 98

Recording documentation: Kirtantalas 1. katadashkushi (14 m.)

2. madhya ektal (12 m.) Navadvip Brojobashi. Calcutta 5.1./'32

Identified performer(s): Nabadwip Brajabashi and ensemble

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Kolkata, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 5.1.1932

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Padāvalī kīrtan (tāla unverified), sung by Nabadwip Brajabashi,   [00:10-01:54]
   accompanied by ensemble with male vocal accompanists,
   khol and kartāl

2. Padāvalī kīrtan (tāla unverified), sung by Nabadwip Brajabashi   [01:54-03:13]
   and ensemble with male vocal accompanists, khol and kartāl

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1751

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 99

Recording documentation: Kenduli . "Jaya Radhe Govinda". flute[,]

cymbals, voice, madol (drum)

Identified performer(s): Unidentified

Identified genre: Nām-kīrtan(?)

Identified recording location: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.1.1932

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. "Jaya Rādhe Govinda", sung by male, with flute, kartāl,   [00:10-02:25]
   and mādal accompaniment (see ch. 4.2)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1752

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 100

Recording documentation: Kirtantal Natashekhara (12 matras)

Navadvip Brojobashi. Calcutta.

Identified performer(s): Nabadwip Brajabashi and ensemble

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Kolkata, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 5.1.1932

Recording quality: reasonable, but weak signal

Identified recording sections:

1. Padāvalī kīrtan: "Ei tālete nācte habe" (tāla unverified), sung by [00:11-02:53] Nabadwip Brajabashi and ensemble with male vocal accompanists, khol and kartāl (also on C52/1762) (Rās-līlā kīrtan: Rādhā challenges Kṛṣṇa to dance to intricate rhythms)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1753

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 101

Recording documentation: jhaptal (12 m. 12;3;4;5,6;7,8; 9101112)

Navadvip Brojobashi. Calcutta

Identified performer(s): Nabadwip Brajabashi and ensemble

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Kolkata, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 5.1.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Padāvalī kīrtan: "Śyāmala rasiyā" (tāla unverified), sung by [00:13-02:45] Nabadwip Brajabashi and ensemble with male vocal accompanists, khol and kartāl

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1754

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 102

Recording documentation: Kenduli. Tal Rayramananda (7,12,34,567).

Identified performer(s): Nabadwip Brajabashi and ensemble

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Kolkata(?), West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 5.1.1932(?)

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Padāvalī kīrtan: "Kṛṣṇa darśaner lāgi, hele dule cale ỳāi"   [00:11-03:21]
    (tāla unverified), sung by Nabadwip Brajabashi and ensemble
     with male vocal accompanists, khol and kartāl

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1762

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 110

Recording documentation: Kirtan. Calcutta. Navadvip Brojobashi

Identified performer(s): Nabadwip Brajabashi and ensemble

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Kolkata, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 5.1.1932

Recording quality: fairly weak signal

Identified recording sections:

1. Padāvalī kīrtan: "Ei tālete nācte habe" (tāla unverified), sung by [00:14-03:24]
    Nabadwip Brajabashi and ensemble with male vocal
    accompanists, khol and kartāl (also on C52/1752)
    (Rās-līlā kīrtan: Rādhā challenges Kṛṣṇa to dance to intricate
    rhythms)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1894

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 245

Recording documentation: Assamese folk songs[,] sung by

Laksmisvar Sinha 16/4/'33[,] a. folk song from Sylhet[,] Santiniketan[,]

b. village song Hari sankirtan

Identified performer(s): Laksmisvar Sinha

Identified genre: Kīrtan (track 2)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 16.4.1933

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Sylheti folk song: "Āre ỳe bājāy bā̃śi bās kare se kadam talā",   [00:10-02:09]
    sung by Laksmisvar Sinha

2. Sylheti kīrtan, in regional folk style, sung by Laksmisvar Sinha   [02:09-03:33]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1895

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 246

Recording documentation: Sylhet Kirtan sung by Laksmisvar Sinha (Sylhet)

16/4/'33

Identified performer(s): Laksmisvar Sinha

Identified genre: Kīrtan

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 16.4.1933

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Sylheti kīrtan, sung by Laksmisvar Sinha   [00:11-03:36]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1899

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 250

Recording documentation: Kirtan[,] Santiniketan 14/5/'33[,]

Bhiresvar Chakravarti

Identified performer(s): Bhiresvar Chakravarti, from Dhaka district

Identified genre: Kīrtan

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 14.5.1933

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Kīrtan, sung by Bhiresvar Chakravarti   [00:11-03:35]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1908

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 259

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

3 drum poems attributed to Chaitanya[,] played and recited by Haridas

Mitra Thakur

Identified performer(s): Haridas Mitra Thakur

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

Drum poems (khol compositions), attributed to Chaitanya,

recited and played by Haridas Mitra Thakur:

1. Drum poem 1   [00:10-00:52]

2. Drum poem 2   [00:52-01:27]

3. Drum poem 3   [01:27-02:13]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1909

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 260

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

Murali ko tan[,] sung by Haladhar Mitra Thakur, played by Advaita

Ch. M. Th.

Identified performer(s): Haladhar Mitra Thakur, Advaitachandra Mitra

Thakur

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: good, some surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. "Muralī ka tān" (section in tāla ḍã̄spāhiṛā, 16 mātrās)   [00:12-02:41]

    sung by Haladhar Mitra Thakur, with khol accompaniment

    by Advaitachandra Mitra Thakur

    (Song from the Rūp-līlā, where Rādhā is enchanted by Kṛṣṇa's

    flute playing)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1910

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 261

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

Badashi Astaman 32 tal Gitagovinda "badashi yadi kincid api"[,]

sung by Nabagopal M. Th. drum. Advaita Ch. M. Th.

Identified performer(s): Nabagopal Mitra Thakur, Advaitachandra

Mitra Thakur

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable, with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Gītagovinda, sarga 10, gīta 19: "Vadasi yadi kiñcid api", sung by   [00:11-02:41]
   Nabagopal Mitra Thakur, with khol accompaniment by
   Advaitachandra Mitra Thakur (see ch. 4.2; also on C52/1747)

[reference tone]   [02:41-02:45]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1911

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 262

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

Ragini Lalita[,] tal, choto ektal: "Gauri" etc.[,] Haridas Mitra Thakur.

Identified performer(s): Haridas Mitra Thakur

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. "Gauṛī" (padāvalī kīrtan in rāginī lālitā, tāla choṭo ektāl),   [00:10-02:28]
   sung by Haridas Mitra Thakur, accompanying himself on a khol

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1912

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 263

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

Bangshiprakash, Kabi Gopal Das, sung by Nabagopal M.Th.[,]

Rag Behag[,] Tal lopha

Identified performer(s): Nabagopal Mitra Thakur, unidentified khol player

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. "Bã̃śiprakāś" (padāvalī kīrtan in rāga bihāg, tāla lophā,   [00:11-02:42]

    composed by Gopal Das), sung by Nabagopal Mitra Thakur,

    with khol accompaniment (first part of recording)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1913

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 155 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 264

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

Bangshiprakash concluded

Identified performer(s): Nabagopal Mitra Thakur, unidentified khol player

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable

Identified recording sections:

1. "Bã̃śiprakāś" (padāvalī kīrtan in rāga bihāg, tāla lophā,   [00:10-02:15]

    composed by Gopal Das), sung by Nabagopal Mitra Thakur,

    with khol accompaniment (second and final part of recording);

    singer tells his name: "Nabagopal Mitra Thakur, Moynadal"   [02:15-02:23]

[reference tone]   [02:24-02:34]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1914

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 155 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 265

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

Kirtan tals, 1. dui thoka, 2. choto ektal, 3. dash pahira, 4. teot.

Haridas M. Th.

Identified performer(s): Haridas Mitra Thakur

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable

Identified recording sections:

Kīrtan tālas, recited and played on khol by Haridas Mitra Thakur:

1. Dui ṭhokā	[00:10-00:46]
2. Choṭo ektāl	[00:46-01:19]
3. Ḍã̄spāhiṛā	[01:19-01:59]
4. Teoṭ	[01:59-02:40]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1915

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 155 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 266

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

Kirtan tals, 5. ganjol, 6. chotorupak, 7. lopha. Played [by] Sankhet Bihari M. Th.

Identified performer(s): Sanket Bihari Mitra Thakur

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable

Identified recording sections:

Kīrtan tālas, recited and played on khol by Sanket Bihari Mitra Thakur:

1. Gañjal	[00:11-01:16]
2. Choṭo rūpak	[01:16-01:39]
3. Lophā (performer restarts at 02:14)	[01:39-02:47]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1916

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 155 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 267

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

a. Brahmotal, 8. choto dashkhushi, 9. jhap, really brahmatal.

Gauro Gopal M. Th.

Identified performer(s): Gauragopal Mitra Thakur

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

Kīrtan tālas, recited and played on khol by Gauragopal Mitra Thakur:

1. Brahmatāl	[00:10-01:52]
2. Choṭo daśkośī	[01:52-02:15]
3. Jhãptāl	[02:15-02:32]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1917

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 155 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 268

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

9. Jhap, 10. gorer hathi jomat, 11. artal. Played by Advaity Chandra

M. Th.[,] followed by brahmatal played by Govardham Mitra Thakur.

Identified performer(s): Advaitachandra Mitra Thakur, Govardhan Mitra Thakur

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable

Identified recording sections:

Kīrtan tālas, recited and played on khol:

1. Jhãptāl, performed by Advaitachandra Mitra Thakur	[00:10-00:38]
2. Gaṛerhāṭī jamāt, performed by Advaitachandra Mitra Thakur	[00:38-01:22]
3. Āṛtāl, performed by Advaitachandra Mitra Thakur	[01:24-02:06]

4. Brahmatāl, performed by Govardhan Mitra Thakur   [02:07-02:40]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1918

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 155 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 269

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

12. shashishekara, 14. bororupak, 19. Doj. Haridas M. Th.[,] cymbals

with mistakes Kaliyakanta M. Th.

Identified performer(s): Haridas Mitra Thakur, Kaliyakanta Mitra Thakur

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable

Identified recording sections:

Kīrtan tālas, recited and played on khol by Haridas Mitra Thakur,

kartāl accompaniment by Kaliyakanta Mitra Thakur:

1. Śaśiśekhar   [09:00-01:25]

2. Baṛa rūpak   [01:25-02:10]

3. Doj   [02:10-02:42]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1919

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 155 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 270

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

15. shomtal (borodoshkhushi) Haridas M. Th.[,] followed by a nivedanam

pad on the mrdang, in tal lopha.

Identified performer(s): Haridas Mitra Thakur

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Kīrtan tāla: Samtāl (= baṛa daśkośī), recited and played on khol, [00:11-02:40]
   followed by an instrumental composition for khol in tāla lophā,
   played by Haridas Mitra Thakur

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1920

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 155 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 271

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

13. Bir bikram, 17. Dhora[,] Haridas M. Th.

Identified performer(s): Haridas Mitra Thakur, Kaliyakanta Mitra Thakur(?)

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

Kīrtan tālas, recited and played on khol by Haridas Mitra Thakur,

with kartāl accompaniment (probably Kaliyakanta Mitra Thakur):

1. Bīrbikram   [00:13-01:12]

2. Dhaṛātāl   [01:12-02:23]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1921

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 155 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 272

Recording documentation: Kirtan from Mainadal. 12-14/8/'33[,]

16. madhyamdashkhushi, 18. boro ektal[,] Advaitachandra M. Th.

Identified performer(s): Advaitachandra Mitra Thakur

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: resonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

Kīrtan tālas, recited and played on khol by Advaitachandra Mitra Thakur:

1. Madhyam daśkośī	[00:10-01:43]
2. Baṛa ektāl;	[01:43-02:16]
performer says: "Advaitachandra Mitra Thakur from[?]	[02:16-02:22]
Moynadal"	

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2109

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): unidentified

Identified genre: Kīrtan

Identified recording location: Mongoldihi, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 25.11.1931

Recording quality: reasonable, with occasional surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Sānāi ensemble with khol accompaniment	[00:11-00:58]
2. Sānāi ensemble with khol and kartāl accompaniment	[00:58-01:41]
3. Sānāi ensemble with khol and kartāl accompaniment	[01:47-02:44]
4. Sānāi solo	[02:52-03:15]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2111

BLSA cylinder type: brown wax cylinder

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): singer/ khol player, from Mitra Thakur family(?)

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India(?)

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933(?)

Recording quality: poor

Identified recording sections:

1. Padāvalī kīrtan, male singer with khol accompaniment,   [00:11-01:55]
   probably one performer only

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2117

BLSA cylinder type: brown wax cylinder

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Khol player from Mitra Thakur family

Identified genre: Padāvalī kīrtan

Identified recording location: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 12-14.8.1933

Recording quality: poor, with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Kīrtan tālas, recited and played on a khol   [00:12-02:53]

Appendix 5

Arnold Bake's Sound Recordings of Bāul Music
at the British Library Sound Archive

- I have listed all recordings of songs that were composed or performed by Bāuls, including recordings of Bāul musicians performing other genres (e.g. C52/1759).

Cylinder Recordings

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1734

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 83

Recording documentation: Naogaon 28/2/'32[,] Masiruddin Fakir.

"amar kotha moner jaoa hoi"

Identified performer(s): Masiruddin Fakir

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Naogaon Sadar, Naogaon,

Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Āmār kathā maner ỳāoyā hay"(?), sung by   [00:10-03:44]
   Masiruddin Fakir, with gopīỳantra accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1735

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 84

Recording documentation: idem. Rasik Poromanik.

„o re shadher bostomi, korle desantor"

Identified performer(s): Rasik Poromanik

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Naogaon Sadar, Naogaon,

Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Ore sādher boṣṭamī, karle deśāntar" sung by   [00:11-03:48]

   Rasik Poromanik, with ḍuggī accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1736

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 85

Recording documentation: Mukunda Fakir

a. tin baerar aek bagan ache[,] b. premer shikol legeche

Identified performer(s): Mukunda Fakir

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Naogaon Sadar, Naogaon,

Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Tin bheṛār ek bāgān āche", sung by   [00:11-02:13]

   Mukunda Fakir, with gopīẏantra accompaniment

2. Bāul song: "Premer śikal legeche", sung by Mukunda Fakir,   [02:16-03:34]

   with gopīẏantra accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1737

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 86

Recording documentation: Basiruddin Fakir. „ami kaemon kore bhobo pare jai"

Identified performer(s): Basiruddin Fakir

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Naogaon Sadar, Naogaon, Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: poor, speed varies

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Āmi keman kare bhaba pāre jāi", sung by   [00:13-03:35]
   Basiruddin Fakir, with gopīy̐antra accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1738

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 87

Recording documentation: Diljan Fakir. (Kunij gram; p. o. Kampur)

(or Darilpur. Naogaon subdivision[,] p.o. Soregachi)

„nina gange shonar tori"

Identified performer(s): Diljan Fakir

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Naogaon Sadar, Naogaon, Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: poor

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Nonā gaṅge sonār tarī", sung by Diljan Fakir,   [00:14-03:17]
   with ḍuggī accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1739

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 88

Recording documentation: Jaura Khatan Khaepi

„ami namaz porete jai colore"

Identified performer(s): Jaura Khatan Khepi

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Naogaon Sadar, Naogaon,

Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Āmi nāmāj paṛete jāi calo re", sung by   [00:12-03:29]

    Jaura Khatan Khepi with gopīȳantra accompaniment

    (first part of recording)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1740

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 88b

Recording documentation: Jaura Khatan Khaepi

„ami namaz porete jai colore"

Identified performer(s): Jaura Khatan Khepi

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Naogaon Sadar, Naogaon,

Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Āmi nāmāj paṛete jāi calo re",   [00:10-03:28]

    sung by Jaura Khatan Khepi with gopīȳantra accompaniment

    (second and final part of recording)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1741

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 89

Recording documentation: idem. "Namaz porete deri"

Identified performer(s): Jaura Khatan Khepi

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Naogaon Sadar, Naogaon,

Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Nāmāj paṛete derī", sung by Jaura Khatan Khepi,   [00:10-02:25]
   with gopīẏantra accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1742

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 90

Recording documentation: idem. "prem koro mon"

Identified performer(s): Jaura Khatan Khepi

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Naogaon Sadar, Naogaon,

Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable, but weak signal

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Prem karo man", sung by Jaura Khatan Khepi   [00:10-03:19]
   with gopīẏantra accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1743

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 106 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 91

Recording documentation: idem. "na go ma bo amader

khaepeche"

Identified performer(s): Jaura Khatan Khepi

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Naogaon Sadar, Naogaon,

Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Mā go mā, bau āmār kṣepeche", sung by   [00:13-03:44]

    Jaura Khatan Khepi with gopīẏantra accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1755

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 103

Recording documentation: Kenduli Baulsong, by Haridas Khaepa.

Identified performer(s): Haridas Khepa

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.1.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song, sung by Haridas Khepa with gopīẏantra   [00:11-03:27]

    and ḍuggī accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1756

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 104

Recording documentation: idem. Muralidas. (ektal)

Identified performer(s): Murali Das

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.1.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song, sung by Murali Das with gopīẏantra and ḍuggī   [00:11-03:29]
    accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1757

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 105

Recording documentation: idem. Krishnavallabh. (ar korvali tal)

Identified performer(s): Krishnavallabh(?) and two other Bāuls

Identified genre: Bāul music (dehatattva)

Identified recording location: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.1.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Eman sādher bāgāne āmār",   [00:10-03:35]
    sung by three Bāuls with ḍuggī and kartāl accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1758

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 106

Recording documentation: idem. Kheali. Murali DAS.

Identified performer(s): Murali Das, Kheali(?)

Identified genre: Bāul music (Vaiṣṇava)

Identified recording location: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.1.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song: "Kuñje kuñje balo elo ke",   [00:12-01:44]

     sung by Murali Das with ḍuggī accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1759

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 107

Recording documentation: Jumur Sangit & Haridas Khaepa flute.

(Baraka; ar khemta tal)

Identified performer(s): Haridas Khepa

Identified genre: Jhumur

Identified recording location: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.1.1932

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Jhumur song, played by Haridas Khepa on flute,   [00:12-02:49]

     with ḍuggī accompaniment

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1761

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 109

Recording documentation: Baul Gan. by Acintadashi, the sevadashi of

Murali Das.

Identified performer(s): Acintadashi, Murali Das

Identified genre: Bāul music

Identified recording location: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.1.1932

Recording quality: Cylinder made from badly broken and repaired original.

Weak signal and surface noise.

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song, sung by Acintadashi with ḍuggī accompaniment,   [00:13-03:24]
    vocal accompaniment by Murali Das

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2150

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert, which also includes lyrics of

the song "Āmār sonār gaur kene kĕde elo"

Identified performer(s): unidentified young male singer,

probably a student of Visva-Bharati University

Identified genre: Bāul song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan(?), Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 1931-34

Recording quality: poor, with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Bāul song, composed by Gagan Harkara (1845-1910):   [00:10-01:53]
    "Āmi kothāy pābo tāre"

Reel-to-reel Recordings

BLSA tape number: C52/NEP/67

BLSA tape track number: 1

Recording documentation: Religious Vaisnava songs, sung by mendicants

Identified performer(s): Naboni Das Khepa, Sudhananda Das Baul

Identified genre: Bāul

Identified recording location: Calcutta, West Bengal

Identified recording date: 29.2.1956-1.3.1956

Recording quality: good, but with some microphone/ cable noises

Identified recording sections:

1. "Dekho dekho man", sung by Naboni Das Khepa   [00:01-04:12]

    accompanying himself on the khamak,

    with accompanist playing kartāl; amplified performance

2. "Guru pade prem bhakti", sung by Sudhananda Das Baul,   [04:12-11:03]

    with dotārā, ḍuggī, ghuṅgur and kartāl accompaniment;

    amplified performance

3. "Guru pade prem bhakti", sung by Sudhananda Das Baul,   [11:03-16:33]

    with dotārā, ḍuggī, ghuṅgur and kartāl accompaniment;

    acoustic performance

BLSA tape number: C52/NEP/68

BLSA tape track number: 1

Recording documentation: Religious Vaisnava songs, sung by mendicants

Identified performer(s): Naboni Das Khepa, Radharani Dasi,

Purna Das Baul, Gopal Das

Identified genre: Bāul

Identified recording location: Calcutta, West Bengal

Identified recording date: 29.2.1956-1.3.1956

Recording quality: good, but with some microphone/ cable noises

Identified recording sections:

1. "Ekṭā sonār mānuṣ eseche", sung by Naboni Das Khepa   [00:00-04:35]

    accompanying himself on the ḍuggī and gopīẏantra,

    with accompanist playing kartāl; amplified performance

2. "Kāl sakāle hari bale āmār nitāi-gaur premer nāy",   [04:35-08:21]

    sung by Radharani Dasi, with dotārā and kartāl

    accompaniment; amplified performance

3. "Ore āmār abodh man, sarbadā cetane thāk re man",   [08:21-12:55]

    sung by Purna Das Baul with khamak, gopīẏantra, ghuṅgur,

    and kartāl accompaniment; amplified performance

4. "Bãkā nadīr gatik bojhā bhār", sung by Gopal Das,   [12:55-15:10]

    with ḍuggī, gopīẏantra and ghuṅgur accompaniment;

amplified performance

Appendix 6

Arnold Bake's Sound Recordings of Rabindrasangit
at the British Library Sound Archive

Cylinder Recordings

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2100

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

(all tracks)

Identified genre: Carnatic music (track 1), Rabindrasangit (track 2)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: poor, with fluctuating speed

Identified recording sections:

1. Kṛti, composed by Muthuswami Dikshitar (1775-1835):   [00:10-01:46]

     "Mīnākṣi me mudaṃ dehi"

     (continuation of C52/2097, second line of caraṇam till end,

     second and final part of recording)

2. Rabindrasangit: "Kakhan dile parāye" (also on C52/2105)   [01:46-03:26]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2105

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

Identified genre: Rabindrasangit

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Rabindrasangit: "Kakhan dile parāye" (also on C52/2100: 2)   [00:11-03:05]

Reel-to-reel Recordings

BLSA tape number: C52/NEP/70

BLSA tape track number: 1

Recording documentation: Tagore song, sung by Chitra Chaudhury

Identified performer(s): Chitralekha Chowdhury, singer (female)

Identified genre: Rabindrasangit

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 7.3.1956

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Rabindrasangit: "Amala dhabala pāle legeche"   [00:01-03:38]

BLSA tape number: C52/NEP/71

BLSA tape track number: 1

Recording documentation: Tagore song, sung by Indira Devi Chaudhurani

Identified performer(s): Indira Devi Chaudhurani (1873-1960), singer (female)

Identified genre: Rabindrasangit

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 8.3.1956

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Rabindrasangit: "Katabār bhebechinu",   [00:01-03:10]

    musical analysis in *Tagore and Western Music* (Bake, 1961)

Appendix 7

Arnold Bake's Sound Recordings
of other Bengali Folk and Devotional Music
at the British Library Sound Archive

- Recordings are listed by performers, and within this overarching division sequentially by catalogue numbers.

Cylinder Recordings

Ranjan Shaha, from Kasba (Birbhum)

(probably depicted on the photos SMBC SNK 61-4)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1732

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 81

Recording documentation: Nov., 1931. Santiniketan.

Ranjan Shaha. (p. o. Kasba, Birbhum) „amar nei pare"

Identified performer(s): Ranjan Shaha, from Kasba (Birbhum)

Identified genre: Devotional folk song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: November 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Devotional folk song: "Āmār nāi pārer kori, dayāmay hari   [00:12-03:35]

   pār kara nija guṇe", sung with sarinda accompaniment

   (also on C52/2119)

[reference tone]   [03:35-03:39]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1733

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 109 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 82

Recording documentation: idem. "miche kaeno"

Identified performer(s): Ranjan Shaha, from Kasba (Birbhum)

Identified genre: Devotional folk song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: November 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Devotional folk song: "Miche kena bhābanā re man",   [00:11-03:25]
   sung with sarinda accompaniment

[reference tone]   [03:25-03:29]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2119

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 106 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Ranjan Shaha, from Kasba (Birbhum)

Identified genre: Devotional folk song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: November 1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Devotional folk song: "Āmār nāi pārer kori, dayāmay hari   [00:12-03:26]
   pār kara nija guṇe", sung with sarinda accompaniment
   (also on C52/1732)

[reference tone]   [03:27-03:31]

Ganja Workmen from Naogaon

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1744

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 106 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 92

Recording documentation: idem. [i.e. Naogaon 28/2/'32]

Ganja workmen. "Probhu daya koro"(Azimuddin)

Identified performer(s): Azimuddin, ganja workman

Identified genre: Devotional folk song

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Devotional folk song: "Prabhu dayā karo", sung by Azimuddin,   [00:10-03:34]
   accompanied by other singers

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1745

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 106 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 93

Recording documentation: idem. [i.e. Naogaon 28/2/'32]

"jol bhoro jol bhoro" (Saura ali)

Identified performer(s): Saura Ali, ganja workman

Identified genre: Work song

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Work song: "Jal bharo jal bharo", sung by Saura Ali,   [00:11-03:25]
   accompanied by other singers

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1746

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 106 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 94

Recording documentation: idem. [i.e. Naogaon 28/2/'32]

a. "kaj nei cawale" b. "aj guli aek bonya elo" (Komaluddin Sardar)

Identified performer(s): Saura Ali and Komaluddin Sardar, ganja workmen

Identified genre: work song (track 1), devotional folk song (track 2)

Identified recording location: Naogaon, Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Identified recording date: 28.2.1932

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Work song: "Kāj nei cāler ki ba", sung by Saura Ali,   [00:13-02:05]
   accompanied by other singers

2. Devotional folk song: "Ore āge nadī rugṇa chilo,   [02:05-03:43]
   ore ājgubi ek banyā elo", sung by Komaluddin Sardar

Kusum, a Bhumij Woman

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1760

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 108

Recording documentation: Jumur. Kenduli. by Kusum, a Bhumij woman,

from Bankura.

Identified performer(s): Kusum, a Bhumij woman

Identified genre: Jhumur

Identified recording location: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.1.1932

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Jhumur song, sung by Kusum, with drum accompaniment   [00:12-02:58]

Laksmisvar Sinha, from Sylhet

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1896

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 247

Recording documentation: Bhatial tune (East Bengal Boatmen song)

sung by Laksmisvar Sinha[,] Santiniketan 16/4/'33

Identified performer(s): Laksmisvar Sinha

Identified genre: Bhāṭiyāli

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 16.4.1933

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhāṭiyāli: "Hari bolo, nauka kholo"   [00:10-03:21]

   (Bake's transcription, presumably of erased recording take

    made on other cylinder: PP MS 21/43)

Bhiresvar Chakravarti, from Dhaka district

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1897

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 248

Recording documentation: Bhatial tune (taken by Tagore as «gram cara»)

sung by Bhiresvar Chakravarti (Dacca district)[,] Santiniketan 14/5/'33

Identified performer(s): Bhiresvar Chakravarti

Identified genre: Bhāṭiyāli

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 14.5.1933

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhāṭiyāli: "Kon ajānā deśera lāgi kānder re mor man"   [00:12-03:02]

   (also on C52/2113 and C52/2118)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1898

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 249

Recording documentation: Song in Baul style influenced by classical music

Bhiresvar Chakravarti[,] Santiniketan 14/5/'33

Identified performer(s): Bhiresvar Chakravarti

Identified genre: unidentified

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 14.5.1933

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Song in Baul style influenced by classical music   [00:11-03:12]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2113

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 125 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Bhiresvar Chakravarti

Identified genre: Bhāṭiyāli

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: May 1933(?)

Recording quality: poor, with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhāṭiyāli: "Kon ajānā deśera lāgi kānder re mor man"   [00:12-02:44]

   (also on C52/1897 and C52/2118)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2118

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Bhiresvar Chakravarti

Identified genre: Bhāṭiyāli

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: May 1933(?)

Recording quality: good, but with some surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhāṭiyāli: "Kon ajānā deśera lāgi kānder re mor man"   [00:10-03:05]

   (also on C52/1897 and C52/2113)

Baori Women

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1903

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 254

Recording documentation: Santiniketan 19/8/'33[,] Song of labour.

Baori women working on roof post office.

Identified performer(s): Baori women

Identified genre: Work song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 19.8.1933

Recording quality: poor quality as cylinder covered in mould, therefore

weak signal and surface noise.

Identified recording sections:

1. Work song   [00:12-02:39]

Amir Sheikh, Blind Muslim Singer from Labhpur [Labpur?] (Birbhum)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1904

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 255

Recording documentation: Santiniketan 27/7/'33 „Hari tumi jodi"

sung by Amir Shech, blind Moslim singer from Labhpur, Birbhum

Identified performer(s): Amir Sheikh

Identified genre: Devotional song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 27.7.1933

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise.

Identified recording sections:

1. Devotional song: „Hari tumi ỳadi"   [00:11-02:47]

   (first part of recording, continues on C52/1905;

   also on C52/2116)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1905

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 256

Recording documentation: idem. „Hari tumi jodi", concluded.

b. Bhayankar bhavakul

Identified performer(s): Amir Sheikh

Identified genre: Devotional songs

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 27.7.1933

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise.

Identified recording sections:

1. Devotional song: „Hari tumi ỳadi"   [00:13-01:07]

   (second part of recording, continued from C52/1904;

   also on C52/2116)

2. Devotional song: "Bhayaṅkar bhavakul"   [01:07-02:17]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1906

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 257

Recording documentation: idem. mystical song, „Harishadhon post office"

Identified performer(s): Amir Sheikh

Identified genre: Devotional song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 27.7.1933

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise.

Identified recording sections:

1. Devotional song: „Āmi ciradini jāgi phiri tāi harir uddeśye"   [00:12-02:43]

   (first part of recording, continues on C52/1907)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1907

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 258

Recording documentation: harishadhon post office concluded

Identified performer(s): Amir Sheikh

Identified genre: Devotional song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 27.7.1933

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise.

Identified recording sections:

1. Devotional song: „Āmi ciradini jāgi phiri tāi harir uddeśye"   [00:11-02:23]

   (second part of recording, continued from C52/1906)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2116

BLSA cylinder type: brown wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 150 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Amir Sheikh

Identified genre: Devotional song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 27.7.1933

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Devotional song: „Hari tumi ỳadi"   [00:10-02:21]

   (also on C52/1904-5)

Sailors Onboard the S.S. Streefkerk, Travelling from Calcutta to Antwerp

BLSA cylinder number: C52/1855

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 347

Recording documentation: „Shunu bondo shivsarane koi"[,]

Fayazullah 14/4/'34

Identified performer(s): Fayazullah

Identified genre: Folk song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 14.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: "Śuno bandhu śibsarane kai"   [00:13-03:15]

   (first part of recording, continues on C52/2012)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2004

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 341

Recording documentation: Sayed Ali, Sailor from Hirpur (Comilla p.o.)

"Hridoy jole"[,] 1/4/'34

Identified performer(s): Sayed Ali

Identified genre: Folk song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 1.4.1934

Recording quality: poor, with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: „Hr̥day jale"   [00:09-03:09]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2005

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 341a

Recording documentation: a. "amay" b. same as 341. singer Sayed Ali

Identified performer(s): Sayed Ali

Identified genre: Folk songs

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 1.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: „Āmāy…"   [00:12-01:48]

2. Folk song: „Hr̥day jale"   [01:48-03:42]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2006

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 342

Recording documentation: "prem koriye shukh hole nai" Sayed Ali.

Identified performer(s): Sayed Ali

Identified genre: Folk song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 1.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: „Prem kariye sukh hale nāy"   [00:11-03:05]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2007

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 343

Recording documentation: "she dukh" singer Fayazullah (stoker)

from Damrasari p.o. Hirpur Bazar, district Sylhet[,] 2/4/'34

Identified performer(s): Fayazullah

Identified genre: Folk song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 2.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: „Se duḥkh"   [00:12-02:58]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2008

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 344

Recording documentation: „o go namti amar" singer Tazal Ahmad

(sailor)[,] gram Ghutia[,] p.o. Shadar. Noakhali[,] 8/4/'34

Identified performer(s): Tazal Ahmad

Identified genre: Folk song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 8.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: „O go namti[?] āmār"   [00:11-03:24]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2009

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 345

Recording documentation: a. „Amar mon bahulo" Sayed Ali

b. Tazal Ahmad : „brishti pore"

Identified performer(s): Sayed Ali, Tazal Ahmad

Identified genre: Folk songs

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 8.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: "Āmār man bāula", sung by Sayed Ali   [00:14-02:00]

2. Folk song: "Br̥ṣṭi paṛe", sung by Tazal Ahmad   [02:00-03:16]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2010

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 346

Recording documentation: a. „gram upor" Tazal Ahmad

b. „pran bondu" Sayed Ali

Identified performer(s): Tazal Ahmad, Sayed Ali

Identified genre: Folk songs

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 8.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Two folk songs: "Grām upar", sung by Tazal Ahmad,   [00:11-03:39]

    and "Prāṇ bandhu", sung by Sayed Ali

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2012

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 347a

Recording documentation: idem. [i.e. „Shunu bondo shivsarane koi"

Fayazullah 14/4/'34]

Identified performer(s): Fayazullah

Identified genre: Folk song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 14.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: "Śuno bandhu śibsarane kai"   [00:11-02:51]

    (second part of recording, continued from C52/1855)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2014

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 100 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 348a

Recording documentation: "o pran nath" Fayaz-Ullah

Identified performer(s): Fayazullah

Identified genre: Folk song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 14.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: "O prāṇ nāth"   [00:12-03:44]

   (recording continued from Bake II 348)

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2015

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 349

Recording documentation: „jabe jodi mor" Fayazullah. (this song

compare Tag. Compositions)

Identified performer(s): Fayazullah

Identified genre: Folk song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 14.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: "Ỳābe ỳadi mor"   [00:11-03:34]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2016

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 111 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 350

Recording documentation: Sari gan (boatmensong)

„sarathi jibon gailo" Fayazullah 15/4/'34

Identified performer(s): Fayazullah

Identified genre: Sārigān

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 15.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Sārigān: "Sārājīban[?] gāilo"   [00:12-02:49]

[reference tone]   [02:50-02:56]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2017

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 351

Recording documentation: Pir murshid-er gan "oi kore"

singer Sawabali (oilman)[,] gram Harikhailash. po. Bisvanath[,] Sylhet

Identified performer(s): Sawabali

Identified genre: Devotional folk song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 15.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Devotional folk song: "Oi kare"   [00:11-03:27]

[reference tone]   [03:28-03:34]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2018

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 353

Recording documentation: rice cutting song „tora koile"[,] Lal Mian &

Usman Ali (sailor)

Identified performer(s): Lal Mian, Usman Ali

Identified genre: Work song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 15.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Work song: "Tarā[?] kaile"   [00:11-02:54]

    sung together by Lal Mian and Usman Ali

[reference tone]   [03:12-03:19]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2019

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 354

Recording documentation: "dadar boi" Sayed Ali

Identified performer(s): Sayed Ali

Identified genre: Folk song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 15.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: "Dādār bai"   [00:11-03:35]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2020

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 355

Recording documentation: "amar mon pagol" idem.

Identified performer(s): Sayed Ali

Identified genre: Folk song

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: 15.4.1934

Recording quality: reasonable, but with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: "Āmār man pāgal"   [00:11-03:18]

[reference tone]   [03:18-03:24]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2021

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 356

Recording documentation: [1. Lal mian, ami ki [illegible];

2. Sayid Ali, omay…]

Identified performer(s): Lal Mian, Sayed Ali

Identified genre: Folk songs

Identified recording location: onboard the S.S. Streefkerk

Identified recording date: April 1934

Recording quality: poor, with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song: "Āmi ki…", sung by Lal Mian   [00:12-02:03]

2. Folk song: "Omāy…", sung by Sayed Ali   [02:03-03:33]

Appendix 8

Arnold Bake's Sound Recordings of Songs from other Regions of India (performed in Santiniketan) at the British Library Sound Archive

- Recordings are listed by performers, and within this overarching division sequentially by catalogue numbers.
- Except Gurudayal Mallik and Indira Devi Chaudhurani, all performers are students of Visva-Bharati University.
- The performers wrote their personal details and song lyrics on the cylinder inserts.
- Among the reel-to-reel recordings, the folk songs from Orissa have not been identified. I have given these a sequential numeration.

Cylinder Recordings

Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), Singer (Female)

Note on insert of C52/2104 (cylinder missing):

"Savitri Govind. [Age:] 18. [Caste:] Bramhin [sic] [Place of birth:] Bangalore"

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1649

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 9

Recording documentation: Sanskritgesang, ges. v. einer jungen Südinderin

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

Identified genre: Carnatic music

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Kṛti, composed by Muthuswami Dikshitar: "Mīnākṣi me mudaṃ dehi"

    singer announces song   [00:12-00:16]

    sings song   [00:16-03:00]

    (first part of recording, continuation on C52/1650;

    also on C52/2097 and C52/2100: 1)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1650

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 10

Recording documentation: Sanskritgesang, ges. v. einer jungen

Südinderin[,] Forts. [Fortsetzung]

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

Identified genre: Carnatic music

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Kṛti, composed by Muthuswami Dikshitar: [00:11-03:08]

    "Mīnākṣi me mudaṃ dehi"

    (from the middle of the first line of caraṇam till end,

    second and final part of recording, continued from C52/1649;

    also on C52/2097 and C52/2100: 1)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1651

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 11

Recording documentation: Religiöser Gesang der Dichterin Mirabai,

ges. v. einer jungen Südinderin

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

Identified genre: Mira bhajan

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhajan, composed by Mirabai: "Gopāla pyāre"

    singer recites lyrics,   [00:13-0:20]

    sings song   [00:20-2:30]

    (also on C52/2101)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1653

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 13

Recording documentation: Lied Kabirs, ges. v. einer jungen Südinderin

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

Identified genre: Kabir bhajan

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhajan, composed by Kabir: "Suna suna sādhujī"

    singer announces song   [00:11-00:15]

    sings song   [00:15-02:19]

    (also on C52/2099: 1)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2096

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 114 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

Identified genre: Mira bhajan

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhajan, composed by Mirabai: "Kinhe dekha"   [00:12-02:54]

   (the song inspired Tagore to compose "Kakhan dile parāye",

   sung by Savithri Krishnan on C52/2100: 2 and C52/2105)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2097

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

Identified genre: Carnatic music

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Kṛti, composed by Muthuswami Dikshitar: [00:12-03:40]

   "Mīnākṣi me mudaṃ dehi"

   (first part of recording, ends during second line of caraṇam,

   continues from there on C52/2100: 1; also on C52/1649-50)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2099

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

Identified genre: Kabir bhajan (track 1), ṭhumrī (track 2)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhajan, composed by Kabir: "Suna suna sādhujī"   [00:10-02:00]

     (also on C52/1653)

2. Ṭhumrī: "Koi kachu kaha re"   [02:00-03:37]

     (the song inspired Tagore to compose "Tumi kichu diye jāo")

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2100

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

(all tracks)

Identified genre: Carnatic music (track 1), Rabindrasangit (track 2)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: poor, with fluctuating speed

Identified recording sections:

1. Kṛti, composed by Muthuswami Dikshitar: [00:10-01:46]

     "Mīnākṣi me mudaṃ dehi"

     (continuation of C52/2097, second line of caraṇam till end,

     second and final part of recording; also on C52/1649-50)

2. Rabindrasangit: "Kakhan dile parāye"   [01:46-03:26]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2101

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

Identified genre: Mira bhajan

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with fluctuating speed

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhajan, composed by Mirabai: "Gopāla pyāre",   [00:11-02:29]

    recording drops (silence),   [02:29-03:26]

    "Gopāla pyāre" (apparently a digitisation error,   [03:26-03:58]

    waveform identical with beginning of [00:11-02:29])

    (also on C52/1651)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2102

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

Identified genre: Modern Hindi song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Modern Hindi song, composed by   [00:11-02:35]

    Harindranath Chattopadhyay: "Taruṇ aruṇ rañjit se dharaṇī"

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2106

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): Savithri Krishnan (née Govind), singer (female)

Identified genre: Mira bhajan

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhajan, composed by Mirabai: "Manhe cākar rākho jī"   [00:11-02:30]

Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, Singer (Male)

Note on insert of C52/2105:

"Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi. (Gujerati.) Age: 19 years. Caste: Brahmin. Birth place: Vādā (Dt. Thānā.)"

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1654

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 15

Recording documentation: dto. [i.e. the same as Bake I 14: Lied Kabirs][425]

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Garba song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Garba song: "Āvi rūdi ajavāli rāt"   [00:11-03:41]

   (also on C52/2139: 2)

[reference tone]   [03:41-03:44]

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[425] The cylinders C52/1654-6 carry notes on cylinder rims and boxes designating them as the sequence BPA Bake I 15-7, but their recording content does not correspond to the Berlin documentation. According to content, the correct labelling would be Bake I 17, 15, 16. This suggests that the cylinders were swapped by mistake, before they were originally labelled.

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1655

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 16

Recording documentation: Religiöses Lied von einem (noch lebenden) Guru in Puskar[426]

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Kabir bhajan

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhajan, composed by Kabir: "Is tan dhan kī kaun baṛhāī"   [00:14-03:29]

    (also on C52/2141, and C52/2144: 2)

[reference tone]   [03:32-03:43]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1656

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 17

Recording documentation: Alt-Gujerati, Ballade zum Frauentanz Garaba[427]

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Rajasthani folk song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Rajasthani folk song: "Tum paṛho re tota"   [00:11-03:12]

    (also on C52/2140)

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[426] See footnote 425.
[427] See footnote 425.

[reference tone]   [03:17-03:24]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1657

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 105 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I 18

Recording documentation: dto. [i.e. Alt-Gujerati, Ballade zum Frauentanz Garaba]

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Garba song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Garba song: "Gāmamān sāsarun ne gāmamān piriyun"   [00:11-03:51]
   (also on C52/2147)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2103

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Mira bhajan

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhajan, composed by Mira: "Mīla jānā rām pyāre"   [00:11-03:04]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2139

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm; track 1 reducing to 105 rpm towards end

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Halardu (Gujarati cradle song) (track 1), Garba song (track 2)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Halardu (Gujarati cradle song): "Tame mārā devnā dīdhel cho"   [00:19-02:09]

2. Garba song: "Āvi rūdi ajavāli rāt"   [02:23-03:31]

    (also on C52/1654)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2140

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm, reducing to 102 rpm at the end

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Rajasthani folk song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable, but speed fluctuates towards end

Identified recording sections:

1. Rajasthani folk song: "Tum paṛho re tota"   [00:13-03:26]

    (also on C52/1656)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2141

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Kabir bhajan

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhajan, composed by Kabir: "Is tan dhan kī kaun baṛhāī"   [00:11-02:51]

    (also on C52/1655, and C52/2144: 2)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2142

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Gujarati folk song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Gujarati folk song   [00:10-03:06]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2143

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Mira bhajan

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Bhajan, composed by Mira: "Junu to thayu" [00:11-02:34]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2144

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert of C52/2142

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Gujarati folk song (track 1), Kabir bhajan (track 2)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Gujarati folk song, entitled "Mahāṛ": [00:12-01:43]
    "Māre jāvu che pele pār re"

2. Bhajan, composed by Kabir: "Is tan dhan kī kaun baṛhāī" [01:43-03:41]
    (also on C52/1655, and C52/2141)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2145

BLSA cylinder type: brown wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Garba song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Garba song: "Bāra bāra varase naṇadal āvyān" [00:07-03:38]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2146

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Gujarati folk song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Gujarati folk song: "Sonal"   [00:10-02:33]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2147

BLSA cylinder type: brown wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert of C52/2144

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Garba song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Garba song: "Gāmamān sāsarun ne gāmamān piriyun"   [00:09-03:22]

    (also on C52/1657)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2148

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert of C52/2149

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)

Identified genre: Gujarati folk song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Gujarati folk song: "Kāli thikari kuve ghasie"   [00:10-02:20]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2149

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Pinakin Keshavlal Trivedi, singer (male)(?)

Identified genre: Gujarati folk song(?)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: April 1931

Recording quality: poor, with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Gujarati folk song(?)   [00:11-02:15]

Sataya Narayan, Singer (Male)

Bake's documentation: "Sataya Narayan, from Kandavalla, Bezwada"

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1763

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Santini-ketan. Febr., 1932.

Sataya Narayan, from Kandavalla, Bezwada. a. Song to Damayanti.

b. Song about Haziccandra. c. prayer. d. prayer.

Identified performer(s): Sataya Narayan, singer (male)

Identified genre: Devotional songs

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: February 1932

Recording quality: reasonable, but some repeating grooves and
surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Song to Damayanti	[00:12-00:45]
2. Song about Haziccandra	[00:45-01:28]
3. Prayer song 1	[01:28-02:14]
4. Prayer song 2	[02:14-03:14]
[reference tone]	[03:16-03:23]

G. Mapara, Singer (Male)

Note on insert of C52/2095:

"G. Mapara. Age 20. [Birth place:] Mahad, Konkan [Maharashtra]. [Caste:] Vaishya."

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2095

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 120 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): G. Mapara, singer (male)

Identified genre: Marathi *pāḷṇā-s* (cradle songs)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: c. May 1931 (Bake to v. Hornbostel, 12.5.1931, BPA)

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Marathi pāḷṇā: "Viṭhucyā darvājyālā"	[00:11-02:05]
2. Marathi pāḷṇā: "Vājīvare bāḷa velhāḷa"	[02:14-03:28]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2098

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm; track 2 reducing from 116 to 103 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Lyrics on insert

Identified performer(s): G. Mapara, singer (male)

Identified genre: Marathi folk songs

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: c. May 1931 (Bake to v. Hornbostel, 12.5.1931, BPA)

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Marathi *lāvaṇī* (folk song)   [00:11-02:38]

2. Marathi folk song in rāga bihāg   [02:51-03:55]

Gurudayal Mallik (1896-1970), Singer (Male)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1890

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 241

Recording documentation: Meri kisti kara den. Panjabi folk song

sung by Gurudayal Mallik (Karachi)[,] Santiniketan 10/4/'33

Identified performer(s): Gurudayal Mallik

Identified genre: Punjabi folk song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 10.4.1933

Recording quality: reasonable

Identified recording sections:

1. Punjabi folk song: "Meri kisti kara den"   [00:11-03:09]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1891

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 242

Recording documentation: Song of Guru Nanak[,][428]

sung by Gurudayal Mallik[,] 15/4/'33

Identified performer(s): Gurudayal Mallik

Identified genre: *Śabad* by Guru Arjun, from the *Gurū Granth Sāhib*

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 15.4.1933

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Śabad: "Miharavān sāhib miharavān"   [00:10-02:46]

   (also on C52/2115)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1892

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 243

Recording documentation: Panjabi mystical song[,]

Gurudayal Mallik 17/4/'33

Identified performer(s): Gurudayal Mallik

Identified genre: Punjabi devotional song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 17.4.1933

Recording quality: reasonable, but weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Punjabi devotional song   [00:11-02:46]

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[428] The *śabad* was composed by the fifth Sikh guru, Arjun, but carries the name of the first Sikh guru, Nanak, in the signature line, which is a convention that the Sikh gurus after Guru Nanak maintained. Hence, their *śabads* are often mistakenly attributed to him.

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/1893

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 115 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II 244

Recording documentation: Urdu song about Krishna[,]

Gurudayal Mallik 17/4/'33

Identified performer(s): Gurudayal Mallik

Identified genre: Punjabi devotional song

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 17.4.1933

Recording quality: good, but some surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. Punjabi devotional song about Kṛṣṇa, in Urdu language   [00:11-03:25]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2115

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 116 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: Insert with list of songs performed by

Gurudayal Mallik

Identified performer(s): Gurudayal Mallik

Identified genre: Śabad by Guru Arjun, from the *Gurū Granth Sāhib*

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 10.-17.4.1933

Recording quality: End of cylinder broken, but reasonable quality

recording with weak signal and surface noise.

Identified recording sections:

1. Śabad: "Miharavān sāhib miharavān"   [00:12-03:29]

   (also on C52/1891)

Reel-to-reel Recordings

Sulakshana Pattanayak, Singer (Female)

BLSA tape number: C52/NEP/69

BLSA tape track number: 1

Recording documentation: Orissa folk songs, sung by

Sulakshana Pattanayak

Identified performer(s): Sulakshana Pattanayak, singer (female)

Identified genre: Folk songs from Orissa

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 5.3.1956

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song from Orissa (song 1)	[00:01-02:33]
2. Folk song from Orissa (song 2)	[02:33-05:20]
3. Folk song from Orissa (song 3)	[05:20-07:21]
4. Folk song from Orissa (song 4)	[07:21-12:14]
5. Folk song from Orissa (song 5)	[12:14-16:51]

Premlata Das, Singer (Female)

BLSA tape number: C52/NEP/70

BLSA tape track number: 2

Recording documentation: Orissa folk songs, sung by Mrs Premlata Das

Identified performer(s): Premlata Das, singer (female)

Identified genre: Folk songs from Orissa

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 7.3.1956

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song from Orissa (song 6) [00:01-02:38]

BLSA tape number: C52/NEP/70

BLSA tape track number: 3

Recording documentation: Orissa folk songs, sung by Mrs Premlata Das

Identified performer(s): Premlata Das, singer (female)

Identified genre: Folk songs from Orissa

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 7.3.1956

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song from Orissa (song 7) [00:00-02:04]

BLSA tape number: C52/NEP/70

BLSA tape track number: 4

Recording documentation: Orissa folk songs, sung by Mrs Premlata Das

Identified performer(s): Premlata Das, singer (female)

Identified genre: Folk songs from Orissa

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 7.3.1956

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song from Orissa (song 8) [00:00-02:24]

BLSA tape number: C52/NEP/70

BLSA tape track number: 5

Recording documentation: Orissa folk songs, sung by Mrs Premlata Das

Identified performer(s): Premlata Das, singer (female)

Identified genre: Folk songs from Orissa

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 7.3.1956

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song from Orissa (song 9)   [00:00-01:20]

BLSA tape number: C52/NEP/70

BLSA tape track number: 6

Recording documentation: Orissa folk songs, sung by Mrs Premlata Das

Identified performer(s): Premlata Das, singer (female)

Identified genre: Folk songs from Orissa

Identified recording location: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Identified recording date: 7.3.1956

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Folk song from Orissa (song 10)   [00:00-02:45]

Appendix 9

Sound Recordings of Arnold Bake's Singing

Published Recordings

Three Pathé record discs entitled "Chansons de Rabindranath Tagore", recorded in Paris, January 1930:

Pathé disc number: X 9085

Pathé recording number (side A & B): N AP 1974-5

Side A: Kár cokher cawar haway?

Side B: Tumi usharo shonaro bindu

https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k129264b

BLSA cat. no.: 1CS0015307

Pathé disc number: X 9086

Pathé recording number (side A & B): N AP 1976-7

Side A: Nay nay bhoy; Apni amar konkhane

Side B: Akashe tor temni; Ogo Shundoro

https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k129265q

BLSA cat. no.: 1CS0015308

Pathé disc number: X 9087

Pathé recording number (side A & B): N AP 1978-9

Side A: Tor bithore jagia keje?

Side B: She kon pagol?

https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1292663

BLSA cat. no.: 1CS0015309

Unpublished Recordings

One Pathé record disc entitled "Chansons de Rabindranath Tagore",
recorded in Paris, January 1930:

Pathé disc number: n/a

Pathé recording number (side A & B): N AP 1980-1

Side A: Megher pŏre megh

Side B: Ebar tor mŏra Gange; Alo amar alo

https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k129268v

BLSA cat. no.: n/a

Cylinder Recordings

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2022

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 112 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake I A

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Arnold A. Bake (singer)

Identified genre: Rabindrasangit (Tagore songs)

Identified recording location: Berlin (?)

Identified recording date: 1930 (?)

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Fragment of German announcement (male speaker):   [00:18-00:23]

    "… gesungen von Arnold Bake"

    Tagore song: "Megher pare megh"   [00:23-04:20]

[reference tone]   [04:20-04:22]

2. German announcement (female speaker):   [04:27-04:41]

    "Nāi nāi bhay. Lied des Rabindranath Tagore, vom Sommer in

    Gmünden, September 1926"

Tagore song: "Nāi nāi bhay"   [04:41-06:07]

BLSA cylinder number: C52/2026

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 135 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II Y

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Arnold A. Bake (singer)

Identified recording location: Berlin (?)

Identified recording date: 1930 (?)

Identified genre: Rabindrasangit (Tagore songs)

Recording quality: reasonable, but with surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. German announcement (male speaker):   [00:17-00:27]

    "Tumi keman kare gān karo. Rabindranath Tagore,

    gesungen von A. A. Bake"

    Tagore song: "Tumi keman kare gān karo"   [00:27-01:53]

[reference tone]   [01:57-02:02]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2027

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (standard-size)

BLSA playback speed: 140 rpm

BPA cylinder number: Bake II Z

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Arnold A. Bake (singer)

Identified recording location: Berlin (?)

Identified recording date: 1930 (?)

Identified genre: Rabindrasangit (Tagore songs)

Recording quality: poor, with weak signal and surface noise

Identified recording sections:

1. German announcement (male speaker):

    "(…) Pratidin āmi. Rabindranath Tagore (…) gesungen   [00:16-00:24]

(…) Arnold Bake"

Tagore song: "Pratidin āmi" [00:24-02:50]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2120

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 106 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Arnold A. Bake (singer)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan (?)

Identified recording date: 1931 (?)

Identified genre: unidentified

Recording quality: reasonable, but only 2 of 13 tracks are playable

Identified recording sections:

1. Improvised melody (melismatic singing, without lyrics) [00:12-00:26]

2. [silence, laughter, silence] [00:29-00:39]

3. Bake starts singing another improvised melody, [00:39-00:56]

   stops, then continues (melismatic singing, without lyrics)

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2121

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 106 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Arnold A. Bake (singer)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan (?)

Identified recording date: 1931 (?)

Identified genre: Hindustani classical music

Recording quality: reasonable, but only 2 of 18 tracks are playable

Identified recording sections:

1. Short *ākar*[429] phrase in rāga Kafi   [00:23-00:37]

3. Short ākar phrase in rāga Jogiya   [00:45-01:03]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2122

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 106 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Arnold A. Bake (singer)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan (?)

Identified recording date: 1931 (?)

Identified genre: European music

Recording quality: reasonable, but only 2 of 10 tracks are playable

Identified recording sections:

1. Improvised melody (melismatic singing, without lyrics)   [00:24-00:38]

2. Fragment of French song   [00:46-01:13]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2124

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Arnold A. Bake (singer), others unidentified

Identified recording location: unknown

Identified recording date: 1931 (?)

Identified genre: unknown

Recording quality: reasonable, but cylinder has many false starts

Identified recording sections:

1. Solo played on an Indian drum   [00:10-00:48]

---

[429] A melodic phrase sung on the vowel "ā", hence called *ā-kar* ("implementation of ā") in Hindustani classical music.

2. Bake sings an improvised melody   [00:48-00:58]

   (melismatic singing, without lyrics)

3. Drum continues   [00:58-01:02]

4. Male singer performs part of a song (Buddhist/ Nepal?)   [01:07-01:35]

BLSA cylinder number and type: C52/2136

BLSA cylinder type: black wax cylinder (Ediphone)

BLSA playback speed: 110 rpm

BPA cylinder number: n/a

Recording documentation: n/a

Identified performer(s): Arnold A. Bake (singer)

Identified recording location: Santiniketan (?)

Identified recording date: 1931 (?)

Identified genre: Indian music

Recording quality: good

Identified recording sections:

1. Improvised melody (melismatic singing, without lyrics)   [00:11-00:37]

2. Improvised melody (melismatic singing, without lyrics)   [00:37-01:16]

Appendix 10

Arnold Bake's Film Recordings of Devotional and Folk Music and Dance from the Bengal Region at the British Library Sound Archive (sorted by Genres)

Rabindrasangit

Performer: Dinendranath Tagore and music students of Visva-Bharati University performing Rabindrasangit at the *Gaur-prāṅgaṇ* during the *Basanta Uṯsab* (spring festival)

Date: 4.3.1931

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

File sections:

C52/FO/1: 8:41-11:33

Santali Music and Dance

Performer: Santali dance groups and musicians from the Santiniketan region

Date: 13.4.1931

Place: Kankalitola, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

File sections:

C52/FO/2: 7:10-7:12, 8:46-8:51, 9:02-9:15, 9:21-9:30, 9:50-9:54

C52/FO/3: 0:00-1:27, 4:06-4:14, 4:26-4:33, 5:50-5:56, 6:10-6:22, 6:38-6:41, 6:59-7:11, 8:21-8:26

C52/FO/16: 0:00-6:15 (edited cut, c. 1950s-60s)

C52/FO/23: 6:20-9:22 (edited cut, c. mid-1930s)

C52/FO/25: 2:23-2:28, 2:31-3:10

Bāul Music and Dance

Performer: Dance performance by Ganesh Shyam, in circle of sitting gopīẏantra players and percussionists
Date: 15.1.1932
Place: Jaydev Kenduli, Birbhum, West Bengal, India
File sections:
C52/FO/3: 7:52-7:54
C52/FO/12: 10:03-12:22
C52/FO/37: 0:00-1:37 (mostly same footage as C52/FO/12: 10:03-12:22; but playback speed too high)

Performer: Singing mendicant with gopīẏantra and small frame drum, dancing in Bāul style
Date: 1931-34
Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India
File sections:
C52/FO/25: 3:10-4:05

Kīrtan

Sānāi, behālā, bā̃śi, khol and kartāl players, ḍhāk and kã̄si ensemble, a śiṅgā player, and sitting ḍhol drummers, filmed at the annual Rās-līlā festival in Mongoldihi
Date: 25.11.1931
Place: Mongoldihi, Birbhum, West Bengal, India
File sections:
C52/FO/2: 6:19-6:26, 10:14-10:20, 11:46-11:58
C52/FO/3: 4:23-4:26, 8:47-8:50
C52/FO/45: 2:35-4:19

Jārigān

Performer: Jārigān dance group from Atharabari(?), Mymensingh district, Bangladesh

Date: 31.1.1931

Place: Suri, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

File sections:

C52/FO/1: 1:52-3:43 (edited cut)

C52/FO/2: 6:26-6:29, 8:56-8:57, 10:20-10:32, 11:29-11:46

Muharram Celebrations

Performer: Local participants

Date: 29.5.1931

Place: Bolpur, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

File sections:

C52/FO/1: 0:00-1:52 (procession, lāṭhi khelā)

C52/FO/2: 7:23-7:28 (lāṭhi khelā), 9:56-9:58 (top of tazia), 10:48-11:29 (lāṭhi khelā, stylised knife fight, procession), 12:23-12:32 (lāṭhi khelā)

C52/FO/3: 2:47-2:58 (procession), 3:21-3:35 (procession)

6:45-6:59 (tazia and lāṭhi khelā)

7:54-7:56 (middle of tazia)

8:29-8:30 (procession)

Rāybẽśe

Performer: Two rāybẽśe dancers accompanied by two musicians

Date: 9.3.1931

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

File sections:

C52/FO/1: 3:43-6:03

C52/FO/2: 4:04-4:53

C52/FO/3: 8:50-9:11

C52/FO/25: 5:17-5:24

Performer: Rāybĕśe dance group with six dancers from the village Charkalgram

Date: 12.3.1931

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

File sections:

C52/FO/1: 6:03-8:41

C52/FO/2: 2:45-3:44, 4:57-5:15, 8:40-8:42

C52/FO/3: 4:37-4:43

C52/FO/25: 8:11-8:14

Bratachari

Performer: Opening of the Suri melā 1931, with scenes of boys performing the Bratachari song "Prārthanā", a Muslim guest of honour and Gurusaday Dutt conducting the Halakarṣaṇ ceremony, and decoration of bulls for the ceremony

Date: 31.1.1931

Place: Suri, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

File sections:

C52/FO/2: 0:00-1:00, 7:15-7:23, 8:37-8:40, 9:15-9:21, 10:45-10:48

C52/FO/3: 8:13-8:16

Performer: Male dancers performing Bratachari dance on a stage

Date: 31.1.1931

Place: Suri, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

File sections:

C52/FO/2: 14:05-14:50

C52/FO/3: 3:52-3:59

Appendix 11

List of Identified Films of Arnold Bake at the British Library Sound Archive (sorted by Files)

- The evaluated films include scenes from the Bengal region, from other regions of South Asia, and from the Netherlands. The scenes from Nepal were identified by Richard Widdess.

- For film sections not discussed in this thesis, I have given literature references for related publications.

C52/FO/1

00:00 [1] Muharram celebration with dancers, drummers and shawm players, tazia procession and lāṭhi khelā (Bolpur, afternoon of 29.5.1931). - 01:52 [2] Jārigān dance at the Suri melā with Gurusaday Dutt sitting on a chair to the left (Suri, 31.1.1931). - 03:43 [3] Two rāybẽśe dancers accompanied by two musicians (Santiniketan, morning of 9.3.1931). - 06:03 [4] Acrobatic rāybẽśe dance group with six dancers, two of them playing ḍhol and kā̃si (Santiniketan, around 12.3.1931). - 08:41 [5] Music and dance performances with Dinendranath Tagore at the Gaur-prāṅgaṇ during the Basanta Uṭsab (Santiniketan, morning of 4.3.1931): 08:41 [a] Rabindrasangit performance with behālā player and two *esrāj* players. 09:34 [b] Close-up of the painter Nandalal Bose (1882-1966). 09:37 [c] Dance performance by two boys, inspired by Bāul dance. The girl with glasses in the background is Amita Sen (1914-40), who was called "Khuku" by Tagore. 11:06 [d] Performers and audience walking around, among them Cornelia Bake walking from the middle towards the left (11:06-11:09), after that focus on Dinendranath Tagore (11:10-11:32). - 11:33 [6] Judo demonstration led by Shinzo Takagaki (1893-1977) with men, boys and girls (Santiniketan, around 4.3.1931). - 12:35 End.

C52/FO/2

00:00 [1] Bratachari performance and Halakarṣaṇ ceremony with Gurusaday Dutt at the Suri melā (Suri, 31.1.1931): The boys perform the song "Prārthanā", composed by Dutt,

which combines Hindu and Muslim prayers with a pan-Indian salute to promote communal harmony. The song choreography includes the Muslim prayer gesture of holding the hands in front of the body during the words "Khodātālā he!", followed by a raising of both arms during the pan-Indian salute "Jaya jaya he!". - 01:00 [2] *Lākhe* mask dance, one dancer with music group comprising shawms, harmonium, drums and cymbals (Nepal, 1931). - 02:11 [3] Tibetans performing Buddhist religious dances (Bodnath, Kathmandu, 1931). - 02:42 [4] Newar dancer tying his costume (Nepal, 1931). - 02:45 [5] Acrobatic rāybĕśe dance group with six dancers (Santiniketan, around 12.3.1931). - 03:44 [4] contd.: Newar dance group (Nepal, 1931). - 04:04 [6] Two rāybĕśe dancers accompanied by two musicians (Santiniketan, morning of 9.3.1931). - 04:53 [4] contd. - 04:57 [5] contd. - 05:15 [4] contd. - 06:03 [3] contd. - 06:07 [4] contd. - 06:13 [3] contd. - 06:19 [7] Śiṅgā player, flute players and ḍhāk drummers (Mongoldihi, 25.11.1931). - 06:26 [8] Jārigān dance (Suri, 31.1.1931). - 06:29 [9] Rādhābinod temple during the Jaydev Kenduli melā (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 06:30 [10] Onlookers and dance groups (Nepal, 1931). - 06:40 [3] contd. - 06:44 [4] contd. - 06:51 [11] Two female dancers, frame drum (Nepal, 1931). - 06:55 [3] contd. (stills). - 07:00 [2] contd. (close-up of dancing feet). - 07:03 [12] Seaman's baptism of ship electrician (onboard ship to India, 1.1.1931). - 07:10 [13] Santali female dance group with male tumdak' and ṭamak' drummers (Kankalitola, 13.4.1931). - 07:12 [14] Unidentified. - 07:15 [1] contd. - 07:23 [15] Lāṭhi khelā during Muharram (Bolpur, afternoon of 29.5.1931). - 07:28 [16] Procession of women in street (Nepal, 1931). - 07:34 [17] Circle dance by male dance group with hour-glass drums (Kerala). - 07:41 [18] Boys performing monkey dance of Bhaktapur (stick dance) (Nepal, 1931). - 07:51 [4] contd. - 07:55 [18] contd. - 08:01 [19] Music performance by masqueraded ship personnel on New Year's Eve or New Year (onboard ship to India, 1930-1). - 08:11 [4] contd. - 08:17 [17] contd. - 08:31 [20] *Mahākālī* mask dance (Nepal, 1931). - 08:37 [1] contd. - 08:40 [5] contd. - 08:42 [21] Buddhist priest performing dance *mudrā*-s (Nepal, 1931). - 08:46 [13] contd. - 08:51 [3] contd. - 08:56 [8] contd. - 08:57 [18] contd. - 09:02 [13] contd. - 09:15 [1] contd. - 09:21 [13] contd. - 09:30 [3] contd. - 09:33 [20] contd. (close-up of mask, inverted). - 09:34 [18] contd. - 09:39 [11] contd. - 09:42 [21] contd. (in garden and outside house). - 09:50 [13] contd. - 09:54 [4] contd. (inverted). - 09:56 [15] contd. (upper part of Muharram tazia). - 09:58 [4] contd. - 10:02 [22] Banjara female dance group (Hyderabad, India, 20.9.1933).

- 10:14 [7] contd. - 10:20 [8] contd. - 10:32 [9] contd. (Kusum, a Bhumij woman from Bankura singing and dancing, accompanied by male drummer, at the Jaydev Kenduli melā (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 10:41 [4] contd. - 10:45 [1] contd. - 10:48 [15] contd. (lāṭhi khelā, knife combat dance and tazia procession). - 11:29 [8] contd. - 11:46 [7] contd. (ḍhāk drummers). - 11:58 [3] contd. - 12:09 [4] contd. (mudrās, child dancers). - 12:23 [15] contd. - 12:32 [17] contd. - 13:06 [18] contd. - 13:15 [20] contd. (dance acrobatics of two khyāḥ mask dancers). - 14:05 [23] Bratachari performance at the Suri melā (Suri, 31.1.1931). - 14:50 [24] Scene at Swayambhunath stupa (Nepal, 1931). - 15:22 [25] Procession in street (Kathmandu, 1931). - 16:02 [26] View of Kathmandu valley and Swayambhu (Nepal, 1931). - 17:19 End.

C52/FO/3

00:00 [1] Santali female dance group with male tumdak' and ṭamak' drummers (Kankalitola, 13.4.1931). - 01:27 [2] Mahākālī and khyāḥ mask dancers (Nepal, 1931). - 02:47 [3] Muharram procession (Bolpur, afternoon of 29.5.1931). - 02:58 [4] Lākhe mask dance, one dancer with music group comprising shawms, harmonium, drums and cymbals (Nepal, 1931). - 03:04 [5] Newar dance group (Nepal, 1931). - 03:21 [3] contd. - 03:36 [6] Street scene (Nepal, 1931). - 03:47 [2] contd. - 03:52 [7] Bratachari performance at the Suri melā (Suri, 31.1.1931). - 03:59 [8] Buddhist priest performing dance mudrās (Nepal, 1931). - 04:04 [5] contd. - 04:06 [1] contd. - 04:14 [9] Unidentified dance scene. - 04:17 [6] contd. (music procession in street) - 04:23 [10] Ḍhāk drummers (Mongoldihi, 25.11.1931). - 04:26 [1] contd. - 04:33 [11] Tibetans performing Buddhist religious dances (Bodnath, Kathmandu, 1931). - 04:37 [12] Acrobatic rāybẽśe dance group with six dancers (Santiniketan, around 12.3.1931). - 04:43 [6] contd. - 04:56 [11] contd. (stills). - 04:59 [6] contd. - 05:07 [13] Banjara female dance group (Hyderabad, India, 20.9.1933). 05:18 [6] contd. - 05:41 [14] Boys performing monkey dance of Bhaktapur (stick dance) (Nepal, 1931). - 05:50 [1] contd. - 05:56 [15] Kandyan dance (Sri Lanka, April-May 1932). - 06:02 [16] Street scene (Nepal, 1931). - 06:10 [1] contd. - 06:22 [17] Buddhist priest performing dance mudrās (Nepal, 1931). - 06:31 [18] Top of Rādhābinod temple, during the Jaydev Kenduli melā (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 06:35 [5] contd. - 06:38 [1] contd. - 06:41 [19] Ship electrician before his seaman's baptism (onboard ship to India, 1.1.1931). - 06:45 [3] contd. (Muharram tazia and lāṭhi khelā). -

06:59 [1] contd. - 07:11 [5] contd. - 07:23 [15] contd. (close-ups of dance costumes). - 07:47 [5] contd. - 07:49 [11] contd. - 07:52 [18] Bāul dance performance by Ganesh Shyam with sitting percussionists and gopīyantra players (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 07:54 [3] contd. (middle of Muharram tazia). - 07:56 [5] contd. - 08:04 [13] contd. - 08:13 [20] Suri melā (Suri, 31.1.1931). - 08:16 [5] contd. - 08:21 [1] contd. - 08:26 [15] contd. (close-ups of dance costumes). - 08:29 [3] contd. - 08:30 [21] *Caviṭṭunāṭakaṃ* (Christian dance drama): play about the story of Emperor Charlemagne (Cochin, 20.9.1932) (Bake, 1963). - 08:37 [22] Procession in street (Nepal, 1931). - 08:47 [10] contd.: flautists. - 08:50 [23] Two rāybĕśe dancers accompanied by two musicians (Santiniketan, morning of 9.3.1931). - 09:11 [18] contd. (tents of the Bakes and Gurusaday Dutt) (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 09:36 End.

C52/FO/12

00:00 [1] Scenes of a fair. - 01:55 [2] Camp of Bāuls beneath banyan tree (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 02:18 [3] Henna painting of women. - 02:36 [4] Bathing scene at pond. - 03:20 [5] Entertainment at fair. - 03:37 [6] Sādhus and fakirs. - 03:44 [7] Dancers with music group. - 06:22 [8] Camping site of Gurusaday Dutt and the Bakes (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932) (Cornelia Bake leaving the Bakes' tent: 6:54-07:05; Dutt in front of his tent: 07:05-07:19). - 07:19 [9] Bathing scene at river Ajay (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 08:06 [10] Kusum, a Bhumij woman from Bankura singing and dancing accompanied by male drummer (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932) (footage different from C52/FO/16: 08:16-9:50). - 09:49 [11] Rādhābinod temple (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 10:03 [12] Bāul dance performance by Ganesh Shyam with sitting percussionists and gopīyantra players (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932) (same footage as C52/FO/37: 00:00-01:37). - 12:22 [13] Rādhābinod temple (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 12:51 [14] River Ajay (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 13:21 End.

C52/FO/16

00:00 [1] Santali female dance group with male tumdak' and ṭamak' drummers (Kankalitola, 13.4.1931). - 06:15 [2] Makran dance group: woman dancer with shawm player and drummers (Karachi, Pakistan, 11.3.1939). - 08:16 [3] Kusum, a Bhumij woman from Bankura singing and dancing, accompanied by male drummer, at the Jaydev

Kenduli melā (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932) (footage different from C52/FO/12: 08:06-9:49). - 09:50 [4] Female *kuchipudi* dancer with music group (two singers with cymbals, one clarinet, one *mṛdaṅgam*) performing on house veranda (South India, 1930s). - 11:57 [5] Sword dancers (Northwest India: Rajasthan or Punjab, 1939-40?). - 14:04 [6] Kandyan dance (Sri Lanka, April-May 1932). - 17:44 End.

C52/FO/21

00:00 [1] Tibetans performing Buddhist religious dances (Bodnath, Kathmandu, 1931). - 03:40 [2] Sāmaveda recitation with mudrā hand gestures (Trichur, 11.1933). - 05:42 [3] Group of students (Santiniketan, 1931-34). - 06:25 End.

C52/FO/22

00:00 [1] Makran dance group: woman dancer with shawm player and drummers (Karachi, Pakistan, 11.3.1939). - 02:25 [2] Dance and music group (Nepal). - 08:02 [3] Kanbi women performing a Garba dance (Vadia, Gujarat, 21.2.1939?). - 09:30 [4] Sword dance by woman, accompanied by double flute player and drum players (Gujarat, 1939?). - 12:00 [5] Women performing a Garba dance (Gujarat, 1939?). - 13:22 End.

C52/FO/23

00:00 [1] Toda dance (Ootacamand, 7.10.1933). - 00:47 [2] Kota dancers and musicians (Tamil Nadu, October 1933). - 03:34 [3] Toda bull sacrifice (Tamil Nadu, October 1933). - 06:20 [4] Santali dancers and musicians performing before the Bengali New Year (Kankalitola, 13.4.1931). - 09:22 End.

C52/FO/25

00:00 [1] Mahākālī mask dance, one dancer accompanied by music group with shawms, harmonium, drums and cymbals (Nepal, 1931). - 01:11 [2] Swayambhunath temple (Kathmandu, 1931). - 02:23 [3] Santali female dance group with male tumdak' and ṭamak' drummers (Kankalitola, 13.4.1931). - 02:28 [4] Audience's ceremonial greeting at Mahākālī mask dance (Nepal, 1931). - 02:31 [3] contd. - 03:10 [5] Singing mendicant with gopīẏantra and small frame drum, dancing in Bāul style (Santiniketan, 1931-34). - 04:05 [6] Tibetans performing Buddhist religious dances (Bodnath, Kathmandu, 1931). - 04:57

[7] Newar child dancers (Nepal, 1931). - 05:17 [8] Two rāybẽśe dancers accompanied by two musicians (Santiniketan, morning of 9.3.1931). - 05:24 [9] Tibetan and Nepalese dance groups (Nepal, 1931). - 08:11 [10] Acrobatic rāybẽśe dance group with six dancers, two of them playing ḍhol and kã̄si (Santiniketan, around 12.3.1931). - 08:14 [1] contd. - 08:16 End.

C52/FO/37

00:00 [1] Bāul dance performance by Ganesh Shyam with sitting percussionists and gopīỳantra players (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932) (same footage as C52/FO/12: 10:03-12:22). - [2] 01:37 Devil dancer (Mangalore, 6.5.1938). - 02:58 [3] Buddhist priest performing dance mudrās (Nepal, 1931). - [4] 03:56 Caryā dance (Nepal, 1956) (Bake, 1959, p.321; Tingey, 1985, Vol. 2, pp.39-41). - 05:12 End.

C52/FO/45

00:00 [1] Gurusaday Dutt in front of his tent, next to the Bakes' tent (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 00:15 [2] Melā visitors at the Rādhābinod temple (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 01:08 [3] The Bakes' tent (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 01:30 [4] Terracotta carvings from Birbhum (Bengal, 1931-34). - 02:33 [5] Banks of the Ajay river (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 02:35 [6] Kīrtan musicians with śiṅgā, ḍhol, sānāis, behālā, khol and kartāl (Mongoldihi, 25.11.1931). - 04:19 [7] Banks of the Ajay river (Jaydev Kenduli, 15.1.1932). - 04:44 End.

C52/FO/62

00:00 [1] Scenes from the journey from Leh to Hemis; arrival at the monastery; a ceremony (Ladakh, 1939). - 08:43 End.

C52/FO/75

Film showing Arnold and Cornelia Bake, and some of Arnold's relatives in Bilthoven and Olst in the Netherlands, 1929 or 1930 (probably autumn 1930). The documentation note "erste Film" ("first film") suggests this is a film that Bake made to test his camera, before he embarked on his second fieldwork journey in December 1930.

00:00 [1] Bake's mother Johanna Bartha van den Berg (1857-1932) walking in the front garden of her home in Bilthoven, accompanied by Bake's third eldest sister Bertha Lina Anna (1880-1957). Bake calls her "tante Bes" and "Besje" in his letters. Bertha stayed in Leiden at that time and must have been visiting her mother when the film was made. - 00:50 [2] Bertha doing knitwork. Bertha was unmarried, worked as a professional visual artist, and was close to Bake. - 01:30 [3] Arnold and Cornelia Bake walking up and down the front garden path at his mother's house (film scene used in Jairazbhoy's restudy). - 02:15 [4] The house of Bake's fourth eldest sister Johanna Bartha Henriette (1885-1956) in Olst (Overijssel). Bake calls her "tante Jo" in his letters. Johanna had contracted meningitis in her childhood which left her, to a light degree, mentally handicapped. Throughout her life, she was looked after by another woman, who carried the nickname "the general" in the family, because of her dominant behaviour (Voorhoeve, 2009, p.39). - 02:28 [5] Two women walking out of the house, on the street with two dogs. The elder one is probably Johanna's assistant, the younger one a housemaid. - 02:49 [6] The protestant church of Olst. - 02:59 [7] Gardens with windmill in the background. - 03:09 [8] Front side of Johanna's house - 03:21 [9] Johanna walking through the patio door. The housemaid is faintly visible inside, setting up the tea or coffee table. - 03:36 [10] Johanna together with her assistant, who has now dressed up. - 03:55 [11] Cornelia Bake joining Johanna and her assistant. - 04:11 End.

C52/FO/78

Bake refers to the scenes of these films in a letter he wrote after their arrival in Bombay in January 1931.[430]

00:00 [1] Onboard ship approaching the coast (Al Mukalla, Yemen, December 1930). - 01:55 [2] Workmen at the port (Al Mukalla, Yemen, December 1930). - 01:59 [3] Approach of the coast (Al Mukalla, Yemen, December 1930). - 02:09 [4] Music performance by masqueraded ship personnel on New Year's Eve or New Year 1930-1, alternating with scenes of seaman's baptism of ship electrician (onboard ship to India, 1930-1). - 03:10 End.

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[430] Arnold Bake, letter to his mother-in-law, 9.1.1931, Mss Eur F191/8, 173.

C52/FO/81

00:00 [1] Jaiminīya sāmaveda recitation with mudrās, performed by a Nambudiri Brahmin schooled in Trichur (Kottayam, 5.-6.11.1933). - 00:54 [2] Preparations for a ceremony (Nepal, 1955-56). - 04:02 End.

Appendix 12

Interviews recorded in 2017

- The first part of the list are interviews submitted to the British Library Sound Archive, which are sorted sequentially by their BLSA catalogue numbers.
- The second part of the list are interviews not submitted to the British Library Sound Archive, which are sorted by date.

Interviews submitted to the British Library Sound Archive

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/10, audio

Interviewee: Sebastian Hansdak

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: English

Place: Kairabani, Jamtara district, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Date: 7.5.2017

Topics: The Outreach and Training Centre of the NELC mission school in Kairabani;

Santali church music; the song "Boge gupi do"

Total duration: 14 min. 41 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/14, audio

Interviewee: Rev. Mrs. Lucia Tudu

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: English

Place: Dumka, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Date: 9.5.2017

Topics: History of the NELC Recording Studio; Santali Christian music

Total duration: 23 min. 59 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/29, audio

Interviewee: Purna Das Baul

Interpreters: Dibyendu Das, Debaditya Das

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: English/ Bengali

Place: Kolkata, West Bengal, India

Date: 10.6.2017

Topics: Baul music and culture; Purna Das Baul's life and career

Total duration: 1 hr. 16 min. 01 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/33-4, audio

(video recording of the same interview: C1795/116-7)

Interviewee: Parvathy Baul

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: English

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 24.6.2017

Topics: Baul music and culture; Parvathy Baul's life and career

Total duration: 56 min. 32 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/35, audio

Interviewee: Manikchand Mitra Thakur

Interpreter (rephrasing questions): Milan Mitra Thakur

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 25.6.2017

Topics: The Moynadal kīrtan gharānā in the 20th century; Manikchand Mitra Thakur's life and career

Total duration: 23 min. 15 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/40, audio

Interviewee: Suman Bhattacharya

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: English

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 13.7.2017

Topics: History of padāvalī and līlā kīrtan; Suman Bhattacharya's life and career

Total duration: 50 min. 04 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/41, audio

Interviewee: Naresh Bandyopadhyay

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: English

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 17.7.2017

Topics: Rāybẽśe; Gurusaday Dutt and Bratachari; Naresh Bandyopadhyay's life and career

Total duration: 1 hr. 41 min. 37 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/72-3, audio

Interviewee: Sahana Bajpayee

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: English

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 13.8.2017

Topics: The control of the copyright of Tagore's songs through Visva-Bharati University until 2001; Sahana Bajpayee's life and career as a performer of Rabindrasangit

Total duration: 45 min. 11 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/74, audio

Interviewee: Swastika Mukhopadhyay, professor of Rabindrasangit at Visva-Bharati University

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: English

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 13.8.2017

Topics: Rabindrasangit; the control of the copyright of Tagore's songs through Visva-Bharati University until 2001; Swastika Mukhopadhyay's life and career

Total duration: 20 min. 45 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/78, audio

Interviewee: Indrani Mukhopadhyay, Secretary of the Rabīndrasaṅgīt Gabeṣaṇā Kendra (Rabindrasangit Research Centre) of Visva-Bharati University

Interpreter: Bisakha Goswami

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali/ English

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 18.8.2017

Topics: The Rabīndrasaṅgīt Gabeṣaṇā Kendra of Visva-Bharati University

Total duration: 1 hr. 03 min. 10 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/80-2, audio

Interviewee: Chitralekha Chowdhury

Interpreter: Bisakha Goswami

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali/ English

Place: Kolkata, West Bengal, India

Date: 15.9.2017

Topics: Chitralekha Chowdhury's meeting with Arnold Bake in 1956; her life and career as a performer of Rabindrasangit

Total duration: 49 min. 43 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/88, audio

Interviewee: Md. Abdul Helim Boyati

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali

Place: Kendua, Kendua, Netrakona, Mymensingh, Bangladesh

Date: 24.9.2017

Topics: Jārigān in the 20th century; Md. Abdul Helim Boyati's life and career as a performer

Total duration: 43 min. 51 sec.

BLSA catalogue number and recording format: C1795/116-7, video

(audio recording of the same interview: C1795/33-4)

Interviewee: Parvathy Baul

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: English

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 24.6.2017

Topics: Baul music and culture; Parvathy Baul's life and career

Total duration: 59 min. 44 sec.

Interviews not submitted to the British Library Sound Archive

Recording format: audio

Interviewee: Jagannath Das Baul

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 29.5.2017

Topics: Baul music and culture; Jagannath Das Baul's life and career as a performer

Total duration: 41 min. 48 sec.

Recording format: audio

Interviewee: Sumanta Das Baul

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 31.5.2017

Topics: Baul music and culture; Sumanta Das Baul's life and career as a performer

Total duration: 29 min. 18 sec.

Recording format: audio

Interviewee: Jayanta Das

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 31.5.2017

Topics: Jayanta Das' education and his career plans; his decision not to pursue a career in music

Total duration: 7 min. 19 sec.

Recording format: audio

Interviewee: Kajol Das Baul

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 5.6.2017

Topics: Baul music and culture; Kajol Das Baul's life and career as a performer

Total duration: 10 min. 23 sec.

Recording format: audio

Interviewee: Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur

Interpreter (rephrasing questions): Milan Mitra Thakur

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 25.6.2017

Topics: The Moynadal kīrtan gharānā in the 20th century; Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur's life and career

Total duration: 22 min. 42 sec.

Recording format: audio

Interviewee: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur

Interpreter (rephrasing questions): Milan Mitra Thakur

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 25.6.2017

Topics: The Moynadal kīrtan gharānā in the 20th century; Sachidananda Mitra Thakur's life and career

Total duration: 8 min. 04 sec.

Recording format: audio

Interviewee: Prabhatkumar Mitra Thakur

Interpreter (rephrasing questions): Milan Mitra Thakur

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 25.6.2017

Topics: The Moynadal kīrtan gharānā in the 20th century; Prabhatkumar Mitra Thakur's life and career

Total duration: 36 min. 29 sec.

Recording format: audio

Interviewee: Murari Hari Das

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: English

Place: Mayapur, Nadia, West Bengal, India

Date: 30.6.2017

Topics: Kīrtan at ISKCON; Murari Hari Das' work as a kīrtan teacher at ISKCON

Total duration: 20 min. 37 sec.

Recording format: audio

Interviewee: Gauri Ray Pandit

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali

Place: Nabadwip, Nadia, West Bengal, India

Date: 4.7.2017

Topics: Līlā kīrtan; Gauri Ray Pandit's life and career

Total duration: 57 min. 47 sec.

Recording format: audio

Interviewee: Kumkum Majumdar

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: Bengali

Place: Kolkata, West Bengal, India

Date: 4.8.2017

Topics: Rabindrasangit

Total duration: 17 min. 14 sec.

Recording format: audio

Interviewee: Clemens Lambertus (Bert) Voorhoeve

Interviewer: Christian Poske

Language: English

Place: Leiden, Netherlands

Date: 18.8.2019

Topics: The Bake family; Arnold Bake's life, research, and career; his connection to Bert's father Petrus Voorhoeve

Total duration: 47 min. 37 sec.

Appendix 13

Music and Dance Performances recorded in 2017

referenced in this Thesis

- The performance details given here are abridged. For group performances, I have listed the lead singer or singers, but not the accompanists. The full documentation is available at the British Library Sound Archive and online at cadensa.bl.uk.

Jārigān

Audio Recordings

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/89

Item: Bandanā: "Bandan kari o Āllāh, Rāsul ore, Haẏrat Ālī, Mā Phātemā, Hāsen, Hosen re"

Performers: Amin Ali Boyati and male vocal group (vocals, ghuṅgur)

Place: Churkhai, Mymensingh Sadar, Mymensingh, Mymensingh, Bangladesh

Date: 29.9.2017

Total duration: 7 min. 26 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/90

Item: 1. "Maharamer cẳd uiṭhāche sālām kara giyā"

　　　2. "Kārbālāte śuru hailo jhaṛ tuphān, raham kara Āllāh pāk o subāhān"

Performers: Amin Ali Boyati and male vocal group (vocals, ghuṅgur)

Place: Churkhai, Mymensingh Sadar, Mymensingh, Mymensingh, Bangladesh

Date: 29.9.2017

Total duration: 16 min. 29 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/91

Item: "Hāy re maharamer cā̐d, tumi kene āilā nā"

Performers: Amin Ali Boyati and male vocal group (vocals, ghuṅgur)

Place: Churkhai, Mymensingh Sadar, Mymensingh, Mymensingh, Bangladesh

Date: 29.9.2017

Total duration: 5 min. 39 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/92

Item: "Ekdin Khodejā Bibi dekhilo svapan, svapan o dekhiyā Bibi pāilo cetan"

Performers: Amin Ali Boyati and male vocal group (vocals, ghuṅgur)

Place: Churkhai, Mymensingh Sadar, Mymensingh, Mymensingh, Bangladesh

Date: 29.9.2017

Total duration: 14 min. 33 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/93

Item: "O go Phātemā putra śoke rodan kairo nā, ỳār putra se niche tomār kichu nā"

Performers: Amin Ali Boyati and male vocal group (vocals, ghuṅgur)

Place: Churkhai, Mymensingh Sadar, Mymensingh, Mymensingh, Bangladesh

Date: 29.9.2017

Total duration: 14 min. 19 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/94

Item: "Kānde Sakhināi, piyār dulāy Kāsem Ālī raṇe ỳāy to cāy re"

Performers: Abdul Rashid and male vocal group (vocals)

Place: Bhatgaon, Kishoreganj Sadar, Kishoreganj, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Date: 1.10.2017

Total duration: 8 min. 18 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/95

Item: 1. "Āllāh hāy, Āllāh kārbālāte sug śār hailo e kāraṇ"

    2. Bandanā

    3. "Āre o śāhārbān, path bhuliyā āilām kārbālāy"

Performers: Abdul Rashid and male vocal group (vocals)

Place: Bhatgaon, Kishoreganj Sadar, Kishoreganj, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Date: 1.10.2017

Total duration: 23 min. 52 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/96

Item: 1. Interrupted unidentified song

2. "Ore kārbālāte chuṭilo rāter tuphān, Āllāh raham kara kādir subāhān"

Performers: Abdul Rashid and male vocal group (vocals)

Place: Bhatgaon, Kishoreganj Sadar, Kishoreganj, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Date: 1.10.2017

Total duration: 6 min. 28 sec.

Video Recordings

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/166-8

Item: Jārigān performance, with songs and dances based on the 25th chapter of "Maharam Parbba", part 1 of the *Biṣād-Sindhu* (Hossain 1935-6)

Performer: Md. Abdul Helim Boyati and male dance group (vocals, ghuṅgur)

Place: Panchhar, Kendua, Netrakona, Mymensingh, Bangladesh

Date: 30.9.2017

Total duration: 1 hr. 03 min. 06 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/169

Item: Muharram procession

Performer: Local residents (vocals)

Place: Bhatgaon, Kishoreganj Sadar, Kishoreganj, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Date: 1.10.2017

Total duration: 15 min. 47 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/170

Item: Jārigān singing in tent, in front of house of pīr

Performer: Abdul Rashid and local males (vocals)

Place: Bhatgaon, Kishoreganj Sadar, Kishoreganj, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Date: 1.10.2017

Total duration: 1 hr. 03 min. 13 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/171

Item: Communal prayer after jārigān singing

Performer: Local males (speakers)

Place: Bhatgaon, Kishoreganj Sadar, Kishoreganj, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Date: 1.10.2017

Total duration: 2 min. 19 sec.

Santali Music and Dance

Audio Recordings

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/6

Item: Doń song: "Marań buru coṭ re"

Performer: Kisku Som (tiriya)

Place: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Date: 4.5.2017

Total duration: 1 min. 24 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/7

Item: Doń song: "Bilān bilān ṭandī re"

Performer: Kisku Som (tiriya)

Place: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Date: 4.5.2017

Total duration: 51 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/8

Item: Doń song: "Marań buru coṭ re"

Performer: Kisku Som (vocals)

Place: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Date: 4.5.2017

Total duration: 1 min. 29 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/9

Item: Doń song: "Bilān bilān ṭandī re"

Performer: Kisku Som (vocals)

Place: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Date: 4.5.2017

Total duration: 1 min. 28 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/11

Item: Church song: "Boge gupi do"

Performer: Nalini B. Hansdak (vocals)

Place: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Date: 7.5.2017

Total duration: 2 min. 03 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/12

Item: Church song: "Jisu gupiyić kantińae"

Performer: Adult male and female students of the NELC Outreach and Training Centre

(vocals, tumdak', ṭamak', jhika)

Place: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Date: 7.5.2017

Total duration: 1 min. 52 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/13

Item: Church song: "Burure haṭ baha bahaena"

Performer: Adult male and female students of the NELC Outreach and Training Centre

(vocals, tumdak', ṭamak', jhika)

Place: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Date: 7.5.2017

Total duration: 55 sec.

Video Recordings

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/98

Item: Cultural programme with Santali, Bengali and Hindi songs, and Santali dances

Performer: Boy and girl students of the Kairabani Mission School (vocals, tiriya)

Place: Kairabani, Jamtara, Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India

Date: 4.5.2017

Total duration: 26 min. 12 sec.

Kīrtan

Audio Recordings

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/42

Item: Padāvalī kīrtan: Vṛndāban-līlā/ Rūp-līlā (Maṅgalācaraṇ and Gaur-candrikā)

Performer: Prabhatkumar Mitra Thakur (vocals), Vivekananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 7 min. 45 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/43

Item: Padāvalī kīrtan: Vṛndāban-līlā/ Rūp-līlā (several compositions)

Performer: Prabhatkumar Mitra Thakur (vocals), Vivekananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 27 min. 54 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/44

Item: Drum poem 1: "Jagannāth Rath"

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 1 min. 34 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/45

Item: Drum poem 2: "Gaur-Nitāi"

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 3 min. 26 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/46

Item: Drum poem 3: "Mṛdaṅga bājana"

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 1 min. 02 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/47

Item: Drum poem 4: "Jayata Nabadvīper Gauracānda"; drum poem 5: "Divya kuṇḍala hara ujjvala"

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 3 min. 14 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/48

Item: Ḍãspāhiṛā: ṭhekā (laoyā), lahar and kāṭān

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 3 min. 17 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/49

Item: Choṭo ektāl: ṭhekā (laoyā), lahar and kāṭān

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 1 min. 21 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/50

Item: Teoṭ: ṭhekā (laoyā) and kāṭān

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 2 min. 56 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/51

Item: Gañjal: ṭhekā (laoyā), lahar and kāṭān

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 1 min. 54 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/52

Item: Choṭo rūpak: ṭhekā (laoyā)

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 0 min. 33 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/53

Item: Lophā: ṭhekā (laoyā), lahar and kāṭān

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 1 min. 14 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/54

Item: Choṭo daśkośī: ṭhekā (laoyā), lahar and kāṭān

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 20.7.2017

Total duration: 3 min. 29 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/55

Item: Padāvalī kīrtan: "Vadasi yadi kiñcid api" (aṣṭatāl) from the *Gītagovinda* (sarga 10, gīta 19, verse 2, lines 1-2)

Performer: Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur (vocals)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 21.7.2017

Total duration: 2 min. 20 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/56

Item: Padāvalī kīrtan: "Sphura dadharasīdhave rādhe taba badanacandramā" from the *Gītagovinda* (sarga 10, gīta 19, verse 2, lines 3-4)

Performer: Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur (vocals)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 21.7.2017

Total duration: 0 min. 53 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/57

Item: Padāvalī kīrtan: "Vadasi yadi kiñcid api" from the *Gītagovinda* (sarga 10, gīta 19, verse 2, lines 1-4)

Performer: Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur (vocals), Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 21.7.2017

Total duration: 12 min. 04 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/58

Item: Padāvalī kīrtan: "Bã̄śiprakāś"

Performer: Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur (vocals), Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 21.7.2017

Total duration: 5 min. 14 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/59

Item: Padāvalī kīrtan: "Śyām tomāre nācte habe"

Performer: Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur (vocals), Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 21.7.2017

Total duration: 4 min. 51 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/60

Item: Padāvalī kīrtan: "Ninde acetan rāni kichui nā jāne"

Performer: Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur (vocals), Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 21.7.2017

Total duration: 6 min. 16 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/61

Item: Madhyam daśkośī: ṭhekā (laoyā), lahar and kāṭān

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 21.7.2017

Total duration: 2 min. 30 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/62

Item: Samtāl/ Baṛa daśkośī: ṭhekā (laoyā), lahar and kāṭān

Performer: Sachidananda Mitra Thakur (khol)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 21.7.2017

Total duration: 4 min. 52 sec.

Video Recordings

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/111-3

Item: Līlā-kīrtan performance at the Ilambazar melā: Vṛndāban-līlā

Performer: Gauri Ray Pandit and group (vocals, harmonium, keyboard, khol, kartāl, jhã̄jh)

Place: Ilambazar, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 7.6.2017

Total duration: 1 hr. 29 min. 40 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/114-5

Item: Līlā-kīrtan performance at the Ilambazar melā: Kuñjabhaṅga-līlā

Performer: Gauri Ray Pandit and group (vocals, harmonium, keyboard, khol, kartāl, jhã̄jh)

Place: Ilambazar, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 8.6.2017

Total duration: 2 hr. 10 min. 33 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/120-1

Item: Līlā-kīrtan performance

Performer: Gauri Ray Pandit and group (vocals, harmonium, keyboard, khol, kartāl, bã̄śi)

Place: Hemayetpur (Srirampur), Barddhaman, West Bengal, India

Date: 28.6.2017

Total duration: 2 hr. 32 min. 55 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/125-8

Item: Kīrtan and worship at Śrī Śrī Rādhā Mādhava temple, ISKCON

Performer: Murari Hari Das, Kamal Gopal Das, and group (vocals, harmonium, khol, kartāl)

Place: Mayapur, Nadia, West Bengal, India

Date: 1.7.2017

Total duration: 1 hr. 04 min. 23 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/129

Item: Ulta Rath procession at ISKCON, with stilt walkers, marching band, Santali group, and kīrtan groups

Performer: Procession participants (snare drum, bass drum, tumdak', ṭamak', rattles, vocals, keyboard, khol, kartāl, jhā̃jh)

Place: Mayapur, Nadia, West Bengal, India

Date: 3.7.2017

Total duration: 33 min. 32 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/130

Item: Pulling of Jagannāth's chariot at the Ulta Rath procession, ISKCON

Performer: Procession participants

Place: Mayapur, Nadia, West Bengal, India

Date: 3.7.2017

Total duration: 7 min. 11 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/131-2

Item: Kīrtan singing at Śyāmcā̃d temple

Performer: Haradhan Das and others (vocals, khol, tambourine stick)

Place: Mongoldihi, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 28.7.2017

Total duration: 39 min. 43 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/133-4

Item: Evening pūjā at Śyāmcā̃d temple

Performer: Kishore Kumar Thakur and others (khol, kartāl, kā̃si, tambourine stick)

Place: Mongoldihi, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 28.7.2017

Total duration: 3 min. 53 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/135-6

Item: Līlā-kīrtan performance at the Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava Sammilanī: Jhulā-līlā

Performer: Suman Bhattacharya and group (vocals, harmonium, keyboard, khol, kartāl, jhā̃jh)

Place: Kolkata, West Bengal, India

Date: 4.8.2017

Total duration: 2 hr. 31 min. 53 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/146-7

Item: Līlā-kīrtan performance

Performer: Sanjib Mitra Thakur and group (vocals, harmonium, khol, kartāl)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 15.8.2017

Total duration: 2 hr. 49 min. 29 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/148-50

Item: Līlā-kīrtan performance

Performer: Malay Chand Ghosh and group (vocals, harmonium, keyboard, khol, kartāl)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 15.8.2017

Total duration: 2 hr. 40 min. 01 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/151

Item: Kīrtan singing and dancing at temple pavilion after evening ārti

Performer: Prabhatkumar Mitra Thakur and others (vocals, khol, kartāl, jhā̃jh)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 15.8.2017

Total duration: 40 min. 30 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/152

Item: Festival visitors waiting for Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī ceremony in the early morning

Performer: n/a

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 16.8.2017

Total duration: 12 min. 26 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/153

Item: Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī ceremony at the temple compound of the Mitra Thakur family

Performer: Brahmin priest and aides (speakers)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 16.8.2017

Total duration: 58 min. 52 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/154

Item: Early morning pūjā at the temple of the Mitra Thakur family

Performer: Men of the Mitra Thakur family (percussion)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 16.8.2017

Total duration: 3 min. 42 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/155-7

Item: Līlā-kīrtan performance

Performer: Paban Das Babaji and group (vocals, keyboard, khol, kartāl, jhā̃jh)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 16.8.2017

Total duration: 2 hr. 15 min. 25 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/158

Item: Evening ārtī, kīrtan singing, and start of procession through village

Performer: Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur and others (vocals, khol, kartāl, jhā̃jh, kā̃si)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 16.8.2017

Total duration: 22 min. 17 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/159

Item: Prostration in temple passage and beginning of chant "Ohe Gaurāṅg"

Performer: Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur and others (vocals, khol, kartāl, jhā̃jh)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 16.8.2017

Total duration: 12 min. 41 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/160-4

Item: End of chant "Ohe Gaurāṅg" and kīrtan singing and dancing in the temple compound

Performer: Men of the Mitra Thakur family (vocals, khol, kartāl, ḍhol, jhā̃jh)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 16.8.2017

Total duration: 1 hr. 43 min. 09 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/165

Item: Concluding kīrtan singing at temple pavilion after midnight

Performer: Nirmalendu Mitra Thakur and others (vocals, khol, kartāl)

Place: Moynadal, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 17.8.2017

Total duration: 44 min. 38 sec.

Bāul Music

Audio Recordings

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/15

Item: "Sādhu saṅga bhālo saṅga" (composer: Lalon Fakir)

Performer: Jagannath Das Baul and group (vocals, gopīẏantra, ḍuggī, dotārā, ghuṅgūr, bā̃śi, khamak, khañjani)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 30.5.2017

Total duration: 7 min. 47 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/16

Item: "Nāmāio nā nonā gaṅge sonār bajrā khān" (composer: Lalon Fakir)

Performer: Jagannath Das Baul and group (vocals, gopīẏantra, ḍuggī, dotārā, ghuṅgūr, bā̃śi, khamak, khañjani)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 30.5.2017

Total duration: 6 min. 35 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/17

Item: "Gharer khāṛi ghar" (composer: Sarat Gosai)

Performer: Sumanta Das Baul and group (vocals, dotārā, ghuṅgūr, khamak, khañjani)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 30.5.2017

Total duration: 9 min. 40 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/18

Item: "Vṛndābane phul phuteche" (composer: Gosai Guru Chand)

Performer: Sumanta Das Baul and group (vocals, dotārā, ghuṅgūr, khamak, khañjani)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 30.5.2017

Total duration: 9 min. 18 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/20

Item: "Hr̥d mājhāre rākhibo, cheṛe debo nā" (composer: Jijo Bhushan)

Performer: Kajol Das Baul and group (vocals, 2 dotārās, ghuṅgūr, kartāl, ḍhol)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 5.6.2017

Total duration: 7 min. 57 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/21

Item: "Dhanya dhanya bali tāre" (composer: Lalon Fakir)

Performer: Kajol Das Baul and group (vocals, 2 dotārās, ghuṅgūr, kartāl, ḍhol)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 5.6.2017

Total duration: 4 min. 39 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/22

Item: "Bāre bāre ār āsā habe nā" (composer: Bhava Pagla)

Performer: Kajol Das Baul and group (vocals, 2 dotārās, ghuṅgūr, kartāl, ḍhol)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 5.6.2017

Total duration: 6 min. 29 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/23

Item: "Milan habe kata dine" (composer: Lalon Fakir)

Performer: Kajol Das Baul and group (vocals, 2 dotārās, ghuṅgūr, kartāl, ḍhol)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 5.6.2017

Total duration: 5 min. 44 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/24

Item: "Cheṛe de tor hiṃsā br̥tti" (composer: Bhava Pagla)

Performer: Subodh Das Baul and group (vocals, 2 dotārās, ghuṅgūr, kartāl, ḍhol)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 5.6.2017

Total duration: 4 min. 49 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/25

Item: "Āpan gharer khabar ne nā" (composer: Lalon Fakir)

Performer: Subodh Das Baul and group (vocals, 2 dotārās, ghuṅgūr, kartāl, ḍhol)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 5.6.2017

Total duration: 4 min. 51 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/26

Item: "Dil dariyār mājhe re bhāi" (composer: Lalon Fakir)

Performer: Santosh Das Baul and group (vocals, 2 dotārās, ghuṅgūr, kartāl, ḍhol)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 5.6.2017

Total duration: 6 min. 47 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/27

Item: "Nadī bharā ḍheu bojhe nā to keu" (composer: Bhava Pagla)

Performer: Santosh Das Baul and group (vocals, 2 dotārās, ghuṅgūr, kartāl, ḍhol)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 5.6.2017

Total duration: 6 min. 43 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/28

Item: "Kari mānā kām chāṛe nā" (composer: Lalon Fakir)

Performer: Kajol Das Baul and group (vocals, 2 dotārās, ghuṅgūr, kartāl, ḍhol)

Place: Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 5.6.2017

Total duration: 6 min. 02 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/30

Item: "Hari duḥkha dāo ỳe jan āre" (composer: Nilakantha Bairagi)

Performer: Sumanta Das Baul and group (vocals, dotārā, ghuṅgūr, khamak, khañjani)

Place: Santiniketan (Paruldanga), Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 17.6.2017

Total duration: 9 min. 31 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/31

Item: "Beśi bhālobese chilām ỳā re" (composer: Monoronjon Gosai)

Performer: Sumanta Das Baul and group (vocals, dotārā, ghuṅgūr, khamak, khañjani)

Place: Santiniketan (Paruldanga), Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 17.6.2017

Total duration: 6 min. 49 sec.

BLSA catalogue number: C1795/32

Item: "Bhebecho ki mane binā sādhane" (composer: Swapan Chand Baul)

Performer: Sumanta Das Baul and group (vocals, dotārā, ghuṅgūr, khamak, khañjani)

Place: Santiniketan (Paruldanga), Birbhum, West Bengal, India

Date: 17.6.2017

Total duration: 9 min. 56 sec.