

The Lyrics of *Ṭhumrī*:

Hindi Poetry in a Musical Genre

Lara Mirene (Lalita) du Perron

A thesis submitted to the University of London
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Department of the Languages and Cultures of South Asia
School of Oriental and African Studies
January 2000



ProQuest Number: 10731628

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10731628

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Abstract

Ṭhumrī is a vocal genre in North Indian (Hindustani) art music. It was traditionally used in songstress-courtesan performance, in the early nineteenth century as an accompaniment to interpretive dance, and later as a lyrical and emotive song form. Ṭhumrī is now one of the most popular genres in contemporary art music. The lyrics of ṭhumrī have not been the subject of extensive academic enquiry.

This dissertation examines ṭhumrī texts from two perspectives: linguistic and contextual. It is primarily based on song texts collected during field work in North India in 1996-97, as well as on material transcribed from commercial recordings and printed sources.

The detailed linguistic analysis carried out in chapter two provides an overview of the idiosyncrasies of the language of ṭhumrī texts, and explores their stylistic consequences. Chapter three examines the formal structure of the texts. Chapter four discusses the main themes that occur in ṭhumrī, and their literary antecedents.

Ṭhumrī's contextual element is salient: in the process of negotiating the gradual move from courtesan's salon to modern concert stage, awareness of the relevance of ṭhumrī's historical role has been eroded to such an extent that we can speak of a 'reinvented' tradition. Chapter five locates ṭhumrī within the milieu of North Indian music culture, and examines how changes in the genre's context have affected its lyrics. Chapter six addresses issues of authenticity, as the ramifications of how genres respond to changing performance environments are considered.

The conclusion is followed by three appendices. Appendix one contains the main corpus, the 108 texts upon which the dissertation is based. The texts are given with their variant versions where known, resulting in a total of 180 texts. These are translated, and problematic points of grammar and translation are briefly discussed. Appendix two consists of five charts which overview the use of rhyme and other poetic devices in ṭhumrī. Appendix three comprises a glossary of technical terms used in the thesis.

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Table of Contents	3
Notes on transliteration and references	8
Abbreviations occurring in the text	9
Select List of Collections	9
Dictionaries	9
Other abbreviations	10
Acknowledgements	11
Chapter 1: Introduction	14
1.1 The study of ṭhumrī	14
1.2 Context	16
1.3 Overview of the thesis	18
1.4 Methodology	24
1.5 Musical aspects of ṭhumrī	26
1.6 Musical and textual parallels	28
1.7 Ṭhumrī as an instrumental genre	30
1.8 The main corpus	31
1.9 Anthologies	32
1.10 Press reviews	34
1.11 Perspective of the thesis: constructing meaning	36
Chapter 2: The Language of Ṭhumrī	39
2.1 Introduction	39
2.2 Analysis	41
2.2.1 Verbs	42
Subjunctive-present	42
Subjunctive-present with subjunctive force	42
Imperfective	43
Bol banāv ṭhumrī	43
Bandīś ṭhumrī	43
Imperfective participles with auxiliary	43
Non-finite imperfective participle constructions	44
Perfective	44

Perfective participles with intransitive verbs	44
Perfective participles with transitive verbs	44
Non-finite perfective participle constructions	45
Intensifiers/ verb stems ending in -o.....	45
Passive	45
Conjunctive participles	46
Imperatives	46
Verbal nouns/ infinitives	46
Future	47
Compound Verbs	47
2.2.2 Nouns	47
Oblique plural with postpositions	47
Oblique plural without postpositions	47
2.2.3 Pronouns	48
Possessive	48
Object	49
Oblique	49
Interrogative	50
Indefinite	50
Reflexive	50
2.2.4 Postpositions	51
2.2.5 Adverbs	52
2.2.6 Lexicon	53
Tatsama	53
Perso-Arabic	53
In Hindi form	53
Unmodified	53
Eastern Hindi.....	53
Bol banāv ṭhumrī	53
Bandīś ṭhumrī	54
2.2.7 Diminutives	55
Bol banāv ṭhumrī	55
Bandīś ṭhumrī	56
2.2.8 Chāp	56
Bol banāv ṭhumrī	56
Bandīś ṭhumrī	57
2.2.9 Summary	58
2.3 The Use of Diminutives	61
2.4 Influence of Khaṛī Bolī	64
2.5 Linguistic formulae	67

2.6 Distinctions between bol banāv and bandiś ṭhumrī texts	69
2.6.1 Language	69
2.6.2 Chāp	71
2.7 A comparative appraisal	73
2.8 Analysis of four sample texts	75
2.9 Conclusion	80
Chapter 3: The Form and Structure of Ṭhumrī	81
3.1 Introduction	81
3.2 Problems encountered in transcription	81
3.2.1 Lines	83
3.2.2 Vowel length	84
3.2.3 Metre	85
Bandiś ṭhumrī	86
Bol banāv ṭhumrī	87
3.2.4 Other approaches	88
3.2.5 Alternative renditions of the same text	90
3.2.6 Use of filler-words and stock-phrases	92
3.3 Ṭhumrī in performance	94
3.4 Poetic devices used in ṭhumrī: rhyme	100
3.5 Other devices	105
3.5.1 Internal Rhyme	105
3.5.2 Repetition of words	107
3.5.3 Alliteration	107
3.6 Structure	108
3.6.1 Relationship between sthāyī and antarā: bol banāv ṭhumrī	108
3.6.2 Relationship between sthāyī and antarā: bandiś ṭhumrī	111
3.7 Conclusion	111
Chapter 4: The Content of Ṭhumrī	114
4.1 The narrative voice of ṭhumrī	114
4.1.1 Introduction	114
4.1.2 Narrator	115
4.1.3 Gender	116
4.1.4 Shift of Mode of Address	122
4.1.5 Characters	123
4.1.6 Conclusion	126
4.2 Themes in Ṭhumrī	127
4.2.1 Introduction	127

4.2.2 The theoretical perspective	129
4.2.3 Viraha and the antecedents of main topics in ṭhumrī	131
4.2.4 Horī	135
4.2.5 The ancient model in today's context	136
4.2.6 Eye symbolism in ṭhumrī.....	141
4.2.7 Conclusion	142
Chapter 5: The Context of Ṭhumrī	146
5.1 Introduction.....	146
5.2 Original context: the courtesan tradition	146
5.3 Changing context: its effect on the lyrics of ṭhumrī	151
5.4 The behavioural aspect	155
5.5 Patronage	156
5.6 Conclusion	161
Chapter 6: Genre, Authenticity and Tradition	164
6.1 Introduction.....	164
6.2 The meaning of genre	165
6.3 Genre and the mass media	168
6.4 Semi-classical genres	169
6.5 The generic specifics of ṭhumrī.....	173
6.6 Ṭhumrī and the modern gazal	175
6.7 Authenticity and authority	177
6.8 Use of formulae in ṭhumrī	181
6.9 The functions of formulae: genre and tradition	187
6.10 Tradition and innovation	188
6.11 Conclusion	192
Conclusion	194
Appendix 1: Main Corpus	202
Introduction.....	202
Organisation	202
Page Layout	202
Translation	203
Bol Banāv Ṭhumrīs	204
Bandīś Ṭhumrīs	277
Appendix 2: Charts	308
Chart 1: Rhyme-schemes of bandīś ṭhumrī in the main corpus	308

Chart 2: Occurrences of end-rhyme in bol banāv ṭhumrī in the main corpus	309
Chart 3: Examples of internal rhyme	311
Chart 4: Examples of repetition	313
Chart 5: Examples of alliteration	314
Appendix 3: Glossary	316
References	320
Printed Books and Articles	320
Dictionaries	331
Collections	331
Newspaper Articles	332

Notes on transliteration and references

Transliterations of Devanagari conform to the standard method adhered to by McGregor 1992, with the exception that *anunāsik* is represented with a tilde. The inherent vowel is written for words occurring in song texts, but not otherwise, except in word-end conjuncts such as *śiṣya*. Certain words are written in conventional sanskritised form; for example, *viraha* and *rasa* are transliterated with the inherent vowel. When quoting secondary sources, the system used by the writer is adhered to in the quotation.

Indian names have been given in established Roman spellings without diacritical marks. However, pen-names and names of poets have been given with diacritical marks; so it is Wajid Ali Shah but Akhtar Piyā.

All foreign words are italicised at first appearance only, and subsequently occur in plain text with diacritical marks. All such words are included in the Glossary. Fonts used are Jaisalmer for Devanagari, and Taj for the Roman script.

References give the author's name, date of publication and relevant page number. Such references are placed in the main text when an author is cited or paraphrased, but in the footnotes when the work is referred to as a source of authority.

Dates follow the Gregorian calendar unless otherwise indicated. The *Vikram Samvat* date has been converted by subtracting 57.

Abbreviations occurring in the text

Select List of Collections

- ~
- C1 *Anurāgamāñjarī*; (Amar Yantralay Dasasumegh, Benares) 1889.
- C2 *Caitracandrikā aur Dādrā Dilcaspa*; Shribaldev Kavi, (Benares: Bharatjeevan Press) 1907.
- C3 *Dance in Thumri*; Projesh Banerjee, (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications), 1986.
- C4 *Rasguñjan*; Birju Maharaj, (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan), 1994.
- C5 *Thumrī Gāyakī*; Tulsiram Devangan, (Hathras: Sangeet Karyalay), 1995.
- C6 *Thumrī Paricay*; Leela Karwal, (Allahabad: Sangeet Sadan Prakashan), 1982.
- C7 *Thumrī Paricay (Appendix)*; Leela Karwal, (Allahabad: Sangeet Sadan Prakashan), 1982.
- C8 *Thumrī Saṅgrah*; Narhar Shamburav Bhawe, (Baroda: Shriramvijay Mundralay), 1942.

Dictionaries

- Collins *Collins Concise English Dictionary*.
- HSS *Hindī Śabd Sāgar*, ed. Shyamsundar Das, et.al.
- McGregor *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, ed. R.S. McGregor.
- Platts *A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī and English*, ed. John T. Platts.
- SK *Brajbhāṣā Sūr-koś*, ed. Premnarayan Tandan.

Other abbreviations

cf.	<i>confer</i> , 'compare'.
dir.obj.	direct object.
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , 'for example'.
fem.	feminine.
impf.	imperfective.
masc.	masculine. — loc. cit
MSH	Modern Standard Hindi.
NIA	New Indo-Aryan.
obl.	oblique.
pf.	perfective.
pl.	plural.
poss.	possessive.
ppn.	postposition.
pr.	pronoun.
ptc.	participle.
q.v.	<i>quod vide</i> , used to refer to headwords in the Glossary.
sg.	singular.
Skt.	Sanskrit.
subj.-pres.	subjunctive-present.
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> , used to refer to a headword in a dictionary.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want to thank my thesis supervisor, Rupert Snell, who provided a bright beam of guiding light on the sometimes badly-lit lanes along which my study of *ṭhumrī* texts led me. His encouragement and help from the initial stages of conceptualising this research until the last moments of organising the final copy have been invaluable. His seemingly unfailing belief in my ability to complete the dissertation deeply moved me, and I am greatly indebted to him.

I am profoundly grateful to Nicolas Magriel for sharing with me his musical knowledge as well as his editing and formatting skills, all of which proved to be precious at various stages of this research. I could not have begun this research without his enthusiasm and encouragement, and I could not have completed it without his constant support and companionship, in England as well as in India. This thesis could not have happened without him.

The musicians and scholars with whom I worked in India are each in their own way responsible for a piece of this dissertation. The help and encouragement I received in the course of my field work have been a source of inspiration and strength. My biggest vote of thanks is to the peerless Girija Devi, who felt sufficiently inspired by my research to insist she become my teacher of vocal music. Her love for *ṭhumrī* has been humbling, and it has been a privilege to work with her. My *guru-bahin* and *nanad* Sunanda Sharma has been a great friend and source of support and advice. Other *Banārsīs* to whom I am deeply grateful are *sāraṅgī*-players Hanuman Prasad Mishra and the (late) Mahesh Prasad Mishra, his son Mata Prasad and family, vocalists Purnima Chaudhury and Rajeshvar Prasad Mishra, *śahnāi*-player Ali Abbas Khan, and music scholars Prem Lata Sharma, Rai Anand Krishna and Krishna Kumar Rastogi. The latter is in charge of the tiny but uniquely stocked library *Kashi Sangeet Samaj*, where I found most of the nineteenth-century material referred to in the thesis. Shukdev Singh gave invaluable advice on intricate points of grammar and translation.

In Bhopal I was fortunate to spend time with Abdul Latif Khan and his family. A special thank-you is owed to Saeed Khan, who was my first 'real

life' source of *thumrī* texts. Umakant and Ramakant Gundecha enlightened me on aspects of *dhrupad*, and facilitated my work in Bharat Bhavan.

In Allahabad I was happy to meet Leela Karwal and Deepali Bannerjee, who opened their houses to me and started me off on my field work. I am also grateful to the staff at All India Radio, Allahabad, for sharing their knowledge with me – of *thumrī*-related matters as well as of the geographical lay-out of the town.

In Lucknow I was enlightened on the life of Wajid Ali Shah by Raushan Taqi. I also received help from Yogesh Pravin, and the staff at the Sangeet Natak Akademi library.

In the winter of 1996/97 I spent three months in Mumbai, where my progress was facilitated by the open-hearted help and advice from Batuk Dewanji and Vrinda Mundkur, each of whom shared many compositions with me. I cannot thank them enough for their kindness. I received texts from, and had stimulating discussions with, Neela Bhagwat, Tulika Ghosh-Pathak, Dhanashree Pandit, and Aneeta and Arunkumar Sen. I was given further research material by Afroz Begum and Hidayat Khan, Meenakshi Pandey, and Anand Thakur. Ashok Ranade kindly clarified theoretical points for me. I am also grateful to the staff at the library of the National Centre for the Performing Arts.

In Delhi I was welcomed into the homes of Savita Devi, Sheila Dhar, Uttara Dutt, and Ghulam Sabir and family, all of whom helped me with advice and kindness. I am grateful to Vidya Rao for stimulating discussions at the outset of my research. The staff at the Sangeet Natak Akademi facilitated my familiarisation with older recorded material, as did Shubha Chaudhury and the staff at the Archives and Research Centre for Ethnomusicology who assisted my work in a variety of ways.

My time in Calcutta benefited greatly from the friendship offered by Amie Maciszewski, who introduced me to Madhuri Devi, Lalita Devi, and Shipra Bose. I was fortunate to witness the almost legendary story-telling qualities of Reba Muhuri. I was always made to feel at home by Sudha Dutta. I spent many happy hours listening to recordings at the archives of the Sangeet Research Academy. I owe gratitude and indebtedness to all of the above, without whose help I could not have carried out my research.

Here in Europe I want to thank Lucy Rosenstein for reading parts of the thesis and for being a supportive colleague and friend. I am grateful to Srija Sinha for her help with some linguistic points, to Helen Beer and Joep Bor for encouragement and invaluable advice, to Becca and Tim Hill and Davina Kaye for their moral support and long-standing patience with my unsociability while I was writing up the thesis. My family in The Netherlands have been supportive of my devotion to India since my first postcard home from that amazing country. I am particularly grateful to my sister Eveline du Perron for her help in preparing the final copy of the dissertation.

A final vote of thanks goes to Shambu, Parvati and Raju, and, again, to Nicolas, for being in my life.

Lalita du Perron
London, January 2000.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The study of *ṭhumrī*

The present work is about the lyrics of *ṭhumrī*, a vocal genre in the North Indian (Hindustani) art music tradition. There are three major vocal genres in this tradition: *dhrupad*, relatively ancient and austere, and in its present context primarily a 'connoisseur's genre'; *khyāl*, which was originally (in the eighteenth century¹) intended to offset some of the sobriety of *dhrupad*, but which is now the main vocal form of North Indian art music; and *ṭhumrī*, often termed 'semi-classical' music because it is lighter and more accessible than *dhrupad* and *khyāl*, and adheres less strictly to the rules of *rāg*. All three genres have been the subject of major studies. *Dhrupad* has been the focus of a musicological work by Indurama Srivastava (1980), which only briefly discusses the texts of the genre. *Dhrupad* texts have been the subject of linguistic analyses, most notably by Francoise Delvoye 'Nalini' (1987) and Lucy Rosenstein (1997).² Both authors are primarily concerned with the poetical (i.e. non-musical) aspect of *dhrupad* texts, and concentrate their analyses on poetry that is not necessarily part of the contemporary singing tradition. The dynamic relationship between performance and text has not been discussed in these studies. Two musicological studies in English have focused in depth on *khyāl*: Wim van der Meer (1980) and Bonnie Wade (1984). Both authors discuss the thematic components of *khyāl* texts in some detail, but linguistic analysis falls outside the scope of their work. This is largely due to the fact that the lyrics of *khyāl* are widely seen as sets of syllables which support melodic improvisation, rather than semantically coherent phrases whose meaning is relevant to the style of performance of the song. *Ṭhumrī* has also been the subject of two major studies: Peter Manuel (1989) and Shatrughna Shukla (1983), upon whose work Manuel's study is largely based. These works are, again, primarily musicological, although they include chapters on the linguistic aspect of *ṭhumrī* compositions. Both studies exhibit a lack of familiarity with Braj Bhāṣā and Avadhī in their assertions about the

¹*Khyāl* is generally believed to have been popularised by Niyamat Khan 'Sadāraṅg', a *dhrupad* singer in the early eighteenth century.

²I was unfortunately not able to obtain a copy of a Hindi study of *dhrupad* texts by Subhadra Chaudhury in *Dhrupad Annual* (1986), which is referred to in Delvoye 1987.

linguistic components of *ṭhumrī* texts. The inadequacies of Manuel's translations were a compelling motivation for undertaking the present work. *Ṭhumrī* lyrics deserve to be the focus of a dedicated language-based study. Although the present work contextualises the lyrics in their performance setting, it is primarily a textual analysis in which musical observations are based on existing studies, augmented by my own experiences as a student of Hindustani vocal music.

Ṭhumrī texts consist of a *sthāyī* and an *antarā*, each usually between two and four lines. The *sthāyī* is the first half of a song; the *antarā*, the second half of a song, tends to inhabit or make excursions into the upper region of the singer's range. Some texts have more than one *antarā*. The texts tend to be concise, using limited vocabulary primarily drawn from Braj Bhāṣā. The predominant mood of the texts is romantic. They usually describe formulaic situations in a Krishnaite idiom. The combination of this idiom with the romantic mood has led to an increased perception of *ṭhumrī* as an essentially devotional genre. In contemporary received views, *ṭhumrī* is a light song form whose primary function is to provide some diversion at the end of a serious *khyāl* concert. Indian musicians make comparisons with food: after a satisfying but heavy main course (a role taken by *khyāl*), an easy-to-digest dessert (*ṭhumrī*) is required.³ *Ṭhumrī*'s music is accessible; its language is sweet and mellifluous; its mood is romantic. As one musician put it: everybody loves *ṭhumrī*.⁴ This rather reductionist view belies *ṭhumrī*'s original function as a vehicle for dance, and its slightly later role as the primary avenue for emotional expression in songstress-courtesan (*tavāyaf*) performance. *Ṭhumrī* was integral to the courtesan tradition, a fact which is not commonly acknowledged in the modern construct of its meaning, even though its connection with courtesan life has affected both its musical and textual shape. It is a testament to *ṭhumrī*'s integrity as an art-form that in spite of its original context it has survived the transition to modernity. In the process, its meaning has been changed, its tradition has been re-invented and its history has been denied. The aim of this research is to appraise the language and texts of *ṭhumrī*, and contextualise them against a backdrop of the changing scenery of North Indian music culture in the twentieth century.

³Further comparisons between Hindustani music and food are made in Adrian McNeil (1993/94).

⁴Batuk Dewanji, Mumbai, December 1996. Personal communication.

1.2 Context

Ṭhumrī is not an ancient form. Its origin and development can be traced back to a confluence of folk and art music in the eighteenth century, although its antecedents have been traced to the time of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*⁵. Ṭhumrī flourished in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the aristocracy of Lucknow favoured it over the more serious offerings of dhrupad and *khyāl*. The enthusiastic patronage of the last navāb of Avadh, Wajid Ali Shah (who ruled from 1846 to 1856, when he was exiled to Matiya Burj in Calcutta by the British), was such that he has even been accredited with having invented the form. Although historical evidence demonstrates that ṭhumrī existed before Wajid Ali Shah's rule, he did write many ṭhumrī compositions and was influential in assuring ṭhumrī's prominence in nineteenth-century musical history. His legendary decadence and purported political incompetence, which provided the British with a much-needed justification to intervene and annexe Avadh, seem some way removed from the sweet and romantic image of contemporary ṭhumrī.

Following the exile of Wajid Ali Shah and the subsequent consolidation of colonial rule, changes in patronage structure as well as in indigenous attitudes to dance performance resulted in the gradual decline of the courtesan tradition. Ṭhumrī as a dance form in *tavāyaf* performance lost currency, and as courtesan performance began to be based in private salons, a new style of ṭhumrī, which was much slower and which placed much greater emphasis on emotional expression, emerged and eventually became the most prominent form of ṭhumrī. Indeed, in contemporary discourse the term ṭhumrī refers to this latter form unless specifically stated otherwise. This form of ṭhumrī is called *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, as the emphasis is on *bol banānā* (using phrases extracted from the text as a vehicle for melodic improvisation). Short phrases are repeated many times, with a view to emphasising a different shade of emotional meaning with each repetition. It therefore follows that in this form of ṭhumrī the texts ideally have strong emotional qualities, providing singers with ample scope for melodic elaborations.

⁵The date of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* is generally located somewhere between 300 BC and 200 AD.

The older form of *ṭhumrī* is called *bandīś (kī) ṭhumrī*, in which, as the name suggests, the compositions tend to be 'bound': there is little space for melodic elaborations, and improvisations are primarily rhythmic, suitable to dance. The texts are usually narrative in nature, providing the framework for the story-telling in dance performance.

The contrast between Wajid Ali Shah's hedonistic reputation and the devotional image of contemporary *ṭhumrī* is thus partly explained by the fact that there are indeed two separate forms of *ṭhumrī*. The connection of *bandīś ṭhumrī*, the older form, with dance became problematic when dance itself, in particular in the context of courtesan performance, came to be seen as debauched; the general movement in this direction culminated in the establishment of the Anti-Nautch Campaign at the end of the nineteenth century.⁶ *Bol banāv ṭhumrī* emerged in a climate which supported the reconstruction of the arts to confirm the notion of the 'great Indian cultural heritage', a movement cultivated by reformists and educationists such as Rabindranath Tagore. In the private space of the *muḥrā*, the courtesan performed *ṭhumrī* with the appropriate emphasis on emotional expression, voicing the heroine's longing for her lover as she charmed and enticed her male audience; in the public sphere of music festivals and recordings - both still in their infancy in the first decades of the twentieth century - *ṭhumrī* was performed by increasingly well-known male singers who were inspired by its emotional scope, and by women who insisted on being known on concert announcements and record labels as 'amateurs', i.e. not 'professional women'. Whereas the desire expressed by *ṭhumrī*'s lyrical heroine could readily be enacted by the *tavāyaf* in relationship to her prospective clients, the same desire easily lent itself to a devotional interpretation when the context demanded it. The distinction between eroticism and devotion in North Indian art is traditionally and famously indeterminate, and *ṭhumrī*'s ambiguous position was therefore easily incorporated into the existing framework.

In late twentieth-century India, 'tavāyafs' are mostly glorified prostitutes, who may have elementary training in the classical arts but sing film songs, and dance according to the latest fashions set by Bollywood movies, for a usually unsophisticated audience who may enjoy the feudal associations of being entertained in a musical atmosphere, but whose primary interest in the

⁶Sundar 1995:245.

performance is what happens afterwards, in private. Ṭhumrī has become part of art music, and its modern performer is usually the *khyāl* singer who is considered a 'serious' performer. The ṭhumrī of the days of Wajid Ali Shah has been relegated to the realm of 'other', when times were different and a different value system applied. Although some musicians are unreserved in their expression of debt to the courtesans of yore as custodians and conveyors of modern art music, ṭhumrī is generally compartmentalised into 'respectable' and 'disreputable' categories. This compartmentalisation keeps the popular association of ṭhumrī and courtesan culture alive. Courtesan culture is evoked, for instance, when in the opening scene of the Amol Palekar film *The Square Circle* (1997) a woman who is subsequently confirmed to be a 'madam' is heard singing a ṭhumrī⁷, or when the courtesan Saeeda Bai in Vikram Seth's *A Suitable Boy* performs ṭhumrīs for her prospective lovers⁸. The majority of modern concert audiences are not aware that the modern-day art music tradition has its roots in courtesan culture. The careful construction of ṭhumrī's modern identity has all but severed the connection between *tavāyafs* and ṭhumrī as it is performed today.

1.3 Overview of the thesis

In chapter two, 'The Language of Ṭhumrī', a number of fundamental characteristics of ṭhumrī's linguistic identity are established on the basis of linguistic analysis. The analysis demonstrates that ṭhumrī texts conform to a predominantly Braj Bhāṣā model, using relatively predictable and formulaic language. Ṭhumrī texts are not part of a fixed body of work ascribed to a particular poet or poetic tradition. The analysis aims to be primarily descriptive in order to facilitate an exploration of style. Given that the ṭhumrī tradition is theoretically open to additions from anyone who wishes to engage with the genre, the textual cohesion of the ṭhumrīs which as far as we know have been current for at least part of the twentieth century, makes their exploration stimulating and compelling. The most strikingly formulaic aspect of contemporary ṭhumrī is the frequent inclusion of diminutive nouns and the

⁷Although the way the ṭhumrī is used to create a context for the madam/prostitute is striking, this movie reached only a small audience and is not representative of mainstream culture, in which a ṭhumrī could not be used in this way because it would not be recognised as a ṭhumrī.

⁸Vikram Seth, *A Suitable Boy*, (New Delhi: Penguin), 1994, p. 110.

'eastern' long form *-vā*, which has a number of stylistic ramifications. The presence of the diminutives has an atmospheric effect, enhancing the romantic mood created by the thematic component of the lyrics. The use of diminutives also situates the affected words, and by implication, the overall text, in a discrete realm, far removed from the realities of here-and-now existence. We shall see that there were also musical and rhythmic motivations for including such forms in the first place, although by the time *bol banāv ṭhumrī* had become popular the inclusion of diminutive forms had become formulaic and certainly motivated by more than practical considerations.

The entire linguistic register of *ṭhumrī* conspires to locate the texts in a space which is insulated from mundanity; the use of diminutives is but a small component of this, and is augmented by narrowly defined lexical choices, which tend to avoid Perso-Arabic and tatsama vocabulary as well as the more 'functional' components of *Khaṛī Bolī* such as pronouns and auxiliaries. Although *Khaṛī Bolī* has become widespread as Modern Standard Hindi, its influence on *ṭhumrī* is, perhaps unexpectedly, restrained. It is my suggestion that an overall awareness of the importance of *ṭhumrī*'s place in a non-worldly, non-functional realm has in fact prevented the incorporation of *Khaṛī Bolī*, whose wide availability as well as analytical structure can make it sound prosaic and utilitarian. A further issue contingent upon *Khaṛī Bolī*'s standard and standardising role, is that any dialect which is not *Khaṛī Bolī* tends to sound poetic, 'sweet', unsophisticated, and romantic. As a researcher trained in the *Khaṛī Bolī* tradition, it took me some time to realise the extent to which my conception of the language of *ṭhumrī* as 'other' was based on prejudice in favour of *Khaṛī Bolī*, almost automatically relegating non-*Khaṛī Bolī* forms to a marginalised realm. But although we must be cautious about unquestioningly assuming that the eastern dialects of Hindi sound equally romantic and sweet to any Indian ear, it would be incorrect to conclude that the language of *ṭhumrī* represents a conflation of features from a number of Hindi dialects which may sound poetic to some and quite functional to others. The very fact that *ṭhumrī* language does not conform to any one particular dialect locates it in a poetic sphere. Furthermore, the eastern feature included in *ṭhumrī* is, even in its own homeland, not so mundane: use of the long form *-vā* is considered informal and intimate, and may, dependent on context, even be a sign of contempt. My time in Benares, and especially the months spent living in the household of eminent vocalist Girija Devi, whose mother-tongue

is Bhojpurī⁹, showed me how the use of the diminutive form in *ṭhumrī* reflects an informality of register that certainly exists even for the native speaker.

Chapter three, 'The Form and Structure of *Ṭhumrī* Texts', discusses the dichotomy between musical texts as they exist in performance and their shape on the written page. The tension between performed and written aesthetics is central to this chapter; observations regarding metre and rhyme, for instance, are determined by a perception of the written text as authoritative. Although none of the texts of *ṭhumrī* display a tight metrical structure or a conventionally strict rhyme scheme, certain metrical tendencies can be discerned, and most texts do embrace some element of rhyme. However, both metre and rhyme tend to be obscured in performance, where the rhythmic elaborations of *bandīś ṭhumrī* and the melodic improvisations of *bol banāv ṭhumrī* are such that metrical conformity is not readily distinguishable. Similarly, the rhyme that exists in the texts is not necessarily exploited at the time of performance, and often it is only when analysing a text in its written form that the full scope of the rhyme scheme can be discerned. The fact that end rhyme can be found in the majority of *ṭhumrī* texts suggests that rhyme is often an integral feature, but the popularity of certain texts without rhyme also indicates that it is not essential.

In addition to end rhyme, alliteration and assonance are present in many texts, often to much greater effect in performance than can be suggested by their written form. The phrase *ina nainana mē* occurs in the *ṭhumrī jāga paṛī māi to piyā*: the inclusion of the cluster of nasals clearly results in a poetically potent phrase, but the extent of its potential effect cannot be understood until it is heard performed by a skilful and imaginative singer. In one rendition of this *ṭhumrī*, the late Siddheshwari Devi from Benares, one of the most renowned *ṭhumrī* singers of the twentieth century, spent no less than seven consecutive minutes (approximately a quarter of the entire performance) on musical elaborations of this very phrase. In addition to the poetic quality created by the combination of the actual sounds, the prolonged reference to

⁹This very description underscores some of the issues I am discussing: from an analytical perspective, Girija Devi's first language is Bhojpurī, shared with or followed by Kharī Bolī. But like most speakers of Hindi dialects, however, she identifies herself as a speaker of 'Hindi'. Although speakers of dialects are likely to adjust their choice of dialect and register in response to the context, they are not necessarily able to articulate this process. Further aspects of this state of diglossia are outside of the scope of the present study.

'eyes' (itself a formulaic feature of ṭhumrī texts) creates a wide range of associations, so that the intangibility of the nasal sounds in the phrase resonates with the allusive quality of the words themselves.

The performed/written dichotomy extends to the structural division of the songs into sthāyī and antarā: whereas the antarā appears dominant on the written page as it tends to have more lines than the sthāyī (and at least the same number of lines), it is actually the sthāyī, and its first line in particular, that shapes the identity of the song and is sung for the larger part of the performance. That is not to say that the antarā is not significant in performance: as it is usually pitched predominantly in the upper region of the octave, the antarā heralds a new musical perspective, and textually the antarā often has a resolving quality, usually confirming an anticipated situation or event.

Chapter four, 'The Poetry of Ṭhumrī', is divided into two parts, 'The Narrative Voice' (4.1) and 'Themes' (4.2). Although it can easily be established that with only a few exceptions all ṭhumrī texts are written from a first-person female perspective, the implications of this narrative situation are complex. Ṭhumrī has been in musicological and popular literature identified as 'feminine' for a number of reasons, raising the question of whether a genre can be gendered. It is likely that the assignment of gender is based on a decision-making process which is rooted in cultural stereotypes of 'femininity' (some of which appear to be universal, such as the equation of 'female' with 'nature', as discussed in Sherry Ortner 1974). 'Ṭhumrī is sweet', 'ṭhumrī is romantic', 'ṭhumrī is light', 'ṭhumrī is devotional', 'ṭhumrī is emotive', 'ṭhumrī is beautiful', 'the noun "ṭhumrī" is feminine': these are but some of the reasons given for ṭhumrī's supposedly feminine nature. That the traditional performers of ṭhumrī were women is an additional, though rarely expressed, reason for its association with the female gender; I would further add that its marginalised presence in classical music concerts and indeed, its marginalised presence in the category of 'art music', are yet more possible reasons for, and also results of, ṭhumrī's equation with the 'female', the 'other' in patriarchal ideology. However, discussions of dhrupad at times refer to khyāl as its 'feminine' counterpart. Ṭhumrī's perceived femininity is located on a continuum on which dhrupad is indisputably masculine and khyāl's position is rather more tentative. The narrative voice of ṭhumrī is, a few exceptions excluded, its one consistent association with femininity. It is an

uncompromising reminder of its historical function as a courtesans' genre, and I argue that *ṭhumrī*'s narrative voice is a major contributing factor to its feminine identity.

Ṭhumrī's perceived femininity has had both negative and positive consequences. On the one hand it is clearly a marginalising characteristic which may in part be responsible for keeping in place the perception of *ṭhumrī* as being 'light' classical music. On the other hand, it has endowed the genre with a solid association with *bhakti*, thus allowing it to overcome the problem of its original role and find a niche in the world of contemporary music. As A.K. Ramanujan has pointed out, 'an especially arresting aspect of the *bhakti* milieu ... is the extent to which *bhakti* itself appears as "feminine" in nature (...). The chief mood of *bhakti* is the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*), seen almost entirely from an Indian woman's point of view, whether in its phase of separation or union' (Ramanujan 1982:316). *Ṭhumrī* - feminine, erotic, and, indeed, seen almost entirely from an Indian woman's point of view - is thus provided with an ideal model for its modern identity.

Of course, it is not only *ṭhumrī*'s narrative voice that seems to locate it in the realm of *bhakti*; its language and imagery as discussed in chapter two are also contributing factors, as is the fact that *ṭhumrī*'s two most prominent themes, *viraha* and the harassment of the women of Braj by a protagonist who is usually explicitly named as, and otherwise implied to be, Krishna, have their antecedents in devotional literature from the first millennium. The second part of chapter four traces the historical antecedents of both these themes and discusses the inherent ambiguity between devotional and secular sentiments. The fact that the thematic scope of *ṭhumrī* is primarily restricted to only two themes, whose division very broadly reflects that between *bandīś ṭhumrī* (harassment) and *bol banāv ṭhumrī* (*viraha*), seems compatible with *ṭhumrī*'s narrow linguistic register. This substantiates the view that *ṭhumrī* is predictable and formulaic. In both forms of *ṭhumrī*, however, the aim is to draw out various shades of meaning implicit in the texts. In *bandīś ṭhumrī* this is reinforced by the medium of dance, whereas in *bol banāv ṭhumrī* the singer uses melodic improvisations and elaborations as the foundation for emotional expression.

In order to afford the singer ample space for her explorations of different moods suggested by the phrases of the text, the lyrics must be open to a broad

range of interpretation. It is crucial for *ṭhumrī* singers to be able to recognise the myriad possibilities of emotional expression present in a phrase. For some modern performers, this entails a reliance on the *nāyikā-bheda* model of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*, in which the various emotional states of the heroine are delineated. Application of such ancient models, however, is readily combined with the desire to locate the entire genre in a sanskritic framework, an aim which is not necessarily achievable; indeed, only two or three of the *nāyikās* of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* are easily identified in *ṭhumrī* texts, complicating if not prohibiting the application of this model to contemporary *ṭhumrī*. The need for a wide range of interpretive options in *bol banāv ṭhumrī* further limits the usefulness of the *nāyikā-bheda* model, as the identification of the heroine with one narrowly-defined *nāyikā* imposes an unnecessary limitation on the scope of the genre.

Chapter five, 'The Context of *Ṭhumrī*', charts the manner in which *ṭhumrī* and other genres of Hindustani music became subsumed in the larger context of India's cultural heritage. The end of the nineteenth century spawned a movement directed towards appropriating indigenous art to the ideals of the nationalist movement. Cultural artefacts were invested with religious and traditional meaning, and were reconstructed as sources of pride in the Motherland, no longer symbols of decadent feudal life and the hedonistic lifestyles of the princely rulers who had given the British so much cause for contempt. The erotic and manneristic courtesans' genre of *ṭhumrī* was extremely problematic as it did not easily lend itself to this shift of focus. However, as male singers became interested in the possibilities presented by *ṭhumrī*'s emotive character, and the interpretation of the erotic as devotional posed no major obstacles, *ṭhumrī* managed to outgrow its sole function as a vehicle for entertainment by *tavāyafs*. Minor alterations to certain texts combined with a selective choice of material resulted in somewhat sanitised versions of the original songs, which retained their emotive and romantic expression, even if it was now primarily interpreted in a Krishnaite idiom. Exploring the effect of the change in performance milieu on the lyrics of *ṭhumrī* raises the question of who actually motivates such reconstructions; although it is seemingly the performer who is in control of alterations to her genre, she is ultimately motivated by the desire to keep her art form compatible with the demands of patronage. The question of 'selling-out' also arises: is the performer who adjusts her art to suit the needs of her audience

merely suitably accommodating, or actually compromising her artistic integrity for the sake of survival or commercial success?

Chapter six, 'Genre, Authenticity, and Tradition', explores the avenues open to an art form whose traditional performance environment ceases to be relevant. *Ṭhumrī*'s primary qualities - its Braj Bhāṣā linguistic framework, its female narration, its romantic scope - provide it with an excellent avenue for reconstruction in a devotional idiom. *Ṭhumrī*'s fellow-genre in the courtesan's salon, the Urdu *ghazal*, has reinvented itself to such an extent that it is, in its modern 'pop' form, not easily reconciled with its original identity as the 'poet's genre', sophisticated and readily associated with the elegant culture of pre-modern Lucknow. To be sure, the modern *ghazal* (always written from a male perspective) continues to benefit from this polished association, whereas *ṭhumrī*, the feminine genre, is always in danger of being haunted by the disreputable association with its courtesan's past. At the same time, however, the meaning of *ṭhumrī* has been reconstructed in such a way that even if it has not acquired the popularity and commercial success of the *ghazal*, and the sophistication of its texts has not been fully recognised, it has at least retained its essential characteristics: *ṭhumrī* has remained sensuous (even if its erotic overtones have been subdued), romantic, and extremely suggestive. The genre's reliance on formulaic language and imagery is highly significant: I argue that the predictable nature of the texts allows the audience to be instilled with a sense of recognition, which, combined with the increasingly overt Krishnaite idiom, invests the genre with an aura of traditionality that is crucial for its survival in the modern age.

1.4 Methodology

The first and foremost task in the present study has been to analyse the language of *ṭhumrī* in an immediate and practical manner without speculation or contextualisation, following analytical conventions established by McGregor 1968, and followed by Snell 1991a, Pauwels 1996 and Rosenstein 1997. The received view of *ṭhumrī* texts as short, predictable, formulaic, even

somewhat superficial¹⁰, is in the first instance borne out by the analysis, which confirms the relative absence of ostensibly impressive features such as intricate rhyme or alliteration, the use of a sophisticated poetic register or elaborate metaphor: in other words, *ṭhumrī* texts are indeed simple and not conventionally endowed with poetic qualities. Nevertheless, the present study also demonstrates that the way in which the predictability in *ṭhumrī* is achieved is in fact quite remarkable, and moreover, that the way in which conventional linguistic expression and imagery are used to create a sense of infiniteness that is entirely congruous with *ṭhumrī*'s primary musical characteristic is impressive. It is hoped that one of the results of the present study will be a reappraisal of the poetic and literary qualities of *ṭhumrī* lyrics, not because of their 'sanskritic antecedents' or 'essentially devotional nature', but because they successfully and elegantly achieve their aim, which is to invite the audience to engage with realms far beyond the immediate lexical scope of the texts.

The second task is related to the issue of representation. Having established the essential characteristics of *ṭhumrī* texts, I then go on to locate these in the larger framework of North Indian literature and culture, not with the aim of proving any historical connection - although these certainly exist, and are therefore discussed in the thesis - but in order to examine how the reconstruction of *ṭhumrī*'s identity has been possible. What are the inherent qualities of *ṭhumrī* that have facilitated its location and reinterpretation in a devotional idiom; how have paradoxes obstructing the reconstructing process been accommodated; what are the motivating forces behind the reinvention of *ṭhumrī*'s identity? Such questions ultimately lead into a discussion of authenticity: what is the meaning of 'genre', and how is it possible for genres to alter their identity? How does a tradition accept innovation, and does the incorporation of change compromise its traditionality? There are clearly no conclusive answers to such questions, and the present study only aims to explore them in a very limited environment. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the examination of genre-related issues in the context of *ṭhumrī* will help illuminate a small part of a very complex area of scholarly discourse. The

¹⁰This view was most explicitly expressed by a woman singer whom I met at a private concert in Mumbai in December 1996. When I told her of my research, she could barely hide her astonishment as she said: 'A thesis? On *ṭhumrī* lyrics? But they are nothing!'.

issues raised in the present study underscore the importance of recognising culture-specific elements.

1.5 Musical aspects of *ṭhumrī*

Most of my observations on the musicological component of *ṭhumrī* have been based on existing authoritative sources, but they have also been informed by numerous interviews and discussions with musicians and musicologists, as well as by my experiences as a student of vocal music living in the household of singer Girija Devi.

However, a musical appraisal of the genre is not within the scope of this thesis and has, in any case, already been carried out by Shatrughna Shukla (1984) and Peter Manuel (1989). A brief introduction to the basic elements of *ṭhumrī* performance will suffice to make aspects of the present work more accessible. *Bandīś ṭhumrī* is very similar to the modern shape of *drut* or *choṭā khyāl*, the second and fast part of a *khyāl* performance. Sung in *tīntāl* (16 beats), *ektāl* (12 beats) or, occasionally, *jhaptāl* (10 beats), *bandīś ṭhumrī* is fast and rhythmic and can in theory be sung in any *rāg*, as is illustrated by evidence of *bandīś ṭhumrīs* composed in 'serious' *rāgs* like *Mālkauns* and *Darbārī* - which can be demonstrated to have survived as *choṭā khyāls* on the modern concert platform. Many of the extant compositions of *bandīś ṭhumrī* confirm a predilection for *rāgs* which are now associated with *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, such as *Bhairavī*, *Khamāj* and *Gārā*. *Bol banāv ṭhumrī* is sung in a limited number of *rāgs*; out of some one hundred and fifty *rāgs* which are current in contemporary Hindustani music¹¹, only approximately fifteen are represented in the *bol banāv* section of the main corpus. The figure is not exact, as certain *rāgs* occur in minor variations of their main form, which do not necessarily warrant being considered separate items. The *rāg* *Bhairavī*, for instance, occurs as *Bhairavī*, *Jaṅglā Bhairavī* and *Īrānī Bhairavī*. In addition, the parameters of *rāg* in *bol banāv ṭhumrī* are fluid, and it is in fact a sign of the skill of the vocalist to be able to extend the boundaries of the *rāg* she is

¹¹Joep Bor states that for the purpose of *The Raga Guide*, 'Of the hundreds of ragas that exist, a selection [of seventy-five *rāgs*] has been made of those that are fairly well-established and commonly performed' (1999:v). This selection of seventy-five *rāgs* seems narrow. *Rāgkoṣ*, a 'dictionary' of *rāgs*, lists 200 *rāgs*, some of which are quite obscure. The figure of one hundred and fifty is probably more representative of contemporary performance practice.

singing by including phrases reminiscent of other rāgs, without losing track of the predominant rāg. Whereas in *khyāl* a performer has to take great care not to move into the tonal space of rāgs closely related to the one being performed, in *ṭhumrī* a singer may exploit the boundaries of the rāg she is performing, intimating the domains of other rāgs, but never in such a way that the gestalt of the main rāg is lost in the process. Subsequently, few rāgs appear in their 'pure' form, and in any case the rāgs which are current in *ṭhumrī* tend to have fluid boundaries. Often the prefix '*miśra*' is added, signifying these loose parameters. The aim of bol banāv *ṭhumrī* is not to display rhythmic skill, an important feature of both *dhrupad* and *bandīś ṭhumrī*, nor to exhibit the vocal acrobatics which are appropriate in *khyāl*, but rather to create a maximally expressive mood which is conducive to bringing out the various shades of emotional and musical meaning implicit in the texts.

The *tāls*, the rhythm or musical time, of bol banāv *ṭhumrī* tend to be leisurely and spacious, even though their speed depends on the singer's inclination. The most common tāls are 14-beat *dīpcandī*, and its 16-beat variation, *jat*. The structure of the tāls is set out in the charts given below. The first beat (indicated with a cross in the charts) is called *sam*, which is the stressed beat and constitutes the beginning of each rhythmic cycle.

dīpcandī:														
Beat number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Stress pattern	x	-	-	2	-	-	-	0	-	-	3	-	-	-
ṭhekā bol	dhā	dhin	-	dhā	dhā	tin	-	tā	tin	-	dhā	dhā	din	-

jat:																
Beat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Stress	X				2				0				3			
ṭhekā	dhā	-	dhin	-	dhā	dhā	tin	-	tā	-	tin	-	dhā	dhā	dhin	-

These tāls are particularly associated with the Benares tradition. They are both sometimes referred to as *cācar*, although that term usually denotes a fast form of *dīpcandī*; in this work I have used the terms '*dīpcandī*' and '*jat*' only. Other tāls which may be used in bol banāv *ṭhumrī* are 8-beat *kaharvā*, 7-beat *rūpak*, and 16-beat *sitārkhānī* or *pañjābī tīntāl*. All of these are prominent in the

Panjabi (Patiala) style of *ṭhumrī* performance, of which the late Barkat Ali Khan, the late Bade Ghulam Ali Khan, and the latter's late son Munawar Ali Khan are the best known proponents. The Patiala style is characterised by a rather less leisurely pace than is customary in the Benares style (*pūrab aṅg*), very florid and complex ornamentation, the insertion of Urdu couplets during performance, and the singing of *sargam*. Sargam is the Indian solfège system (named after the first four notes *sa re ga ma*), and in *khyāl* the notes are often sung by name in fast melodic sequences. This practice is usually frowned upon in *pūrab aṅg-bol banāv ṭhumrī*, whose fluid nature does not easily accommodate the specific naming of notes. Textually, *ṭhumrīs* favoured by Panjabi-style singers conform to the general *bol banāv* model, even though there appears to be a preference for texts with a tight rhyme scheme.

Two musical aspects of *ṭhumrī* performance have particular bearing on the importance of the first line. Firstly, the word which lands on the stressed beat *sam*, which coincides with the first beat of the rhythmic cycle, is also the last word of a phrase called the *mukhrā*. The *mukhrā* is usually the first phrase of a composition, and is always sung to more or less the same melody. This means that the *mukhrā* is the one recurring component of performance, and as such is the primary musical identifier of a composition. The *mukhrā* provides an anchor, a consistently recurring phrase which always culminates in resolution on *sam*. Particularly in a loosely structured genre like *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, the *mukhrā* is significant because of its stabilising character.

The second aspect is the *laggī*, the fast and energetically rhythmic final part of the performance of a *bol banāv ṭhumrī*. During the *laggī*, virtuosic solo improvisations in a fast beat are played on the *tablā* while the singer repeats the first line of the *sthāyī*, accompanied by *sāraṅgī* and/or harmonium. As in this part of the performance the momentum of improvisation is carried by the *tablā*-player, the singer's repetition of the first line is understatedly extemporised, most of the time performed with little variation, like a refrain. In both the *mukhrā* and the *laggī* the first line of the *sthāyī* frequently recurs, rendering it by far the most significant line in the entire text.

1.6 Musical and textual parallels

From a musical perspective, a certain tension between space and confinement, between pushing boundaries and being restricted, is an important quality of *ṭhumrī*. The ability to interweave shades of an extraneous *rāg* into the performance of a *ṭhumrī* is highly valued, but the rules or conventions governing this process are strict: it is considered a sign of incompetence if a singer strays too far from the path of the main *rāg*. Like this musical feature of *ṭhumrī*, its lyrics thrive on suggestion. *Ṭhumrī* lyrics are filled with allusions to images that are not explicitly present in the text. There are hints of associations from within the realm of *ṭhumrī* itself, but they are more substantially located within North Indian cultural tradition, and Krishnaite mythology in particular. The word *ṭhāre* or *ṭhārhe* is so closely associated with descriptions of Krishna in *bhakti* literature that for many people the mere inclusion of the word will conjure up a range of images relating to the cowherd-god, so that the import of the phrase *ṭhāre raho* is much wider than its lexical meaning. Both musically and textually, therefore, *ṭhumrī*'s apparent conciseness belies the genre's ability to extend boundaries and invite mental engagement with a realm beyond its apparently narrow confines.

Vidya Rao eloquently describes how the process of moving through musical space can function in *ṭhumrī* (1990:35). A singer performing a text in *rāg Pīlū* that includes the word *madhubana* can move into *rāg Madhuvantī* when the word *madhubana* is sung. *Rāg Des*, a *rāg* that is traditionally associated with the rainy season, may be interwoven into the performance of a text that includes references to rain (or tears). The interplay of musical style and text is one of renowned vocalist Girija Devi's favourite subjects of discussion. Describing the performance of the *ṭhumrī aba sudha lo more rāma* (text A3 in the main corpus), she explained that the first word of the second line *bīca* should ideally coincide with the note *ma*, the middle note of the scale, that the phrase *sira para* should be sung in the higher part of the scale to illustrate the 'on top' quality of the image, whereas *bhārī* should be sung in a suitably heavy and drawn-out manner.¹² Although few vocalists articulate the relationship between text and music in this manner, and some may find such a literal approach inappropriate, explanations of this type nevertheless illustrate the relevance of text in *ṭhumrī*: it is not only the emotional import of the lyrics that matters but also the manner in which music and words coincide and mutually inform each other.

¹²Sangeet Research Academy, Calcutta. Tape SRA 674.

1.7 Ṭhumrī as an instrumental genre

In his 1989 monograph on ṭhumrī, Peter Manuel argues that instrumental ṭhumrī is now a major branch of the genre and a contributing factor to its rising popularity. He himself admits that the ṭhumrī singers he interviewed denied that ṭhumrī could be played on instruments, as the importance of bringing out the meaning of the words is obviously absent in an instrumental style, but he nevertheless asserts that certain features 'suffice to distinguish instrumental ṭhumrī as a genre from instrumental *kḥayāl*' (1989:160). Although there is undoubtedly an instrumental style that is distinct from *kḥyāl* and incorporates certain features from ṭhumrī, such as specific types of ornamentation and melodic development as well as the use of ṭhumrī-related tāls, this does not mean that this instrumental form can justifiably be described as ṭhumrī. As the relationship between text and music is central to ṭhumrī, Ashok Ranade (1990:34) suggests that instrumental 'ṭhumrīs' be called *dhuns*, a term commonly used to describe folk songs and other 'tunes' when played on instruments. Arvind Parikh, a sitarist and well-known patron of music, argues that there is no reason why ṭhumrī could not be played on instruments as long as the melodic and rhythmic elements are properly expounded, but concedes that enjoyment would increase if the instrumentalist based his *mukḥṛā*, the most catchy and frequently recurring part of a song, on a well-known text, so that 'the listeners could even visualise the words as if they are sung' (Parikh 1990:57).

In his study of the relationship between sārāṅgī and vocal music, Nicolas Magriel (forthcoming) has found that most sārāṅgī players confirm the mental presence of the words of particular compositions (not only ṭhumrīs) when playing solo performances, substantiating Magriel's argument that sārāṅgī music is vocal music. It seems that to successfully render genres which are essentially vocal, such as ṭhumrī, a mental image of the lyrics helps engagement with and appreciation of the music. Although Manuel argues that the musical compositions of ṭhumrī can be so stereotypical that it is unlikely that both performer and audience will have the same text in mind when a ṭhumrī is rendered instrumentally (an argument that has some validity but also suggests erroneously that a variety of ṭhumrī texts are pegged on to the same melody), I would assert that the very stereotyped

nature of the genre makes that fact irrelevant. As long as an audience have a *ṭhumrī* text in mind when they are listening to an instrumental rendition of the genre, it does not really matter which one it is. The point is that engagement with the words is essential for the appreciation of *ṭhumrī*, and instrumental *ṭhumrī* can therefore only be effective if the texts are mentally present, which requires strict adherence to the idiom of the vocal genre on the part of the instrumentalist. If a musician is, however, only playing a *rāg* associated with *ṭhumrī* in a style that is similar to *ṭhumrī*, without clearly following an existing and popular *ṭhumrī* composition, then it would not be correct to term the ensuing rendition a *ṭhumrī*; in practice such renditions are indeed generally described as *dhuns*.

1.8 The main corpus

The main corpus upon which the present study is based consists of two sections: A, *bol banāv ṭhumrī* texts, and B, *bandīś ṭhumrī* texts. The first section consists of 78 main texts; including variant versions, a total of 138 texts are included. The second section comprises 30 main texts, 42 including variant versions. The texts are organised alphabetically (following the Devanagari order), with the exception of B30, which is a late addition to the main corpus. The rationale behind the inclusion of certain texts has been based on currency: all the texts that are included in the main corpus were (in at least one version) sung or recited for me during fieldwork in India in the year 1996-1997, or have been heard on either private or commercial recordings; there are therefore no texts in the main corpus which are not, or no longer, part of a performance tradition. Where variant versions of the texts thus accumulated are known to exist (either through fieldwork, recordings, or anthologies) they have also been included. Although such variant versions are numbered x.1, x.2, x.3 etc., there is no suggestion that version number one is in any way more definitive than other variations; anthologised material will usually be included after texts which have been heard performed either in person, on stage, or on a recording.

Having come across a number of published *ṭhumrī* anthologies in India, most of which are out of print and which I was therefore extremely fortunate to find, I was keen to include in my thesis every *ṭhumrī* text now available to me. The project was not only daunting, as the number and variety of the texts

were such that no systematic treatment seemed adequate, it also struck me as unproductive: if one of the aims of my study was to examine the life of *ṭhumrī* texts as performed items, it clearly had to be constructed around those texts which could be proven to have been part of performance. The earliest available recordings date back to 1906, but their clarity is rarely sufficient to transcribe an entire text in detail. As the *antarā* is usually only sung once, its transcription is particularly difficult. The outline of such old *ṭhumrīs* is nevertheless mostly recognisable, and the old recordings provide some evidence as to which texts were popular at the beginning of the twentieth century. Due to the lack of clarity of the words such *ṭhumrīs* have not been included in the main corpus as full texts, but their existence may be mentioned where relevant. Although the main corpus therefore presents only a small sample of the thousands of *ṭhumrīs* which exist, it represents texts which are known to have been performed as *ṭhumrīs* in the twentieth century. The aim of the main corpus is clearly not to provide a definitive selection of *ṭhumrī* texts, but rather to give an impression of the genre as it lives in a contemporary setting.

1.9 Anthologies

Various published anthologies of *ṭhumrī* texts are available, some as musicological works including notation, some only as textual collections. More recent publications include the Gujarati *Ṭhūmrī ane ainī sāhelīyo* by Batuk Dewanji (1995), *Ṭhumrī Gāyakī* by Tulsiram Devangan (1995), *Ṭhumrī Paricay* by Leela Karwal (1982), and *Ṭhumrī Saṅgrah* by Gangadhar Rav Tailang (1977). As its title indicates, Dewanji's book includes *ṭhumrī*-related genres such as *dādrā*, *horī*, *kajrī*, *caitī*, *sāvan*. Devangan's collection includes *dādrās* as well as *ṭhumrīs*. All of these books include a brief history and overview of the musical aspect of *ṭhumrī*, but no particular study of its lyrics. The authors also do not specify where they have collected their material from, or what motivates their interest and involvement. Older collections do not usually include musicological information, but do state (however briefly) the intention and motivation of the author. In a three-volume collection from the 1940's entitled *Ṭhumrī-Saṅgrah*, Narhar Shambhurav Bhavé explains that he is a student of music, and that the musically annotated texts in his anthologies were taught to him by his teacher Mohammed Shekh Rahatali, who also composed many of the songs. This collection also includes *dādrās*, *horīs* and

kajrīs (referred to as *kajlī*), as well as, more surprisingly in view of its title, *bhajans* and *aṣṭapadīs*. The latter is described as a ‘song of eight verses’ and seems to be primarily devotional, not unlike the bhajan. The inclusion of bhajans in a volume that claims to be a collection of ṭhumrīs would be unlikely in a modern context.

In contemporary music culture, certain genres are considered to be part of the ṭhumrī repertoire (most notably dādrā, horī, kajrī and caitī), but the bhajan is very much considered a distinct genre which bears no direct relation to ṭhumrī. In view of the increasing perception of ṭhumrī as having an essentially devotional nature, the solidification of the boundary with the bhajan seems unnecessary on the one hand, while on the other hand the closeness of the thematic aspects of the genres reinforces the need to keep their identities separate. In contemporary views, the devotional sentiment in ṭhumrī is expressed through romantic metaphor and allusion, whereas bhajans are perceived to be more explicitly religious. This perception is heightened by awareness of the lives and inclinations of famous poet-saints such as Mīrābāī and Kabīr, whose bhajans are especially well-known.

The older anthologies of ṭhumrīs and related genres which I was fortunate to find in private collections in India usually state the author’s intention on the front cover or first page. Often these anthologies take the form of pamphlets, sometimes with a picture of a well-adorned woman on the front cover. The collection *Sadābahār*, published in Bombay, undated but probably from the first two decades of the twentieth century¹³, states that it was collected by Pandit Maharajdin Dikshit, resident of Baroda, for the pleasure of connoisseurs or aficionados (*rasikjan*). *Sadābahār* includes ṭhumrīs, caitīs, bhajans and dādrās. *Rāg Rustame Hind* is a collection of at least four volumes, and includes dādrās, gazals, ṭhumrīs, bhajans, and *khemṭā*, a genre named after a tāl which is rarely if ever heard today. Some texts are also headed with the name of a rāg, such as Lalit or Jhinjhoṭī. *Saṅgītmālā* was published in Benares in 1891, and states that the third impression consisted of 1000 copies, priced at 3 annas each¹⁴, suggesting that such pamphlets were popular in

¹³I discovered a set of anthologies in the library of the Kashi Sangeet Samaj in Benares; the ones which state their publication date were published between 1890 and 1915, hence the speculation as to the date of the undated collections or pamphlets.

¹⁴Information in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1908) suggests that at the end of the nineteenth century 3 annas had a value of approximately 3 (old) pence. In Indian terms, R.C. Dogra at

spite of being expensive. This particular work included dhrupad ('*dhurpad*') and *bārahmāsā* texts, in addition to *ṭhumrī*, *gazal* and *bhajan*. *Camān Benazīr* was published by Babu Deepchand in 1897 and includes texts simply headed 'rāg', which may indicate *khyāl* compositions, as well as *ṭhumrīs* etc.

The existence of such collections indicates that there was a market for collections of texts without any musical information besides an indication of genre. Many of the texts are markedly similar to one another (both within and outside of the limits of one collection) which suggests that the solidification of genre boundaries that was to take place in the course of the twentieth century, partially aided by the mass media, had not yet occurred. This suggestion is substantiated by the inclusion of a wide variety of genres within the same publications. The occasional inclusion of dhrupad and *khyāl* texts and the abundant presence of *gazals* and *ṭhumrīs* suggest that these small collections represented songs that were popular in *mujrās* and *mahfils*, attendance at which would at that time have been a matter of some socio-economic prestige. Nevertheless, as there is no actual evidence that the texts found in these anthologies were performed, and certainly not in more recent years, they are not included in the main corpus. At the same time, their existence has certainly informed the present study, and they are referred to where relevant.

1.10 Press reviews

There are not many books on the subject of Hindustani music, and only a few that are widely available; the majority of contemporary concert audiences are not connoisseurs with a high level of familiarity with *rāg*, *tāl*, and other concepts of Hindustani music, and are unlikely to have sufficient interest or time to read musicological literature. However, as knowledge of the intricacies of Hindustani music certainly enhances appreciation, most patrons would like to have a basic grounding in music and be aware of what 'is going on', on stage as well as in musical culture.¹⁵

the SOAS library informs me that at that time 1 rupee (16 annas) would have bought provisions to feed an entire family for one month, and that anything priced at 3 annas would therefore have been aimed at a select audience.

¹⁵The social importance of being able to discuss art music was the selling-point of a Hindustani music workshop held at the fashionable Prithvi Theatre in Juhu, Mumbai in January 1997. The intention of the workshop was articulated by its facilitator as 'allowing you to be able to chat about music at dinner parties and recognise the *rāgs* in popular film songs'.

In modern India, the press figures importantly in the dissemination of musical information and orientation. Most newspapers in the urban centres of India carry regular music reviews and music-related articles. Such writings are a good indicator of 'received opinion' as they are aimed at a much wider market than music books. In addition to reflecting popular views on music, they have a formative quality as the reviewers tend to pontificate about the 'correctness' of the rendition of a rāg ('Patdeep is not actually a raga for the Mandra Saptak - lower octave - and Shanti's elaboration here was perhaps a trifle overdone')¹⁶, the appropriate demeanour of the performer ('Mita Pandit's excessive hot-bloodedness and vocal virulence in place of a soft and tender approach, more consistent with her sex and station in life, failed to find favour with me')¹⁷, or the choice of material. Part of the education of appreciation of music is thus conveyed through such writings as they shape audiences' expectations and attitudes to performances, and consequently newspaper articles are frequently referred to in the present study as reflections of popular opinion.

I collected a large number of press clippings in the course of my time in India, aided by the newspaper archives at the Archives and Research Centre for Ethnomusicology (ARCE), New Delhi. This newspaper collection provides a striking glimpse into the world of Hindustani music as it lives in the perceptions of journalists and, by extension, audiences; as the dates of the articles range from the 1950's to the 1990's, the collection also documents how music reviews and reviewers' attitudes have changed over the years. Although attendant observations are not relevant to the present study, it is worth noting that there has been a general movement towards a more 'scientific' approach to music, in which the exact specifications of a rāg are analysed and the performer's rendition is commented upon. This type of reviewing was largely absent in the 1950's and 1960's, when the direction of observation was much more towards the mood of a performance. The move away from atmosphere towards the specifics of rāg delineation does not

These claims must have seemed effective for attracting an audience; the content of the well-attended two-day workshop was in fact more substantial than its own stated intention suggested.

¹⁶S. Kalidas reviews Shanti Sharma, *The Times of India*, 15.6.93.

¹⁷Prakash Wadhera reviews Mita Pandit, *Sunday Observer*, 6.12.92.

promote the appreciation of *ṭhumrī*, in which adherence to *rāg* is secondary to the ability to create an appropriate mood.

1.11 Perspective of the thesis: constructing meaning

The experience of an art form as relevant to one's life or identity is a fundamental part of its appreciation; if an art form is entirely unfamiliar or inaccessible, we may appreciate it aesthetically, from a distance, but are unlikely to engage with it or derive meaning from it. Modern middle-class audiences of Hindustani music want to be able to locate themselves in a familiar relation to the music and the performer they patronise, and although many contemporary performers hail from the middle classes, and many hereditary musicians have constructed a more or less convincing bourgeois identity for themselves, there is a widespread awareness of the 'other-ness' of the professional musician. As the importance and relevance of 'mood' has decreased over the last few decades, being supplanted by a high value placed on virtuosity¹⁸, the atmospheric meaning of *ṭhumrī* has been overshadowed by attention to vocal acrobatics, voice quality, and other signifiers of expertise that are not necessarily relevant to *ṭhumrī*. The conspicuous romanticism of *ṭhumrī* does not carry the same meaning when expressed on a raised stage through a tangle of wires and microphones as it would have done in the very intimate surroundings of the courtesan's salon. In the public and impersonal environment of the modern concert hall, the most viable interpretation of *ṭhumrī*'s romantic lyrics is on an impersonal level: rather than expressing the devotion and desire of one woman for one man, *ṭhumrī* is perceived as articulating the love of the female devotee for her god - albeit in a romantic idiom. In this interpretation, both performer and audience can be meaningfully located in relation to the texts; there is no sense of 'other', as performer and audience share the sentiments expressed in the text.¹⁹

¹⁸For example, modern audiences of *khyāl* place great value on the singer's ability to reach a high note, even though such a skill is not particularly relevant to *khyāl*, and was not considered essential previously. The appreciation of this skill might have been influenced by Western classical music, or simply by the fact that reaching a high note is readily recognised by the audience. They therefore do not need any extensive knowledge of *rāg* to understand that the performer they are patronising is 'good'.

¹⁹Although many *ṭhumrīs* were written by Muslims, this is to some extent concealed by the general absence of a 'signature' in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*; in any case, the *chāps* chosen by Muslim poet-composers did not necessarily confirm their religious status. In contemporary

This construct of *ṭhumrī*'s identity is at variance with *ṭhumrī*'s historical but contentious role as a vehicle for performance by courtesans for a male audience. The complex issue of women performing for men, central to *ṭhumrī*'s identity, is still so readily evoked by *ṭhumrī*'s almost exclusively first-person female narration, its romantic idiom and its emotive expression, that the importance attached to *ṭhumrī*'s relocation in a devotional idiom cannot be overestimated. From the perspective of the modern audience, there can be no question as to *ṭhumrī*'s intrinsic devotional qualities, because in their absence *ṭhumrī* is too far removed from middle-class values to have meaning appropriate to its context. That is not to say that contemporary male audiences are not tantalised by the woman-performer on stage, but the devotional interpretation allows a public face to be put on something which is an anomaly in modern middle-class culture: passion being stirred by a woman performing for men. The construct of *ṭhumrī*'s modern identity is then not just encouraged by moral conservatism or (politically motivated) sanitisation and sanskritisation, but also by simple forces of survival: for *ṭhumrī* to exist in the modern world, it has to be capable of being presented and understood in a sanitised way, enabling it to be relevant to modern life. Feudal relations and courtesan culture are not compatible with modern existence. The devotional interpretation provides *ṭhumrī* with a model through which it can achieve relevance in its new environment.

However, being tolerant of *ṭhumrī*'s reconstructed identity, being able to understand, explain and perhaps even justify the process by which it has acquired relevance in contemporary music culture, does not necessitate the unquestioned embracing of the rewriting of history. Accepting that *ṭhumrī* has a new role in the modern world is one thing; condoning the effective erosion of the awareness of its historical role quite another. *Ṭhumrī* texts have hardly been the subject of analysis, in both popular and scholarly discourse; those that have engaged with the texts have done so with the desire to locate them in a larger framework of sanskrit culture, emphasising *ṭhumrī*'s

performance there are very few Muslim woman-singers (of either *ṭhumrī* or *khyāl*). For the male Muslim vocalist who performs *ṭhumrī*, the identification with the lyrical heroine is already obstructed by his gender, and the fact that he may not share the religious sentiments of the *ṭhumrī* is thereby largely concealed. Furthermore, as (folk) hagiographies of poets like Raskhān and Kabīr demonstrate, there is a precedent for Muslims embracing Krishnaite sentiments. Navāb Wajid Ali Shah is also claimed to have been a great devotee of Krishna.

antecedents in the *Nāṭya Śāstra* and even the *Sāma Veda*²⁰. That *ṭhumrī* as a musical genre has antecedents that can be traced back to the first millennium is easily explained if one considers the contextual associations of *ṭhumrī* that are indisputably ancient: sexual love, and men paying for erotic entertainment by women. Expressions of erotic love, and songs performed by women entertaining men, will undoubtedly have ancient antecedents but these bear little relation to *ṭhumrī*'s present form and status in contemporary Hindustani music. The present study is concerned with *ṭhumrī* as it has existed in the past 150 years or so, and how the genre, and its texts in particular, have negotiated the shift into modernity.

²⁰Pant 1973:20. Although he does not argue a direct line of descent from *Sāma Veda* to *ṭhumrī*, his analogy of *ṭhumrī*'s 'syllables of exclamation' (*are, hā rī*, etc.) to the ancient scripture's '*stobhaksharas*' suggests a continuity that is difficult to accept.

Chapter 2: The Language of Ṭhumrī

2.1 Introduction

Given the amount of diversity that invariably occurs in an oral tradition, the extent to which ṭhumrī texts constitute a cohesive genre is quite remarkable. The prevalent received view as to the language of ṭhumrī is that the texts are written in Braj Bhāṣā (Manuel 1989:1, 38), although others modify this opinion with the comment that the influence of Khaṛī Bolī and Avadhī is also apparent (e.g. Shukla 1983:206). S.V. Gokhale (1990:2) asserts that ṭhumrīs have been written in a variety of North Indian languages. While there are certainly instances of ṭhumrīs having been translated into, and possibly also composed in, Bengali, Marathi, or Gujarati, it should be emphasised that the vast majority of ṭhumrīs incorporate features of a small number of dialects, primarily Braj Bhāṣā, Avadhī and Khaṛī Bolī. It is this very mixture of language which makes a linguistic analysis of the genre compelling: it will be informative to explore what the various components of the language of ṭhumrī actually are, and how these elements contribute to the stylistics of ṭhumrī. The task is not entirely straightforward: most ṭhumrī texts are extremely concise and include few of the markers which would, in combination, usually indicate specific dialects. The presence of a particular form of pronoun or verb by itself rarely presents enough evidence to lead to a firm conclusion, and an appraisal of the language of ṭhumrī is effectively limited to discussing the occurrence of certain features, acknowledging linguistic influences, or offering a variety of options as to the linguistic identity of a word or phrase. That being said, we shall see that the basic structure of the texts is indeed predominantly Braj Bhāṣā, and the analysis carried out in this chapter assumes a basic Braj Bhāṣā matrix, which is then modified to include elements from other Hindi dialects.

The difficulties presented by the somewhat eclectic nature of the language of ṭhumrī are compounded by the fact that the ṭhumrī repertoire does not consist of a fixed corpus of texts. In the absence of a coherent structure provided by one actual or legendary author, or an authoritative edition that supplies a benchmark (however vaguely defined), it is difficult to trace the direction of change that invariably occurs in an oral tradition, even if we accept that

certain versions of a text may be more closely related to that text as it was created. Rosenstein has discussed the problems inherent in working with manuscripts that emanate from a musical tradition (1997:62 ff.). In her study of the dhrupad texts composed by Svami Haridas, the loosely structured texts are often obscure in terms of metre and grammar, complicating if not prohibiting the task of reconstructing an original. The notion of 'shared errors' is best augmented with the concept (suggested by Heidi Pauwels¹) of 'shared variants'. The latter concept reduces the temptation of speculating as to the direction of change, and approaches all variants as being of equal value. The aim of the present study is not to edit back to a hypothetical original text, but rather to record and observe linguistic information, and to describe what seem to be some of the more salient features of ṭhumrī texts. Variations between versions of any particular text are worth noticing for the simple reason that they exist, and because they may shed light on some of the transformational processes that texts undergo in the course of their life as performed items. The mode of transmission of ṭhumrī is such that aiming to arrive at a reconstruction of an original text or a 'critical edition' is neither viable nor useful. In the absence of an original corpus to recover, the analysis of linguistic data is primarily carried out with a view to facilitating an exploration of style.

Ṭhumrī texts are transmitted through a number of channels. The primary mode of transmission is performance, the contents of which may subsequently be preserved through both commercial and private recordings². Performances take place in auditoria, at music festivals, and in small private gatherings, and are also broadcast by the government-controlled radio station. Performers of ṭhumrī - and of other genres - tend to keep notebooks in which the basic texts of the compositions are written down, and so there is an element of written preservation. These notebooks, however, are not generally passed on to a singer's students, who in turn must create their own notebooks as aides-mémoire which supplement the oral teachings they receive. There are a few published anthologies of ṭhumrī texts, mostly collected by musicologists or music enthusiasts. The texts preserved in such collections provide no more

¹Quoted in Rosenstein 1997:62.

²The use of private recording equipment in concert halls in India is usually forbidden, but with the appearance of advanced technology on the Indian market, patrons of music have increasing access to small but powerful tape-recorders, which can easily be 'smuggled' into an auditorium.

than a snapshot of a particular rendition of a *ṭhumrī* in a particular performer's repertoire, and are therefore not as authoritative as their written and published shape may suggest. Committing a performed piece to the written page can in itself be problematic: the words of a song are not always easily discerned from performance, and field-experience has shown that even when a singer is asked to cite or write down the words of a song, variations to the item as it is performed are apt to occur. When one is used to singing a text, having to recite it can be difficult and phrases may get muddled or even omitted in the process. Consequently, the very process of writing down the words of a performed item renders the text liable to corruption, in which it is the text as it was performed rather than as it was created that is subject to alteration³. Some rare printed anthologies of *ṭhumrī* texts are extant, mostly dating back to the end of the nineteenth century. The main problem with these anthologies is that they very rarely include texts that are still known as performed items today, or of which recordings are available, so we have no means of knowing how, and more importantly if, such texts were ever performed.⁴ As the main corpus includes only texts which are or have been used in performance, such anthologised material is not immediately relevant to the present discussion.

2.2 Analysis

In order for us to understand how the linguistic structure of *ṭhumrī* achieves certain stylistic effects, we need to first of all know what the structure consists of. In the following analysis of data the two forms of *ṭhumrī* are treated as separate entities only when they are noticeably different.⁵ The initial analysis

³Other problems arising from this process in relation to the *form* of a text are discussed in chapter 3.

⁴The only example in the main corpus is text B18, of which three instances are available: one from an 1889 anthology, one from a collection dated 1942, and once as sung by Tulika Ghosh in Mumbai in 1997. In terms of textual continuity, the *sthāi* of all three versions is more or less the same, but whereas in the two older versions the *antarā* is also clearly the same text, the most recent rendition has an entirely different *antarā*. The result is that in the latest version the word *nizāmī* (possibly a reference to the author) has been omitted, and due to the explicit inclusion of Krishna and his *sakhīs*, the overall flavour of the text has become more devotional.

⁵In a previous version of this analysis I had approached the two forms of *ṭhumrī* as two distinct categories, but that structure suggested much greater disparity between the forms

contains only the occasional discussion of the implications of the linguistic features encountered; a more in-depth exploration of salient features is carried out afterwards. The analysis focuses primarily on those aspects which occur consistently; certain aspects of the language are only discussed in the appendix, with reference to the particular text they occur in. The lettered and numbered references refer to the main corpus, Appendix 1; A numbers refer to *bol banāv* texts, and B numbers to *bandiś* texts. Where more than one version of a text exists, the version number is shown as in 'A14.1'; when two or more versions display the same linguistic form that is discussed in the analysis, the reference may be 'A14.1/3'. If all versions display the very same feature, the reference appears without version numbers (e.g. 'A14') in order to incorporate all versions.

All citations are exhaustive, unless it is specified that the occurrences quoted are examples or illustrations only. All observations are valid for the texts in the main corpus only; I have tried to avoid words such as 'always' and 'never', but when they are used, it is with the understanding that they refer exclusively to the main corpus.

2.2.1 Verbs

Subjunctive-present

The subjunctive-present occurs most commonly in the third person, in which the invariable *-e* ending results in potential ambiguity with the perfective. No ambiguity occurs where the stem of the verb is subject to insertion of *-v-* in the subjunctive (e.g. *bulāve* - A59), as this insertion would not occur in the perfective. The form *manāva* which occurs in A44 is possibly a subjunctive, although this is not clear.

Subjunctive-present with subjunctive force

Ṭhumrī performance partly relies on ambiguity of text, in order to give the singer ample opportunity to explore various shades of meaning. A very precise distinction between indicative, subjunctive and future force is therefore not appropriate. Nevertheless, certain phrases clearly rely on the subjunctive force of the verb, especially where rhetorical questions are concerned. Subjunctive force occurs primarily in the first person, usually with

than actually exists. By only separating the two forms where relevant the areas of distinction receive the emphasis they deserve, rather than being obscured by a broader discussion.

interrogatives in set phrases such as *kāse kahū* (as in *kāse kahū jī ke baina* - A36.1), *kā karū* or *kita jāvū* (as in *aba kā karū kita jāvū morī sajanī* - A22.1, or *kā karū māī nahī mānata kanhāī* - B7).

Imperfective

Bol banāv ṭhumrī

Both masculine and feminine imperfective participles end in *-ata*, with one exception in the main corpus, the Khaṛī Bolī form *kaṭatī* which occurs in a text with an unusually large number of Khaṛī Bolī/Urdu components (A7). In bol banāv ṭhumrī, stems ending in a long vowel commonly insert *-v-*, e.g. *aisī* -ā of *aisī* then *lagāvata* (A24.2) or *kāhe jalāvata* (A35), although the verb *jā-* only occurs with *rovata* (A8) stem *jā-*, e.g. *māī jāta jamunā jala* (A10). Although the data are inconclusive, it *chuvata* (A2) seems that the *-āvata* forms usually appear at the end of a phrase and as part of a rhyme, especially in the first line of the antarā as in the following examples: *aisī lagāvata aba mohe na bhāvata* (A24.2), *birahā satāvata kala nahī āvata* (A68). The verb form *jāta* usually occurs at the beginning of a line or mid-phrase, as in the following examples: *māī jāta dadhi becana* (A54), *jāta raho sukha caina* (A40).

Bandīś ṭhumrī

In bandīś ṭhumrī, *-ta* is added when the stem ends in a long vowel, e.g. *māī to jāta* (B23) or *nahī khāna pāna nindiyā suhāta* (B28). Only the verb *ā-* inserts *-v-*: the participle *āvata* occurs in B3, B9.1, and B20, but not in stressed positions as discussed with reference to bol banāv ṭhumrī. In most occurrences the subject of the participle is absent, and its gender therefore has to be deduced from context; this happens especially in the first person, when it is almost always feminine⁶.

Imperfective participles with auxiliary

Auxiliary verbs occur infrequently, but may do so with a variety of verbs in all 'persons' in bol banāv ṭhumrī; for example, *prema kī nadiyā agama bahata hai* (A3.2), *tuma ralata-phirata ho* (A9), *tarapata hū dina raina* (A33), and *talapata haī dina ratiyā* (A36.2). In bandīś ṭhumrī an auxiliary verb appears only three times: twice with the verb *kar-*: *apanī dhīngā-dhīngī karata hai* (B20) and *kāhe karata ho rāra* (B14.2), and once with the verb *ā-*: *āvata hai ve dekho* (B3.2).

⁶A further discussion of the narrative voice in ṭhumrī is included in chapter 4.

Non-finite imperfective participle constructions

Such constructions occur infrequently in the main corpus; often the subject of the participle is different from that of the main verb, e.g. *tarapata bītī morī una bina ratiyā* and *rovata rovata kala nāhī āe* (both A8) or *patiyā likhata morā* [sic] *chatiyā dharake* (A15). In certain instances of *bandīś ṭhumrī*, this occurrence is possibly the result of poetical ellipsis: in the phrases *bāṭa calata nāi cundarī raṅga ḍārī* (B20), and *paniyā bharata morī gagarī girāi karake laṛāi* (B19, B7) the apparent problem of the subject of the non-finite participle (*calata*, *bharata*) not agreeing with the subject (*ḍārī*, *girāi*) would be solved by the inclusion of a possessive pronoun (for instance, [more] *paniyā bharata*).

Perfective

The perfective is generally constructed from the stem+vowel: in the masc.pl. this vowel is *-e*, in the feminine *-ī*. The masc.sg. is most commonly constructed from stem+*-o*, e.g. *raho* in *mose raho nā jāya* (B18.1), or occasionally stem in *-y/-iy+o*, such as *gayo* (A17), *rakhiyo* (A63.2), *aṭakyo* (B20.2) and *rahiyo* (B18.1).

Perfective participles with intransitive verbs

Masculine singular perfective in *-ā* is rarely encountered with intransitive verbs in the main corpus. Perfective of the verb *ho-* is *bha-*; perfective of the verb *jā-* is *ga-*. Feminine participle *gaī* in A70 has *rājā* as subject⁷. In B3.1 (*āvata huī hai vo dekho śyāma kahī mora*) it appears that a feminine perfective (*huī*) is used with a masculine subject (*śyāma*). It is possible that there has been some contamination from Bhojpurī, in which a third-person masculine perfective *-uī* is found.⁸

Perfective participles with transitive verbs

Masculine singulars in both *-ā* and *-o* are found. The verb *le-* occurs with perfectives *liyo*, *liyā*, *līno*, *līnā*, *līnī* and *lī*; *de-* with perfectives *diyo*, *dīno* and *dīnī*; *kar-* with perfectives *kiyā*, *kiye*, *kīnhā*, *kīnī* and *karī*. Little specific information as to the occurrences of these forms can be given, as they appear too infrequently to provide solid evidence as to their preferred context.

⁷The vowels 'ī' and 'e' often sound very similar in performance; this particular occurrence was copied from a singer's song book, which highlighted the fact that even in the written version a feminine participle was used with a masculine subject.

⁸Tiwari 1960:170.

The transitive perfective participle may agree with either logical subject (e.g. *śyāma moha liyā brija bāma* - A73) or logical object (e.g. *surata morī kāhe bisarāī rāma* - A74, *barajorī kīnī re kanhāī* - B19). Object-agreement without the use of the agentive postposition *ne* seems to be more common, especially in bandiś *ṭhumrī*. Sometimes agreement is unclear: in A4.1 the phrase describing the event in which the speaker was surrounded by cakor birds (*cakora ne ghera liyo*) perhaps assumes that the implied feminine object includes postposition *ko*, whereas in A4.2 the phrase *cakora ne ghera līnī* suggests that the verb agrees with the implied feminine object.

Non-finite perfective participle constructions

Postposition *bina* is used in a perfective-participle construction, usually with the verb *dekhe* (as in the phrase *bina dekhe nahī caina* - A53). Pf.ptc. as noun is encountered in *mero kahā tuma eka nahī mānata* - A31.

In the phrase *nainā more tarase gae haī*, followed in the rhyme scheme by *kāre badare barase gae haī* (A5), the pf.ptc. is used either as intensifier (as outlined by McGregor 1972:173) or progressive marker (as discussed by Srivastava 1995:121). This use is infrequently encountered; see also the discussion on verb stems in -o below.

Intensifiers/ verb stems ending in -o

Verb stems which end in -o are found in *chuṭo jāya* (A50), *jāgo paṛī* (A23) and *bīto jāta* (A41) in the bol banāv section of the main corpus. In the latter two examples, stem in -a occurs in certain renditions, suggesting that such -o forms are indeed perceived as stems rather than perfective participles. A50 occurs invariably with the phrase *chuṭo jāya* (although sometimes with *hī* included: *chuṭo hī jāya*); as this is one of the most famous and popular *ṭhumrīs*, its text is so well-known that variations (as in the other two examples) rarely if ever occur. In the bandiś *ṭhumrī* section there are three more instances of this phenomenon: *nikaso hī jāve* (B9.1), *nikaso jāta* (B9.3) and *chero hī jāta* (B30). It is possible that all these forms, which occur alongside unextended forms such as *jāga paṛī* and *bīta jāta*, are examples of the perfective participle used as either intensifier or progressive marker as discussed above.

Passive

In the main corpus, the passive is rarely used, and all occurrences are in the negative with intransitive verbs, in formulaic phrases expressing an inability

to endure a situation. The instances are *yaha dukha saho na jāya* - A20, *aba to rahyo nahī jāya re nazariyā* - A55, *mujhase rahiyo nā jāya* - B18.1, *mose calo na jāta* - B18.2/3, and *mose raho nā jāya* - B18.4.

Conjunctive participles

The conjunctive participle is constructed with stem in *-a* (e.g. *cunarī pahira āñ* - A29), as well as *-i* (e.g. *cāra kahāra mili ḍoliyā uṭhāe* - A50). A4 displays the stem *āna-* for *ā-*. Use of the verb *āna-* for *ā-* is not unprecedented, and may in the context of A4 be encouraged by the parallelism with *jāna-* at the end of the line. In a written version of A29, a conjunctive participle with stem in *-ī* is found (*gāgarī maī dharī āñ*). Stem+*-ke* is encountered occasionally, in formulaic circumstances in *bandīś ṭhumrī* (in the phrase *gagarī girāī karake laṭāī* - B7, B19), and in *bol banāv ṭhumrī* in different contexts. It seems that suffix *-ke* is preferred when the participle predicates the finite verb, as in *mana moha liyā kāndhā ne bajāke bāsuriyā* (A54) and *āna cakora ne ghera liyo cānda jāna ke* (A4.1), and also in predominantly Khaṛī Bolī contexts: in the expression *jī bharake* in A7, and in the phrase *dila leke mujhe badanāma kiyā* (A35). Stem + *-kara* occurs once: *jhūmakara* (B1).

Imperatives

The imperative mood is most commonly constructed with stem+*-o*, occasionally with the stem only and rarely with stem+*-ie*; the infinitive as imperative occurs in only one text of the main corpus, A7 (*aba to prīta nibhānā; mohe choṛa nā jānā*). Stems ending in a vowel may insert *-v-* (e.g. *aba nā bajāvo* - A56). There is one instance of a stem that ends in a consonant inserting *-iy-*: *kahiyo* (B9). The verb *de-* occurs with imperatives *de* (A7, A59.1, B11, B13), *dījo* (A43, A59.3), *dīje* (A58) and *dījie* (A59.2); *kar-* gives *karo* (A25, A7) and *kīje* (A58).

Verbal nouns/ infinitives

Verbal nouns occur infrequently, usually in the following circumstances: as masculine substantives (*bulāne se* - A44; *āvana kī* - A15, B26); as part of an obligation construction (*nibhānī paregī* - A35); with the verb *de-* meaning 'to allow' (*rone de* - A7; *jāne deta* - B6; *sovana de* - B11; *jāne de* - B30); with the verb *lāg-* as 'to begin' (*karana lāgī* - B5); with the verb *cāh-* (*garavā lagana ko jiyā cāhata hai* - A79; *karana cāhe* - B24); as part of a purpose clause (*jata dadhi becana* - A54; *ḍhūḍhana nikasī* - A72; *bharana calī* - B10.1; *bharane calī* - B10.2; *bharana*

jāta - B23; *bharana gaī* - B24; *bharane ko* - B30). The verb *cāh-* preceded by a perfective participle does not occur in the main corpus.

Verbal nouns ending in *-na* and *-ne* are not always easily distinguished in performance.

Future

The future tense occurs infrequently, almost invariably with endings *-gā*, *-ge*, *-gī*. Futures with *-h-* are found in *kaba āiho / aiho*⁹ *ghanaśyāma* - A37; *aba ke gaī kaba āiho*, *videsavā jaiho* - A70; *sautana ghara jaihai*, *kā ghaṭi jaihai*, *darasana paihai* - A76; *kāvala murajhāya jaihaī* - B25.

Compound Verbs

Compound verbs occur in over a third of the texts of the main corpus. *jā-* occurs primarily with intransitive verbs, though not exclusively so; when *jā-* is compounded with a transitive verb, it is often in an imperative context, e.g. *dikhalā jā* (A22); *sulajhā jā* (A64). *le-* and *de-* occur with transitive verbs in their customary use. *paṛ-* as intensifier occurs once in the main corpus (*jāga paṛī* - A23), as does *ḍāl-* (B18.4, in which *kara ḍālī* is a variation of B18.3 *kara dīnī*). Compound verbs primarily occur in the perfective.

2.2.2 Nouns

Oblique plural with postpositions

Oblique plurals in *-ō* and *-ana* co-exist, sometimes within versions of the same text: *hāthana mē* is found in A64.1, *hāthō mē* in A64.2. Most oblique plural nouns occur with the explicit presence of a postposition: *phulō ke lie* (A4); *nainana mē* (A23); *palakiyō kī oṭa* (A63); *ākhō se* (A7); *nainō mē* (B10); *galina mē* (B20); *dinana pāche* (B3); *akhiyana so* (B28).

Oblique plural without postpositions

In addition to the two variations of oblique nouns (with postposition) in A64 quoted above, a third version (A64.3) shows *hāthana* without a postposition (but with the inclusion of the pronoun *more*). Other instances in the main corpus are: *palakana tīra māro na saīyā* (A32); *nainana nīda na āī* (A61); *itane dinana mose kahū ke na aṭake* (B20); *palakana ḍagara buhārū* (B3).

⁹In A37 it is difficult to ascertain vowel-length from the recording.

2.2.3 Pronouns

Possessive

Possessives are by far the most common pronouns, especially in the first person. The forms *morā*, *more*, *morī* occur in over a third of the texts in the bol *banāv* section of the main corpus, and in almost two-thirds of the *bandīś* section. In the bol *banāv* section, *mer-* occurs in five texts: *bāsurīyā merī* (A14.1), *mero kahā* (A31.1), *mero gāva* and *mero nāma* (both A37.1), *merī galī* (A67) and *mālā merī lāja* (A74). In the *bandīś* section, *mero* occurs in two texts: *bhāga mero* in B3.1, and both *mero śyāma* and *mero nāma* in B27, in which they rhyme. *moro* occurs only once, *moro gāva* in A37.2, in which it contrasts with the version *mero gāva* found in A37.1.

The second-person possessive occurs infrequently, and is especially rare in the *bandīś* section. *torā*, *tore*, *torī* are the most common, occurring in one-fifth of the texts in the bol *banāv* section, and rarely in the *bandīś* section, in which no other second-person possessive is found: *paīyā parū tore* (B3.1), *paīyā parata tore* (B3.2), *torī nagariyā* (B8), and *tore saṅga* in B17. In the bol *banāv* texts, *tor-* refers to the lover's/Krishna's eyes or face in the majority of occurrences, in a romantic idiom that is not usually found in *bandīś* *ṭhumrī*. *ter-* rarely occurs in the bol *banāv* section: *jala terī* (A57.2), *terī cerī* (A59.1/3/4), *terī dāsī* (A59.2), *tere lie* (A65), and *tero nāma* (A73).

There are some instances of a first-person plural possessive: *jiyarā hamāra* (A16), *śyāma hamāre* (A28.2), *hiyarā hamārā* (A46), *hamarī kadara* and *hamarī bāta* (A78), *hamarī bithā* (B16.1) and *hamarī vyathā* (B16.2). The choice between the different forms of the poss.pr. is not arbitrary: forms with long medial vowels occur predicatively at the end of the line, often as part of the rhyme scheme, while forms with short medial vowels occur attributively and mid-phrase. In A16 *hamāra* rhymes with first-line *dāra*; in A28.1 the pronoun *more* rhymes with *ora* in the first line, and although the rhyme is lost when *hamāre* is used in place of *more*, the natural stress has been retained. In A46 there is assonance and some rhyme between the first-line phrase *jiyarā jalāve* and the last-line phrase *hiyarā hamārā*.

Object

First-person object pronoun occurs infrequently, and is especially rare in the bandiś section. This is probably due to the fact that this form most commonly occurs in the context of the theme of separation, which is not prominent in bandiś *ṭhumrī*. Examples of occurrences with a first-person object are *mohe choṛa nā jānā* (A7), *mohe birahā satāe* (A8) or *mohe birahā satāve* (B9), *mohe caina na āvata* (A40) and *mohe nīnda na āve* (B1). *mohe* (not *mohi* which would be the expected form) is the most frequently used form in the first person; *mujhe* occurs twice in the bol banāv section (*mora papaīyā koyala bole mujhe, birahā bithā jīyarā ḍole* - A5 and *mujhe badanāma kiyā* - A35), the (ungrammatical?) form *maīkā* appears in A63.1/2/4 (*phūla gendavā na mārā maīkā / phūla gendavā jina māro maīkā / maīkā bāre balamā phūla gendavā na māre* respectively) and *maīko* in B13 (*sārī braja nārī maīko degī gārī*).

The second person, which rarely occurs, appears as *tohe* in the bol banāv section (*tohe sautaniyā samajhāe* - A27.1, *tohe garavā lagā lū* - A62.2/3) and as *tohe* or *toko* in the bandiś section (*dehū toko gārī* - B6, *toko lāja nā āve* - B4, and *lāja na āye tohe* - B19).

Oblique

The first-person oblique occurs as *mo*, with one exception in the bandiś section, where in B18.2 the form *mujhase* is found: *mujhase rahiyo na jāya*. In the bol banāv section only *mose* is encountered, for instance in the phrases *kāhe kīnī mose rāra* (A10) or *sācī kaho mose batiyā* (A71). *mosō* is found once in the bandiś section (*mosō batiyā karana cāhe* - B24), and *mose* in three other texts, for instance B18.3/4, in which the phrase *mose calo na jāta* occurs in place of *mujhase rahiyo na jāya* mentioned above.

The second-person oblique rarely occurs, and is always *to*: *tose* occurs in two texts of the bol banāv section (*tose nātā purānā* - A7 and *tose araja karata hū* - A71.1, with a variation in A71.2: *tose binatī karata hū*), and in five texts of the bandiś section, in which it generally appears in mostly formulaic circumstances: *kānhā maī tose hārī* - B6, *hū to tose hārī* - B11, *maī to tose hārī* - B13, *maī tose hārī* - B17, and *tose kahata* - B27. *topai* is found once, in *topai bala jaiyā* (B11).

Interrogative

A variety of interrogative pronouns occur in both forms of *ṭhumrī*. In almost all cases the interrogative quality is rhetorical, often relying on stock-phrases such as *kā karū* or *kāse kahū*. Variations are found in *kāhe karū* (A60) and *kahū kaise* (B8). In two instances *kā karū* is accompanied by the phrase *kita jāvū* (A12, A22.1), which does not occur elsewhere. The strategy of the rhetorical question invites empathy and mental engagement from the audience; the listener is drawn in to the heroine's predicament, and compelled to ponder its consequences.

Examples of questions which may be un-rhetorical are *jāya base piyā kauna nagariyā* (B2 - enquiring after her lover's whereabouts) or *kauna gāva kī aisī gūjarī* (A57 - enquiring after a strange milkmaid's origins). Perhaps the only text in the main corpus which asks an unambiguous question is *kauna galī gayo śyāma* (A17), in which the force of the question is shown in the phrase *batā de sakhī* (in A17.2).

Indefinite

Indefinite pronouns are extremely rare in *ṭhumrī*. *kachu* occurs in A20: *kachu bana nahī āve*, and B9.2: *una bina kachu nā suhāve* (with a slight variation in B9.3: *piyā bina kachu na suhāve*). *koī* is found in A12: *koī sakhī batāe*, and B1: *koī unako le āvo*. *kou* occurs in B16.1: *kou hamarī bithā sunāe* and *kou jāy cānda piyā ko samajhāve*, in which both lines are part of the rhyme-scheme. B16.2 has exactly the same lines, but with the pronoun *koū* instead of *kou*, a distinction that is unlikely to be actually discernible in performance. The oblique form *kāhū* occurs in only one text (B20), in the phrases *kāhū ke na aṭakyo* (B20.1), *ḍarata na kāhū so jabara* (B20.2) and *na kāhū se laṅgara* (B20.3).

Reflexive

The reflexive pronoun occurs infrequently, in some 10 texts of the main corpus. The usual form is *apanā*; *nija* occurs only once, in *bhūla gāī nija dhāma* (A2.3). Although it is interesting to note that this phrase constitutes a perfect *dohā* second *pāda* of 11 *mātrās*, the motivation for including *nija* is more likely to be rhyme-related than metrical: the phrase *bhūla gāī nija dhāma* rhymes with the phrase *byākula bhaī brijā bāma*, the second line of the text. *apanā* is sometimes found in a similar context: *bhūlī apāne dhāma* (A14.3) and *bisara gāī saba apāne dhāma* (B22). In fact, when the reflexive pronoun refers to the speaker (or her female friends), it is always in conjunction with the noun

dhāma: the formulaic combination *apane dhāma* can either describe the heroine's destination (*maī to jāta apane dhāma* - B27) or express, as we have just seen, the state of oblivion she and her kinswomen are in as a result of their dedication to the hero. In the other occurrences of the reflexive pronoun, it refers to the male protagonist: *apane hātha lagā jā balamā* (A64), *apane rasa ke rasiyā* (B15), *apanī dhīngī dhīngā karata hai* (B20.1/2), and *apanī chīnā jorī karata hai* (B20.3).

2.2.4 Postpositions

The majority of postpositions used in *ṭhumrī* are simple postpositions, with *se* and *mē* by far the most common. In addition to *se*, *sō* is found twice in the *bandīś* section: *ākhiyana sō dharata dhīra* (B28) and *jiyā sō hārī* (B29). In addition to *mē*, *mā* is found in *gāṭha mā* (A3.2), and *madha* in *bindrābana madha* (B22).

The postposition *tale* (or *tare*) is only used in the *bol banāv* section, in the formulaic phrase *navala tribhaṅga kadama tale ṭhārḥo* (with minor variations) in A1.3, A2.1, A14.

para occurs infrequently: twice in the *bol banāv* section, in *sira para* (A3.1) and *daravāze para* (A50.2), and four times in the *bandīś* section, as *para* in *umage jobana para* (B9.3)¹⁰ and *jamunā taṭa para* (B23), and as *pai/pe* in *more jubanā pe* (B25) and *topai bala jaiyā* (B11).

pāche is used temporally (*bahuta dinana pāche* - B3), *pīche* locationally (*more pīche vana* - A37.1). As both forms occur only once, no conclusions can be drawn as to their preferred context.

bina is used as a simple postposition, for instance *una bina* (A8, B9) and *piyā bina* (A16, A40). It is occasionally used in inverted form, e.g. *bina dāma* (A1.1) or *bina guna* (A3.2). It also occurs with the perfective participle, in the construction *bina dekhe* (A53, B26) or *dekhe bina* (A36.1), always in a context of *viraha* followed by the phrase *nahī caina*.

bīca is also used in inverted form, in the remarkably similar constructions *bīca nagariyā* (A3.1) and *bīca bajariyā* (B8); it also occurs following the noun, as *bica: hiyā bica* (B16.1 - in which the absence of an oblique may suggest that the noun

¹⁰In this particular *ṭhumrī* it can also be read as a conjunctive participle.

is considered to be in an arbitrarily extended form, which would not usually change in the oblique; see also *jiyā sō* in B29).

The postposition *ke bhare* occurs in A53 and A62, in the phrases *mada ke bhare tore naina* and *rasa ke bhare tore naina* respectively. As an adjective, *bharī* occurs in the phrase *jādū bharī dṛga* (A55) and *kāhe gumāna bharī* (A57.2/3). *bhare* occurs in *kauna gumāna bhare* (A57.1).

An associative sense is expressed variously in the bandīś section in the phrases *kubjā ke saṅga mē* (B1), *hama saṅga* (B5), *jāū māī nā sātha* (B13) and *tore saṅga* (17). It does not occur in the bol banāv section.

When postpositions follow pronouns, the possessive form is inconsistently used, for example *tere lie* (A65) and *tore saṅga* (B17) contrasted with *tuma bina* (A67) and *hama saṅga* (B5).

2.2.5 Adverbs

The most frequently used adverbs are the prohibitives, of which *na / nā* are by far the most common, occurring both preceding and following the verb, for example: *na bajāvo* (A2), *māro nā* (A32), *nā cheṛo* (B13), *roko nā* (B27). *jina* and *jani* rarely occur: five times in the bol banāv section (*jina bolo* - A24.1, *jina māro* - A63.2, *jani bisarāiḥo* - A70, *jani jāvo* - A75.1 and *jina jāvo* - A75.2), and three times in the bandīś section: *jani chuvo* and *jina dāro* - B14.1 and *jina chuo* - B14.2. *mata* occurs in one text of each section: *mata so* (A4) and *mata pukāra* (B11).

The most commonly used interrogatives are *kāhe* and *kaise*, in phrases such as *kaise māī āū tore pāsa* (A69) and *kāhe aiso dḥiṭha bhayo* (B7, and with the verb *bhaye* in B19). *kyō* occurs once in each section of the main corpus, *kyō naina milāvata* (A48) and *vāhū kyō na jāye* (B19). Other ways of expressing 'how' are found in the phrases *kavana vidha jāū* (B18.3) and *kisa vidha āvī re* (B18.4).

Adverbs of time are rare; examples include the phrases *aba ke gaī kaba āiḥo* (A70), *dūje badarā garaje beri beri* (A75.3), *aba kī bera rākho ādha* (B11) and *bāra* in *bāra bāra tore parata hū paīyā* (A32), *kyō naina milāvata bāra bāra re* (A48), *bāra bāra mata pukāra* (B11), and *bāra bāra tose kahata* (B27). The interrogative *kaba* is used rhetorically in *kaba se torī rāha takata hū* (A39) and also in the phrase *kaba āiḥo* in A37.1/2 and A70.

2.2.6 Lexicon

Tatsama

Tatsama vocabulary rarely occurs: the phrase *navala tribhaṅga* occurs in A1.3, A2.1 and A14, although the latter word is frequently realised as *tirabhaṅga* during performance; a similar situation is found in B29, in which the word *śravaṇa* is often realised as *śravana* or *śaravana* in performance. A58 includes an unusually high number of tatsama words (*kṛpā*; *darśana*; *mahimā*; *aparampāra*); *mṛga locana* occurs in A21; *dṛga* occurs in A55.

Perso-Arabic

In Hindi form

bājūbanda in A44 occurs with /j/ for /z/; *nāhaka* in A43 uses Hindi /k/ for Urdu /q/, as does *iśka* in A74; *arz* in A6 and B25 is realised as *araja*; *dāga* in A35 occurs with /g/ for /ḡ/. *suratiyā* occurs in A53; the shortening of the first vowel in the diminutising process results in ambiguity as to the provenance of the word: it could represent *tadbhava surata* ('recollection'), tatsama *surati* ('love-play') or Persian *sūrata* ('face'). *bāzār* occurs with /j/ for /z/ as well as in diminutive form: *bajariyā* (B8); *arz* occurs with the conjunct separated as well as with /j/ for /z/: *araja* (B14); *khābar* occurs with /kh/ for /ḡ/ as well as in diminutive form: *khabariyā* (B2). *najariyā* (< *nazar*) is found in A32, A55 and A79.1.

Unmodified

Perso-Arabic vocabulary in unmodified form is rarely encountered. Occurrences in the main corpus are *śarma*, *muškila*, and *zamānā* (A7), *dila* and *badanāma* (A35), *bedardī* (A51), *mallāha* (A59), *darvāze* (oblique - A50.2), *nazariyā* (A79.2 - in contrast with *najariyā* in A79.1), *jabara* (B20.2), and, interestingly, *nazara* in B25, where it occurs alongside the modified form of *arz*: *araja*. The verb *guzarnā* also occurs without substituting /z/ for /j/: *guzara gaī ratiyā* (A20).

Eastern Hindi

Bol banāv thumrī

Substantives with suffixes on the pattern of Avadhī¹¹ noun declension show long forms *-ā* and *-vā*, and are extremely common. Although modifications such as suffixing *-ā* often have a grammatical basis in Avadhī, for instance as subject markers, in *ṭhumrī* the grammatical motivation is usually absent. For instance, in A34, *balamā* occurs alongside *bālama*, although in both instances the word is in an ergative construction with a transitive verb: *bālama na lī sudhiyā; na likha bhejī balamā patiyā*. Furthermore, in the same text the word *mehā* (with extended final vowel *-ā*) occurs as the subject of the intransitive verb *baras-*.¹² Similarly, substantives modified with the suffix *-vā* occur in various contexts: as singular subject in the direct case, e.g. *bīta jāta jobanavā* (A41), and possibly also in the plural, e.g. *aṁsuvā bahe* (A15)¹³; with postpositions, e.g. *lagata karejavā mē coṭa* (A63) and *videsavā mē chāe* (A41); and as direct object, e.g. *phūla geṁdavā na mārā* (A63).

A further Avadhī form in *-rā*¹⁴ occurs infrequently, mainly with the word *jiyarā* and once as *hiyarā* (both meaning ‘heart’). It occurs as subject: *jiyarā ḍole* (A5), *tarapata jiyarā hamāra* (A16), *raṅga bhayo hiyarā hamārā* (A46) and *morā jiyarā jare* (A76) and once as object: *prema agana jiyarā jalāve* (A46).

Bandīś ṭhumrī

Substantives ending in the modifier *-vā* are infrequently found. The list of occurrences also illustrates that this form is found in various contexts: as subject in the present tense, *śravana sunata nāhī ḍhīṭha laṅgaravā* (B29), with a perfective, *laṅgaravā ḍhīṭha maga roke āja* (B10), with an agentive construction, *nanda ke chailavā ne bāha gaha līnī* (B24), in adverbial oblique, *jo piyā āve more*

¹¹The identification of noun forms as Avadhī is problematic: many eastern Hindi dialects modify their nouns in similar ways, but there is not enough evidence in the texts to be able to distinguish them. Avadhī, as the primary literary language among the eastern dialects, is in the absence of evidence to the contrary the most obvious candidate for named identification.

¹²However, Vishvanath Tripathi claims that ‘in Avadhī, occasionally words with suffix *-ā* are found for which there appears to be no obvious reason’ (1975:109).

¹³The form *bahe* is unclear: in the plural it would be perfective which is not consistent with the context of the text, in the present-subjunctive it is a singular form. But as it is unlikely that the noun ‘tear’ would be used in the singular, and furthermore, as the nasalization required to pluralize the present-subjunctive is easily lost in performance, I think we can assume plural noun and verb are intended here.

¹⁴The *-rā* form is discussed in Tripathi 1975:105. He only gives the examples *hiyarā* and *jiyarā* which are the forms that occur in *ṭhumrī*.

mandiravā (B3) and *nāhī jāne deta panaghaṭavā kī gaila* (B6), and as direct object, *kaṅganavā moro nā toro* (B13).

The *-rā* form is found only once, in B9: *jiyarā morā ḍarapāve*.

2.2.7 Diminutives

Bol banāv ṭhumrī

Diminutives occur frequently : they are encountered in more than half of the texts in the main corpus, with many texts including more than one instance, often within the rhyme-scheme. Although the list below aims to be a comprehensive list, there are areas of ambiguity: are *ratiyā* and *bahiyā* / *baiyā*, for example, plurals or diminutives, or possibly both? As nasalisation can occur during performance, it is not an unambiguous indication of plurality. Unravelling the ambiguity is not necessarily useful, as part of the appeal of *ṭhumrī* is its ability to create a mood without committing to specific detail.

Text (A) Phrase

1	<i>amkhiyā rasīlī torī śyāma</i>
2	<i>baṁsuriyā aba nā bajāvo re śyāma</i>
3	<i>bīca nagariyā bhūlī re ḍagariyā; pāpa ghaṭariyā sira para bhārī</i>
3.2	<i>bina guna kī naiyā</i>
8	<i>tarapata bītī morī una bina ratiyā; yāda āvata jaba unakī batiyā</i>
10	<i>morī maṭakiyā dīnī ḍāra</i>
13	<i>kaisī bāsiyā bajāī</i>
14	<i>kaisī bajāī śyāma baṁsuriyā</i>
15	<i>kaise likhū patiyā; āsuvā bahe jaise nadiyā</i>
16	<i>koyaliyā nā bolo</i>
18	<i>kauna deśa gaye chalabaliyā; raina nāhī nindiyā</i>
19	<i>morī nindiyā ucaṭī gaī</i>
20	<i>guzara gaī ratiyā</i>
25	<i>morī bahiyā nā maroro</i>
27.1	<i>tohe sautaniyā samajhāe</i>
29	<i>gāgariyā maī ghara dhārī āū</i>
30	<i>madamatī gujariyā; lāla cunariyā</i>
32	<i>torī tirachī najariyā</i>
33	<i>rāta nahī nindiyā</i>
34	<i>bālama na lī sudhiyā; nanhī būdiyā; na likha bhejī balamā patiyā</i>
35	<i>bārī umariyā mē</i>
36	<i>dekhe bina nahī cain suratiyā; dina nahī nindiyā</i>
37	<i>nadiyā kināre moro gāva</i>
40	<i>sūnī sejariyā</i>
43	<i>laī hū joganiyā ko bhesa</i>
47	<i>prema gāgariyā bhārī</i>
48	<i>torī terhī citavaniyā; taba mose kāniyā; jora kare taba javaniyā</i>
50.1	<i>cāra kahāra mili ḍoliyā uṭhāe</i>
50.2	<i>jaba daravāze para are ḍoliyā āī re</i>
51	<i>ūcī aṭariyā; candana kevariya</i>

53.1/2	<i>śyāma dāsa kī pyārī suratiyā</i>
54	<i>bajāke bāsuriyā; brija kī jagaiyā</i>
55	<i>morī madhura musakāī re najariyā</i>
56	<i>muraliyā aba nāhī bajāvo re śyāma</i>
57.1	<i>muraliyā kauna gumāna bhare;</i>
57.2	<i>muraliyā/bāsuriyā kāhe gumāna bharī; mādho bana kī lakariyā</i>
57.3	<i>kāhe gumāna bharī muraliyā; hare hare biravā kī basiyā</i>
59	<i>nadiyā bairī bhaī; naiyā lagā de pāra</i>
60	<i>jīvana naiyā ḍagamaga ḍole</i>
61	<i>ratiyā kahavā gavāī</i>
62	<i>rāta nahī nindiyā</i>
63.1	<i>saiyā nirmohiyā daradiyā na jāne; mārata palakiyā kī oṭa</i>
64	<i>māthe kī bindiyā bikhara gaī</i>
67	<i>phira se basiyā bajā jā</i>
73	<i>torī sāvarī suratiyā</i>
75.1/3	<i>chamakāve būdiyā</i>
75.2	<i>kārī re badariyā; raina ādheriyā; naina barasāve būdiyā</i>
75.4	<i>bārī re umariyā; caralī javaniyā; ṭapakāve būdiyā</i>
79	<i>hamase najariyā kāhe pherī</i>

Bandiś ṭhumrī

In this form, diminutives occur in approximately one-third of the texts. A comprehensive list (with the same acknowledgement of ambiguity as discussed in the bol banāv section above) is as follows:

Text (B) Phrase

2	<i>līnī na morī khabariyā; kauna nagariyā</i>
5	<i>karana morī lāgī re kalaiyā; na māne sanada piyā morī re kanhaiyā; bahiyā marorī</i>
8	<i>śyāma roke ḍagariyā; bīca bajariyā; tyajū torī nagariyā</i>
9	<i>koyaliyā kūka sunāve; nisa ādhiyārī kārī</i>
11	<i>jāgata nanadiyā jeṭhaniyā dauraniyā; ḍārū gale bahiyā</i>
14	<i>morī bahiyā jāni chuvo</i>
17	<i>pāyaliyā baje; jāge morīsāsa nananda aura daurānī jeṭhaniyā; aṅgiyā kasaka gaī; batiyā karata</i>
18.1	<i>bājī bāsuriyā</i>
18.2	<i>baje bāsīyā; sārī ratiyā</i>
18.3/4	<i>bājī bāsīyā</i>
26	<i>āvana kī patiyā</i>
28	<i>niramohī niradahiyā; nahī khāna pāna nindiyā suhāta</i>

2.2.8 Chāp

Bol banāv ṭhumrī

It is uncommon for a poet's name to appear in bol banāv ṭhumrī. In the main corpus there are only 7 instances of a text displaying a chāp, with one more suggested though improbable instance (discussed below). The poets of bandiś ṭhumrī customarily - though not always - adopted a name which included the word *piyā*; it is likely that some of the *piyās* that appear in bol banāv ṭhumrī

also wrote bandiś ṭhumrī as well. Sanad Piya, whose name appears in one of the bol banāv texts, is a well-known poet of bandiś ṭhumrī, and does indeed appear in that section of the main corpus also.

The most common location for a chāp in bol banāv ṭhumrī is in the first line of the antarā, where it usually has a function within the narrative, for instance as the name of the hero. A chāp can also occur in the last line of a text. The following chart gives all occurrences:

Text	Phrase	Position in text
16	<i>sūnī bhaī rī <u>umara piyā</u> bina</i>	first line of antarā
19	<i><u>tāva piyā</u> ko bega milā de</i>	first line of antarā
25.1	<i><u>aiso piyā</u> choro nā to dūgī gārī</i>	last line
48	<i>kahe <u>śyāma dāsa</u> kyō naina milāvata</i>	first line of antarā
53.1/2	<i><u>śyāma dāsa</u> kī pyārī suratiyā</i>	first line of antarā
56	<i><u>sanada piyā</u> kī are gaī lāja</i>	last line
71.1	<i><u>mādhō piyā</u> tose araja karata hū</i>	first line of antarā

The chāp in A25.1 is somewhat problematic: I do not think it is a very convincing chāp, even though the singer¹⁵ insisted *aiso piyā* was the pen-name of a poet. However, the phrase *aiso piyā* also occurs in B11, in a location that would be suitable for a chāp, and so I have followed the performer's suggestion and included both these instances.

A further chāp-related problem was encountered when the singer of A4.2¹⁶ suggested that the word *sundara* in the phrase *āgana mē mata so morī sundara* was in fact the name of the poet. In my view, however, the word *sundara* fits well into the text as a form of address to the speaker's friend, whose beauty motivates the warning expressed in the song. Its position in the first line of the text further suggests that it is not a chāp, and I have therefore not included it in the above list.

Bandiś ṭhumrī

A chāp occurs in almost half of the texts of bandiś ṭhumrī, compared to less than ten percent in bol banāv ṭhumrī. Certain collections of ṭhumrīs include

¹⁵Batuk Dewanji in Mumbai. A retired barrister, he is an amateur but extremely knowledgeable singer and music-researcher.

¹⁶Vrinda Mundkur in Mumbai, a student of the aforementioned Dewanji.

only texts written by a particular composer; in such volumes a *chāp* occurs in almost every instance (e.g. *Rasaguñjana*, a collection of *ṭhumrīs* by Binda Din Maharaj inherited by his relative Birju Maharaj). The name of the composer may be used as the name of the hero, as the name of the person addressed, or for an observer who comments on the situation described in the text; sometimes the function of the name is unclear. The most common position of the *chāp* in *bandīś ṭhumrī* is in the first line of the *antarā*; the penultimate line of an *antarā* - another common location for a *chāp* - is only referred to as such where an *antarā* has more than two lines.¹⁷

Text	Phrase	Position in text
3	<u>sanada piyā</u> ko bega milāva	penultimate line of <i>antarā</i>
5	na māne <u>sanada piyā</u> morī re kanhaiyā	last line of <i>sthāyī</i>
6	<u>bindā</u> suno nahī māne	last line of <i>antarā</i>
7	<u>sanada</u> kāhe aiso dhīṭha bhayo kanhāi	first line of <i>antarā</i>
8	nita kī rāra kahū kaise <u>bindā</u>	penultimate line of <i>antarā</i>
11	<u>aiso piyā</u> morī māna le	penultimate line of <i>antarā</i>
13	sughara kahāvata kā nāma	first line of <i>antarā</i>
14.1	kahata <u>nanaka</u> suna lī araja	first line of <i>antarā</i>
14.2	kahata <u>sanada</u> suniye araja	first line of <i>antarā</i>
16	kou <u>cāda piyā</u> ko samajhāe	last line of <i>antarā</i>
17	<u>vinoda piyā</u> aiso dhīṭha dhīṭhāi kare	first line of <i>antarā</i>
19	<u>ḍila raṅga</u> kāhe aiso dhīṭha bhaye kanhāi	first line of <i>antarā</i>
20.3	<u>kūvara śyāma</u> āvata	last line of <i>antarā</i>
25	itanī araja māno <u>piyā naisā</u>	penultimate line of <i>antarā</i>

In B14.1, the name *nanaka* occurs; whether this is meant to be a reference to the Sikh guru is unclear and certainly incorrect if so. B14.2 shows *sanada* instead, a reference to one of the more famous *ṭhumrī* poets, Sanad Piya.

2.2.9 Summary

The assumption of a primarily Braj Bhāṣā matrix for the texts of *ṭhumrī* is largely borne out by the evidence as it has emerged from this analysis: for example, in the entire main corpus only one Khaṛī Bolī imperfective participle is found, in a largely Khaṛī Bolī context (A7). The language of *ṭhumrī* is relatively simple and somewhat predictable, as it builds on conventional linguistic expressions and images, particularly those from earlier bhakti poetry. For someone conversant with the *padas* of *Sūrdās* and *Mīrābāī*, for instance, the vocabulary and imagery of *ṭhumrī* seem strikingly familiar.

¹⁷The issue of defining a 'line' in *ṭhumrī* is discussed in chapter 3.

Mīrā's phrase *darasa bina dūkhaṇa lāgai naiṇa*¹⁸ resonates in the archetypal *ṭhumrī dekhe binā nāhī caina* (A36.1), not least due to the use of the *-aina* rhyme which in both Mīrā's text and this *ṭhumrī* further includes *raina* and *baina*. The short imperfective participles of Braj Bhāṣā combined with the overall absence of auxiliaries promote conciseness, a stylistic consideration that goes to the very core of *ṭhumrī*'s identity. The frequent use of diminutive forms creates a register that is far removed from the mundane, enabling *ṭhumrī* to exist in a romantic and idealised self-contained realm; this register also benefits from the general absence of tatsama as well as Perso-Arabic vocabulary, which reduces the scope of contextual reference from the language and further narrows *ṭhumrī*'s linguistic range.

Without relying on flowery phrases or a high poetic register (drawing on conventions from Sanskrit or Urdu poetry), *ṭhumrī* creates potent images, providing glimpses of another realm without being so bold as to overstate the route into this underlying universe. Frequent references to the act of seeing, or to 'eyes', trigger associations with Krishna's sidelong glances and the manner in which he lives in the eyes of his devotees, but also with the tears of the *virahinī* and how she stares at the road waiting for her lover to come home. There is therefore also an ambiguity of mood: happiness and fulfilment can exist alongside pain and frustration. The frequent inclusion of words describing departure and arrival create a tension between the longing of the heroine and the reality of her situation, but also between her words and her desires. Within 'jā-' there is also 'ā-'; did we hear the heroine say 'jāvo', or was it really 'āvo'?¹⁹ It is the task of the singer to exploit such potential linguistic ambiguities in a musical framework.

Ṭhumrī is then both narrow and broad, as the possibilities for interpretation are much wider than its limited linguistic scope suggests; the narrowly-defined parameters of its language make its suggestive capacity all the more compelling. The unarticulated realm of associations is invoked largely by drawing on conventions from earlier Braj Bhāṣā devotional poetry, but it also includes imagery which occurs throughout north Indian lyrical traditions, such as the viraha-evoking cry of the koyal bird. The comparison with

¹⁸Snell 1991b:106.

¹⁹For this particular illustration I am grateful to Savita Devi. Personal communication, Delhi, 23.2.1997.

Mīrābāī is salient, as in her poetry perhaps more than in that of any other bhakti poet the influence of folk traditions is widely accepted and acknowledged, though famously difficult to document. The lyrical genre bārahmāsā which Vaudeville (1986) has shown to exist at both the folk and classical levels also displays similarities with ṭhumrī, especially when the sub-genre *viraha-bārahmāsā* is juxtaposed to the viraha-texts of bol banāv ṭhumrī. Manuel (1986:471, 1989:8) has argued the existence of an element of continuity from folk song to modern ṭhumrī at the musical as well as the textual level, but whereas he argues convincingly and authoritatively on the musical aspect, his linguistic considerations are far from persuasive.²⁰ Nevertheless, what the debate regarding the relationship of Mīrābāī's poetry with the folk tradition demonstrates, as does the presence of the bārahmāsā genre in folk as well as classical realms, is the ongoing interaction between folk and classical traditions. Although none of ṭhumrī's linguistic features is likely to have been the immediate result of folk influence, it is no doubt appropriate to acknowledge a certain amount of indebtedness to non-classical musical and literary traditions.

Furthermore, what all the genres discussed - bhakti padas, bārahmāsā, folk songs - have in common with ṭhumrī is that they are sung to music, and some of their apparent similarities will have been created by musical considerations. A certain simplicity and accessibility of language, a rhyme scheme built around end rather than internal rhyme, a level of formulaic language and imagery: these are features of 'song' rather than any particular lyrical genre, and although there are likely to be myriad exceptions, such features could be argued to exist cross-culturally, and certainly across folk/classical boundaries. Ṭhumrī's affinity with Braj Bhāṣā devotional poetry consists of thematic and atmospheric congruity as well as of formal and structural similarity, even though most bhakti poetry has a tighter metrical structure and a more consistent rhyme scheme than has ṭhumrī. There are also conceptual differences, in that devotional poems usually aim to express a much wider variety of ideas than the average ṭhumrī. The narrowness of ṭhumrī's linguistic and thematic scope has resulted in the distillation of its

²⁰He suggests, for example, that ṭhumrī texts' provenance in the folk tradition is corroborated by their 'simplicity' (1989:8), thereby denying or at least minimizing the existence of stylistic motivations. However, he does subsequently modify his observations with the statement that 'the influence of the classical, literate poetic tradition is, however, perhaps greater than that of folk verse, and is certainly easier to document' (loc.cit.).

antecedents into a specialised poetic register, which conflates the conventions of Braj Bhāṣā devotional poetry with the elongated noun-form of eastern Hindi and some features of Kharī Bolī.

2.3 The Use of Diminutives

By far the most striking linguistic feature of *ṭhumrī* is the consistent occurrence of words that are either diminutives or that have been modified following Avadhī and other eastern Hindi patterns. Although the distinction between Braj Bhāṣā and Avadhī is often fluid, there are certain linguistic aspects which are more prominent in and more readily associated with the latter. The suffixes *-ā* and *-vā* are commonly considered eastern forms, whereas the *-iyā* diminutive is perhaps less clearly associated with either dialect in particular, as it is seen to occur in a range of Hindi dialects. Their stylistic effect, however, is very similar, even though the scope of the *-vā* form is actually somewhat wider.

Saksena distinguishes between short and long forms in Avadhī, e.g. *ghoṛā* - *ghoṛavā*. According to him, 'the long form is used only familiarly and sometimes has a tinge of inferiority or contempt. It is never used of superiors but only of inferiors and the younger' (1937:110). (In this dual role of familiarity and contempt it is reminiscent of the rules governing the Kharī Bolī 'honorific' system.) The consistent presence of the long form therefore aids the creation of an atmosphere of informality or even intimacy; its application to certain words does not necessarily alter the meaning of that very word, but rather affects the overall mood of its context. In this mood-enhancing role it is further supported by the parallel presence of the *-iyā* forms, which add the sense of endearment and affection we would associate with a diminutive.

One very effective context in which the application of these forms was taken to an extreme is the late sixteenth-century text *Barvai Nāyikā Bheda*²¹ by the poet Rahīm, who wrote primarily in Braj Bhāṣā, but incorporated a large number of eastern forms in this particular work. McGregor describes the language of the *Barvai Nāyikā Bheda* (BNB) as consisting of a 'novel mixture of

²¹The edition used is from 1921: *Rahīm*, ed. Ramnaresh Tripathi, (Prayag: Hindi Mandir).

language (recalling Tulsidas' use of the *barvai*) with eastern diminutives as suffixes of Braj Bhāṣā and Sanskrit loanwords' (1984:122). Although Tulsi did, in his *Barvai Rāmāyaṇ*²², incorporate some eastern and diminutive forms (*campaka-haravā*; *ujiyariyā*), this work actually includes very few of such forms when compared to their abundance in the BNB. Snell has shown that in the latter work, 'the very high frequency of these forms in final position within the first *pāda* contributes a strong sense of *pāda* closure' (1994:383); this metrical consideration combines with the thematic component in that the diminutives in BNB 'very frequently constitute the descriptive labels of the *nāyikā* being described' (loc.cit). In the BNB, there appears to be no grammatical distinction between the *-vā* and *-iyā* forms, and they largely function in the same location and the same manner.

Many of the words that appear in the BNB are also encountered in *ṭhumrī*; some examples are *karejavā*, *jobanavā*, *muraliyā*, *nanadiyā*, *gavanavā* and *sandesavā*. Even abstract concepts such as 'sleep' are found in diminutive form in both BNB and *ṭhumrī* (*nindiyā*), although the former work outshines *ṭhumrī* in its ability to apply the diminutive to words that would seem unsuited to the modification: *aparadhavā*, *gumanavā* and *virodhavā* are some examples of nouns that we perhaps would not expect to encounter in diminutive form, underlining the point that the modification of nouns can easily take on a formulaic quality. A further set of *barvai* verses by Rahīm (RB)²³ treats the theme of Krishna and separation, and includes some eastern forms, although markedly less than the BNB; nevertheless, the mood and language of these *viraha barvai* are often very similar to that of *bol banāv ṭhumrī*. But whereas Rahīm wrote his poems as a unified work, there is no such cohesion in *ṭhumrī*. We therefore cannot accredit a particular poet with being inspired by works such as the BNB - in the same way that it is sometimes claimed that Tulsīdās was inspired by the BNB to write his *Barvai Rāmāyaṇ* - and we have to consider the incorporation of eastern forms and diminutives in *ṭhumrī* a coalescence of various forces.

Bandīś *ṭhumrī* flourished at the court of Lucknow, in the heart of Avadh, and *bol banāv ṭhumrī* was strongly influenced and nurtured by musicians from Benares and surrounding regions. Some idiosyncrasies of the local languages

²²Tulsī *Granthāvalī*, ed. Ramchandra Shukla, (Varanasi: Nagari Pracharini Sabha), 1958.

²³I have used the selections offered in Khetan 1991 and Snell 1994.

would naturally be incorporated into the texts, even without any particular stylistic considerations. Diminutive forms appear with some regularity in *bandiś ṭhumrī*, even though their relative scarcity suggests that they were not considered an essential feature; the small proportion of diminutives relative to the length of the texts prevented such forms taking on the significance and prominence that they assumed in later *bol banāv ṭhumrī*. A closer look at the location of diminutives in *bandiś ṭhumrī* reveals that the *-iyā* form is frequently part of the rhyme-scheme, be it end-rhyme or internal, and so its use has a structural as well as an atmospheric basis. Furthermore, although *ṭhumrī* rarely has a clear and regular metrical structure, there are, especially in *bandiś ṭhumrī*, rhythmic considerations: the use of diminutives - especially where the medial vowel is shortened - results in a greater number of consecutive short vowels, allowing for a staccato-like rhythmic sequence which is resolved in a long vowel, which in turn provides rhythmic contrast and, where required, space for melodic elaborations. The sequence of sisters-in-law in line 4 of B11 (*nanadiyā jeṭhaniyā dauraniyā*), for example, provides a cluster of four-beat segments with a very particular lilt, quite different from the segments preceding and following it: *saīyā choṛo baīyā - parata paīyā - topai bala jāīyā*, and *saba siṅgāra - lehū utāra* respectively. The contextual effect of the inclusion of diminutives is conducive to the charming mood of *ṭhumrī*. The presence of diminutives in and of itself does not necessarily evoke a rustic atmosphere (this is, after all, not the primary mood of the BNB), but when combined with a strong Krishnaite element, as exemplified by the stories of Krishna's antics with the village women in the lanes of Braj, a somewhat folksy ambiance does emerge.

Bol banāv ṭhumrī emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century, a relatively slow and romantic song form compared to the fast and rhythmic *bandiś ṭhumrī*. Its emphasis is on emotionally rich melodic elaborations, and its lyrics generally eschew the harassment theme in favour of expressions of longing for one's beloved. *Bol banāv ṭhumrī* was - and remains - a particularly prominent feature of the Benares repertoire, and the much higher proportion of diminutives in this form as compared to *bandiś ṭhumrī* may partially be the result of the organic inclusion of local dialect forms into the texts, perhaps drawing on conventions from local folk song rather than actual speech ²⁴.

²⁴In which case the presence of the eastern long form is partly based on the existence of a similar form in Bhojpuri; also *vide* n. 11.

Furthermore, the musical style of bol banāv ṭhumrī is characterised by melismatic elaborations, to which the presence of long and open vowels is highly conducive. The continued recurrence of the vowel -ā generated by the use of the eastern long form and the -iyā diminutives provides a solid foundation for melisma, and the occasional presence of such forms in bandīś ṭhumrī provided the newly emerging form with a model whose most effective components could be developed and honed. In contrast with the use of diminutives in bandīś ṭhumrī, in bol banāv ṭhumrī such forms are rarely part of the rhyme-scheme, and their functionality is derived from the presence of the final long vowel rather than the preceding cluster of short ones. The combination of the influence of the local dialect and the advantage of the long and open vowels presented by the eastern forms resulted in a lyrical language that was extremely well-suited to the entire mood of bol banāv ṭhumrī: romantic, bucolic, and emotive.

2.4 Influence of Khaṛī Bolī

In view of the general tendency towards sanskritisation in Modern Standard Hindi, and the predominance of Khaṛī Bolī as the literary and spoken language of north India, we might expect the Braj Bhāṣā in the lyrics of ṭhumrī to have been 'contaminated' in the course of the twentieth century. It is in fact unclear whether the frequent occurrence of Khaṛī Bolī forms has been a constant feature of the texts (in which case they would perhaps be better termed 'late Braj Bhāṣā'), or the accumulated result of modifications made by singers over the years. In the course of the twentieth century ṭhumrī, like art music in general, has moved away from its relatively localised feudal context into the much more widespread realm of the middle-classes; the availability of art music on music cassettes, television and radio has ensured that the potential audience has spread far beyond the local dialectal boundaries of Braj Bhāṣā or Avadhī, and has even reached outside the Hindi-speaking areas. As Calcutta and Mumbai have become dynamic centres of Hindustani music, an increasing number of performers do not have Hindi as a first language; these performers may not have had the exposure to and experience of Braj Bhāṣā and Avadhī to feel entirely comfortable with the language of ṭhumrī,²⁵

²⁵Discussions I had with Girija Devi's students in Calcutta about the word *machariyā*, and with Vidyadhar Vyas in Mumbai about the prohibitive adverb *jina* (which he maintained

whereas Kharī Bolī - now widely spoken in its role of Modern Standard Hindi - poses few obstacles. The result of this situation is twofold: on the one hand a certain amount of Kharī Bolī will have entered *ṭhumrī*, most probably through the 'updating' of Braj Bhāṣā forms. On the other hand, there is an awareness among performers that the presence of forms that are *not* standard Hindi is complementary to the mood of *ṭhumrī*. The absence of the mundaneness associated with Kharī Bolī forms makes the language more 'sweet' and prevents a decisive development towards Kharī Bolī and sanskritised language.

A further consideration is that many urban performers who sing *ṭhumrī* are principally performers of *khyāl* whose primary training will have been in this genre. Few *khyāl* singers are actively engaged with the lyrics of their songs, which are essentially considered to be pegs on which to hang musical performance; the kind of emotional expression found in *ṭhumrī* performance, in which the meaning of the words of a song is actively brought out, is by and large absent in *khyāl*. Modern singers of *ṭhumrī* are therefore not necessarily trained to engage with their textual material; this may at times result in textual confusion.²⁶ It is said that the late Siddheshwari Devi discussed the text of a *ṭhumrī* with her students before teaching its musical side; Girija Devi ensures that her students have understood the meaning of *ṭhumrī* texts, and elicits ideas as to how the words may be interpreted.²⁷ Such an awareness of the importance of textual understanding can be absent in urban, *khyāl*-trained vocalists, amongst whom my queries regarding the lyrics of *ṭhumrī* were on occasion met with shrugs or a lack of interest. For instance, in the second line of B26 (*kāse kahū mose jiyā ke baina*) the word *mose* seems incorrect, and should perhaps read *more*; however, the singer showed little interest in such 'detailed' analysis when I raised the issue.

consisted of the words *jī* and *na*), support this suggestion. Even in Delhi I found that singers from the educated middle classes were sometimes unaware of dialectal variations.

²⁶For instance, when Dhanashree Pandit in Mumbai showed me her notebook, it included *ṭhumrī* A38. Instead of the phrase *abhi re maṅgāū* she had written *abira maṅgāū*, which is nonsensical in the context of the song. (December 1996)

²⁷Siddheshwari's daughter Savita told me about her mother's teaching method (personal communication, Delhi, February 1997). I observed Girija Devi's teaching on various occasions between December 1996 and August 1998.

Nevertheless, most performers of *ṭhumrī* are aware of the importance of non-Khaṛī Bolī forms in terms of their atmospheric effect. For instance, text A7 is a largely Khaṛī Bolī text, with an unusually large amount of Perso-Arabic vocabulary (*śarma, muškila, zamānā*). As this text was popularised by (and perhaps written by or for) Begum Akhtar, the renowned *ṭhumrī* and *ghazal* singer of Faizabad who was very famous in the 1960's, the move away from Braj Bhāṣā towards Khaṛī Bolī/Urdu can perhaps be explained in terms of her Muslim background and her fame as a performer of *ghazal*; however, all the pronouns in the text appear in a Braj Bhāṣā or Avadhī form: *kāse, mose, morā, tose, mohe*. Although there is no evidence as to any possible changes in this text, there are three possible scenarios:

- 1) the text was created exactly as it stands, in a largely Khaṛī Bolī matrix with the pronouns in Braj Bhāṣā or Avadhī form, reflecting the fact that although pronouns are fundamental markers of dialect, they rarely present a great challenge to Khaṛī Bolī speakers;
- 2) the text included a larger number of Braj Bhāṣā or Avadhī forms which over the years were replaced with Khaṛī Bolī;
- 3) the text included a smaller number of Braj Bhāṣā and Avadhī forms, but for the sake of style and conformity to the predominant *ṭhumrī* model, some minor alterations (i.e. the pronouns) were incorporated.

In view of the abundance of Khaṛī Bolī forms in this text, option 2 does not seem to be viable proposition. Options 1 and 3 seem far more likely, and in either case, the significance of the Braj Bhāṣā/Avadhī pronoun is implicitly acknowledged. Even though A7 does not conform to expectation of a 'typical' *ṭhumrī* text (due to its high number of Khaṛī Bolī words and verb forms), the inclusion of the Braj Bhāṣā/Avadhī pronouns has a vital effect on its mood. Analytical syntax (with its high level of precision) tends to be more prosaic than synthetic syntax, which is why pronouns in their Khaṛī Bolī form can sound acutely functional and not very suitable to the mood of *ṭhumrī*. Additionally, there is the practical consideration that the open forms *mo, to* and *kā* lend themselves much better to being sung than the consonant-dominated *mujh, tujh* and *kis*. Once again we see that functional and atmospheric considerations conflate, and in their confluence spawn a formulaic tendency.

2.5 Linguistic formulae

The 'formulaic' aspect of *ṭhumrī* consists of a somewhat predictable and even clichéd use of language. Formulae are usually ready-made components (of words, phrases or ideas) which can be employed in a variety of settings; their immediate function may be metrical (which is not directly relevant in *ṭhumrī*), as makeweights (for instance for the sake of the *tāl*), as memory-triggers, or to replace phrases which have been forgotten. Their effect - regardless of functionality - tends to be that they elicit a variety of associations, and so provide an avenue into a world of images and experiences that is not necessarily represented in the text itself. The predictability of *ṭhumrī* texts is partly self-reflexive, in that it functions within its own parameters, and partly representative of a much larger context, in its use of imagery from, for instance, Krishnaite mythology. The subject of formulae and their contextual purpose in *ṭhumrī* will be discussed in detail in chapter 6; for now, we may examine where the formulaic use of language in *ṭhumrī* is located, and what its stylistic consequences are.

As stated above, the predictable element in *ṭhumrī* is partly self-created. An uninitiated listener to Western pop music has not yet had the chance to develop an awareness of stock-phrases and imagery on which the genre traditionally draws, but with some experience will begin to recognise patterns, and anticipate that the word 'yearning' is likely to be followed by 'tossing and turning', and that 'crying' and 'dying' are likely to be a pair. Similarly, *ṭhumrī* relies to some extent on such predictable combinations. As the element of rhyme is often crucial, this discussion of necessity links in with the exploration of rhyme in *ṭhumrī* that is carried out in chapter 3. Although some overlap between the two discussions is inevitable, in the present section we shall try to limit ourselves to linguistic observations.

Formulaic phrases may be divided into two types. The first is where the entire phrase occurs in a number of texts, more or less verbatim. Examples of these are the line *mohata brija kī bāma* (which occurs in A1, A2.1, A14, and in a slightly modified form - *moha liyā brija bāma* - in A73), the use of the passive construction to express the inability to endure suffering (e.g. *mose raho nā jāya* - B18.4), and the way of expressing exasperation with the lover particular to *bandīś ṭhumrī*: the phrase (*maī*) *tose hārī* occurs in B6, B11, B13 and B17. The second type of formula is found in phrases consisting of components that are

themselves formulaic, either because of their form (most notably the diminutives), or because of their meaning. 'Peace' occurs in the context of 'not being found' by the heroine, and may be either *caina* or *kala*²⁸; the fact that the former is more likely to help create end-rhyme (with *naina* or *raina*) makes it a more viable and more popular option, as the interaction of lexicon and rhyme creates a poetic as well as a stylistic cohesion. Descriptions of or references to 'eyes' or the act of 'seeing' are found in around one-fifth of the texts: *naina* occurs most frequently, often as part of the rhyme-scheme, but a variety of other words (e.g. *ākhiyā*, *najariyā*, *citavana*) connect with the same subtext: 'eyes' can mean 'Krishna', with his bow-shaped eyebrows and sidelong glances, but 'eyes' can also evoke the longing of the heroine, as she stares at the road and cries in the night when she cannot sleep. Not only is such imagery self-reflexively formulaic within the context of *ṭhumrī*, but also each description itself connects with a body of earlier material, drawing on existing metaphors and images from folklore, devotional (*bhakti*) and manneristic (*rīti*) poetry.

Paraphrasing Frances Pritchett (1994:104), *ṭhumrī* inhabits a universe which is not necessarily present in the text; all the text does is provide avenues into this universe, which itself has to be present in the minds of the audience. This assessment of *ṭhumrī* is also reminiscent of Kenneth Bryant's discussion of strategy in the poems of Sūrdās (1978), in which he argues that the audience of Sūr's poems is omniscient: the mention of even the most trifling detail sparks a series of associations and connotations that need not be expressed in the poem itself. It was Sūr's brilliance to be able to temporarily conceal his well-worn themes, and so allow for a process of rediscovery (Bryant 1978:60). No such rediscovery is necessary in *ṭhumrī*; the audience is happy to be offered textual predictability in a context which is musically, and in its original context sensuously, stimulating.

²⁸In fact, *kala* only occurs in the phrase *kala nahī āe/āvata* (A8, A68, B16). In terms of alliteration, *caina* would seem a more appropriate option in that context, resulting in the nasal cluster *caina nahī*. As the metrical distinction between the two words is too small to be of great relevance in the loose metrical structure of *ṭhumrī* texts, it is interesting to note that some poets preferred the import of *kala* in that particular context.

2.6 Distinctions between bol banāv and bandiś ṭhumrī texts

2.6.1 Language

In view of the very distinct qualities of the two forms of ṭhumrī (bandiś ṭhumrī being fast and rhythmic, and bol banāv ṭhumrī slow and melismatic), the fact that there are few pronounced linguistic differences between them is somewhat surprising, and largely obscured in performance, when the texts do in fact come across as uniquely suitable to their own musical framework. For example, the absence of imperfective participles ending in -ī is readily explained in bandiś ṭhumrī in the light of its fast and rhythmic structure, which would be hindered by a preponderance of long vowels and is helped by the existence of short, almost staccato, syllables such as found in participles like *karata*. But in the melismatic elaborations of bol banāv ṭhumrī the inclusion of long vowels is considered beneficial. Nevertheless, only one instance of a feminine participle in -ī occurs in the main corpus, underscoring the limited influence of Khaṛī Bolī on the texts. There are no substantial differences between the two forms in the realm of verbs; in terms of vocabulary, we might have expected a larger number of regional or archaic words in bandiś ṭhumrī, the older form, although we do of course not know the extent to which the lyrics have been updated over the years.

The language of some anthologised material conforms to a more solid Braj Bhāṣā model, as in the following example. The collection *Caitracandrikā aur Dādrā Dilcaspa* was written by Shribaldev Kavi, a poet whose identity is unclear, and published by the Bharatjeevan Press in Benares in 1907. It comprises texts which are titled *ṭhumrī*, *bhajan*, *dādrā* and *gazal*, although no further musical information is given.

(p. 50)

1. लरिकाई करे माई मोसे, सांवरो कन्हवाई,
लरिकाई ... ।
2. जौं अकेल कहूं इत उत पावे, कर मरोरि चुरियां चटकावे,
3. नँदकिशोर शहजोर²⁹ छयल पर तनक बूत बसाई,
लरि...।

²⁹The Persian word *śahazor* (which in the original publication has remarkably retained the lower dot indicating the change from /j/ to /z/) sounds unusual to ears trained to listen to currently heard ṭhumrīs: in a contemporary framework it would almost certainly be realised as /śahajor/.

4. लै चूनर जल मांह पँधारे³⁰ तकि तकि गेंद उरज पर मागे,
5. अँगिया फारे घुँघट टारे डारे गर लपटाई,
लरि...।
6. ना वह नन्द बबा कौ माने, ना बलदेव की करत सुकाने,
7. एक यशुमति मैया के डर सो, बरसाने कँह धाई,
लरिकाई ...॥

refrain:³¹

'He is playing pranks with me, oh mother, that dark Krishna'

'When he finds me alone wherever I may be
He twists my hand and breaks my bangles
Nanda's boy, dandy of great strength, wields just a little power
(refrain)
Taking my wrap when I go into the water, staring staring at the spheres
on my chest he demands them³²
He tears my bodice, removes my veil and embraces me
(refrain)
He neither heeds father Nand, nor pays good attention to the words of
Baldev³³
With fear of only mother Yashoda he³⁴ ran off to Barsana
(refrain)'

The language used by Baldev is quite different from most of the texts in the main corpus³⁵. He is more consistent in his use of Braj Bhāṣā, and the eastern

³⁰I have read *padhāre* as *mere padhāre*; the event presumably refers to the story of Krishna stealing the *gopīs'* clothes when they are bathing.

³¹The original text includes the word *ṭek* to describe the first line of the *sthāyī*. In contemporary *ṭhumrī* the word *ṭek* is never used but the *sthāyī* may function somewhat like a refrain.

³²*māge* is translated as a form of the verb *māg-*.

³³*sukānā* is a regional variant of MSH *sukhānā*, which means 'to dry' and does not allow for a viable translation; I have taken the phrase to mean: *nā baladeva kī [bāta] karata su-kāna*.

³⁴*dhāi* is read as an extended absolutive, with the main verb present in the refrain that follows.

³⁵Baldev's text is also inconsistent with contemporary *ṭhumrī* in terms of content: the description of Krishna's somewhat unsavoury behaviour would be considered inappropriate in the modern concert hall. As we shall see in chapter 4, even references to beds may be

Hindi element is absent, even though the collection was published in Benares and the poet is therefore likely to have been from that region. The texts of *ṭhumrī* that are current today (and which recordings suggest have been for the larger part of the twentieth century) share qualities with each other that are largely absent from Baldev's text, the most striking, and yet the most elusive, being the romantic or bucolic mood. Due to the absence of this mood it is difficult to reconcile the lyrical heroine's voice in this text with, for instance, the speaker of B11, even if the descriptions of harassment are vaguely similar.

There is no indication that this text was ever performed, and it is possible that Shribaldev Kavi was a poet who had a vision of how he would like *ṭhumrī* texts to be, and wrote a collection of texts accordingly. However, if this *ṭhumrī* were ever part of a vocalist's repertoire, it is likely to have been within the *bandīś* tradition: this text has the length and lilt we associate with that form, and would be particularly well-suited to a dance performance, in which all its narrative features could be acted out.

2.6.2 *Chāp*

One area where there is a clear disparity between the two forms of *ṭhumrī* is in the presence of the author's name (*chāp*)³⁶. Although none of the composers of *ṭhumrī* consistently 'stamped' their name on their creations (or if they did, this authorial evidence has not survived), it is particularly uncommon in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*. Where a *chāp* does occur in a text, it is not necessarily reliable proof of the poet's identity, as there are examples of texts in which the name of one author has been substituted for another (e.g. *nanaka* and *sanada* in B14). There is no evidence to suggest that texts that include a *chāp* are preferred by performers, whereas the implication of the absence of the author's (pen)name in the texts that are performed today is that the tradition often considers the identity of a poet to be uninteresting.³⁷ However, from the researcher's

considered slightly risqué in a modern context, to say nothing of the sexual images conjured up by Baldev Kavi.

³⁶I have referred to this insertion with the customary Hindi term *chāp*, even though for related genres such as *khyāl* and *gazzal*, the (Urdu) word *takhallus* is more likely to be used (especially by Muslims). A third option is offered by Ashok Ranade, who speaks of *mudra*; this type of 'stamp', however, has wider scope than the words *chāp* or *takhallus*, and may include the name of the *rāg* or a reference to the *guru* (Ranade 1990:70).

³⁷Performers do take an interest in the existence of a composer's name in song texts, but much more so in *dhrupad* and *khyāl* than in *ṭhumrī*. In the former two genres, the occurrence

perspective the occurrence of a *chāp* in *ṭhumrī* is significant, as it is one of the areas where the two forms of *ṭhumrī* are distinctly separate.

Less than 10% of texts in the *bol banāv* section of the main corpus display a poet's name, compared with some 40% in the *bandīś* section. The only poet's name to appear with any regularity is Sanad Piyā, who Peter Manuel identifies as 'Tawaqqul Hussein' (1986:473) from Rampur and Bareilly (1989:69). Sanad's name appears in both sections of the main corpus; most of the '*piyās*' that are still famous today will have been poets of *bandīś ṭhumrī*, even though there will have been some overlap. There are other relatively famous *bandīś ṭhumrī* poets whose texts are not in the main corpus because their creations are now primarily known from anthologies: Sughar Piyā, Kadar Piyā, and Lalan Piyā are particularly well-known, even if their actual *ṭhumrīs* are not, at least not in contemporary performance. Lalan Piyā's *ṭhumrīs* in Sanskrit and extremely manneristic Hindi (relying on excessive alliteration, or avoiding any labials) are almost legendary; the following example shows some of Lalan's poetic skills whilst remaining faithful to the *ṭhumrī* idiom:³⁸

छाँड़ो जीं डंगर मोरी ढीठ लंगरवा नीर भरत पर करत झगरवा	Get out of my way, stubborn prankster I am fetching water, you're just fighting with me
बरजोरी हमरोरी तोर लियो हरवा ॥ दूर ही से देख मोरे आवत निकटवा अँचल गहत न लजत नटखटवा	Forcefully you tore my garland. From afar he sees me coming closer He grabs my sari, the rascal knows no shame
ललन पिया सखियन सनमुखवा हँसि हँसि मोहिं लगावत गरवा ॥	Lalan Piya, in front of my friends Laughingly embraces me.

The fact that early *ṭhumrī* poets like Lalan Piyā have remained relatively famous (within the milieu of performers and specialists of Hindustani music),

of a certain poet's name often consolidates the credentials of a particular tradition, and singers may touch their ear as a sign of respect upon singing the composer's name. Such displays of devotion to a particular composer are absent in *ṭhumrī*. When singers emphasise the presence of a *chāp* in a *ṭhumrī* text, it is usually with the sentiment that a *chāp* bestows evidence of age and perhaps authenticity. Nevertheless, I have not found that singers prefer certain texts because of the presence of a composer's name.

³⁸Quoted in Bajpeyi 1977.

even though his *ṭhumrī*s are now rarely if ever performed, suggests that the composers of *bandīś ṭhumrī* belonged to a tradition that was engaged with and took pride in its art; the relatively frequent presence of a *chāp* in *bandīś ṭhumrī* (especially as compared to *bol banāv ṭhumrī*) further emphasises this point. In *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, on the other hand, we find authorial evidence to be rare; Girija Devi has explained (in the context of *bol banānā*) that using the poet's name for creating phrases is considered bad taste³⁹, which may be the main reason that most *bol banāv ṭhumrī* texts lack a *chāp*, so as to not include within the lyrics obstacles to the essential process of *bol banānā*. In view of the fact that *bol banāv ṭhumrī* gained currency at a critical time in the history of Hindustani music, when performance practices and patronage structures were questioned and reconstructed, it is also possible that there was a general reluctance to fully embrace and engage with the newly-emerging genre; this initial reluctance may have resulted in a vicious circle, in which the lack of precedent prevented later composers from including their name in their compositions.

2.7 A comparative appraisal

As far as I am aware, there are few *ṭhumrī* texts that have been created by contemporaries of the present generation of performers. Although some people compose *ṭhumrī*s on paper, these are as unrepresentative of the genre as the old anthologised pieces until they have actually made it into performance. Moreover, the few composers of new *ṭhumrī*s that I have come across write texts exactly because they are dissatisfied with the existing scope of the genre: Neela Bhagwat in Mumbai writes from a political (mainly feminist) angle, whereas Balwant Roy Bhatt in Benares composes texts that are entirely religious. One person who both writes and performs *ṭhumrī* in a more traditional idiom is singer and musicologist Aneeta Sen, who writes under the name of Neha Piya. Her work is particularly interesting because it is her intention to stay within the conventional parameters of *ṭhumrī*, and her material therefore provides good comparative data. Sen is a respected musicologist who is also a performing musician, and although nobody's views on the nature of *ṭhumrī* texts can be considered wholly representative, Sen's are certainly relevant. It will be instructive to analyse the linguistic

³⁹Sangeet Research Academy, Calcutte: tape 674.

features of Sen's lyrics with a view to understanding what she considers to be the necessary components of a *ṭhumrī* text.

मोरी अटरिया पै कागा बोले	a crow is cawing on my balcony ⁴¹
सगुन बता दे बमनवा ॥	tell me a good omen, oh Brahmin
मंद सुगंध चलत पवन पुरबैयाँ	the fragrant, soft eastern wind is
बोले पपिहा पिया पिया	blowing
नेहा पिया कब अइहै बलमवा ॥ 40	the cuckoo is singing 'piyā piyā'
	Neha Piya, when will my lover
	come?

Sen is originally from South India but married into a Bengali family; she and her husband are now living in Mumbai, having spent many years teaching at Khairagarh University in Madhya Pradesh. Although Chattīsgarhī, one of the dialects of eastern Hindi, is spoken around Khairagarh, Sen's employment of Braj- and Avadhī-inspired language in her poetry is clearly in response to the perception that it is a necessary aspect of the *ṭhumrī* composition rather than because of her personal exposure to these dialects (which, considering her socio-economic status, would have been extremely limited in any case). She explained that some use of Braj Bhāṣā and Avadhī is desirable in order to create the right atmosphere for *ṭhumrī*⁴².

In terms of formulaic use, Sen follows the 'diminutive' convention, and includes *aṭariyā* (which also occurs in A51) and *purabaiyā* (for 'the eastern wind'), as well as Avadhī long forms *bamanavā* (for 'Brahmin') and *balamavā*. She also includes a word with lengthened final vowel, *kāgā*. The pronoun *morī* follows *ṭhumrī* precedent, as does the use of the postposition *pai*, and the reference to the *papīhā* bird whose cry is said to remind the lovelorn woman of her absent lover. Use of the *-h* future (*aihai*) is rare in *ṭhumrī*, and the inclusion of a *chāp* is uncommon in *bol banāv ṭhumrī* (especially in the last line), although there is precedent. Sen's description of the eastern wind as *manda sugandha pavana* is entirely formulaic, reminiscent of the *trividha samīra* of earlier Braj Bhāṣā and Sanskrit poetry, in which the wind is described as

⁴⁰ Rāg Pahārī - Dhumālī tāl. Personal communication, Mumbai, 27.12.1996.

⁴¹The cawing of a crow is an omen that a guest is coming; for the woman waiting for her lover it is thus a sound filled with hope.

⁴²Personal communication. Mumbai, December 1996.

having the threefold quality of being 'gentle, cool, and fragrant'. This stock image, lifted from sanskritic poetry and expressed with a cluster of tatsama vocabulary, does not sit altogether comfortably within a *ṭhumrī* context and, together with the use of the *-h-* future and the inclusion of a *chāp*, suggests that Sen is assuming that the basic Braj Bhāṣā framework of *ṭhumrī* provides the freedom to indiscriminately incorporate the conventions of Braj Bhāṣā bhakti poetry. Such an assumption perhaps also betrays the desire to locate *ṭhumrī* within a sanskritic framework, and possibly the belief that this is *ṭhumrī*'s rightful place. Sen's approach to *ṭhumrī* will be discussed in more detail in the context of *nāyikā-bheda* in chapter 4.

2.8 Analysis of four sample texts

Analysing the linguistic identity of *ṭhumrī* is only partially a matter of distinguishing or identifying dialect, for it also entails identifying its register. Even in the situation where we do not know the extent to which the texts have been changed over the years, and have very little information about the identity, background and motivation of the composers of *ṭhumrī*, we can surmise that the language of the texts exists in a realm of 'other-ness', in which the language of 'real life', of mundanity and everyday existence, is eschewed in favour of a poetic language that even in nineteenth-century Lucknow and Benares must have had a certain exotic appeal. Analysing the linguistic expression of four sample texts from the main corpus will provide insight into how the language of *ṭhumrī* creates the atmosphere and associations so typical of the genre.

B8

कैसे के जावूँ श्याम रोके डगरिया ॥
बरबस कर पकरत
मुख चुम चुम लेत
लाज लेत देखो बीच बजरिया श्याम ॥
नित की रार कहूँ कैसे बिंदा
नाहीं बसूँ त्यजूँ तोरी नगरिया श्याम ॥⁴³

⁴³Rāg Gārā, tāl ektāl. Vrinda Mundkur, Mumbai, December 1996. Tape 5 in LdPCollection.

This bandiś ṭhumrī includes three diminutive forms (*ḍagariyā*, *bajariyā*, *nagariyā*), which typically relate to each other in the rhyme scheme. The text describes the stereotypical situation in which Krishna ('*śyāma*') harasses the lyrical heroine, who is assumed to be a milkmaid in Braj even though this is not stated. The text opens with a rhetorical question, thereby catching the listener's attention and setting the scene for the next statement: Krishna is blocking the road. The words describing the places connected with Krishna's actions are all in diminutive form, locating them away from the physical world, suggesting that the actions that are depicted take place in an ethereal realm and perhaps also that the heroine's relationship with them is not altogether negative. In the next lines clusters of short syllables in alliterative phrases emphasise the forcefulness of his actions, grabbing her hand and kissing her face - the latter action in turn emphasised by the repetition of *cuma*. The relationship between being kissed and having her modesty compromised is set up by the parallel *cuma leta* / *lāja leta*, the latter then followed by a further alliterative phrase, *bīca bajariyā*. The presence in the fourth line of the long vowels in *lāja*, *bīca*, *bajariyā* and *śyāma* breaks the rhythm and allows the singer space for melodic elaborations. This shift of pace may also raise suggestions about the heroine's reactions to her tormentor, which may be more ambivalent than she is trying to assert. The following line includes a further rhetorical question, as well as the name of the poet Binda (Din), who is placed in the role of the heroine's friend or adviser. The predominance of long vowels and soft dental consonants in the last line creates a somewhat softened mood, in which the heroine's statement that she may have to move elsewhere rings rather hollow. A significant feature of the last line is also that Krishna is now addressed directly, shown by the pronoun *torī*, whereas he had been the subject of the descriptions before.

The preceding text achieves most of its effect through use of rhythmic devices, such as the clusters of short syllables in the early part, and poetic means such as alliteration. The presence of the diminutives has a rhythmic as well as an atmospheric effect, locating the places where Krishna interacts with the heroine in an other-worldly realm, and affecting the mood of her narrative. Although any text involving Krishna will inevitably have an associative component, suggestion and hidden references are not a very important feature of this text, unlike in the following bol baṇāv ṭhumrī.

A20

गुज़र गई रतियाँ
 पिया नहीं आये ॥
 कहा करूँ सजनी कछु बन नहीं आवे
 यह दुख सहो ना जाय ॥⁴⁴

A parallel is constructed between the night which has gone by, and the lover who has not come, a balance between *jā-* and *ā-*; somewhat more obscurely, a comparison is also invited between the lover and the night - both dark, if the lover is implied to be Krishna.⁴⁵ The diminutive word *ratiyā* sounds somewhat confusingly like a plural, allowing the text to exist in a state of timelessness without a clear indication of a time frame. The diminutive further abstracts the situation portrayed, similar to the use of diminutives in describing the places in the *bandīś* text discussed above. A rhetorical question is encountered in the first line of the *antarā* (line 3); although the question is ostensibly directed at the heroine's female friend, the 'rhetorical question' device subtly draws the audience in to a level of mental interaction with the narrative. In the phrase *kachu bana nahī āve* we encounter the word *bana*, and although it is clear that no immediate reference to the forest is intended, it is almost impossible for that word not to evoke a glimmer of Krishnaite association; Krishna of Brindaban, the *banavārī* or *banamālī*, garlanded with forest-flowers. A similar shadow of meaning may lurk in *ratiyā* in the first line: is it only the night that has passed, or also the opportunity of *rati*, sexual pleasure? The parallel between *jā-* and *ā-* of the *sthāyī* is repeated in the *antarā*, in which *ā-* occurs in line 3 and *jā-* in the last line, in the formulaic use of the passive to express the inability to endure suffering.

The strength of this *ṭhumrī* lies in its ability to elicit certain responses and to evoke certain moods through the references implicit in the texts more than through the shape of the words or poetic devices; the rhyme of *āye* and *jāya* is effective more in its parallel between two contrasting verbs than in its actual rhyme. The effect of alliteration in the text (*guzara gaī, kahā karū .. kachu, bana*

⁴⁴Rāg Gārā. Vrinda Mundkur, Mumbai, December 1996. Tape 5 in LdP Collection.

⁴⁵A comparison between Krishna's dark hue and darkness (of the night, or the clouds) is common (e.g. A72 *tuma kāle bana kālā*) although usually the reference is more explicit than in the present text.

nahī) is aesthetic rather than pragmatically meaningful the way it was in the *bandīś* text discussed above.

Association and suggestion are not the most salient points of every *bol banāv* *ṭhumrī*. In the following example much of the effect is created by the way sounds are used and located in relation to each other.

A36.1

देखे बिना नाहीं चैन
साँवरियाँ को ॥
दिन नाहीं चैन रैन नाहिं निदिया
कासे कहूँ जी के बैन ॥⁴⁶

One of the first things that is striking about this text is the predominance of soft and dental sounds: clusters of nasal consonants appear in three lines, in stark contrast with the two velar plosives in the rhetorical question in the last line. The very first word triggers the association of the eyes, and hence leads us into the realm of seeing and being seen, of *darśan* and *ghūṅhaṭ*, of Krishna and absent lovers. *binā nāhī caina* in the first line rhymes with *dina nāhī caina* in the third; *caina* rhymes with *raina* which follows it, and *nāhī nindiyā* almost sounds like an anagram of *dina nāhī* at the beginning of the same line, whose overall shape is close to being a palindrome. The way all these sounds interconnect allows, once again, for a sense of spacelessness and timelessness, in which nothing definite occurs. The phrase *raina nāhī nindiyā* is a source of ambiguity: why is she awake at night? The first explanation may well be that she is suffering the pain of separation, but in the timeless realm of the *ṭhumrī* universe we are easily carried back in time, when he - the dark one, just like the night is dark - was there. All the more disturbing then to be reminded of the 'real world' by the phrase *kāse kahū*, because of the relative harshness of its sounds as well as because the listener is once again invited to partake in the narrative. The final phrase completes the rhyme scheme, drawing on the metaphor of the heart's 'speech', and to whom it may be expressed.

⁴⁶Rāg Khamāj, tāl jat. Girija Devi, Sankat Mochan Festival, Benares, April 1997. Video in Nicolas Magriel collection.

A last example illustrates the impact of soft and hard sounds, of dental and retroflexes; there are many more dental than retroflex sounds in both forms of *ṭhumrī*, and the following text demonstrates the contrast.

A24.1

जावो बालम नाही बोलो
अब हमसे जिन बोलो ॥
हमसे कपट अब करत नित छेला
नित सौतन घर जाय रे ॥⁴⁷

The only word in which hard sounds, a velar and a retroflex, occur is in *kapaṭa* in the third line, 'deceit'. Preceded by a sequence of softer sounds, the word takes on an almost onomatopoeic quality, its force underlined by the staccato, dental-dominated phrase *aba karata nita* that follows it. In the first line the imperatives *jāvo* and *bolo* can both be treated in such a way as to become ambiguous: as discussed earlier, *jāvo* also contains *āvo*, a paradox which the skilled singer will certainly exploit in her performance. *bolo* is preceded by *nāhī*, and again by *jina* in the next line, but in the short emotive phrases of *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, such a prohibitive marker is easily lost to leave only *bolo*, perhaps repeated a number of times, overlapping with the following phrase *aba hamase*. When creating phrases consisting of the words *jina bolo* at the end of the *sthāyī*, and subsequently following them with *jāvo* in the first line, *jina jāvo* is easily suggested if not overtly expressed. The entire mood of the *sthāyī* can thus be reversed: 'leave me alone, don't talk to me' can be expressed in such a way as to become 'speak to me, don't go'. Such poetic, yet playful, ambiguity would have been extremely compelling in courtesan performance, when the singer's musical skills would have been complemented by her persuasive abilities and coquetry (or possibly vice versa)⁴⁸. The repetition of *nita* begs the question of time and space, contrasted with the earlier repetition of *aba*. The co-wife or rival is a prominent resident of the *ṭhumrī* universe, although she is rarely the object of the kind of scorn that might be directed at a real-life competitor.

⁴⁷Rāg Khamāj, tāl dīpcandī. Siddheshwari Devi, HMV cassette STCS04B7443.

⁴⁸See also text B13, note on line 1.

2.9 Conclusion

Ṭhumrī texts are characterised by a 'sweetness' which is congruous with ṭhumrī's musical identity and is largely effectuated by a linguistic register which is some distance removed from the language of mundanity; within a primarily Braj Bhāṣā matrix, the frequent inclusion of diminutives and the elongated noun form *-vā* of eastern Hindi, combined with the absence of Perso-Arabic and sanskritised vocabulary, makes it possible for ṭhumrī to exist in a romantic and idealised self-contained realm.

Various components conspire to create a language that is never quite finite: short and ungendered imperfective participles, the general absence of auxiliaries, the reliance on diminutive forms, especially those from eastern Hindi which in their very status of having crossed a linguistic boundary (even if a not very well-defined one) suggest an open-endedness, all contribute to the suggestive nature of the texts, in which there is always an implicit possibility of further meaning and association.

Drawing on conventional imagery from devotional poetry as well as non-classical sources, ṭhumrī texts provide avenues into a much wider realm of reference than is contained within the texts themselves. The concentration of a small number of ideas, expressed in an often formulaic style using limited vocabulary, creates a narrow doorway through which the entrance into the vast space of association becomes particularly compelling.

Chapter 3: The Form and Structure of ṭhumrī

3.1 Introduction

Having established that the language of ṭhumrī to some extent draws on conventions from Braj Bhāṣā devotional poetry, we now turn to a discussion of the prosodic structure of the texts. An analysis of metre and rhyme in ṭhumrī will demonstrate the disparity between ṭhumrī and forms such as the bhajan, as ṭhumrī texts only very loosely conform to metrical conventions and rarely have tight rhyme schemes. Moreover, ṭhumrī is not a poetic form in its own right; its texts have no life outside of performance, and should therefore always be located in a performance context. The first task of analysing the texts on paper therefore consists of transcribing them from performance; some of the problems inherent in this process are discussed in the first section of this chapter. We subsequently look at metre in ṭhumrī on the strength of texts transcribed by myself as well as those taken from anthologies, and discuss the nature of rhyme. Although most ṭhumrī texts have a rhyme scheme of sorts, it is rarely exploited to the full in performance; the slow and melismatic utterances of bol banāv ṭhumrī are almost never shaped by or structured according to rhyme.

The relationship between sthāyī and antarā exists on different levels: continuity of rhyme - where it exists - links the components of a text together on a structural level, and semantic cohesion is provided by a certain continuity of narrative. The often formulaic natures of both theme and rhyme are contributing factors to the phenomenon of the 'floating antarā', in which one antarā may be used with a number of different sthāyīs. Texts may thus have an some degree of interchangeability.

3.2 Problems encountered in transcription

The discrepancy between ṭhumrī as a written text and ṭhumrī in performance is one of the stumbling-blocks in the quest for a description of ṭhumrī's prosodic nature. A ṭhumrī text as it appears on paper is not necessarily representative of the same text as it appears in performance. As Finnegan explains, ' "equivalence" between spoken and written texts is neither self-evident nor a culture-free matter' (1992:195). She warns the researcher that 'transcribing will also be affected by your own assumptions about the nature

of a "text" and about the relationship between written words and performance which transcriptions in some sense represent'. She queries the 'idea of a "correct" super-existent text, and points out that 'further "interruptions" or "digressions" - as they seem to transcribers preoccupied with the "basic" text - may be crucial for the performance' (Finnegan 1992:195). This last point is particularly applicable to *bol banāv ṭhumrī* whose shape in performance is fluid and continuously changing, with numerous repetitions and stock phrases providing the raw materials for melismatic melodic elaboration and emotional expression. Although we may be able to identify a core text upon which the performance is based, we cannot claim that we have discovered a truth that was 'out there': the way a *ṭhumrī* is performed *is* the *ṭhumrī*. Its layers do not obscure an unadulterated essence but are integral to the *ṭhumrī* itself. Nevertheless, it will still be useful to look at the individual layers in order to understand their internal relationship.

Lath (1983:230ff.) discusses the problems inherent in committing orally transmitted material to paper. In his study of devotional poetry, he identifies certain '*geya-vikāras*' - transformations occurring in the transmission of songs¹, such as the addition of contextually-meaningless syllables, inclusion of short phrases for the sake of the *tāl*, changing the order of words in a line, changing the order of the *antarās*, borrowing 'floating' *antarās* - which seem to be part of a common fund rather than part of one particular poem - and substituting epithets such as Krishna for Ram. Such 'transformations' are also found in *ṭhumrī* when we either compare different versions of the same text, or different texts with each other. In Lath's study, acknowledging the influence of '*geya-vikāras*' provides a means by which to understand textual variations, but the basic assumption that an *ur* text exists is always implicitly present. When a poem X is found on 4 occasions with a certain *antarā*, and on a fifth occasion with a different *antarā* which also happens to have occurred in poem Y, the scholar in his quest for a critical edition may at least speculate as to the authenticity of this twice-occurring *antarā* in relation to poem X. This kind of speculation is often tempting in *ṭhumrī*, where certain *antarās* do indeed 'float

¹Lath (1983:230) acknowledges that as the term *geya-vikāra* is based on the Vedic *sāma-vikāra* it presupposes knowledge of a 'true form', whereas in oral texts this true form is not necessarily known or indeed existent. Lath's use of the term 'textual variants' does, however, betray an assumption of a 'true form', a basic text of which variants can exist. This assumption may be valid in Lath's study of *padas* by the poet Nāmdēv, but is not applicable in the case of *ṭhumrī*.

around', and sometimes appear to be used when the singer has forgotten the 'real' *antarā*.

When considering what a *ṭhumrī* might look like when it takes on the cloak of written poetry, it is worth remembering Finnegan's warning that our own culturally-determined ideas as to the shape of a poem may well influence our conceptualisation of an oral text. Two aspects of the transcription process are concerned with basic shape and need to be addressed before any structural analysis can take place: the decision as to what constitutes a line, and the assessment of vowel-lengths.

3.2.1 *Lines*

Ṭhumrī as a musical form is identified by its musical rather than its poetic shape; its poetry moulds itself to performance as opposed to the singer adapting the musical possibilities to the demands of the text. Most singers rely on written material as *aides-mémoire*, and have notebooks in which they have collected their compositions. Although there is no obvious format to adhere to when writing down the words of a *ṭhumrī*, there do appear to be conventions that are followed in private notebooks and published anthologies alike. These conventions seem to dictate that repetitions that occur in performance should not be written down, and that most lines should be of more or less the same length as the first line. The length of the first line then becomes an important factor in deciding the shape of the written *ṭhumrī*. Where there is a rhyme scheme this can obviously be treated as a yardstick for the shape of the lines, but in *bol banāv ṭhumrī* there often is only limited rhyme which does not necessarily clarify the shape of the written text. In the more rhythmic *bandīś ṭhumrī* there is usually a more cohesive rhyme scheme, which makes the written shape of the text easier to assess. By its very nature, the performance of *bandīś ṭhumrī* tends to be more structured than *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, and involves less repetition of short phrases. Although the fundamental distinction between text as an oral versus a written item remains, the transcription process in *bandīś ṭhumrī* is nevertheless relatively uncomplicated.

The first line of most *ṭhumrī* texts is readily identifiable, as it is the dominant line which is subject to frequent repetition in performance. The most common format in the contemporary performance of *bol banāv ṭhumrī* is to repeat the first line for the greater part of the performance, with the occasional foray into

the second line of the *sthāyī* if it exists. The first line of the *antarā* is then elaborated upon briefly, followed by a summary rendition of the very last line. The last line is easily identifiable as it is given little time in performance and it is always followed by a return to the first line of the *sthāyī*. The distinction between the *sthāyī* and the *antarā* is largely musical, but can also be inferred from the structure of the performance: whereas all lines of the *sthāyī* are followed with a return to the first line, the lines of the *antarā* are not followed by a return to the *sthāyī* until the very last line of the *antarā* (and thus the entire composition) has been sung. For example, in a 4-line *ṭhumrī* 'AB-CD'² A would receive most of the performance emphasis, B would be sung occasionally, but always with an immediate return to A, C would become dominant only towards the end of the performance and be followed by D, which would be followed almost immediately by a return to A. D is therefore easily identified as it is always followed by a return to A.

The main point of argument relates to the length of C: because it is rarely sung as one line but tends to be fragmented into smaller sections, often displaying internal rhyme, it could be argued that dividing C into two or three lines on the written page would be preferable and more faithful to the actual performance. It does not, however, appear to be the convention, either in published works that I have come across, or in the handwritten notebooks that I have seen. Some published materials do use commas in a situation where a line break may be preferable in terms of rhyme and performance practice, but where such a line break would result in having two lines that are much shorter than the other ones. There is also the consideration that ultimately the complete line C is treated sequentially: if C were divided into C1 and C2, the latter would always follow the former before continuing on to D. There is then no compelling argument *against* treating C as one line, and it does usually result in a format in which all the lines have more or less the same length, which may be considered more normative, especially when compared with metre-based song forms such as the *bhajan* and the *ghazal*.

²Bol *banāv ṭhumrīs* of a different format would still adhere to the basic conventions as described. The *sthāyī* may be returned to in between *antarās* if there is more than one - a feature rarely heard in contemporary performance - but the lines preceding the last line of the *antarā* will not be followed by a return to the *sthāyī* until the final line has been sung.

3.2.2 Vowel length

Considerable leniency with regard to metric formalities, primarily by counting certain long vowels as short, is not peculiar to *ṭhumrī* as it occurs throughout pre-modern Hindi poetry. In *ṭhumrī*, vowel length is largely dependent on musical and rhythmic considerations and varies from line to line and from performance to performance. In the phrase *dekhe bina nahī caina*, the word *bina* may realise as /bina/, /binā/ or /bīnā/, and *nahī* as /nahī/, /nāhī/, /nāhī/ etc. It depends entirely on the vocalist, who is unlikely to be adhering to any particular metrical strategy and will place stress where melodically or rhythmically required. When a word like *nahī* is repeated sequentially, it may well be realised as /nahī nahī nāhi nā nā nāhī/ on one occasion, and differently on another occasion in the same performance. How a text is written down may then involve a somewhat arbitrary decision, which may be influenced by conceptions of the standard forms of words, shaped by *Kharī Bolī*.

The stressed beat *sam* does not usually fall on short vowels, although it may do so; in most cases where the short vowel is then realised as long this variation is attested in the lexicon: in the line *piyā to mānata nahī* the *sam* falls on the first syllable of *nahī* which is then realised as /nāhī/, and in the line *jāga parī māi to piyā* the *sam* falls on *pi-*, and the word *piyā* is realised as /pīyā/. Both *nāhī* and *pīyā* appear in the HSS and are therefore precedented variations rather than lone instances. When the *sam* lands on a short vowel, this vowel is not necessarily lengthened: in the *ṭhumrī* *nāhaka lāye gavanavā* the *sam* occurs on the second syllable of *gavanavā*. Where the *sam* falls on a short vowel this usually coincides with natural stress; the above instance is a case in point, as without the suffix *-vā* the stress in pronunciation would be on the first syllable *ga-*. However, due to the addition of the final syllable the stress has shifted to the second syllable *-va-*, which is also the place of the *sam*.

3.2.3 Metre

Having established a rough yardstick with which to measure line and vowel lengths, we move on to the next stage of achieving an understanding of *ṭhumrī*'s form: metre. In order to arrive at an outline of the prosodic structure of *ṭhumrī* texts, a metric analysis of some 100 texts was carried out, with *bol* *banāv ṭhumrī* and *bandīś ṭhumrī* treated separately; as we shall see, the texts of *bandīś ṭhumrī* usually have more lines, with each line having, on average, a higher number of *mātrās*. In order to represent anthologised texts as well as

those transcribed by myself, the texts used for the analysis were chosen from an arbitrary variety of sources: 37 were taken from the recorded texts in the main corpus, 35 were taken from C8, 17 from C4, 8 from C11 and 6 from C7. An initial prosodic analysis undertaken at the outset of this research, using only a very small sample (of transcribed texts only), proved discouraging. I returned to metrical analysis at a later stage, using a larger sample chosen from a greater number of sources and allowing for more metric variables, in order to achieve at least an approximate description of the prosodic structure of *ṭhumrī* texts. We shall first consider the overall findings.

Bandiś ṭhumrī

The following chart indicates that 20% of the 41 *bandiś ṭhumrīs* analysed consist of 4 lines, 20% of 5 lines, and 20% of 7 lines. 17% of texts have 6 lines, with 8-line texts occurring in 14% of the total. There is therefore not one clear predominant structure: the majority of *bandiś ṭhumrīs* have between 4 and 8 lines.

No. of lines	instances	%
3	1	2
4	8	20
5	8	20
6	7	17
7	8	20
8	6	14
9	2	5
12	1	2

The two charts below divide the texts by number of lines and show the average number of *mātrās* per line and the average number of *mātrās* in the first line, respectively. They indicate that the average *bandiś ṭhumrī* has between 16-19 *mātrās* per line, with no serious deviations. The average number of *mātrās* in the first line is 17-20, suggesting that, on average, the first line of a *ṭhumrī* is marginally longer - in metric terms - than the following lines. It may be noted that in the 9-line category the average number of *mātrās* in the first line deviates considerably from the overall average; as there are

only two texts in this category no meaningful conclusions can be drawn, although this deviation does perhaps underscore the problem of deciding where one line ends and the next one begins.

Number of lines	Average mātrās in per line	Average mātrās in first line
Total	16-19	17-20
3-line text	17-21	15-17
4-line text	15-18	16-20
5-line text	16-19	16-19
6-line text	18-21	17-21
7-line text	17-19	18-21
8-line text	14-16	15-18
9-line text	17-21	23-29
12-line text	14-17	16-18

Bol banāv ṭhumrī

In bol banāv ṭhumrī the 4-line format is by far the most common, occurring in more than half of the 62 analysed texts (56%). Texts of 3, 5 or 6 lines are also quite common. Comparing the overall average number of mātrās per line with the average number of mātrās in the first line shows little discrepancy for the total; the most commonly found text - of 4 lines - shows a slightly higher number in the average line than in the first line of the texts. However, the discrepancies are small and, bearing in mind the number of variables to be taken into consideration, are probably not meaningful.

No. of lines	instances	%
3	9	14.5
4	35	56
5	7	11
6	9	14.5
7	1	2
8	1	2

Number of lines	Average mātrās per line	Average mātrās in first line
Total	13-15.5	14-16
3-line text	16-19	18-22
4-line text	14-16.5	13-15
5-line text	13-15	13-16
6-line text	14-15.5	14-16
7-line text	10-12	10
8-line text	12-15	16-19

3.2.4 Other approaches

Earlier in the course of my research, I had looked at the prosodic aspect of *ṭhumrī* from a different angle, analysing the ratio of short vowels to long vowels in *ṭhumrī* in a small sample of texts (42). I found that in *bandīś* and *bol banāv ṭhumrī* alike, there were approximately 45% short vowels against 55% long vowels in the *sthāyī*, whereas that figure was reversed for the *antarā*, in which the percentage of short vowels was around 55. Once again bearing in mind the number of variables involved in establishing vowel length, these figures seemed balanced enough as to not warrant any further investigation. If anything, it struck me as odd that there should be such a balance, as my expectation had been that there would be a greater disparity between the texts' internal sections. When we look at *ṭhumrī* from the angle of performance, the *sthāyī-antarā* distinction becomes highly relevant because in actual performance the *sthāyī*, particularly its first line, receives a radically disproportionate amount of attention. It was this very fact that had led me to carry out the earlier *sthāyī-antarā* based analysis in the first place, as I had wrongly surmised that the weighting of performance would somehow be reflected in the metric weighting of the texts. The more detailed metric analysis that I carried out later also suggests that in terms of prosodic structure there is no significant difference between *sthāyī* and *antarā* in *ṭhumrī*.

Snell (1983) addresses the problems encountered in the metrical scanning of poetry that is primarily meant for performance, and discusses the relationship between metre and *tāl* in the performance of devotional poetry. He has found that metric idiosyncrasies are often easily explained when the poems are

considered in their performance context. This finding is almost the opposite of the situation with *ṭhumrī*, where any hint of a metrical structure on paper is obscured in the context of performance. This disparity probably stems from the fact that the *padas* of devotional poetry are first and foremost poetry - albeit transmitted in an oral idiom. All poems analysed by Snell are part of one corpus and were most probably created by the same poet. The poems are therefore more likely to follow a recognisable pattern or conform, however loosely, to some kind of underlying structure. This point is also relevant to the findings of Smith, who in his restoration of the *Viśāḍadevarāsa* suggests three processes by which deviant metres can be made to conform (1976:10).

Although all three processes employed by Smith are relevant to the present study, his objective was to discover the underlying structure of an apparently unstructured and haphazard collection of poetry. However, his collection, like Snell's, does ultimately belong together, and at least the assumption can be made that an underlying structure is present. Such faith would not be appropriate in the analysis of *ṭhumrī* texts, which are not part of a larger corpus, which were not created at the same time by one or a limited number of authors, and whose shape is continuously being redefined in performance by skilled vocalists.

Although in general huge allowances must be made for deviation, in most *ṭhumrīs* we can discern some underlying metrical structure. In the above mentioned study by Smith it was found that for the sake of metrical conformity it was often necessary to modify certain spelling forms and omit certain words. Furthermore, a phonologically short vowel followed by a conjunct consonant (or a consonant preceded by *m*) was frequently found to be metrically short, and the word *re* regularly required excision (1976:10). Smith observes: 'Most significant was the consistency with which the majority of these operations proved to be necessary; most occurred over and over again, some at every point where it was possible to apply them.' Such frequent alterations can be allowed for with some degree of certainty when a text indicates that there is a prosodic structure to conform to, but in *ṭhumrī* each text needs to be considered in its own right. Some of the problems concerning metric analysis of *ṭhumrī* texts are discussed below. These mainly involve 1) variable renditions of the same text, sometimes showing substantial alterations, and 2) frequent use of filler-words and stock-phrases.

3.2.5 Alternative renditions of the same text

A24.1 conforms loosely to a 16-12 metre, which is the format of the traditional pada-metre *sār* which occurs frequently in devotional poetry. However, in the conventional manner of writing down *ṭhumrī* texts the line with the 16-12 mātrā format is in fact treated as two separate lines. The resemblance to the *sār* metre is probably less relevant than the overall usefulness of a 16-mātrā structure, which fits in with, among others, the commonly used *jat tāl* (16 beats), *sitārkhānī tāl* (16 beats), or *kaharvā tāl* (8 beats); it also conforms to *tīntāl* (16 beats), although that *tāl* is not generally used in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*.

A24.2 has a less discernible structure. The third line of A24.2 provides a good illustration of two points discussed earlier: as the line falls into two rhyming parts, it could be argued that these should in fact be two distinct lines, which would then have identical scansion if *nā* is counted as short and the word *aba* (a common makeweight) were removed.

A24.1

— — — ॐ — — —
जावो बालम नाही बोलो
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — —
अब हमसे जिन बोलो ॥
ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — —
हमसे कपट अब करत नित छैला
ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ —
नित सौतन घर जाय रे ॥

A24.2

— — — ॐ — — — ॐ —
जावो बालम नाही बोलो हमसे
— ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — —
सौतन घर जाय नित छैला ॥
— — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — ॐ — ॐ
ऐसी लगावत अब मोहे ना भावत
ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — —
तुम तो हरजाई नित छैला ॥ ३

³Both texts (A24.1/2) were sung in rāg Khamāj.

A further example of the phenomenon in which one version of a text appears to have a more tightly defined structure than others is found in A37.1-3. The sthāyī of A37.1 follows the 16-12 format we saw in the example above; A37.2 is arranged in such a way that it neither follows the 16-12 structure nor the corresponding rhyme scheme, whereas A37.3 loosely fits the 16-12 format.

37.1

ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — — ॐ
नदियाँ किनारे मेरो गाँव
ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ
कब उत अइहो घनश्याम ॥
— — — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — —
मोरे पीछे वन कदम की छैया
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ
ललिता सखी मेरो नाम ॥

37.2

ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — — ॐ
नदियाँ किनारे मोरो गाँव ॥
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — — —
नदियाँ किनारे कदम की छाया
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ
ललिता सखी मोरो नाम
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ
कब आइहो घनश्याम ॥

37.3

ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — — ॐ
नदिया किनारे मोरा गाँव
ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ —
तुम अइहो घनश्याम रे ॥
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — — —
नदिया किनारे कदम की छैया
ॐ ॐ — — — — ॐ
ललिता मोरा नाम ॥ ⁴

⁴All three texts (A37.1-3) were sung in rāg Pīlū.

We are again confronted with a situation where different versions do not conform to a possible model; if the objective of this study were to arrive at a critical edition of *ṭhumrī* texts - if indeed such an objective would be viable at all - then we could hazard a guess that the more structured version of the text would possibly be more authentic than the other versions which we would then perhaps consider to be 'deviant'. However, the written records of *ṭhumrī* lyrics that are available are usually based on musical transcriptions⁵ and so only record one particular performed instance of a text, offering a snapshot rather than a blueprint. It is possible that due to human error, or the desire to simplify the complexities of *ṭhumrī* in performance, the picture offered by written records is sometimes distorted. Let us consider this point in the context of the second problematic area of the metric analysis of *ṭhumrī* texts.

3.2.6 Use of filler-words and stock-phrases

Having argued that there cannot be a justifiable search for an ur-text or authentic original, I still think it is both valid and useful to make a distinction between the basic text and the text as it appears in performance; this will, among other things, shed light on how the singer engages with the text in performance. Such a distinction need not imply a value-judgement, nor does the text outside of performance need to be considered more authentic: it is more a question of trying to disentangle the material with which the singer started, from the finished, performed product. Part of the value of such an exercise is that it demonstrates how the text actually lives in performance; another is that it gives us an opportunity to explore whether a makeweight such as *re* may not, in fact, be an integral part of the text - 'text' here being defined as the song as it exists in a particular singer's repertoire at a particular moment in time. Musical and emotive elaboration on a text is a fundamental characteristic of *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, and so an interjection like *re* or a vocative *sakhī* or *morī ālī*, which may be considered filler-words in other genres or in written poetry, may become charged with emotional expression.

In all recorded versions (A.231-4) of the following text the word *to* in the first line is not only present, but is given pride of place, being the last word of the

⁵Most anthologies do not declare their sources, but the compilers are usually either musicologists or musicians who have collected a number of texts and include basic musical transcription in their books. Their versions of texts should perhaps not be considered any more authentic than, for example, a contemporary transcription of an older recording.

mukhyā before the *sam pi*. The version as it appears in C9 (A23.5) omits *to* in line 1, *hī* which appears in line 3 of A23.2, as well as lines 2&4 of A23.3:

A23.2

— — उ — — — उ — — उ — —
जागो परी मैं तो पिया के जगाए ॥
उ — — उ — — उ — — उ — —
इन नैनन में नींद कहाँ है
उ — — उ — — उ — — उ — —
जिन नैनन में आप ही समाये ॥

A23.3

— उ — — — उ — — उ — —
जाग पड़ी मैं तो पिया के जगाए
— उ — — उ — — उ — —
भोर भई अब सैयाँ घर आए ॥
उ — — उ — — उ — —
उन नैनन में नींद कहाँ है
उ — — — —
अब मोरे राजा
उ — — उ — — उ — —
जिन नैनन में आप समाए ॥

A23.5

— उ — — उ — — उ — —
जाग परी मैं पिया के जगाये ॥
उ — — उ — — उ — —
उन नैनन में नींद कहाँ है
उ — — उ — — उ — —
जिन नैनन में आप समाये ॥ 6

The scansion of A23.5 weights all vowels in accordance with convention, other than *maī* and *ke* in line 1 which are both read as short. A23.5 thus displays regularity of scansion, in terms of both the line totals and their internal structure. But whether or not this confirms upon it the status of being a more authentic version of this text is a moot point. As description rather than establishing a definitive truth is our objective, it perhaps suffices to say

⁶A23.2 and A23.4 were sung in rāg Mañj Khamāj; the written text A23.5 is set to rāg Jhinjhoṭī.

that some texts appear to have versions which show more metric regularity than others.

3.3 Ṭhumrī in performance

Having seen some of the ways in which ṭhumrī as a written item can be at variance with its identity as a performed text, it will be useful to observe in detail what actually happens to a text in performance. The transcription below is based on musical performance, and demonstrates the vast difference between written and performed ṭhumrī texts; it offers an isolated and unique representation of the text, as even the same artist is unlikely to perform this ṭhumrī in exactly the same order again.

The text used upon which the performance (A1.1) is based is as follows:

उ उ — उ — — — — उ
 अखियाँ रसीली तोरी श्याम
 — उ उ उ उ — — उ
 मोहत ब्रिज की बाम ॥
 उ उ उ उ उ उ उ उ उ उ उ उ — उ उ
 जेही चितवत तेही बस कर डारत
 — उ — उ उ उ — उ
 मोल लेत बिन दाम ॥ ७

The sthāyī of this text follows a 16-11 metrical pattern, with 20 and 11 mātrās in the third and fourth line respectively. If *jehī* and *tehī* are read as consisting of short mātrās only, the third line has 16 mātrās. The format of the text is then 16-11,16-11. The text is set to an AABA rhyme scheme, with the third line showing a measure of internal rhyme with the words *jehī* - *tehī*, as well as with the *-ata* endings of the verbs. As the third line is disproportionately long, a separation into two lines could be considered. A grammatical split of the third line would result in a) *jehī citavata* and b) *tehī basa kara ḍārata*, in which the relative and correlative clauses are separated, giving a reading of 8/12 mātrās (6/10 in the alternative scansion). In performance the correlative *tehī* is always tagged on to the first clause *jehī citavata* (see lines 35 and 38 of the transcription); scansion based on this gives a reading of 12/8 (8/8). The alternative reading of the third line then provides a more balanced division of the line as it actually occurs in performance. This suggests that ṭhumrī texts

⁷Rāg Miśra Tilāṅg - tāl dīpcandī. Performed by Girija Devi.

may be subject to a level of metric conformity, both in their written form and in performance. However, as the following transcription indicates, such conformity is haphazard at best.

In the following transcription of a musical performance, this text is sung over 49 rhythmic cycles, in which the first line receives approximately 60% of the attention, the second line 20%, and the third and fourth lines 10% each. The first syllable of the word *śyāma* coincides with the start of the rhythmic cycle. The inherent *-a* is not pronounced on 5 occasions: *śyām* in lines 3 (twice) and 5; *bām* in line 12; *mol* in line 43. This variant pronunciation has been indicated with a *virām*. The line breaks below are based on *tāl*; the first syllable of every line is the first syllable of every cycle. The first three rhythmic cycles have been broadly transcribed with *tāl* in order to illustrate the loose structure of *bol banāv ṭhumrī* performance. The transcription follows the musical convention of not allocating the textual syllables to exact beats in *vilambit* (slow) tempo compositions.

Dīpcandī:

X 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

श्याम -- -- -- -- रसीली तोरी श्या -- -- -- म -- -- अँखिया रासीली तोरी
 श्याम -- -- -- श्या -- -- -- -- म हो श्या -- -- -- म -- -- अँखिया -- --
 रासीली तोरी श्याम् रासीली रे -- तोरी श्याम एरी अँखिया रासीली तोरी
 श्याम

In the above transcription we find that the third cycle continues the musical elaboration from the previous one, without resolution on *sam*. Resolution on the *sam* is always accomplished by the *mukhrā ākhiyā rasīlī torī śyāma*, with the first syllable of *śyāma* landing on the *sam*.

- 1 श्याम रसीली तोरी श्याम अँखिया रसीली तोरी
- 2 श्याम श्याम हो श्याम अँखिया
- 3 रसीली तोरी श्याम् रसीली रे तोरी श्याम् एरी अँखिया रसीली तोरी
- 4 श्याम अँखिया रसीली रसीली रे रसीली
- 5 तोरी श्याम श्याम रसीली तोरी श्याम् अँखिया रसीली तोरी
- 6 श्याम श्याम तोरी श्याम तोरी श्याम अँखि
- 7 या रसीली तोरी श्याम रसीली तोरी श्याम अँखिया रसीली तोरी
- 8 श्याम (instrumental interlude)

- 9 ओ अँखिया रसीली अँखिया रसीली
- 10 रसीली तोरी श्याम तोरी श्याम अँखिया रसीली तोरी
- 11 श्याम मोहत मोहत मोहत
- 12 ब्रिज की बाम् बाम बाम मोहत रे ब्रिज की
- 13 बाम ब्रिज की बाम मोहत ब्रिज की
- 14 बाम मोहत ब्रिज की बाम एरी अँखिया रसीली तोरी
- 15 श्याम हो अँखिया अँ
- 16 खिया रसीली रसीली रसीली तोरी श्याम अँखिया रसीली तोरी
- 17 श्याम (instrumental interlude) ओ अँखिया
- 18 रसीली रसीली अँखिया रसीली श्याम रसी
- 19 ली तोरी श्याम रसीली तोरी श्याम श्याम एरी अँखिया रसीली तोरी
- 20 श्याम (instrumental interlude)
- 21 श्याम श्याम रे रसीली तोरी अँखिया रसीली तो
- 22 री अँखिया रसीली रसीली तोरी श्याम हो अँखिया रसीली तोरी
- 23 श्याम श्याम तोरी श्याम
- 24 तोरी श्याम अँखिया रसीली रसीली रसीली तोरी श्याम रसीली तोरी
- 25 श्याम श्याम हो रसीली तोरी श्याम एरी अँखिया रसीली तोरी
- 26 श्याम (instrumental interlude)
- 27 श्याम अँखिया अँखि
- 28 या रसीली रसीली रसीली रसीली रे रसीली तोरी तोरी तोरी
- 29 श्याम श्याम श्याम मोहत ब्रिज की बा
- 30 म मोहत मोहत मो मो
- 31 हो तोरी मोहत ब्रिज की बाम बाम रे ब्रिज की बा
- 32 म ब्रिज की बाम ब्रिज की बाम आ अँखिया मोहत ब्रिज की
- 33 बाम बाम ब्रिज की बाम एरी अँखिया रसीली तो
- 34 री श्याम तोरी श्याम श्याम तोरी तोरी तोरी
- 35 जेही चितवत तेही
- 36 बस कर डारत
- 37 जेही चितवत जे
- 38 ही चितवत तेही जेही चितवत तेही जेही चितवत तेही जेही जे
- 39 ही चितवत तेही आ बस बस कर डारत रे बस कर डा
- 40 रत बस कर डारत डारत डारत आ जेही चितवत ते
- 41 ही बस कर डारत रे
- 42 मोल लेत बिन दाम मोल लेत बिन दाम मोल लेत बिन दा
- 43 म मोल् मोल मोल लेत
- 44 बिन दाम मो
- 45 ल लेत बिन दाम मोल लेत बिन दाम अँखिया रसीली

- 46 तोरी श्याम श्याम हो अँखिया रसीली
 47 ओ रसीली तोरी श्याम तोरी श्याम तोरी श्याम श्या
 48 म श्याम तोरी श्याम एरी अँखिया रसीली तोरी
 49 श्याम

This transcription aims to give an impression of how bol banāv ṭhumrī is actually realised by the vocalist, thereby underlining the point that even if metric structure is present in the written text, this has no real value when it comes to assessing bol banāv ṭhumrī in performance, its natural habitat. Bol *banānā*, the creation of phrases in order to heighten the emotional and atmospheric effect of the ṭhumrī, does not lend itself to being bound by constraints such as metre.

Bandīś ṭhumrī on the other hand is, as the name suggests, more 'bound' and less flexible. Because of the greater symmetry and exclusively binary divisions of the tāls to which it is usually set, in combination with the speed at which it is usually sung, bandīś ṭhumrī is better suited to structural conformity than bol banāv ṭhumrī. Let us examine text B14.1.

— — — — —
 ना बोलो कान्हा हटो जावो रे
 — — — — —
 मोरी बहियाँ जनि छुवो बरजोरी
 — — — — —
 विनती करूँ मैं लागूँ पैयाँ ॥
 — — — — —
 कहत ननक सुन ली अरज
 — — — — —
 काहे करत इतनी गरज
 — — — — —
 जिन काँधा डारो गरे बहियाँ मोरी
 — — — — —
 अब ही उमर मोरी लरकैया ॥ ४

The three lines of the sthāyī have a scansion of around 18 mātrās each; the four lines of the antarā range from 13 to 21. The rhyme scheme excludes the first line, and then shows a pattern of ABCCAB.

⁸Rāg Miśra Khamāj - tāl ektāl. Performed by Purnima Chaudhury.

The transcription below of this text in performance illustrates that the first line tends to be repeated in its basic form, and shows the rhythmic elaborations that are associated with the genre, such as the two *tihāyīs* (phrases repeated three times) in lines 11-12, and 15. This text underscores some of the points previously discussed: the question of filler-words and how they are identified is salient, as is the issue of transcribing short vowels as long depending on how they are realised in performance. The word *re* occurs following *jāvo* in each instance (i.e. *jāvo* never occurs without being followed by *re*) and is therefore taken as being an integral part of the basic structure of the text; *re* as makeweight appears on two occasions, in line 6 following *chuvo*, and in line 10 following *bolo*. The negator *na* is transcribed as *nā* in each instance, reflecting the emphasis given to the vowel by the singer, other than in its second appearance in line 10 where the de-emphasised *-a* contrasts with the strong *-ā* earlier in the line. This performance is set to fast (drut) *ektāl*, 12 beats; the line breaks conform to the structure of this *tāl*, with the first syllable of each line being the first syllable in a new cycle. The first 8 cycles of the *tāl* have been transcribed; because of the speed of the rhythm, the individual beats are subsumed in the overall movement of the cycles. The transcribed 8 cycles took 37 seconds in performance, an average of 4.6 seconds per cycle. In contrast, the 3 transcribed cycles of the *bol banāv ṭhumrī* took 56 seconds in performance, an average of 18.6 seconds per cycle, a quarter of the speed of the *bandīś ṭhumrī*.⁹

X 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

जा -- वो रे -- ना बोलो कान्हा हटो
जा -- वो रे (instrumental interlude)
जा -- वो रे -- ना बोलो कान्हा हटो
जा -- वो रे -- ना बोलो कान्हा मोरी
बहियाँ -- जनि छुवो मोरी
बहियाँ जनि छुवो -- रे -- मोरी
बहियाँ -- जनि छु -- वो बरजोरी
बिनती करूँ मैं लागूँ पैयाँ हटो
जा

⁹This is consistent with the fact that *bandīś ṭhumrī* is usually sung in *drut lay* (tempo), which is four times the speed of *vilambit* (slow) *lay*, in which *bol banāv ṭhumrī* is usually performed.

jā is sung on the sam and preceded by the mukhrā *haṭo* (except where there are instrumental interludes) in the first four cycles. In the next four cycles rhythmic elaboration continues without resolution on sam, which then recurs in the ninth cycle.

- 1 जावो रे ना बोलो कान्हा हटो
- 2 जावो रे (instrumental interlude)
- 3 जावो रे ना बोलो कान्हा हटो
- 4 जावो रे ना बोलो कान्हा मोरी
- 5 बहियाँ जनि छुवो मोरी
- 6 बहियाँ जनि छुवो रे मोरी
- 7 बहियाँ जनि छुवो बरजोरी
- 8 बिनती करूँ मैं लागूँ पैयाँ हटो
- 9 जावो रे ना बोलो कान्हा हटो
- 10 जावो रे ना बोलो न बोलो रे
- 11 बिनती करूँ मैं लागूँ पैयाँ हटो
- 12 लागूँ पैयाँ हटो लागूँ पैयाँ हटो
- 13 जावो रे
- 14 कहत ननक सुन ली अरज
- 15 कहत ननक सुन ली अरज सुन ली अरज सुन ली अरज
- 16 काहे करत इतनी गरज
- 17 जिन काँधा डारो गर बहियाँ मोरी
- 18 अब ही उमर लरकैया मो
- 19 री अब ही उमर लरकैया
- 20 जावो रे ना बोलो कान्हा

Even though the discrepancies between the text as written and performed item are smaller than in the example of *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, this transcription nevertheless demonstrates how performance tends not to conform to the shape of the text as it exists on paper. As the text in performance is somewhat consistent with the written version, some of the issues involved in the study of *bol banāv ṭhumrī* (such as the frequent reliance on filler-words) do not arise. However, in terms of the present discussion of metre, the point remains that even when a *bandīś ṭhumrī* text has a fairly regular metric structure on paper, this structure is not maintained in performance.

3.4 Poetic devices used in *ṭhumrī*: rhyme

In the preceding section we observed that *ṭhumrī* texts in their entirety rarely display strict metric structure. However, we do find certain regularities in smaller segments of text. It is worth enquiring what the internal relationship of these segments is, given that they do not usually relate to each other in terms of their metric structure. Rhyme, and especially end-rhyme, is a poetic device whose effectiveness in a text is dependent on the larger structure of the whole text, or by the structuring of the larger components which relate to each other through their rhyme. The functions of alliteration and assonance, and also internal rhyme, are more important with regard to the internal relationship of the components of the text than they are with regard to the text as a whole. On the one hand we might assume that a *ṭhumrī* text would be more likely to rely on alliteration and assonance, as it is often the smaller components rather than the entire text which shape the *ṭhumrī*; on the other hand it could be argued that in the absence of a metrical structure a binding agent such as a strong rhyme scheme is of crucial importance. At the same time, the performance transcriptions in the preceding section demonstrate that *ṭhumrī* - and particularly *bol banāv ṭhumrī* - in its written form is structurally quite distinct from its shape in performance; end-rhyme relies on structural regularity of a kind largely absent in *ṭhumrī*, and, as the preceding performance transcriptions indicate, existing end-rhyme in the written text is not necessarily emphasised in performance.

The problem of how to interpret the performed text for representation on the written page is salient when it comes to assessing rhyme. For instance, when the penultimate word of a line receives emphasis in performance (as the vehicle for the stressed beat *sam*) and rhymes with the very last word of another line, should we then consider that end-rhyme? We are faced with two aesthetics, one determined by the written text and one by the performance-based transcription, each having its own particular requirements. Where do these two aesthetics meet?

A survey of the main corpus indicates that, even when disallowing non-rhymes such as repetitions of the same word, and bearing in mind that certain cases are unclear due to the problems involved in writing down the performed text, some three-quarters of *bol banāv* texts involve end-rhyme in the written text. In most of these instances, the rhyme-scheme includes the first line of the text. In more than half of the texts the first line rhymes with the

last line, regardless of the number of lines; in approximately half of these texts, there is at least one more instance of the same rhyme present in the text. There are a few instances in the main corpus of a bol banāv text in which all lines rhyme with each other (for example A23 and A75.2/4), and there are five examples of a pattern involving all the lines and two rhymes: the pattern ABBA occurs in A40, A41, A75.1/3 and A77, and ABBAA occurs in A21. It therefore appears that when rhyme is present, it is more important for the first and last lines to rhyme than for any other lines to be involved in the rhyme scheme. If we glance back at the transcription of ṭhumrī in performance, as well as earlier observations regarding line breaks, it becomes evident that a fairly consistent pattern in ṭhumrī performance is the immediate return to the first line after the last line has been sung. In this light it is clear that a rhyme scheme involving the first and last lines is the most preferable: the circularity of performance is reflected in and marked by the rhyme.

With its formal structure, its length and its reliance on rhythmic rather than melismatic elaboration, bandiś ṭhumrī would seem a suitable vehicle for rhyme. Some three-quarters of bandiś ṭhumrī texts in the main corpus display end-rhyme, but the rhyme schemes of the texts do not appear to conform to specific models, as is elaborated by chart 1 in Appendix 2. The majority of instances involve one rhyme combination only ('A'), combined with other non-rhyming components. Most texts involve some lines that do not rhyme with anything else: in only three instances are all the lines of the text involved in the rhyme scheme (B5, B27, and B28). As in bol banāv ṭhumrī, over half of the texts have a rhyme scheme in which the first line rhymes with the last line.

For end-rhyme to achieve optimum effect, the rhyming components need to receive a certain amount of emphasis in performance - be it sung or recited. The stressed beat sam of the tāls used in Hindustani music lends itself well to this purpose, and in most cases the first part of the rhyme scheme will be sung on this stressed beat. If the rhyme scheme is to be exploited to the full, the other parts of the rhyme would ideally also be sung - at least on occasion - on the stressed beat. Although this is indeed frequently the case in bandiś ṭhumrī, in bol banāv ṭhumrī performance this often does not happen. Let us compare typical excerpts from two renditions of a text, both performed in dīpcandī; in the first rendition the speed is some 13 seconds per cycle, whereas in the second version the speed is roughly 18 seconds per cycle. In both performances, the sam is resolved on *nai(na)*. The inherent -a in *naina* is

frequently omitted, especially in the first version. As before, the following transcriptions do not allocate the textual syllables to exact beats, and should be considered close approximations, intended to demonstrate how the text is placed in the overall tāl cycle.

रस के भरे तोरे नैन
अब सवरिया ॥
दिन नहीं चैन
रात नहीं निंदिया
जागत बीती सारी रैन ॥¹⁰

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

नैन	अरे सवरिया	सवरिया -- --
-- -- -- -- --	मेरे अरे	रसके भरे तोरे
नैन	अब सवरिया	सवरिया -- --
-- -- -- -- --	अरे हो सवरिया	रसके भरे तोरे
नैन (instrumental)	सवरिया -- -- -- -- --	
-- -- सवरिया	रस के भरे	एरे भरे तोरे
नैन (instrumental)	अब सवरि -- -- -- या --	
सवरिया -- -- -- -- --	सवरिया -- -- -- -- --	
अरे हो सवरी -- --	सवरी -- -- -- -- --	
अब सवरिया	हो सवरी -- सवरिया --	रसके भरे तोरे
नैन		

रस के भरे तोरे नैन
आ जा साँवरिया तोहे गरवा लगा लूँ ॥
दिन नहीं चैन रैन नहीं निंदिया
नाहीं परत मोहे चैन॥¹¹

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

नै -- न	नै -- न	सावरिया --- तोरे
नै -- न	तोरे नै -- -- न	रस के भरे तोरे
नैन	नैन --	सावरिया सावरिया --

¹⁰Text A62.1: rāg Bhairavī - tāl dīpcandī; Rasoolan Bai: EMI cassette STC6109.

¹¹Text A62.2; rāg Bhairavī - tāl dīpcandī; Girija Devi: Music Today cassette B93005.

सावरिया तोरे नैन तोरे नै -- न रस के भरे तोरे
 नै -- न (instrumental) आ सावरिया -- रस
 के भरे तोरे नैन -- भरे तोरे नैन रस के भरे तोरे
 नैन

In A62.1 the last word *raina* is sung on the sam once, in the fast part at the very end of the performance, followed some 6 seconds later with the sam on *naina* of the first line, which falls on the sam throughout. In A62.2 only *naina* of the first line is sung on sam, whereas its rhyming-partner *caina* is never stressed in this way. It becomes clear that even when a rhyme scheme does exist a vocalist will not necessarily take the opportunity to exploit it. The fact that some of the most popular *ṭhumrī*s do not employ any rhyme scheme further suggests that end-rhyme is not considered a vital aspect of *ṭhumrī* in performance. It is possible that this apparent lack of interest in rhyme is due to the ever-slowng pace of the vilambit aspect of Hindustani music; some of the *ṭhumrī*s we hear today are likely to have been performed in a much faster lay previously¹², in which case there may well have been emphasis on the rhyme existent in the text. The co-existence of texts with and without rhyme schemes suggests that rhyme is a desirable but by no means essential feature of *ṭhumrī* texts. It is likely that the basic norm or expectation of a rhyme scheme has been eroded by performance practice, resulting in texts in which the rhyme has been lost as well as texts in which - perhaps following the precedent of the former - rhyme has not been included in the first place.

If we look at some of the occurrences of end-rhyme in bol banāv *ṭhumrī* (as set out in chart 2 in Appendix 2), we observe that rhyme involving *śyāma* is the most common, appearing 17 times, often with more than one rhyme-partner. *Caina* is also a popular rhyme, occurring 8 times. Both words are eminently suitable for having a rhyme scheme built upon them in *ṭhumrī*: they are easily associated with a romantic mood, and have a number of potential rhyming-partners equally well-equipped for providing atmospheric flavour: *bāma*, *dhāma* and *nāma*, and *raina*, *naina* and *baina* respectively. Phrases including those words lend themselves well to the expressions of love, longing and frustrated desire that constitute the majority of bol banāv

¹²Old recordings certainly suggest this; the vilambit portion of performance in most genres of Hindustani music, including *ṭhumrī*, appears to have slowed down considerably in the past 50 years or so.

ṭhumrī texts, and as a result of their relative frequency as well as their predictable nature, soon become formulaic. Sometimes such formulaic phrases interact outside of the rhyme scheme: in A1.2 the *-āma* rhyme is not followed in the last line *nāhī parata jiyā caina*, but the latter phrase is within the confines of formulaic expectation (being itself part of a set of formulaic phrases involving the *-aina* rhyme), and fits quite well - especially in performance where the lack of rhyme is substantially less obvious than on paper. Similarly, the phrase *mohata brija kī bāma* in A2.1 actually constitutes a non-rhyme, as it is coupled with the phrase *byākula bhaī brija kī bāma*. It therefore appears that the atmospheric suitability of a phrase is equally important as, or even more important than, conformity to the rhyme scheme, and that the concurrence of these two components is particularly effective.

The confluence of mood and rhyme scheme is epitomised by those texts that rely on diminutives to provide the rhyme, as shown in the following example (A54):

मन मोह लिया
कान्हा ने बजाके बाँसुरिया ॥
मैं जात दधि बेचन
मैं तो भूलि गई
ब्रिज की जगइया ॥

In this text, the diminutive of *bāsurī* 'bāsuriyā' has been coupled with an unorthodox variation of *jaga* 'jagaiyā' for the sake of achieving end-rhyme, complementing *liyā* of the first line. In the process the masculine gender of *jaga* is adapted to the feminine which is the more common gender for diminutives. What is striking about the reshaping of words for the sake of rhyme when it occurs in ṭhumrī is that it is structurally unnecessary: there is no existing metre or rhyme scheme that deviant words needs to be moulded into. The following list charts other instances in which diminutives interact with end rhyme:

A18	<i>chalabaliyā-nindiyā;</i>
A30	<i>gujariyā-cunariyā;</i>
A48	<i>citavaniyā-kaniyā-javaniyā;</i>
A71	<i>batiyā-ratiyā-ghatiyā;</i>
A75.1/3	<i>piyā-būdiyā;</i>
A75.2	<i>piyā-badariyā-ādheriyā-būdiyā;</i>
A75.4	<i>piyā-umariyā-javaniyā-būdiyā.</i>
B2	<i>khabariyā-nagariyā;</i>
B5	<i>kalaiyā-kanhaiyā-chatiyā;</i>
B8	<i>ḍagariyā-bajariyā-nagariyā;</i>
B11	<i>gaiyā-paiyā-jaiyā-dauraniyā-bahiṣā.</i>

The only example of the Avadhī long form being used in a rhyme scheme (*gavanavā-jobanavā*) occurs in A41.

Compared to the frequency with which diminutives occur in *ṭhumrī*, this relatively short list confirms that their existence has motivations beyond the demands of rhyme; at the same time, the fact that diminutives are incorporated into the rhyme scheme, in sometimes quite novel circumstances (such as A54, or the verb form *gaiyā* in B11), demonstrates the potential confluence of the thematic, atmospheric, and structural components of *ṭhumrī*.

3.5 Other devices

Poetic devices that affect smaller segments rather than the entire text regularly occur in *ṭhumrī*, as we would expect in a genre that relies on the repetition of phrases. The devices in the written text can be further accentuated in performance, in which the belaboured repetition of phrases for the sake of musical elaboration and emotional expression (in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*) or rhythmic elaboration (in *bandīś ṭhumrī*) can result in the poetic device being extensively exploited.

3.5.1 Internal Rhyme

Internal rhyme relies on small contiguous phrases. The rhyme-words either directly follow each other or are positioned at similar points in short parallel phrases. The rhyme words may not be given special emphasis in

performance, but their presence in frequently repeated segments contributes to the overall poetic ambiance of the *ṭhumrī*. In *bandīś ṭhumrī*, with its faster pace, internal rhyme serves to create a certain 'catchiness', a rhythmic rather than a poetic effect. The internal rhyme sometimes links up with the rhyme at the end of a line¹³, thereby creating a further sense of continuity, as in lines 5 and 10 of the following example (B11):

- 1 देखो मोरी चुरियाँ करक गइया
- 2 सैयाँ छोड़ो बैयाँ परत पैया
- 3 तोपै बल जैया
- 4 जागत ननदिया जेठनिया दौरनिया ॥
- 5 सब सिंगार लेहूँ उतार
- 6 अब की बेर राखो आध
- 7 बार बार मत पुकार
- 8 जागे अड़ोसी-पड़ोसी सगरे
- 9 चरचा करेगी नर नारी सारी
- 10 हूँ तो तोसे हारी अब देहूँ गारी
- 11 ऐसो पिया मोरी मान ले
- 12 सोवन दे दे
- 13 डारूँ गले बहियाँ ॥

The end-rhyme involving *-iyā / -āiyā* is followed internally in line 2 *saīyā* and *baīyā*; end-rhyme *-āra* is mirrored in *bāra bāra* in line 7; end-rhyme *-ārī* is also found in line 9 *nārī* and *hārī* in the following line, although one could argue that *hārī* in fact marks the end of the line and thus is involved in end rather than internal rhyme. A similar ambiguity is found in *siṅgāra* in line 5. The argument partially depends on what one considers to be the definition of a line (as discussed in section 3.2.1); that discussion does not affect the status of internal rhymes like *aṛosī-paṛosī* in line 8 or *nārī sārī* in line 9.¹⁴

An overview of the examples of internal rhyme in the main corpus (chart 3 in Appendix 2) indicates that this device is more common in *bandīś* than in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*. In the former, instances involving the rhyme *-ārī* seem to be

¹³This device, known as 'leonine rhyme', consists of the last word in a line echoing the last word before the caesura (Myers & Sims 1989: 260).

¹⁴This type of rhyme, which is invoked seemingly at random and not essential to the structure of the text, is a feature of the *kavitt* metre also.

particularly popular, exploiting the possibilities of semantically suitable words such as *kanhāī*, *laṛāī*, *girāī*, and *māī*. Words ending *-ārī* also feature frequently, with equally suitable possibilities such as *nārī*, *sārī*, *gārī* etc. In bol banāv ṭhumrī the occurrences are more haphazard; it does not seem as though internal rhyme is an obligatory feature of a text's structure, whereas bandīś ṭhumrī incorporates internal rhyme into the overall rhyme scheme. The slow and melismatic nature of bol banāv ṭhumrī would not benefit from the rhythmic effect achieved by internal rhyme.

3.5.2 Repetition of words

The repetition of a word at two separate points in a ṭhumrī usually enhances the sense of continuity, both on the phonetic and semantic levels. Repetitions often have a semantic motive: two situations, moods, or ideas are juxtaposed simply by changing one or two words in the original construction, as in the phrase *kāre kāre badarā kāre kāre kajarā* (A47) in which the double repetition of adjacent *kāre* intensifies the darkness that is described, and the parallelism of the two phrases juxtaposes the blackness of the cloud and the blackness of the lampblack in the heroine's eyes. The archetypal but unstated parallel is between darkness and Krishna, who by virtue of his dark skin and the blackness described in the text is present in virtually every syllable of these parallel phrases.

Examples of repetition are set out in chart 4 in Appendix 2. It may be observed that in bol banāv ṭhumrī, the repeated words often occur in different lines, creating continuity. In bandīś ṭhumrī this rarely occurs; instead, the repeated words are adjacent to each other, resulting in rhythmic rather than atmospheric effect.

3.5.3 Alliteration

The repetition of a consonant at the start of words or stressed syllables results in a similar, though more subtle, sense of continuity than the straightforward repetition of words. As shown in chart 5 in Appendix 2, most instances of alliteration involve two words. In the main corpus, the combination *brija bāma* occurs three times in bol banāv ṭhumrī texts and never in bandīś ṭhumrī. The word *bāma* in fact never appears in the main corpus without being preceded by *brija* or *brja*. The collocation of *bāsurī/baṁsī* and *bāj-/bajā-* occurs 6 times in the bol banāv texts of the main corpus, and once in bandīś ṭhumrī; *baṁsī/bāsurī* only rarely occurs without use of the verb *bajā-*, which itself is

always linked with either *bāṣī*/*bāsurī* or *muralī*, in the latter case losing the alliterative quality of the phrase. A combination of the verb *jā-* with *jala jamunā* occurs twice in *bandīś ṭhumrī* and once in *bol banāv*; *jala* occurs once in *bandīś ṭhumrī* without being part of this phrase, but not in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*.

3.6 Structure

In this section the focus is on 'structure' in the sense of 'structure as organisational principles within texts' (Finnegan 1992:166): considering a text's inner divisions and how these relate to each other. The structure of *ṭhumrī* texts is first of all determined by the *sthāyī*/*antarā* division, which in turn is determined musically. The second structural layer involves individual lines; the prosodic aspects of this layer have been considered in the preceding sections, as have the problems involved in deciding what actually constitutes a line.

3.6.1 Relationship between *sthāyī* and *antarā*: *bol banāv ṭhumrī*

In the approach in which *ṭhumrī* texts are assessed on the basis of performance, the main defining feature in the relationship between the *sthāyī* and the *antarā* is one of frequency: no matter how important the words of the *antarā* may seem on paper, it is the *sthāyī* that receives the vast majority of attention in performance - being both the material for continued repetition in the first part of the performance, and also the basis for the up-tempo and last part (*laggī*) of a *ṭhumrī*'s performance. The result of this situation is twofold: the *sthāyī*, and especially its first line where there are more, takes on the role of the identifier of the *ṭhumrī*, with its meaning to a large extent setting the scene for the entire text. The *antarā* is almost conspicuous by its absence during the usually lengthy extemporisation on the *sthāyī*. After this, when the *antarā* is introduced, it wards off the threat of monotony by plunging into the emotively charged upper reaches of the singer's melodic range and by fulfilling narrative expectation.

Although the *antarā* is often longer than the *sthāyī*, and so looks more imposing in writing, it is not nearly as important as the *sthāyī* in actual performance. It can, however, function as a kind of finale, with its implications largely depending on what has been set up in the *sthāyī*: does the *antarā* confirm or subvert an expectation; does it tell us something new or reinforce what we already intuitively knew; does it describe in more detail the

situation set out in the *sthāyī*, or does it explain a statement? In very broad terms we can distinguish two types of *antarā*. The first type has a discernible direct relationship with the *sthāyī*; this relationship is usually based on the narrative, but may be based on, or substantiated by, rhyme. The second type of *antarā* seems to have no particular relationship to the *sthāyī*, and textual cohesion consists mainly of the fact that the two components appear together. In Nāndev's *padas* (as discussed in Lath 1983), there seems to be a reservoir of 'floating' *antarās*, lines that appear occasionally with different *sthāyīs*. Sometimes the entire *antarā* is found with different *sthāyīs*; more commonly it is only one or two lines that move around. The meaning of the 'floating' *antarās* or lines is partially shaped by what precedes them, but the lines are usually sufficiently nondescript to not noticeably add to or subtract from what has already been established. Nowadays they sometimes function as material to fall back on in instances of memory-loss, as they are in the oral traditions studied by Lath. Although I have witnessed the same *sthāyī* being sung with different *antarās* by different performers, I have not heard the same performer singing different *antarās* on different occasions.

In the category of texts in which there is a clear relationship between the *sthāyī* and the *antarā*, the manner in which this relationship is expressed moves on a continuum from purely narrative to primarily based on rhyme - with the majority of examples situated in the middle. At the narrative end of the spectrum we find A4, in which the *antarā* clarifies the meaning of the *sthāyī* in a text that is largely devoid of rhyme, and in which there is no clear end-rhyme at all. The text begins with a warning '*āgana mē mata so*' and is followed in the *antarā* with an explanation as to what happened to the speaker in the past that makes her so cautious. This is an unusually narrative-based text, in which an actual story is being related. There is little difference between *sthāyī* and *antarā*, as the latter finishes off what has been started in the former. Moving along the continuum, we find in A38 that the heroine asks her husband's wife why she scolds her (*kāhe māre bola*), admitting in the last line of the *antarā* that her husband also is very offensive (*mārata hai baṛe bola*). In this example, the *antarā* is a continuation of the *sthāyī* as it continues the narrative, and arrives full circle in the last line by referring back to the expression used in the first line - *bol mārṇā*. In A50 the continuity is similarly provided by a continuing narrative as well as by a return to a phrase used in the opening line (*chūṭo jāya*). Moving away from narrative continuity we find examples such as A44, in which the relationship between *sthāyī* and *antarā* is

primarily defined by the rhyme scheme (*mānata nāhī - jānata nāhī*), and only to a lesser degree by the narrative which is, though consistent, non-specific in its common lament that the lover does not know how to behave. In such instances it is the rhyme scheme as well as the mood of the contents which provides the continuity from *sthāyī* to *antarā*.

In the second category we find numerous instances in which the relationship between *sthāyī* and *antarā* is less clearly discernible. Sometimes similar *antarās* are found with different *sthāyīs*; situating a number of instances together in a scheme gives us an overview of the fluidity of the components of certain *antarās*. It can be the entire *antarā* that is interchangeable, as between A24.1 and A26, but more commonly it is the individual lines of the *antarā* which move around in different combinations. The scheme below involves three texts, A1, A2 and A14, numbered 1-3 for the sake of the scheme: S denotes *sthāyī*, A denotes *antarā*. *Sthāyī* 3a and 3b share their first line but not the second line. 7 *antarā*-lines are identified, marked from 1-7.

S1	+	A1	+	A2
S1	+	A3	+	A4
S 2.(incl.A7)	+	A1	+	A5
S3a(incl.A7)	+	A3	+	A6
S 3b	+	A3	+	A7

S1 exists with two entirely different *antarās*, some of whose lines appear with other *sthāyīs*. A3 occurs with two different *sthāyīs* (S1 and S3), and, in the case of S3, is also followed by different lines. The line that follows A3 in S3b appears as part of the *sthāyī* in both S2 and S3a, indicating that the floating of lines can also occur in the *sthāyī*. What we may also infer is that it is the first line(s) of the *antarā* rather than the last line that is subject to being transported elsewhere. The second line of the *sthāyī* can also recur in different positions in other *ṭhumrīs*.

Locating ourselves within the one text (A14) gives us a further angle on the portability of the lines of some *ṭhumrī* texts. The main identifying feature of the text is the first line, especially in combination with the melody to which it is set. We shall also observe that the first line of the *antarā* is the same in all three versions. This *ṭhumrī* has four lines in two instances, and three lines in one version. The lines following the first line are labelled A-C.

<u>A14.1</u>	<u>A14.2</u>	<u>A14.3</u>
1st line	1st line	1st line
-	B.1	A
C	C	C
A	A	B.2

A14.1 and A14.2 are identical except that in A14.1 the second line of the *sthāyī* is absent. The last line of both these versions appears as the second line of the *sthāyī* in A14.3; the last line of the *antarā* of A14.3 occurs with a minor variation in line 2 of A14.2.

3.6.2 Relationship between *sthāyī* and *antarā*: *bandīś ṭhumrī*

So far we have only discussed the situation in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*. The structure of *bandīś ṭhumrī* texts tends to be more straightforward. The general presence of a rhyme scheme helps to create a more explicit structure than exists in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*. The question of floating or transposable *antarās* does not really arise because in most *bandīś ṭhumrī* texts the *sthāyī* and *antarā* are linked together through rhyme and narrative. It is indeed the former which allows for the particular structural unity of most texts, as they tend to be thematically similar. Some texts do have a climactic last line, in which the narrative culminates with some final, perhaps slightly risqué, statement or occurrence. Examples can be found in B12, in which the speaker relates Krishna's pranks, culminating in a last line in which he swears at her (*aura mukha se dīnī gārī*). In B11, the heroine tries to resist her lover throughout the lengthy narrative, but finally relents with the promise that if he lets her sleep now she may later embrace him (*ḍārū gale baīyā*). In B21, the heroine relates how Krishna assaulted her, finally running and jumping and tearing her blouse (*lapaka jhapaka corī phārī*). In B8, the heroine finishes off her complaint about the prankster Krishna with a threat addressed directly to him, warning that she will leave the town (*nāhī basū tyajū torī nagariyā śyāma*). In B27, the heroine tries to stop Krishna from hassling her in the street, ending with an exasperated affirmation of identity '*rādhā rānī mero nāma*'. The climactic value of the last line is open to interpretation and partially depends on the amount of musical enhancement the phrase is given in performance.

3.7 Conclusion

The question of how to commit texts which exist in performance to the written page for the sake of analysis is significant in all studies of

performance genres. When there is a clear metrical structure and/or a strong rhyme scheme, the written text unfolds somewhat more naturally than when such formal features are less clearly pronounced. In the present study, determining the written shape of *bandiś ṭhumrī*, by its very 'bound' nature, does not present the same difficulties as trying to establish the shape of *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, which, with its extemporisation relying on 'creating phrases', is marked by a creativity and fluidity that makes it particularly difficult to pin down. However, singers' notebooks and published anthologies confirm that certain conventions do exist; the popularity of texts in performed genres that have a clearly-defined written form, such as the *bhajan*, may have influenced conceptions of a basic model for written texts. In written *ṭhumrī* texts, all lines tend to be of more or less the same length, even if such structural conformity is not reflected in performance at all. It is then important to bear in mind that the *ṭhumrī* text which appears on the page as a relatively neat item of poetry is still first and foremost part of a performance genre; when comparing versions, for instance, the version displaying the most metric regularity and a tight rhyme scheme is all too easily identified as more authentic, but in the absence of diachronic evidence such judgements are not necessarily valid, nor particularly useful.

The haphazard presence and use of a rhyme scheme is central to the discussion of the dichotomous character of *ṭhumrī* texts, as written and performed items. In *bol banāv ṭhumrī* in particular we find the paradoxical situation in which the majority of rhyme schemes reflect the general performance pattern, but are then not necessarily exploited in performance. It is possible that contemporary performance practice has moved away from reliance on end-rhyme, whereas this used to be a more important aspect of performance which is still reflected in the texts. In *bandiś ṭhumrī* end-rhyme is less clearly moulded by performance practice, often relying on haphazard rhyme (e.g. A – A – A). In both forms of *ṭhumrī* it is extremely rare for all the lines to rhyme. Repetition of adjacent words and internal rhyme occur more frequently in *bandiś ṭhumrī*, enhancing the rhythmic elaboration which is its forte. Alliteration occurs in both genres; it is often found in formulaic phrases such as *brija (kī) bāma* or *jamunā jala*.

Ṭhumrī usually adheres to the basic *sthāyī* - *antarā* format; some *bandiś ṭhumrī* texts have more than one *antarā*. Apart from four-line *bol banāv* texts which usually have two lines in the *sthāyī* and two in the *antarā*, the *antarās*

of most *ṭhumrī* texts have more lines than the *sthāyī*. In performance, however, the first line of the *sthāyī* receives most emphasis in that it is repeated many times over, before the *antarā* is sung. The *antarā* is usually sung only briefly, and the last line may only be sung once. The shape of the text on the written page is therefore not representative of the relative weighting of *sthāyī* and *antarā* in performance.

Two broad categories of *sthāyī*/*antarā* relationship have been identified: one in which the two parts are clearly linked, with the *antarā* being a natural continuation of the *sthāyī*, the other with only a loose connection between the two parts, and sometimes including lines which have been moved around between texts. The first type of relationship between *sthāyī* and *antarā* can be appraised with reference to a continuum, with narrative continuity on one end and melopoetic structure (usually end-rhyme) on the other. Most texts are located near the midpoint of this continuum, with some narrative cohesion combined with a loose rhyme scheme. In *bandīś ṭhumrī*, transportation of lines rarely occurs; due to its fixed structure there tends to be less variation in performance, and texts are adhered to with greater consistency than in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*. The texts usually continue a narrative or description from the *sthāyī* through to the *antarā*, with the last line of some *antarās* having a climactic effect.

We have seen that structural discrepancies between the texts in their written and performed forms are compounded by the formal differences between the two types of *ṭhumrī*. Apart from being musically and formally distinct, *bandīś ṭhumrī* and *bol banāv ṭhumrī* tend to differ on a thematic level. The themes of *ṭhumrī* and their antecedents are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4: The Content of Ṭhumrī

4.1 The narrative voice of ṭhumrī

4.1.1 Introduction

Ṭhumrī is usually described as being sung from a woman's perspective, narrated in the first person; sometimes ṭhumrī is contrasted to the Urdu *gāzal*, which has a male narrator who is also the protagonist.¹ The presence of a male first-person narrator in the Urdu *gāzal* can be traced back to precedents existing in Arabic and Persian literature; in ṭhumrī the precedent is likely to be located in devotional verse, in which there is a long-standing tradition of the lyrical heroine expressing the pain of separation from her lover, as well as the joy of union. Rādhā in the *Gītāgovinda* voices such sentiments², and in later Braj Bhāṣā verse the poet-saint Mīrābāī describes her state of separation in imagery similar to that which we encounter in ṭhumrī³, echoed also by the poet Rahīm whose lyrical heroine expresses the same feelings⁴. The convention of the first-person female speaker is also found in (and perhaps based on) folk song and literature, most notably the *viraha-bārahmāsā* tradition in which a female speaker laments the absence of her mate against the backdrop of the changing seasons. Although this genre has its provenance in the folk tradition, it has been a popular part of Indo-Aryan literatures from the fourteenth century onwards (Vaudeville 1986:32). Vaudeville suggests that many instances of the folk variety of *bārahmāsā* songs are likely to have been composed by women, but the more literary exemplars were (and continue to be) written by men who followed the custom of inserting their name in the last line of the poem (1986:x).

¹e.g. Manuel 1989:18.

²For instance, in the sixth verse of the thirteenth song: 'The sweet spring night torments my loneliness - Some other girl now enjoys Hari's favor. Whom can I seek for refuge here? My friend's advice deceives me.' (Stoler Miller 1977:98).

³'*darasa bina dūkhaṇa lāgai naiṇa; jaba ke tuma bichure prabhu more, kabahū na pāyo caina*': 'Without a vision of you my eyes have begun suffering; since you left, my lord, I have found no comfort' (Snell 1991b:106-107).

⁴'*bina dekhē kala nāhina, yaha akhiyāna, pala pala kaṭata kalapa sō, aho sujāna*': 'Without seeing him there is no repose for these eyes; each and every moment passes like an age, O friend' (Snell 1991b:126-127).

A genre that was traditionally performed by songstress-courtesans and is, especially in the case of *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, characterised by emotional expression, is readily connected with femininity; this labelling is particularly appealing to those who wish to contrast the 'femininity' of *ṭhumrī* with the perceived masculinity of genres such as *dhrupad*⁵. For example, noted musicologist Premrata Sharma asserts that '... *thumri* is characterised by a striking note of tenderness and the theme of its songs is invariably related to some or the other phase of human love in a stage of separation or union. The *thumri* lacks that virility of musical expression associated with the *dhrupad* and *khyal* styles' (in Subramaniam, n.d.:109). It will therefore be instructive to ascertain whether the texts themselves confirm the first-person feminine narrative voice, especially in view of the fact that there is very little evidence to suggest that there were any female composers of *ṭhumrī*⁶. In this section I shall discuss the narrative voice of *ṭhumrī*, and the implications of this voice in a wider context.

4.1.2 Narrator

The clearest indication of the first-person narrative voice in *ṭhumrī* is the frequent presence of first-person pronouns. In *bandīś ṭhumrī*, the most commonly used pronoun is the possessive (*merā, mero*); in *bol banāv ṭhumrī* various pronouns are found in equal measure: the possessive, the direct and ergative (*maī*) and the oblique object (*mujhko, moko*, etc.). First-person singular verb forms are also found although they can not always be identified as such: the imperfective participle is ambiguous unless the auxiliary (*hū*) is present. There are some instances of texts with a third-person speaker, although these are a small minority. Some texts are ambiguous, although context may help to clarify the narrative situation. Based on the evidence supplied by the vast majority of *ṭhumrī* texts it seems reasonable to assume a first-person narrator unless there is an explicit contra-indication.

⁵The fact that *dhrupad* is traditionally only sung by men and is even nowadays rarely performed by women is further indicative of the process whereby the gender of the traditional performer becomes associated with the 'gender' of a genre. This process has been discussed at length in Hansen (1993, esp. pp.25-32).

⁶Considering the training high-class courtesans received in all aspects of culture and the fine arts, it is very likely that their education in poetry led many to write poems and other material themselves; unfortunately there is almost no record of this occurring.

4.1.3 Gender

In the absence of gendered pronouns, few of the above markers explicitly indicate the gender of the speaker. The verb forms usually employed in *ṭhumrī* are either the ungendered subjunctive-present or the imperfective participle *-ata*; the alternative form *-ati* which may indicate feminine gender rarely if ever occurs in *ṭhumrī*. Only the perfective participle shows subject-gender when it is in agreement with the (grammatical) subject. However, in almost all instances the gender of the speaker is clarified by the narrative. In the majority of texts, the person addressed or referred to by the narrator is Krishna or an unnamed lover; as the narrative is usually located in a romantic idiom, the feminine gender of the speaker may be assumed. Similarly, when the text addresses the flute, asking, for instance, 'why are you full of pride?' (A57), tradition dictates that the speaker is likely to be a jealous milkmaid in Braj. There are some texts, however, that are neither unambiguously situated within the Krishna-tradition, nor set in a romantic context. A brief appraisal of such texts in the main corpus will illuminate the various ways in which the gender of the speaker may be indicated.

Starting with the *bol banāv* section of the main corpus, we find two texts in which the female speaker is identified as such through the perfective participle: A3 '*bhūlī*', and A23 '*jāga paṭī*'. In A38 the opening word *nanadiyā* 'husband's sister' clarifies the gender of the speaker. A50 similarly opens with a familial term, *bābula*; although this term, meaning 'father', does not disambiguate the gender of the speaker, the use of the word *naihara*, 'mother's house', clearly indicates that the speaker is female, as this word is used by women to differentiate between their birth-place (MSH *māykā*) and their marital home (MSH *sasurāl*). In A35, the lament of being disgraced (*badanāma*) and stained (*dāga diyo*) is strongly suggestive of a woman speaking. A49 is an example of an ambiguous text in terms of narrative setting: a first-person speaker is not explicitly confirmed, and the text can be read as a woman speaking about herself, or a third person relating events happening to a woman. The gender of the protagonist is clear, however, from the presence of the *bājūbanda*, bracelet, and, in some versions, *acarā*, the hem of a sari. The only texts in which the gender of the speaker is altogether unclear are also the texts which have an explicit third-person narrator: A30 is a description of a young milkmaid, whereas A21 describes a woman who is very likely to be Rādhā (*gorī*, *kiśorī*). In both texts it is unclear whether the narrator is male or

female, and whether he/she is part of or outside the narrative.⁷ A73 is likely to have a third-person narrator, although the manner in which the state of the women of Braj is described suggests that the person speaking is female.

It can safely be concluded that in *bol banāv ṭhumrī* the vast majority of texts either explicitly or implicitly (through the relationship with the addressee, or as a logical conclusion on the strength of socio-cultural evidence) have a first-person female narrator.

In *bandiś ṭhumrī* there are almost no texts in which the narration is not explicitly in the first person, but, as with *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, there is not always clear evidence that the narrator is female. Assuming that those texts that address Krishna or an unnamed lover have a female speaker, we are left with a small number of texts in which the gender of the narrator needs to be assessed. In some texts the clarification is grammatical: B29 includes the phrase *mañ hārī*, indicating female narration, while in B18 a feminine adjective (*bāvarī-sī*) is applied to the narrator. In other texts it is the context that reveals the details of the speaker's identity: in B20 the narrator tells of her new wrap (*cunarī*) being stained with colour; in B23 the speaker hears Krishna's flute (this in itself is suggestive of a female speaker) whilst on her way to fetch water from the Jamuna, a task customarily carried out by women; in B5 we are told of the speaker's tender wrist (*narama kalāñ*) being caught, again suggesting that a woman is speaking. B26 is ambiguous, although locating the text in the *ṭhumrī*-universe strongly suggests that the person talking of her restless nights and longing eyes is a woman. Two texts are ambiguous in terms of both the identity and gender of the narrator. B10 describes a milkmaid being stopped by Krishna; in B10.2 the last line describes this milkmaid giving signs with her eyes, although it is unclear to whom: if she is signalling the speaker, he/she would then be part of the narrative, if it is Krishna at whom the glances are aimed, the speaker would remain outside of the narrative (*vide n.7*). Either way, the gender of the speaker is unclear. B22 describes Krishna playing his flute in Braj, thereby attracting gods and men, whereas his beautiful form causes the *sakhīs* to forget home and hearth. As in B10, neither the gender nor the narratological status of the speaker is clear.

⁷In narratological terminology, this is the distinction between the homodiegetic and the heterodiegetic informer.

In bandiś as well as bol banāv ṭhumrī, we find that when the narrative is in the third person it is usually unclear whether the narrator is male or female, and engaged in the narrative or not. There are only four texts with clear third-person narration in the main corpus; these texts are clearly more descriptive than other ṭhumrī texts and set in a perhaps more explicitly Krishnaite framework. B22 explicitly mentions Brindaban (although this is not unprecedented in ṭhumrī) and also ‘gods’, *sura*, giving the text a more overtly devotional tinge. A21 has been ascribed to the kathak dancer Binda Din Maharaj (1838-1918), and although the text is part of the bol banāv section of the main corpus, it is likely that it was part of a dance-related narrative, as it very expressively describes Rādhā’s movements. A30 is similarly descriptive, and is equally likely to have been written for dance. Even bandiś ṭhumrīs, which were used as vehicles for dance performances, are rarely descriptive in this manner, and these texts are therefore not representative of the ṭhumrī genre in terms of their narrative voice or the details of their content. The sanskritised vocabulary of A21 is also highly unusual. There is however no evidence to suggest that these texts were interpolated from, or modelled on, other genres, and their overall shape and mood does conform to the parameters of ṭhumrī.

So far we have established on the basis of textual analysis that the narrative voice in ṭhumrī is almost always in the first-person feminine. What then are the implications of this narrative position, especially considering the genre’s traditional role as a performance vehicle for songstress-courtesans?

In the pre-modern era, most courtesans sang a variety of genres, primarily ṭhumrī, *gazel*, and other ‘light-classical’ forms such as *dādrā*, *horī*, *kajrī* and *caitī*.⁸ However, ṭhumrī stands out today as being the genre most clearly associated with courtesan life, an association which has affected the overall position of the genre within the hierarchy of the Hindustani music world and also the genre’s development in both musical and textual terms. Some of the reasons for the disreputable reputation of the genre will be explored in the next chapter which discusses the context of ṭhumrī; these reasons include the problematic connection with dance as the consolidation of colonial rule in the second half of the nineteenth century meant that indigenous performance arts

⁸Chapter 6 discusses the use of the term ‘light-classical’ and gives descriptions of these genres.

were increasingly met with disdain in British and western-influenced quarters, and the gradual emergence of new patronage systems which aimed to glorify the eminence of India's cultural heritage and downplay its connection to *navābī* decadence. In the light of the present discussion of the narrative voice of *ṭhumrī*, we may postulate that one of the reasons that *ṭhumrī* has been considered the courtesan's genre *par excellence* relates to the consistent presence of a female speaker in its lyrics. Whereas *gazal* could distance itself from the courtesan tradition by virtue of its male perspective and its independent identity as poetry outside of a musical context, *ṭhumrī* had 'performance' as well as 'femaleness' woven into its basic structure, and could not escape the stigma that came to be attached to women performers.

Ṭhumrī is not the only genre with a female narrative voice; in devotional poetry the female voice is extremely common, and poets like *Mīrābāī* are sometimes considered to have had an advantage by not having to imagine themselves to be female in order to write their devotional poetry. However, there are few genres whose lyrics, like *ṭhumrī*'s, are almost exclusively written from a female perspective; the aforementioned *bārahmāsā* is one such genre, and although evidence suggests that its lyrical form has on occasion been part of courtesan performance, its inclusion was certainly not the norm. The female voice of *ṭhumrī* is often explained in the same terms as the female voice of *bhajans*: as metaphor for the longing of the soul for union with the divine. Such an explanation suggests that *ṭhumrī* is devotionally motivated like the *bhajan*, a view which some contemporary performers and patrons would like to propagate; although secular and religious sentiments invariably overlap, the predominantly secular context of *ṭhumrī* cannot be dismissed in its entirety. Moreover, a salient distinguishing feature of *bhajan vis-à-vis ṭhumrī*, and one it has in common with *gazal*, is that it has a life as poetry in its own right, whereas *ṭhumrī* achieves its full identity only in a musical context. A further significant attribute of *bhajans* is that they are usually associated with famous poet-saints like *Kabīr*, *Mīrābāī* and *Sūrdās*, whereas the *ṭhumrī* authors - whose names do not necessarily appear in the lyrics - use pseudonyms which commonly include the distinctive marker *piyā*, 'lover'.

Some of the earlier poets of *ṭhumrī* are still famous today. *Lalan Piyā* is known for excessive use of alliteration and other poetic devices; he is also credited with having composed *ṭhumrīs* in Sanskrit, even though such items are unlikely to ever have been performed. *Kadar Piyā* has been identified with

the last navāb of Avadh, Wajid Ali Shah, by Abdul Halim Sharar (1994:137), although Manuel claims him to have been the grandson of navāb Nasiruddin Haidar (1989:68), while Chander Shekhar Pant identifies him as Wazir Mirza from Lucknow, who lived from 1836 to 1902 (1973:16). We know for certain that Wajid Ali Shah did indeed write *ṭhumrīs* using the pen name *Akhtar* or *Akhtar Piyā*. Kūvar Śyām has been identified by Manuel (1989:69) as Gosvami Shrilalji, a sitarist and *ṭhumrī* composer who lived in Delhi at the end of the nineteenth century, although sāraṅgī and sursāgar player Mohammad Ali Khan of Delhi claims that that pen-name was used by his uncle, the sāraṅgī virtuoso Bundu Khan (1881-1955).⁹ A third version, recounted by Batuk Dewanji in Mumbai, identifies Kūvar Śyām as Lālji Mahārāj from Jaipur, the *mahant* of a temple. The singer and harmonium-player Bhaya Saheb Ganpat Rao (1852-1920) was the son of the Mahārājā of Gwalior and a *tavāyaf*, who trained him in *dhrupad* and *khyāl*¹⁰; he went on to learn *ṭhumrī* from Sadiq Ali Khan and Khurshid Ali Khan in Lucknow, and wrote *ṭhumrī* compositions using the pen name Sughar Piyā. Other recurring names are Sanad Piyā, Mādho Piyā, Cād Piyā and Raṅg Piyā, but little or no information is available as to the identities of these authors, and, as the above discussion regarding the identity of Kadar Piyā and Kūvar Śyām indicates, even the limited information available is not necessarily conclusive.

In the final analysis then we know very little of the composers of *ṭhumrī*, although Manuel's observation that they were likely to have been musicians first, and only secondarily poets, is probably valid in view of *ṭhumrī*'s primary status as a musical genre. What evidence we do have regarding *ṭhumrī* composers' identities further substantiates Manuel's premise. Although there is no intrinsic reason why women should not have composed *ṭhumrī*, we have no particular record of this apart from some written texts by Ālam, who is said to have been one of Wajid Ali Shah's wives, and the infrequent suggestion that certain *ṭhumrīs* may have been composed by the famous Gauhar Jan (1870-1930)¹¹. Whereas some contemporary female composers, such as Neela Bhagwat in Mumbai, write *ṭhumrī* from a female

⁹I obtained this information from Nicolas Magriel. Personal communication, Delhi, June 1997.

¹⁰Susheela Misra 1990:244.

¹¹Gauhar Jan, a courtesan of Armenian-Jewish descent who was based in Calcutta, was arguably the most famous Hindustani singer a century ago. She was one of the first musicians to be widely recorded in India.

and feminist perspective, previous female composers, assuming that they did exist, did not leave any distinguishing marks by which to identify their work.

As will be examined in detail in chapter 5, *ṭhumrī*'s original function as a vehicle for dance performance is one of the primary factors contributing to the stigma of the genre's association with courtesan culture. In his work with *tablā* players James Kippen was frequently confronted with evidence of the still-persisting stigma attached to association with courtesans:

'...during my stay in India I frequently heard talk of music having been 'debased' by its connection with *tawā'ifs*, and I continually came across references to the 'moral corruption' or 'moral degradation' involved in the 'disreputable occupation' of *tabla*-playing. This historical association with *tawā'ifs* has branded *tabla*-players with a stigma which still attaches today, although few actually perform, or are even in contact, with the small number of women still practising that profession. (...) The close association of *tabla* players with *tawā'ifs* is a highly emotive issue. When raised, the subject was guaranteed to strike deep chords of horror in most "decent" people I talked to, who found the matter embarrassing and inappropriate for discussion' (Kippen 1988:87).

Although not all *tablā*-players accompanied only courtesans, the association with the profession is evidently even today difficult to avoid, even though it seems that the *tablā* has to a large extent been able to redeem itself through its respectable function as an accompaniment instrument to the *sarod* and *siṭār* (which are not commonly associated with courtesans, but rather with world-famous musicians such as Ravi Shankar and Ali Akbar Khan). Redemption has not come so easily to the courtesan's other accompanying instrument, the *sāraṅgī*.¹²

The instruments as well as the genres that were part of the courtesan's performance were tainted by this disreputable association. But whereas *ghazal* could overcome this association by its male narrative perspective, and *bhajan* by having a clearly delineated religious context, and both genres were partially redeemed by their recognition as independent items of poetry, *ṭhumrī* did not have these redeeming qualities. The combination of its use as a vehicle for dance together with its predominantly female perspective have left

¹²The present-day status of the *sāraṅgī* and the way that the *sāraṅgī* tradition has been adversely affected by its customary association with courtesans has been discussed in Bor (1986/87), Wade (1994:104), and Magriel (forthcoming).

ṭhumrī unable to completely escape the stigma of being the ‘courtesan’s genre’.

4.1.4 Shift of Mode of Address

A feature of many ṭhumrī texts is that the mode of address shifts between addressees. Within the one text a number of people may be addressed, usually the male protagonist and the heroine’s friend. Sometimes the lyrical heroine appears to be addressing the audience of the ṭhumrī rather than a character from within the text. This feature is particularly appropriate to dance performances, in which the dancer acts out the narrative and its various modes. When a text does not clearly state its mode of address by including a pronoun like *tum* or a vocative such as *sakhī*, it can be unclear whom is actually being addressed. Such ambiguity can then be exploited in the narrative dance performance. Due to this connection with narrative dance the feature is more frequent in bandīś ṭhumrī, although it regularly occurs in bol banāv ṭhumrī as well.

In illustration, let us consider text B6:

- 1 कान्हा मैं तोसे हारी छोड़ो सारी
- 2 सुनो जी बिहारी देहूँ तोको गारी ॥
- 3 निस दिन छेड़ करत नाहीं जाने देत
- 4 पनघटवा की गैल सखी री
- 5 छोड़ो जी छोड़ो जी पट घूँघट ना उलटो
- 6 बिंदा सुनो नहीं माने देखे सब नारी ॥

Kanha, I am fed up with you, let go of my sari.

Listen, sir, Bihari, I will abuse you.

Night and day he harasses me, he won’t let me go
on the road to the water-well, friend.

Let go, sir, let go, sir, don’t lift up the cloth of my veil!

‘Binda’, listen, he doesn’t care, and all the women watch.

This text initially addresses Krishna by including his name (*kānhā*) and the second-person pronoun *tose* in the first line, and an imperative *suno* followed by his name (*bihārī*) in the second line. The third line is ambiguous in terms of who is being addressed, but the fourth line includes the words *sakhī rī*,

clarifying that the friend is now being spoken to. Line 5 is clearly addressed to Krishna once again (*choro jī*), whereas the last line addresses 'Binda' (the poet), describing Krishna's actions. Within six lines the mode of address has shifted from Krishna to the heroine's friend back to Krishna and then to Binda, the poet. Although the shifting mode of address is particularly clear in this text, it occurs in the majority of bandiś *ṭhumrī* texts as well as in some bol *banāv ṭhumrī* texts.

4.1.5 Characters

There are a few key players on the *ṭhumrī*-stage: along with the heroine/narrator we frequently encounter the heroine's female friend and the heroine's lover/husband, who may or may not be Krishna. When the heroine's female friend is involved in the narrative, the association with the Krishnaite tradition is so strong that it is almost impossible not to assume - where it is not already explicit in the text - that the lovers are indeed Radha and Krishna. The most frequent form of address to the friend is *sakhī*, 'woman's friend' or 'confidante', a word which has been adopted by certain Krishnaite sectarian groups as part of their doctrinal vocabulary and is inextricably associated with the Krishna tradition, even though it appears in non-Krishnaite poetry as well. However, it is not only the mention of the *sakhī* that suggests or confirms the presence of Krishna. In a third of bol *banāv ṭhumrīs* he is explicitly addressed or mentioned, most commonly as *sāvāriyā* or *śyāma*. In bandiś *ṭhumrī*, in which he appears in about a quarter of the texts, he is usually referred to as *śyāma*, *kānhā* or *kanhāī*. The choice of epithet may partially be influenced by the rhyme-scheme: when *śyāma* occurs in bol *banāv ṭhumrī*, it is usually incorporated in the rhyme-scheme, as is *kanhāī* in bandiś *ṭhumrī*. In about a fifth of both bol *banāv* and bandiś *ṭhumrīs* it is the lover/husband who is referred to, usually as *sāiyā*, *bālāma* or *piyā*. The degree of suggestion that the lover is Krishna largely depends on the narrative context: as explained above, the presence of a confidante usually implies a Krishnaite association, as do references to the river Yamuna, fetching water and selling curds, as these are all motifs familiar from Krishnaite mythology. Suggestions that the lover is of dark hue (*kāre*) or flirtatious in his manner (*bāke*) are likely to confirm his identity as Krishna. The extent of the association is of course also dependent on the mental disposition of the listener, and ambiguity is an inherent quality of the material. A28 illustrates

the ease of interchangeability: in virtually identical texts we find *piyavā* in the last line of A28.1, whereas in A28.2 this lover is called *śyāma*.¹³

Other personae in the *ṭhumrī*-universe are Krishna's flute, scolded for being haughty (A57) or held responsible for the heroine's infatuation (A56). The cry of the papiha-cuckoo reminds the lovelorn heroine of her beloved, so she tells the bird to be quiet (A45). Members of the heroine's family also play occasional roles. In *bandīś ṭhumrī* the married girl's adversaries in her husband's house often appear as a group: *sāsa nananda aura daurānī jeṭhaniyā* (B17). Ram appears in some *bol banāv* texts, though arguably as he is portrayed in *nirgun* poetry; the Ram of the *Rāmcaritmānas* features in certain anthologised texts, but is not heard in contemporary *ṭhumrī*. Renowned vocalist Girija Devi is adamant that a text involving Ram as god incarnate is automatically subsumed in the *bhajan* repertoire¹⁴. This may to some extent be a matter of opinion, but it does seem that the population of the *ṭhumrī*-universe is limited, and has perhaps narrowed down in the nineteenth century as the boundaries between *bhajan*, *ṭhumrī*, and other genres have solidified. This solidification and issues concerning generic definition and authenticity will be examined in chapter 6; for now suffice it to say that the tightening of generic boundaries is likely to have been influenced by socio-political as well as musical considerations, as the individual identities of genres became constructed on the basis of context and implied meaning as much as in recognition of innate attributes.

In her work on the theatrical form *Nauṭāṅkī*, Kathryn Hansen (1993) has examined the dynamic by which an art form becomes identified with the female gender, and consequently suffers devaluation and marginalisation in the same way that women in patriarchal society are relegated to the realm of 'other'. Vidya Rao, in her article '*Thumri* as feminine voice' (1990), argues that *ṭhumrī* can indeed be constructed as the feminine in Hindustani music, but not, as one would perhaps assume, due to its attractiveness and charm nor its emotionalism, and not even due to its female narration, but because it extends its boundaries within a limited space in the same way that, as Rao argues, women learn to assert their identities within the narrow parameters set by patriarchal ideology: 'because it so relentlessly questions the established order

¹³The motivations and consequences of such substitutions are further examined in chapter 5.

¹⁴Personal communication, Benares, Nov. 1996.

... I see *thumri* as deeply subversive' (Rao 1990:32). The preoccupation with exploring and extending the boundaries of *rāg* locates the genre at the height of accomplishment and competence for some. It takes great skill and intricate knowledge of *rāg* to be able to extend the boundaries without losing sight of a *rāg*'s core constraints. However, some critics suggest that it is precisely this freedom with *rāg* that prohibits the consideration of *ṭhumrī* as a fully 'classical' genre: one does not even have to confine oneself to the rules of *rāg* in order to be able to sing it. Rao argues that *ṭhumrī*'s supposedly female attributes are not relevant in a discussion of the genre's feminine voice, as in actual fact *ṭhumrī* is usually composed by men and may be, and nowadays often is, sung by men; she also proposes that as nobody could reasonably argue that women have a monopoly on sweetness and charm, these qualities of *ṭhumrī* cannot be considered inherently 'feminine'. Furthermore, the female longing and desire expressed in *ṭhumrī* is constructed in a patriarchal framework, and therefore does not contribute to the femaleness of the genre.

Rao argues her case well and raises many instructive points, but her appraisal of *ṭhumrī*'s feminine voice is ideologically slanted: whatever the correct assessment of the genre should be, evidence clearly indicates that *ṭhumrī*'s perceived femininity is located in its associative linking with courtesans, its romantic mood and its predominantly female narration. From a musical perspective, exploration of the limits of *rāg* – allowed and even encouraged in *ṭhumrī* – is not commonly perceived as a subversive quality but rather as more evidence of the genre's femaleness: it lacks the discipline and order of *dhrupad* and *khyāl*, and so is always in danger of being 'out of control', a quintessentially feminine attribute in patriarchal ideology. I suggest that the genre's first-person feminine voice is an important element of *ṭhumrī*'s identity.

The perception of *ṭhumrī* as a 'feminine' genre has not prevented male singers from performing it; in fact, *ṭhumrī* has arguably only been able to escape the stigma attached to courtesan culture because of the involvement of male singers from the beginning of the twentieth century. Early male singers of *ṭhumrī* were sometimes sons and certainly students of courtesans themselves. Best-known among the pioneers of male *ṭhumrī* are the above-mentioned Bhaya Saheb Ganpat Rao, who composed *ṭhumrīs* as *Sughar Piyā*, his student Mauzuddin Khan and Girja Shankar Chakravarty. Some very famous *khyāl* singers were also known for singing *ṭhumrī*: Abdul Karim Khan, Faiyaz

Khan, and Bade Ghulam Ali Khan were probably the most influential. Bade Ghulam Ali Khan's brother Barkat Ali Khan is widely recognised as having been the greatest exponent of the Panjabi style of *ṭhumrī*. It is recollected that audiences on occasion erupted in laughter when a male *ṭhumrī* singer sang of the pangs of separation without the (male) lover; such anecdotes underline the identification of the performer with the female voice of *ṭhumrī*.¹⁵ For this reason some male singers may try to restrict their *ṭhumrī* repertoire to third-person narratives, or those in which the narrative setting is ambiguous (such as A49). However, the identification of singer and heroine is much less obvious in a modern context, and many contemporary male performers may not consider the feminine narrative voice of *ṭhumrī* particularly problematic. The singer Munawar Ali Khan, for instance, sang many *ṭhumrīs* which conform to the standard first-person speaker; instances in the main corpus are A5, A8, and A32.

4.1.6 Conclusion

The notion of *ṭhumrī*'s 'feminine' nature may partly be the result of the genre's female first-person narrative voice, as *ṭhumrī* more than any other genre consistently expresses emotions from a female perspective. Although *ṭhumrī* was not the only genre performed by the *tavāyaf*, *ṭhumrī* is the genre which has most suffered the stigma of association with courtesan culture. As with the *sāraṅgī*, whose emotive sound reminds the popular imagination of its association with courtesans, *ṭhumrī*'s female and emotional expression keeps it conceptually bound to an environment that no longer exists. The voice of *ṭhumrī*'s lyrical heroine became embodied through the *tavāyaf*; the modern singer distances herself (or indeed himself) from the lyrical heroine's voice, and so from the tradition which nurtured the genre in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

The loosening of the relationship between performer and protagonist is part of a much larger process in which the contextual meaning of *ṭhumrī* has shifted. The narrative voice of *ṭhumrī* is allocated meaning by performer and audience alike; the identity of the woman whose voice is heard in the lyrics of *ṭhumrī* is constructed not only through the words of the songs, but also through commonly-held perceptions of the overall milieu of the genre.

¹⁵Such stories were told to me by Batuk Dewanji, connoisseur and patron of music, in Mumbai, January 1997.

Whereas the first-person female narrative voice of *ṭhumrī* is a constant, the interpretation of what this voice represents is affected by contextual association. In the course of the twentieth century *ṭhumrī* has moved from being a courtesan's genre to being performed by middle-class, 'respectable' women and men alike, and so the identification of the female voice with the performer has weakened. The reinterpretation of the feminine voice is only one small aspect of the reinvention of *ṭhumrī*'s identity, to whose thematic aspect we now turn.

4.2 Themes in *Ṭhumrī*

4.2.1 Introduction

In his discussion of the subject-matter of *ṭhumrī*, Manuel lists a number of categories of topics in *khyāl* and *dhrupad* texts, such as (royal) patronage, weddings, religious devotion, Krishna, and union with or separation from a lover.¹⁶ He observes that only the categories referring to Krishna and separation from or union with a lover are relevant to *ṭhumrī*, as the great majority of *ṭhumrī* texts are amatory (1989:7). The thematic content of *ṭhumrī* is indeed partly defined by the absence of certain topics that do appear in *dhrupad* and *khyāl*. Although exceptions can be found, it is possible to identify those themes that are generally excluded: in *ṭhumrī* religious topics do not usually appear, other than devotional themes involving Krishna and infrequently Ram.¹⁷ Texts invoking or describing other Hindu gods or goddesses like Shiva, Hanuman or Durga never occur, nor do texts with Muslim religious content. In his section on thematic differences between *bandīś* and *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, Manuel provides a chart detailing percentages of themes represented in the two genres. This chart indicates that the vast majority of *bol banāv ṭhumrīs* have the theme of 'longing, separation', whereas in *bandīś ṭhumrī* the most frequently recurring theme is that of Krishna teasing the milkmaids (1989:26). Although Manuel's chart provides an adequate summary of the thematic content of *ṭhumrī* - especially when considering that his study is primarily musicological - it lacks nuance.

¹⁶Manuel in turn takes this information from Meer 1980 and Wade 1984.

¹⁷See Girija Devi's comment on Ram in *ṭhumrī* in section 4.1.5.

Manuel's broad classification suggests that a large number of *ṭhumrī* texts have the same content; although this is true in general terms, each text does have its own particular motivation. The smallness of the variations between thematically linked texts provides an impetus to identify rather than gloss over the exact idiosyncrasies of each individual text. In the present section, a brief discussion of the Sanskrit literary model which classifies the numerous heroine-types of Indian art will help contextualise the relevance of nuance as found in the lyrics of *ṭhumrī*. In the aesthetic theories relating to *nāyikā-bheda* ('categories of heroine') an archetypal heroine may be described as 'a woman whose husband or lover has been unfaithful' (*khaṇḍitā*) or 'a woman disappointed by her lover's breaking his appointment' (*vipralabdhā*). The existence of such finely tuned specifications creates a framework in which to situate the nuances of *ṭhumrī* lyrics and provides a model – albeit not an exhaustive one – for the variety of emotional expression found in *ṭhumrī*. Whether or not a Sanskrit literary model *per se* has any direct bearing on the creation and performance of *ṭhumrī* is an area open to debate; I shall present diverging views on this subject, and discuss their implications.

The presence (implied or explicit) of Krishna in a large number of texts reflects the ambiguity between secular and devotional moods that is inherent in the subject-matter of Krishna and his love-sports. *Ṭhumrī* was performed at the courts by courtesans, in a predominantly secular context: its aim was to please its audience rather than to instil devotional sentiment. At the same time, many contemporary exponents interpret the lyrics as being devotional, emphasising that the 'lover' of *ṭhumrī* represents a god rather than a worldly relation.¹⁸ This ambiguity is far from particular to *ṭhumrī*, and is the subject of a long-standing debate on the relationship between worldly and religious sentiment in Indian art. In taxonomies of pre-modern Hindi literature, much emphasis has been placed on the distinction between devotional and secular trends; the separation of *bhakti kāl* and *rīti kāl* as proposed by Ramchandra Shukla in *Hindī sāhitya kā itihās* famously divides devotional and manneristic tendencies into two separate eras, with the transition taking place around the beginning of the seventeenth century. This division of periods is still widely adhered to in traditional Hindi sources, whereas (Western) scholarship

¹⁸Some performers have a particularly well-documented religious disposition. The late Siddheshwari Devi, for instance, is often upheld as an extremely pious woman, for whom all music, including *ṭhumrī*, was a religious practice.

prefers to locate both moods on a continuum, recognising that the devotional was never fully superseded by the manneristic and that, in any case, the line of distinction may be difficult to trace¹⁹.

It will be instructive to explore the antecedents of the two main topics of *ṭhumrī*. The theme of *viraha*, prominent in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, can be traced back to the ninth-century devotional poetry of the Tamil *Ālvārs*, whereas the main theme of *bandīś ṭhumrī*, Krishna's harassment of the milkmaids of Braj, was already found in Tamil sources between the fourth and sixth centuries AD. Although both themes originated in a devotional environment and were first prominent in NIA literature in a similar milieu, they have in later literature taken on secular and manneristic garbs. *Ṭhumrī* is therefore not exceptional in being challenging to locate in either devotional or manneristic realms. However, due to the genre's shifting context the intrinsic ambiguities of the amorous themes are likely to have been manipulated in favour of the devotional mood.

The present discussion falls into four parts. In the first I situate the amatory mood of *ṭhumrī* in a theoretical framework. In the second I briefly explore the relationship between mystical and secular sentiments as illustrated by the *bhakti-rīti* dichotomy in Hindi literature, and trace the antecedents of the main topics that are presented in *ṭhumrī*. In the third part, I examine the influence of the ancient model of *nāyikā-bheda* on present-day *ṭhumrī* performance and creation. Finally, I present examples of how *ṭhumrī* texts can be analysed as discrete items of poetry rather than as samples of ten or twenty more or less identical texts. At the end of the chapter, I shall return to the discussion of the dual nature of the texts as written items and as vehicles for performance.

4.2.2 *The theoretical perspective*

Manuel's description of the majority of texts as 'amatory' corresponds to the term most frequently used by Indian performers and writers on *ṭhumrī* to describe its very mood: *śṛṅgāra rasa*. The use of this term does not merely express the amatory nature of *ṭhumrī* but connects it with a vast body of complex literary theory, as well as with Krishnaite theology. The concept of *rasa* ('juice, essence') first emerged in the Sanskrit treatise on dramaturgy

¹⁹Snell 1991b:34.

Nāṭya Śāstra; this work, traditionally ascribed to a legendary writer known as Bharata, was probably a gradually evolving body of material which became fixed around the sixth century A.D. Rasa theory illuminates the nature of aesthetic experience vis-à-vis emotional experience, and explains the paradoxical situation in which a sad or tragic work of art instils pleasure and satisfaction in its audience. The aesthetic experience, which by definition exists in an impermanent and idealised realm, is juxtaposed to a corresponding emotional experience which is considered real and innate; śṛṅgāra rasa is paired with the emotion (*bhāva*) of 'love'. In the eleventh century the writer Bhoja declared that love was the highest emotion and that therefore śṛṅgāra was the highest rasa; this view was to become the foundation for the later development of rasa theory in the context of the devotional bhakti movement.

The varieties of emotions experienced by the heroines of Indian art were classified over two thousand years ago: one of the earliest works to articulate this detailed classification of heroes (*nāyaka*) and heroines (*nāyikā*) was the *Kāmasutra* of Vātsyāyana, and it was further expounded upon in Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, in which the heroines were not so much classified in terms of their emotional experiences, but rather as embodiments of the aesthetic experiences themselves. Eight basic heroine-types are identified (as discussed by Rakeshagupta 1967:51²⁰), and, separate from these eight, three major categories of heroine are distinguished: the heroine who is married to the hero (*svakīyā*), the heroine who is married to someone other than the hero (*parakīyā*), and lastly the *sāmānyā* or 'common' heroine, who is effectively a prostitute.²¹ The first two categories are of paramount importance in the devotional literature on Radha and Krishna; the argument as to whether Radha was his *svakīyā* or *parakīyā* is central to the theology of Krishna. But although the controversy concerning Radha's marital status had already been a feature of analyses of Hindi bhakti poetry, the interest in and obsession with detailed classifications of the heroine did not become prominent in Hindi

²⁰Rakeshagupta questions the description of the heroines as 'types', as the eight-fold classification rather indicates 'the situations in which a woman may be placed in relation to her lover' (1967:51). He notes that some writers use the term 'states (*avasthāḥ*) of the heroine' instead.

²¹In *ṭhumrī*, as in most Hindi poetry, the *sāmānyā* heroine is rarely if ever encountered; the fact that the traditional exponents of *ṭhumrī* were courtesans, and thus *sāmānyā*, emphasises the gulf that separates the 'real world' from the timeless ideal of *śāstra* models.

literature until the courtly and amatory *rīti* poetry of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

The emphasis on emotions in a religious context is first encountered in the ninth-century devotional poetry of the Ālvārs in South India, from where it gradually made its way to the North, primarily through the eighth/ninth-century *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; in this work earlier versions of the Krishna story were infused with an abundance of devotional sentiment.²² One of the prime innovative characteristics of the bhakti movement was its emphasis on emotional experience rather than ritual or practice as a means of attaining communion with god. A notion of the devotee having a close personal and loving relationship with god is central to bhakti, and theories relating to the aesthetic experience corresponding to the emotion of love gradually made their way into the religious realm. This culminated in the sixteenth century when the Gauḍīya Sampradāya, a sectarian tradition inspired by the Bengali mystic Krishna Caitanya, took as one of its fundamental tenets the idea that śṛṅgāra is the supreme rasa because it corresponds to love, the highest emotion. Caitanya's disciple Rūpa Gosvāmī formulated a complete synthesis of the devotional and the aesthetic, explicitly articulating the connection between bhakti and rasa theory.

4.2.3 *Viraha and the antecedents of main topics in ṭhumrī*

The bhakti conceptualisation of god as a personal absolute who becomes manifest through earthly incarnations and temple images with which the devotee can interact implies an intrinsic level of separation: duality is at the very heart of any relationship, including that between a devotee and his god. The symbols through which the devotee expresses love and devotion for a god also stimulate the desire for closeness and union; in bhakti, however, this longing is permanently frustrated as it is only in separation that devotion can realise its full potential. Viraha on a metaphysical level describes the yearning of the soul for union with the divine; on the physical plane it is understood as the longing of the lover for her beloved. Viraha is not only expressed through descriptions of the pain of absence, but also through celebrations of the joy of union (in which either temporary relief or the imminence of separation is implied) and through eulogies of the absent lover in which the emphasis is on love and dedication rather than the pain of separation. The theme appears in a

²²This development has been examined by Hardy 1983.

wide range of contexts with varying degrees of religious interpretation: when it occurs in Sufi and Jain mystical works the religious metaphor tends to be more explicit than when it appears in secular folklore, for instance in the folk songs of North India in which viraha is an ever-popular theme, particularly in songs of the rainy season ²³. In the Krishna tradition, viraha is experienced by Radha when at night she is prevented from meeting him by her own domestic situation or when he is off dallying with some other woman, and by the gopīs when he goes to Mathura to live with the hunchbacked woman Kubja and later when he is living in Dwarka. There are thus a number of motifs relating to viraha in the Krishna tradition, each depicting the heroine(s) in a unique state of mind.

The theme of viraha appears in both bandiś and bol banāv ṭhumrī, but it is a particularly prominent feature of only the latter. In the former, it usually appears along with descriptions of the rainy season, in motifs reminiscent of the *bārahmāsā* genre, in which the heroine's plight without her lover is depicted in terms of the changing seasons of the twelve months.²⁴ This particular type of motif may have already occurred in vernacular literatures of the twelfth century, as explained by McGregor in the context of Adbdurrahmān's Apabhraṃśa work *Sandeśarāsaka*, which features 'the lover's message and the state of separation of lovers against the background of the changing seasons' (1984:5). The primary Sanskrit work on this theme is Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* (twelfth-thirteenth century AD), which describes 'the separation and union of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, [and] marks the culmination of the classical Sanskrit poetic tradition and the beginning of the real flowering of the Indian vernacular poetic and the medieval Vaiṣṇava devotional traditions' (Siegel 1978:27). The use of the topic was not restricted to Vaiṣṇavas, nor indeed to Hindus, as several poems of the Cistī Sufis refer to the pangs of separation: 'the word *virah* itself occurs, as does a hint of the style of word-play on the word *pī* 'lover' which is common in later Hindi poetry' (McGregor 1984:23). This word-play also occurs in both bandiś and bol banāv ṭhumrī, in

²³The rainy season in north India brings with it the realistic fear that migrant workers who have not yet returned home will not be able to do so until after the rains have stopped, as travel becomes increasingly difficult during the monsoon. The rains follow a period of stifling heat on the plains of India, and the monsoon months are therefore considered a sensuous time of the year, in which the absence of a lover is particularly poignant.

²⁴For a detailed discussion of this genre, see Vaudeville 1986.

which the cry of the koel, sounding like *pī*, reminds the lovelorn woman of her lover, thereby heightening her sadness²⁵.

In the Maithili poetry of Vidyāpati (early fifteenth century), the presence of Krishna facilitates a devotional interpretation of topics that are treated in a largely secular manner. McGregor explains with reference to Vidyāpati's songs that 'the situations, participants and symbolism found in them are, typically, those already long known to the theory of Sanskrit poetics, in which categories of lovers, the range of relationships between them, and their varying behaviour and emotions in circumstances of separation and union had been analysed exhaustively as an aspect of dramatic theory' (1984:32). The projection of Krishnaite symbols into a secular environment also occurs in *ṭhumrī*, in which any river becomes the river Yamuna and any lovelorn woman is pining for Krishna; that in many *ṭhumrīs* Krishna is explicitly present further compounds the secular-devotional ambiguity of *ṭhumrī*.

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the primary source for most of the later NIA Krishnaite devotional material, but it has been well established that this Sanskrit text had itself developed out of earlier Tamil poems²⁶. The Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram*, composed between the fourth and sixth centuries AD, includes the story of Krishna stealing the *gopīs'* clothes, a theme that became extremely popular in North Indian culture²⁷. This Tamil work may be one of the earliest written instances of the theme of Krishna as trouble-maker, a role he also plays in later NIA material. The sixteenth-century poet Sūrdās describes some of Krishna's other pranks, such as the popular story of Krishna as butter-thief, which was already included in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Sūr has also been ascribed with the creation of the *dān-līlā*. In the *dān-līlā* Krishna stops the *gopīs* as they are on their way to market, and demands a 'toll' of milk, curd and butter. When they refuse, he grabs them and inflicts varying degrees of physical harm – tearing their veils and bodices, breaking their bangles, and ultimately, breaking the clay pots in which the dairy products are carried. In a variation on this theme, Krishna breaks the waterpots which the women carry on their heads, implicitly resulting in the pre-modern antecedent of the highlight of many a Hindi film, the wet sari scene. *Bandīś ṭhumrīs* frequently

²⁵For example, A33: *pī kī boli na bola*.

²⁶Hardy 1983; Van Buitenen 1966.

²⁷Hawley 1983:36.

describe such events; this type of motif would easily lend itself to a dance performance, especially one with sensuous or erotic overtones.

Unsurprisingly, the erotic potential of the theme of Krishna as molester is not usually acknowledged²⁸ and is frequently explained away on the grounds that Krishna was only a little boy when these events took place. This type of justification is not restricted to a *ṭhumrī*-context, but is belied by depictions of such scenes in early sculptures and temple hangings in which Krishna is consistently portrayed as an adolescent, and thus likely to be at the height of sexual curiosity. Hawley attests to the fact that in *Sūrdās'* *dān-līlā* poems, 'we are given no way to determine just how serious these gopis are in their complaints' (1983:144). A similar problem arises in assessing the earnestness of the *gopīs'* protests in some *bandīś ṭhumrī* texts. For instance, in B8 the heroine complains that Krishna forcibly takes her hand and kisses her face, thereby violating her modesty in the middle of the marketplace. She does not know how to express her anguish, and she ends up threatening to leave town. If this were a real situation it would be horrific: for a woman to be harassed in this way would be extremely shaming and humiliating, and the victim might well end up moving away if this were an option. In Krishna's realm, however, such events are all part of his divine loveplay: as Entwistle (1987:57) points out in the context of Krishna's adulterous behaviour with the milkmaids, '[commentators'] justifications rest on the argument that his divine activity cannot be assessed in terms of our mundane and conventional morality'. In *ṭhumrī*, such moral issues may hinge on the use of diminutives forms, as discussed in section 2.3. When Krishna's unsavoury antics take place on the *ḍagariyā*, as the heroine is on her way to *bajariyā*, causing her to threaten to leave the *nagariyā*, the very shape of the words suggests, indeed, that a 'mundane and conventional' perspective does not apply. Such justifications further serve to obscure the identification of the poetry in terms of devotional or secular realms: at face value, these texts are items of entertainment without any particular divine or redemptive qualities, but they take on a different meaning when interpreted devotionally.

²⁸According to Hawley (loc.cit.), the *Cilappatikāram* already frames the stealing of the clothes in terms of the stealing of affection, and such interpretations continue up to the present day.

4.2.4 *Horī*

Horī is considered a musical sub-genre of *ṭhumrī*, with which it shares its musical characteristics, i.e. the *rāgs* and *tāls* that are commonly employed. Although it is originally, and remains popular as, a folk genre, it is now also performed as part of the light-classical repertoire. There are numerous folk genres which are connected to certain seasons or festivals: the genre *caitī* is sung in the Hindu months of Phagun and Cait (February-April)²⁹, whereas *kajrī* is a song of the rainy season, sung in Asarh, Savan and Bhadon. A subcategory of *kajrī* is the *jhūlā* ('swing'), which is sung around the festival of *tīj* in the month of Savan. Many of these folk songs make an appearance on the concert stage where they are sung by classically-trained vocalists, especially in Benares where these songs are a speciality of the repertoire. *Horī* is the genre of the spring festival *holī*, which is celebrated on the full moon of the month of Phagun. Although the festival itself is celebrated in various Hindu traditions of North India, *horī* as a folk genre is particularly popular in the Braj area, where the long-standing tradition of ecstatic devotionism makes for a particularly potent celebration; for instance, in Barsana, the village from which Radha is said to hail, traditional gender roles are temporarily inverted and the women of the village ritually attack the men folk *en masse*, wielding sticks and other makeshift weapons. In other parts of the area, low-caste men seize the opportunity to verbally abuse Brahmins, upsetting their customary hegemony. In most places, however, this inversion of the traditional power structure does not take place, and the festival bears witness to various forms of harassment on existing patterns, primarily those of men cajoling and humiliating women. For this reason the *horī* songs that are used in art music do not usually describe the possible inversion of power but rather depict similar scenes to the songs of the *dān līlā*-type, with the main difference being that in the *horīs* Krishna's teasing consists of throwing colour rather than breaking pots of curd.

Shukla has posited the influence of the folk genres *rās* and *carcarī* on the musical development of *ṭhumrī* (1983:62 ff.); these folk genres originated in the Braj region, and are related to the genre *horī*. The light-classical version of the folk genre *horī* is considered a sub-category of *ṭhumrī*. The interplay of the

²⁹In Benares the genre *caitī* is not supposed to be sung before Saraswati Puja, which coincides with Vasant Panchami on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Cait. Such specific requirements probably exist all over India, with each area having its own idiosyncrasies.

horī festival with classical music has also spawned the dhrupad sub-genre *horī-dhamār*, which often has themes similar to folk horīs and those associated with the *ṭhumrī* repertoire.³⁰ *Ṭhumrī* and its sub-genre *horī* are virtually identical from a musical perspective; it is only through its lyrics that *horī* achieves its own identity. Even though the background of the *horī* songs is the festival of *holī*, the overall thematic content of the songs may be subsumed under the category of ‘harassment’ which has been discussed above.

4.2.5 The ancient model in today’s context

The understanding of *ṭhumrī*’s location within a *bhakti-rīti* model partially depends on the interpretation of its place within the framework of aesthetic theory. Manuel adheres to the *nāyikā-bheda* classification model of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* in his discussion of *ṭhumrī* texts, having been advised by ‘educated present-day singers like Naina Devi and Rita Gangoly [of] the relevance and importance of the eight basic heroine-types in *ṭhumrī*’ (Manuel 1989:10).

These eight basic ‘heroine-types’ or ‘states of the heroine’ are:³¹

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. | <i>vāsakasajjā nāyikā</i> | ‘one dressed up to receive her lover’ |
| 2. | <i>virahotkaṇṭhitā nāyikā</i> | ‘one distressed at the lover’s absence’ |
| 3. | <i>svādhīna-patikā nāyikā</i> | ‘one having her husband in subjection’ |
| 4. | <i>kalahāntarītā nāyikā</i> | ‘one suffering remorse after a quarrel’ |
| 5. | <i>khaṇḍitā nāyikā</i> | ‘one afflicted with agony on account of her lover’s absence’ |
| 6. | <i>vipralabdhā nāyikā</i> | ‘one who does not find her lover at the appointed place’ |
| 7. | <i>proṣitabhartṛkā nāyikā</i> | ‘one whose lover is away on business’ |
| 8. | <i>abhisārikā nāyikā</i> | ‘one who goes to meet her lover (having renounced all modesty)’ |

The problem with this idea is that some of the eight types do not directly correspond to any *ṭhumrīs*, and, moreover, as Manuel admits, that many

³⁰Shukla (1983:69) claims that the word *horī* is used exclusively in relation to the *dhamār* genre, whereas the *ṭhumrī*-related style is generally called *holī*. This observation does not tally with my observations, and I have used the word *horī* to describe either genre; the dhrupad-related style is always referred to as *horī-dhamār* (or just ‘*dhamār*’) so there is very little chance of confusion.

³¹This list follows Rakeshagupta 1967:51.

ṭhumrīs are not easily accommodated within this eight-fold framework (1989:15).

Manuel is not alone in his desire to apply the nāyikā-bheda model to the heroines of ṭhumrī. Aneeta Sen, a singer and musicologist at Kairagarh University in Madhya Pradesh, is enthusiastic about the relationship between ṭhumrī texts and Bharata's eight heroine-types. In a concert given in Mumbai at the beginning of 1997, she spoke of the eight basic nāyikās and illustrated them with sung examples.³² Many of the ṭhumrīs performed that evening corresponded well to the relevant nāyikās; for those heroine-types that had not made an appearance in existing ṭhumrīs Sen had written new texts, under the pen-name Neha Piya, thus ensuring that all eight heroine-types were represented in her concert. Sen's creativity underscores the problem of connecting ṭhumrī and nāyikā-bheda when a complete reconstruction of the nāyikā-bheda model is aimed for, but also demonstrates that the 2000-year old model still inspires artists today. Although - prior to Sen's involvement - the nāyikā-bheda model had not generated ṭhumrīs of enduring popularity which portrayed all the various heroine-types, the theory itself clearly continues to be of relevance. However, the overt or implied presence of some of the archetypal heroines in ṭhumrī can be acknowledged without necessitating a complete reappraisal of ṭhumrī in terms of the classification model of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*.

Neela Bhagwat is a Mumbai-based singer. She expresses no sympathy with the application of the traditional nāyikā-bheda model to ṭhumrī, saying 'the modern nāyikās cannot be fitted into this scheme. It is not really relevant to modern women. The old nāyikā is part of patriarchal social structure, she is not an individual.'³³ Bhagwat composes ṭhumrīs as well as other types of song, and has rewritten some traditional stories to give traditional characters – Sita for example – a new voice, making them relevant to modern women and giving them a message. After the devastating riots in Mumbai in the aftermath of the destruction of the Babri Masjid in December 1992, she wrote a ṭhumrī in which the lover (piyā) represents a non-violent way of living, which is what the heroine is pining for. The text is set to rāg Pīlū in kaharvā

³²Aneeta Sen, 'Ashta Nayika Bhed in Thumri Gayan', at the Santokba Hall, Mumbai, 11.01.1997.

³³Personal communication, Mumbai, 26.01.1997.

tāl (both conventionally suitable to ṭhumrī), and primarily uses vocabulary and imagery consistent with a traditional composition.

तरसत जियरा हमार
आज मन पावे कहाँ आधार
सहा ना जाए यह संहार
तरसत जियरा हमार ॥

जलती गलियाँ टूटे सपने
बरबादी जीवन की
रिश्ता जो घर के कन कन से
काहे यह संहार ॥

My heart is aching;
where can my heart find support now?
I cannot bear this carnage.
My heart is aching

Burning alleys, broken dreams,
destruction of life.
A relationship which was completely of the home,
why this carnage?

The use of the word *samhār* in line 3 of the first part, and *barbādī* in the second part, sharply contrasts with the gentle and romantic language of the traditional ṭhumrī. Although the use of the word *galīyāṅ* links in with more traditional ṭhumrī content (e.g. the famous text *kauna galī gayo śyāma* - A17), the references to burning alleys and the destruction of life in the second part clearly place the lyrics in the political realm, one which is foreign to ṭhumrī's traditional scope. Sen's ṭhumrīs on the other hand are more consistent with tradition in terms of sentiment, as the following example demonstrates.

आज मैं सजुँगी गुईयाँ बहुत जतन से
आज मैं मिलूँगी गुईयाँ अपने सज्जन से ॥
पैरों में पायलियाँ
हाथों में चूरियाँ

गले को मैं हार चढ़ावूँ मोतियन से
कानों में झुमका पहना दे मोरी गुईयाँ
आएगा आज नेहा पिया बहुत दिनन से ॥३४

Today, friend, I will dress up very carefully.
Today, friend, I will meet with my lover.
Anklets on my feet,
bangles on my wrists,
I'll offer up a string of pearls to my neck.
Friend, put pendants in my ears!
Today Neha Piya will come - after many a day.

Sen's text (illustrating the *vāsakasajjitā* ³⁵) is semantically reminiscent of the *rīti* poetry in which a woman's dress and finery are described, although it lacks the attention to detail and manneristic nature of that genre. The inclusion of the confidante is a useful 'authenticating' device, as is Sen's use of Braj Bhāṣā forms, e.g. obl.pl. *motiyana* in line 5 and *dinana* in line 7. But in terms of both language and imagery, Sen's text is actually further removed from a typical *ṭhumrī* than Bhagwat's. The phrase *tarasata jiyarā hamāra* in Bhagwat's *ṭhumrī* is lifted from a famous *kajrī* which has often been performed by *ṭhumrī* singers such as Rasoolan Bai and Girija Devi, and therefore fits into a *ṭhumrī* idiom; the word *jiyarā* itself is found in *ṭhumrī*, as is *hamāra*, especially in word-final position when it is part of the rhyme scheme. The use of rhetorical questions found in lines 2 and 8 are in keeping with a well-established formula, as is the use of the passive to express the inability to endure suffering. Sen, by contrast, does not rely on any of the formulae we encounter in *ṭhumrī*. This renders her compositions somewhat pedestrian in flavour.

The question as to whether Sen's *ṭhumrī*, which follows a more or less traditional pattern, is more 'authentic' than the text created by an innovator like Bhagwat, leads on to a host of further questions concerning the very nature of tradition and its relationship to innovation. The connection between *ṭhumrī* and innovation is in itself compelling, as we know that the genre has

³⁴*Ṭhumrī* Miśra Janglā - dādrā tāl.

³⁵The dearth of *ṭhumrīs* featuring this particular *nāyikā*, which forced Sen to create her own example, is underscored by the fact that Manuel, in support of his illustration of this *nāyikā* in *ṭhumrī*, takes recourse to quoting a *choṭā khyāl* (in *rāg Kedār*) rather than a *ṭhumrī* (1989:10).

changed considerably over the years: having been predominantly used as an accompaniment for rhythmic dance, *ṭhumrī* became a song form whose musical and textual requirements were profoundly different. Written records confirm that *ṭhumrīs* that existed at the end of the nineteenth century had a wider range of subjects than is encountered in texts heard on the contemporary stage, and included both overtly religious³⁶ and obscene material. Such matter has not survived in performance, and recordings from the beginning of the twentieth century suggest that already at that time the subject matter of *ṭhumrī* was becoming limited. There appears to be no documentary evidence of performance practice during the nineteenth century – written texts are not necessarily a representative sample of those that were used in performance. ‘Political’ texts like the one proposed by Bhagwat would not usually be considered appropriate for *ṭhumrī* performance. Sen, however, does conform to the requirements of *ṭhumrī* in that the mood of her text is amatory and written from a female perspective.

However, in her desire to locate *ṭhumrī* within an aesthetically sanctioned realm, Sen neglects the point that for the sake of a successful rendition of a *ṭhumrī*, a variety of shades of meaning have to be implicitly present in the text. Although the positive aspect of the *viraha* theme, which describes the anticipation of union rather than the sadness of separation, is an accepted theme within the *viraha* repertoire and does also occur – albeit rarely – in *ṭhumrī*, Sen’s literal treatment of her theme renders the text virtually devoid of scope for pathos. As melodic improvisations rich with emotional expression are a distinguishable feature of *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, the texts rely on the ambiguity which allows the singer ample space to explore various moods. Most singers would find it difficult to base prolonged melodic elaborations on words which are as unambiguously happy as those in Sen’s text.

Whereas Bhagwat’s innovation is based on the impulse to subvert *ṭhumrī*’s traditionally patriarchal outlook, Sen is motivated by the belief that *ṭhumrī*’s rightful place is in the framework of Sanskrit aesthetic theory. Neither Bhagwat nor Sen seem to allow for the broadness required by the very nature of *bol banāv ṭhumrī* performance in their creations. Although awareness of

³⁶In contrast with the devotionally-tinged Krishnaite themes, ‘religious’ topics contain references to the *Purāṇas*, epics, or the story of Rām in an idiom reminiscent of the *Rāmcaritmānas*.

nāyikā-bheda theory may help in understanding the importance of detail, a literal adherence to this model is likely to pose an impediment to creating a functional *ṭhumrī*. The nāyikās of *ṭhumrī* must be shown to be experiencing a wealth of emotions for the singer to base her improvisations on; this quality of *ṭhumrī* is what both creator and performer have to incorporate in their art. Many singers feel that appropriate emotional expression is the essence of a successful *ṭhumrī* performance, and that the key to appropriate emotional expression is an awareness of women's experiences in real life – not the 'bookish' knowledge of Sanskrit theories such as nāyikā-bheda³⁷. Most of the women singers who are inspired by Bharata's heroine-types come from the educated middle-classes and are not traditional musicians, and it may be that they find it easier to relate to the material through theory. An understanding of the various potential moods and mindsets of the heroines of *ṭhumrī* will certainly help in the complex task of interpreting the texts in the numerous ways that the successful *ṭhumrī* performance requires. On a superficial level, many of the texts may appear one-dimensional and therefore of no great artistic merit; only when they are analysed in more detail can their particular attractions be discerned.

4.2.6 Eye symbolism in *ṭhumrī*

To illustrate the relevance of detail in *ṭhumrī* texts, let us consider one of the most prominent motifs of *bol banāv ṭhumrī*: the eyes. We shall see that the detail of the moods expressed in the texts may vary, even if the texts rely on similar linguistic forms and formulae. A1.1 and A1.3 (*ākhiyā rasīlī torī śyāma*) express devotion to Krishna's eyes, and describe their enchanting powers. A1.2, by virtue of inserting the phrase *nāhī parata jiyā caina* is more explicit in expressing what the bewildering effect of being seen by Krishna may be. A62 (*rasa ke bhare tore naina*) is very similar to A1 in mood: it uses the very same word (*rasa, rasīlī*) to describe the 'juicyness' of Krishna's eyes, even though the word for 'eyes' is different (largely due to considerations of rhyme). It is unclear in A62 whether the effect of the eyes is the result of being seen by them, or seeing them oneself. In A62 the formula *dina nahī caina rāta (rainā) nahī nindiyā* is used in versions 1 and 2, but it is unclear whether this lack of repose is the result of having been caught in Krishna's glances (as in A1) or

³⁷It is for this reason that Girija Devi does not teach *ṭhumrī* to male students, and only reluctantly teaches it to unmarried female students, as they do not know what it feels like to pine for or argue with one's husband.

the result of not having been. In A36 (*dekhe binā nāhī caina*) the very same formula is used to describe the mindset and sleeplessness of the heroine when Krishna is absent; both A36.1 and A62.2 (performed by the same singer) follow the *dina nahī....* formula with the similarly formulaic phrase *kāse kahū jī ke baina*. The 'heart's speech' in the one text describes the confusion of seeing/being seen by Krishna's charming eyes, and the pain of Krishna's absence in the other. The precise mood of even the formulaic phrases is thus largely dependent on context.

As the individuality of *ṭhumrī* texts is brought out by the details, the genre is not very well served by broad categorisations. Even though many texts are similar, only rarely are two texts exactly the same in mood and motivation. Whether the heroines and moods of *ṭhumrī* fit neatly into the *nāyikā-bheda* model is perhaps not as relevant as the fact that some understanding of the various heroine-types creates an awareness of nuance and its importance in the interpretation of *ṭhumrī*. In fact, too rigid an interpretation of the *nāyikā-bheda* model may lead to the generation of texts which are not necessarily suitable to *ṭhumrī* performance: the texts need to be inherently flexible in terms of their emotional import, in order to give the vocalist the interpretive scope she needs for a successful performance. Strictly adhering to aesthetic theories may ultimately prove too restrictive, as *ṭhumrī* performance depends on flexibility of expression. Our discussion has then returned to the dual nature of *ṭhumrī* texts: in their written form, they are individual items, each making its own particular statement; as a vehicle for performance the texts have to be broad so as to not restrict the singer in her emotional elaborations. Categorising *ṭhumrī* texts and the *nāyikās* in a neat comparative scheme, as attempted by both Manuel and Sen, has proved to be problematic, yet an understanding of *nāyikā-bheda* theory may be a useful component in the successful interpretation of the texts, and in gaining an understanding of their place within the broader picture of Indian lyrical tradition.

4.2.7 Conclusion

In *ṭhumrī*'s original milieu, the performing courtesan embodied the voice of the lyrical heroine of the text. Whether in a context of being harassed by Krishna on her way to market, or of nights spent alone while her lover dallies with other women, the *tavāyaf* expressed the sentiments of the text as if they were her own, engaging, and engaging her audience, with the emotional import of the lyrics she was singing. The aim of *tavāyaf* performance was to

provide entertainment which pleased or attracted patrons. So *ṭhumrī* can be located in a largely secular context, as neither the motivation of performance nor the sentiments instilled by it were specifically devotional. Radha and Krishna, the archetypal lovers of Indian art (who traverse the boundaries of Hinduism³⁸), are easily identified with any amorous couple; the boundary between secular and devotional sentiments in Indian love-poetry is conventionally blurred.

The thematic content of *ṭhumrī* may very broadly be divided into two subjects: Krishna harassing the milkmaids of Braj, a theme which features in *bandiś ṭhumrī* in particular, and *viraha*, which occurs in both genres but is most prominent in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*. Both themes stand on the shoulders of antecedents which can be traced back to Tamil sources of the first millennium AD; the eighth/ninth century Sanskrit text *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* provided the blueprint for much of the NIA Krishnaite devotional material, including the emotional treatment of the pre-existing theme of *viraha*. The harassment theme was expanded in particular by the early sixteenth-century devotional poet *Sūrdās* who is accredited with the creation of the *dān-līlā*, an account of the shenanigans of Krishna in relation to the milkmaids of Braj as they are on their way to market; a further source for this topic is the material surrounding the spring festival of Holi, which occurs in *ṭhumrī* as the sub-genre *horī*, discussed in section 4.2.4. Just as in actual life most men are forgiven their behaviour vis-à-vis their female victims as they tease and cajole them at the time of the Holi festival, so are Krishna's antics rarely if ever the subject of critical enquiry; most commonly they are justified on the count of Krishna's young age, his divinity, or both.

Expositions on the subject matter which we find in *ṭhumrī* exist in Sanskrit theoretical sources from the first half of the first millennium. The *Nāṭya Śāstra* expounds on the dramatic use of the amatory aesthetic in terms of *śṛṅgāra rasa*, as well as on the emotional experiences of dramatic heroines in its treatment of the *nāyikā-bheda* model. Although some modern-day performers and scholars of music argue that awareness of such ancient models is a prerequisite to the complete understanding of *ṭhumrī* and the

³⁸Islamic culture does have its own model in Laila and Majnun, but their story is very different from Radha and Krishna's, and so they are not a manifestation of the same archetype.

ensuing ability to successfully perform it, this view is not borne out by experience. Aspects of *ṭhumrī* may be traced to ancient sources in the same way that contemporary NIA languages may be traced to Sanskrit, but in either case the knowledge of such antecedents is neither required nor necessarily useful in modern usage. The performer who insists on referring back to Sanskrit models, running the risk of overlooking the very essence of *ṭhumrī* performance in the process, is no better a communicator than the *paṇḍit* who insists on emphasising Hindi's Sanskrit background by drawing his entire vocabulary from the ancient language.

The impulse to locate *ṭhumrī* texts firmly within a devotional realm takes a number of guises. It can manifest on the level of interpretation, in which any male lover is Krishna and any river the Yamuna; it can take a more active role, in which certain components of a text are changed, for instance an epithet of Krishna's replacing a more general 'lover'. It can also function in a more theoretical realm in which the texts are located in a framework of ancient aesthetic theories and are thus endowed with 'traditionality', and by extension, respectability. Many *ṭhumrī* texts do of course feature Krishna as their hero, and in many others his presence is implicitly felt. Krishna's ubiquitousness in Indian culture allows for a host of associations which need not be spelled out; the beauty inherent in this ambiguity is readily exploited by *ṭhumrī* texts. In the context of courtesan performance, this must have resulted in a tantalising tension between eroticism and devotion.

Rather than distinguishing the *bhakti* and *rīti* styles of Hindi poetry as two separate periods, it is probably more useful as well as more accurate to locate these designations on a continuum. *Ṭhumrī* has to some extent moved along this continuum (in an atypical direction), towards an emphasis on content rather than form, and towards a devotional rather than a secular interpretation. The substitution of epithets of Krishna for vocatives or descriptions of worldly lovers underscores the movement away from ambiguity and multi-levelled interpretation towards a more overt devotionalism. Seen somewhat simplistically, the erotic-devotional ambiguity is like the picture of the candle and two faces; if one looks at the middle one sees the candle, whereas focusing on the periphery draws one's attention to two profiled faces. Drawing eyes on the faces would disambiguate the picture, and render it useless for its task of demonstrating the relevance of interpretation. Forcing an exclusively devotional mood onto *ṭhumrī* is like

drawing these eyes: by taking away ambiguity, the elegant titillation of the inclusion of covert references is undermined, and some of the effect of ṭhumrī is lost. The movement towards overt devotionism did not occur as an organic evolution, but rather in reaction to changes in the genre's context. The identity of ṭhumrī is largely determined by its context, which is the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter 5: The Context of Ṭhumrī

5.1 Introduction

In Roger Abrahams' discussion of generic classification, he suggests that most traditional genres are named through a combination of patterns of form, content, and context (1976: 196); having discussed the form and content of ṭhumrī, we now turn to its context. Ben-Amos refers to context as 'the behavioral aspect' (1976: 226ff.; also discussed in Hansen 1993:50), and relates it to four main topics:

1. customary usage of a genre,
2. its connection to social structures,
3. its appropriateness to certain settings,
4. the characteristic interaction between audience and performer.

Although there are obvious differences between the folklore genres which are the subject of studies by folklorist-anthropologists like Abrahams and Ben-Amos and art forms such as ṭhumrī, basic observations as to where to locate the salient features of a genre remain valid. In the present discussion, 'context' does not refer to the particular detail of each and every performance, but rather to the overall context of ṭhumrī as a genre performed by courtesans; the attendant stigma is inextricably associated with ṭhumrī, and account for all of Ben-Amos' above mentioned four strands of the behavioural element. In terms of the present research, the most important feature of ṭhumrī's context is the extent to which it has changed, and how this change has affected the lyrics of the genre. We will therefore begin this section by examining the milieu in which ṭhumrī existed in the one hundred or so years leading up to Independence.

5.2 Original context: the courtesan tradition

A common subject of travel accounts by visitors to pre-colonial and British India is the nautch, the performance by a troupe of dancing-girls and their accompanists who at times enchanted and frequently offended the

sensibilities of the foreign visitor. Either way, many early travellers were sufficiently affected by these dance performances to refer to them in their writings. The term 'dancing-girl' described various types of entertainer, from bazaar prostitutes to highly-skilled songstress-courtesans. One of the more respected classes of courtesans was that of the *kañcanīs*, ('the gilded ones'), who had special rights and privileges at the courts; they have been described by Bernier as 'not indeed the prostitutes seen in bazaars, but those of a more private and respectable class, who attend the grand weddings of *Omrahs* and *Mansebdars*, for the purpose of singing and dancing. Most of these *Kenchens* are well-dressed, and sing to perfection...'¹. The courtesan Kamalbai, said to be one of the favourites of emperor Mohammad Shah (who ruled from 1719-1748), was clearly a trained and highly-skilled vocalist: 'There is depth of feeling in her voice and she sings with an ability to rouse sorrow. She adheres to the rules of music, makes not a single error, and sings Niamat Khan's *khayal raga*... She captures people in the net of her love very easily' (Khawaja Hassan Nizami, quoted in Bor 1986:85). It seems that one of the criteria that distinguished the 'common prostitute' from the high-class courtesan was musical excellence, which might have even acted as a form of redemption for the woman's public status. At the time of Bernier and Mohammad Shah, *ṭhumrī* was probably not part of the courtesan's repertoire at all², and if it was it was certainly not a major feature of their performance. The heyday of *ṭhumrī* coincided with the extravagance and riches of *navābī* life, whose decline and fall in the nineteenth century had an immediate impact on *ṭhumrī*. The person most commonly associated with the genre is Wajid Ali Shah, the last *navāb* of Avadh, who is sometimes even – though certainly erroneously – credited with having invented it. His keen interest in dance and music – as a spectator as well as a participant – is almost legendary, as are his foppishness and decadence, and the lack of political leadership which ultimately led to the annexation of Avadh by the British Empire. The exile of Wajid Ali Shah to Matia Burj in Calcutta in 1856 had a profound effect on courtesan culture in Lucknow, and on *ṭhumrī* by extension.

¹Constable's *Oriental Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications*, vol. I: *Bernier's Travels A.D. 1656-1668*, (London: 1891), p. 272.

²Shukla (1983) and Manuel (1989) chart the origins and rise of *ṭhumrī*, which textual evidence suggests must have existed in some form in the seventeenth century. It probably did not gain prominence until the nineteenth century, when it became a popular adornment of *navābī* court life.

Veena Talwar Oldenburg gives an incisive account of the lives of courtesans in Lucknow at the time of the navābs, and charts the decline of the tradition once Avadh had been annexed to the British Empire:

'If the nawabi [sic] had perceived these woman as a cultural asset, the British Raj saw them as a necessary evil, if not a threat, and sought to make of them an inexpensive answer to the sexual needs of single European soldiers ... (...) With Wajid Ali Shah in exile after 1856, the profession lost its chief patron and several lesser ones but gained numerous practitioners from among the abandoned wives of the ex-king and the nobles who went into exile. These women resumed their careers (for several of the royal harem had been singing and dancing women) to support themselves' (1989:137).

As colonial rule consolidated, indigenous opinions of music and dance - which were, aided by a dash of British propaganda, virtually identified with the extravaganzas of the former navābī rulers - started to shift in the direction of condemnation. In terms of patronage, Indian attitudes towards dance had changed sufficiently by the end of the nineteenth century that while the princely rulers and feudal landed aristocracy continued to enjoy dance for pleasure and entertainment, it was shunned by the newly emergent Western educated middle classes whose value systems had been affected by English education and missionary influence (Sundar 1995:244). As indigenous disdain for the performing arts, and the courtesan tradition in particular, increased, a hierarchy developed in which singing courtesans were considered of a higher rank than those who also performed dance. Growing nationalist consciousness combined with a sense of indignance at the increasing disdain the colonial rulers were expressing vis-à-vis indigenous culture had led to a renewed emphasis on women's virtue, which was best preserved by confining women to the private domain. Whereas music itself gradually became accepted as a signifier of India's great heritage, the position of dance was extremely problematic; dance did not manage to gain a position of respectability until its historical associations had been sufficiently overhauled to make it acceptable to the new bourgeoisie³.

³The effect of nationalist awareness on the status of women has been extensively explored in Chakravarty 1990; the relationship between reformers and dance has been discussed in Sundar (1995:236-256).

Modern-day singers relate stories of their own or their teacher's attitudes towards dancing *tavāyafs* or *bājīs*.⁴ Girija Devi tells of the time when, as a young woman, she was invited to sing for a respected aristocrat in Benares. Having heard her sing for a while, he asked her if she could dance a little. The request implied that she was 'that kind of woman', but hiding her outrage she replied that she was unfortunately not able to dance, but perhaps he could ask his wife or daughters to teach her? Her response was intended to insult her host, as she was effectively suggesting his wife and daughters were prostitutes.⁵ Purnima Chaudhury, also of Benares, recounts how she once asked her teacher Mahadev Prasad Mishra about a singer who had lived in Benares in the early part of the twentieth century; in response, he made a dismissive gesture with his hand, saying '*are, vah to nāctī thī*' ('oh, she [was of the type who] used to dance'). A further story is particularly significant in this context: when Sheila Dhar wrote a book of stories about, among others, great musicians she has known in the twentieth century, she included a description of the late Siddheshwari Devi performing at a wedding in Delhi in the nineteen-twenties or thirties. The portrayal is vivid enough as to warrant inclusion at length:

'The languorous beat of the *thumri*, and the passionate and persuasive words of the song in which Siddheshwari Bai begged Krishna, the apple of Yashoda's eye, to come home because night was falling drew in the friendly audience immediately. Gradually her face and arms

⁴Most singers who previously had their first name affixed with 'bājī', which (at least in Uttar Pradesh) suggests they were courtesans, changed this affix to 'devī' later on in life, as a result of the increasingly problematic associations of the courtesan tradition. Siddheshwari Bai became Siddheshwari Devi, Girija Bai became Girija Devi. The famous *thumrī* and *ghazal* singer Begum Akhtar started her career as Akhtari Bai Faizabadi. Badi Moti Bai of Benares never bothered to change her name, but never achieved the national fame and reputation of the singers mentioned above. It is a moot point whether her lack of recognition was a result of her obvious association with the courtesan tradition, or whether she would have changed her name had she become more famous. The Benares singer Rasoolan Bai did become famous in spite of her name, and never changed it. Outside of U.P the suffix *bālā* was sometimes used for *tavāyafs*. Contemporary vocalist Dipali Nag recounts how, when renowned courtesan Indubala first began to perform on the radio, she was given her first cheque in the name of Indudevi (in *The Telegraph* [Calcutta], 19.1.1995). Joep Bor (1986:95) claims that the word *bājī* derived from the French *bayadère*, which the *Larousse Modern French-English Dictionary* confirms to mean 'an Indian dancing-girl'. According to Bor, the French word itself derived from the Portuguese *baylhadeira*. In Hindi, the word *bājī* simply means 'lady', although it can be used pejoratively as well. It seems that the use of *bājī* to designate a courtesan represents a confluence of these two etymological components.

⁵Personal communication, Benares, November 1996.

began to move as though she was acting as well as singing. The hand gestures and mime tried to paint different versions of the picture described in the *thumri* she was singing. I discovered later that this was no novelty but a routine part of the traditional '*mujra*'. (...) After some time, an uncle of the bridegroom called out to her with a request to dance. (...) This was obviously a stage of the entertainment which was most eagerly awaited because the audience hailed it with glad cries. Now I knew why the white sheet which is invariably spread for musicians was absent. When the atmosphere warmed up, this was meant to turn into a dance recital. The *sarangi* player secured his small instrument to his waist with a padded, beltlike contraption and also stood up behind her, ready to follow her around the improvised stage as she danced. The *tabla* player did the same. (...) Siddheshwari Bai's mime, hand gestures and body movements painted the picture for me very clearly. But for that I would not have been able to decipher the meaning of the words which were in an unfamiliar dialect and blurred for me by the musical embellishments' (Dhar 1996:132-3).

Sheila Dhar's depiction gives a good image of what a traditional courtesan performance may have been like, at least at a public occasion such as a wedding. However, Siddheshwari's daughter Savita was outraged at seeing her mother described in print as having danced in public. She denounced the book and demanded a public apology, asserting that her mother had been a respectable singer and had never danced. Sheila Dhar maintained that her memory of the event was correct, although she was sympathetic to Savita's plight: Savita is a lecturer in music at Delhi University, and public knowledge of her mother's dancing days placed her in an uncomfortable position, compromising her carefully constructed aura of middle-class respectability. Many older people are very well aware of Siddheshwari's past; unspoken awareness, however, is one thing, a published description quite another.

The objectives of the Anti-Nautch Campaign, which was started in the late nineteenth century by a group of educationists, many of whom were doctors and lawyers, illustrate the envisaged transformation of the performing arts: while dance was to be discouraged altogether, music was to be 'weaned from its present low associations'; being 'rich in devotional and unfortunately pretty full in the amorous element', it therefore had to be 'considerably improved on the purely social side'⁶. Although it was not only *thumrī* that

⁶R. Venkataratnam Naidu, 'Social Purity and the Anti-Nautch Movement', in C.Y. Chintamani (ed.), *Indian Social Reform* (Madras: 1901), p.278.

was performed by songstress-courtesans, *ṭhumrī* was the only genre that had an established association with dance. On a grading scale of 'impropriety', the performance of seated *abhinaya* was considered not as indecent as dance; for *ṭhumrī* as a genre to survive the ever-increasing disdain that the new patrons of music were experiencing vis-à-vis the performing arts, it was important to distance itself from the dance tradition. Those aspects of *ṭhumrī* that lend themselves well to emotional expression and therefore to seated *abhinaya* became emphasised, whereas the dance-element gradually diminished. Manuel partially attributes this development to artistic considerations: 'As *ṭhumrī* gained in popularity and the Lucknow musicians dispersed to other musical centers, more and more musicians turned their attention to the genre and developed those elements which seemed to them to have the most artistic interest and potential. (...) While the *bandish ṭhumrī* itself faded and disappeared, talented musicians - particularly from Benares - transformed *ṭhumrī* into a more profound and expressive medium: the *bol banāo ṭhumrī*' (1989:70). The musical requirements of the new form of *ṭhumrī* were accompanied by specific textual needs, but musical considerations were not the only rationale behind the change of lyrics which coincided with the emergence of *bol banāv ṭhumrī*.

5.3 Changing context: its effect on the lyrics of *ṭhumrī*

As discussed in section 4.2, the majority of *bandish ṭhumrī* lyrics describe Krishna or an unnamed protagonist harassing the milkmaids of Braj. This type of narrative lyric would lend itself particularly well to being acted out in a dance performance but would be less appropriate to seated *abhinaya*. That the changing performance context of *ṭhumrī* had a direct effect on the lyrics is borne out by examples from contemporary singers of how lyrics in their performance tradition have been altered, thereby rendering them appropriate for the modern concert stage and the sensibilities of the middle classes. For example, Purnima Chaudhury, a married woman singer in Benares, was asked by her teacher Mahadev Prasad Mishra, a traditional musician who will have been witness to the courtesan tradition, if she felt comfortable with the line *sūnī sejariyā* ('[my] bed is empty'); he only allowed her to sing it having established she was not in any way offended by the sexual implications of the phrase. In *ṭhumrī* B14.1, a song frequently performed by Chaudhury, the line *morī bahiyā jani chūvo* ('do not touch my arms') appears; this same line is

shown in collection C6 as *bālā jobana jina chuo* ('do not touch my ripening breasts'). It is likely that this latter phrase was changed by Mahadev Prasad Mishra as being unsuitable to be sung by his middle-class student, as he was evidently sensitive to potentially inappropriate lyrics. The effect of even such a minor alteration on the overall mood of the song is quite drastic: the substitution of 'arms' for 'breasts' clearly reduces the licentiousness implied in Krishna's behaviour, and the removal of the word *bālā* means that the audience is now not aware of the girl's young age, until the very last line when she rather belatedly pleads *aba hī umara morī larakaiyā* ('I am still of a young age'). How the character of a text can be changed by even minor alterations is also shown in an example given by Dhanashree Pandit in Mumbai. She, a well-to-do middle-class married woman, learns *ṭhumrī* from a traditional courtesan from Rajasthan who now sings for the movies in Mumbai. The teacher openly changed the words *sūnī sejariyā* (which Mahadev Mishra had also found problematic in the above mentioned example) to *sūnī nagariyā* ('the town is empty'). The result is that the intimate nature of the text - in which one woman suffers the loneliness of an absent lover - is replaced with a much more general sense that the whole town is missing the hero - thereby also consolidating the devotional element as the implication would seem to be that the man in question is Krishna, and the town Brindaban.

There is a close relationship between the original performance context of *ṭhumrī* and its lyrics: the courtesan represented the heroine of the *ṭhumrī* she was performing; the persona of the hero was projected onto whomever was being addressed in the audience. The early days of *bol banāv ṭhumrī* were probably the heyday for this double-layered representation of the lyrics, as it is particularly in the small and intimate *mujrā* that the courtesan had the opportunity to establish a personal relationship with her male audience.⁷ Whereas *bandīṣ ṭhumrī* lyrics often have a narrative structure, *bol banāv ṭhumrī* texts play on an immediate interaction between performer and host. For the sake of dissociating *ṭhumrī* from the courtesan's salon, it is essential

⁷ Regula Qureshi describes the performance of *gazal* in a traditional *mahfil*, 'a feudal salon concert which was ideally presented by a courtesan singer and her accompanists':

'Through musical expression the singer creates a personal identification with the text message, making the text her own utterance, and conveying her own emotional response through melodic structuring of individual phrases as well as through visual expression, by facial miming and gestures. These very "actions" - the phrase is used also in Urdu - help the audience interpret the musical expression of text content in a personal way' (1989:185).

that references to intimacy be removed. The substitution of 'town' for 'bed' discussed above is a clear example of this sanitising process. It is even more poignantly shown by replacing the vocative 'rājā' with 'śyāma', once again inviting Krishna onto the scene. It was explained to me⁸ that when *ṭhumrī* was performed for kings and noblemen, addressing the host as 'rājā' would have been appropriate, but as *ṭhumrī* is now performed in concert halls, a more general reference to Krishna is more suitable. The clarification of the use of the vocative 'rājā' admits that *ṭhumrī* used to be performed at the courts; this is, however, hardly a secret. What the explanation does circumvent is alternative uses of this particular vocative, which may in fact refer to any person superior in status, and also - especially in more colloquial use - to a lover or object of desire⁹. Substituting this form of address with an epithet of Krishna's has considerable effect on the overall mood of the text: it is now no longer a personalised address or plea to a patron, but rather an allusion to the intimate relationship between Radha and Krishna. The romantic or erotic force of the first-person narrative is diminished now that the singer is voicing emotions experienced in relation to a divine rather than a worldly lover.

It is rare for singers to admit to their texts having been adjusted; this is no doubt partially because they themselves are often not aware of the process having taken place. Not all contemporary singers are, or admit to being, fully aware of *ṭhumrī*'s colourful past. Uttara Dutt is a singer in Delhi, married to an architect. When she sang *ṭhumrī* A25.2 it was short of one line compared to the version sung by Batuk Dewanji (A25.1). The words of the missing line are *chatiyā chuvata ho anārī* ('you touch my breasts, ignorantly/ignorant one'), and it seems highly likely that this phrase was not excised by accident. Dutt herself claims to never change lyrics of songs herself, and it may be that the version as she knows it has been in her tradition for some generations. Let us also for a moment consider the possibility that this discrepancy in versions is as a result of the insertion of the line under discussion rather than its removal. This is theoretically possible, yet unlikely; there is clear evidence of singers changing words or phrases of songs to make them more respectable, and no evidence to suggest that an opposite development also takes place. We should also consider that there is written evidence of extremely indelicate and

⁸The example and attendant justification were given by Sunanda Sharma, senior student of Girija Devi's, London, June 1999.

⁹HSS glosses *rājā* as *prempātra* or *priya vyakti* in its *bāzārū* use.

obscene *ṭhumrīs* having been composed in the nineteenth century¹⁰, and some even having been performed in the early decades of the twentieth century¹¹, but such songs will never be heard on the contemporary concert stage. We thus find that there has been a movement away from erotic lyrics, either by removing them altogether from the *ṭhumrī* repertoire, or by adapting the offending words or phrases; the aim of such changes is to minimise the personal bond between the heroine and her lover, and by extension, between the performer and her audience. The depersonalisation of *ṭhumrī* lyrics paves the way for their location in a more devotional realm.

As the theme of *viraha*, which is prominent in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, has always been ambiguous in terms of the tension between erotic and devotional elements, the overall mood of *bol banāv ṭhumrī* is less overtly secular and can be interpreted on a mystical level. A famous instance of a *ṭhumrī* with ambiguous lyrics of this nature is *bābula morā naihara chūṭo hī jāe*, which is traditionally ascribed to Wajid Ali Shah himself, although some (almost certainly erroneously) credit the fifteenth-century poet Kabīr with having written the text. In *bābula*, the heroine laments the loss of the familiarity of her father's house as she is carried off in a palanquin on her way to her new husband's abode. The text can also be given a mystical interpretation: after death, the body is carried to the funeral pyre/burial ground in a palanquin or hearse, and the soul transmigrates to its next abode. A third angle on the text is that either Wajid Ali Shah wrote it at the time of his being exiled by the British, or at least that it was sung as he left Lucknow for Matia Burj - and the young bride of the first interpretation, or the body of the second, are now interpreted as Wajid Ali Shah as he leaves his familiar surroundings to begin his life in exile. Although the scope for both secular and mystical interpretation of this particular *ṭhumrī* is unusual, this example nevertheless demonstrates how various interpretative layers can be incorporated, or read, into a text.

¹⁰Gangadhar Tailang quotes a number of such texts in his *Ṭhumrī Saṅgrah* (1977). The most indelicate ones that I have come across are B13 and B25.

¹¹Manuel (1989:21) suggests that when overtly erotic *ṭhumrīs* were performed in the twentieth century, it was mainly by men.

5.4 The behavioural aspect

Ben-Amos's four-layered definition of context explains to some extent why *ṭhumrī* had to be transformed as a result of the changes in the socio-political climate of the late nineteenth century onwards. The *customary usage* of *ṭhumrī* as an item of song and dance performance by songstress-courtesans clarifies the ramifications of the shifting attitudes towards the courtesan tradition in respect of the other three aspects of its context. Its *connection to social structures* was achieved through a princely patronage that could not but be affected by the consolidation of colonial rule, its *appropriateness to certain settings* became more narrowly defined as the overall propriety of the courtesan tradition began to be questioned, and the *characteristic interaction between audience and performer* was based on a level of acceptability of the courtesan-patron relationship that did not continue into the modern period. If we consider the same four elements of the context of *ṭhumrī* as it is performed in a modern setting, we find that its primary *customary usage* now is at the end of a *khyāl* concert, and likewise in commercial recordings, as a sweet and not-too-taxing finale. Its *connection to social structures* remains problematic: accepted as a semi-classical item, it is part of the art tradition yet not unambivalently so, and its *appropriateness* remains quite narrowly defined – even as the light after-course to a classical concert it is often replaced by the devotional bhajan. Daniel Neuman confirms the still-problematic relationship between *ṭhumrī* and its allied forms, the 'light-classical' category, and performers on the modern stage, by suggesting that 'a motive for women to abandon the specialization in lighter forms is related to the social identification of these lighter repertoires with the courtesan tradition' (1980:208). So although *ṭhumrī* has made its way from the courtesan's salon into the contemporary concert hall, its licentious past is still considered a vital component of its context, allowing C.S. Pant to remark in 1973 that 'in spite of some of its objectionable associations, the *thumri* is no doubt a flower of transcendant [sic] beauty' (1973:23).¹² These 'objectionable associations' refer to the courtesan tradition, which began to diminish at the beginning of the twentieth century, and had by the time Pant wrote his article been virtually obsolete for some 20 years. As far as its setting is concerned, *ṭhumrī* can be sung in almost any classical concert, but it does have a specific place within those settings, usually as a

¹² Pant finishes his essay with the note that 'beauty can never be defiled' and quotes a line of Sanskrit poetry by Kalidasa to illustrate that point, a rather orthodox and solemn finale.

follow-up to a *khyāl* performance. The interaction between audience and performer is virtually non-existent in terms of direct contact: the performer does not engage in close communication with the audience, although a level of mental interaction usually exists insofar as the audience is engaged with the narrative alluded to in the *ṭhumrī*.

Pant's reflection confirms the extent to which the historical milieu of *ṭhumrī* continues to shape perceptions of the genre. In spite of the actual setting of *ṭhumrī* performance having shifted onto the classical concert stage, the association with the courtesan's salon has proved to be persistent. We have seen that the connection with dance became problematic for the genre towards the end of the nineteenth century and partially precipitated the emergence of *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, which was originally performed with *abhinaya* and eventually developed as a song form in which all 'acting' is done with the voice. The relevance of the contextual dimension is underscored by the fact that as *ṭhumrī* moved its way from the courtesan's salon to the modern concert stage, its lyrics also adapted in both style and content, and were depersonalised or sanitised where this was deemed to be appropriate. It would seem, therefore, that the final authority for deciding what is and is not acceptable in performance is held by the performer herself, or by her teacher, who in a traditional set-up would usually have been a male *sāraṅgī* player. But it clearly is not as simple as that, because even if it were the performer's authority to decide what phrases she includes in or expunges from the text she is singing, this decision-making process is based on socially-determined value systems. The motivation for adapting the genre to suit the tastes and sensibilities of a newly-emerging audience would have been to avoid offending the new patron, and to inspire appreciation in him. It therefore seems that we need to locate the ultimate control over performance standards in the sphere of patronage. Let us then briefly chart the transformation of patronage of North Indian art music over the last 150 or so years.

5.5 Patronage

One of the main factors in the change in attitude of the colonial rulers towards indigenous arts was, according to Pushpa Sundar, the Revolt or Mutiny of 1857, which precipitated 'an immediate feeling of revulsion on the part of the

British for the Indian arts' (1995:25). This sentiment affected the opinions of those Indians who were influenced by Western ideology through work, education, or disposition, but it did not necessarily have an immediate bearing on those princely rulers whose administration continued throughout colonial rule or on the landed aristocracy - although many did become extremely westernised. Their capacity and inclination to patronise the arts, however, declined as a result of their diminishing powers and finances. There are diverging views as to how long courtly patronage continued: Wade observes that 'by the twentieth century, patronage had almost become a thing of the past in many northern and southern courts' (1994:19); Neuman, on the other hand, suggests that, although princely patronage did indeed decline from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, in some cases it lasted until Independence (1980:171). There may be some confusion as to what constitutes a 'court'; Neuman's numerous and vivid examples and anecdotes suggest that in some instances a court was small enough to employ just two or three classical musicians, a far cry from the opulence and grandeur of the court of Wajid Ali Shah, whose image is conjured up so easily in the context of courtly patronage of music, and especially *thumrī*.

With the increasing tide of nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries came a renewed interest in India's traditional cultural heritage, which was encouraged by reformers and educationists such as Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941); his guidance in the appreciation of Indian music, combined with his own compositions of songs that drew on both the classical and folk traditions of India, served to make music both acceptable and accessible to a wide audience. The two men most widely considered to be responsible for the dissemination of Hindustani music among the middle classes are Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande (1860-1936) and Vishnu Digambar Paluskar (1872-1931). Bhatkhande is most famous for his six-volume work *Hindustānī Sangīt Paddhati: Kramik Pustak Mālīkā* (first published in 1925), a comprehensive compilation of songs from and outlines of most of the *rāgs* which were current at the time. He was also the driving force behind the establishment of musical institutions, most notably the Marris College of Music in Lucknow, which is now called the Bhatkhande College of Music. Bhatkhande was a lawyer by profession, and espoused a scientific approach to music - an often-levelled criticism, in that he is not considered to have had a very substantial practical knowledge of music. Vishnu Digambar on the other hand came from a *haridāsī* family of religious poets and singers; he

himself became an accomplished classical vocalist. His interest in drawing up the rules of each *rāg* as it was performed at the time, as opposed to following ancient written models, led to the establishment of numerous music colleges called Gandharva Mahavidyalaya, the first of which was opened in Lahore in 1901.¹³ The very act of establishing formal training institutions, in which theoretically any member of the public could enrol and learn about classical music, was nothing short of revolutionary: teaching classical music had up until then been the sole privilege of hereditary musicians in a formal teacher-disciple relationship (*guru-śiṣya*; *ustād-šāgird*).

The dissemination and promotion of classical music was not restricted to pedagogical institutions; alongside the establishment of music colleges came the inception of music 'conferences' (festivals) which allowed music to be heard by a larger public, attenuating its inaccessibility and elusiveness.¹⁴ The advent of public concerts had a number of consequences: firstly, as artists who had been taught in the guarded environment of a teacher-disciple relationship were not disposed towards sharing the intricacies of their musical property with an unknown and impersonal audience, they restricted their performances to relatively nondescript items. This remains a factor in many public concerts; unless the audience is considered erudite and appreciative, an artist is unlikely to perform well-guarded musical gems. A further important aspect of performances in public halls, and one that is perhaps more relevant today than at the beginning of the twentieth century, is that of sponsorship: it is rare that entrance tickets - if they exist at all, because many concerts and festivals are free - cover the actual cost of the programme, and revenue is generated by both governmental and private sponsorship. Concert posters and programmes frequently contain advertising, the content of which is entirely aimed at middle-class demands. The advertiser benefits on a number of counts: he can use this form of advertisement as a tax deduction, while his public image is well-served by being seen to be

¹³Discussions of both Bhatkhande's and Paluskar's life and work are included in Deodhar 1993, pp. 38-50 and pp. 133-145 respectively.

¹⁴The motivation behind and manner of such music festivals in India is similar to the nineteenth-century Swiss Federal Song Festival described by Hobsbawm (1993:6), the statutes of which declared its objects to be 'the development and improvement of the people's singing, the awakening of more elevated sentiments for God, Freedom and Country, union and fraternization of the friends of Art and the Fatherland'.

sponsoring the arts¹⁵. Without this kind of sponsorship, many music concerts would not be economically viable. However, as with all advertising, the sponsor may have a certain amount of control over the content and nature of the programme. As long as *thumrī* continues to be perceived as a problematic genre, with all of its disreputable associations, its performers will have to restrict its scope within classical music performance, by emphasising its other-worldly qualities and by demoting its status to that of a final or 'encore' item.

By far the biggest patron of classical musicians is government-controlled All India Radio (AIR), which actually began life as a commercial station in 1927, but was soon thereafter taken over by the state¹⁶. Former AIR administrator K.S. Mullick (quoted in Neuman 1980:172) recalls how in the early days of the station most performers were recruited from the courtesan class, as the great male vocalists were not prepared to have their music broadcast to an anonymous audience, and amateurs did not perform in public. The ensuing reputation of the radio station as employer of dancing girls did nothing to improve its position with either professional or amateur musicians.

Consequently Sardar Patel, at that time the Minister for Broadcasting, introduced a ban on performers 'whose private life is a public scandal' after Independence.¹⁷ The problem posed by courtesans performing in situations where their livelihood was considered shameful also arose in the recording industry. As with early radio broadcasts, gramophone recordings, which began in India in 1902, had to draw their artists from the courtesan class; courtesan artists such as Gauhar Jan and Janki Bai, whose early recordings are nowadays available on compact disc, insisted that the word 'amateur' was included on the record label for the sake of their reputation¹⁸. In this way the women themselves colluded in keeping their professional identities under cover, thereby increasing the marginalisation of those unable or unwilling to do so.

The new patrons of musicians, i.e. the teaching colleges, the public concerts, and the radio station, were essentially motivated by the same set of

¹⁵The advertiser-concert organiser relationship is described in Neuman 1980:212.

¹⁶Neuman 1980:172.

¹⁷*vide* n.4 of this chapter.

¹⁸According to Neuman, a similar valuation on amateur status as a symbol of respectability is found in Iran and Afghanistan (1980:216).

considerations: the promulgation of classical music was to lead to a renaissance of the great Indian cultural heritage and give Indians a sense of pride in national arts and culture as the country gradually moved towards Independence. Performance theorists argue that cultural performances are reflexive instruments of cultural expression; folklorist Richard Bauman explains that 'performance studies in anthropology ... demonstrate that cultural performances may be primary modes of discourse in their own right, casting in sensuous images and performative action rather than in ordered sets of explicit, verbally articulated values or beliefs, people's understandings of ultimate realities and the implications of those realities for action'¹⁹. In Neuman's words, 'music can be considered as a model, a microcosm, or reflection of a sociocultural system. (...) Artistic performances can also be said to be reflections *on* or *about* cultural systems; that is, music provides a commentary, reading, or exegesis of a sociocultural system. It speaks to the members of a society and constructs part of the meaning or set of meanings about being a participant. In this sense music transcends the cultural system from which it derives - as component and model - and provides a metacommunication about the totality of a people' (Neuman 1980:28). In this light it is perhaps understandable that the explicit presence of songstress-courtesans was considered undesirable, and that overt associations with the courtesan tradition were suppressed, not so much because the sensibilities of the audience may have been offended - although they most probably would have been - but because such associations would have raised questions concerning the nature of the great Indian cultural heritage that was meant to be a source of pride, and hence would have called into question the very identity of the Indian people. What is less obvious is the extent to which the historical association with courtesans continues to haunt *ṭhumrī* in modern times, though it may simply be a matter of having to finish what was started: the truth about the original milieu of *ṭhumrī* has been veiled for so long that divulging it is increasingly difficult, and hereditary performers continue to collude in keeping up appearances.

Neuman aptly points out that 'the public personality of an artist also contributes to an interpretive context creating meaning in the music through extramusical messages' (1980:221). It follows that the genre considered to be

¹⁹Bauman 1992:41-49. In the context of reflexivity, Bauman refers to the work of anthropologists Roger Abrahams, Clifford Geertz, Richard Schechner, and Victor Turner.

the art form *par excellence* of courtesans will be stigmatised, and that one of the ways in which this stigmatisation can be removed is for that genre to be seen to be performed by 'respectable' and devotional singers. The following anecdote may illustrate the dynamic by which an art form takes on the identity of its performers: when I asked a middle-class singer in Bombay what her opinions were of some of the great Benares *ṭhumrī* singers, she shrugged her shoulders and said 'Oh, I don't like the Benares style, with *bhāṅg* and *pān* and all that'. For her, the milieu of the typical Benares performance had become identified with the actual music to such an extent that she could no longer distinguish them when it came to giving an opinion of the music only.²⁰ Performers of *ṭhumrī* are therefore particularly inclined towards cultivating a respectable image of themselves; this usually involves publicising the singer's religious inclinations. This emphasis on the religious recapitulates the age-old dichotomy of classical music performance in India: music has traditionally been performed at the courts and in the temples, and musicians were consequently connected with either courtly or religious performance. Although it has to my knowledge never been claimed that *ṭhumrī* developed out of temple music, highlighting a singer's religious disposition does serve to create a link to that performance strand, while at the same time dissociating from the courtly tradition and courtesan life.

5.6 Conclusion

We have seen that the context of *ṭhumrī* was that of songstress-courtesan culture, particularly as it existed in nineteenth-century *navābī* courts. As a result of the annexation of Avadh and the exile of its *navāb* Wajid Ali Shah, a great lover and patron of *ṭhumrī*, courtesan culture declined and *ṭhumrī* as it existed at the time lost its prominent status. After the Mutiny and consolidation of imperial rule, the British, as well as the newly-emerging

²⁰*Pān* seems to be particularly problematic for those preoccupied with morality: an article by Amit Agarwal in *The Times of India* (27.9.84) describes a situation in which some women started to eat *pān* during a concert by Kishori Amonkar, arguably the most famous female vocalist in India today. Amonkar stopped her performance: "This is not a *kotha*", she said to the stunned audience. "You people have no respect for music." Amonkar herself is the daughter of a famous courtesan, (a detail that is not publicly discussed).

western-educated bourgeoisie, grew increasingly scornful of indigenous music and dance which were so inextricably linked with the perceived depravity of courtly life and the courtesan milieu, while educationists and reformists aimed to promote India's ancient culture for the sake of nationalist pride and awareness. The latter cause was aided by a number of new patrons: music colleges, music festivals – which are even today usually presented as an emblem of cultural unity – and, most importantly, the government-controlled All India Radio. This new patronage gave *ṭhumrī* a new lease of life although the genre had to struggle to adapt to its new surroundings. From the grandeur of the courts, when *ṭhumrī* was primarily used in dance performances, *ṭhumrī* migrated to the intimacy of the courtesan's salon, in which the close proximity of the audience could be utilised by the performer who could project the image of the absent lover on to her patron while she herself acted out, with hands, face and voice, her longing and despair. Finally, the genre ended up on an official concert stage. In this new milieu there was less audience interaction, and any hint of an association with the courtesan milieu had to be suppressed as the historical context of *ṭhumrī* was considered a source of shame. These two aspects - the lack of performer-audience communication and the persistence of the courtesan's stigma - affected the lyrics of *ṭhumrī* in a number of ways.

The most predictable changes in the lyrics concerned overtly erotic material, which clearly had no place in the new surroundings. Although there is some written evidence of obscene lyrics, these are never heard on either the modern stage or in extant recordings. A related secondary development resulted in certain words or phrases being expunged or altered for the sake of respectability: words for 'breasts' may be replaced with other body parts and a mention of the heroine's lonely bed may be substituted by a more general reference to her surroundings. The sanitisation achieved by such use of a general reference also serves to depersonalise the texts, removing overt connections to intimate performer-audience interaction and at the same time opening up an avenue for devotional interpretation. The devotional interpretation is further facilitated by the presence of the lover-god Krishna, whose name – generally in the form of an epithet – may be interpolated while a reference to a secular lover may be excised. Generally speaking, the lyrics of *ṭhumrī* as it is performed today are not excessively intimate and may be inclined towards the devotional, although ambiguity remains an integral quality of the texts.

We have established that the motivation to adapt the lyrics and general mood of ṭhumrī to its new milieu was in response to the new patrons of music and the need to distance it from the tainted association with courtesan culture. This finding is consistent with the view that the control over the production of art is, in the final analysis, in the hands of the patron; in other words, cultural performance is partly if not entirely dictated by market forces. We have already met with Erdman's enquiry in this context in chapter 4, and shall address apposite issues in more detail in the next chapter. Her examination of the controllers and beneficiaries of cultural production is highly relevant to the present research, which in turn offers further insights: the changing role of ṭhumrī in the overall framework of Hindustani music and the way the genre has adapted to a changing environment indicates how an art form may respond to the fluctuating requirements of production and consumption without irrevocably compromising its basic identity. In its original context, the aim of ṭhumrī performance was to sensually inspire the patron, to provide pleasure and to attract and maintain the performer's clientele. In the present-day milieu, the sexual associations of ṭhumrī are no longer relevant, but it remains a sensuous form that is expected to provide a pleasing and attractive finale to a 'serious' musical performance. By being able to adapt to its changing environment ṭhumrī has carved a niche for itself, thereby consolidating the possibility of enduring survival.

A genre's ability to harmonise with its surroundings is essential to its continued existence. In the last chapter we discussed the options available to the art producer who strives to innovate because the existing avenues seem outdated or appear to have been explored to capacity. Adaptation is not necessarily analogous to innovation, although their rationale may be similar and both may be motivated by a perceived need to harmonise with a changing environment. The issue of innovation is significant in a discussion of tradition, as it has ramifications for the ways genres are identified and considered authentic. Although it is unlikely that the questions that arise in such a discussion can be answered exhaustively, we may aim to arrive at an understanding of the dynamics of generic definitions as applied to ṭhumrī. It is to this task that we now turn.

Chapter 6: Genre, Authenticity and Tradition

6.1 Introduction

Any analysis of the demarcations of genre in Indian music sooner or later meets a significant obstacle in the form of the existence of a 'semi-classical' or 'light-classical' category. Although these terms¹ seem to adequately describe a genre that is located near the midpoint of the continuum between classical and non-classical forms, they in fact tend to be badly defined and used in a variety of (sometimes conflicting) contexts. Not only is the concept confusing to the uninitiated (is it the *semi* or the *classical* that is most salient?), even performers of genres included in the category are unclear as to what the conditions for inclusion actually are. We begin this chapter with a brief and general examination of the concept of genre per se, arriving at the focal point of *thumrī*'s status as a semi-classical genre. Comparing *thumrī* to closely related folk-derived genres helps to contextualise *thumrī*'s position in the semi-classical category, whereas juxtaposing *thumrī* with the modern or pop *ghazal* proves to be instructive in terms of the avenues open to an art form when faced with the virtual extinction of its customary performance context. As we shall see, the traditional Urdu *ghazal* has become extremely popular in its modern incarnation by transforming its lyrics and musical score in such a way as to achieve maximum accessibility. *Thumrī*, on the other hand, continues to be haunted by its association with courtesan culture and has to emphasise its traditionality to such an extent that we may even speak of a Hobsbawmian invention. How tradition is invented and maintained of course depends on the nature of the topic; in the case of *thumrī*, an aura of tradition and continuity is achieved through its employment of formulae - a term which is borrowed from oral-epic analytical discourse and redefined following John D. Smith's example (1999). The overwhelming effect of the increasing availability of mass media can not be over-emphasised.

Understanding the cultural implications of constructs such as authenticity and tradition will help towards an appreciation of the dynamics of cultural

¹The terms are not included in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Sadie 1980). In the West, orchestral popular music is sometimes referred to as 'light-classical', but 'semi-classical' appears to be an Indian coinage.

conservatism and innovation, and of the value placed on continuity. A return to the classical element in the semi-classical category brings the discussion full circle as we see that genre, tradition, aesthetic value and classicality are ultimately contingent upon the contract between performer and patron, and by extension, upon the dynamics of production and consumption.

6.2 The meaning of genre

Ruth Finnegan writes that 'classification no doubt enters into all branches of scientific study...[but] has been particularly prominent in the field of oral arts and traditions' (1992:135). The impulse to identify generic categories in the oral arts has resulted from a need to understand the nature of the object of study by locating it in a familiar framework, as well as from attempting to accommodate the demands of cross-cultural comparative studies. The vast amount of scholarly research that has been carried out on the topic of genre has illuminated the problems involved in using traditional classification systems in inappropriate contexts, and has exposed the dangers of ethnocentricity. For instance, in the controversy surrounding discussions of African epics (Finnegan 1992:151), research has demonstrated that even terminology whose meaning and consequences may have been taken for granted needs to be clearly defined. The distinction between prose and poetry, for example, is not as straightforward as might be assumed, nor is it necessarily appropriate to make this distinction with regard to certain cultures. It is therefore vital to approach the issue of genre from within its own cultural context, and establish what indigenous terms and conventions signify. As Abrahams formulates it, 'by naming certain patterns of expression we are able to talk about the traditional forms and the conventional contents of artistic representation, as well as the patterns of expectation which both the artist and audience carry into the aesthetic transaction' (1976:193).

The task of differentiating between genres is intrinsically selective: meaning and relevance are allocated to certain components which are deemed particularly significant. Although a selection of such components based on preconceived and culturally determined perceptions on the part of the analyst may not be objective, a selection process of sorts has to take place: incorporating every single feature of a genre would be impossible and unhelpful, especially if one is aiming to establish a set of data suitable for comparative analysis. Finnegan (1992:143) suggests these criteria for generic

classification: stylistic features (such as length, prosody, linguistic expression), subject matter, occasion and context, and performance characteristics. In other words, a genre's identity is at least partially determined by its shape, its thematic content, timing of and motivation for its production, and the relation between text and performance. However, although describing a genre according to these criteria may lead to a satisfactory delineation of the genre, it does not necessarily clarify what the actual essentials of the genre are. In the context of folklore, Abrahams suggests that it would be useful to 'describe each genre as a member of a class of related items and yet distinct from the other members of the class in specific and discernible ways' (1976:195), i.e. to identify not only what genres are but more importantly how they differ from other closely-related genres².

Ṭhumrī is very much a case in point in the discussion of what constitutes a genre, as it has moved from being a fast and rhythmic vehicle for dance to becoming a relatively slow and melismatic song form. Although these two styles are distinguished by name - bandīś ṭhumrī and bol banāv ṭhumrī - their essential ṭhumrī-ness is a constant. Many bandīś ṭhumrīs are nowadays known as choṭā khyāls (fast khyāl compositions, conventionally performed after *baṛā* or vilambit khyāl); this appropriation of one genre by another underscores the potential volatility of the concept of genre. The link between bandīś ṭhumrī and bol banāv ṭhumrī is primarily provided by their shared traditional performer, the songstress-courtesan. When we accept that context is a salient feature of generic definition, we do not necessarily anticipate that it may in fact be the most conclusive aspect, more formative than content and form. Of course, if courtesan performance were the only criterion of ṭhumrī-ness, many other genres would also have been subsumed in this category; that they are not demonstrates that other elements have also been critically involved in the shaping of ṭhumrī as a genre. Furthermore, khyāl, which was also performed by tavāyafs, is now considered an unequivocally classical genre. The origins of khyāl are generally undisputed. Since its beginning it has been performed by highly trained male vocalists as well as courtesans, and it has, at least in current lore, such a distinct history and tradition that it has a palpable identity away from the courtesan milieu. Khyāl is now some

²This methodology resonates with the view of some classical vocalists in India that it is most efficient to teach clusters of related rāgs over a short period of time; by distinguishing between similar rāgs the student not only learns the shape of the rāg but also what its quintessential qualities are.

250 years old which, although far from ancient, does invest the genre with a strong element of traditionality. Other genres performed by *tavāyafs* (such as *gazal*, *dādrā*, *kajrī*, and *caitī*) are often grouped together as light-classical or, less frequently, semi-classical genres; elucidating this classification presents the researcher with a challenging task, as the criteria seem to be fluid and determined by the vicissitudes of opinion. At best we can note these criteria with a view to outlining the rationale behind this vague classification.

Not only scholars and external observers, but also the proponents of an oral genre are inclined to dispute the genre's nature and essential characteristics. Consistent with the premise that the most formative element of *ṭhumrī* may well be its traditional performer, Joyce Flueckiger notes that in Chattisgarh 'genres are seen to be clustered not by similarities of form but by social categories of practitioners (unmarried girls, married women, men) in indigenous thought' (in Appadurai 1994:13). As genres change, perceptions and definitions have to adapt - be these changes endogenous, i.e. as a result of someone from within the tradition expressing and acting upon a perceived need for improvement, or exogenous, in which case the genre responds to a shift in its circumstances. In the context of Manuel's discussion of the changing patronage of the Urdu *gazal*, Appadurai concludes that 'as audience aesthetics change, performers must meet new demands or fade from popularity' (1994:19). Genres may be shaped by the demands of the audience. In his discussion of the rise of the Bhojpuri folk music genre *birahā*, Scott L. Marcus describes how the poets of this genre began to experiment with its form in the late 1940s, which lead to contemporary audiences ceasing to recognise it as 'birahā' and referring to the genre simply as *lok gīt*³. In spite of this trend on the part of its audience, 'the *birahā* community continues to call their genre *birahā*' (Marcus 1989:100). However, audience satisfaction does ultimately prove to be a crucial factor, as in the conclusion of the same essay Marcus notes that 'singers and poets proved remarkably flexible in their understanding of what constituted the genre. Change was never shunned. Rather, the genre was shaped and reshaped over the years to keep it responsive to the interests of its audiences' (Marcus 1989:111). In terms of patronage, the audience does not necessarily embody the financial power behind a performance, and sponsors may have a substantial amount of control over the parameters of a genre. Introducing Philip Lutgendorf's essay

³It is significant that this is a loan translation from English.

on *Rāmcaritmānas* performances in Benares, Sondria Freitag explains how at a certain point in this performance tradition a shift occurred in the interpretation of bhakti, in which its 'countercultural qualities' were glossed over in favour of emphasis on bhakti as a 'general devotional religion'. This shift coincided with the emergence of a 'triumvirate of power holders in Banaras who espoused high Hindu culture' and who did not only finance such events as auspicious acts of charity 'but also as an investment in a form of didactic instruction for the lower-caste residents of the city dominated by these power holders' (Freitag 1989:26). As we saw in chapter 5, financial sponsors can actively influence the shape of performance, and this process can have serious repercussions on the overall identity of a genre.

6.3 Genre and the mass media

The works mentioned in the previous section show that the shaping of a genre's identity, its development, and the options for innovation are determined by a number of factors, many of which are based on perception and expectation as much as on actual form and content. One major cause of innovation and even transformation of musical genres in India over the past few decades has been the ascendancy of the mass media, and the cheap and widespread availability of music cassettes in particular. Manuel has noted its influence on the Urdu *ghazal* (a two-way influence because the popularity of the *ghazal* has in turn contributed to the success of the cassette): there has been a gradual blurring of the distinction between pop and classical styles, the use of poetic Urdu has diminished in favour of simple Urdu familiar to a predominantly Hindu and Hindi-speaking audience, and complex metaphors have given way to sentimental clichés: 'what remains in the modern *ghazal*-song are verses that sound like Urdu, phrases that sound like improvisation, and mannerisms that sound like emotive expression; the result, from the viewpoint of many purists and connoisseurs, is music that is tuneful, soothing, competent, slick, and, in general, kitsch' (Manuel 1994:358). Another genre that, like the modern *ghazal* just described by Manuel, owes its very existence largely to the mass media, is the 'pop bhajan': this genre is in style and diction very similar to the modern *ghazal* ⁴, although it is obviously

⁴This resemblance is due to a number of developments: despite the continuing sanskritisation of language and traditions in North India, the popular bhajan has nevertheless admitted a

different in content. Both genres are primarily aimed at the north-Indian middle classes who are looking for more depth or sophistication than is offered by the average film song, yet find classical music too demanding; the fact that the vast majority of the middle classes in India are Hindu makes the 'pop bhajan' a natural alternative or complement to the modern *ghazal*.

Thumrī has escaped largely unscathed from the impact of the cassette explosion – that is to say, the genre has probably been affected by the wide dissemination of popularised light-classical forms such as the modern *ghazal* and the bhajan, but its basic shape has not been affected, and at present there does not seem to be any imminent danger of a pop thumrī repertoire appearing on the market. Although cassettes with thumrī compilations are available, they are generally aimed at the same connoisseur audience who purchase classical music cassettes and CDs: whereas cassettes of popular music are available in various shops in the bazaar, thumrī cassettes are only available at specialised outlets. The process of analysing why thumrī has not been subject to mass-popularisation in the same way as *ghazal* – the two genres having been, after all, cousins if not siblings in the courtesan's salon – will illustrate the quintessential qualities of thumrī and its contemporary *gestalt*, and will also help us grapple with some of the questions regarding authenticity and tradition that we aim to address in this chapter. We shall see that there can be a distinct disparity between connoisseur and commercial value; those sponsoring an art form are not necessarily those who actually appreciate it in its traditional form. The motivation for sponsorship may be located in the realm of context – the association with culture – much more than in the realm of aesthetics. Before we embark on a comparative study of thumrī and the modern *ghazal*, however, let us consider the intricacies of thumrī's relationship with the indeterminate classification 'semi-classical'.

6.4 Semi-classical genres

In his discussion of the modern *ghazal*, Manuel freely employs the term 'semi-classical' without having defined it. Pitfalls are many when such a vague classification is used; for instance, in the conclusion of the volume in which Manuel's essay appears, the editor groups together 'a whole new series of

more colloquial vocabulary, including words of Perso-Arabic origin such as *duniyā*, whereas the modern *ghazal* now includes a larger stock of Hindi (as opposed to Urdu) vocabulary.

hybrid forms: disco-*garba*, semiclassical *ghazal*, cinematized epics etc.' (Appadurai 1994:474)⁵. Although the term 'semi-classical' is prevalent in both Western and Indian scholarly writing on Indian music⁶, it is not without controversy and can be a matter of some bewilderment to hereditary musicians. In any case, the term is not used to define what are essentially pop genres. When 'semi-classical' is used by scholars or music critics it usually refers to a number of genres that are not considered fully classical (as only *dhrupad* and *khyāl* consistently are), yet are sung with some measure of conscious faithfulness to *rāg* and *tāl* by vocalists who will have received at least a modicum of classical training. The reasons given for genres' semi-classical status vary: some claim it is the absence of a strict adherence to *rāg* that is the deciding factor, although others argue that being able to cross the boundaries of a *rāg* without losing sight of it altogether is much more difficult than simply following the rules as is done in *khyāl*⁷, whereas others suggest that certain genres are semi-classical because of the importance attached to their lyrics. It is also often claimed that genres that have their origin in 'folk music'⁸ are called semi-classical, even though that would exclude *ghazal* and, perhaps to a lesser extent, *bhajan* as well. The latter two genres are sometimes classed together as 'light-classical' although in other contexts that term is used synonymously with 'semi-classical'. *Ṭhumrī*'s status within this somewhat confusing structure is particularly hazy as most people do consider it more 'classical' than 'semi' - although this view is not universally shared⁹. The additionally confusing fact that the term '*ṭhumrī*' is sometimes used as an umbrella term to refer to the entire semi-classical repertoire does in fact facilitate the task of locating *ṭhumrī* in its own context, and helps to explain some of the ambiguities of the genre's status.

⁵Appadurai uses 'semi-classical' as it would be used by an exponent of modern hybrid *ghazal* to describe his own art.

⁶In Hindi, the term *upaśāstrīya* is used, a translation from the English classification, which in itself indicates the relative novelty of such a term. The term 'classical' as applied to art music is a foreign import, and it appears to be the case that the term '*śāstrīya saṅgīt*' is a later coinage - Indianising the sense of classicality.

⁷This argument is of particular relevance to *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, in which the liberal interpretation of *rāg* is part of the singer's skill.

⁸Shukla, for example, locates *ṭhumrī*'s status between *śāstrīya* and *lok saṅgīt* (1983:64).

⁹Jaideva Singh sidesteps the whole issue by adding a new dimension to this debate: '*ṭhumrī* is a purely romantic style of music. Classical art lays emphasis on the beauty of form; the romantic style lays stress on the beauty of content, enhanced by suggestiveness and association' (in Subramaniam, n.d.: 132). Interesting though his perspective may be, it has not influenced conventional genre differentiation.

Ṭhumrī is usually allocated semi-classical status when compared to the fully classical genres of dhrupad and *khyāl*, for instance when a vocalist says she will sing 'classical' first and then ṭhumrī¹⁰; this is then another modality of genre definition, in which the ṭhumrī 'dessert' follows the classical 'main course'. As it has been demonstrated (most notably by Shukla 1983 and Manuel 1989) that ṭhumrī itself has largely grown out of a confluence of classical and folk traditions, ṭhumrī's semi-classical status is sometimes considered to be based on its folk origin. However, when ṭhumrī is juxtaposed with the more immediately folk-based forms its classical status tends to be emphasised, although this may depend on the speaker's perspective: singers who do not sing ṭhumrī are usually more dismissive of the genre's classicality than are those who do include ṭhumrī in their repertoire. Closely connected to ṭhumrī, and sometimes subsumed within the term 'ṭhumrī', is a group of genres that have their roots in the folk tradition¹¹: *dādrā*, *caitī*, and *kajrī* are the main forms in this category.¹² The folk origin of these forms is generally understood to be the reason that they are not considered fully classical. *Kajrī* and *caitī* are indeed folk songs, associated with, and performed in, the rainy season and spring respectively. The *kajrīs* and *caitīs* that are sung by trained vocalists on the concert stage are not, however, village songs; they are either classicized versions of folk songs, or newly composed items that are based on folk music. Folk-derived songs are usually performed on stage by vocalists who also sing ṭhumrī; the skills appropriate to ṭhumrī are then applied by the singer to the folk-derived genres, resulting in a form which may be considered an 'urban folk song'¹³. The reason that ṭhumrī and the folk songs

¹⁰The term 'classical' is commonly used in spoken Hindi, whereas in writing it usually appears in its Hindi translation *śāstrīya*.

¹¹The 'folk tradition' is clearly not one specific, easily identified category; in the present research, I use the term to refer to music and songs that are an organic part of village life; according to this definition the rendition of folk song does not entail the prerequisite of musical training.

¹²Susheela Misra uses a different classification system when she writes about 'the world of semi-classical music (thumri, dadra) as well as (...) the lighter classical varieties like kajari, chaiti, etc. (in *The Hindu*, 6.10.1989). Vocalist Naina Devi describes the *tavāyaf's* repertoire as ranging 'from the classical khayal and thumri to lighter stuff like ghazals' (in *Times of India*, 10.3.1991). These are but two examples of how the classical/semi-classical/light-classical terminology may be mixed and matched at random.

¹³In a lecture-demonstration on the relationship between 'lok gīt' and ṭhumrī, Girija Devi sang a folk song in both 'villagey' and 'urban' style. She introduced the second style by

performed by the *ṭhumrī* singer have the appearance of being similar is because it is the singer's art to embellish and explore the folk-derived songs in the same way that she treats her *ṭhumrī* material; the apparent similarities between *ṭhumrī* and folk-derived genres are therefore evidence of a shared vocal style more than of shared origins.

As the musical aspect of the urban folk song has been influenced by *ṭhumrī*, so have the lyrics of the 'urban folk song' been adapted to the *ṭhumrī* idiom and more often than not feature the same lovelorn heroine or the same descriptions of Krishna's antics. However, whereas *ṭhumrī* texts exist in a timeless realm - arguably an indication of the genre's 'classical' constitution - folk-derived songs are, not surprisingly, more down-to-earth and connected with real time and real places. The following example may illustrate this distinction. It is a *caitī* written by the poet Chabīle¹⁴, who also wrote *ṭhumrī*. This song is therefore an example of a composition which was created within the art music tradition yet was modelled on a folk genre.

सुगना बोले रे हमरी अटरिया हो राम
 सुन सुन लागे रे जिया में कटरिया हो राम ॥
 मैना भी बोले तूती भी बोले
 अरे हाँ और बोले कोयलिया हो राम
 छाए 'छबीले' हमरे बिदेसवा
 अरे हाँ लग रही बिरही कटरिया हो राम ॥ 15

vala...

A parakeet sings on my balcony, oh Ram.
 Listening to it feels like a stab in my heart, oh Ram.
 The mynah also sings, as does the parrot,¹⁶
 and the koel is singing as well, oh Ram.
 My 'foppish lover' is living far away;
 the dagger of loneliness is stabbing me, oh Ram.

saying that the [folk] song had now arrived in the city. (*ab vah gānā śahar mē āyā.*) (SRA Calcutta, tape 674.

¹⁴Chabīle's identity is unclear, but evidence suggests he lived in Benares in the first half of the twentieth century.

¹⁵Sung by Vrinda Mundkur, Mumbai, January 1997. Tape 5 in LdP collection.

¹⁶An ornithologist informs me that 'parrots' do not actually exist in India, and both the *suggā* and the *totā* are in fact types of parakeet. This level of detail rather interfered with the translation of the text, hence the 'free' translation to 'parrot'.

Although this song is very close to certain texts of *bol banāv ṭhumrī* in basic mood, it can also be distinguished on a textual level: the inclusion of the interjection 'ho rāma', which appears almost always in *caitī* and whose inclusion is a virtual prerequisite of the genre, even though it can appear in other genres as well, is a clear marker of the intended folk-element. Furthermore, the presence of the various birds in this text distinguishes it from *ṭhumrī* in which the descriptions of nature tend to be more stereotyped, e.g. the formulaic ensemble of '*mora papihā koyala*' which appears in A5. It is clear, however, that there is more similarity between *ṭhumrī* and this type of folk song than between *ṭhumrī* and, for instance, a text of *dhrupad* or *khyāl* in praise of Śiva or the courtly patron. This is partly because *ṭhumrī* texts are created in such a way as to provoke associations with village life, and partly because, although it is imaged on *ṭhumrī*, the 'urban folk song' does not lose its connection with the original folk genre. We see that there is a two-way dynamic: a genre may be partly or even primarily shaped by its perceived identity, as well as by its own historical development.

6.5 The generic specifics of *ṭhumrī*

As we saw in chapter 2, the language and linguistic expression of *ṭhumrī* contribute to and also resonate with its overall romantic mood. The use of diminutives, the absence of poetic language such as is found in the Urdu *ghazal*¹⁷, and the absence of tatsama words involving conjuncts all contribute to *ṭhumrī*'s romantic idiom. The heroine of *ṭhumrī* is not depicted as an educated urban lady but rather as a somewhat unsophisticated girl. The depicted rusticity is of course in stark contrast to the realities of courtesan life; although many courtesans might have been village-born, by the time they were singing *ṭhumrī* they would have undergone a rigorous training in music and probably dance, as well as having studied Urdu poetry, manners and etiquette and other facets of sophistication. The stylistic features of *ṭhumrī* help to create a certain image, which then becomes a required component of the genre. Aneeta Sen explains in the context of her own *ṭhumrī* creations, 'the

¹⁷Although the modern Urdu *ghazal* is written in simple Urdu which is easily accessible to Hindi speakers, this diction is still very different from the Braj- and Avadhi-based language that occurs in *ṭhumrī*.

ears have been trained that way, you see, so without a bit of Braj Bhāṣā people do not enjoy it so much' ¹⁸. Similarly, the subject matter of *ṭhumrī* has become standardised to some extent, even though not everyone is agreed on what is and is not acceptable in *ṭhumrī*. For example, the text *kara le śiṅgāra* describes a woman beautifying herself as she prepares for death; singers and music scholars are unagreed as to whether this text is a *ṭhumrī* or a *bhajan*. Similar ambivalence arises in relation to texts describing Ram and Sita or characters from Krishnaite mythology like Udhau or Sudama, who are not part of the amatory framework and whose presence invokes philosophical and ethical issues. As far as the appropriate occasion for a rendition of *ṭhumrī* is concerned, an audience would be extremely surprised if not outraged if a singer decided to begin a recital with a *ṭhumrī*, only to proceed to *khyāl*¹⁹. The only context in which a *ṭhumrī* can be the first item is when the concert is one of 'semi-classical' music, in which case *ṭhumrī* will be the most serious item, followed by *ṭappā* ²⁰, *dādrā*, *kajrī* or *caitī* (dependent on the season, although in metropolitan settings the seasonal aspect of such songs is often ignored). The regulations governing the order of a concert are entirely customary, and possibly reflect a relatively recent development; it is unlikely that in the *mujrā*, where the tone and order of procedure must have been set by the main patron as well as other important - and generous - members of the audience, anybody paid much attention to the ranking of genres.²¹ The definition of

¹⁸ 'कानों का training हो गया है न, तो इसलिए जब तक कि वह थोड़ी सी ब्रिज की बोली न हो, तो लोगों को रस कम आता है।' Aneeta Sen, Mumbai, 27.12.1996. Personal communication.

¹⁹ In a concert in St. John's, Smith Square in London in 1996, vocalist Shruti Sadolikar sang *khyāl* followed by *ṭhumrī* before the interval, and *khyāl* followed by a *bhajan* after the break. Although on this occasion a *ṭhumrī* was followed by a *khyāl*, the fact that the two performances were separated by an interval made the unusual sequence more acceptable, as did the actual rationale behind the occurrence which was the recording of a live cassette on which each side consisted of one half of the concert. The inclusion of a *ṭhumrī* on either side of a cassette to complement the preceding *khyāl* performance is common practice, and indicates the extent to which *ṭhumrī* is considered a 'dessert' to the main course of *khyāl*, although this function of the *ṭhumrī* is nowadays frequently assumed by the *bhajan*.

²⁰ The status of the genre *ṭappā* (said to be derived from Panjabi folk music), which on the concert stage requires extreme vocal virtuosity, illustrates that varying sets of standards are involved in genre-based ranking: whereas in a *khyāl* concert, *ṭappā* - when it is sung - would usually precede *ṭhumrī* (because it is more virtuosic), in semi-classical concerts *ṭhumrī* is generally the opening piece, which could then be followed by a *ṭappā* (because *ṭhumrī* is usually longer).

²¹ There is the additional consideration that there is a certain logic inherent in having a 'light' item follow a 'heavy' item. However, in modern performance the rules of 'rank' tend to be quite rigidly adhered to (with some singers refusing to perform a certain song as an 'encore'

genres and their hierarchical ordering must in no small measure have been influenced by the media. Musical performances are easily accessed by most people via All India Radio, and standardisation is an inevitable outcome of cassettes being widely and cheaply available in India.

6.6 *Thumrī* and the modern *ghazal*

As mentioned earlier, the impact of the expanding cassette industry on the shape of *thumrī* has been negligible; in terms of context it is possible that the wide availability and popularity of bhajan cassettes has increased audiences' desire to hear this genre rather than *thumrī* at the end of a *khyāl* concert, but the growth of 'Hindutva' in India is such that the music industry's relationship with the bhajan requires a much more in-depth analysis than can be undertaken as part of the present study²². Manuel has charted the rise of the modern or pop *ghazal* in his 1993 publication *Cassette Culture*; drawing on this work, it will be instructive to juxtapose the transformation and popularisation of the *ghazal* with the changes that *thumrī* has undergone in the transition from courtesan's salon to concert stage.

Manuel postulates that:

'the modern *ghazal* has emerged and, to some extent, was deliberately created by the cassette industry in order to appeal to a large sector of the pan-regional, Hindi-speaking North Indian bourgeoisie. In particular, it has been oriented toward middle- and upper-middle-class audiences who find film music too rowdy and plebeian, and yet who lack familiarity with pure classical music. The modern *ghazal*, as befits the composition and tastes of its audience, retains a distinctly aristocratic, courtly image (or, one might say, pretension)' (1993:96).

In order for this development to effectively take place, some of the distinguishing features of the *ghazal* had to be removed so that the genre could become accessible to the predominantly Hindu bourgeoisie. Part of this process was textual as complicated Urdu diction and metaphor were replaced

because it would be inappropriate to its place in the hierarchy), but it is unlikely that the ranking of genres was so clearly demarcated in pre-modern times.

²²The two genres are also not mutually exclusive and some singers include both in performance; in that case the *thumrī* (and related genres) will be sung before the bhajan (which would usually be the very last item).

by a more bland and 'Hindi-ised' register. Musically, the *ghazal* lost most of its improvisation and sophistication; a contemporary performer is quoted as saying that improvisation is not appropriate in a concert-hall programme of *ghazal*, as it should all be 'easy tunes and easy lyrics ... so that people can hum the song' (Pamela Singh, in Manuel 1993:100). Manuel explains that 'the absence of improvisation renders the modern *ghazal* fundamentally different in aesthetic content and import from its light-classical antecedent, and more akin to a *git* (geet) - literally "song", but, implicitly, a precomposed commercial song' (1993:98)²³. The commercial-song element of the modern *ghazal* is underscored by the emergence of the 'regional-language *ghazal*'. Although these songs are based on the Urdu *ghazal* in terms of imagery, rhyme scheme, and meter, they are primarily identified as *ghazals* by their style, which imitates that of the contemporary mainstream *ghazal*. The *ghazal*-ness of the pop *ghazal* is not only located in the realm of language and form, but also in the sphere of music, with the audience expecting singable and recognisable tunes.

Although purists and connoisseurs would probably argue that these pop songs are not essentially *ghazals*, the extreme popularity of the modern *ghazal* highlights the extent to which audience response shapes the nature of a genre – a point to which we shall presently return. Similarly, the argument that *ṭhumrī* has not been subjected to this type of transformational process because it would involve taking all the *ṭhumrī*-ness out of the genre – however valid that basic observation – is disproved by the pop *ghazal* still being called 'ghazal'. In the *ghazal*'s previous context, the relationship between text and musical elaboration was similar to that within *bol banāv ṭhumrī*; with the music of the modern *ghazal* having been homogenised by incorporating recognisable tunes and instrumentation, involving synthesizers or Casio-keyboards and guitars as well as indigenous instruments like *sitār* and *tablā*, subtleties within the lyrics are likely to be overshadowed by the music. The subtleties of the lyrics of *bol banāv ṭhumrī* are such that the texts could not easily be transformed into vehicles for bland poppish tunes, devoid of emotional expression or musical improvisation.

²³Manuel's use of the term 'light-classical' to denote the antecedent of the modern *ghazal*, even though he refers to the latter as 'semi-classical' in another publication (1994), exemplifies the inadequacy of such terms, at least as long as they remain ill-defined.

Just as gazal connoisseurs would argue that the pop version of that genre has little in common with the original, a situation could be imagined whereby *ṭhumrī* as we know it today was transformed into an easy-to-digest and banal song form. Part of the explanation as to why this has not happened may be entirely practical: unlike the gazal and bhajan, *ṭhumrī* is not strophic and so does not readily lend itself to being repackaged in pop-song format. The answer possibly, and more significantly, is also located in the sphere of context: although the gazal in its pop incarnation clearly has little aristocratic merit and could hardly be described as sophisticated, the association with nobility and courtly life, the *tahzīb* and *nazākat* of Lucknow and *navābī* culture, persists in the minds of its middle-class audience, and more importantly, its sponsors. The wealthy patrons of contemporary music are themselves rarely trained in the arts, and their generosity is founded on a desire to promote their 'cultural heritage' as well as on the knowledge that sponsoring the arts constitutes good public relations. Even in its blandest and most banal form, the gazal is associated with high culture. This association is encouraged by the promoters of the modern gazal, so that, for instance, singers 'appear on stage and cassette covers dressed in fine Muslim-style *kurtas* and *shervanis*' (Manuel 1993:97). *Ṭhumrī* does not benefit from such cultured overtones: its stylistic idiosyncrasies are such that due to its 'sweet' language, female narration, emotional expression, and overall romantic mood, the genre sooner associates with femininity (and its connotation of 'low culture') than with the masculine domain of 'high culture'.

6.7 Authenticity and authority

The context and associations of an art form are part of its appeal (or lack of it). However unconscious, the appreciation of an art form is partially based on elements of fashionability, class connotations, or socio-political configurations such as the likelihood of someone enjoying the work of an artist whose political views they support; the concept of 'just liking something' is easily deconstructed. An art form may be conceptualised as a commodity whose value depends on market forces. A comparison with the process of evaluation of other commodities will therefore be informative. In his study of 'oriental carpet' weavers, Brian Spooner raises issues that have a cross-referential value to the present discussion: he points out that 'the fact that [the] criteria of classification and appreciation are only imperfectly translatable into market

prices alerts us immediately to a discontinuity between the criteria of commerce and those of connoisseurship' (1986:197). This discontinuity is based on the fact that each of the various parties interested in these carpets - the dealers, the consumers, the connoisseurs, and the collectors - 'stands in a different position in relation to both the prices and the values and has a different understanding of them' (1986:197). This multi-faceted situation is further complicated by the fact that 'the carpet business involves not just the supply of carpets, as in the case of other commodities, but also the supply of information about them' (1986:198). The worth - be it commercial or aesthetic - of oriental carpets is then only partially based on the actual product, with supplementary value being obtained through additional features that are contextual and often based on lore rather than any historical fact. An important and recurring criterion upon which the perceived value of carpets is based is that of authenticity. Spooner argues that the desire for authenticity is a cultural construct²⁴, which thrives on the reinterpretation and reconstruction of data. When authenticity is looked for in an object which is part commodity and part symbol - like oriental carpets - certain attributes end up requiring special meaning through the reconstruction of the social and cultural provenience of the artefact (1986:201). In other words, the symbolic meaning becomes an intrinsic part of the value of the artefact, and may then proceed to take on a life of its own. Spooner gives the example of age, which 'becomes antiquity and bestows an aura on the chosen object' (1986:222).

Handler's view (*vide* fn.24) that the quest for authenticity is connected with Western notions of individuality may be correct when there is a cross-cultural context, as there frequently is in anthropological discourse; the Western researcher looking for the 'real thing' in a non-Western culture is working with a set of assumptions that will almost certainly prevent him from succeeding. For example, Spooner describes how the search for authenticity is often thwarted - albeit unintentionally - by the people among whom it is sought: 'The more we reveal our need for authenticity to the Turkmen, the more they frustrate our search by adapting their wares in ways they imagine should please us' (1986:228). But authenticity itself is not as much a cultural construct as the understanding of what it signifies, which in turn affects the

²⁴A similar sentiment is voiced by Richard Handler, who begins his article 'Authenticity' with the assertion: 'I take "authenticity" to be a cultural construct of the modern Western world', which is 'closely tied to Western notions of the individual' (Handler 1986).

methodology applied to finding it. Western thought would indeed generally connect authenticity with both originality (in its sense of being related to an origin or beginning) and individuality - both essentially Western constructs; the search for authenticity then entails the search for the original, the genuine, the unadulterated essence. In India the concept of authenticity is related to authority more than originality, as Hawley has shown, for instance, in the way that a famous poet's name may be used as a pseudonym by other poets who wish to contribute to the original poet's repertoire and connect with a long-standing tradition²⁵. The 'author' of the poem is in that case purported to be the person on whose authority a statement is made rather than the actual creator of the work.

Indian hereditary musicians are extremely concerned with what they literally call 'the real thing', the *aslī cīz*. For these musicians, the *aslī cīz* is that which is taught in their particular lineage. Little or no value is attached to analytical research with the aim of 'proving' the authenticity (in Western terms) of an item, because this would constitute expressing doubt as to the authority of the elders of the lineage - who are, after all, the custodians and transmitters of the real thing. Even when an artist is aware that an elder member of the tradition has altered a composition, as we know happens in the *ṭhumrī* repertoire, this alteration does not change the item's status of being *aslī*: the teacher has simply corrected a mistake which might have slipped in over the years, or improved the item in such a way that it is now in fact more 'real' than it was previously - more representative of the underlying essence of the art form which it is the teacher's role to distil. Because of the emphasis on the teacher as intermediary between inherent reality and the manifest shape of the art form, historical evidence as to the evolution of a genre is not necessarily considered relevant. What in Western opinion might be considered a rewrite of history may in Indian terms be viewed as establishing a link with the truth, an authentication of the item in question.

The second issue to arise out of Spooner's essay is the disparity between the criteria of commerce and connoisseurship, a disparity which he attributes to the diversity of relationships people have with certain artefacts - depending on what they aim to obtain from the artefact, and what they consider its most valuable attributes. For many, the value of an object lies not so much within

²⁵Hawley (1988a).

the empirical realm as in its entire frame of reference, which in Spooner's work partially explains the Western fascination with oriental carpets in the first place, as they represent an 'otherness' – a mystique which clearly has nothing to do with their first and foremost function of being something to sit on. The connoisseur value of contemporary *ṭhumrī* will be infinitely greater than that of the modernised and hybrid pop *gāzal*, yet it is not *ṭhumrī* that is fabulously lucrative for record companies and concert promoters. We would perhaps expect hereditary musicians themselves to unambiguously align themselves with the connoisseurs rather than with bourgeois audiences, but this is not necessarily the case. When Girija Devi performed in the Purcell Room in London in June 1999, the 'guest of honour' at her performance was Jagjit Singh, 'the king of *gāzal*', one of the most successful modern *gāzal* singers; after the programme he paid his respects to Girija Devi, but it was clear from everybody's demeanour (including hers) that he is the more commercially successful of the two artists.²⁶

Although *ṭhumrī* is not commercially successful in the manner of the modern *gāzal* nor is promoted as a modern genre, part of the aim of the present research has been to demonstrate the way in which *ṭhumrī* has been able to adapt to its changing environment, thereby updating itself sufficiently to ensure continued survival in the modern age. The transformation of *ṭhumrī* from being performed in the courtesan's salon to being incorporated in the classical repertoire performed on the modern stage has taken place in such a way that it has gone unnoticed, consolidating the genre's connection with tradition. *Ṭhumrī*'s 'modernisation' has actually comprised a narrowing down of its scope in terms of subject matter and linguistic expression. The process whereby a cultural artefact is given credence by association with a previous era has been discussed by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1993); 'invented traditions' are 'responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition' (1993:2). The 'invention' of the *ṭhumrī* tradition as it exists today has partially relied on a denial of its real history; the construction of *ṭhumrī*'s invented past has gone hand in hand with the destruction of its actual tradition. To the Western mind, this process may seem dishonest or

²⁶The discrepancy in popularity between art music and the modern *gāzal* may be illustrated by the programme details of these two artists: Girija Devi performed one night in the prestigious but small Purcell Room, which was extremely well-attended but not sold out; Jagjit Singh gave a number of sold-out concerts in a larger venue.

manipulative, a move away from the truth; in an Indian context, such a development may seem quite logical, a re-establishing of the 'true' nature of the genre, a reconstruction of its original and authentic form. How then has *ṭhumrī*'s tradition been invented? I propose that the way that *ṭhumrī* continues to construct its historical tradition is through its use of formulae.

6.8 Use of formulae in *ṭhumrī*

Although the lexical definition of a formula is 'an established form or set of words'²⁷, the most common use of the term in respect of (oral) literature is in the context of oral epic poetry. Milman Parry's definition of a formula (1930) remains widely accepted²⁸: 'a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea'. Parry's work was continued by his student A.B. Lord, and the resulting study *The Singer of Tales* (1960) remains influential in this context. In a 1977 article, Smith began to deconstruct some of Lord's assumptions and conclusions, a task he continued in the light of data obtained from a Rajasthani oral tradition as well as the *Mahābhārata* in an article published in 1999. In this latter essay, Smith breaks down Parry's definition of a formula into its four constituent components:

1. a formula expresses a given essential idea;
2. a formula is regularly employed;
3. a formula is employed under the same metrical conditions;
4. a formula consists of a group of words.

Let us now consider how these components are relevant to the present study.

Smith warns that the part of Parry's definition which stipulates that a formula 'expresses a given essential idea' may in its vagueness overlook the distinction between a theme and a formula, the former being 'standardised building-blocks employed to help realise a narrative', the latter 'standardised building-blocks employed to help realise a text' (Smith 1999:7). The difference

²⁷Collins.

²⁸Smith mentions a few dissonant voices but admits that 'important though such proposals are, they have not been perceived by other scholars as changing the basis for study of formulaic language' (1999:1).

between 'narrative' and 'text' has been addressed by W.F. Hanks, who suggests that 'text' can be taken (heuristically) to designate any configuration of signs that is coherently interpretable by some community of users' (Hanks 1989:95). Although Smith clarifies what he means by 'text' (the text produced in any given oral performance by any given bard), he does not necessarily contradict Hanks' suggestion, and we may for the sake of the present study perhaps take a slightly broader interpretation and follow Hanks' model to include context and even subtext. If we assume formulae to be 'building-blocks' employed to help 'realise' a text in this broader sense, we can safely say that the creation of the 'text of *ṭhumrī*' - its performance characteristics, its linguistic expression, its thematic content - is aided by a set of such building-blocks.

Smith proceeds to argue the distinction between being 'regularly employed' versus being 'frequently employed', and concludes on the strength of evidence in the *Pābūjī* epic that a formula can be shown to be regular without it being frequent. In other words, a phrase does not have to appear often in order to be considered a formula, as long as it occurs with a certain degree of predictability. In the light of this, I suggest that the type of formula that occurs in *ṭhumrī* may be coined a 'propositional formula', in that if one condition is fulfilled there is a high probability that a contingent occurrence will take place.²⁹ For instance, the appearance of the word *śyāma* can by no means be presupposed; when *śyāma* does occur however, it is almost certainly included in the rhyme-scheme. Similarly, if the male protagonist of the *ṭhumrī* is absent, the heroine is likely to be pining for him; if a reason is given for his absence it is likely to be that he has gone to stay with the heroine's rival or co-wife; if this rival is indeed mentioned, she rather than the hero will be blamed for the heroine's state of separation; should the hero return from a night out, he is likely to be greeted with feigned anger; however, if the hero is present from the beginning of the text, he is likely to be harassing the heroine who will be complaining about this yet appear flattered as well. A distinction must be made between essential characteristics of the texts, and formulae: in the former category are features such as the presence of a female speaker and an overall amatory mood, whereas the latter consist of aspects that are not

²⁹There is a parallel with the concept of *mazmūn* in the Urdu gazal, which Frances Pritchett defines as 'a proposition or statement that describes some aspect of the ghazal universe and that is derived metaphorically or logically from previously accepted propositions' (1994:94).

necessarily present; when they are, however, they follow a more or less predictable pattern. The existence of such 'propositional formulae' may be acceptable even in Parry's definition, if we take Smith's proposed modifications to the final part of that definition into account.

The last part of Smith's deconstruction of the Parry definition of a formula pertains to the fourth constituent, which simply states that a formula is a group of words. As Smith points out, 'this might be a thought so obvious as to render comment superfluous' (1999:9). However, Parry himself was apparently already aware that formula-like expressions exist which are not repeated verbatim at each occurrence, and Smith argues for a broadening of the scope of Parry's definition to allow for phrases which have a variable constituent, such as a name which may be replaced by a different name at a different occurrence. He proposes a modification to Parry's definition by which the 'group of words' may be considered a matrix, an item of 'deep structure' rather than a fixed set (op.cit:10). Although few phrases in *ṭhumrī* recur verbatim with a frequency or regularity that would make them truly formulaic, the existence of propositional formulae as described above suggests a parallel with Smith's proposed variable-constituent matrix. A further application of this matrix would be to the phenomenon of the 'floating *antarā*' (even though it is not unique to *ṭhumrī*, *vide* Lath 1983), which was discussed in section 3.6.1.

For Lord, 'oral' means 'oral-formulaic': he considers only those narratives that are formulaically improvised to be oral in his sense of the word. Smith argues compellingly that such a 'Humpty-Dumpty-like instruction to a word to mean what one wants it to mean' is confusing and invalid; moreover, as the *Pābūjī* epic which Smith has analysed is both non-improvisatory and formulaic - an impossible combination in Lord's theory - it shows that theory to be partially incorrect. How does any of this apply to *ṭhumrī*? I suggest that we can apply Smith's criteria for widening the scope of the definition of a 'formula' to the texts of *ṭhumrī*. Would it be possible to be so bold as to suggest that even Smith's treatment of the formula assumes a 'Humpty-Dumpty-like' instruction to that term to mean what we want it to mean? Clearly, the genre is not formulaic in the manner of oral epic poetry, but we may consider for a moment what happens during the process of performance: the singer has decided to perform a particular *ṭhumrī*, let's say, the famous *kauna galī gayo śyāma* in *rāg Khamāj*. The words of the composition are more or less fixed:

most singers include the phrase *batā de sakhī* as part of the *sthāyī* whereas others omit this phrase; *gayo* may also appear in its (honorific plural) form *gaye*. The singer's improvisatory skills will be shown during musical elaboration in which she will sing the words of the composition in such a way that she will every two or three cycles sing the first syllable of 'śyāma' on the first beat (*sam*) of the rhythmic cycle (*tāl*). Usually the words of the composition alone will suffice to allow her to fill the cycles, but at times she may want to resort to adding other words for the sake of the *tāl* or heightened emotional expression. Such words could be other epithets of Krishna, general vocatives like *saīyā* or interjections like *re*, *rī*, or *ho*. These so-called filler-words are however not mere fillers for the sake of the *tāl*, but can also be meaningful in terms of their emotional import. In that way they may certainly be considered 'building-blocks employed to help realise a text', with 'text' including the entire gestalt of the performance.

When the singer has completed the emotional elaboration and melodic extemporisation in the *sthāyī* she will briefly sing the *antarā*. In our example, the *antarā* most commonly sung is *gokula dhūṛhī brindābana dhūṛhī, dhūṛha phirī cārō dhāma*. Because this particular *ṭhumrī* is very famous, most audiences will have a preconceived image of what it should sound like and most singers will oblige the audience's expectation, particularly as regards to the melodic pattern of the all-important *mukhrā*. Should she want to, or need to due to a bad memory, she could also use a different *antarā* than the one she usually sings. Although some purists in the audience would no doubt mutter some words of dismay if the expected words did not materialise, there is in fact no formal reason that *antarās* should not float around, and we know from experience that they do. In our present example the *antarā* is not unique to this *ṭhumrī*, and appears with other *sthāyīs* as well; furthermore, the mood of the *ṭhumrī* is such that a different *antarā*, for instance, the line *jaba se gae morī sudhahū na līnī*, which occurs with a number of *sthāyīs*, would not seem out of place and would fulfil the condition proposed by the fact that the lover is absent, which is that she is pining for him. In performance the singer has, at least in theory, recourse to a number of options which may be termed formulae: emotionally expressive interjections, vocatives and epithets of Krishna, and matrix-phrases such as the floating *antarā*. We may then once again employ terminology from oral-formulaic analysis and include a distinction between 'poetic' and 'bardic' diction, which refers to the different requirements of a phrase as a meaningful cluster of words or a phrase whose

meaning is determined by what it signifies rather than what it actually says. In *ṭhumrī*, propositional formulae may be considered to be 'poetic', as they are an inherent aspect of the poetry, while interjections and vocatives are 'bardic' in that they are employed by the singer at the time of performance and their meaning is contingent upon the mood that she is trying to create in that very moment. Finally, the floating *antarā* may be part of either category, depending on its use and appropriateness in context.

The wide availability of contemporary music has had two effects on the formulaic aspect of *ṭhumrī*. On the one hand the genre has become less formulaic, in that the texts have become more fixed as they have become known to a wider audience and so rely much less on the insertion of certain phrases or floating *antarās* which might previously have been used spontaneously as 'building-blocks' at the very time of performance. From another perspective, however, *ṭhumrī* has become more formulaic, especially in the propositional sense, in that the increasing element of predictability makes for a strong sense of recognition which allows the audience to situate themselves in relation to the performance. In his discussion of the performance of the *Rāmcaritmānas*, Lutgendorf explains that 'the formal expectations of *kathā* audiences ... allow them to savour the appropriateness of formulaic epithets rather than to view them as tired clichés' (1994:192). Similarly, the existence of formulae in *ṭhumrī* satisfies the audience's desire to have certain expectations fulfilled; the sense of familiarity which most *ṭhumrīs* instil is something to be treasured rather than scorned. Without it, the *ṭhumrī* would not fulfil its role, and so the formulae help to create the reality of the text and give it its own identity. I propose that the effects of the formulaic use of language and motif in *ṭhumrī* are threefold. It consolidates generic identification and thus confirms preconceptions of the shape and character of the genre. It implies a level of 'traditionality', suggesting that *ṭhumrī* as it consistently appears now must have always been of this shape. Finally, the continuous association with the Krishna tradition locates *ṭhumrī* in both devotional and traditional realms. All these components conspire to create an aura of continuity and authenticity. As such they are essential to *ṭhumrī*'s invented tradition which has allowed the genre's transition from courtesan's salon to contemporary concert stage.³⁰

³⁰As Sudipt Dutta writes in *The Telegraph* (Calcutta) on 25.3.1988: 'Any lover of Hindustani music would blanch at the thought that some people in the world think that it was sustained in the *kotha*.' The gist of Dutta's article is that *ṭhumrī* can not be considered classical music,

The dilemma facing the contemporary performer of art music is that the performance is on the one hand considered to be a representation of essential truths and an ongoing tradition, while on the other hand the people in the audience want to feel that they are part of the aesthetic experience. It is testament to the performer's skill how well he or she is able to fulfil the role of intermediary. The significance of formulaic use of language and motif is well expressed by Foley, who explains that 'each phrase or scene (...) reaches out actively into the audience's experience to enlarge the present moment, to fill it with life, to convey meaning not properly present in the physical text at all' (in Finnegan 1992:111). A formula triggers a recognition response, which is one of its merits in folklore as it allows the audience to situate themselves in the appropriate context; I suggest that the formulaic use of language and motif in *ṭhumrī* functions in a similar manner.

In *ṭhumrī*'s previous performance environment, the lyrics allowed the performer to - directly or indirectly - address her patron, charm him, entice him, engage with him as part of the package of performance. In the days of the *mujrā* the *tavāyaf* was able to engage in intimate personal interaction with her audience, who would have been sitting close to her. The efficacy of communication would not have been hindered by a large stage - if indeed by any stage - nor by the depersonalising effects of an amplification system. Members of the male audience are likely to have felt that the singer, describing the pain of separation and her longing for her beloved, was addressing them in person. In a modern concert hall none of these performance characteristics remain. The singer is sitting some distance away from her audience, usually on a raised stage; in front of her will be a number of microphones, creating a physical barrier as well as an aural one in that the singer's voice reaches the ears of her audience in amplified form. There is little space for intimacy or direct personal interaction. It is a testament to the

due to its connection with the *koṭhā*. This illustrates the relevance of the genre's dissociation with that aspect of its history. Interestingly, the newspaper printed a number of opposing views alongside Dutta's article; seven singers and music critics offer their opinion as to why *ṭhumrī* is classical music, but the reasons given vary. They include *ṭhumrī*'s employment of *rāg*, the ability to 'perfect the seven notes', the need for training in the use of aesthetics, the need for instinct rather than training, *ṭhumrī*'s dignified structure and aim of evoking *śṛṅgāra rasa*, and the *ṭhumrī* singer's need to have complete mastery over classical music, even though *ṭhumrī* 'can perhaps be called semi-classical as it represents the romantic aspect of Hindustani music'.

efficacy of the relationship between music and texts in *ṭhumrī* that the lyrics of *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, even as it is performed on the modern stage, compel the audience to feel engaged with the narrative setting. Aided by the employment of both self-reflexive formulae and those alluding to a realm outside of *ṭhumrī*, most notably Krishnaite mythology, audiences are able to contextualise the setting of the text in spite of an apparent dearth of explicit information in the texts themselves.

6.9 The functions of formulae: genre and tradition

Although a preoccupation with classification and categorisation is often considered a typical Indian trait, the detailed generic classification that is now applied to music is a fairly recent development, which was possibly consolidated with the help of the bureaucratic system of All India Radio ³¹. In the course of my research, older musicians did at times become exasperated with my queries on categories such as 'semi-classical', 'light-classical', and even '*ṭhumrī*' itself; an elderly hereditary musician in Benares dismissively stated that in his day - well before Independence - nobody cared about such terms³², while another said that previously genres like *ṭhumrī* were simply known as *caltī huī cīz*³³. Older anthologies confirm the use of such terms, although there is of course also substantial written evidence that the generic names in present use were common long before the ascendancy of AIR. It is, however, likely that the government-controlled radio station needed to have clear information regarding each artist's repertoire for the sake of their programming schedule, just as they examine their artists in order to grade them on a hierarchical scale. Along with being graded in terms of skill, artists are categorised in terms of the genres they perform³⁴; when AIR first adopted such a classification system, it must have had a profound and perhaps confusing effect on the way genres were named and perceived.

³¹This applies to the semi-classical (a term which in itself is a case in point) genres in particular, and undoubtedly also to the various folk songs that are nowadays sung on the radio and therefore have to be named and categorised, even though such treatment does not necessarily bear much relevance to the life of such songs in their original setting.

³²Pandit Hanuman Prasad Mishra, Benares, February 1997. Personal communication.

³³Rai Anand Krishna, Benares, March 1997. Personal communication.

³⁴Auditions are conducted for three classifications, each of which have different criteria for grading: classical vocal, classical instrumental, and 'light music'. *Ṭhumrī* is not a requirement for any of these categories.

Genre, then, is about expectation and sometimes even cliché; ultimately it is a tool constructed with the aim of classifying, understanding, comparing - all undoubtedly positive and useful objectives, but the result of too rigid an adherence to the concept of genre is that it narrows the scope of an art form and oversimplifies complex situations. *Ṭhumrī* as it existed in the middle of the nineteenth century was a very different genre from what it is today, and may not even have achieved the consistent status of being a fixed genre at all. Contemporary audiences listen to *ṭhumrī* with a certain level of expectation, and yet this expectation has been created through a gradual narrowing down of options and a persistent dissociation with a tradition that is now considered embarrassing and shameful. The idea of genre helps us to orientate ourselves in relation to an art form, as it advises us where our interpretation ought to be pitched. An image of *ṭhumrī* as a romantic genre which is primarily located in a devotional idiom has been carefully constructed³⁵; this construct has without a doubt ensured *ṭhumrī*'s survival into modernity. The more up-to-date *ṭhumrī* gets, the more traditional it appears to be.

6.10 Tradition and innovation

In its most basic sense, a tradition is something that is handed down from the past to the present. Something that is considered traditional is not usually subject to critical enquiry (from within the tradition): the very fact that it is 'traditional' gives it value and credence, and renders it beyond questioning. For most Indian hereditary musicians, this is commensurate with an item being authentic in the sense of it being an *aslī cīz*. Of course, the value of tradition is not necessarily appreciated by those outside of it, as the suspension of judgement which is inherent in tradition may be considered problematic³⁶. Criticism of tradition may be based on the implicit belief that tradition is not open to progress or change; if this were truly the case, however, all traditions would be destined to become extinct – progress being

³⁵This construct is continuously confirmed by *ṭhumrī* performers; Savita Devi described the genre as 'a blend of *bhakti* and *shringar rasa*' (Savita Devi interviewed by S. Sahaya Ranjit, *Sunday Mail*, 9.7.94).

³⁶Shils notes that 'social scientists associate tradition with backwardness and reactionary beliefs' (1981:9).

a necessary component of survival. Edward Shils admits that in any tradition some changes are likely to happen; what makes a tradition thus, however, is that certain essential elements persist, and 'are recognisable by an external observer as being approximately identical at successive steps or acts of transmission and possession' (1981:14).

In *ṭhumrī*, a profound sense of continuity is provided by the formulaic nature of the texts. However, the need for expectation to be fulfilled also hampers the possibility of progress, as the existence of a level of cliché and predictability is in the process of becoming - if it has not already done so - a defining quality of the genre. We would usually associate innovation and progress with a widening of scope, the ability to absorb new ideas, and the capacity to respond to a changing environment. *Ṭhumrī* has of course shown that it possesses the latter facility, although in responding to changes in its environment it appears to have become narrower rather than broader, and to have shifted its emphasis from the erotic onto the devotional. The essential element of *ṭhumrī*, which in Shils' definition allows for a continuing tradition, is the amatory, the element of *śṛṅgāra rasa* discussed in chapter 4; perceptions and treatment of this essential element have shifted in response to and in accordance with the requirements of the genre's new patronage system. Shils asserts that the changing of an artistic tradition involves innovative work 'with the intention of attaining the adequate expression of a superior insight' (1981:216). The present-day emphasis on the devotional element in *ṭhumrī* may be considered just such an expression, an affirmation of the intrinsically devotional nature of *ṭhumrī* rather than a modern superimposition. The devotional interpretation of *ṭhumrī* might be considered a return to the genre's original and authentic form, a reconfirmation of *ṭhumrī*'s true nature rather than a reorganisation of the facts of the genre's development. The linguistic expression of *ṭhumrī* lends itself well to the devotional interpretation, and in many instances a minor alteration results in a major shift of mood or context.

In an article entitled 'The dwindling dhrupad', Krishna Bisht argues that dhrupad became moribund when it became stereotyped (in Mukhopadhyay 1978:92)³⁷. The question arises whether *ṭhumrī*'s reliance on the element of

³⁷This moribundity has not yet resulted in the genre's death, but this is largely due to a concerted effort on the part of a small number of connoisseurs and sponsors to inject the dwindling tradition with a new dose of vigour; this process has been aided by the fact that

predictability is not ultimately going to lead it in a similar direction.

Hobsbawm suggests that the difference between 'tradition' and 'custom' is located in flexibility: whereas tradition is characterised by invariance, custom 'does not preclude innovation and change up to a point, though evidently the requirement that it must appear compatible or even identical with precedent imposes substantial limitations on it. (...) "Custom" cannot afford to be invariant, because even in "traditional" societies life is not so' (1993:2). To illustrate the often artificial nature of tradition - which is after all the purpose of his book - Hobsbawm's point is well-made, though it is incompatible with Shils' view (discussed earlier) that any tradition will be compelled to develop adaptability sooner or later. Perhaps the key lies once again in expectation: whereas in actual fact both tradition and custom need to have a degree of responsiveness to changing environments, tradition is characterised by perceived constancy and continuity. The actual difference between tradition and custom may in fact lie more in the realm of theory and practice than invariance; whereas custom is founded upon continuous practice and conventions, tradition includes an element of authority, a component of having been sanctioned outside of a purely practical sphere. Whether this sanction has in fact been received, and from whom, may be less relevant than the existence of the belief that it has.

In the case of *ṭhumrī* the emphasis is likely to remain on invariance because its context has been constructed in such a way that the connection with tradition is part of its survival strategy. Moreover, the complexities involving *ṭhumrī*'s semi-classical status to some extent conceal the fact that, whether in a marginal manner or not, *ṭhumrī* is part of the classical tradition, and its position within that tradition may be consolidated as *ṭhumrī* continues to construct its traditionality - distancing itself from courtesan culture. Kathryn Hansen's proposed tripartite definition aimed at identifying the classical in Indian performance is worth examining, as she moves away from an ontological approach in favour of an analysis on the basis of mode of production and patronage (1993:44). In the context of her study of the theatre form *Nauṭankī*, Hansen suggests the following.

there has been an interest in the tradition from abroad, as foreign students of Indian music are particularly attracted by the perceived ancientness of dhrupad and its religious dimension.

'First, a textual authority must be present that legitimizes and governs the art form. This authority need not be a single text, nor need it be in written form; there may be a set of authenticating commentaries, oral traditions, or guidebooks. Second, this textual tradition must be studied and passed on by trained specialists (gurus, teachers, scholars or performers) who control reproduction of the art form. Third, the producers, performers, and their institutions must be supported by a dominant social group. In premodern times, courts and temples most frequently acted as patrons; nowadays sponsorship comes from government agencies, corporations, and cultural institutions constituted from elite groups.'

Hansen thus locates classical authority in the realm of production and consumption: '... an art form or tradition becomes classical as it achieves recognition over time. Classical forms may often be those that have emerged as the most successful in the struggle for remuneration by powerful donors' (1993:45). These powerful donors are presumably the élite groups whose opinions are valued as cultivated and indeed traditional, and who, by virtue of these attributes, are considered to be suitable judges of high culture. But whereas the patron has an important role to play in sustaining tradition, the actual passing on, and thus continuing, of the tradition, needs to be done by trained specialists - who would usually be from within the tradition rather than external consumers. For an art form to be considered 'classical' there therefore needs to be an interplay between the tradition and the patron, an unspoken agreement that the classical tradition considers the item worthy of reproduction and that the élite patron values it suitable for consumption. In all these considerations the merit of the actual content of an art form is augmented by the additional value obtained from context, association and lore. In spite of its history, *ṭhumrī* will have to fulfil certain conditions of classicality as long as it remains part of the classically-trained singer's repertoire; as the value of the classical art form lies in its image of having been handed down through the generations, any changes that take place have to be almost insidious so that the next generation can remain unconscious of the change having taken place. The ensuing perceived continuity in turn lends credence to the artefact, thereby enhancing its classical status.

6.11 Conclusion

We began this chapter enquiring into the importance of genre. The concept has no doubt led to productive and stimulating research and analysis in the past, but its value is increasingly questioned as the dangers of oversimplification and unequal comparison become apparent. The position of *ṭhumrī* within the framework of Indian music highlights certain complications inherent in the allocation of generic identities. First of all, the entire concept of 'semi-classicality' becomes problematised due to the absence of a clear definition that those who utilize the term agree upon. Secondly, the contextual element in defining genre is more significant than might be assumed. Manuel has argued that the *gazel* has managed to adapt to the transition from courtesan's salon to concert stage and cassette by conforming to the demands and expectations of its new patrons, the bourgeoisie. In this process, the physical shape of the *gazel* has been transformed. Yet its association with the sophistication and refinement of the culture in which it flourished persists, and is no doubt one of its unique selling points. The charming and timeless idiom of *ṭhumrī* texts combined with the genre's emphasis on emotional expression locate *ṭhumrī* in a realm that is more romantic than refined; the active dissociation from courtesan culture has led to the reinterpretation of this romantic aspect as primarily devotional, thereby relinquishing the subtle eroticism inherent in the texts.

Ṭhumrī has negotiated the transition into the modern era by emphasising its devotional aspects and constructing a traditionality that serves to ensure the genre's survival. This same traditionality is, however, also an impediment to innovation. At the same time, the genre's somewhat precarious inclusion in the classical realm compels it to behave in accordance with classicality, which in many ways involves conditions similar to those imposed upon tradition: changes have to be virtually imperceptible, and there has to be a clear connection with authority and, by implication, authenticity. The connection with tradition and continuity is provided by the employment of formulae which exist within the texts themselves and are also among a singer's strategies for enhancing the appropriate mood of her performance. The element of predictability promotes a sense of recognition in the audience, and the ensuing aura of continuity consolidates *ṭhumrī*'s status of being a traditional form.

At the end of chapter 5 we referred to Joan Erdman's questions regarding the controllers and beneficiaries of cultural production; evidence in the present chapter suggests that not only are the production and consumption of art largely controlled by patronage, but also the very identities of art forms can be determined by audience expectation and demand. Contextualisation of an art form and association with values that are significant to the patron contribute to that form's meaning. Connoisseur value and commercial value may be incompatible, and the performer's position in relation to his or her art is not necessarily congruous with either.

It is possible that *ṭhumrī* is still in a transitional phase. As it strengthens its connection with the classical tradition by abandoning erotic or even secular lyrics and as it consolidates the construct of its devotional nature, it may eventually become sufficiently accepted as integral to the classical realm. This would constitute a new freedom whereby *ṭhumrī* could expand its lyrics -- slightly, imperceptibly -- to widen its scope once more. The scenario in which *ṭhumrī* follows the *ghazal* and *bhajan* into a modernised and poppish arena is implausible, because its basic shape is not conducive to being overhauled in an appropriate manner, and the needs of the modern bourgeois audience for association with sophistication on the one hand and a devotional affiliation on the other are being fulfilled by the *ghazal* and *bhajan* respectively. It may well be that *ṭhumrī* is destined to remain elusive, never quite conforming to any particular category. This status would certainly resonate with its musical characteristics which emphasise the fluidity of boundaries.

Conclusion

In the introduction to this thesis, two main tasks were identified: to engage with the language of *ṭhumrī* through detailed linguistic analysis, and to examine how the reconstruction of *ṭhumrī*'s meaning as an art form which occurred in the course of the twentieth century has been facilitated by the linguistic expression of its texts. In the process of reconstruction, some texts have been modified and other texts have been expunged from the repertoire altogether, but *ṭhumrī*'s basic expression and mood have remained essentially unchanged. The current interpretation of *ṭhumrī*'s meaning is therefore primarily based on altered perceptions rather than altered data.

In his discussion of the South Indian *devadāsī* tradition, Amrit Srinivasan asserted that the *devadāsī* dance *sādir* was 'reinvented' as the classical dance form *bharat nāṭyam*, and that 'the modifications introduced into the content of the dance-style were a consequence not so much of its "purification" (...) but its re-birth in a more "proper" class' (1985:1875). The upper classes who now teach *bharat nāṭyam* to their daughters as part of their general education, 'clearly see themselves as having "rescued" the art form from the fallen "prostitute" - the devadasi.' (loc.cit.). As with *ṭhumrī*, certain modifications were made to the content of the dance and certain bawdy and erotic elements were eliminated. The reconstructed form *bharat nāṭyam* is now deemed suitable for performance by upper-class girls and worthy of bourgeois patronage. But as Srinivasan explains, 'in a very real and practical sense it is only the devadasi dance they are perpetuating' (loc.cit.). Similarly, *ṭhumrī* may have been 'rescued' from the disreputable courtesan tradition and endowed with devotional qualities, but it has essentially remained a suggestive and attractive song form whose primary *raison d'être* is entertainment. Sanitisation has taken place not as an isolated objective, but in order to enable the genre to exist in its new context of a musical form of entertainment performed for, and often by, the bourgeoisie. In Srinivasan's words, *ṭhumrī* has been 're-born' in a more 'proper class'.

The primary objective of this thesis has been to recognise *ṭhumrī* texts as poetry worthy of analysis and discussion in a dedicated language-based study. I hope to have contributed to redressing a situation in which *ṭhumrī*

lyrics were widely acknowledged to be central to the genre, yet were not deemed to deserve exploration beyond discussions in non-linguistic studies by scholars trained in other disciplines. The study of *ṭhumrī* lyrics is compelling partly because at first they seem to offer so little poetic scope. It is the domain of poetry to subvert expectation and use language in unusual and unpredictable ways. This viewpoint undermined my initial explorations of the language of *ṭhumrī*, which seemed eminently predictable and more often than not formulaic. Only gradually did I come to recognise the power of predictability: *ṭhumrī* texts have value not in spite of their formulaic nature, but largely because of it. The phrase *dekhe bina nahī caina* may, in a *ṭhumrī* environment, be predictable, formulaic and unoriginal, but it achieves its objective of tapping into a cultural consciousness which has been nurtured by the images of the archetypal lover and his relationship with the heroine that have pervaded North Indian art forms for more than a thousand years.

The literary achievement of *ṭhumrī* texts lies in the ability to express a wealth of emotions in response to a particular situation, without stating either the range of emotions or this situation explicitly. A phrase such as *kita jāvū* would conventionally acquire meaning only in context, and even then perhaps be considered a makeweight of sorts, a filler-phrase with little inherent emotional force. In *ṭhumrī*, however, the phrase expresses a wide range of emotions, as the audience familiar with the lay-out of the *ṭhumrī* universe understands that we are hearing the voice of the heroine, who is distressed because of something her lover has done or said, or, more probably in *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, because he is absent. In any case, the fact that the heroine's distress is in some way caused by her lover is understood. The omniscient audience thus endows short and seemingly not very meaningful phrases with significance and substance. In this particular example, the device of the rhetorical question - itself a formulaic feature of *ṭhumrī* texts - reinforces the audience's mental engagement with the narrative situation.

Although I have tried to illuminate *ṭhumrī* texts with the same analytical torch that has been shone on other South Asian poetic traditions, I have also been keen to locate them in a framework beyond that afforded by linguistic analysis. While *ṭhumrī* texts deserve to be treated as items of poetry, it must also be recognised that they are ultimately designed to come alive in performance. As the texts are part of a musical tradition, I felt that to exclude musicology entirely from the reach of my study would be counter-productive

to the task of redressing an imbalance in the academic treatment of *ṭhumrī* texts. Furthermore, the relationship between music and text in *ṭhumrī* is such that the appreciation of the lyrics of *ṭhumrī* is partially contingent upon an understanding of the musical shape and objectives of the genre. I may consequently be guilty of the same misdemeanour as those musicologists who step across the boundary of their own specific area of expertise and include linguistic observations in their study of the musical aspect of *ṭhumrī*. It has been my aim to illustrate the interaction between text and music in *ṭhumrī* without moving too far beyond the limits of my own research area.

The main purpose of the linguistic analysis carried out in chapter two was to inform an exploration of style. The received opinion that *ṭhumrī* lyrics are romantic, sweet and charming deserved, in my view, to be integrated into educated discourse and explored from a scholarly perspective. I wanted to determine which linguistic components actually contributed to this sweetness of language. In the course of this stylistic examination it became increasingly important to disentangle my own western-oriented views from indigenous perceptions, and to confront the all-pervasive question 'what makes it so?'. As the language of *ṭhumrī* is not readily identifiable with any one particular dialect, I conceptualised it as 'non-standard' in recognition of the fact that it tends to eschew *Khaṛī Bolī* forms. When I realised, however, that the language that I perceived to be 'non-standard' was in fact much closer to *Braj Bhāṣā* than to *Khaṛī Bolī*, it became clear that to identify as 'non-standard' a language which has been the standard vehicle of poetry for centuries, was patently absurd. The embracing of a *Braj Bhāṣā* matrix enabled me to get much closer to the essence of the language of *ṭhumrī*; it also raised a new set of questions. As the linguistic expression of *ṭhumrī* seemed to locate it close to the poetry of the great poet-saints of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, did the conclusion thus follow that *ṭhumrī* texts stand squarely on the shoulders of poetry by *Mīrābāī* and *Sūrdās*?

Although this conclusion would have been fairly straightforward and certainly in line with some contemporary views as to the provenance of the texts, it did not ring entirely true. I argued in chapter two that as *ṭhumrī* is a musical form, its texts are likely to be shaped in accordance with their status as song lyrics. Parallels with other sung genres, such as the *bhajan*, would therefore be inevitable though not necessarily evidence of textual continuity. The influence of 'folk song' on the development of *ṭhumrī* texts has been

extremely difficult to document, but is almost certainly present. There are certain linguistic and thematic parallels between the lyrical genre *bārahmāsā* and *ṭhumrī*, even though there is unlikely to be a direct connection between the two genres. I have not been able to provide the final word on the historical development of *ṭhumrī* lyrics (nor was this ever my objective), but by suggesting various similarities and parallels with other genres, I hope to have demonstrated the possible confluence of traditions which ultimately inspired the creation of *ṭhumrī* texts.

Having achieved some clarity as to the actual identity of the language of *ṭhumrī* and its antecedents, the question of style remained. The use of the diminutive is one of the most attractive and potent aspects of *ṭhumrī*. In the absence of a clear precedent it is difficult to situate this in a stylistic model. Does the diminutive force suggest unimportance, smallness or affection, all attributes of the diminutive form? In addition to the diminutive, many *ṭhumrī* texts include the eastern-Hindi modifier *-vā*, which may convey diminution as well as affection, intimacy or even contempt. In one text in which the use of the diminutive as well as the eastern modifier is taken to its extreme, Rahīm's *Barvai Nāyikā Bheda* (BNB), these forms seem primarily to bestow a formulaic quality. In the BNB the diminutive forms consistently occur before the caesura, creating a formal and tightly structured text. The presence of diminutive forms does not in itself engender a romantic mood, and a solidly formal structure, as found in the BNB, in fact hinders its creation. As even the most prominent of *ṭhumrī*'s linguistic idiosyncrasies could not be argued to be responsible for the genre's romantic mood, I concluded that it is *ṭhumrī*'s particular idiosyncratic combination of language and form which helps to situate *ṭhumrī* texts in a somewhat ethereal and other-worldly realm.

The relatively loose form and structure of *ṭhumrī* contribute to the genre's intangibility. As discussed in chapter three, the texts rarely follow a closely-defined metrical pattern, and although various types of rhyme exist within the texts, these are not necessarily exploited in performance, nor are they a requirement of the genre. As with my observations on the formulaic nature of the language of *ṭhumrī*, it took me some time to realise that what appeared to be a poetic deficit - lack of structure - was in actual fact essential to the texts' function and integral to its attraction. *Ṭhumrī* texts achieve their romantic and intangible mood by means of their indefinite shape as well as their use of

language. A close adherence to metre or a strict rhyme scheme would result in *ṭhumrī* texts being more formal than the romantic mood requires.

Although certain texts are structured using the framework provided by a tight rhyme scheme, the main function of the rhyme schemes in *ṭhumrī* is that they enhance the predictability of the lyrics. In the example of the phrase *dekhe bina nahī caina*, the word *caina* is almost certain to be coupled in rhyme with *naina*, *baina* or *raina*. In the phrase *mohata brija kī bāma* the rhyme options comprise *śyāma*, *dhāma*, *nāma*, *rāma* or *dāma*. Most of these words have their own set of formulaic situations based upon them, so that, for instance, *dhāma* is almost invariably part of the phrase *bhūlī apane/nija dhāma*. The predictability of the lyrics affords the singer a broad basis upon which to build her melodic and emotional elaborations, unhindered by complex or obscure lyrics.

In the first part of chapter four I discussed the narrative voice of *ṭhumrī*, which is almost invariably in the first-person feminine. I began the chapter by actually analysing all the evidence of narrative voice contained within the texts, as I suspected that the accepted view that *ṭhumrī*'s voice is always that of a first-person female protagonist was based on conjecture rather than fact. The texts, however, substantiated the received view. I then posed the question of what it means when a genre that is traditionally performed by women for men is written by men from a first-person feminine perspective. In the context of *ṭhumrī* being performed by *tavāyafs*, the identification of the singer with the heroine would be inevitable. The lyrical heroine of *ṭhumrī* is engaged in conflict with the hero, either because he harasses her or because he is absent. Ultimately she is entirely motivated by love or attraction for him; his actions or his absence shape her desire, her state of mind, her sleeping patterns. In performance, the *tavāyaf* personifies the lyrical heroine, expressing dependence on her lover, her desire to see him, to please him, her ambivalence about his treatment of her - a wealth of emotion, expressed by a woman for the enjoyment of men. The first-person feminine voice of *ṭhumrī* is thus endowed with meaning, the meaning of women performing emotionally and sexually charged songs for men on whom they may be economically dependent.

When *ṭhumrī* began to be performed on the radio and in music conferences, the connection with courtesan culture became problematic. Any hint of the genre's historical role became something to be avoided, and the overt

presence of the tavāyaf through the emotionally charged speech of the lyrical heroine was a clear signifier of ṭhumrī's connection with courtesan life. This is the key to understanding the forces which have motivated the assertion of ṭhumrī's essentially devotional nature. The bhakti tradition – in which female desire is equated with the longing of the soul – provided the ideal model for ṭhumrī's problematic lyrics: just as the voice of Mīrābāī had expressed unmitigated and often erotically charged devotion to her divine lord, so did the lyrical heroine of ṭhumrī express nothing but Radha's single-minded devotion to Krishna.

The thematic component of ṭhumrī readily aided a devotional interpretation of its lyrics. Two main themes have been discerned: Krishna's harassment of the milkmaids of Braj, which primarily occurs in bandīś ṭhumrī, and viraha, the subject of most bol banāv ṭhumrīs. In the second part of chapter four I traced the antecedents of these themes, and located them both in devotional literature of the first millennium, from where they spread through Sanskrit and vernacular literatures, and through classical art and folk songs. The themes of ṭhumrī are familiar to us from a long tradition of devotional art and literature, and it appears that even in the earliest works available to us there exists an ambiguity between erotic and devotional sentiments. Nevertheless, the ultimately devotional antecedents of the themes used in ṭhumrī has enabled those with a sanskritising agenda to claim ṭhumrī as 'ancient' as well as innately devotional.

The model of nāyikā-bheda first appeared in the *Nāṭya Śāstra*. Its application to ṭhumrī has been advocated by some contemporary singers, primarily with a view to grappling with the myriad avenues of emotional expression essential to a successful ṭhumrī performance. Awareness of the options available to the heroine facilitates acting out her emotions on stage as occurred previously through abhinaya, and in the modern bol banāv setting it aids the interpretive process. The application of the nāyikā-bheda model may also, however, be motivated by a desire to situate ṭhumrī texts in an ancient and sanskritic framework. The attempt to identify the heroines of different ṭhumrī texts with the nāyikās of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* may be aimed at sanskritising the ṭhumrī heroine, and is ultimately an unproductively artificial exercise. A literal reading of ṭhumrī texts suggests that only a few of Bharata's heroines make an appearance, whereas in actual performance a much wider variety of 'heroines' are portrayed through the extraction of various shades of

meaning implicit in a text. The literal application of the *nāyikā-bheda* model confines the scope of the texts, which are, befitting to the genre, broad, elusive and ambiguous.

In spite of the changes in its performance context, *ṭhumrī* has remained ambiguous and suggestive. However, to enable the genre to be 're-born' in a form in which it could survive the move into modernity, certain changes to the lyrics of the texts were essential. Chapter five documents some of the socio-political developments in North India at the end of the nineteenth century, and examines their effect on *ṭhumrī* and its texts. The main result of *ṭhumrī*'s incorporation into a new performance milieu was that its texts became depersonalised, so as to minimise the connection between 'non-professional' singers and courtesan culture. The fact that even minor changes could effect this depersonalisation underlines the subtle nature of the texts, whose elusively romantic mood is achieved via the interplay of linguistic, formal and thematic components.

It bears witness to the flexibility of *bol banāv ṭhumrī* that it has retained its essential mood and shape despite the changes in its performance environment. In chapter six I examined how genres may adapt to shifting performance environments and new patronage systems. On the strength of evidence presented by genres closely related to *ṭhumrī*, most notably the Urdu *ghazal*, I suggested that the commercial value awarded to an art form may be partly dependent on the form being perceived to be connected with concepts such as 'traditionality'. Drawing on sociological research, I asserted that art forms may be treated as commodities and as such are also liable to be subject to the fluctuations of market forces. Especially when value is placed on 'traditionality' and 'authenticity', a commodity may be manipulated by the producer to fall in line with the consumer's conception of an authentic artefact. The pursuit of authenticity is therefore almost by definition thwarted.

Authenticity in an Indian context has a very different meaning from authenticity in a Western environment. The concept of authenticity is closely related to ideals of truth and continuity, and notions of 'truth' are culture-specific. In the introduction to the present study I questioned how a genre can retain its integrity if it adapts to the demands of patronage. Tradition and innovation are not obviously compatible, yet all traditions are compelled to incorporate change sooner or later so as to ward off extinction. For example,

the predicted demise of dhrupad has been averted by a concerted effort by a small group of people who are actively promoting the genre's ancient connections (which are more substantial than those of any other contemporary genre in Hindustani music), and who are encouraging the association of dhrupad with spiritual practices such as yoga and *prāṇāyāma*. As a result of this sort of promotion it has attracted a large number of western students, who are fascinated by the interface between dhrupad and spirituality. The essential form of the genre has not been changed, but some of its pre-existing features are now being foregrounded in response to patronage requirements.

Ṭhumrī has similarly responded to its new performance context by foregrounding pre-existing features of its texts. The devotional element has always been present, but in more or less equal measure to the erotic component. The latter's minimisation has resulted in the highlighting of ṭhumrī's devotional aspects, invoked by the essentially Braj Bhāṣā character of the language, the ubiquitous presence of the divine lover Krishna, the employment of themes and imagery familiar from earlier bhakti poetry, and the reliance on formulaic and predictable linguistic expression. The combination of these features readily admits the perception of ṭhumrī as a genre which is primarily devotional. This perception has been crucial to ṭhumrī's survival in the modern age.

Has ṭhumrī then become less authentic and compromised its integrity? Have the performers of ṭhumrī 'sold out'? These matters largely depend on opinion, but I would offer the following perspective. Ṭhumrī has remained a romantic, charming and sensuous song form, in spite of its present-day devotional image. The changes that have been made to the genre have been considered appropriate, not just for the sake of pleasing the patron, but because the genre's original context is no longer relevant. The 'authentic' form of ṭhumrī as it existed in the nineteenth century was superseded by a new form, bol banāv ṭhumrī, still current at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Both performance and patronage environments have changed, and so musical genres, the commodities that link patron and performer, have had to be updated. The compatibility of ṭhumrī's basic shape and linguistic expression with a bhakti model offers a solution to the perceived problem of ṭhumrī's traditional context.

Appendix 1: Main Corpus

Introduction

Organisation

The main corpus is divided into two sections, A and B. A contains bol banāv ṭhumrī texts, and B contains bandīś ṭhumrī texts. The A section consists of 78 main texts; including variant versions, a total of 138 texts are included. The B section consists of 30 main texts - 42 including variant versions. The texts are organised alphabetically (following the Devanagari order), with the exception of B30, which is a late addition to the main corpus. The A section misses number 52.

Page Layout

All versions of the text are given in the Devanagari script, numbered (for example) 27.1, 27.2, 27.3 etc. The lines of the texts are numbered for ease of reference. The Devanagari texts occasionally include words in parentheses, which are frequently occurring variations to the text as sung by the performer. For instance, if a singer alternates the word *bāsurī* with *bāsurīyā*, the latter word will be given in brackets. This system is not used for occasional substitutions.

Both sthāyī and antarā are followed by a double *daṇḍa*. Where texts have been copied from written sources, the existing punctuation system has been adhered to in the main corpus.

The texts are followed by translations, numbered 1, 2, 3 etc. in accordance with the version numbers of the Devanagari texts. When words are interpolated for the sake of clarity or syntax, square brackets are used.

Below the line under the texts and their translations, the references to the texts are given. Rāg and tāl are identified where known, followed by performer and recording information. Where texts have been taken from anthologies, the relevant work is referred to by the C code clarified in the Select List of Collections at the beginning of this thesis.

Where relevant, further information on the texts and their translation is supplied. Points of grammar may be referred to, or problematic translations discussed.

Translation

As Kenneth Bryant pointed out (1978:xiii), 'a literal translation is a bad poem, an impressionistic translation is bad scholarship'. Although I hope that my translations of the ṭhumrī texts in the main corpus are not all classifiable as 'bad poems', I have certainly erred on the side of caution in choosing literal over free translations. I have tried to capture the mood of the ṭhumrīs, but only when this did not result in too loose a translation.

Although many texts are ambiguous in their mode of address, the translation usually has to adapt one particular perspective. The English texts will therefore be more rigid in their modes of address than the originals. I have tried to choose the most obvious form of address as indicated by the text rather than annotating every translation with a note suggesting alternative interpretations.

Bol Banāv Ṭhumrīs

A1.1

- 1 अँखियाँ रसीली तोरे श्याम
- 2 मोहत ब्रिज की बाम ॥
- 3 जेही चितवत तेही बस कर डारत
- 4 मोल लेत बिन दाम ॥

A1.2

- 1 अँखियाँ रसीली तोरे श्याम
- 2 मोहत ब्रिज की बाम ॥
- 3 जेही चितवत तेही बस कर राखत
- 4 नाही परत जिया चैन ॥

A1.3

- 1 अँखियाँ रसीली तोरी श्याम
- 2 ए मोहत ब्रिज की बाम ॥
- 3 नवल त्रिभंग कदम तले ठाढ़ो
- 4 मोल लेत बिन दाम ॥

1. Your eyes are full of charm, Shyam,
they attract the women of Braj.
Whomever they glance at, they bewitch,
making a purchase which has no price.

2. Your eyes are full of charm, Shyam,
they attract the women of Braj.
Whomever they glance at, they bewitch,
and their hearts find no peace.

3. Your eyes are full of charm, Shyam,

they attract the women of Braj.

In your spry thrice-bent pose, you stand under the Kadam tree,
you make a purchase which has no price.

A1.1 rāg Tilaṅg - tāl dīpcandī; Girija Devi - Music Today cassette B93005,
'Shringār'.

A1.2 rāg Tilaṅg - tāl dīpcandī; Purnima Chaudhury: DAT 9 in LdP collection.

A1.3 rāg Tilaṅg - tāl dīpcandī; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

1.1: The subject of the entire text is taken to be Krishna's eyes, in contrast to 1.3, in
which Krishna is taken as the subject of the antarā.

line 1 (1.1/2): *tore*. I have read this with *ākhiyā* following 1.3.

line 4 (1.1/3): *mola leta bina dāma*. My translation is based on Snell 1991a:213. In the
Caurāsīpada 34, he translates the phrase *kīne kinu molani* as 'has bought (...) without
cost'.

A2.1

- 1 बसुरिया अब न बजावो रे श्याम
- 2 ब्याकुल भई ब्रज की बाम ॥
- 3 नवल त्रिभंग कदम तरे ठाडे
- 4 अरे मोहत ब्रज की बाम ॥

A2.2

- 1 अब न बजावो श्याम बाँसुरी (बसुरिया)
- 2 ब्याकुल भई ब्रिज बाम रे ॥
- 3 जेहि चितवत घायल कर डारत
- 4 मोह लेत बेदाम ॥

A2.3

- 1 ब्याकुल भई ब्रिज बाम
- 2 अब ना बजावो श्याम ॥
- 3 बाँसुरी के धुन सुनि
- 4 भई हैं बाँवरी
- 5 भूल गई निज धाम ॥

1. Don't play the flute now, Shyam.
The women of Braj have become restless.
In your spry thrice-bent pose, you stand under the Kadam tree,
attracting the women of Braj.

2. Don't play it now, Shyam, the flute.
The women of Braj have become restless.
You inflict wounds on whomever you glance at.
You make a purchase which has no price.

3. The women of Braj have become restless.
Don't play now, Shyam!
Hearing the tone of the flute,
they have gone crazy;
they have forgotten their own houses.

A2.1 Rāg Miśra Khamāj - tāl jat; Channu Lal Mishra: DAT 21 in LdP collection.

A2.2 Rāg Bhairavī; Rajeshvara Prasad Mishra: DAT 4 in LdP collection.

A2.3 Rāg Miśra Khamāj - tāl jat; Purnima Chaudhury: DAT 17 in LdP collection.

The singers of 2.1 and 2.3 include a poem (which they refer to as *kavitta*) at the beginning of the performance of this *ṭhumrī*:

लालन एक विनय सुनिये
नित मेरी गलिन में आइहो ना

आइहो तो चुपके चले जाइहो
बैसी बजाइहो-गाइहो ना
द्वार ही शब्द सुनाइहो ना
सुनाइहो तो अपनाइहो ना
अपनाइहो तो कहूँ जाइहो ना ॥

Lalan, heed one request:
don't keep coming to my alley way.
If you come, then leave quietly;
don't play your flute, and don't sing.
Don't make a noise at my door;
but if you do, don't embrace me.
If you embrace me, then don't go anywhere.

Because of the inclusion of the epithet *lālana* in the poem, Purnima Chaudhury (2.3) ascribed the *ṭhumrī* to Lalan Piyā, a suggestion which is certainly incorrect if we consider the evidence of Lalan Piyā's extant texts. These texts (many of which are anthologised although rarely if ever performed) tend to be very long and linguistically complex, and he almost always inserts his full *chāp* in the *antarā*.

A3.1

- 1 अब सुध लो मोरे राम
- 2 बीच नगरिया भूली रे डगरिया
- 3 पाप घटरिया सिर पर भारी
- 4 कैसे मिले विश्राम ॥

A3.2

- 1 अब सुध लो मोरी राम रे
- 2 जात नगरिया मैं भूली रे डगरिया ॥
- 3 प्रेम की नदिया अगम बहत है
- 4 ना मोरी गाँठ माँ दाम रे
- 5 बिन गुन की नैया पार लगा दो
- 6 तुमरा मुहम्मद नाम रे ॥

1. Take care of me now, my Ram.
In the middle of the town, I lost my way.
The water-jar of sin weighs heavy on my head;
how will I find peace?

2. Take care of me now, Ram.
Going into town, I lost my way.
The river of love does not flow easily,
and I don't have the fare in my sari-knot/purse.
O boat without form, take me across,
you whose name is Mohammed.

A3.1 Girija Devi: DAT 3 in LdP collection.

A3.2 Rāg Bihārī - tāl dīpcandī; C8, no. 8.

3.2:

Bhave, the author of C8, includes selective vocabulary lists with the texts. He glosses *rāma* as *praṇāma*, *dāma* as *rassī*, and *guna* as *pravīṇtā* or *rassī*. I have not always followed his suggestions. In this particular text, the explanation of *rām* perhaps demonstrates the unusualness of his appearance in *ṭhumrī*.

line 6: *muhammad*. This name would not be expected to occur in *ṭhumrī*, and this is indeed the only instance in the main corpus.

A4.1

- 1 आँगन में मत सो
- 2 गोरी अब सुंदर
- 3 आज की रात में एरी चाँद गहण भई ॥
- 4 मैं जो गई गुलाब के बाग में
- 5 फूलों के लिए
- 6 आन चकोर ने घेर लियो चाँद जान के ॥

A4.2

- 1 आँगन में मत सो मोरी सुंदर
- 2 आज की रात चाँद गहन होगा ॥
- 3 मैं जो गई थी गुलाब के बाग में
- 4 फूलों के लिए
- 5 आन चकोर ने घेर लीनी
- 6 चँदा जान के ॥

1. Don't sleep in the courtyard,
fair one, O, pretty one -
tonight there has been a lunar eclipse.
When I went into the rosegarden
to pick some flowers,
the moon-loving birds encircled me,
thinking I was the moon.

2. Don't sleep in the courtyard, my pretty one -
tonight there will be a lunar eclipse.
When I had gone into the garden
to pick some flowers,
the moon-loving birds encircled me,
thinking I was the moon.

A4.1 rāg Māñj Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Rasoolan Bai: DAT 11 in LdP collection.

A4.2 rāg Māñj Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

line 6 (4.1), line 5 (4.2): *cakora*. As it is not in the oblique plural, a more accurate translation might be: 'the moon-loving bird blocked my way'. The most straightforward translation of *gher-* is 'surround', but this is not appropriate with a singular subject. *gher-* is often used with the subject Krishna.

A5

- 1 आ जा बलमा (बालम) परदेसी
- 2 नैना मोरे तरसे गए हैं ॥ (रे राम)
- 3 मोर पपैया कोयल बोले
- 4 मुझे बिरहा बिथा जियरा डोले
- 5 कारे बदरे बरसे गए हैं ॥

Come, my lover far away
These eyes of mine are longing for you.
The peacock, papiha and koel speak to me
[in] the state of separation, my heart is restless
and black clouds are raining.

rāg Janglā Bhairavī - tāl pañjābī tritāl; Munawar Ali Khan: Audiorec Classics
ACTC 5003.

In keeping with the Panjabi style of *ṭhumrī* singing, this text in performance includes the reciting of *śers* and the singing of *sargam*.

line 4: *mujhe*. In the absence of an alternative explanation, I have read this word as being part of the preceding line.

A6

- 1 इतनी अरज मोरी मान ले पिया ॥
- 2 बाँह पकर तोरी बिनती करत हूँ
- 3 ना जाओ परदेसवा ॥

Love, just heed this request of mine.
Grasping your arm I plead with you:
don't go to the country faraway

rāg Khamāj - tāl jat; Girija Devi: DAT 22 in LdP collection.

line 1: *itanī*. I have tried to incorporate the force of this word in my translation 'just'.

line 3: *paradesavā*. I have chosen 'the country faraway' as preferable to 'abroad', as that has such a strong sense of crossing national borders which is unlikely to be the intended meaning.

A7

- 1 कहूँ कासे शर्म की है बात
- 2 बड़ी मुश्किल से कटती रात निगोड़ी ॥
- 3 गया पहला ज़माना अब तो प्रीत निभाना
- 4 करो ना मोसे घात ॥
- 5 सपनों में वो आए कहूँ मैं हाय हाय
- 6 छोड़ो जी मोरा हाथ ॥
- 7 तोसे नाता पुराना मोहे छोड़ ना जाना
- 8 जी भरके रोने दे सैयाँ जी
- 9 आँखों से यह बरसात ॥

To whom can I speak? It's a matter of modesty.
With great difficulty the wretched night passes.
The old times are gone, now see your love through:
don't play tricks on me.
In my dreams he came, and I say 'hāy hāy':
let go of my hand, sir.
I have known you for a long time, don't go and leave me.
Let me cry to my heart's content, dear lover.
Let this rain fall from my eyes.

rāg Bihāg; Dhanashree Pandit: DAT 6 in LdP collection.

The singer explained that she learned this *ṭhumrī* from a tape of Begum Akhtar's music. The study of songs through music cassettes is becoming more widespread, although traditional musicians frown upon such impersonal learning, and few singers would admit to doing it.

A8

- 1 का करूँ सजनी आये न बालम
- 2 तरपत बीती मोरी उन बिन रतियाँ ॥
- 3 रोवत रोवत कल नाहीं आए
- 4 निस दिन मोहे बिरहा सताए
- 5 याद आवत जब उनकी बतियाँ ॥

What can I do, friend, my lover has not come.
I spend my nights without him tossing and turning.
I cry and cry, and sleep eludes me.
Night and day this lovesickness torments me,
when I remember his words.

rāg Irānī Bhairavī - tāl pañjābī tritāl; Munawar Ali Khan: Audiorec ACCD 1003-S.

line 4: The translation of 'lovesickness' for *biraha* is borrowed from Rupert Snell (1991b:190).

A9

- 1 कारे बदरा रे तूही में श्याम समाये ॥
- 2 याते तुम रलत-फिरत हो
- 3 बिरहिन पीर न जाने रे
- 4 तूही में श्याम समाये ॥

Black cloud, O, you are pervaded by Shyam.
That's why you wander around here and there
unaware of the pain of the spurned woman.
Yes, you are pervaded by Shyam.

Rag Pīlū; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

line 2: *yāte*. I have read this form as *is se*, and translated it as 'that is why'.

A10

- 1 काहे कीनी मोसे रार मुरार ॥
- 2 मैं जात जमुना जल
- 3 राह में डौरि झपटि
- 4 मोरी मटकिया दीनी डार ॥

Why did you fight with me Murar?
I was on my way to the Jamuna.
On the way he ran and pounced,
and threw down my water-pot.

rāg ? - tāl dīpcandī; Badi Moti Bai; HMV STC 850162.

A11

- 1 कित गए बावरी बनाके
- 2 ए श्याम री ॥
- 3 गोकुल ढूँढ़ी बिंद्राबन ढूँढ़ी

4 ढूँढ़ी चारों धाम ॥

Where has he gone, making me crazy,
this Shyam.

I have searched Gokul, I have searched Brindaban;
I have searched all four pilgrimage sites.

rāg Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Shobha Gurtu: Music Today B93006.

I have used the present perfect tense in my translation as it seems that the situation described remains relevant to the heroine, and is not a sequence of events in a distant past.

line 4: *dhāma*. It is unclear whether the reference to the four pilgrimage-sites implies that Gokul and Brindaban are part of the four, or an additional set of locations. The conventional list of *cār dhām* is Puri, Badarikashram, Dwarka and Rameshwaram, none of which have close associations with the present Braj context. It seems that the reference is formulaic. The use of *dhāma* with religious connotations is, in any case, unusual in *ṭhumrī*: *dhāma* (like *mandira*) usually means 'house' or 'dwelling'.

A12

- 1 कित जावूँ का रे करूँ
- 2 मोरे बलमा छाय रहे परदेस ॥
- 3 कोई सखी ऐसो जतन बताए ॥

Where can I go? What can I do?
My love has settled in a faraway place.
Let some friend suggest a remedy.

rāg Miśra Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Madhumati Ray: written at a concert at the National Centre for the Performing Arts, Mumbai, 26.12.1996.

line 3: *jatana*. In the context, I have followed Platts' gloss of 'remedy', which he suggests is synonymous with *tadbīr* (p.376).

= प्राप्ति, निवारण, दवा

A13

- 1 कैसी बैसिया बजाई
- 2 मोरी सुध बिसराई राम ॥

(no antarā)

How has he played the flute!
God, he has made me lose my wits.

A13 rāg Pīlū - tāl dīpcandī; Hira Devi Mishra: tape in Batuk Dewanji collection, Mumbai.

The text could also be interpreted as being in the second person, with Rām in line 2 as a vocative.

A14.1

- 1 कैसी बजाई री श्याम
- 2 बैसुरिया मेरी हा ॥
- 3 नवल तिरभंग कदम तले ठाढ़े
- 4 मोहत ब्रिज की बाम ॥

A14.2

- 1 कैसी बजा दई श्याम बाँसुरी

- 2 भुल गई मैं तो धन धाम ॥
- 3 नवल त्रिभंग कदंब तरे ठाढ़ो
- 4 मोहत बृज की बाम श्याम रे ॥

A14.3

- 1 कैसी बजाई श्याम रे बँसुरिया
- 2 मोहत ब्रिज की बाम ॥
- 3 नवल त्रिभंग कदम तले ठाढ़े
- 4 भूली अपने धाम ॥

1. How Shyam played his flute!

In his spry thrice-bent pose, he stands under the Kadam tree,
charming the women of Braj.

2. How Shyam played his flute!

I forgot hearth and home.

In his spry thrice-bent pose, he stands under the Kadam tree,
charming the women of Braj, Shyam.

3. How Shyam played his flute!

He charms the women of Braj.

In his spry thrice-bent pose, he stands under the Kadam tree,
and I have forgotten my home.

A14.1 rāg Bhairavī - tāl dīpcandī; Rasoolan Bai: tape in Batuk Dewanji collection,
Mumbai.

A14.2 rāg Bhairavī; Leela Karwal: DAT 2 in LdP collection.

A14.3 rāg Bhairavī; Tulika Ghosh: DAT 12 in LdP collection.

A15

- 1 कैसे लिखूँ पतिया पिया के आवन की ॥
- 2 पतिया लिखत मोरा छतिया धड़के
- 3 अँसुवाँ बहे जैसे नदिया सावन की ॥

How can I write a letter, telling my lover to come home?
Writing a letter my heart pounds,
and tears flow down like a river in Savan.

rāg Mīśra Pīlū - tāl jat; Girija Devi: DAT 22 in LdP collection.

A16

- 1 कोयलिया ना बोलो डार
- 2 तरपत जियरा हमार ॥
- 3 सूनी भई री उमर पिया बिन
- 4 बरखा रुत भारी हमार ॥

Koel, don't speak from your branch!
My heart is suffering.
Without 'Umara Piya' the season is forlorn;
my rainy season is burdensome.

rāg Bhairavī - tāl Kaharvā; Kishori Amonkar: HMV - STC 04B3916.

line 3: I have read *sūnī bhaī* as having the subject *ruta* in line 4.

A17.1

- 1 कौन गली गयो श्याम ॥
- 2 गोकुल ढूँढी ब्रिनदराबन ढूँढी
- 3 ढूँढ फिरी चारों धाम
- 4 सावरिया सैंयाँ ॥

A17.2

- 1 कौन गली गये श्याम बता दे सखि ॥
- 2 गोकुल ढूँढी बृन्दावन ढूँढी
- 3 ढूँढ फिरी चारो धाम ॥

1. In which alley has Shyam gone?
I've searched Gokul, I've searched Brindaban
I've searched all over the four pilgrimage sites
O dark one, O my love!

2. In which alley has Shyam gone?
Tell me, my friend!
I've searched Gokul, I've searched Brindaban
I've searched all over the four pilgrimage sites.

A17.1 rāg Khamāj; Saeed Khan: DAT 1 in LdP collection.

A17.2 rāg Jhinjhoṭī - tāl jat; collection C6.

line 3: *dhiāma*. See my note on ṭhumrī A11.

A18

- 1 कौन देश गये छलबलिया ॥
- 2 दिन नाहीं चैन रैन नाहीं निंदिया

3 छाड़ रहे कहीं देश ॥

Where has he gone, the trickster?
No peace in the day, no sleep at night
He's settled in some other place.

rāg Bhairavī - tāl jāṭ; Girija Devi: tape in Batuk Dewanji collection, Mumbai.
(10.07.1967).

line 2: This beautifully alliterative and balanced phrase is a typical example of a 'floater', a phrase which commonly appears in the antarās of a number of different sthāyīs.

A19

1 गुईयाँ मोरी निंदिया उचटि गई राम ॥
2 ताव पिया को बेग मिला दे
3 निकस जाए मोरा गुईयाँ रे
4 (?)

Friend, my sleep has been lost.
Quickly fetch 'Tāva Piyā'
friend, [it] is leaving me
.... [?]

rāg Bhairavī - tāl jāṭ; Siddheshwari Devi: tape from Sheila Dhar collection.

The fourth line of this text is unclear, and is likely to contain the subject of the third line.

A20

- 1 गुज़र गई रतियाँ
- 2 पिया नहीं आये ॥
- 3 कहा करूँ सजनी कछु बन नहीं आवे
- 4 यह दुख सहो ना जाय ॥

The night has gone by;
my lover has not come.
What can I do, my friend, nothing comes out right,
and I cannot go on enduring this suffering.

rāg Gārā; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

A full analysis of this text is included in section 2.8.

I have tried to retain the parallel 'come-go' constructions in my translation.

A21

- 1 चन्द्रा बदन मृगु लोचन दामिनी दुत गोरी
- 2 अलबेली नवल नार
- 3 छमु छमु सिंगार
- 4 करत चित की चोरी
- 5 कामिनी किशोरी ॥

Moon-faced, doe-eyed, fair with lightning's lustre,
a charming young woman.

Her jangling adornments
steal your heart.

She's the desirable Radha.

गुति

rāg Des; Saeed Khan: DAT 1 in LdP collection.

Saeed Khan explained that this text, which he ascribed to Binda Din, had further lines which he had forgotten. He referred to the *kiśorī* as a *hasīn cīz*, who could, in his view, be identified as Radha or anything created by God.

A22.1

- 1 छब दिखला जा बाँके साँवरिया रे
- 2 ध्यान लागो मोहे तोरा ॥
- 3 बाँकी चितवन तोरे नैन रसीली
- 4 और चाल चले मतवारी रे
- 5 अब का करूँ कित जावूँ मोरी सजनी
- 6 ना माने जिया मोरा ॥

A22.2

- 1 छब दिखला जा बाँके साँवरिया
- 2 ध्यान लागो मोहे तोरा ॥
- 3 बाँकी चितवन नैना रसीली
- 4 चाल चलत अलबेली मतवारी
- 5 नाहीं माने जिया मोरा ॥

1. Show me your beauty, flirtatious dark one,
pay some attention to me!
Your glances are crooked, your eyes are charming,
and your gait is as if intoxicated.
My friend! Now what should I do? Where can I turn?
he doesn't heed this heart of mine.

2. Show me your beauty, crooked dark one,
pay some attention to me!

Your glances are crooked, your eyes are charming,
and your showy gait is as if intoxicated.
[He] doesn't heed this heart of mine.

A22.1 rāg Khamāj; Batuk Dewanji: DAT 11 in LdP collection.

A22.2 rāg Khamāj - tāl sitārkhānī; Ganga Prasad Pathak: tape 248 from the SNA
Delhi (7.2.1969).

line 2: *dhyāna lāgo*. As *lāg-* is an intransitive verb, *dhyāna* should presumably be read as the subject, with the verb in the perfective: 'your attention turned towards me' (even though technically 'me' should be expressed as *mujha para* or *merī ora*). However, in the context this reading does not really make sense, and I have therefore translated *lāg-* transitively.

A23.1

- 1 जाग परी मैं तो पिया के जगाए ॥
- 2 इन नैनन में नींद कहाँ है
- 3 जिन नैनन में आप ही समाए ॥

A23.2

- 1 जागो परी मैं तो पिया के जगाए ॥
- 2 इन नैनन में नींद कहाँ है
- 3 जिन नैनन में आप ही समाये ॥

A23.3

- 1 जाग पड़ी मैं तो पिया के जागाए
- 2 भोर भई अब सैयाँ घर आए ॥
- 3 उन नैनन में नींद कहाँ है
- 4 अब मोरे राजा
- 5 जिन नैनन में आप समाए ॥

A23.4

- 1 जागो परी मैं तो पिया के जगाए
- 2 भोर भए सैयाँ घर आये ॥
- 3 इन नैनन में नींद कहाँ है
- 4 जिन नैनन में आप ही समाए ॥

A23.5

- 1 जाग परी मैं पिया के जगाये ॥
- 2 उन नैनन में नींद कहाँ है
- 3 जिन नैनन में आप समाये ॥

1/2. I woke up with a start, aroused by my lover.
In these eyes where is sleep?
Eyes in which there is only place for you?

3. I woke up with a start, aroused by my lover.
Dawn has broken and now my love has come home.
In those eyes of mine, where is sleep?
O king of mine, eyes in which there is only place for you?

4. I woke up with a start, aroused by my lover.
Dawn has broken and my love has come home.
In these eyes of mine, where is sleep?
Eyes in which there is only place for you?

5. I woke up with a start, aroused by my lover.
In those eyes of mine, where is sleep?
Eyes in which there is only place for you?

A23.1 Siddheshwari Devi: tape from Sheila Dhar collection.

A23.2 rāg Māñj Khamāj; Dhanashree Pandit: DAT 6 in LdP collection.

A23.3 rāg Miśra Pīlū - tāl kaharvā; Mahmood Ahmedbhoy: tape P-551 from ARCE , New Delhi.

A23.4 rāg Māñj Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī: Zakan Khan: video in Nicolas Magriel collection, London..

A23.5 rāg Jhinjhoṭī; collection C7.

line 1: *jagāe*. The translation 'aroused' is perhaps slightly more suggestive than the original.

A24.1

- 1 जावो बालम नाहीं बोलो
- 2 अब हमसे जिन बोलो ॥
- 3 हमसे कपट अब करत नित छैला
- 4 नित सौतन घर जाय रे ॥

A24.2

- 1 जावो बालम नाहीं बोलो हमसे
- 2 सौतन घर जाय नित छैला ॥
- 3 ऐसी लगावत अब मोहे ना भावत
- 4 तुम तो हरजाई नित छैला ॥

1. Go, lover, and don't speak.
don't talk to me anymore.
You deceive me now, you're forever a fop:
you always go to my rival's house.

2. Go lover, don't speak to me.
You're always going to my rival's house, you dandy.
The way you behave really doesn't please me.
You're just a philanderer, and a dandy.

A24.1 rāg Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Siddheshwari Devi: HMV STCS04B 7443.

A24.2 rāg Khamāj; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

24.2, line 3: *aisī lagāvata*. The feminine gender of *aisī* is unclear. If it agrees with an implied *bāta*, then the translation 'the things that you say' would be preferable. The present translation of this phrase is as advised by the singer.

A25.1

- 1 जावो मोरी बहियाँ ना मरोरो गिरधारी
- 2 बिनती करत मैं करम हारी ॥
- 3 देखो जी बिहारी
- 4 छतियाँ छुवत हो अनारी रे
- 5 देखत नर (सब) नारी ठिठोली मोसे ना करो
- 6 मोरी दायीं की कलारी
- 7 चुरिया भी करकाई
- 8 ऐसो पिया छाँडो ना तो दूँगी गारी ॥

A25.2

- 1 जावो मोरी बहियाँ ना मरोरो गिरधारी
- 2 बिनती करत कर मैं हारी
- 3 देखो जी तिहारी (बिहारी ?) ॥
- 4 देखत नर नारी
- 5 ठिठोरी मोसे ना करो
- 6 मोरी दायीं के कलाई
- 7 चुरियाँ भी करकाई
- 8 छोड़ो पिया ना तो दूँगी गारी ॥

1. Go, don't twist my arms, mountain-holder
Pleading with you, I lost my fortune.

Look now, Bihari,
you touch my breasts, you silly fool.
The men and women are watching,
so don't prank with me.
You've broken the bangles
on my right wrist.
'Aiso Piyā', let go of me,
or I'll scold you.

2. Go, don't twist my arms, mountain-holder.
I am fed up with pleading with you.
Look, sir, Bihari,
the men and women are watching.
Don't prank with me.
You've even broken the bangles
on my right wrist.
Let go, lover, and if not I'll scold you.

A25.1 rāg Miśra Khamāj; Batuk Dewanji; DAT 11 in LdP collection.

A25.2 rāg Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Uttara Dutt: from a recording in the singer's collection (15.5.97).

line 2: In both versions this line is problematic. In 25.1, *maī karama hārī*, is obscure, and my translation of *karama* extremely tentative. *karamahārī* could perhaps be read as a vocative, 'merciful one'. In 25.2, *binatī karata kara maī hārī*, the force of the word *kara* is unclear.

25.1, line 6: *kalārī*. Following 25.2, I have read this as a performance-version of *kalāt*.

A26

- 1 जावो वहीं तुम श्याम
- 2 जहाँ सारी रैन जगे हो ॥

- 3 हमसे कपट अब करत नित छैला
- 4 नित सौतन घर जाय रे ॥

Go right back there, Shyam,
where you were up all night.
You deceive me now, you're forever a fop,
and you're always off to my rival's house.

rāg Khamāj - tāl jāṭ: Girija Devi; DAT 22 in LdP collection (from a concert at the Siri
Fort Auditorium, New Delhi, August 1997).

A27.1

- 1 झूठा ही दोषा लगाये राजा ॥
- 2 काहे करत नित छैला
- 3 तोहे सौतनिया समझाए ॥

A27.2

- 1 झुठाए दोष लगाए मोरे राजा ॥
- 2 काहे रार करत नित छैला
- 3 किन सौतन बिलमा जाय ॥

1. Falsely you accused me, oh king.
Why do you fight with me, you're always a fop.
Let my rival sort you out.

2. Telling lies you accused me, my king.
Why do you fight with me, you're always a fop
which rival would delay you ?

A27.1 rāg Miśra Tilāṅg - tāl dīpcandī; Badi Moti Bai; tape 397 from the SNA, New Delhi (17.5.1969).

A27.2 Mahesh Prasad Mishra; DAT 2 in LdP collection.

27.1, line 1: *jhūṭhā hī*. I have translated this phrase adverbially.

doṣā. Presumably this is simply a lengthened version of *doṣa*.

27.1, line 2: *rāra* which occurs in 27.2 appears to be missing from this text, leaving an unfinished sentence. I have therefore in my translation assumed the presence of *rāra*.

It is interesting to note that in spite of the difference in verbs in the last lines of both texts, the *saut* is a constant. Whether both versions are modifications to a third version, or one of the above texts is a variation of the other, is impossible to establish.

A28.1

- 1 ठाढ़ी गोरी चितवत बदरा की ओर ॥
- 2 कारे कारे बदरा कारे कारे कजरा
- 3 कारे हैं पियवा मोरे ॥

A28.2

- 1 ठाढ़ी गोरी चितवत बदरा की ओर ॥
- 2 कारे कारे बदरा कारे कारे कजरा
- 3 कारे श्याम हमारे रे ॥

1. Standing, the fair one looks towards the clouds.
Dark black clouds, dark black kohl,
dark is the colour of my love.

2. Standing, the fair one looks towards the clouds.
Dark black clouds, dark black kohl,
dark is the colour of my Shyam.

A28.1 rāg Des; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

A28.2 rāg Des - tāl sitārkhānī; Tulika Ghosh: DAT 12 in LdP collection.

line 1: *badarā kī ora*. *badarā* is treated as an elongated form of *bādara*, in which situation the oblique inflection is not applicable.

This text draws conventional parallels between the blackness of things we encounter everyday, and Krishna. The blackness of the clouds etc. contrasts with the fairness of the *gorī*. Attributing her with the adjective *ṭhāṛhī* is a further link with conventional iconic Krishnaite imagery.

In 28.1 the 'dark lover' is obviously Krishna but not explicitly named as such. This suggestiveness (however slight) is lost in 28.2.

A29

- 1 ठाढ़े रहो बाँके यार
- 2 गागरिया मैं घर धरी आऊँ ॥
- 3 गागरी मैं धरी आऊँ
- 4 चुनरी पहिर आऊँ
- 5 करी आऊँ सुरहु सिंगार ॥

Stand right there, flirtatious lover.

I'll put my water-pot at home, and come.

I'll put my water-pot down, and come.

I'll wear a colourful wrap when I come.

When I come I will be all dressed up.

rāg Bihāg - tāl jat; Purnima Chaudhury: from the singer's written collection.

line 5: *surahu*. According to the singer, this means *solah*. 'The sixteen adornments' is a reference to being completely dressed-up.

Girija Devi also teaches this *ṭhumrī* with one alteration: the word *yāra* (perhaps reflecting Skt. *jāra* rather than Persian *yār*) has been substituted with *śyāma*. As in the previous *ṭhumrī* (A28), the inclusion of the word *ṭhārhe* already locates the text in very close proximity to the Krishna tradition, as does the word *bāke*. Nevertheless, including *śyāma* instead of *yāra* makes the devotional connection more explicit than is perhaps necessary.

A30

- 1 डोले रे जोबन मदमाती गुजरिया रे ॥
- 2 ऐंड़ी ऐंड़ी चलत कुँजन में
- 3 ओढ़े कुसुंभी रंग लाल चुनरिया रे ॥

The milkmaid is wandering, drunk on youth.
She wanders languishing in the bowers
wrapped in a safflower-dyed red shawl.

rāg Miśra Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

This text is unusual in that it is not explicitly written from a first-person feminine perspective. Even if the speaker is female, she is describing another woman rather than lamenting the behaviour of her lover. Although the text conforms to the *ṭhumrī* model in its use of diminutives and relatively simple language, it does not offer much scope for pathos.

A31.1

- 1 तुम राधे बनो श्याम
- 2 सब देखेंगी ब्रिज बाम ॥
- 3 मेरो कहा तुम एक नहीं मानत
- 4 आज परो है मोसे काम ॥
- 5 सब सखियन मिली
- 6 नाच नचावो रे
- 7 यह है ब्रिज घनश्याम
- 8 ओ राम ॥

A31.2

- 1 तुम राधे बनो श्याम
- 2 सब देखेंगे ब्रिज बाम ॥
- 3 सब सखियन मिल नाच नचावो
- 4 वो है ब्रिज घनश्याम ॥

1. You act Radha, Shyam.
All the women of Braj will look on.
You don't listen to a word I say
but today I have been of use to you.
All the female friends together!
make him dance his dance!
He is the Ghanashyam of Braj.

2. You act Radha, Shyam
All the women of Braj will look on.
All the female friends together!
make him dance his dance!
He is the Ghanashyam of Braj.

A31.1 rāg Pīlū; Parween Sultana: commercial cassette (reference not available).

A31.2 rāg Pīlū; Tulika Ghosh: DAT 12 in LdP collection.

line 1: *rādhe*. This is technically speaking a vocative, and so this text could be interpreted as addressed to Radha. However, the focus of the text appears to be on Krishna rather than Radha, and as there is substantial precedent for using *rādhe* synonymously to *rādhā*, I have taken the text as being addressed to Krishna.

line 5 (31.1), line 3 (31.2) : *sakhiyana*. The use of the oblique could be redundant, used to indicate plurality rather than case. The interpretation 'with all the sakhīs' leaves the identity of the addressee unresolved.

A32

- 1 तोरी तिरछी नजरिया के बान रे
- 2 करेजवा में लागे ॥
- 3 पलकन तीर मारो ना सैंयाँ
- 4 बार बार तोरे परत हूँ पैया
- 5 मोहे दे दो जोबनवा का दान ॥

The arrows of your crooked glances
have pierced my heart.
Don't shoot arrows from your eyelids.
I fall at your feet over and over;
please give me the gift of youth.

rāg Pahārī - tāl pañjābī tritāl; Munawar Ali Khan: Audiorec Classics ACTC 5003.

line 5: *jobanavā*. The meaning of this word is unclear in the context. The 'gift of youth' may equate to 'love'. She may be asking the lover to stop flirting with her and actually spend his youth with her.

This text, like the other examples of texts popular in the Panjabi tradition of *ṭhumrī* (A5 and A8), is more solidly structured than most *ṭhumrī* texts. The tightness of the rhyme scheme and the natural 'flowingness' of the words suggests that these texts

have been through less of a 'corruption process' than some of their textual peers. This is probably largely due to the fact that the Panjabi style of *ṭhumrī* uses a faster rhythm and markedly less *bol banānā* than the Benares tradition.

A33

- 1 तोरे नैन(वा) जादू भरे ॥
- 2 रात नहीं निंदिया दिन नहीं चैन
- 3 तलपत हूँ दिन रैन ॥

Your eyes are full of magic!
No sleep at night, no peace in the day
I toss and turn, day and night.

rāg Tilāṅg; Saeed Khan: DAT 1 in LdP collection.

line 2: The formulaic phrase *dina nahī caina raina nahī nindiyā* has been inverted in this version, and instead of *raina*, *rāta* is used, with weakened alliterative effect.

A34

- 1 दिन बीत गये बालम न ली सुधिया ॥
- 2 नन्ही नन्ही बुँदिया मेहा बरसे
- 3 न लिख भेजी बलमा पतिया ॥
- 4 सोना लेने पी गये और सूना कर गयो देस
- 5 ना सोना मिले ना पी मिले रूप हुइ गये केस ॥

The days have passed, and my lover has not thought of me.
Tiny tiny drops fall from the clouds.
My lover has neither written nor sent me a letter.

My lover went to make gold, and he left my world empty;
I got neither gold, nor my lover, but my hair turned silvery grey.

rāg Ahīr Bhairav; Dhanashree Pandit: DAT 6 in LdP collection.

line 2: The transitive verb *barasā-* gives the odd-sounding translation 'the clouds rain drops', which is why I have paraphrased it.

line 3: Translating the conjunctive participle literally would give an oddly tautological translation, which is why I have added the 'neither, nor' construction.

lines 4-5: These two lines are taken from a poem by Giridhar, reproduced in Snell 1991b, p. 184/5:

सोना लेने पी गये सूनौ कर गये देस ।
सोना मिल्यौ न पी फिरे रूपा हो गये केस ॥

In the Panjabi style of *thumrī* performance, as well as in *dādrā*, there is a tradition of including items of poetry. The insertion of this *pada* is inspired by that tradition, even though the singer does not classify herself as part of the Panjabi school.

A35

- 1 दिल लेके मुझे बदनाम किया
- 2 काहे जलावत मोरा जिया ॥
- 3 प्रीत करी है तो निभानी पड़ेगी
- 4 बारी उमरिया में दाग दियो रे ॥

You took my heart and destroyed my reputation.
Why do you cause distress to my heart?
Once you've made love you must maintain it.
You have tainted me in my youthful age.

rāg Māñj Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Dhanashree Pandit: DAT 6 in LdP collection.

The first line of this text includes an unusually large Khaṛī Bolī component: *dila*, *mujhe*, and *badanāma*. The conjunctive participle suffixed with *-ke* is also more likely to occur in a Khaṛī Bolī environment.

line 4: *diyo*. *diyā* might have been expected here in terms of its contribution to the rhyme scheme.

A36.1

- 1 देखे बिना नाहीं चैन
- 2 साँवरियाँ को ॥
- 3 दिन नाहीं चैन
- 4 रैन नाहिं निंदिया
- 5 कासे कहूँ जी के बैन ॥

A36.2

- 1 देखे बिन नहीं चैन
- 2 सुरतियाँ ॥
- 3 दिन नहीं चैन रात नहीं निंदियाँ
- 4 तलपत हैं दिन रतियाँ ॥

1. Without seeing the dark one I have no peace.
No peace in the day, no sleep at night
to whom can I express what's in my heart?

2. Without seeing your face, I have no peace.
No peace in the day, no sleep at night
I toss and turn, day and night.

A36.1 rāg Khamāj - tāl jat; Girija Devi : DAT 22 in LdP collection.

A36.2 rāg Khamāj; Mahesh Prasad Mishra: DAT 2 in LdP collection.

The formulaic phrase *dina nahī caina* etc., was already encountered in A18 and A33, albeit with its two components inverted in the latter.

A37.1

- 1 नदियाँ किनारे मेरो गाँव
- 2 कब उत अइहो घनश्याम ॥
- 3 मोरे पीछे बन कदम की छैया
- 4 ललिता सखी मेरो नाम ॥

A37.2

- 1 नदियाँ किनारे मोरो गाँव ॥
- 2 नदियाँ किनारे कदम की छाया
- 3 ललिता सखी मोरो नाम
- 4 कब आइहो घनश्याम ॥

A37.3

- 1 नदिया किनारे मोरा गाँव
- 2 तुम अइहो घनश्याम रे ॥
- 3 नदिया किनारे कदम की छैया
- 4 ललिता मोरा नाम ॥

1. On the bank of the river is my village.
When will you visit there, Ghanashyam?
Behind me, in the shade of the forest Kadam tree.
Lalita sakhī is my name.

2. On the bank of the river is my village.
On the bank of the river, in the shade of the Kadam tree.
Lalita sakhī is my name.

When will you come, Ghanashyam?

3. On the bank of the river is my village,

(when) will you come, Ghanashyam.

On the river bank, in the shade of the Kadam tree

Lalita is my name.

A37.1 rāg Pīlū; Batuk Dewanji: DAT 11 in LdP collection.

A37.2 rāg Pīlū; Afroz Begum: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

A37.3 rāg Pīlū - tāl Sitārkhānī; A. Kannan: tape 1-49 in Sangeet Natak Akademi collection, New Delhi.

In spite of the various changes that exist between versions, most of the raw materials occur in all three texts. Most noteworthy of these are the *-h-* future (even though vowel length varies and is very likely to have been distorted in performance), the presence of the *kadam* tree, and the girl's name Lalita, even though she is not described as a *sakhī* in 37.3.

It is also unclear what is actually happening in this text. The most likely interpretation is that Lalita, the go-between, is trying to abscond with Krishna herself, although it is possible she is in fact organising a tryst on Radha's behalf. The situation in which the messenger seduces the hero is not unprecedented. Within the *ṭhumrī* repertoire, there is a reference to such an event in A27.2, and Bahadur asserts that in Bihārī's *Satasaī* the messenger occasionally gets seduced by the hero (1990:19). In the present *ṭhumrī*, however, it would seem to be the woman who is the instigator of the seduction.

37.1, line 3: *more pīche vana*. Unclear. I have read *vana* to be descriptive of *kadama*, but this is a rather tentative translation. Even still, the import of the line is obscure.

A38

- 1 ननदिया काहे मारे बोल
- 2 अभी रे मँगाऊँ बिष खाय मरूँगी ॥
- 3 तोरे बीरन को कैसे समझावूँ
- 4 मारत है बड़े बोल ॥

Sister-in-law, why do you abuse me?

Just now I will request and eat poison, and I shall die.

How can I explain it to your brother?

He [too] abuses me greatly.

rāg Khamāj; Aruna Rao: DAT 11 in LdP collection.

This *ṭhumrī* is thematically unusual. The conventional role of the *nanad* is to prevent the heroine from meeting her husband - the very presence of the *nanad* confirms that the lovers are married -, and she is usually teamed up with her mother, the heroine's *sās*. This particular *ṭhumrī*, however, is thematically more akin to the types of folk song in which married women lament their (lack of) status in their husband's house, and complain of the hold that the *nanad* has over her brother, the heroine's husband (for instance, *sohar* no. 9 quoted in Srivastava 1991). The eating of poison is a conventional method of suicide for women in song and poetry. The inclusion of the verb *maṅgā*- may suggest that the speaker is in *purdah*, and cannot go to the market herself.

A39

- 1 ना जा बलम परदेस ॥
- 2 कब से तोरी राह तकत हूँ
- 3 कैसे भेजूँ संदेसवा ॥

Don't go to the far country, love.

Since when have I been staring at the road, waiting for you?

How can I send you a message?

rāg Miśra Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Begum Akhtar: Music India cassette 322 7741.

line 2: *kaba se*. This rhetorical question expresses displeasure at the amount of time spent engaged in the described activity. The heroine is therefore saying: 'I have been waiting for you for a very long time!'.

A40

- 1 नागन है सारी रैन पिया बिन ॥
- 2 सूनी सेजरिया जी घबरावे
- 3 इक पल मोहे चैन न आवे
- 4 जात रहो सुख चैन ॥

The whole night without my lover is like a serpent.
[In] the empty bed my heart is anxious.
I don't get peace for even a moment.
All happiness and peace have gone.

Anand Thakur, Mumbai , 17.12.1996: from a performance by Barkat Ali Khan.

line 2: As *ghabarā-* can be transitive, an alternative translation would be: 'the empty bed troubles my heart'.

line 4: *jāta raho*. The progressive sense of this phrase is difficult to capture in translation. A possibility would be: 'All happiness and peace have continuously escaped me', or perhaps even 'never stopped eluding me'.

A41

- 1 नाहक लाए गवनवा
- 2 आप तो सैंया विदेसवा में छाए ॥
- 3 कहत छबीले सवत रस बस भए
- 4 बीतो जात जोवनवा ॥

I was brought to my husband's house needlessly.
My husband himself has settled in a faraway land.
'Chabile' says: 'he has come under the co-wife's spell'
Youth ebs away.

rāg Bhairavī - tāl jat; Girija Devi: video in Nicolas Magriel collection, London.

line 2: *āpa*. Although the singer confirmed that *āpa* here is a second-person form of address, I have read it as a reflexive pronoun.

line 4: When I last heard her sing this *ṭhumrī* (July 1998), *jobanavā* had been changed to *yovanavā*. Whether this change represents an embracing of sanskritisation, an acknowledgement of the rhyme scheme (*gavanavā* - *yovanavā*) or an unmotivated variation, is unclear.

For a discussion of *bīto jāta*, see the section on intensifiers in chapter two. The text is also performed without the -o ending: *bīta jāta*.

A42

- 1 पिया की मिलन की आस
- 2 सखी मोरा दिन दिन बाढ़त सगरो जोवनवा ॥
- 3 धन धन भाग सखी वा दिन मोरा
- 4 जो पिया आवेंगे पास सखी मोरा
- 5 दिन दिन बाढ़त सगरो जोवनवा ॥

[I live in] hope of meeting my lover.
My friend, every day my whole youth advances.
It will be such good fortune, friend, the day when
my lover will come back [to me].
Every day my whole youth advances.

rāg Jogiyā - tāl dīpcandī; Uttara Dutt: DAT 20 in LdP collection.

line 1: *milana*. Although it appears to be a verbal noun, the possessive particle *kī* which precedes suggests it is a feminine noun. HŚS attests a fem.noun *milani*, 'meeting'. The final vowel of *milani* might have been subject to further reduction to create a fem.noun *milana*.

line 2: *bāṛhata sagaro jobanavā*. The verb *bāṛh-* is attested in HŚS to be equivalent to MSH *baṛhnā*. Its meaning here is not entirely clear. In addition to the translation offered above, a further interpretation could be 'every day my breasts swell' or a similar description of the heroine's physical condition. The adj. *sagaro* is not easily explained.

line 3: *dhana dhana bhāga*. I have tried to capture the force of the repetition by using the adverb 'such'.

line 4: *morā*. This should probably be read along with the next line, as in line 2. *sakhī* of line 4 might also be part of the last line.

A43

- 1 पिया को दीजो संदेस ॥
- 2 सावन आया तुम नहीं आये
- 3 लई हूँ जोगनिया को भेस ॥

Give a message to my lover:
Savan has come but you haven't come,

and I have taken on the ascetic's garb.

rāg Tilaṅg - tāl dīpcandī; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

line 2: The parallel between the arrival of the rainy season yet not of the lover is conventional, though elegantly achieved.

line 3: *ko*. The use of *ko* (or *kau*) as a possessive particle is extremely rare in ṭhumrī.

The motif of the *yoginī* is familiar from the poetry of Mīrābāī, but not very common in ṭhumrī.

A44

- 1 पिया तो मानत नाही
- 2 कौन बुलाने से मनाव रे ॥
- 3 ऐसो निपट अनारी प्रीत पूजा जानत नाही ॥

My lover doesn't care [about me].
What shall I say to bring him round?
He's so completely inept,
he doesn't understand love and worship.

rāg Kāfī - tāl sitārkhānī; Purnima Chaudhury: copied from her written collection, February 1997.

line 2: The singer suggested the verb form *manāva* represented *mānata*, but it is more likely to be a subjunctive form *manāū*, in view of its form as well as its function in a rhetorical question.

A45.1

- 1 पी की बोलि ना बोल
- 2 पिया की बोललि ना बोल
- 3 अब ना बोल पपिहा (पपिहरा) ॥

A45.2

- 1 पी की बोली ना बोल रे पपीहरा ॥
- 2 जो सुन पावेंगी बिरहा की माती
- 3 देंगी पंख मरोर ॥

1. Don't say the word 'pī'.
Don't say the word 'piyā'
Don't say anything, papīhā!

2. Don't say the word 'pī', O papīhā.
If the one stricken by lovesickness catches your speech,
she will twist your wings.

A45.1 rāg Pīlū - tāl jat; Deepali Banerjee: DAT 2 in LdP collection.

A45.2 rāg Pīlū - tāl jat; from collection C6.

line 1: *pī*, or *piyā*, are both supposed to be the cries of the pied-crested cuckoo.

45.1, line 2: *bolali*. Presumably *bolī* is the intended form, but the singer clearly sings *bolali*.

This *ṭhumrī* is reminiscent of a poem by Mīrābāī, quoted in Shukla (1983:222):

पपैया रे पिव की बोली न बोले ।
सुन पावेली बिरहणी रे, थारी राखेली पाँख मारोर ॥

A46

- 1 प्रेम अगन जियरा जलावे
- 2 अब कैसे बुझावूँ सजनी मोरी ॥
- 3 साजन तो हमसे रूठ गए
- 4 अरे रंग भयो हियरा हमारा ॥

The fire of love sets my heart alight.
Now how can I extinguish it, my friend?
My lover, well, he's upset with me;
love has suffused my heart.

rāg Māñj Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

A47

- 1 प्रेम गागरिया भारी
- 2 मोरे श्याम हो ॥

(antarā not sung.)

The water-pot of love weighs heavy,
my Shyam.

rāg Miśra Des - tāl dīpcandī; Siddheshwari Devi: tape from Sheila Dhar collection.

A48

- 1 बाँकी सुरत तोरी टेढी चितवनिया रे
- 2 मान [मन?] बार बस कीनो तब [तब?] मोसे कानिया [कनिया?] रे ॥
- 3 कहे श्याम दास क्यों नैन मिलावत बार बार रे
- 4 मदन तन जोर करे तब जवनिया ॥

Your face is devious, your glances crooked

.... [??]

'Shyam Das' says, why do you constantly look into my eyes?

Madan grows in strength in my body [seeing] your youthfulness.

rāg Mīśra Khamāj; Batuk Dewanjī: DAT 11 in LdP collection.

line 2: The meaning of his line is entirely unclear.

line 4: *taba* is read for *tava*, 'your'.

A49.1

- 1 बाजूबंद खुल खुल जाय
- 2 अब सवरिया (समलिया) ने जादू मारा ॥
- 3 जादू के पुड़िया भर भर मारत
- 4 अचरा उड़ि उड़ि जाय रे ॥

A49.2

- 1 बाजूबंद खुल खुल जाय
- 2 साँवरिया ने जादू मारा ॥
- 3 जादू की पुड़िया भर भर मारा
- 4 क्या करे बैद बिचारा
- 5 अँचरा खुल खुल जाय ॥

A49.3

- 1 बाजूबन्द खुल खुल जाये जाये रे
- 2 साँवरिया ने जादू मारा ॥
- 3 जादू की पुड़िया भर-भर मारे
- 4 अंचरा उड़ि - उड़ि जाये रे ॥

1. My bracelet keeps coming undone,
the dark one has cast his spell.
He fills and throws parcels of magic;
the hem of my sari keeps flying up.

2. My bracelet keeps coming undone,
the dark one has cast his spell.
He filled and threw parcels of magic.
What will the helpless doctor do?
The hem of my sari keeps coming undone.

3. My bracelet keeps coming undone,
the dark one has cast a spell.
He fills and throws parcels of magic;
the hem of my sari keeps flying up.

A49.1 rāg Bhairavī - tāl jat; Mahesh Prasad Mishra: DAT 2 in LdP collection.

A49.2 rāg Bhairavī - tāl jat; Deepali Banerjee: DAT 2 in LdP collection.

A49.3 rāg Bhairavī - tāl jat; collection C6.

49.1, line 3: *jādū ke puṛiyā*. The use of *ke* instead of *kī* is probably due to the fact that *e* and *ī* vowels can sound similar in performance. Cf. *akhīyā tore* in text A1.1.

I have tried to capture the various repetitions in this text by adding 'keeps' to the main verb, even though this suggests a sense of continuity that is not fully present in the Hindi repetition.

Various explanations as to the nature of the 'magic':

Deepali Bannerjee says that it is due to the spell (*jādū*) that Krishna has cast that 'Radhika's' bangle is opening and her sari is flying up. (Personal communication, Allahabad, 26.10.1996).

Batuk Dewanji claims that the meaning of *jādū* in this text is not 'magic' but more like 'hypnosis'. She is fully concentrated on him which is why she becomes so emaciated that her bangle falls off. (Personal communication, Mumbai, 7.12.1996).

A50.1

- 1 बाबुल मोरा नैहर छूटो जाय ॥
- 2 चार कहार मिलि डोलियाँ उठाए
- 3 अपना बिगाना छूटो जाय ॥

A50.2

- 1 बाबुल मोरा नइहर छूटो जाय ॥
- 2 जब दरवाजे पर अरे डोलिया आई रे
- 3 अपना बेगाना छूटो जाय ॥

1. Father, my maternal home is being left behind.
Four water-carriers together lift up my palanquin;
what's mine, what's not, it's all being left behind.

2. Father, my maternal home is being left behind.
When my palanquin arrived, O, on my doorstep;
what's mine, what's not, it's all left behind.

A50.1 rāg Bhairavī - tāl dīpcandī; Girija Devi: tape in Nicolas Magriel collection, London.

A50.2 rāg Bhairavī - tāl dīpcandī; Siddheshvari Devi: tape 8 in the collection of the Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi. Date of recording: 5.1.1967.

line 1: *chuṭo jāya*. For a discussion of the grammar of this phrase, see the section on intensifiers in section 2.2.1.

A51

- 1 बेददी बलमा प्रीत किये चला जाए ॥
- 2 ऊँची अटरिया चंदन केवड़िया
- 3 गोरी खड़ी पछताए ॥

My hard-hearted lover loved me and now leaves me.
On the high balcony, by the sandalwood door,
the fair one stands, filled with regret.

rāg Pīlū - tāl tilvārā; Girija Devi: Nimbus CD NI 5315, 'Songs from Varanasi'.

A53.1

- 1 मद के भरे तोरे नैन
- 2 मतवारे मन हर लीनो श्याम ॥
- 3 श्याम दास की प्यारी सुरतिया
- 4 बिन देखे नहीं चैन ॥

A53.2

- 1 मद के भरे तोरे नैन
- 2 कारे मतवारे मन हर लीनो श्याम ॥
- 3 श्याम दास की प्यारी सूरतियाँ
- 4 बिन देखे नहीं चैन ॥

A53.3

- 1 मद के भरे तोरे नैन
- 2 नैना मतवारे कारे मन हर लीना ॥
- 3 दास श्याम के अनोखे नैन
- 4 बिन देखे नाहिं चैन मतवारे कारे मन हर लीना ॥

1. Your eyes are full of passion.

Shyam, the passionate one, has stolen my heart.

The sweet features of 'Shyam Das',
without seeing them, I have no peace.

2. Your eyes are full of passion!

Shyam, the dark passionate one, has stolen my heart.

The sweet features of 'Shyam Das',
without seeing them, I have no peace.

3. Your eyes are full of passion!

With lustful eyes, the dark one has stolen my heart.

The wondrous eyes of 'Shyam Das',
without seeing them, I have no peace.

The dark passionate one has stolen my heart.

A53.1 rāg Khamāj - tāl jat; Girija Devi: HMV gramophone recording in Nicolas Magriel collection.

A53.2 rāg Khamāj - tāl jat; Purnima Chaudhury: DAT 9 in LdP collection.

A53.3 rāg Khamāj - tāl jat; from collection C6.

A54

- 1 मन मोह लिया
- 2 कान्हा (कांधा) ने बजाके बैसुरिया ॥
- 3 मैं जात दधि बेचन
- 4 मैं तो भूलि गई
- 5 ब्रिज की जगइया ॥

He bewitched my heart,
 Kanha did, while playing his flute.
 I was on my way to sell curds;
 then I forgot the places of Braj.

rāg ? - tāl dīpcandī; Badi Moti Bai: HMV cassette STC 850162.

line 2: The variation *kāndhā* is relatively common in *ṭhumrī* performance, and represents the inclusion of an 'intrusive consonant', a phenomenon also found in e.g. *cambelī* for *camelī*. (cf. text B14.1.)

The rhyme scheme of this *thumri* is discussed in section 3.4.

A55

- 1 मारी मधुर मुसकाई रे नजरिया ॥
- 2 जादू भरी दृग हेरी फेरी सखी
- 3 अब तो रह्यो नही जाय रे नजरिया ॥

He glanced at me, smiling sweetly.
 Eyes filled with magic, conniving and contriving, friend
 now I cannot contain myself - his look!

rāg Miśra Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Purnima Chaudhury: copied from her written collection, February 1997.

line 2:

I am not sure whether *herī pherī* should be read as a perfective or an absolute. The meaning is also not entirely clear.

A56

- 1 मुरलिया अब नाहीं बजावो रे श्याम ॥
- 2 मोहन मुरली नेक बजावत
- 3 सनद पिया की अरे गई लाज ॥

Hey Shyam, don't play your flute now!
Mohan plays the flute so well;
the modesty of 'Sanad Piya' - oh well, it's lost.

rāg Khamāj - tāl jat; Girija Devi: DAT 3 in LdP collection.

line 2: *neka* can also be interpreted as 'just a little: 'Mohan plays the flute just a little'.

A57.1

- 1 मुरलिया कौन गुमान भरे ॥
- 2 ना सोने की ना (नाहीं) रूप की
- 3 नाहीं रतन जड़ी ॥

A57.2

- 1 मुरलिया काहे गुमान भरी
- 2 बैसुरिया काहे गुमान भरी ॥
- 3 जल तेरी जानो जात पहचानो

- 4 माधो बन की लकड़िया ॥
- 5 बन में काटी बन में छाँटी
- 6 ब्रह्मा ने सालु करे ॥

A57.3

- 1 तू काहे गुमान भरी मुरलिया ॥
- 2 सोने की नाहीं रूपे की नाहीं
- 3 हरे हरे बिरवा की बसिया तिहारी ॥

1. Flute, what kind of pride are you filled with?
You're not made of gold, nor made of silver,
nor studded with gems.

2. Flute, why are you full of pride?
Flute, why are you full of pride?
I know and recognise that your caste is that of reeds.
you're a bit of wood from Madho Ban.
You were cut in the forest, pruned in the forest,
and God made you ...[?]

3. Flute, why are you full of pride?
You're not made of gold, nor made of silver;
your bamboo comes from a fresh green sapling.

A57.1 rāg Miśra Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Siddheshwari Devi: tape in the Sheila Dhar collection.

A57.2 rāg Khamāj; Saeed Khan: DAT 1 in LdP collection.

A57.3 collection C7.

57.2, line 3: *jal* is here interpreted as '*uśīr, khas*'.

57.2, line 4: *mādhō bana*. I have assumed this to be a variation of *madhuvana*.

57.2, line 6: The meaning of *sālu* is unclear. The appearance of *brahmā* is also, as far as I know, unprecedented in *ṭhumrī*.

57.3, line 3: The word *biravā* is not an eastern long form, but a masc. noun meaning 'sapling'. It might have been expected to inflect.

Collection C7 does not always state musical information. It is nevertheless assumed from the text that 57.3 is a variant version of 57.1/2.

A58.1

- 1 मैं तो तोरे दमनवाँ लग गई (लगी) महाराज ॥
- 2 किरपा कीजे दर्शन दीजे
- 3 बाँह गहे की लाज ॥
- 4 जोई जोई माँगत सोई सोई पल पावत
- 5 महिमा अपरंपार मैं तो तोरे दमनवाँ ... ॥

A58.2

- 1 मैं तो तोरे दामनवाँ लागी महाराज ॥
- 2 कृपा कीजे दर्शन दीजे
- 3 बाँह गहे की लाज ॥
- 4 जोई जो माँगत सोई फल पावत
- 5 महिमा अपरम्पार ॥

1/2. I cling to your raiment, oh Maharaja.
Bestow grace, show me your face;
my honour depends on you taking my arm.
Whatever anyone asks for, he attains;
[such is your] boundless glory.

A58.1 rāg Bhairavī; Leela Karwal: DAT 2 in LdP collection.

A58.2 rāg Bhairavī; collection C7.

line 1: *dāmanvā lāgī*. The sense conveyed by the image is of seeking protection, cf. *dāmangīr*, 'clutching the skirt (of); depending (on); seeking justice (from).

A59.1

- 1 मोरा सैया बुलावे आधी रात
- 2 नदिया बैरी भई ॥
- 3 सुन रे मल्लाह हूँ तेरी चेरी
- 4 नैया लगा दे पार ॥
- 5 नदिया गहरी नाव पुरानी
- 6 केवट मतवारो सुन नहीं बात ॥

A59.2

- 1 मोरा सैया बुलावे आधी रात
- 2 नदिया भारी ॥
- 3 सुन रे मल्लाह हूँ तो तेरी दासी
- 4 नैया लगा दीजिए पार ॥

A59.3

- 1 मोरा सैया बुलावे आधी रात
- 2 नदिया बैरी भई ॥
- 3 सुन रे मल्लाह हूँ तेरी चेरी
- 4 नदिया लगा दीजो पार ॥
- 5 नदिया गहरी नाव पुरानी
- 6 केवट मतवारो बूझे नही ॥

A59.4

- 1 मोरा सैया बुलावे आधी रात
- 2 नदिया बैरी भई ॥
- 3 सुन रे मल्लाह हूँ तेरी चेरी

4 नैया लगा दे पार ॥

1. My lover calls at midnight;
the river has become my adversary.
Listen O boatman, I am your handmaiden;
take the boat across.
The river is deep, the boat is old,
the intoxicated boatman doesn't listen to what I say.

2. My lover calls at midnight;
the river is fearsome.
O listen, boatman, you know I am your handmaiden;
please take the boat across.

3. My lover calls at midnight;
the river has become my adversary.
O listen, boatman, I am your handmaiden;
take the boat across.
The river is deep, the boat is old,
the intoxicated boatman does not understand.

4. My lover calls at midnight;
the river has become my adversary.
O listen, boatman, I am your handmaiden;
take the boat across.

A59.1 rāg Miśra Des - tāl kaharvā; Hira Devi Mishra: commercial tape (reference not available).

A59.2 rāg Des - tāl dīpcandī; Girija Devi: DAT 25 in LdP collection.

A59.3 Collection C7.

A59.4 rāg Des - tāl sitārkhānī; Dhanashree Pandit: DAT 6 in LdP collection.

The various imperative forms used for the boatman are noteworthy: *de* in 59.1 and 59.4, *dīje* in 59.2, and *dījo* in 59.3. In all versions, he is addressed as *tū* in the use of the possessive pronoun *terī* (line 3).

A60

- 1 मोहे छोड़ गए मझधार
- 2 मोरे बारे मितवा ॥
- 3 जीवन नैया डगमग डोले
- 4 अब काहे करूँ मोरे राम रे ॥

He has abandoned me midstream,
my youthful friend.
The boat of life drifts aimlessly.
Now what can I do, my lord.

rāgYaman Kalyān/Māñj Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Begum Akhtar: tape from the Batuk Dewanji collection.

This text combines religious and secular sentiments: the *bāre mitavā* of the *sthāyī* is likely to refer to a human protagonist, but the text takes on a religious garb in the *antarā*.

A61

- 1 रतिया कहवा गवाँई रे बालम हरजाई ॥
- 2 सगरी रैन मोहे जागत बीतत
- 3 नैनन नींद न आई ॥

Where did you fritter away the night, O, philandering lover.
I spend all night wide awake;
no sleep comes to my eyes.

rāg Bhairavī; Purnima Chaudhury: copied from her written collection, February 1997.

line 1: The unusual form *kahavā* occurs in Malik Muhammad Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* as *kahāvā* (272.4). It does not occur elsewhere in the main corpus.

line 3: *āl*. I have translated this as a subj.-pres., either as a performance-variation of *āe* or a variant motivated by the rhyme scheme.

A62.1

- 1 रस के भरे तोरे नैन अब सावरियाँ ॥
- 2 दिन नहीं चैन रात नहीं निंदिया
- 3 जागत बीती सारी रैन ॥

A62.2

- 1 रस के भरे तोरे नैन
- 2 आ जा साँवरिया तोहे गरवा लगा लूँ ॥
- 3 दिन नहीं चैन रैन नहीं निंदिया
- 4 कासे कहूँ जी के बैन
- 5 रस के भरे तोरे नैन ॥

A62.3

- 1 रस के भरे तोरे नैन
- 2 आजा साँवरिया तोहे गरवा लगा लूँ ॥
- 3 साँवरि सूरत मोहनी मूरत
- 4 तड़पत हूँ दिन रैन ॥

1. Your eyes are full of charm.
Come, dark one, come and I'll embrace you.

No peace in the day, no sleep at night;
I spent the whole night wide awake.

2. Your eyes are full of charm.
Come, dark one, come and I'll embrace you.
No peace in the day, no sleep at night;
to whom can I say what's in my heart.
Your eyes are full of charm.

3. Your eyes are full of charm.
Come, dark one, come and I'll embrace you.
Dark features, an enchanting form;
I toss and turn day and night.

A62.1 rāg Bhairavī - tāl dīpcandī; Rasoolan Bai: EMI cassette STC6109.

A62.2 rāg Bhairavī - tāl dīpcandī; Girija Devi: Music Today cassette B93005.

A62.3 rāg Bhairavī; collection C7.

Batuk Dewanji asserts that this text was written by Gauhar Jan of Calcutta, one of the twentieth century's most famous *tavāyafs*. He claims that in some versions her name is inserted: '*gauhar pyārī topai bali bali jāvūī; morā jiyā tarase*'. (Personal communication. Mumbai, 8.1.1997.) I have never come across this phrase, nor have I heard this suggestion of authorship repeated elsewhere.

A63.1

- 1 लगत करेजवा में चोट
- 2 बारे सैयाँ फूल गेंदवा न मारा मैका ॥
- 3 सैयाँ निरमोहिया दरदिया न जाने मैका
- 4 मारत पलकिया की ओट
- 5 अब वह मोरे राजा ॥

A63.2

- 1 लगत करेजवा में चोट
- 2 बारे सैया फूलगेंदवा जिन मारो मैका ॥
- 3 देवरा निरमोहिया दरदियो न जाने राम
- 4 रखियो पलकियों की ओट ॥

A63.3

- 1 लगत करेजवा में चोट
- 2 बारे बलमा फूलगेंदवा न मारो ॥

(antarā not sung.)

A63.4

- 1 लगत करेजवा में चोट
- 2 मैका बारे बलमा फूल गेंदवा न मारे ॥
- 3 निरमोही मोरा दरदियो न जाने
- 4 रहत पलकिया की ओट ॥

A63.5

- 1 फूलगेंदवा न मारो राजा
- 2 लगत करेजवा में चोट ॥
- 3 कारे बलम दरदिया न जाने राजा
- 4 लेत पलकिया की ओट ॥

1. My heart is wounded;
my young lover hasn't thrown any flower-balls at me.
My cruel lover does not know my pain;
he throws glances [from beneath] his eyelids.
That's right, my king!

2. My heart is wounded;
my young lover, don't throw flower-balls at me!
My cruel brother-in-law does not know my pain, O Ram;
he took refuge in his eyelids.

3. My heart is wounded;
my young lover, don't throw flower-balls at me!

4. My heart is wounded
My young lover hasn't thrown any flower-balls at me.
The cruel one doesn't know my suffering,
he lives in the shelter of his eyes.

5. Don't throw flower-balls at me, O king,
my heart is wounded.
The dark lover does not know my pain, O king,
he takes refuge under his eyelids.

A63.1 rāg Bhairavī - tāl dīpcandī; Rasoolan Bai: tape in Batuk Dewanji collection, Mumbai.

A63.2 rāg Bhairavī; Mahesh Prasad Mishra: DAT 2 in LdP collection.

A63.3 rāg Bhairavī; Leela Karwal: DAT 2 in LdP collection.

A63.4 rāg Bhairavī - tāl jat; collection C6.

A63.5 rāg Bhairavī - tāl pañjābī; collection C5.

line 2 (63.1/2/4): *maīkā* appears to be 1.sg. object (MSH *mujhko*). This is borne out not so much by the present text as by other instances, for example in the phrase *jāne de maīkā*. This phrase occurs in a bandīś ṭhumrī which is not included in the main corpus as its full lyrics were not discernible on the recording available to me.

line 2: *phūlagendavā* is a word-play on the double meaning of *genda* as 'ball' as well as 'marigold'.

line 2 (63.1): *na mārā*; (63.2): *jina māro*; (63.3): *na māro*; (63.4): *na māre*; line1 (63.5): *na māro*.

The meaning of this phrase is clarified in 63.2 by the prohibitive adverb *jina*: 'do not throw'. *na mārā* in 63.1 is most likely to be a perfective; there is, however, an imperative form *-ā* in Bhojpuri (Tiwari 1960:168), and as the singer of this version hailed from Benares, the possibility that *na mārā* means 'do not throw' cannot be excluded. *na māro* in 63.3 and 63.5 can be perfective as well as imperative, whereas *na māre* in 63.4 can be either perfective or subjunctive (perhaps with imperative force).

In view of the context, the translation 'do not throw' would seem the most logical, as the impact of the flower balls (too soft to do much physical harm) nevertheless causes a wound in the speaker's heart.

line 3 (63.1/5) *dardiyā*; line 3 (63.2/4) *dardiyo*.

The *-o* ending suggests influence from eastern Hindi, in which it would function as an object-marker (as discussed with Dr Shukdev Singh, Benares, March 1997).

line 4: The various verbs in combination with the phrase *palakiyā/palakiyō kī oṭa* have been commented on by a number of interviewees.

Vidya Rao interpreted the phrase as 'he always teases me, he is always holding back, he is there and yet not there' (London, November 1995).

Dr Shukdev Singh suggested that *palak kī oṭ honā* is a proverb, meaning 'to hide' (Benares, November 1996).

Batuk Dewanji said that the entire phrase (including the verb) meant 'I will take him behind my eyelid (so he cannot go outside)' (Mumbai, December 1996).

Rai Anand Krishna felt that the line *mārata palakiyā kī oṭa* was most preferable, as it sets up a parallel with *phūlagendavā mār-* in the second line (Benares, March 1996).

It would seem that each variation warrants its own translation, as the choice of verb affects the meaning of the phrase *palakiyā kī oṭa*. All translations are tentative, however, as the meaning of the phrase remains unclear. The variations involving *oṭa* suggest that there has been a variety of responses to a problematic text.

A64.1

- 1 लट उलझी सुलझा रे बलमा
- 2 हाथन में महेंदी लागी है ॥
- 3 माथे की बिंदिया बिखर गई है
- 4 अपने हाथ लगा जा रे बलमा ॥

A64.2

- 1 लट उलझी सुलझा जा बालम
- 2 हाथों में मेहंदी लागी ॥
- 3 माथे की बिंदिया बिखर गई है
- 4 अपने हाथ लगा जा बालम ॥

A64.3

- 1 लट उलझी सुलझा जा रे बालम
- 2 हाथन मोरे मेहंदी लगी है ॥
- 3 माथे की बिंदिया बिसर गई रे
- 4 अपने हाथ लगा जा रे बालम ॥

O lover, disentangle my tangled locks;
I've got henna on my hands.
The *bindī* on my forehead has become disarranged;
set it right with your hand, O lover.

A64.1 rāg Chāyanāth - tāl cācar; Aneeta Sen: DAT 10 in LdP collection.

A64.2 rāg Bihāg; Dhanashree Pandit: DAT 6 in LdP collection.

A64.3 Collection C3 (no musical information).

line 1 (64.2/3): The use of *jā-* compounded with transitive *sulaḥhā-* suggests a somewhat imperious tone, suited to the context of the heroine ordering her lover to take care of her adornments. This construction is repeated in the last line: *lagā jā*.

line 3 (64.3): *bisar-* is likely to be a misprint or error for *bikhar-* which occurs in the other two versions.

The context of this text is not entirely transparent. The disarranged locks and *bindī* suggest that love-making has taken place, but the presence of henna on the heroine's hands rather precludes that possibility. The henna itself suggests that the heroine is about to get married; in that case, the presence of a lover is unusual, whether he is the bridegroom or not. This text is now commonly sung as a *choṭa khyāl*; its imperious tone and happy mood make it an unusual *bol banāv ṭhumrī*, and I have only heard it performed in a style much closer to *khyāl* than to *ṭhumrī*.

A65

- 1 लाग्यों के बोल सहे सवरियाँ तेरे लिये मैंने हाँ
- 2 सौतन के बोल सहे सवरियाँ तेरे लिये मैंने ॥
- 3 प्रीत करी सुख कारन प्रीत करी दुख होय
- 4 नगरा ढँढोरा फेर दूँ कि प्रीत करे न कोई ॥

I have endured much abuse on your account, yes I have.
I have endured abuse from my co-wife, on your account, dark one!
I fell in love for the sake of pleasure, I fell in love and found misery;
I'm going to announce, beating a drum, that no one should fall in love.

rāg Mīśra Hīṇḍolī; Dhanashree Pandit: DAT 6 in LdP collection.

line 1: The singer offered the translation: 'I've taken a lot of shit because of you'.

The singer explained that for the 'antarā' the tablā stops - suggesting that it is an inserted poem rather than an antarā. The nature of the poetry certainly suggests that (see also A34, sung by the same person).

A66

- 1 श्याम घूँघट पट खोली मोसे बरजोरी ॥
- 2 नंद नंदन धन ढीठ लंगरवा
- 3 हम से करत झकझोरी ॥

Shyam forcefully uncovered the cloth of my veil.
Nanda's treasured delight, stubborn rascal,
treats me roughly.

rāg Miśra Khamāj - tāl jat; Purnima Chaudhury: copied from her written collection, February 1997.

line 1: The feminine gender of *kholī* is slightly problematic. The most likely explanation is that an agentive construction is used without the explicit presence of *ne*. *kholī* presumably agrees with *ghūṅghaṭa*, which is glossed as 'f.m.' by Platts and McGregor, though only as masculine in HŚS. It is also not entirely clear why the verb should not agree with *paṭa*, which is masculine. Alternative interpretations of *paṭa*, for example as an absolutive of the verb *paṭ-*, do not work in the context.

— to be settled to down

line 2: *nanda nandana dhana*. The eulogising nature of this phrase seems to contain an element of sarcasm, in contrast with the following *dhūṭha laṅgaravā*.

A67

- 1 श्याम मेरी गली आ जा ॥
- 2 तुम बिन ब्याकुल भई है राधिका
- 3 फिर से बसिया बजा जा ॥

Shyam, come to my alleyway!
Without you Radha has become restless;
play your flute again.

rāg ? - tāl dīpcandī; Siddheshwari Devi: tape from Sheila Dhar collection.

line 2: The explicit naming of Radha is unusual in *ṭhumrī*, especially in the third-person (as opposed to the first-person phrase *rādhā rānī mero nāma* of B27).

did they, they, ...

line 3: *bajā jā*. The compounding of *bajā-* with *jā-* to fit in with the rhyme scheme results in a slightly imperious tone.

A68

- 1 सखी सावन बैरी री भयो
- 2 रैना अँधेरी बिजरी चमके
- 3 सखी बादर बरस रह्यो ॥
- 4 बिरहा सतावत कल नहीं आवत
- 5 कित मोरे बालम बिरम रह्यो ॥

Friend, Savan has become my adversary.
In the dark night lightning flashes;
friend, rain kept falling from the clouds.
Lovesickness torments me, peace does not come;
where has my lover been delayed?

rāg Des - tāl dīpcandī; Batuk Dewanji: DAT 11 in LdP collection.

line 3: I have paraphrased the Hindi in my translation to avoid the odd-sounding 'the clouds kept raining' (cf. A34).

A69

- 1 सजनवा कैसे मैं आऊँ तोरे पास ॥
- 2 अतही डर लागत जागत सब लोग
- 3 जागे रे ननद मोरी सास ॥

Love, how can I come to you?
I am so afraid, everyone is awake;
my mother-in-law and sister-in-law may wake up.

rāg Tilāṅg - tāl kaharvā; Arati Ankalikar: tape in Batuk Dewanji collection, Mumbai.

line 2: I have translated the line as consisting of two separate clauses. If the meaning were 'I am scared that everyone will wake up' a subjunctive and a negation would have been required.

I have tried to reflect the distinction between impf. *jāgata* (line 2) and subj. *jāge* (line 3) in my translation, although the decision as to who is awake and who has yet to wake up is somewhat arbitrary due to the dual meaning of *jāg-*. The required nasalisation of *jāge* to indicate plurality is likely to have been lost in performance.

The motif of the (young) wife being afraid to meet her husband (as there is no suggestion here of an illicit affair) is more common in bandīś ṭhumrī, e.g. B11 and B17. The watchful eyes of the heroine's female in-laws are also a source of anxiety when a man other than her husband tries to interact with her, for instance in B13 and B30.

A70

- 1 साँची कहो मोरे राजा अब के गई कब आइहो ॥
- 2 जो मोरे राजा जैहो विदेसवा
- 3 हमके जनि बिसराइहो ॥

Tell me the truth, my king, this time has gone [so] when will you come?
If, my king, you go to the faraway land,
[then] don't forget me!

rāg Māñj Khamāj - tāl jat; Purnima Chaudhury: copied from her written collection, February 1997.

line 1: The feminine gender of the verb is confusing; I have taken the subject to be implied *bāra*.

line 2: *jo*. I have translated this as 'if', which seemed most logical in the context.

line 3: I have read *hamake* as representing *hamako*.

The varying vowel lengths of the verb forms in this text are confusing. As I copied the text from a singer's written collection, I cannot ascribe the variations to possible errors in my transcription. *āiho* in line 1 is extremely unlikely to be an imperative, whereas *bisarāiho* in line 3 has to be an imperative, as it is preceded by the prohibitive adverb *jani*. If both future and imperative forms do not shorten the end-vowel of the stem, there is no clear reason why *jaiho* in line 2 should have shortened its vowel.

A71.1

- 1 साँची कहो मोसे बतियाँ
- 2 कहाँ गुजारी सारी रतियाँ
- 3 सैया तुम ॥
- 4 माधो पिया तोसे अरज करत हूँ
- 5 मोसे करो न ऐसी घतियाँ ॥

A71.2

- 1 साँची कहो मोसे बतियाँ पिया
- 2 कहाँ गँवाई सारी रतियाँ पिया ॥
- 3 माधो पिया तोसे बिनती करत हैं
- 4 अब न करो मोसे घतियाँ पिया ॥

1. Tell me matters truthfully:
where have you spent the whole night, love?
Madho Piya, I plead with you;
don't play these tricks on me.

2. Tell me matters truthfully, love:
where have you frittered away the whole night, love?
Madho Piya, I plead with you;
don't play tricks on me, love.

A71.1 rāg Mīśra Khamāj - tāl jāṭ; Mahadev Prasad Mishra: tape 411 in the collection of the Sangeet Research Academy, Calcutta.

A71.2 rāg Khamāj - tāl jāṭ; collection C6.

line 2: The juxtaposition of the verb *guzār-* in 71.1 with *gāṇā-* in 71.2 is noteworthy; although there is no evidence to indicate direction of change, it is nevertheless interesting to note either the toning down of the pejorative force of *gāṇā-* or alternatively, the addition of a negative tone to the relatively neutral verb *guzār-*.

line 3: The juxtaposition of *araja* in 71.1 with *binatī* in 71.2 is perhaps less meaningful than the change of verb in line 1. A change from *araja* to *binatī* may reflect a desire to sanskritise the text, although *binatī* is more common in *ṭhumrī* than *araja*.

A72

- 1 साँज भई घर आवो नंदलाल ॥
- 2 बेर भई मैं ढूँढन निकसी
- 3 तुम काले बन काला ॥

Evening is falling, come home, Nandalal!
It's getting late, I've come out to look for you;
you are dark, and the forest is dark.

rāg Yaman Kalyān; Siddheshwari Devi: words advised by Savita Devi, New Delhi,
March 1997.

The comparison of dark objects with Krishna is also encountered in A28.

This text was written by a student of the singer, Ninu Muzumdar.

Savita Devi, the singer's daughter, explained that for her mother this text was deeply religious, and meant 'O Lord, the evening of my life is falling; O Lord, take care of me'. Savita cried when she told me this, and said that whenever her mother sang this ṭhumrī, the entire audience would be in tears. (Personal communication, Delhi, February 1997.)

A73

- 1 सावरे सलोने बाँके श्याम
- 2 मोह लिया ब्रिज बाम ॥
- 3 जब से देखी तोरी सावरी सुरतिया
- 4 तन मन बिसरी सुध बुध हारी
- 5 जपत रही तेरो नाम रे ॥

Dark, attractive, flirtatious Shyam
has bewitched the women of Braj.

Ever since they saw your dark features
they have forgotten body and soul, lost consciousness and intelligence
they keep repeating your name.

rāg Khamāj - tāl dīpcandī; Madhumati Ray; performed at the National Centre for the
Performing Arts, Mumbai, December 1996.

line 2: *moha liyā*. The fact that the subject *bāke śyāma* does not agree with the verb
moha liyā suggests that *ko* after the dir.obj. is understood.

line 5: *rahī* has been translated in the present tense, as the use of *jaba se* in line 3
suggests that the situation described is continuing.

It is possible that the antarā should be translated in the first person; if not, then this is
an uncommon instance of a text with a third-person narrative voice.

A74

- 1 सुरत मोरी काहे बिसराई राम ॥
- 2 तुम्हारे इश्क में प्यारे .. उठाई हममें ..
- 3 माला मेरी लाज गँवानी राम ॥

(Words of the antarā are unclear.)

Ram, why did you forget me?
... [?]

rāg Tilāṅg - tāl dīpcandī; Siddheshwari Devi: tape 7 in the collection of the Sangeet
Natak Akademi, New Delhi (date of recording: 5.1.1967).

line 2: Use of the word *īśqa* is extremely unusual in *ṭhumrī*. *pyāra* is the preferred
option, with *prema* an alternative.

The recording of this text was extremely unclear, heard on a somewhat antiquated stereo system. The translation of the last line is problematic, but as there is a large possibility that I misheard the words, I have not attempted a translation.

A75.1

- 1 सैंयाँ आव रे जनि जावो रे पिया ॥
- 2 एक तो रैन अँधेरी
- 3 दूजे बदरा घेर घेर
- 4 तीजे सावन रे चमकावे बुँदिया ॥

A75.2

- 1 पिया मोरे आ आव रे जिन जावो रे पिया ॥
- 2 एक तो कारी रे बदरिया
- 3 दूजे रैन अँधेरिया
- 4 एरी तीजे नैन बरसावे बुँदिया ॥

A75.3

- 1 सैंयाँ आव रे जनि जावो रे पिया ॥
- 2 एक तो रैन अँधेरी
- 3 दूजे बदरा गरजे बेरि बेरि
- 4 अरे तीजे सावन हो चमकावे बुँदियाँ ॥

A75.4

- 1 पिया मोरे आ जिन जावो रे पिया ॥
- 2 एक तो बारी रे उमरिया
- 3 दूजे चढ़ ली जवनिया
- 4 अरे तीजे नैन हो टपकावे बुँदियाँ ॥

1. Lover, come! Don't go, my love.
For one thing, the night is dark;

for another, the clouds are gathering;
and for a third, Savan makes the raindrops sparkle.

2. Lover, come! Don't go, my love.
For one thing, the clouds are black;
for another, the night is dark;
for a third, my eyes rain drops of tears.

3. Lover, come! Don't go, my love.
For one thing, the night is dark;
for another, the clouds roar time and again;
for a third, Savan makes the raindrops sparkle.

4. Lover, come! Don't go, my love.
For one thing, I am very young;
for another, my youth has assailed me;
for a third, my eyes drip drops of tears.

A75.1 rāg Māñj Khamāj - tāl ?; Siddheshwari Devi: gramophone recording in Batuk Dewanji collection, Mumbai.

A75.2 rāg Tilak Kāmod / Māñj Khamāj - tāl ?; Girija Devi: gramophone recording in Nicolas Magriel collection.

A75.3 rāg Tilak Kāmod; Batuk Dewanji: DAT 12 in LdP collection.

A75.4 rag Tilak Kāmod; Tulika Ghosh: DAT 12 in LdP collection.

75.1, line 3; 75.3, line 3: *badarā*. See A28.

75.1, line 3: *ghera ghera*. These are likely to be adjectives, 'encircling, around'.

75.3, line 4; 75.4, line 4: *ho*. I have read this as an interjection, and I have not translated it.

75.4, line 3: *bārī umariyā*. The phrase probably describes the age of late adolescence rather than childhood.

A76

- 1 सैंयाँ बिन मोरा जियरा जरे
- 2 जैसे भँवरा उड़ि उड़ि बैठे
- 3 कली कली रस ले ॥
- 4 चलो री सखी री
- 5 सौतन घर जैहै
- 6 मान घटे तो का घटि जैहै
- 7 पियु जी के दरसन पैहै, जियरा जरे ॥

Without my lover my heart aches.
Like a bee flying and resting,
he takes nectar from each bud.
Come on friend,
we'll go to my rival's house;
if my pride is lost so what will I lose?
I will obtain sight of my lover, my heart aches.

rāg Miśra Khamāj - tāl kaharvā; Aneeta Sen: T-Series cassette 1990 SHNC 01/93.

The use of the *-h-* future in *ṭhumrī* is uncommon. The singer advised me that the *antarā* of this text (in which the future forms occur) was written by a poet called *Dhaundhī Kavi* but his/her identity is unclear.

A77

- 1 हम प्रीत किये पछताए सावरियाँ ॥
- 2 टूट गये सब मन के सहारे
- 3 रैन गुज़ारी गिन गिन तारे

- 4 भोर भये और तुम नहीं आये
5 हाय राम ॥

I have repented from falling in love, dark one.
The entire foundation of my heart has broken.
I spent the night just counting the stars.
Daybreak came but you didn't come.
Oh God!

rāg Bhairavī; Dhanashree Pandit: copied from her written collection, January 1997.

line 2: *sahāre*. This word is in the plural in the Hindi, but I have translated it as a singular.

A78

- 1 हमरी कदर नाही जानी
2 मोरे सैयाँ रे ॥
3 कबहू हमरी बात ना पूछी
4 कबहू हमरी बात ना मानी ॥

He didn't appreciate me,
my lover.
He never asked after me;
he never accepted what I said.

rāg Māñj Khamāj; Batuk Dewanji: DAT 11 in LdP collection.

A strangely modern-sounding *ṭhumrī*, with the heroine lamenting the lack of equality in her (apparently) now-defunct relationship with her lover.

A79.1

- 1 हमसे नजरिया काहे फेरी रे हो
- 2 अरे हाँ बालमा ॥
- 3 गरवा लगन को जिया चाहत है
- 4 सौ सौ बेरी मतवारी ॥

A79.2

- 1 हमसे नज़रिया काहे फेरी बालम ॥
- 2 मोरा जिया चाहे गरवा लगन को
- 3 बरि बरि जाऊँ मैं सौ सौ बेरी रे ॥

1. Why have you averted your gaze from me,
O love!

My heart feels like embracing you,
hundreds of times, intoxicatedly.

2. Why have you averted your gaze from me, love?

My heart feels like embracing you;
I implore you, hundreds of times.

A79.1 rāg Mīśra Bihāg - tāl jat; Girija Devi: Times Music cassette TCIC 006.

A79.2 rāg Mīśra Bihāg - tāl jat; Siddheshwari Devi: tape from the Sheila Dhar collection.

79.1, line 4: *matavārī* is read as describing the female speaker.

79.1, line 4, 79.2, line 3: *verī*. From the context it would seem to be synonymous with MSH *bāra*, presumably from *bera*, 'time, occasion'.

The inversion of the two components of the line makes for a stronger effect in 79.2, in which repeated rendition of the phrase *morā jiyā cāhe* is finally resolved in *garavā lagana ko*. On the recording, which was apparently made at a small private concert, the audience reacts enthusiastically when the second part of the line is sung.

Bandiś Ṭhumrīs

B1

- 1 आई आज काली घटा झूमकर
- 2 उमर घुमर और निस अँधेरी
- 3 कारी बिजरी चमके जिया मोरा डरपाये ॥
- 4 आप बिरम रहे कुब्जा के संग में
- 5 सेज चढत मोहे नींद ना आवे
- 6 जावो सखी कोई उनको ले आवो
- 7 किन दुतियन पिया मोरा बिरमाए ॥

Dense clouds came looming today
swelling, welling up, darkening the black
night. Lightning flashes, alarming my heart.
You lingered in Kubjā's company.
While I climb into my bed sleep eludes me.
Go, friend, let someone bring him
Which go-between waylaid my love?

rāg Kāfi - tīntāl; Batuk Dewanji: DAT 11 in LdP collection.

line 3: *kārī* often occurs alongside the words *ādherī* (or variations) and *bijarī*; although its location suggests *kārī* attributes *bijarī*, it is semantically more likely to predicate *ādherī*.

B2

- 1 आये न श्याम लीनी न मोरी खबरिया ॥
- 2 जब से गये मोरी सुधहु ना लीनी
- 3 जाय बसे पिया कौन नगरिया ॥

Shyam has not come, nor has he asked after me.
Since he left he has not thought of me at all;
in which town has my lover settled down?

Mísra Khamāj - jhaptāl; Tulika Ghosh: DAT 12 in LdP collection.

B3.1

- 1 आवत हुई है वो देखो श्याम कहीं मोर ॥
- 2 मोर मुकुट मुरलीवाले
- 3 बहुत दिनन पाछे सखी
- 4 जाग ले भाग मेरो ॥
- 5 पलकन डगर बुहारूँ मोरी सजनी
- 6 जो पिया आवे मोरे मंदिरवा
- 7 सनद पिया को बेग मिलाव
- 8 मैं तो पैयाँ परूँ तोरे ॥

B3.2

- 1 आवत हैं वे देखो श्याम कहीं,
- 2 मोर मुकुट मुरलीवाले
- 3 बहुत दिनन पाछे, सखी,
- 4 जागे लो भाग मोरे ॥
- 5 पलकन डगर बोहारूँगी आली जो पिया आवे मोरे मन्दरवा
- 6 'सनद' पिया, तुम बेग लिआवो, हम पैयाँ परत तोरे ॥

1. Shyam has come, look.
With his peacock crown, the flute-player.
After many days, friend, my fortune may wake up.
I will sweep the road with my eyelashes, my friend,
that my lover come to my house.

Quickly bring me together with 'Sanad Piya';
I fall at your feet.

2. Shyam has come, look.

With his peacock crown, the flute-player.

After many days my fortunes have woken up.

I will sweep the road with my eyelashes, my friend,
that my lover come to my house.

Quickly bring 'Sanad Piya';

I fall at your feet.

B3.1 rāg Miśra Khamāj - tīntāl; Girija Devi: DAT 22 in LdP collection.

B3.2 rāg Khamāj - tīntāl; collection C8.

line 1: The first line is extremely problematic. *huī* in 3.1 is unexplained; it is absent in 3.2. The use of *kañī* is also unresolved. *mora* in 3.1 has been read as anticipating *mora* in the second line, qualifying *mukūṭa*.

line 4: *jāga le* in 3.1 has been read as a subjunctive. *jāge lo* in 3.2 is unclear; the author of collection C8 glosses *lo* as a form of address, which is attested by HŚS. *jāge* is then read as a perfective, with plural *bhāga more*. Although the word *lo* is unlikely to be used as a vocative in the middle of a phrase, I have nevertheless translated the verb as a perfective plural.

B4

- 1 ऐसे सैयाँ ने मोरी बहियाँ मरोरी
- 2 जा रे कान्हा
- 3 तोको लाज ना आवे
- 4 बात करत चोरा-चोरी रे ॥
- 5 ले ले गागर घर से निकसी
- 6 सास ननद की चोरी ॥

My lover twisted my arm in such a way.
Go, you Kanha, don't you feel any shame?,
chatting with me stealthily.
Taking my waterpot I left my house,
hiding from my mother-in-law and my sister-in-law.

rāg Mālkauns; Saeed Khan: DAT 1 in LdP collection.

line 5: *le le*. The 'distributive' sense of the repeated verb does not seem to apply here;
it therefore seems best read as a compound verb (cf. *sovana de de* in B11).

B5

- 1 करन मोरी लागी रे कलैया
- 2 बैयाँ पकर मोरी नरम कलाई
- 3 न माने सनद पिया मोरी रे कन्हैया ॥
- 4 काहे करत हम संग चतुराई
- 5 बहियाँ मरोड़ी मोरी चीर झटकाई
- 6 काहे करत अब धरकत छतिया ॥

My wrist began to ache.
Grabbing my arm, my tender wrist,
'Sanad Piya', Kanhaiya did not heed my words.
Why do you pull tricks on me?
You twisted my arm and tugged my clothing.
Why do you do this? Now my heart is pounding.

rāg Bhairavī - tīntāl; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

line 1: The singer suggested *karana* was a way of using the rather harsh-sounding *karakana*, 'to ache, to snap', in performance. In the absence of a viable alternative, I have adhered to this interpretation.

The singer also advised me that she perceives this to be a very devotional song.
(Personal communication, Mumbai, December 1996.)

B6

- 1 कान्हा मैं तोसे हारी छोड़ो सारी
- 2 सुनो जी बिहारी देहूँ तोको गारी ॥
- 3 निस दिन छेड़ करत नाही जाने देत
- 4 पनघटवा की गैल सखी री
- 5 छोड़ो जी छोड़ो जी पट घूँघट ना उलटो
- 6 बिंदा सुनो नहीं माने देखे सब नारी ॥

Kanha, I am fed up with you, let go of my sari.

Listen, sir, Bihari, I will abuse you.

Night and day he harasses me, he won't let me go
on the road to the water-well, friend.

Let go, sir, let go, sir, don't lift up the cloth of my veil!

'Binda', listen, he doesn't care, and all the women watch.

rāg Bhairavī - tīntāl; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

B7

- 1 कैसी यह भलाई रे कन्हाई
- 2 पनिया भरत मोरी गगरी गिराई करके लड़ाई ॥
- 3 सनद काहे ऐसो ढीठ भयो कन्हाई
- 4 का करूँ माई नहीं मानत कन्हाई करके लड़ाई ॥

What manner of kindness is this, Kanhai?
As I fetch water, you make me drop my water pot and flirt with me.
'Sanad', why has Kanhai become so bold?
What can I do, friend, Kanhai doesn't listen, he just flirts with me.

rāg Bhairavī - tīntāl; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

line 1: The use of *bhalāi* is clearly sarcastic, even though sarcasm is rarely encountered in *ṭhumrī*. Another instance is possibly found in A66, although it depends on interpretation.

lines 2 and 4: *laṛāi*. Of the two likely interpretations, 'fighting' and 'flirting', 'loving', I have chosen the latter but with the understanding that the force of the former is also present in the text.

B8

- 1 कैसे के जावूँ श्याम रोके डगरिया ॥
- 2 बरबस कर पकरत
- 3 मुख चुम चुम लेत
- 4 लाज लेत देखो बीच बजरिया श्याम ॥
- 5 नित की रार कहूँ कैसे बिंदा
- 6 नाहीं बसूँ त्यजूँ तोरी नगरिया श्याम ॥

How can I go, Shyam blocks the way.
Forcefully he grabs my hand,
and steals kisses from my face.
Shyam steals my modesty, look, in the middle of the market-place.
How can I speak of this constant battle, 'Binda'?
I will not stay, I will leave your town, Shyam.

rāg Gārā - tīntāl; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

An analysis of the poetic scope of this ṭhumrī has been included in section 2.8.

B9.1

- 1 कोयलिया कूक सुनावे हा
- 2 आवत घेर मोहे विरह सतावे
- 3 अँधियारी कारि बिजुरी चमक जियरा मोरा डरपावे ॥

B9.2

- 1 कोयलिया कूक सुनावे री
- 2 सखी री मोरे जिया डरपावे
- 3 उन बिन कछु ना सुहावे
- 4 निस अधियारी कारी बिजुरी चमके ॥
- 5 जियरा मोरा डरपावे रे
- 6 इतनी बिनती मोरी उनसे कहियो जाय
- 7 उन बिन जिया मोरा निकसो ही जावे
- 8 नेक जोबन तन मन न पावे ॥

B9.3

- 1 कोयलिया कूक सुनावे सखी री
- 2 मोहे बिरहा सतावे पिया बिन कछु न सुहावे
- 3 निस अधियारी कारी बिजुरी चमक जिया मोरा डरपावे ॥
- 4 इतनी बिनती मोरी कहियो जा उनसों
- 5 उन बिन जिया मोरा निकसो जात अब
- 6 उमगे जोबन पर मोरा सैया घर न आये ॥

1. The koel sounds its call, ah.

Lovesickness comes, suffocates and torments me.

[In] the black darkness, lightning flashes and alarms my heart.

2. The koel sounds its call.
Friend, it alarms my heart.
Without him nothing pleases me.
In the dark black night lightning flashes.
It alarms my heart.
Go and tell him just this small request of mine:
without him my heart is steadily leaving me.
My body and heart do not get their youth at all.

3. The koel sounds its call, friend.
Lovesickness torments me, without my lover nothing pleases me.
[In] the dark black night lightning flashes and alarms my heart.
Go and tell him just this small request of mine:
without him my heart is steadily leaving me now.
My youth is flowering but my lover has not come home.

B9.1 rāg Zilla; Zohra Bai (Agrewali): tape AC-2311 in the ARCE, New Delhi.

B9.2 Tulika Ghosh: DAT 12 in LdP collection.

B9.3 rāg Khamāj - tīntāl; collection C6.

9.1, line 2: *ghera*. I have translated this verb as 'suffocates' in this text, to reflect its sense of 'confinement' and 'besiege'.

9.2, line 6; 9.3, line 4: *itanī*. I have tried to reflect its force with the translation: 'just this small'.

9.2, line 6; 9.3, line 4: *binatī*. The nature of the request is implied, but not explicitly stated.

9.2, line 7: *nikaso hī jāve*; 9.3, line 5: *nikaso jāta*. I have tried to reflect the intensifying/progressive force by including the word 'steadily'. For a further discussion of this construction, see the section on 'intensifiers' in 2.2.1.

9.2, line 8: An alternative translation would yield 'my youth doesn't attain (him) in body and mind at all'. As the syntax of this line is unclear, various interpretations are possible.

9.3, line 6: An alternative translation would be: 'My lover has not come home to my heaving breasts', interpreting *umage* as a pf.ptc. and *para* as a ppn.

B10.1

- 1 गूजरी गागर भरन चली
- 2 लंगरवा ढीठ मग रोके ठाड़े ॥
- 3 कौन गाँव की ऐसी गुजरी
- 4 नैनों में चैन परत पिया प्यारी ए री ॥

B10.2

- 1 गूजरी गागर भरने चली
- 2 लंगरवा ढीठ ठाड़े मग रोके ॥
- 3 कौन गाँव की थी ऐसी गूजरी
- 4 नैन से सैन करत प्रिय नारी ॥

1. The milkmaid went to fill her water-pot.
The brash prankster stood, blocking her way.
From which village hails such a milkmaid?
She soothes the eyes, the lovely beloved.

2. The milkmaid went to fill her water-pot.
The brash prankster blocked her way, standing there.
From which village did such a milkmaid hail?
She makes signs with her eyes, sweet woman.

10.1, line 4: The translation of *nainō mē caina parata* is tentative. The phrase *naina se saina karata* in 10.2 is more transparent.

B11

- 1 देखो मोरी चुरियाँ करक गइया
- 2 सैयाँ छोड़ो बैयाँ परत पैया
- 3 तोपै बल जैया
- 4 जागत ननदिया जेठनिया दौरनिया ॥
- 5 सब सिंगार लेहूँ उतार
- 6 अब की बेर राखो आध
- 7 बार बार मत पुकार
- 8 जागे अड़ोसी-पड़ोसी सगरे
- 9 चरचा करेगी नर नारी सारी
- 10 हूँ तो तोसे हारी अब देहूँ गारी
- 11 ऐसो पिया मोरी मान ले
- 12 सोवन दे दे
- 13 डारूँ गले बहियाँ ॥

See, my bangles have snapped.
Lover, let go of my arms, I fall at your feet;
I implore you.
My sisters-in-law are all awake.
I will take off all my adornments.
Be patient for now;
don't keep calling.
The neighbours will wake up, everyone of them.
Men and women will gossip, each and all.
I am fed up with you, now I will scold you.
'Aiso', lover, heed my words:
let me sleep,
then I will embrace you.

rāg Bhairavī - tīntāl; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

line 1: *gaiyā*; line 3: *jaiyā*. These verb forms are presumably governed by demands of rhyme.

line 6: *ādha* is read here as 'expectation' (McGregor; s.v. *ādhi*).

line 9: The use of the singular fem. future (*karegī*) with a plural fem. subject is relatively common in *ṭhumrī*.

The singer called this one of the most picturesque *ṭhumrīs* she knew - portraying fear, withdrawal, outburst, hatred.

The motif of the various sisters-in-law is discussed with text A69.

B12

- 1 देखो री देखो री मोरी काहे बैयाँ झकझोरी
- 2 मूर्ख अनारी सारी चुनर रंग बोरी ॥
- 3 नंद कुँवर ने कीनी मोसे बरजोरी
- 4 माथे की मटकी फोरी
- 5 और मुख से दीनी गारी ॥

See, friend, see, why did he tug my arm?
The ignorant fool has drenched my clothes in colour.
Nanda's prince has been forceful with me,
broken the pot on my head,
and given me verbal abuse.

rāg Gārā - tīntāl; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

line 2: The description of clothes being drenched in colour is a clear reference to the festival of *holī*, even though the absence of any further *holī*-related motifs prevents the conclusion that this text should be part of *ṭhumrī*'s sub-genre *horī*.

The presence of perfectives both with and without agentive construction is noteworthy: in line 2 the verb *borī* agrees with *cunara* (*cunārī*) without the inclusion of *ne*, whereas the agentive ppn. is included in line 3.

B13

- 1 ना छेड़ो ना छेड़ो ना छेड़ो मोरे सैंयाँ ॥
- 2 छाड़ो छाड़ो कंगनवा मोरा ना तोड़ो
- 3 मोसे लड़ेगी दौरानी ननद जिठानी
- 4 सारी ब्रज नारी मैंको देगी गारी
- 5 काहे फारी सारी छाड़ दे अँचरा मोरा ॥

- 6 सुघर कहावत का नाम तुम जग में
- 7 पर नारी रोकत मुख्र काहे मग में
- 8 सुनो गिरिधारी मैं तो तोसे हारी
- 9 छोड़ो मोरी सारी जाऊँ मैं ना साथ छाड़ दे अँचरा मोरा ॥

Don't touch me, don't touch me, my love.
Let go, let go, don't break my bangle.
All my sisters-in-law will fight with me,
all the women of Braj will scold me.
Why did you tear my sari - let go of the end.

You are known in the world by the name 'Sughar'.
Fool, why do you stop another man's wife in the road?
Listen, 'mountain-holder', I am fed up with you.
Let go of my sari, I will not go with you, let go of my sari-end.

rāg ? - tīntāl; Afroz Begum: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

line 1: The repeated alternation of *chero* and *nā* allows an ambiguity: if read as *chero nā* it can seem an invitation: 'touch me, won't you'. A similar possibility is suggested by the word order in the phrase *jāū māi nā sātha* in the final line.

line 2: *kaṅganavā*. The potent symbolism of bangles for married women makes the fear of their breaking a common motif in *ṭhumrī* and other songs alike. However, *kaṅgan* tends to refer to metal bracelets, which would not easily snap; that is the particular preserve of glass bangles. It is therefore likely that *kaṅganavā* in this text represents *kāganā*, the thread worn round the left wrist of the bride at the wedding ceremony. The implication of this song is then that the woman is newly-married.

line 3: *laregī*; line 4: *degī*. The use of a singular future with a plural subject is not uncommon in *ṭhumrī*. (see also B11).

line 4: *maīko*. The use of the direct case with the ppn *ko* is unusual. A related form is *maīkā* (for MSh *mujhko*), which occurs occasionally. (e.g. A63.)

lines 5 and 9: *ācarā*. The most common way of wearing a sari in the villages of Uttar Pradesh is by having the edge covering the breasts, rather than hanging over the left shoulder. The touching of the sari-end (*ācal*) is therefore tantamount to touching or revealing a woman's breasts.

line 6: *kahāvata*. In the absence of another explanation, I have read *kahāv-* as synonymous with *kahlā-*. The position of the verb in between *sughara* and *kā nāma* is odd.

B14.1

- 1 ना बोलो कान्हा हटो जावो रे
- 2 मोरी बहियाँ जनि छुवो बरजोरी
- 3 विनती करूँ मैं लागूँ पैयाँ ॥
- 4 कहत ननक सुन ली अरज
- 5 काहे करत इतनी गरज
- 6 जिन काँधा डारो गरे बहियाँ मोरी
- 7 अब ही उमर मोरी लरकैया ॥

B14.2

- 1 हटो जाओ रे न बोलो सैया
- 2 बाला जोबन जिन छुओ बरजोरी
- 3 अब हो उमिर लरकैया ॥
- 4 कहत 'सनद' सुनिये अरज
- 5 काहे करत हो रार बिनती करत परूँ पैया ॥

1. Don't speak, Kanha, get out of the way !
Don't touch my arms forcefully.
I plead with you and fall at your feet.
'Nanak' says: did you hear her request;
why are you so self-interested?
Don't lift and place my arms around your neck;
I am still of a youthful age.

2. Get out of the way, go, don't speak, love.
Don't touch my young breasts forcefully;
I am only of young age.
'Sanad' says: heed her request
Why do you argue, I plead with you, fall at your feet.

B14.1 rāg Mīśra Khamāj - ektāl; Purnima Chaudhury: DAT 9 in LdP collection.

B14.2 rāg Khamāj - ektāl: collection C6.

14.1, line 6: The meaning is not entirely clear. The word *kādhā* is read here as representing the conjunctive participle of the verb *kādh-*. The long *ā* may be the result of vowel-extension in performance. An alternative reading of *kādhā* is as *kānhā* with intrusive 'd', but the location of a vocative in between the prohibitive adverb and the imperative seems unusual.

The issue of the identities of the composers as indicated by the *chāp* is discussed in section 2.2.8 and 4.1.3.

B15.1

- 1 ना मानूँगी ना मानूँगी ना मानूँगी
- 2 उनके मनाये बिन ॥
- 3 जाओ री सखी वे तो अपने रस के रसिया
- 4 ना जाऊँगी ना जाऊँगी ना जाऊँगी
- 5 उनके बुलाये बिन ॥

B15.2

- 1 न मानूँगी न मानूँगी न मानूँगी
- 2 कृष्ण के मनाये बिना ॥
- 3 तुम तो चतुर सुघर अपने रस के रसिया
- 4 न बोलूँगी न बोलूँगी न बोलूँगी
- 5 कृष्ण के मनाये बिना ॥

1. I won't assent, won't assent, won't assent
Without his appeasing me.
Listen friend, he is so into himself.
I won't go, won't go, won't go,
without his inviting me.

2. I won't assent, won't assent, won't assent
Without Krishna's appeasing me.
You're clever and skilful, so into yourself.
I won't speak, won't speak, won't speak
Without Krishna's appeasing me.

B15.2 rāg Khamāj - tīntāl; copied from Batuk Dewanji's written collection,
Mumbai, January 1997.

line 3: *apane rasa ke rasiyā*. A more literal translation would perhaps yield 'seeking his own pleasure' or 'taking pleasure in himself'.

B16.1

- 1 परत नाही चैन ना ऐरी हाय
- 2 सखी री व्याकुल पिया बिन
- 3 निस दिन कल नहीं आवे
- 4 छाए रहि सौतन घर रहे निपट निठुर
- 5 कोउ हमरी बिथा सुनाए ॥
- 6 घरी घरी पल छिन हूक उठत हिया बिच
- 7 उन बिन नींद न आवे नयन मोरे
- 8 बिन दरसन रहे तरस तरस
- 9 कोउ जाय चाँद पिया को समझाए ॥

B16.2

- 1 नाहिं परत चैन ऐरी ऐरी हाँ रे ॥
- 2 व्याकुल पिया बिन निस दिन कल नहीं आये
- 3 छाये (छाय) रहे सौतन घर भये निपट निठुर
- 4 कोऊ हमरी व्यथा सुनाये ॥
- 5 घरी पल छिन हूक उठन हिया बिच
- 6 उन बिन नींद न आये (आवे) नयन मोरे
- 7 बिन दरसन तरस रहे जाय कोऊ
- 8 चाँद पिया को समझाये ॥

1. Alas, I have no peace of mind.
O friend, I am troubled without my love.
No calm by night or day.

He has settled in my rival's house - so cruel;
let someone tell him of my plight.
Every minute, every moment, my heart erupts with grief.
Without him sleep eludes my eyes,
without a vision of him they yearn and yearn.
Let someone go and take 'Chand Piya' to task.

2. I have no peace of mind, my friend
I am troubled without my lover, no calm by night or day.
He has settled in my rival's house - he became so cruel;
let someone tell him of my plight.
Every minute, every moment, my heart erupts with grief.
Without him sleep eludes my eyes,
without a vision of him they keep yearning; let someone
go and take 'Chand Piya' to task.

B16.1 rāg Sindhkāfi - tīntāl; Girija Devi: DAT 22 in LdP collection.

B16.2 rāg Pīlū - tīntāl; collection C6.

B17

- 1 पायलिया बजे रे मोरा सैंयाँ में तोरे संग ना जावूँगी
- 2 जागे मोरी सास ननंद और दौरानी जेठनिया
- 3 लोगवा न करेगी चरचा करे मोरा तोरा ॥
- 4 विनोद पिया ऐसो ढीठ ढिठाई करे
- 5 काहे बरजोरी करे अँगिया कसक गई
- 6 चुरिया करक गई
- 7 बिनती करत बतियाँ करत पैयाँ परत
- 8 जाओ मैं तोसे हारी ॥

My anklets chime, my love, I will not go with you.
My mother-in-law and sisters-in-law are awake.

Won't people gossip, twisting things around.
'Vinod Piya' you're so boldly insolent.
Why do you force me, my body aches,
my bangles have snapped.
I plead with you, I argue with you, I fall at your feet
Go, I am fed up with you.

rāg Bhairavī - tīntāl; Vrinda Mundkur: DAT 5 in LdP collection.

line 3: *logavā na*. Although the singer suggested the word *logavān* was synonymous to *log*, there does not seem to be substantiating evidence. If the word is read as *logavā na* then the negation may be explained by an implied *kahī* (or similar).

line 3: *karegī*. The use of a singular future with a plural subject is not uncommon in *ṭhumrī*. The feminine gender of the verb is possibly due to the fact that *logavā* refers back to the various female in-laws described in the previous line.

line 3: *morā torā*. My translation is based on the expression *mor-tor* 'twisting and breaking'. Since *carcā* can be used in the masculine (Platts; McGregor), *morā torā* can be read as a poss.pr.; that interpretation, however, leaves *kare* unexplained.

B18.1

- 1 बाजी बैसुरिया तान रस भीनी ॥
- 2 जब से सुनी शरवन टेरा
- 3 जिया लागत नाहीं घर आँगन में
- 4 मोसे रहो ना जाय
- 5 बावरी सी कीनी ॥

B18.2

- 1 बजे बैसिया तान रस भीनी रे
- 2 सुनी सरवन टेरे चित भयो उचंग
- 3 मुझसे रहियो ना जाय

- 4 भावरी सी कर दियो ॥
- 5 मुरली की धुन सुनवाए कहान ब्रिज
- 6 करत कलोलन सब सखियन मिल
- 7 आई आई आई रे सितार चलत और गाए सब गुनी सारी रतिया ॥

B18.3

- 1 बाजी बंसिया तान रस भीनी रे
- 2 परी सर्वन टेर चित भयो उचंग
- 3 स्थिर रहो न जात बावरी सी कर दीनी ॥
- 4 श्याम-सुन्दर के पास, 'निज़ामी' कहो कवन बिध जाऊँ पायँन पाँयन रे
- 5 मोसे चलो न जात, अत भई बल-हीनी ॥

B18.4

- 1 बाजी बसिया तान रस भीनी रे
- 2 सुन श्रवन टेर जिया भयो उचंग
- 3 मोसे चलो न जात बावरी सी कर डाली ॥
- 4 श्यामसुन्दर के पास निज़ामी किस विध आवीरे
- 5 पायन पायन पायन रे मोसे चलो न जात अस कस बस कीन्हारी ॥

1. The flute resounded with notes filled with charm.
 Since my ears heard the sound
 my heart is not happy in the house court-yard.
 I cannot bear it,
 it has made me almost crazy.

2. The flute resounded with notes filled with charm.
 My ears heard the sound and my heart became elated.
 I cannot bear it,
 it has made me almost crazy.
 Kanha of Braj makes the flute play a tune,
 all the friends get together and frolic.
 They all turned up, as the sitār played all the singers sang all night.

3. The flute resounded with notes filled with charm.
The sound entered my ears and my heart became elated.
I cannot hold still, it has made me almost crazy.
Tell Shyamsundar, 'Nizami', how can I even walk?
I cannot move, I have become so weak.

4. The flute resounded with notes filled with charm.
My ears heard the sound and my heart became elated.
I cannot take it, it has made me almost crazy.
'Nizami', how can I go to Shyamsundar?
I cannot move my feet, thus has he bewitched me.

B18.1 rāg Bhairavī - tīntāl; Badi Moti Bai: HMV cassette STC 850162.

B18.2 rāg Bhairavī; Tulika Ghosh: DAT 12 in LdP collection.

B18.3 rāg Kāfi - tīntāl; collection C8.

B18.4 Collection C1.

line 2 (18.2-4): The meaning of *ucaṅga* is unclear. According to McGregor 1993, the word *uchaṅga* (<*utsaṅga*) means, among other things, 'slope' or 'upper part (of a mountain)'. On the basis of that meaning and its context in this text I have translated it as 'elated', but it is an extremely tentative translation.

line 4 (18.3/4): *nizāmī*. The inverted commas around this word in 18.3 (collection C8) suggest this is the poet's signature. It is slightly confusing because 'Shyamsundar' is an unusual epithet of Krishna in *ṭhumrī*, and so that name also looks like a *chāp*. Furthermore, the singer of 18.2 insisted that the poet was Tanras Khan, one of the main gurus of the Delhi *gharānā* of music. This suggestion is based on the occurrence of the words *tāna rasa* in the first line, and is highly unlikely to be correct.

line 5 (18.2): *kahān*. I have read this as a variant of *Kānhā*.

The repetition of *ā* in the last line of 18.2, and the repetitions of *pāyana* in the penultimate line of 18.3 and the last line of 18.4 are all somewhat problematic. They are likely to be rhythmically motivated, but as they occur in different renditions,

they are also considered to be an inherent part of the text. (Reading *pāyana* as two separate words, *pāya na*, does not seem to produce a viable alternative.)

line 5, 18.4: *asa kasa*. Presumably related to MSH *aise kaise*, the meaning is nevertheless unclear. I have translated it as *aise*.

It is interesting to note that none of the more problematic aspects of this text is included in the commercial recording (18.1).

B19

- 1 बरजोरी कीनी रे कन्हार्ई हाँ रे
- 2 पनियाँ भरत मोरी गगरी गिरार्ई
- 3 करके लरार्ई ॥
- 4 दिल रंग काहे ऐसो ढीठ भये कन्हार्ई
- 5 लाज न आये तोहे
- 6 वाहू क्यों न जाये जहाँ
- 7 रैन गँवार्ई करके लरार्ई ॥

Kanhai has been forceful with me, oh yes.

While I was fetching water he made me drop my water-pot,
fighting with me.

'Dilrang', why has Kanhai become so bold?

Don't you have any shame?

Why don't you go right there,

where you frittered the night away in love-games.

rāg Bhairavī - tīntāl; Girija Devi: DAT 25 in LdP collection.

line 2: *paniyā bharata*. The inclusion of a poss.pr. *more* before this phrase clarifies this construction, in which the non-finite participle is not governed by the same subject as the finite verb. (See also the section on 'non-finite participle constructions' in 2.2.1.)

line 7: *larāī*. I have translated the second occurrence of this word in its meaning derived from *lār*, 'love'. There is therefore a contrast between *larāī* in line 3, and *larāī* in line 7.

B20.1

- 1 बाट चलत नई चुनदरी रंग डारी रे
- 2 ऐसो री बेददी बनवारी ॥
- 3 ऐसो री निडर डरत न काहू के लंगर
- 4 अपनी धींगा धींगी करत है निडर
- 5 हे मोरे राम हे मोरे राम हे मोरे राम ॥
- 6 इतने दिनन मोसे काहू के न अटके
- 7 नित प्रति जात गलिन में
- 8 कुँवर कान्हा अब आवत
- 9 फागुन मत वार भई देत गारियाँ ॥

B20.2

- 1 बाट चलत मोरी चुँदर रंग डारी रे
- 2 ऐसे तो बे ददी बनवारी ॥
- 3 ऐसे तो निडर डरत न काहू सों जबर
- 4 अपनी धींगा धींगी करत है लंगर
- 5 हे मोरे राम हे मोरे राम हे मोरे राम ॥
- 6 इतने दिनन मोसे कबहूँ न अटक्यो
- 7 आवत जात कुञ्जन में कुँवर श्याम
- 8 आवत फागुन मतवार भयो देख देख
- 9 हे मोरे राम हे मोरे राम हे मोरे राम ॥

B20.3

- 1 बाट चलत नई चुँदरी रंग डारी रे, ऐसो है बेददी बनवारी ।
- 2 ऐसो है निडर न काहू से लंगर, अपनी छीना जोरी करत है लँगर ।
- 3 हे मोरे राम, हे मोरे राम हे मोरे राम ॥
- 4 इतने दिनन मोसे कबहूँ न अटक्यो, नित प्रति जाति गलिन में ।

5 " कुँवर श्याम " आवत फागुन मतवारो भयो, देत गारी ।
6 हे मोरे राम ...

1. Going along the road he poured colour on my new wrap.
He's so cruel, the forest-garlanded one.
He's so fearless, doesn't fear anybody, the rascal.
He fearlessly does his brawling -
oh my god! oh my god! oh my god!
Since many days he hasn't been caught by me at anyone's place,
all the time he's off down the lanes.
Prince Kanha comes now
in Phagun, I become intoxicated and insult him.

2. Going along the road he poured colour on my wrap.
He's so cruel, the forest-garlanded one.
He's so fearless, doesn't fear anybody,
forcefully he does his brawling, the rascal -
oh my god! oh my god! oh my god!
Since many days he hasn't been caught by me
coming and going in the bowers, Prince Shyam.
Phagun comes, he has become intoxicated, look look -
oh my god! oh my god! oh my god!

3. Going along the road he poured colour on my new wrap.
He is so cruel, the forest-garlanded one.
He is so fearless, [doesn't fear] anybody, the rascal,
he does his snatching, the rascal -
oh my god! oh my god! oh my god!
Since many days he hasn't been caught by me, all the time he's off down the
lanes.
'Prince Shyam' became intoxicated when Phagun arrived, and insulted me -
Oh my god! oh my god! oh my god!

B20.1 rāg Bhairavi - tīntāl; Purnima Chaudhury: copied from her written
collection, Benares, March 1997.

B20.2 Collection C3.

B20.3 rāg Kāfi - tīntāl; collection C8.

B21

- 1 मग रोके आज बनवारी
- 2 कैसे जमुना जल जाऊँ मोरी आली
- 3 बिनती करूँ मैं लागूँ पैयाँ ॥
- 4 निपट निडर ढीठ लैगर
- 5 फोरत गइल नंद के छैला
- 6 लपक झपक चोली फारी ॥

He stopped me in the road today,
he who is garlanded with wildflowers.
How can I go fetch water from the Yamuna, my friend?
I plead with you, fall at your feet.
Completely without fear, naughty rascal,
bursting into the road, Nanda's fop,
running and jumping, tore my blouse!

rāg Khamāj - tīntāl; Mahesh Prasad Mishra: DAT 2 in LdP collection.

line 5: *phorata gaila*. The transcription reflects the singer's Bhojpurī accent, although it was not so apparent in *chailā*. The use of *phor-* is also unclear in combination with *gaila*. The latter could be the noun *gaila* ('road, path') or a Bhojpurī perfective form of the verb *jā-*. My translation is therefore tentative.

B22

- 1 मुरली बजावे बिन्द्राबन मध
- 2 सुर नर मोह लियो श्याम ॥
- 3 सुंदर रूप निरखे सखियन
- 4 बिसर गई सब अपने धाम ॥

He played his flute in the middle of Brindaban;
Shyam beguiled gods and men.
The friends, seeing his beautiful shape
forgot all about their homes.

rāg Khamāj - tīntāl; Tulika Ghosh: DAT 12 in LdP collection.

line 1: *bajāve*. I have translated this form as a perfective, even though the (honorific) plural form is not adhered to in *moha liyo* in line 2.

line 3: *sakhiyana*. If this is an oblique form as part of an agentive construction then it is unclear why *nirakhe* should be in the plural, with the object *sundara rūpa*. There seems to be some precedent for using *sakhiyana* as a direct plural, although it is then unclear whether the verb should be read as a subjunctive (without nasalisation) or a perfective (masc.pl. in spite of the fem.pl. subject).

B23

- 1 मुरली मनोहर ने मोरा मन हर लीनो
- 2 मैं तो जात जल जमुना भरन
- 3 जमुना तट पर श्याम खरो है
- 4 सजन सब से किया आँखों दीनो दरसन ॥

The charming one with the flute stole my heart.
I go to fetch water from the Jamuna;

on the banks of the Jamuna Shyam is standing.
My lover appeared in front of everybody's eyes.

rāg Khamāj - tīntāl; Batuk Dewanji; DAT 11 in LdP collection.

line 4: The line is especially problematic because of *kiyā*. It is difficult to accommodate the pf.ptc. of *karnā* in the context, but there is also not an obvious viable alternative. My translation is therefore very tentative.

B24

- 1 मैं जो अकेली जल भरन गई री
- 2 नंद के छैलवा ने बाँहें गह लीनी ॥
- 3 रसिका बिहारी मोसों बतियाँ करन चाहे
- 4 मैं तो सकुच में बिहस भई री ॥

When I went alone to fetch water,
Nanda's fop grabbed my arms.
Passionate Bihari tried to talk with me;
and I, in my shyness, was all smiles, friend.

rāg Mīśra Khamāj - jhaptāl; Hira Devi Mishra; tape in Batuk Dewanji collection (AIR National Programme 28.6.1980).

line 3: *rasikā*. The use of the long vowel is unclear if it is meant to be an adjective attributing *bihārī*. As vowels may be lengthened in performance, I have read it as *rasika*.

line 4: *bihasa bhaī*. The use of the stem *bihasa* with the verb *honā* is unclear.

B25

- 1 मोरे जुबना पे हाथ न डारो ।
- 2 कँवल मुरझाय जैहैं ।
- 3 देखो न बालम तिरछी नज़र से
- 4 आँखों के ढेले न मारो
- 5 कवल मुरझाय जैहैं ॥
- 6 इतनी अरज मानो पिया नैसाँ
- 7 छतियाँ न मोरी निहारो
- 8 कवल मुरझाय जैहैं ॥

Don't put your hand on my breasts;
the lotuses will wither away.
Don't look at me with sidelong glances, lover.
Don't throw stones with your eyes;
the lotuses will wither away.
Listen to this request of mine, lover 'Naisa':
don't stare at my breasts.
The lotuses will wither away.

rāg Khamāj - tāl sitārkhānī; Reba Muhuri: copied from her written collection,
Calcutta, August 1997.

The overt reference to the heroine's breasts, and their description as 'lotuses' makes this one of the most salacious texts in the main corpus. I copied this *ṭhumrī* from the book of a non-hereditary singer who nowadays rarely performs. It is extremely unlikely that such a text would be performed on the contemporary stage, but this *ṭhumrī* gives us a glimpse of the kind of provocative material that is likely to have been current in earlier times. The *ṭhumrī*-format of the text is still readily discernible.

B26

- 1 रैन बिन देखे परत नहीं चैन
- 2 कासे कहूँ मोसे जिया के बैन ॥
- 3 आवन की पतियाँ लिख भेजी
- 4 तरस रहे दो नैन ॥

At night, without seeing you, peace eludes me.
To whom can I express what's in my heart?
I wrote and sent him a letter, about his coming.
My two eyes are left yearning.

rāg Khamāj - tīntāl; Uttara Dutt: DAT 20 in LdP collection.

line 2: *mose*. This word does not seem to fit into the phrase at all; it may reflect an original *mūh se*. When I asked the singer about it at the time of recording, she showed little interest in analysing the lyrics in detail.

B27

- 1 रोको ना डगर मेरो श्याम
- 2 मैं तो जात अपने धाम ॥
- 3 बिनती करत पैयाँ परत
- 4 ढीठ लंगर एक ना मानत ॥
- 5 बार बार तोसे कहत
- 6 राधा रानी मेरो नाम ॥

Shyam, don't block my way.
I am on my way home.
I plead with you, fall at your feet.
Brash rascal, you don't listen to me at all.
Time and time again I say to you:
Radha Rani is my name.

rāg Māñj Khamāj - ektāl; Purnima Chaudhury: DAT 9 in LdP collection.

line 6: The assertion of identity in this line is unprecedented in *ṭhumrī*, where the heroine tends to be nameless. Even when the male protagonist is identified as Krishna, the heroine is not necessarily Radha and could be an unnamed milkmaid.

B28

- 1 श्याम बिन सजनी जिया ना धरे मोरा धीर ॥
- 2 निरमोही निरदहिया जान
- 3 मोहे मोहन मारत नैन बान
- 4 जानत ना पीर आखिर अहीर
- 5 दिन दिन पियरा परत घात
- 6 नही खान पान निंदिया सुहात
- 7 छिन छिन अखियन सों धरत धीर ॥

Friend, without Shyam my heart loses courages.
He is a person without compassion, and cruel.
Mohan shoots the arrows of his eyes at me;
he doesn't know my pain - after all, he is only a cowherd.
Everyday my lover's tricks befall me.
Nothing pleases me, not food, not drink, not sleep.
At every moment I persevere through my eyes.

rāg Tilāṅg - jhaptāl; Purnima Chaudhury: DAT 9 in LdP collection.

line 7: *dharata dhīra*. The meaning of this phrase is unclear in the context. I have read it as meaning 'the thought of seeing him keeps me going'.

- 1 समझत नाही पनघट पिया में हारी
- 2 रार करत पनिया भरत
- 3 पैया ना छुओ नारी ॥
- 4 श्रवन सुनत नाही ढीठ लंगरवा
- 5 घूमरे करत बिनती श्याम
- 6 जेत कर पिया जिया सों हारी ॥

You don't understand, I was defeated at the water-well (by) my lover.
 He argues, I fetch water;
 don't touch [his] feet, woman.
 Your ears do not hear, brash rascal.
 I plead with the intoxicated Shyam.
 My lover is triumphant, I am fed up with my heart.

rāg Khamāj; Tulika Ghosh: DAT 12 in LdP collection.

line 1: *samajhata nāhī*. It is unclear who the subject is, but I have read the phrase as addressed to the speaker's friend.

line 3: *paiyā nā chuo nārī*. It is unclear whose feet are not to be touched. *nārī* is read as an address to the heroine's friend. An alternative possibility is that *nārī* represents *anārī*, and the phrase, and possibly the entire *sthāyī*, is addressed to the hero, 'the inept one'. This vocative also occurs in text A25.1.

line 5: *ghūmare*. HŚS glosses *ghūmarā* as *matvālā*, 'intoxicated'. The syntax of the phrase is even in the loose framework of song texts unusual.

line 6: *jeta kara*. HŚS glosses *jētā* as *jītnēvālā*, and on the basis of that connection I have translated *jeta kar-* as *jīt-*. The translation of *hār-* as 'to be fed up' misses the parallelism of the Hindi construction.

- 1 मग में श्याम छिहो न गात
- 2 नीर भरने को जाने दे बालम
- 3 सास ननद मोरी सुनेगी बात
- 4 काहे को मोरा जिया डरात ॥
- 5 इक तो लिए संगत साथ
- 6 दूजे मोहे छेड़ो ही जात
- 7 सर की गागर दलकी गात
- 8 काहे को मोरा पकड़े हाथ ॥

Don't touch my body in the road, Shyam.

Lover, let me go fetch water.

My mother-in-law and sister-in-law will hear of this;

why do you frighten my heart?

One thing is that you have taken my company;

the other that you keep touching me.

The water-pot on my head shakes.

Why do you take my hand?

rāg Sohanī - ektāl; Shobha Gurtu: Music Today cassette B93006.

line 1: *chivho*. Although the singer presumably means *chuvo* (see also the note below), she clearly sings *chivho*.

line 7: *gāta*. Presumably meaning 'body', relating either to the body of the water-pot or the body of the heroine. Because its meaning here is not entirely clear, I have not translated it.

On an old recording (1930?) Choṭe Rāmdās from Benares sings this ṭhumrī as a choṭa *khyāl*, with the words *maga mē śyāma chuvo na chāta*. The recording is not clear enough to discern the rest of the lyrics. (tape in Batuk Dewanji collection, Mumbai, January 1997.)

Appendix 2: Charts

Chart 1: Rhyme-schemes of bandiś ṭhumrī in the main corpus

<p>3-line texts: A - A</p> <p>4-line texts: - A - A A A A A A - - A A A - A</p> <p>5-line texts: A A B B A A A A A -</p> <p>6-line texts: A - A - - A - A - A - A A - - - A A - - A - A A A - - A A A - - A A B A B B -</p>	<p>7-line texts: - A B C C A B A A A A - - A A B B A C C A - - A - - - A</p> <p>8-line texts: - A - A - - - A A - - - - - A A A A - A - A A</p> <p>9-line texts: A - - - A - - - A A A B B - - - -</p> <p>13-line text: A A A - B - B C D D C C A</p>
---	---

Chart 2: Occurrences of end-rhyme in bol banāv ṭhumrī in the main corpus

A1.1	śyāma - bāma (1 - 2 < 4)
A1.2	śyāma - bāma - dāma (1 - 2 - 4 < 4)
A2.1	śyāma - bāma - bāma (1 - 2 - 4 < 4)
A2.2	śyāma - bāma - bedāma (1 - 2 - 4 < 4)
A2.3	śyāma - bāma - dhāma (1 - 2 - 4 < 4)
A3.1	rāma - śyāma (1 - 4 < 4)
A3.2	rāma - dāma - nāma (1 - 4 - 6 < 6)
A5	tarase gae haī - barase gae haī (2 - 5 < 5) / bole - ḍole (3 - 4 < 5)
A8	ratiyā - batiyā (2 - 5 < 5) / āe - satāe (3 - 4 < 5)
A10	rāra - ḍāra (1 - 4 < 4)
A13	bajāī - bisarāī (1 - 2 < 2)
A14.1	śyāma - bāma (1 - 4 < 4)
A14.2	śyāma - dhāma - bāma (1 - 2 - 4 < 4)
A14.3	śyāma - bāma - dhāma (1 - 2 - 4 < 4)
A15	āvana kī - sāvana kī (1 - 3 < 3)
A17	śyāma - dhāma (1 - 3 < 3)
A18	chalabaliyā - nindiyā (1 - 2 < 3)
A21	gorī - corī - kiśorī / nāra - siṅgāra (1 - 4 - 5 / 2 - 3 < 5)
A22	torā - morā (2 - 6 < 6)
A23.1	jagāe - kahā hai - samāe (1 - 2 - 3 < 3)
A23.3/4	agāe - ghara āe - kahā hai - samāe (1 - 2 - 3 - 4 < 4)
A25.1	giridhārī - hārī - bihārī - anārī - kalā rī - gārī (1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 6 - 8 < 8)
A25.2	giridhārī - hārī - bihārī - nārī - gārī / kalāī - karakāī (1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 8 / 6 - 7 < 8)
A28.1	ora - mora (1 - 3 < 3)
A29	yāra - siṅgāra (1 - 5 < 5)
A31	śyāma - bāma - ghanaśyāma (1 - 2 - 4 < 4)
A32	bāna - dāna (1 - 5 < 5) / saīyā - paīyā (3 - 4 < 5)
A33	caina - raina (3 - 4 < 4)
A35	kiyā - jiyā - diyā (1 - 2 - 4 < 4)
A36.1	caina - caina - baina (1 - 3 - 5 < 5)
A37.1/3	gāva - ghanaśyāma - nāma (1 - 2 - 4 < 4)
A37.2	gāva - nāma - ghanaśyāma (1 - 3 - 4 < 4)
A39	paradesa - sandesa(vā) (1 - 3 < 3)
A40	raina - caina / ghabarāve - na āve (1 - 4 / 2 - 3 < 4)
A41	gavanavā - jobanavā (1 - 4 < 4) / chāe - bhae (2 - 3 < 4)

A43	saṁdesa - bhesa (1 - 3 < 3)
A44	mānata nāhī - jānata nāhī (1 - 3 < 3)
A51	calā jāe - pachatāe (1 - 3 < 3)
A53.1/2	naina - caina (1 - 4 < 4)
A54	liyā - bāsuriyā - jagaiyā (1 - 2 - 5 < 5)
A58	mahārāja - lāja (1 - 3 < 5)
A61	harajāi - na āi (1 - 3 < 3)
A62.1	naina - caina - raina (1 - 2 - 4 < 4)
A62.2	naina - caina - baina (1 - 4 - 5 < 5)
A63	coṭa - oṭa (1 - 4 < 4)
A66	barajorī - jhakajhorī (1 - 3 < 3)
A67	ā jā - bajā jā (1 - 3 < 3)
A69	tore pāsa - morī sāsa (1 - 3 < 3)
A71	batiyā - ratiyā - ghatiyā (1 - 2 - 4 < 4)
A73	śyāma - bāma - nāma (1 - 2 - 5 < 5)
A76	jare - rasa le (1 - 3 < 7) / jaihai - jaihai - paihai (5 - 6 - 7 < 7)
A77	pachatāe - āye / sahāre - tāre (1 - 4 / 2 - 3 < 4)
A79	pherī - matavārī (1 - 4 < 4)

Chart 3: Examples of internal rhyme (line number < total number of lines)

A3.1	nagariyā - ḍagariyā (2 < 4) - ghaṭariyā (3 < 4)
A3.2	nagariyā - ḍagariyā (2 < 6) - nadiyā (3 < 6)
A22.1	karū - jāvū (5 < 6)
A50.1	cāra kahāra (2 < 3)
A53.2	kāre matavāre (2 < 4)
A55	herī pherī (2 < 3)
A59.1/3/4	terī cerī (3 < 4)
A73	tana mana (4 < 5) sudha budha (4 < 5)
B1	umara - ghumara (2 < 7)
B5	marorī - morī (5 < 6)
B7	bhalāī - kanhāī (1 < 4) girāī - laṛāī (2 < 4) māī - kanhāī - laṛāī (4 < 4)
B9.2	adhiyārī - kārī (4 < 8) jobana - tana - mana - na (8 < 8)
B10.1	nainō - caina (4 < 4)
B10.2	naina - saina (4 < 4)
B11	saīyā - baīyā - paīyā (2<13) siṅgāra - utāra (5<13) bāra - pukāra (7<13) aṛosī - paṛosī (8<13) nārī - sārī (9<13) hārī - gārī (10<13)
B12	anārī - sārī (2 < 5)
B13	daurānī - jīṭhānī ((3 < 9) sārī - nārī - gārī (4 < 9) phārī - sārī (5 < 9) giridhārī - hārī (8 < 9)
B17	morā - torā (3 < 8) kasaka gaī - karaka gaī (5 < 8 - 6 < 8) karata - parata (7 < 8)
B19	gāvāī - larāī (7 < 7)
B21	niḍara - laṅgara (4 < 6)

<p>B27</p> <p>B29</p>	<p>lapaka - jhapaka (6 < 6)</p> <p>karata - parata (3 < 6)</p> <p>samajhata - panaghata (1 < 6)</p> <p>karata - bharata (2 < 6)</p> <p>piyā - jiyā (6 < 6)</p>
-------------------------------------	---

Chart 4: Examples of repetition (line number < total number of lines)

A21	chamu chamu (3 < 5)
A23.1/2/5	nainana mē (2 < 3) - nainana mē (3 < 3) (A23.3/4: (3 < 4 - 4 < 4)
A24.1	bolo (1 < 4) - bolo (2 < 4) nita (3 < 4) - nita (4 < 4)
A28	kāre kāre - kāre kāre (2 < 3) - kāre (3 < 3)
A30	em̄dī em̄dī (2 < 3)
A36	nāhī caina (1 < 5) - nāhī caina (3 < 5)
A45.1	bola - bola (1 < 3) - bola(2 < 3) - bola (3 < 3)
A49	khula khula (1 < 4) bhara bhara (3 < 4) uṛi uṛi (4 < 4) jādū (2 < 4) - jādū (3 < 4)
B6	choṛo jī choṛo jī (5 < 6)
B8	cuma cuma (3 < 6)
B12	dekho rī dekho rī (1 < 5)
B13	nā cheṛo nā cheṛo nā cheṛo (1 < 9) chāṛo chāṛo (2 < 9)
B15	mānūgī-mānūgī-mānūgī (1 < 5) jāūgī-jāūgī-jāūgī (4 < 5)
B16.1	tarasa tarasa (8 < 9)
B27	bāra bāra (5 < 6)
B28	dina dina (5 < 7) china china (7 < 7)

Chart 5: Examples of alliteration (line number < total number of lines)

A2	byākula bhaī brija bāma (2 < 4)
A10	kāhe kīnī (1 < 4)
	jāta jamunā jala (2 < 4)
	morī maṭakiyā (4 < 4)
	dīnī ḍāra (4 < 4)
A21	dāminī duta (1 < 5)
	navala nāra (2 < 5)
	cita - corī (4 < 5)
	kāminī kiśorī (5 < 5)
A23	ina nainana mē (2 < 3)
	jīna nainana mē (3 < 3)
A31	brija bāma (1 < 4)
	saba sakhiyana (3 < 4)
	nāca nacāva (3 < 4)
A36	dina nāhī caina (3 < 5)
	raina nahī nindiyā (4 < 5)
A45	pī-bola-bola (1 < 3)
	piyā -bola-bola (2 < 3)
A54	mana moha (1 < 5)
	bajāke bāsuriyā (2 < 5)
A55	mārī madhura musakāī (1 < 3)
A58	kirapā kīje (2 < 5)
	daraśana dīje (2 < 5)
A64	laṭa ulajhī sulajhā jā (1 < 4)
A66	nanda nandana dhana (2 < 3)
A73	sāvare salone śyāma (1 < 5)
	brija bāma (2 < 5)
	sāvarī suratiyā (3 < 5)
B3	mora mukuṭa muralīvāle (2 < 8)
	more mandiravā (6 < 8)
	paīyā parū (8 < 8)
B7	kaisī-kanhāī (1 < 4)
	gagarī girāī (2 < 4)
	kā karū - kanhāī karake (4 < 4)

B8	māi - mānata (4 < 4)
	lāja leta (4 < 6)
	bīca bajariyā (4 < 6)
	kahū kaise (5 < 6)
B18	bāji bāsuriyā (1 < 5)
	sunī saravana (2 < 5)
B10.1	gujarī gāgara (1 < 4)
	parata piyā pyārī (4 < 4)
B19	kīnī kanhāi (1 < 7)
	gagarī girāi (2 < 7)
	jāve jahā (6 < 7)
B22	bajāve bindrābana (1 < 4)
B23	muralī manohara - morā mana (1 < 4)
	jāta jala jamunā (2 < 4)
	dīno darasana (4 < 4)

Appendix 3: Glossary

Antarā	Second part of a composition, sung in the upper register.
Bajariyā	Diminutive form of <i>bāzār</i> , 'market.
Bandīś (kī) ṭhumrī	The earlier form of ṭhumrī, primarily used as an accompaniment to dance.
Bārahmāsā	Lyrical genre which usually describes a woman's state-of-mind against the backdrop of the changing seasons.
Baṛā <u>khyāl</u>	The slow part of <u>khyāl</u> (q.v.), also called vilambit <u>khyāl</u> .
Bhajan	Hindu devotional song.
Bhakti	Devotion; emotional love for God.
Bhāṅg	Cannabis preparation, usually consumed as or with a drink.
Birahā	Bhojpurī folk genre.
Bol banānā	'Creating phrases', the process in which extemporised elaboration is carried out to extract the emotional meaning of a text.
Bol banāv (kī) ṭhumrī	Later form of ṭhumrī, built mostly around the creation of musical and emotive phrases. (see <i>bol banānā</i> .)
Cācar	Fast form of dīpcandī or jat tāls (q.v.).
Caitī	Folk song pertaining to the month of Cait.
Caltī huī cīz	Description of genres such as ṭhumrī used in the first decades of the twentieth century.
Chāp	'Stamp'; the signature of a poet as it is included in a text.
Choṭā <u>khyāl</u>	The fast form of <u>khyāl</u> (q.v.), also known as drut (q.v.) <u>khyāl</u> . Many bandīś ṭhumrīs (q.v.) have been incorporated into choṭā <u>khyāl</u> .
Dādrā tāl	Six-beat tāl, used in dādrā and sometimes in ṭhumrī.
Ḍagariyā	Diminutive form of <i>ḍagar</i> , 'road'.

Dān-līlā	'Play of toll', a motif of Krishnaite poetry in which Krishna blocks the milkmaids as they are on their way to market, and demands a 'toll' of curds and butter.
Darśan	'Seeing'; having sight of a god or revered person.
Dhrupad	Classical and relatively austere vocal genre in Hindustani music; a composition in that genre.
Dhun	A tune, usually from folk music.
Dīpcandī	Fourteen-beat tāl, used in bol banāv ṭhumrī (q.v.).
Drut	'Fast in tempo'.
Ektāl	Twelve-beat tāl, primarily used in slow <u>khyāl</u> , and in some bandīś ṭhumrīs.
Gazal	A form of Urdu poetry; a song form in the semi- or light-classical style.
Ghūghaṭ	'Veil'; the system of veiling for Hindu women.
Guru-śiṣya	'Teacher-pupil'; a relationship based on the traditional method of learning and teaching. (see also <i>ustād-śāgird</i> .)
Hindustani music	North Indian art music.
Horī	Song form related to the spring festival Holī.
Horī-dhamār	As horī (q.v.), but part of the dhrupad tradition.
Jat tāl	Sixteen-beat tāl, used in bol banāv ṭhumrī.
Jhaptāl	Ten-beat tāl, primarily used in <u>khyāl</u> .
Jhūlā	Folk song connected with 'swinging' in the rainy season.
Kaharvā tāl	Eight-beat tāl, used in folk as well as art music.
Kajrī	Folk song pertaining to the rainy season.
Kāñcanī	High-class courtesan, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
<u>Khyāl</u>	Most popular vocal form in Hindustani music today; a composition in that style.
Laggī	Fast rhythmic part of bol banāv ṭhumrī (and some other genres), played towards the end of the song.
Lay	Tempo.
Mahfil	A private gathering, usually for the performance of music and/or the recital of poetry.

Mahant	Head of a temple.
Mātrā	Unit of time, a beat.
Mísra	'Mixed', adjective used to describe the rāgs (q.v.) commonly used in bol banāv ṭhumrī.
Mujrā	Performance by a courtesan, usually involving dance.
Mukhrā	The phrase leading up to and including the sam (q.v.); usually the first phrase of a composition.
Nagariyā	Diminutive form of <i>nagar</i> , 'town, city'.
Nāyikā-bheda	'Types of heroine', system of categorising lyrical heroines on the basis of their states-of-mind.
Nazākat	'Delicacy, politeness'. Often associated with the sophisticated culture of pre-Independence Lucknow.
Nirguṇ	'Without form or attributes'. Method of bhakti focused on introspection rather than worship through images.
Pad	Verse form commonly employed in bhajans (q.v.).
Pāda	Section of a poetic line.
Pañjābī tritāl/tintāl	Sixteen-beat tāl favoured by singers of the Panjab school of ṭhumrī.
Pān	Betel-nut preparation, commonly associated with Benares.
Papīhā	The pied-crested cuckoo, whose cry <i>pī</i> reminds the lovelorn heroine of her absent lover.
Pūrab aṅg	'Eastern branch'; the Benares-style of Hindustani music.
Rāg	Melodic basis of Hindustani music; a particular 'mode' of Hindustani music.
Rūpak tāl	Seven-beat tāl, occasionally used in bol banāv ṭhumrī.
Sam	First, stressed and most important beat of the rhythmic cycle. The drum stroke and melodic climax coincide at this point.
Sāraṅgī	Main bowed lute of Hindustani music, which was the preferred accompaniment instrument of courtesans.
Sargam	Indian solfège system.

Śāstrīya saṅgīt	'Classical music'; a loan-translation from English.
Sāvan	Folk song particular to the month of Savan.
Śer	Poetry; a couplet.
Sitārkhānī	Sixteen-beat tāl.
Śṛṅgāra rasa	The amatory or erotic sentiment.
Sthāyī	First section of a composition.
Tablā	Main percussion instrument of Hindustani music, consisting of two hand-drums.
Tahzīb	'Culture'. A word used to describe the sophistication of pre-Independence Lucknow.
Tāl	The system of rhythm of Indian music. Also used to denote particular rhythmic cycles.
Ṭek	Refrain.
Ṭhekā	The sounds of the drum strokes of a tāl.
Ṭhumrī	Vocal genre in Hindustani music, featuring romantic lyrics; a composition in that style.
Tihāyī	Threefold repetition of a rhythmic phrase.
Tīj	Festival of the rainy season, especially connected with swinging.
Tīntāl	Sixteen-beat tāl; the main tāl employed in choṭā <u>khyāl</u> (q.v.) as well as bhajans.
Trividha samīra	'Threefold breeze': formulaic image in which the wind is described as 'gentle, cool and fragrant'.
Upaśāstrīya	'Semi-classical'; a loan-translation from English.
Ustād-śāgird	'Teacher-pupil'; the terms are most commonly used for Muslim musicians. The relationship is, however, similar to the guru-śiṣya (q.v.).
Vilāmbit	'Slow in tempo'.
Viraha	Love-in-separation.
Virahinī	Woman suffering viraha (q.v.).

References

Printed Books and Articles

Constable's Oriental Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications, vol. I: Bernier's Travels A.D. 1656-1668, (London: 1891).

The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908 (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Abrahams, Roger D., 1976: 'The Complex Relations of Simple Forms', in Dan Ben-Amos, ed., *Folklore Genres*, (Austin: University of Texas Press).

Allchin, F.R., 1966: *The Petition to Rām* (London: Allen & Unwin).

Alston, A.J., 1980: *The Devotional Poems of Mīrābāī* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).

Appadurai, Arjun, ed., 1986: *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Appadurai, Arjun, Frank J. Korom, and Margaret A. Mills, 1994: *Gender, Genre, and Power in South Asian Expressive Traditions* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).

Bahadur, Krishna P., 1990: *Bihārī: The Satasāī* (New Delhi: Penguin/Unesco).

Bahl, Kali C., 1974: 'The Hindi Rīti Tradition and the Rasikapriyā of Keshavadasa: An Introductory Review', *Journal of South Asian Literature*, volume X, Number 1.

Bajpeyi, Bhartendu, 1977: *Lalan piyā kī ṭhumriyā* (Lucknow: Uttar Pradesh Sangeet Natak Akademi).

Banerjee, Sumanta, 1990: 'Marginalization of Women's Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century Bengal', in Sangari, Kumkum & Sudesh Vaid, eds. *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press). First published in Delhi by Kali for Women, 1989.

Barz, R.K., 1976: *The Bhakti Sect of Vallabhācārya* (Faridabad).

Barz, Richard K. and Monika Thiel-Horstmann eds., 1989: *Living Texts from India* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).

- Bauman, Richard and Charles L. Briggs, 1990: 'Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life', in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19:59-88.
- Bauman, Richard, 1992: *Folklore, Cultural Performances and Popular Entertainments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Ben-Amos, Dan, 1976: 'Analytical Categories and Ethnic Genres', in Dan Ben-Amos, ed., *Folklore Genres* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
- Bhatkhande, V.N., 1970: *Hindustānī Sangīt Paddhati: Kramik Pustak Mālikā* (Hathras: Sangeet Karyalay). First published 1925.
- Bhave, Narhar, 1942: *Thumrī Saṅgrah* (Baroda: Krishnaji Vaman Marathe).
- Bisht, Krishna, 1978: 'The dwindling dhrupad', in Durgadas Mukhopadhyay, ed., *Lesser Known Forms of Performing Arts in India* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers).
- Blackburn Stuart H. and A. K. Ramanujan (eds.), 1986: *Another Harmony: New Essays on the Folklore of India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press).
- Bor, Joep, 1986/1987: *The Voice of the Sārangī* (Bombay: National Centre for the Performing Arts, Quarterly Journal, vol. XV & XVI, nos. 3, 4 & 1).
- Bor, Joep, ed., 1999: *The Raga Guide: A Survey of 74 Hindustani Ragas* (Nimbus Records).
- Bose, Sunil, 1990: *Indian Classical Music: Essence and Emotions* (New Delhi: Vikas).
- Bryant, Kenneth E., 1978: *Poems to the child-god: structures and strategies in the poetry of Sūrdās* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Chakravarti, Uma, 1990: 'Whatever happened to the Vedic Dasi?: Orientalism, Nationalism, and a Script for the Past', in Sangari, Kumkum & Sudesh Vaid, eds. *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press). First published in India by Kali for Women, 1989.
- Chaubey, S.K., 1970: 'The Impact of Braj Bhasha on Hindustani Classical Music', in *Sangeet Kala Vihar English Supplement* 1(3), July-Sept, pp.13-15.
- Cuddon, J.A., 1979: *A Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Penguin).

- Delvoye, Francoise 'Nalini', 1987: 'Sources of material for critical studies in dhrupad song-texts', in *Dhrupad Annual*, vol. 2 (Benares: All India Kashi Raj Trust), pp. 33-60.
- Deodhar, B.R., 1993: *Pillars of Hindustani Music* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan).
- Deshpande, Vamanrao H., 1987: *Indian Musical Traditions: An aesthetic study of the Gharanas in Hindustani Music* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan)
First published 1961; revised 1985.
- Dewanji, Batuk and Snehal Muzumdar, 1995: *Ṭhūmrī ane enī sāhelīyo* (Mumbai: N. M. Thakkarni).
- Dhar, Sheila, 1996: 'Here's Someone I'd Like You to Meet': *Tales of Innocents, Musicians and Bureaucrats* (Delhi: Oxford University Press). First published 1995.
- Dimock, Edward C., Braj B. Kachru & Bh. Krishnamurti, eds., 1992: *Dimensions of Sociolinguistics in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford & IBH Publishing Co.).
- Entwistle, A.W., 1987: *Braj: Centre of Krishna Pilgrimage* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten).
- Erdman, Joan L., 1985: *Patrons and Performers in Rajasthan: the subtle tradition* (Delhi: Chanakya Publishers).
- Farrell, Gerry, 1997: *Indian Music and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Finnegan, Ruth, 1992: *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practices* (London: Routledge).
- Foley, John Miles, 1988: *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology* (Bloomington).
- Fox Strangways, A.H., 1994: *The Music of Hindostan* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal). First published in 1914 by Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Freitag, Sandria B., 1989: *Culture and Power in Banaras: Community, Performance, and Environment, 1800-1980* (Delhi: Oxford University Press).
- Gokhale, S.V., 1990: 'An Objective Look at the Thumri', in R.C. Mehta, ed., *Thumri: Tradition and Trends* (Baroda: Indian Musicological Society).

Grierson, George A., 1884: 'Some Bihārī Folk-Songs', in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol XVI, pp. 196-246.

Growse, F.S., 1979: *Mathura - A District Memoir* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services). First Published 1882.

Handler, Richard, 1986: 'Authenticity', in *Anthropology Today*, 2/1:2-4.

Hanks, W.F., 1989: 'Text and Textuality', in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 18:95-127.

Hansen, Kathryn, 1993: *Grounds for Play: The Nauṭāṅkī Theatre of North India* (Delhi: Manohar Publishers). First published in 1992 by the University of California Press.

Hardy, Friedhelm, 1983: *Viraha Bhakti: The Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press).

Haroun, Mohammed, 1991: *Indian Music Literature* (Delhi: Indian Bibliographies Bureau).

Hawley, John Stratton, 1981: *At Play with Krishna: Pilgrimage Dramas from Brindāvan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

— 1983: *Krishna, the Butter Thief* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

— 1988a: 'Author and Authority in the *Bhakti* Poetry of North India', in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol.47, no.2: pp.269-290.

Hawley, John Stratton & Mark Juergensmeyer, 1988b: *Songs of the Saints of India* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Hein, Norvin, 1972: *The Miracle Plays of Mathurā* (Delhi: Oxford University Press).

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, 1993: *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). First published 1983.

Jain, S., 1980: *Chaitī* (Lucknow: Uttar Pradesh Sangeet Natak Akademi).

Jain, Shanti, 1990: *Kajrī* (Lucknow: Uttar Pradesh Sangeet Natak Akademi).

Kakar, Sudhir & John M. Ross, 1986: *Tales of Love, Sex and Danger* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press).

- Kaufmann, Walter, 1968: *The Ragas of North India* (Calcutta, New Delhi, Bombay: Oxford & IBH Publishing Company).
- Khetan, Kumudini, et.al., ed., 1991: *Svāntaḥ sukhāy: hazār varṣ kī hindī kavītā* (New Delhi: National Publishing House).
- Kinsley, David R., 1972: 'Without Kṛṣṇa there is no Song', in *History of Religions*, vol.12, no.2, pp.149-80.
- Kellogg, S.H., 1938: *A Grammar of the Hindī Language* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Trubner).
- Kempson, Ruth M. (ed.), 1988: *Mental Representations: The interface between language and reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Kippen, James, 1988: *The Tabla of Lucknow: a Cultural Analysis of a Musical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Koskoff, Ellen ed., 1989: *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press).
- Lath, Mukund, 1983: 'Bhajan as Song: Towards an Oral Stemma of Nāmdev's Padas', in Monika Thiel-Horstmann, ed., *Bhakti in Current Research, 1979-1982* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer).
- Leslie, Julia ed., 1996: *Myth and Mythmaking* (Richmond: Curzon Press).
- Lord, A.B., 1960: *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press).
- Lutgendorf, Philip, 1994: *The Life of a Text: Performing the Rāmcaritmānas of Tulsidas* (Delhi: Oxford University Press). First published 1991.
- Magriel, Nicolas, 1992: 'The Perspectives of the Musician and the Analyst: A Performance of Hindustānī Music: Khyāl in Rāg Śāhānā Kānaḍā sung by Ustad Niaz Ahmed Khan', (MA dissertation, University of London).
- (forthcoming): *Singing with Fingers: Sāraṅgī Style in North Indian Art Music*, (PhD dissertation, University of London).
- Manuel, Peter, 1986: 'The Evolution of Modern Ṭhumrī', in *Ethnomusicology*, Fall 1986, pp.470-490.

— 1989: *Thumrī in Historical and Stylistic Perspectives* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).

— 1993: *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

— 1994: 'The Popularization and Transformation of the Light-Classical Urdu *Ghazal*-Song', in Appadurai, Arjun, Frank J. Korom, and Margaret A. Mills, *Gender, Genre, and Power in South Asian Expressive Traditions* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).

Marcus, Scott L., 1989: 'The Rise of a Folk Music Genre: *Birahā*', in Sandria B. Freitag, ed., *Culture and Power in Banaras: Community, Performance, and Environment, 1800-1980* (Delhi: Oxford University Press).

Masson, J.L., 1974: 'The Childhood of Kṛṣṇa: Some Psychoanalytic Observations', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol.94, no. 4, pp.454-59.

Mathur, Ramesh, 1974: *Padmāvata: an Etymological Study* (Calcutta: Simant Publications).

McGregor, R.S., 1968: *The Language of Indrajit of Orchā* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

— 1972: *Outline of Hindi Grammar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

— 1984: *Hindi Literature from its beginnings to the nineteenth century* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).

McGuire, John, 1983: *The Making of a Colonial Mind: A Quantitative Study of the Bhadrak in Calcutta, 1857-1885* (Canberra: Australian National University).

McNeil, Adrian, 1993/94: 'Why Hindustani Musicians make Good Cooks: Analogies between Music and Food in North India', in *Asian Music*, vol.25, pp.69-80.

Meer, Wim van der, 1980: *Hindustani Music in the 20th Century* (The Hague, Boston, London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers).

— & Joep Bor, 1982: *De Roep van de Kokila* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff).

Mehta, R.C., ed., 1990: *Thumri: Tradition and Trends* (Bombay & Baroda: Indian Musicological Society).

- Miller, Barbara Stoler, 1975: 'Rādhā: Consort of Kṛṣṇa's Vernal Passion', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol.95, no.4, pp.655-71.
- 1984: *The Gitagovinda of Jayadeva: Love Song of the Dark Lord* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). First published 1977, Columbia University Press.
- Misra, Susheela, 1990: *Some Immortals of Hindustani Music* (New Delhi: Harman Publishing House).
- 1991: *Musical Heritage of Lucknow* (New Delhi: Harman Publishing House).
- Mukhopadhyay, Durgadas, ed., 1978: *Lesser Known Forms of Performing Arts in India* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers).
- Mukta, Parita, 1994: *Upholding the Common Life: The Community of Mirabai* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Mutatkar, Sumati, ed., 1987: *Aspects of Indian Music* (New Delhi: Sangeet Natak Akademi).
- Myers, Jack & Simms, Michael, eds., 1989: *The Longman Dictionary of Poetic Terms* (New York: Longman).
- Neuman, Daniel M., 1980: *The Life of Music in North India : The Organization of an Artistic Tradition* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press). Published in India by Manohar.
- Oldenburg, Veena Talwar, 1984: *The Making of Colonial Lucknow, 1856-1877* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press).
- Ortner, Sherry B. 1974: 'Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?', in Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo & Louise Lamphere, eds. *Woman, Culture and Society* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press) pp. 67-87.
- Pant, Chander Shekhar, 1973: 'The *Sahitya* or the Literary Aspect of the *Thumri*' (Bombay: National Centre for the Performing Arts Quarterly Journal), vol.II, no.3.
- Parikh, Arvind, 1990: 'Thumri on Instruments', in R.C. Mehta, ed., *Thumri: Tradition and Trends* (Baroda: Indian Musicological Society).

Pauwels, Heidi R.M., 1996: *Kṛṣṇa's Round Dance Reconsidered: Harirām Vyās's Hindī Rās-Pañcādhyāyī* (Richmond: Curzon Press).

Pohankar, Sushila, 1990: 'Folk Elements in Thumari', in R.C. Mehta, ed. 1990 *Thumri: Tradition and Trends* (Bombay & Baroda: Indian Musicological Society).

Post, Jennifer, 1987: 'Professional Women in Indian Music: The Death of the Courtesan Tradition', in Ellen Koskoff ed. *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press) pp. 97-109.

Pravin, Yogesh, ed & transl., 1989: *Nājo (Wajid Ali Shah)* (Lucknow: Uttar Pradesh Sangeet Natak Akademi).

Preciado-Solis, Benjamin, 1984: *The Kṛṣṇa Cycle in the Purāṇas: Themes and Motifs in a Heroic Saga* (University of Mexico).

Pritchett, Frances W., 1994: *Nets of Awareness: Urdu Poetry and Its Critics* (University of California Press).

Qureshi, Regula, 1997: 'The Indian Sarangi: Sound of Affect', in *The 1997 Yearbook for Traditional Music*, pp. 1-38.

— 1989: 'The Urdu ghazal in performance', in *Urdu and Muslim South Asia: Studies in honour of Ralph Russell*, ed. Christopher Shackle, (London: SOAS), pp. 175-189.

Raheja, Gloria Goodwin and Ann Grodzins Gold, 1994: *Listen to the Heron's Words* (London: University of California Press).

Rakeshagupta, 1967: *Studies in Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bheda* (Aligarh: Granthayan).

Ramanujan, A.K., 1982: 'On Women Saints', in John Stratton Hawley and Donna Marie Wulff, eds. *The Divine Consort: Rādhā and the Goddesses of India* (Boston: Beacon Press).

Ranade, Ashok Da., 1990 *Keywords and Concepts in Hindustani Classical Music* (New Delhi: Promilla & Co).

Ranade, G.H., 1971: *Hindusthani Music: Its Physics and Aesthetics* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan). First published 1939.

Rao, Vidya, 1990: 'Thumri as Feminine Voice', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, WS-31, April 28, 1990.

- Ravat, Candrabhan, 1967: *Mathurā zile kī bolī* (Allahabad: Hindustan Academy).
- Robertson, Carol E., 1989: 'Power and Gender in the Musical Experiences of Women', in Ellen Koskoff ed. *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press), pp.225-244.
- Rosenstein, Lucy L., 1997: *The Devotional Poetry of Svāmī Haridās: A Study of Early Braj Bhāṣā Verse* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten).
- Sadie, Stanley, ed., 1980: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan).
- Saksena, Baburam, 1937: *The Evolution of Avadhi* (Allahabad).
- Sangari, Kumkum & Sudesh Vaid, eds., 1990: *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press). First published in India by Kali for Women, 1989.
- Seth, Vikram, 1994: *A Suitable Boy* (New Delhi: Penguin).
- Sharar, Abdul Halim, 1994: *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture* Trans. & Ed. E. S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain (Delhi: Oxford University Press).
- Sheth, Noel, SJ., 1984: *The Divinity of Krishna* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal)
- Shils, Edward, 1981: *Tradition* (London: Faber and Faber).
- Shukla, Ramchandra, et.al. eds., 1958: *Tulsī-Granthāvalī* (vol.2) (Kashi: Nagari Pracarini Sabha).
- Shukla, Ramchandra, 1972: *Hindī sāhitya kā itihāsa* (Kashi: Nagari Pracarini Sabha). Revised edition.
- Shukla, Shatrughna, 1983: *Ṭhumrī kī utpatti, vikās, aur śailiyā* (Delhi: Delhi Vishvavidyalay).
- Siegel, Lee, 1978: *Sacred and Profane Dimensions of Love in Indian Traditions as Exemplified in the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva* (Delhi: Oxford University Press).
- Singer, Milton ed., 1966: *Krishna: Myths, Rites and Attitudes* (Honolulu: East West Center Press).

Smith, John D., 1976: *The Viṣṇadevarāsa: A restoration of the text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

— 1977: 'The Singer or the Song? A Reassessment of Lord's "Oral Theory"', *Man* 12: 141-53.

— 1999: 'Winged words revisited: diction and meaning in Indian epic', in *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol.62, part 2, (London: SOAS), pp. 267-305.

Snell, Rupert, 1983: 'Metrical forms in Braj Bhāṣā verse: The *Caurāsī Pada* in Performance', in Monika Thiel-Horstmann, ed., *Bhakti in Current Research, 1979-1982* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer), pp.353-383.

— 1991a: *The Eighty-Four Hymns of Hita Harivaṃśa: An Edition of the Caurāsī Pada* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies).

— 1991b: *The Hindi Classical Tradition: A Braj Bhāṣā Reader* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies).

— 1994: 'Barvai metre in Tulsīdās and Rahīm', in *Studies in South Asian Devotional Literature*, eds. Alan W. Entwistle and Françoise Mallison, (New Delhi: Manohar).

Sorrell, Neil and Ram Narayan, 1980: *Indian Music in performance: A practical introduction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Spooner, Brian, 1986: 'Weavers and dealers: the authenticity of an oriental carpet', in Appadurai, Arjun, ed.: *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Srinivasan, Amrit, 1985: 'Reform and Revival: The Devadasi and her Dance', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XX, no. 44, pp. 1869-1876.

Srivastava, Indurama, 1980: *Dhrupada: A Study of its Origin, Historical Development, Structure and Present State* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).

Srivastava, I., 1991: 'Woman as portrayed in Women's Folk Songs of North India', in *Asian Folklore Studies*, L2, vol.50: pp.269-310.

Srivastava, Murli Dhar, 1995: *Essentials of Hindi Grammar* (Chicago: Passport Books). First published by Motilal Banarsidass, 1969.

Subramaniam, C.R., n.d., *Aesthetics and Indian Music* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan).

Sundar, Pushpa, 1995: *Patrons and Philistines: Arts and the State in British India, 1773-1947* (Delhi: Oxford University Press).

Tamanoi, Mariko Asano, 1991: 'Songs as Weapons: The Culture and History of *Kumori* in Modern Japan', in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol.50, no.4: pp.793-817.

Tailang, Gangadhar Rav, 1977: *Ṭhumrī Saṅgrah* (Lucknow: Uttar Pradesh Sangeet Natak Akademi).

Taqi, Raushan, ed. & transl., 1987: *Bani (Wajid Ali Shah)* (Lucknow: Uttar Pradesh Sangeet Natak Akademi).

Thiel-Horstmann, Monika, 1983a: *Crossing the Ocean of Existence: Braj Bhāṣā Religious Poetry from Rajasthan* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).

Thiel-Horstmann, Monika ed., 1983b: *Bhakti in Current Research, 1979-1982* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer).

Tiwari, Udai Narain, 1960: *The Origin and Development of Bhojpuri* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society).

Tripathi, Ramnaresh, 1921: *Rahīm* (Prayag: Hindi-Mandir).

Tripathi, Vishvanath, 1975: *Prārambhik Avadhī* (Delhi: Radhakrishna Prakashan).

Van Buitenen, J.A.B., 1966: 'On the Archaism of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*', in Milton Singer, ed., *Krishna: Myths, Rites and Attitudes* (Honolulu: East West Center Press) pp.23-40.

Varma, Vimlesh Kanti, 1995: *Hindī aur uskī upabhāṣāē* (New Delhi: Prakashan Vibhag).

'Vasant', 1990: *Rāgkoṣ* (Hathras: Sangeet Karyalaya).

Vatuk, Ved Prakash, 1979: *Studies in Indian Folk Traditions* (New Delhi: Manohar).

Vaudeville, Charlotte, 1963-1964: 'Bārahmāsā: a comparative study', in *Journal of the Oriental Institute* 13:341-348.

— 1976: 'Braj, Lost and Found', in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 18, pp.195-213.

— 1986: *Bārahmāsā in Indian Literatures: Songs of the Twelve Months in Indo-Aryan Literatures* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).

Venkataratnam Naidu, R., 1901: 'Social Purity and the Anti-Nautch Movement', in C.Y. Chintamani (ed.), *Indian Social Reform* (Madras).

Wade, Bonnie C., 1972: 'Songs of Traditional Wedding Ceremonies in North India', in *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*, vol. 4.

— 1976: 'Prolegomenon to the Study of Song Texts', in *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*, pp.73-88.

— 1984: *Khyāl: Creativity within North India's Classical Music Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

— 1994: *Music in India: The Classical Traditions* (New Delhi: Manohar). First published in 1979.

Wadley, Susan S., 1983: 'The Rains of Estrangement: Understanding the Hindu Yearly Cycle', in *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 17 (1) : 51-85.

Dictionaries

Collins Concise English Dictionary (Glasgow: Harper Collins), third edition 1992.

Das, Shyamsundar, et.al., 1965-75: *Hindī Śabd Sāgar*, 11 volumes, (Benares: Nagari Pracarini Sabha).

McGregor, R.S., 1993: *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Platts, John T., 1993: *A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī and English*, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal). Originally published in 1884 by Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Tandan, Premnarayan, 1974: *Brajbhāṣā Sūr-koś*, 2 volumes, (Lucknow: Lucknow University).

Collections

Dasasumegh, 1889: *Anurāgamāñjarī* (Benares: Amar Yantralay).

Kavi, Shribaldev, 1907: *Caitracandrikā aur Dādrā Dilcaspa* (Benares: Bharatjeevan Press).

Banerjee, Projesh, 1986: *Dance in Thumri* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications).

Maharaj, Birju, 1994: *Rasguñjan* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan).

Devangan, Tulsiram, 1995: *Thumrī Gāyakī* (Hathras: Sangeet Karyalay).

Karwal, Leela, 1982: *Thumrī Paricay* (Allahabad: Sangeet Sadan Prakashan).

Bhave, Narhar Shamburav, 1942: *Thumrī Saṅgrah* (Baroda: Shriramvijay Mundralay).

Newspaper Articles

'Anthology of Vocal Music', *Sunday Standard* (Delhi), 27.12.1970.

Amit Agarwal in *The Times of India*, 27.9.1984.

Sudipt Dutta, 'Dissent: Thumri is not classical music', *The Telegraph* (Calcutta), 25.3.1988.

Susheela Misra, 'Holding sway in semi-classical music', *The Hindu*, 6.10.1989.

Naina Devi, 'Bahut din beete', *Times of India*, 10.3.1991.

Prakash Wadhera reviews Mita Pandit, *Sunday Observer*, 6.12.1992.

S. Kalidas reviews Shanti Sharma, *The Times of India*, 15.6.1993.

Prakash Wadhera, 'Thumri at its very best', *The Hindu*, 15.10.1993.

S. Sahaya Ranjit interviews Savita Devi, *Sunday Mail*, 9.7.1994.

Rajasri Mukhopadhyay, 'No longer voices in the dark', *The Telegraph* [Calcutta], 19.1.1995.

