FELICITY, TRINIDAD

THE MUSICAL PORTRAIT OF A HINDU VILLAGE

Volume Two
CHAPTER 9

MORNING AT THE TEMPLE

How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?

Psalm 137

The most peaceful moments in Felicity were those of early Sunday morning before sunrise, walking to temple in the chill and semi-dark of dawn to the sounds of cocks crowing and villagers waking to the day. Some of this atmosphere is captured on the recordings I always made: the clock in the Nolan Street temple chiming 6 a.m., members of the congregation arriving, then, as the service was conducted, the sounds from surrounding houses of villagers rising, bathing, sweeping their kitchens and preparing breakfast. I always looked forward to the peace of mind that the service brought to me. Perhaps it was a feeling not appropriate to the philosophical complexity of the Vedic mantras whose recitation during the morning services
I found so soothing; but as a non-Hindu, I luxuriated in the calm and stillness these chanted verses conjured up in me.

One Sunday morning, I arrived at the Nolan Street temple to find Purnananda, the old Swami from India, whose unannounced arrival in Felicity in the early 1950's is a landmark of local history. Then he had stayed for three years. Now, in 1977, he had returned to the village, invited by local leaders to encourage the congregation in their latest project - building a Hindu secondary school behind the temple. On this particular Sunday, he was preparing to conclude his visit, and this would be his last opportunity to address his devotees. I was astonished to hear the curse with which he threatened them, in loud and angry tones, if they did not complete the building (plate 13).

"You do not know what can happen to you. For billions of years, to be born again, again, and again, like fish and animal and goat and cat and rat.... You can be thrown away from all human life if you desert this organization. ... I give you warning. Warning! Warning! Warning! Warning! Warning! Thousands of years you remain as sick man, you remain as poor man, you remain as old and bitter man...."  

Plate 13 (following). Trinidad Sevashram Sangha, Nolan Street.

It was all too easy to forget, during the day to day routine of village life, that the basic tenets of Hinduism were accepted by all those villagers who sat with me during this long and disturbing delivery. Without question they could accept the Swami's curse of being reborn for billions of years, billions of lives as a fish or a dog, just as they accepted the notion of one god who manifests himself in various forms (Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, for example) and in various incarnations (Rama, Krishna, Mohammed, Jesus Christ, for example), the transmigration of the soul, reincarnation, and devotion to the cow.

Hindu Worship in Felicity

Hindu belief is fundamental to an understanding of life in Felicity village, for as the people believe so they live, so they worship, and so they sing, play, and dance. Nine of every ten villagers is a Hindu. Most consider themselves 'Sanatanists', that is, members of the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha, the largest and most powerful Hindu organization in Trinidad. In the early years of the twentieth century, there were clear divisions amongst the Sanatanists in Felicity. On Pierre Road and Cacandee Road, most villagers belonged to the Rāmanandī Panthī (sect), distinguished by the exclusive use of brahmin pandits; in Casecu most belonged to the Āghor Panthī; and in the back streets of Jangli Tola most belonged to the Siūnārēynī.

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Panthis. In the Aghor and Siunaréyní groups, members of lower castes could officiate at services. Today amongst Sanatanists, the Ramanandí sect predominates. The division however, between brahminists (who believe that brahmins alone may be priests) and non-brahminists remains an active force in village life. Of the three Felicity temples, only the old Siwala, now called the Shiva Shankar Mandir, represents the principal brahminist group, the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha.

On December 31st, 1950, Swami Purnananda, together with Swami Advaitananda, Swami Mrityungaya, and Brahmchari Ramakrishna, all missionaries from the Bharat Sevashram Sangha of Calcutta, arrived in Trinidad. Each of the Swamis had a specific duty on their mission. Advaitananda, the leader of the group, was a powerful and outspoken man, and is said to have been able to arouse large crowds. Purnananda was a teacher and Ramakrishna the assistant. Of interest to the musicologist is that Mrityungaya, who was in charge of teaching music, fell ill after only a few weeks in Trinidad and was forced to return to India. The three remaining pandits travelled from estate to estate, spending about a week in each locale. After some months, Advaitananda and Ramakrishna moved the mission on to British Guiana, while Swami Purnananda settled in Felicity in the Siwala on Cacandee Road. He remained in the village for over three years.

Purnananda did not attack the local religious heirarchy, but he did stimulate something of a religious
revival by introducing, in a congregational setting, the most ancient of Hindu services, the Vedic sandhya daily prayer and havan sacrifice. Both the sandhya and havan are based on Sanskrit mantras from the Vedas, ancient Indian scriptures. The sandhya is a daily worship to be performed at the changes of light - dawn and dusk. The havan ceremony is addressed to Agni, god of fire, and a small sacrificial fire is lit during the service and fed with oblations of fruit, camphor, ghee, and spices. Fire sacrifices of this type originated with the Aryan invaders of north India, probably during the second to first millennium B.C. They have had a continuous tradition in India although the fundamental importance of the oral Sanskrit Vedas (classed as sruti, 'that which has been heard', 'revealed truth') was long overshadowed by the puranas and epic literature (smriti, 'that which is remembered', later written texts). The late nineteenth century and early twentieth saw a great revival of Hindu awareness in India, prompting new interest in the Vedic rituals. The renaissance of the havan and sandhya services in Felicity followed naturally on, through the work of Hindu missionaries, from these revival movements, beginning with the 'Bengal Awakening' and leading to the Hindu Renaissance: Ram Mohun Roy and the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj (Calcutta, 1828), Justice Ranade and the foundation of the Prarthana Samaj (Bombay, 1867), Swami Dayananda and the Arya Samaj (Bombay, 1875; Lahore, 1877), Madam Blavatsky and the Theosophists (Bombay, 1879), the revelations of Annie Besant (1893-1933), the miracles of Ramakrishna Paramhansa of Bengal (1836-1886), the address of Swami Vivekananda at
the first World Parliament of Religions, Chicago (1893), Shri Aurobindo and the Pondicherry Mission (1872-1950), and finally Mahatma Gandhi's policy of satyagraha (non-violence and civil disobedience) which brought nationalism within the sphere of religious revival. The repercussions of these events - social reforms including equality for women, partial breakdown of the caste system, the abolition of untouchability, the renewal of interest in things Eastern and things Hindu (reflected in the Indian nationalist movement), a return to the ancient Aryan Vedic scriptures together with a rejection of later Puranic writings, now considered corrupt - these repercussions were carried by Hindu missionaires even to the farthest outposts of the Empire - amongst the exiled labourers of the West Indies, Mauritius, Fiji, South and East Africa, and South-east Asia.

In Felicity we witness how one missionary brought to a tiny village in just a few months the transformation, the revolution against Western values, particularly


Christianity (for a revulsion against this faith was at the heart of the Hindu Renaissance), the changes that occurred in a distant land over an entire century. This, Swami Purnananda accomplished in Felicity in the years from 1951 to 1955. The changes he provoked touched the religious life of every villager. A circle of disciples began to gather, in particular one young man, Brahmchari Hari Ram, later (as Swami Satchidananda) to become an important figure in the religious life of Felicity, and then, as leader of the Divine Life Society, of all Trinidad.

The Siwala, which had formerly been used only for Ramlila, Shivaratri, Diwali, and other Hindu holidays became, under Purnananda's leadership, an important community centre where weekly congregational services were held. The havan and sandhya services became popular and today are the most frequently performed pujas in Felicity.

Hinduism in Felicity during the late 1950's and 1960's was fraught with factionalism and doctrinal disputes. After Swami Purnananda left Felicity in 1955, Brahmchari Hari Ram began to lead the services in the Siwala. Basraj Bridglal, a devout and learned villager, had also been a close associate of Purnananda and took over a significant role in the running of the temple. In 1957 there was a dispute between the Brahmchari and Basraj over the issue of brahminism (the Brahmchari is a brahmin, Basraj was not) and a group that was to become the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha (branch of the Bharat Sevashram Sangha to which Purnananda
belonged) split off and began meeting in Basraj's home. 4 In the late 1960's, both groups opened new temples, the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha on Nolan Street and the Divine Life Society further along Cacandee Road near the junction with Peter's Field Road, leaving the Siwala once again as home for the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha.

Despite this history of political differences, the services in the three Felicity temples all reflect the influence of Swami Purnananda and are all very similar. A typical service consists of one or two hours of singing and reciting mantras, often performed without break or interruption (that is to say, 'prayers' with dhuns and bhajans performed in kirtan style). An opening invocation, for example, Om namo Bhagawate, Vasudeva, Narayana (Om, followed by the various names of the deity), is sung responsorially in the form of a dhun. This may be followed by another dhun (also sung responsorially), for example, Hare Rama Hare Rama, Rama Rama Hare Hare; Hare Krishna Hare Krishna, Krishna Krishna Hare Hare, a mantra valued for the mystic properties of its 16-word structure. 5

A Sanskrit prayer sung in unison with a harmonium drone usually follows. For example, in the Trinidad

Sevashram Sangha they sing: 'Thou are peace embodied, O God of Gods. Thou art as vast as sky. Oh sustainer of the universe thou art fathomless, Oh embodiment of goodness. Lord of wealth and beauty as Thou art, Thou art the object of meditation for Yogs. I bow to Thee, Oh Lord of the universe, who removes fear of the world'.

Following the prayer, the mantras of the sandhya service are recited, usually accompanied by the harmonium. The Sanskrit text consists of passages from the Vedas and is sung responsorially. The entire recitation occupies some 15 minutes.

'Oh God! protector and supporter as thou art of the universe, be kind and bestow upon us truth, fame, beauty and prosperity.'

'Omnipresent God, be kind to us and grant the happiness and objects we need.'

'Oh God! Let my words, life, eyes, ears, neck, heart, throat and head be pure and powerful and arms strong and renowned. Let my palm and back of palm perform religious


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rites.  

'Let the region of Bhuh help us to purify our head. Let the region of Bhubah help us to purify our eyes. Let the region of Swah help us to purify our throat. Let the region of Maha help us to purify our heart. Let the region of Janah help us to purify our navel. Let the region of Satya help us to purify our legs. Let the region of Satya again help us to purify our heads. Let Brahma help us to purify everyplace.'

'Tendency for creation arose in the divine mind of the Absolute God. Then came chaos, then came subtle water, then day and night. The Sun, the Moon, Heaven, world and the horizon, etc. were created as were in the previous creation.

'Oh God. Thou art beyond darkness. The luminous sun represents Thy glory. The wise are surprised and illumined by Thine supreme nature. Thou hast given vision
to the sun, the sea-god, fire-god. The Heaven, the middle region and the earth are being sustained by Thee. Thou art the soul of the universe.  

'Omniscient God, let us see for hundred autumns, let us live for hundred autumns, let us hear for hundred autumns, let us live more than hundred autumns.  

'Salvation to Brahma, to preceptor, to sages, to gods, to Vedas.  

'Let us be in union with Thine luminous nature who is the creator of the three worlds and giver of our intellect.  

'Salutation to the Almighty the giver of bliss, happiness and peace. May we be blessed with energy, strength, glory, courage and patience.  


15. P. 7. Gaayatri Mantra (recite three times); Aum bhurbhuvah swah, Tatsaviturvarenyam bhargodevashya dheemahi, Dhiyo yonah prachodayaat.  

'Let there be good to all, let all be free from sickness, let all see good and let none suffer. Let all be happy and fearless, let there be sympathy for each other and success for all work. Let there be prosperity to the King who protects the people every day and also to the people. Let the bipeds and the quadrupeds be prosperous every day. Let there be peace in gods and in the three worlds, let us and all other beings have peace everywhere. Creator and sustainer as thou art of the world, Thou encouragest godliness and establishest peace amongst the people. Who is my friend today, let him be in peace and who is my enemy let him also be in peace. Peace, peace, peace.'

The next section of the puja usually consists of ārtī, the ritual offering of fire to the murti (icons). All members of the congregation may perform ārtī by holding a diya on a brass plate and waving it with a clockwise, circular motion before each icon. The devotee also holds a small bell in the other hand which she or he rings to summon the attention of the gods. While they perform this

17. Pp. 9-10. Universal Peace Prayer:
Sarveshaam mangalam bhuyaat sarvesantuniraamayaah.
Sarve bhadraani pashyantu maa kashchit dukha bhaak bhavet.
Nandantu sarva bhutaani niraatankaani santucha. Priitirastu
parasparam siddhirastu chakarmanaam. Swastyastu raajno
nityapah shamprajaabhya stathevaastu.
Swastyastu dvipade nityam shaanti rastu chatuspade.
Shaantirastu no devasya bhurbhuvah swah shivam tathaa.
Sarbatah shaantirastu nah saumyaa bhavantu bhutaani.
Twam deva jagatah srastaa paataa daivatwamevahi. Prajaah
paalaya devesha shaantim kuru jagatpate. Yo me adya
snihiyate tasya shivamastu sadaa bhuvi. Yashcha maam
dvasti lokeasmin soapi bhadraani pashyatu. Aum Shaantih,
shaantih, shaantih, Hari Om.
offering of fire, another member of the congregation blows the shankh (conch-shell trumpet), also believed to attract the attention of the gods. During ārtī the congregation sings in kirtan style, usually bhajans or a series of short dhun texts, performed responsorially. The service closes with a prayer, which is usually sung to the same chant melody as the opening prayer.

A sandhya service performed in many Hindu temples in Trinidad would follow this same pattern: 1. dhun or bhajan 2. opening prayer 3. sandhya mantras 4. dhun or bhajan (ārtī offering) 5. address (optional) 6. closing prayer. The dhun and bhajan are always in Hindi, the prayers and mantras in Sanskrit, and the address in English.

The sandhya is the basic service for daily worship and is the most frequently performed puja in Felicity temples. The havan puja is a more elaborate service. 18

18. Havan text used in Felicity temples. From Aum Hindutvam, pp. 11-22:

Aum urborome ojah astu, Aum Arishtaani Me angaani tanustanwaa me saha santu.
Let my tongue have speaking power, ears hearing power, nose have inhaling power, eyes seeing power, arms and thighs strength, and let all the limbs be full of energy.

Aum Bhurbhuvah swah. Aum Bhurbhuvah swah dyouriva bhumnaa prithvii ba varimnaa.
Tasyaaste prithvii devayajani prishthe agnim annaadam annaadyayaadadhe.
Its performance is reserved for special occasions: a birthday, wedding anniversary, departure for a long trip (or return from one), or commencement of (or completion of)

These three worlds are as vast as the sky and they are to be regarded as mother earth. I ignite the fire on this Altar on this earth.

Aum udbudhyaswaagne pratijaagrihi twamishtaapurte samsrijethaamayam cha Asmin sadhaste adhyutarashmin vishwe devaa yajamaanashcha seedata.

Oh fire, flame up. You are the life of work and you receive all offerings of sacrifice. Let the gods and the partakers sit on the northern side.

Aum ayanta Idham aatmaa jaatavedah tenedhyaswa varddhasva cheddha varddhaya cha asmaan prajayaa pashuvhih brahmabarchasena annaadyena samedhaya swaahaa. Idamagnaye jaatavedase idannamama.

Oh fire, accept this piece of wood and blaze up and develop us and give us children, cattle, divine knowledge and food-stuff. This is not mine, this is for fire.


This wood and clarified butter are being offered to you, develop yourself, your powerful luminous body. This is for fire, the messenger, not for me.

Aum tantvaa samidbhih angiro ghritena barddhyaamasi brihat shochaaya vishtya swaahaa.

Idamagnaye angirase Idanna mama.

Oh messenger, arise with these offerings, you mighty luminous. This is for the messenger not for me.

Aum adite anumanyaswa. Aum anumate anumanyaswa.
Aum sarswaty anumanyaswa. Aum devah svita prasuva yagam prasuva yagnapatim bhagaaya. Divyo gandharva ketapuu ketamnah punaatu vaachaspati vaacham nah swadatu.

Oh mother of gods, conceive, Oh goddess of learning conceive. Oh sun, grace the yajna and the performer with prosperity. Let the gods grace us and the god of speech purify our words.

a course of studies. The havan, one of the most ancient
ceremonies known to man, is essentially a ritual sacrifice
of foodstuffs and aromatic herbs to the Vedic god of fire,
Agni. A fire is prepared and lit during the puja, and

Aum suraya jyoti jyoti suraya swaahaa. Aum suraya
varcho jyotivarcha swaahaa. Aum jyoti suraya suraya jyoti
swaahaa. Aum sajurdevena savitraa sajurushasendra vatya
jushaana surya vetu swaahaa.
Aum Agnijyoti jyotirangi swaahaa. Aum agnivarcho
jyotivarcha swaahaa. Aum agnijyoti jyotiragniswaahaa.
Aum sajurdevena savitraa saju ratrendra vatya jushaana
agni vetu swaahaa.

Let the sun grace the sacrifice, its performers,
and the heavenly beings grace us. Let the god of speech
sanctify our tongue.
Offerings to fire. This is for fire, not for me.
Offerings to Soma. This is for Soma, not for me.
Offerings to Lord of Progeny. This is for him, not
for me.
Offerings to the king of gods. This is for him, not
for me.
Offerings to the sun and his lustre, let us be blessed
and be free from sickness.
Offerings to the fire, the inner principle of earth.
This is for him not for me.

Aum bhuuragnaye praanaaya swaahaa. Idamagnaye
praanaaya Idannamama.
Aum bhuwarvaayabe apaanaaya swaahaa. Idam vaayawe
apaanaaya Idannamama. Aum swaraadityaaya vyaanaayaswaahaa.
Idmaadityaaya vyaanaaya idannamama.
Aum bhurbhuva swaragni vaayavaadityebya
praanaapaanaavyaanebya swaahaa. Idamagni vaayabaadityebya
praanaapaanaavyaanebya swaahaa idannamama.
Aum aapojyoti rasoamritam bhramha bhurbhuva swarom
swaahaa.
Offering to the vital energy. This is for vital energy,
not for me.
Offerings to the excretory energy of the body. This
is for that energy, not for me.
Offerings to the sun, the vital energy of the body.
This is for the Sun, not for me.
Offerings to Agni, Vaayu, and Surya which are
corresponding to three regions, this is for them, not for me.
Offerings to immortal Brahma who is the resting place
for all.

Aum bhurbhuvaswa tat saviturvarenyam bhargodevasya
dhiimahi dhiyo yo na prachodyaat swaahaa.
/Gayatri Mantra/
Let us be in union with Thine luminous nature who
is the creator of the three worlds and giver of our intellect.
then fed by the participants with ghee (clarified butter), spices, drops of water, and sometimes a green coconut. The smoke thus created is believed to purify the atmosphere, the building, and the people who are enveloped in its fragrance. This ritual purification is believed by Felicity Hindus to be an essential act, compensating for the pollution of nature that man constantly generates.

Both the sandhya and havan may be performed in the temple or at home, either by a group or individually.

Aum sarvam vai purnajn swaahaa.
Let everything be fulfilled.

Aum tanupaa agneasi tanvam me paahi. Aum aayurdaa agneasyayurme dehi. Aum varchodaa agneasi varcha me dehi.
Aum agneyanme tanwaaha uunam tanma aapruna.
Aum medhaam me deva savitaa aadadhaatu. Aum medhaam me devi Saraswati aadadhaatu. Aum madhaam me Aswinou devaavadhattaam pushkarsrajou.

Om vir-yamasi vir-yam moyi dhehi, Om balamasi balam moyi dhehi,

Om tejo-asi tejo moyi dhehi, Om ojo-asi ojo moyi dhehi,
Om manyurasi manyum moyi dhehi, Om asha-asi saho moyi dhehi.

Oh fire, giver of longevity, give me that.
Oh fire, giver of speaking power, give me that.
Let all deficiency be removed and everything be supplemented. Let the Sun and the goddess of learning and the two divine healers grant us merit.

Aum Brahmaarpanam brahmhavi brahmaagnou brahmanaahutam Brahmaiba tena qantaibayam Brahm karma Samaadhinaa.
All offerings to Brahma, clarified butter is Brahma, fire is Brahma, sacrifice is Brahma, it is through self-surrender to Brahma, one can merge into Brahma.
Although the temples are conspicuous reminders of religious obligations (as with Christian churches), most devotional services in Felicity in fact take place in private homes. The majority of villagers attend the temple at least once a year at Shivaratri, but the attendance at weekly services (each temple has two per week) tends to be relatively small. Of the 6,500 villagers, no more than 200 to 300 attend temple every week. This does not mean that the villagers are not pious, but that Hinduism is essentially not a congregational religion. Everyone in Felicity accepts that a person may lead a good Hindu life without ever attending temple. Considering this, the number of villagers who attend a temple regularly is actually quite large, and the extent of congregational worship in Felicity is evidence of acculturation - the borrowing by Hindus of an essentially Christian pattern of worship. Perhaps the congregational forms of the sandhya and havan that Swami Purnananda introduced to Felicity in the 1950's were accepted enthusiastically for this very reason - that the villagers were pleased to learn of authentic Hindu congregational services with which they could emulate Christian services. This illustrates two processes at work: revitalization (the refreshment of an immigrant tradition from its source, in this case new ideas from India) and syncretism (the merging of different cultural forms, in this case Hinduism and Christianity, at points of similarity). The East Indians of Trinidad habitually adopt from India the new ideas that are best suited to a West Indian context -
in this example, congregational worship. Other teachings of the Swami (solitary meditation, for instance) may have been ignored because they did not solve any of the various problems posed by life in a plural society in the Caribbean.

The Bhajan Repertory

All Felicity Hindus of whatever persuasion practice bhakti, the worship of God through love and devotion. This is traditionally considered the easiest path (marg) to salvation (moksha), and more suitable for ordinary individuals than other alternatives suggested in the Upanishads such as karma yoga (worship through good deeds) and jnana yoga (worship through knowledge, the most difficult marg). Although the bhakti theme in Indian literature dates back to the Vedas, its philosophy is most clearly expressed in the 9th century Bhagavata Purana, which teaches devotion to Lord Vishnu, the preserver, through his incarnation, Krishna. The tenth book of this text gives a detailed description of the exploits of Krishna Gopala - the young Krishna, cowherd of Vrindavana - as he sports with the gopis (milkmaidens); this love-play is a traditional bhakti theme recurring throughout the Hindu scriptures and referred to in many traditional songs. 19

Although many Felicity villagers might not know the word bhakti, all are familiar with its cognate form, bhajan, a term denoting the most popular Hindu religious song type of north and south India. Both terms derive from the Sanskrit stem, bhaj, 'to share', 'to give to', and the singing of bhajans is considered one of the most effective means of practicing bhakti. Bhajans are the most popular temple songs of Felicity. The repertory is large and varied, ranging from songs in the Bhojpuri language dating from the indenture period to newly composed Hindi bhajans learned from recent Indian films. Bhajans are usually strophic with refrains of one to two lines. The texts deal with the attributes of God in his many manifestations in the Hindu pantheon, with the plight of the devotee (bhakta), the sorrows of life, the hope for salvation. 20

The yearning for Krishna is a common theme: 'My Lord, come! Worship Govinda [Krishna].... I am oblivious to everything all around,/my eyes thirst for a vision of Hari [Krishna]/:come and quench that thirst, come now! /.... Nobody knows you as Lord/come and play your flute,

come Lord come.'21

Equally common in the Felicity repertory are texts dedicated to Lord Shiva, the destroyer. It is in these poems that the typically Hindu acceptance of the dark side of reality is revealed, the acceptance of evil as well as good, of the destructive process as well as the creative: 'Salutation to Shiva! Perform the lamp-worship of Harihara [Vishnu and Shiva combined]; /of the skilful dancer and of Shankara [Shiva]; /of the skilful dancer who in sport/ moves over earth and sky/ with a moon-diadem on his head/ and star-anklets a-tinkling./ Wearer of snake-garlands/ he is Shambhu, protector of the world./ All /things/ mobile and immobile and all the world dances;/ he held the world aloft on his finger. /Mahadeva! [Shiva] Hail, hail to Shiva Shankara!/ Hail to he /from whose locks/ the Ganges streams,/ he who holds the  


Another type is the nam kirtan, a non-strophic bhajan whose text consists solely of the various names and epithets of the deity: 'Raama Krishna hare, Mukunda Muraare,... Seeta Vallabha, Seeta Raama, Brindraabana Govinda, Nanda Nandana' - Hail Rama Krishna, enemy of Mura, lover of Sita, cowherd, cowherd of Vrindavana, son of Nanda'.

Bhajan texts and the texts of the sandhya and havan services are printed in several booklets. One is published by the London branch of the Bharat Sevashram Sangha, Aum Hindutvam: Vedic Prayer, Hindu Catechism (by Swami Purnananda); another is Divine Life Bhajans (by Swami Satchidananda). Most members of the temple congregations have copies of these booklets but they tend not to bring them to service and prefer to sing from memory. An hour-and-a-half of continuous singing during a typical sandhya or havan ceremony is not quite the remarkable feat of recollection it might seem (especially for the Felicity performers who sing in Hindi and Sanskrit - foreign languages). The various responsorial forms of the bhajans allow different members of the congregation to specialize in one or two songs, leading those items but being led in the rest. Weak singers (I was one) can be led through all the bhajans: the strong singers can easily compensate. Nearly all the music of Felicity - byāh ke gīt, lachārī,

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chowtal, bhajan, dhun, Ramayan chanting, and so on - has some form of built-in self-teaching feature.

If we examine the structure of a typical bhajan we can see how perfectly it is designed for this tutorial role. Mere Mana Basigayo Raaghava Raama ('In My Heart Has Settled Rama, Lord of Raghus'; ex. 18) opens with a one-line refrain, sung by the leader, then repeated by the chorus, then sung again by leader, then chorus. The leader then follows with two lines of verse echoed by the chorus; two more lines of verse are again echoed by the chorus, followed by a return to the refrain, and so on as shown below in Table IV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mere mana basigayo Raaghava Raama... 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Krita mukuta makaraa krita kundala, Kathina dhanusha liye Saaranga paana...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jaaya Janaka pura dhanusha uthaaye, Saba bhupana ko toryo maana...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vishwaa mitra ke yagya suphala kiye, Gowtama naari pathaayo sudhaama...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Saraju ke teera Ayodhyaa nagari, Jahaa bihare Seeya, Lakshamana, Raama...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tuma jani bisara jaawo mere mana te, Tuma bina bigara jaaya saba kaama...</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Aashaa ananda kahai kara jori, Chowa satha ghari bhajo aatho yaama...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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24. Hindi text from Divine Life Bhajans, p. 44.
Translation

('In my heart has settled Rama, Lord of the
Raghus.../1. With diadem'd crown and earrings in
crocodile's shape,/Sarangapani holds the hard bow in his
hand..../2. Going to Janaka's city and lifting the bow/
he broke the pride of all kings..../3. He rendered
fruitful Visvamitra's sacrifice/and liberated the wife of
Gautama..../4. On the bank of the Saryu river in the town
of Ayodhya/where wandered Sita, Laksmana and Rama....
/5. Let me not forget you from my mind/for without you all
works founder..../6. Joyful I express my hopes with hands
joined/through every minute and every hour of the day.')
Example 18

Tape No: T1/74/F/22, Item 4  
Title: Mere Mana Basigayo  
Type: Bhajan  
Area: Felicity, Trinidad  
Performer: Divine Life Society, Unit 1  
Coll: HM  
Trans: HM

Leader  
REFRAIN

Chorus  
harmonium

REFRAIN

Leader  
VERSES 1

Chorus

REFRAIN

Krita mukuta makanraa krita kunada, Kathina dhanusha liye  
('With diadem'd crown and earrings in crocodile's shape, Sūrāṇgāpi holds the hard bow in his hand.')
Example 18

Tape No:  
Area:  
Performer:  

Title: Mere Mana Basigayo  
Type:  
Coll:  
Trans:  

Leader  

Verse 1  
Saa-ran-ga paan/a/7_  

Chorus  

Verse 2  
Kri-ta mu-ku-ta ma-ka raa_kri-ta kun-da-la,  
(Joing to Janaka's city and lifting)

Leader  

Verse 1  
Saa-ran-ga paan/a/7_  

Chorus  

Verse 2  
Kri-ta mu-ku-ta ma-ka raa_kri-ta kun-da-la,  
(Joing to Janaka's city and lifting)

Leader  

Verse 1  
Saa-ran-ga paan/a/7_  

Chorus  

Verse 2  
Kri-ta mu-ku-ta ma-ka raa_kri-ta kun-da-la,  
(Joing to Janaka's city and lifting)

Leader  

Verse 1  
Saa-ran-ga paan/a/7_  

Chorus  

Verse 2  
Kri-ta mu-ku-ta ma-ka raa_kri-ta kun-da-la,  
(Joing to Janaka's city and lifting)
Example 18

Title: Mere Mana Basigayo
Performer:

Leader

Chorus

REFRAIN

Pitch

Range
TABLE IV

Mere Mana Basigayo

FORM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader text</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tune</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chorus text</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tune</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key

- **R** - refrain text
- **1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6** - text, verses 1 - 6
- **r** - tune, refrain
- **a** - tune, verses

415
Many bhajans sung in Felicity temples have more complex responsorial forms. In 'Hey Jagata Pitaa Bhagawaana' (O Father of the World'; ex. 19), each return to the refrain is anticipated by the leader who sings the last phrase of the refrain after each new verse. This 'refrain cue' signals to the chorus group the return of the refrain, as shown in Table V. Similar refrain cues occur in bhajans that are composed for Indian films, but their function is different. Often there is no chorus, so the soloist who sings the cue also sings the refrain. In film songs therefore, the refrain cue serves as a signal for the listener, not the performers. While this rather unusual cueing device is not needed by musicians working in a recording studio, it proves extremely useful for Felicity temple congregations trying to memorize new songs.

Text

Hey jagata Pitaa Bhagawaana, hame do gyaana,\textsuperscript{25} Tu ishwara pyaaraa, duniyaa me eka sahaaraa....

1. Bacha pana me hosha na aayaa hai, Jobana me paapa kamaayaa hai. Aba jaawo kahaa vishiyo ne mujha ko maaraa....

2. Dila meraa toe yaha kahataa hai, Tu mana mandir me rahataa hai, Dina raata bhatakataa rahaa mai dara dara maaraa....

3. Paapo se Bhagawana hame bachaa, Vedoe kaa saccha Bhakta banaa, Paakhanda jhuta se saba hi kare kinaaraa....

\textsuperscript{25} Hindi text from \textit{Divine Life Bhajans}, p. 44.
4. Majha dhaara me hai bera meraa,
    Kripaa kara aasrai hai tera,
    Nandalaala paapa me beeta jiwana saaraa....

Translation

(′O father of the world, beloved Lord, give us knowledge,/You are the dear Lord, our only support in the world..../1. I did not reach awareness in childhood,/And in youth I stored up sin,/Now where should I go, for my senses have overwhelmed me..../2. My heart maintains/That you live in the temple of my mind,/While day and night I wandered from place to place..../3. Beloved Lord, save me from my sins,/Make me a true devotee of the Vedas,/Pushing all pretence and falsehood to one side..../4. My raft is in midstream,/Only in your grace is there refuge,/Nandalala /Krishna/, my whole life has passed in sinfulness....′)

Hey Jagata Pitaa Bhagawaan

Pitch

Range
Example 19

Tape No: T1/74/F/22  Title: Hey Jagata Pitaa Bhagawaan  Type: Bhajan
Area: Felicity, Trinidad  Performer: Divine Life Society, Unit 1  Coll: HM  Trans: HM

**Leader**

Hey jagat/a\'j Pitaa Bhaga-waan/a\'j, ha-me_ do_ gyaan/a\'j, Tu ish-wa-ra pyaar-raa, _ duni-

('O father of the world, beloved Lord, give us knowledge.')

**Chorus**

yaa_ me ek/a\'j sa-haa-raa._

**Leader**

yaa_ me ek/a\'j sa-haa-raa._

**Chorus**

Hey jagat/a\'j Pitaa Bhaga-waan/a\'j, ha-me_ do_

**Leader**

Ba-cha

**Chorus**

gyaan/a\'j, Tu ish-wa-ra pyaar-raa, _ duni-yaa_ me ek/a\'j sa-haa-raa._
Example 19

Tape No: 19
Area: K

Title: Hey Jagata Pitaa Bhagawaan
Type: 
Coll: 
Trans: 

Leader

\[ \text{pāna me hō-} \text{sha na aar-} \text{yaa hai, Jo-} \text{ban/a/ me pa-pa ka} \text{maa-} \text{yaa hai,} \]
\[ ('I \text{did not reach awareness in childhood, and in youth I stored up sin.}') \]

Chorus

\[ \text{pāna me hō-} \text{sha na aar-} \text{yaa hai, Jo-} \text{ban/a/ me pa-pa ka} \text{maa-} \text{yaa hai,} \]

Leader

4.19

\[ \text{A-ba jaa-wo ka-haa vish-hi-} \]
\[ ('\text{New where should I go, for my senses have overwhelmed me.}') \]

Chorus

\[ \text{yō-ne muj-ha ko maar-} \text{raa du-ni-} \text{yaa me ek/a/ sa-} \text{har-} \text{raa} \]

Leader

\[ \text{Hey ja-gat/a/ Pi-taa_ Bhaga-waan/a/} \]

Leader

\[ \text{Hey ja-gat/a/ Pi-taa_ Bhaga-waan/a/} \]

Chorus
### TABLE V

**Hey Jagata Pitaa Bhagawaan**

**FORM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>text</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>i + ii</th>
<th>iii RC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tune</td>
<td>rf</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chorus</th>
<th>text</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>i + ii</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tune</td>
<td>rf</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>rf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verse 2</th>
<th>i + ii</th>
<th>iii RC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i + ii</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>rf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(as above for verses 3, 4)

**Key**

- **R** - text, refrain
- **i, ii, iii** - text, lines 1, 2, 3
- **RC** - refrain cue
- **rf** - tune, refrain
- **a** - tune, lines 1, 2
- **b** - tune, line 3

420
Many bhajans popular in Felicity are learned from Indian religious films - three-hour long technicolour dramatizations of the Purāṇas and the Ramayan and Mahabharata epics. They always include bhajans; some are traditional, for example, the ārtī bhajan, Jai Jagadisha Hare, is sung in many films. Many others are newly composed for films. Indian 'playback' singers (so-called because their voices are dubbed in for the actors and actresses, who merely mouth the words of the song) are very popular in Trinidad. Competitions are sponsored to select the best local imitators of the greatest stars, for example the Trinidad 'Lata' (after Lata Mangeshkar) and 'Rafi' (after Mohammed Rafi). In Trinidad, bhajans popularised by one of these famous singers are often known by their name - 'a Lata' or 'a Mukesh'.

The bhajan Shiva Shambo Deeno Ki Bandhu is a popular Felicity temple song. The original film version that the Felicity singers copied was sung by the playback singer, Alok (who also composed the arrangement); the lyrics are by Sanam Gorakhpuri. The film version (ex. 20; available on disc 7.BPE.1327) and the Felicity version (ex. 21) are similar in most respects, but the differences are telling. Most conspicuous are the instrumental interludes of the film version, a typical feature of religious film songs. In these passages, sitar, violins, clarinet, flute, and tabla play short phases, usually echoing the bhajan melody and set to Western triadic harmonies. The
Felicity singers are accompanied by the usual ensemble of dhholak, harmonium, and an assortment of idiophones (ex. 22). In the film version, the instrumental interludes alternate with the vocal passages - after each line of the opening Sanskrit mantra and after the choral 'refrain tag' at the end of each verse.

Other differences are rhythmic and melodic, for example, in the film version repetitions of the refrain tag (by leader, chorus, and instruments) are rhythmically compressed, resulting in an additive rhythm - $3/4 + 3/4 + 2/4$ (ex. 20, measures 11-13). In the Felicity version this passage is always rendered in $4/4$ (ex. 21, measures 3-4). The melodic differences between the two versions are minor, for example, the tune used for the opening line of the refrain, 'Shiva Shambu deeno ki bhandhu namo namah'.

The responsorial form of the two versions is similar - doubling back to the refrain, the insertions of florid passages sung on the vocable 'aah', the use of a short 'refrain cue' (namo namah). In the Felicity version, however, the florid passages sung on 'aah' (before the start of each new verse) are sung first by the leader, then by the chorus. In the film version the chorus initiates these phrases. Such independence on the part of the chorus would not suit the self-teaching style that is typical of Felicity music. Between the verses of the film version, the leader doubles back and only sings the second line of the refrain whereas in the Felicity version this interlude includes the entire refrain and the melisma

422
sung by both leader and chorus, as shown in Table VI below.

Text

Mangalam bhagawaana Shambhu,26  
Mangalam vishwa bhakta bhya,  
Mangalam Paaravati Naatha,  
Mangalam bhakta vatsala,  

Shiva Shambhu deeno ki bandhu namo namah,  
Girijaa Pati gangaa dhara Hari Hara namo namah....

1. Haara chandra Tripuraari sukhabar Hara daani,  
   Neela kantha saaje trikunda tu Hara shaani,  
   Bhawa bhaya haari asuraari Shiva namo namah....

2. Dama dama dama damaru vinaasha se jaga dole,  
   Nritya kare nat raaj Umaa sangha Shambhole,  
   Sura saani kalyaani Shankara namo namah....

3. Mahaa Kaali vikraara vrishaba ki asawaari,  
   Shambhu maala Aumkaara vishaala ki bali haari,  
   Avi naashi sukha raashi sursari namo namah....

Translation

('Salutation to Shiva as Shambhu, salutations to Shiva as Lord of Parvati, salutations to Shiva as the one who cares for his devotees./ Obeisance to Shiva Shambhu, friend of the wretched,/Obeisance to Harihara, Lord of Girija [Parvati], [he from whose hair] the Ganges flows..../1. Obeisance to Harachandra [Moon of Hara?],


423
Tripurari, mine of bliss,/Bountiful Hara, Nilakantha, whose splendour is in the three fires [?], Removes the world's fears, enemy of demons, Shiva..../2. Obeisance to he who ever [?] roams the world with the **damaru** drum as destruction [?],/Lord of the dance, who dances with Uma [Parvati], Shambhu,/Auspicious like [?] the gods, Shankara..../3. Obeisance to awesome Mahakali, rider on the bull,/I dedicate myself to Shambhu whose garland bears the **Omkara**,/Indestructable mass of joy, Ganges.'
Example 20

Tape No: Jai Shiv Shankar  Title: Shiva Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu/film Type: Bhajan
LP Disc, 7.EPE.1327 Area: India/Hindi-speaking Performer: Alok Coll: - Trans: HM

Male Vocal

Chorus

Sitar 425

Violin Clarinet

Tambara

Man-ga-lam bha-gar waan Shambhu,
Man-ga-lam vis-wa bha-ta bhya,

('Sanskrit: Salutation to Shiva as Shambhu, as Lord of Pārvati, as one who cares...')
Example 20

Title: Shiva Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu/film  
Performer:  
Coll:  
Trans:

Tape No: 
Area:  
Type:  

Man-ga-lam Par-va-ti Naa/thay/
for his devotees.'
Man-ga-lam bhak-ta vat-sal/a/

Male Vocal
Sitar
Violin
Clarinet

4 26

Male Vocal
Sitar
Violin
Clarinet
Example 20

Tape No: Title: Shiva Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu/film Type:
Area: Performer: Coll: Trans:

\[ \text{etc. with variations} \]
Example 20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tape No:</th>
<th>Title: Shiva Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu/film</th>
<th>Type:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area:</td>
<td>Performer:</td>
<td>Coll:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Refrain**

Shiva Shambhu Deeno ki bhan-dhu namo namah

('Obeisance to Shiva Shambhu, friend of the wretched.')
Example 20

Tape No: Title: Shiva Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu/film
Area: Performer:

Type: Coll: Trans:

```
4   3
  2  1

Male Vocal

Girijaa Patiga Harir Har Har namo namah

(Obeisance to Hariha, Lord of Giraj, from whose hair the Ganges flows.)

Chorus

429

Sitar

Violin

Clarinet

na-mo na-mah

Aah aah

na-mo na-mah
```
Example 20

Tape No: Title: Shiva Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu/film Type:
Area: Performer: Coll: Trans:

**VERSE 1**

Ha-ra chan-dra Tri-ru ra-a-ri suk-ha-ka-r\(\tilde{u}\) Ha-ra da-\(\tilde{n}\)i,
('Obeisance to Hāracandra (Moon of Hara?), Tripurārī, mine of bliss.')
Example 20

Tape No: 
Area: 

Title: Shiva Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu/film

Type: 
Performer: 
Coll: 
Trans: 

Male Vocal
Nee-la kan-tha saar je tri-kun-da tu Ha-ra shaan-ri,
('Bountiful Hara, Nilakantha, whose splendor is in the
three fires/?)

Bha-va bha-ya haa-ri a-su-raa-ri Shi-va
('Removes the world's fears, enemy of

Chorus

431

Sitar

Violin Clarinet

Aah
Example 20

Tape No:  
Title: Shiva Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu/film  
Area:  
Type:  
Performer:  
Coll:  
Trans:  

REFRAIN, line 2

Male Vocal

na-mo na-mah

demons, Shiva.

Chorus

432

na-mo na-mah

Sitar

violin

Violin

Clarinet

Pitch

Range (vocal)
Example 21

Tape No: T3/77/F/143  Title: Shiva Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu/Felicity  Type: Bhajan
Area: Felicity, Trinidad  Performer: Divine Life Society, Unit 1  Coll: HM  Trans: HM

Leader

Mangalam bhagwaana Shambhu, Mangalam vishva bhakta bhyan, Mangalam Parvati Naattha, Mangalam
('Sanskrit: Salutation to Shiva as Shambhu, as Lord of Pārvatī, as one who cares for his devotees.')

Chorus

Tempo Giusto 4

REFRAIN

Leader

Shi-va Sham-bhu deeno_ ki ban-du ('Obeisance to Shiva Shambhu, friend of the wretched.')

Chorus

Giri-jaa Ra-ti gan-gaa Ha-ri Ha-ra na-mo na-mah ('Obeisance to Harihara, Lord of Giraj/Pārvatī, the Ganges flows.')

Dholak

et al.
Example 21

Tape No:  
Area:  
Performer: Felicity  
Type:  
Coll:  
Trans:  

REFRAIN

Leader

Shiva Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu

Chorus

na-mo na-mah

Verses

Leader

Ha-ra cha-n-dra Tri-pu-ra-ri su-kha-kar Ha-ra daa-ni

('Obedience to Haracandra, son of Hara?, Tripurari, mine of bliss.')

Chorus

Nee-la kan-tha saa-je tri-kun-da tu

('Bountiful Hara, Nilakantha, whose splendor is...')
Example 21

Tape No:   Title: Shiv Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu/ Felicity
Area:      Performer: Shambhu
           Coll: Trans:

Leader

Chorus

REFRAIN CUE

Aah

REFRAIN

435

435

Chorus

REFRAIN
Example 21

Tape No:  
Title: Shiva Shambhu Deeno Ki Bandhu/  
Type:  
Area:  
Performer: Felicity  
Felicity  
Coll:  
Trans:  

Leader

Chorus

Pitch

Range
TABLE VI

Shiva Shambu Deeno Ki Bandhu

Felicity Version

FORM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader text</th>
<th>M X</th>
<th>refrain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tune</td>
<td>m x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus text</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>RT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus tune</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>r'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>verse 1</th>
<th>refrain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[verses 2, 3 as above]

Key

M - Sanskrit mantra text
m - mantra tune
X - florid phrase sung on 'aah'
x - tune, florid phrase
i, ii, iii - text, lines 1, 2, 3 of refrain or verse
r, f, a, b, c - tunes, refrain and verse lines
RT - refrain tag
RC - refrain cue
r', f', a', b', c' - tune fragment of refrain and verse tags
The bhajan, Raama Raama Bhaju Raama, is known in Trinidad as a 'Rafi' because it was popularized by the famous Indian playback singer, Mohammed Rafi. It opens with a slow improvisatory introduction during which the solo vocalist has the opportunity to display his vocal agility. Mr Maharajh, a teacher at the Felicity Hindu School considered to have an especially fine voice, sang the song for me on a number of occasions, always accompanied by the Divine Life Society, Unit 1, group (ex. 23; plate 14).

The responsorial form of Raama Raama Bhaju Raama is particularly complex. After each two lines of verse is sung by the soloist, the chorus echoes with the final four beats of the second line (i.e., half of the verse, a 'verse tag'; in a later performance, the chorus repeated the entire second line). Following the sixth and last line of each verse, the refrain is cued by the soloist by singing the closing words of the refrain text 'Bhaju Raama Raama Seeya Raama, bhaju Raama Raama Seeya Raama' (a 'refrain cue'; see Table VII).

Text

Raama Raama Rameti Rame Raame manorane,27
Sahasra naama tat tulyam, Raama naama varaanane,

Plate 14 (following). Mr Maharajh playing the dhantal during the recording of Raama Raama Bhaju Raama.
'Rama, Rama, worship Rama./Rama, Rama, worship Sita and Rama. 1. For the sake of dharma he came to earth, /He is called the son of Daśaratha,/In Janaka's city he broke the bow of Shiva,/And became betrothed to Sita the faithful one,/Lord Rama became Sita's dear husband,/They are called 'Sita and Rama'. 2. In compliance with his father's word,/He gave up the crown and went to the forest,/Sustainer of the sacrifice made by Viśvāmitra,/Bestower of salvation to the faithful Ahilyā,/He made the Pañcavaṭī forest,/The abode of royal righteousness. 3. He beat and annihilated the demons,/And attacked Lanka with his army,/He overwhelmed proud Rāvana,/And freed Sita from
danger, Rama rules over the whole land, And Hanumana
sings of his qualities (last line ambiguous)."

Raama Raama Bhaju Raama

Pitch

Range
Example 23

Tape No: T1/74/F/22, Item 1  Title: Raama Raama Bhaju Raama
Area: Felicity, Trinidad  Performer: Divine Life Society, Unit 1
Type: Bhajan  Coll: HM  Trans: HM

Leader
Freely

(Sanskrit: Repeat the name of Rama.)

Harmonium

443

Leader

Harmonium

(Sanskrit: Repeat the name of Rama.)
Example 23

Tape No: 
Area: 
Performer: 

Title: Raama Raama Bhaju Raama

Type: 
Coll: 
Trans: 

Leader:

Harmonium:

Tempo Giusto = m120

Hindi: 'Rama, Rama, worship Rama.'

Leader:

Harmonium:

Leader:

Harmonium:

Leader:

Harmonium:

'Hama, Rama, worship Sita and Rama.'

etc.
Example 23

Tape No: 
Area: 
Performers: 
Title: Raama Raama Bhaju Raama
Type: 
Coll: 
Trans: 

Leader

Chorus

REFRAIN

Leader

Chorus

Leader

Chorus
Example 23

Tape No: Title: Raama Raama Bhaju Raama
Area: Performer:

Type:
Coll: Trans:

Leader

Chorus

Raama Raama See-ya Raam/a/7 bha-ju Raama Raama See-ya Raam/a/7

Leader

('For the sake of dharma he came to earth, he is called the son of asharatha."

Chorus

Chorus

Leader

'In Janaka's city he broke the bow of Shiva, and became betrothed to Sita, the
Example 23

Tape No: 
Area: 
Performers: 
Type: 
Coll: 
Trans: 

Leader

naa-taa_ jor-aa, 
faithful one.

VERSE TAG

See-ya pee-yaa baa-na Raa-ma Prab-hu, Ka-ha-
('Lord Rama became Sita's dear husband; they are

Chorus

naa-taa_ jor-aa,

REFRAIN CUE

Leader

laa-ye_ See-ta_ Raam/a/ bha-ju Raa- ma Ra-a- ma See-ya Raam/a/, bha-ju
called 'Sita Rama. '
('Worship Sita and rama. ')

Chorus

REFRAIN

Leader

Ra-a- ma Ra-a- ma See-ya Raam/a/ 
etc.

Chorus

Ra-a- ma Ra-a- ma bha-ju Ra-a- ma Ra-a- ma bha-ju etc.
TABLE VII

Raama Raama Bhaju Raama

FORM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader text</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>i + ii</th>
<th>iii + iv</th>
<th>v + vi</th>
<th>RC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tune</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>rf</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus text</td>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td></td>
<td>VT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tune</td>
<td></td>
<td>rf</td>
<td></td>
<td>b'</td>
<td></td>
<td>b'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verses 2, 3 as above</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key

S - text, solo improvisatory introduction
s - tune, solo improvisatory introduction
R - refrain text
RC - refrain cue
i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi - text, lines 1 - 6
VT - verse tag
rf - tune, refrain
a, b, c - tunes, line 1 - 6
R' - text, coda-like concluding phrase
g - tune, coda-like phrase
T - tihai (triple cadence)
A slow improvisatory opening is typical of many bhajans. Another example of this style is Bhajale Naama Niranjana Kaa ('Sing in Praise the Name of Niranjana (God free of illusion)'), which opens with a brief florid introduction (ex. 24). The responsorial form of this song is straightforward (Table VIII), and it is easy to compare the performing style of the soloist with that of the chorus. In the setting of the refrain line, bhajale naama niranjana kaa, the pitches for the syllables 'le', 'naama', and 'kaa' are highly ornamental, given more inflection. These ornaments are known in the Indian classical tradition as gamaka (गमक), a generic term for ornament or embellishment. Usually these are movements around a single pitch, but the term may also indicate slides between pitches (also called mīnd, मंद), and other types of embellishment. To translate gamaka as 'ornament' or 'embellishment' is somewhat misleading as these pitch movements are essential to the performing style of the raga in the Indian classical tradition: no vocal or instrumental performance is complete without them. Gamaka occur in both the solo and choral renditions of Bhajale Naama Niranjana Kaa although the solo gamaka are not identical with the choral ones (ex. 24).

Pitch inflections of less than a semitone are impossible to represent precisely in Western notation; a more accurate picture of the slides and turns in this example (shown in these transcriptions with grace notes, mordents, inverted mordents, straight lines indicating glides, curved lines indicating glides into a pitch, and so on) would be given by a machine transcription, were this a feasible technique for polyphonic music. Gamaka occur in most of the bhajans of the Felicity repertory, often on a syllable with important lexical meaning, for example, the mantra, 'aum' (Jai Jagadisha Hare, ex. 26) and the syllable 'Raa' of Raama (Raama Raama Bhaju Raama, ex. 23), in which the rhythm long-short, long-short, short-short exactly matches the text rhythm, 'Raa-ma Raa-ma bha-ju'.

Text

Bhajale naama Niranjana kaa....

1. Ye sansaara saraaya chala aachala
   Eka aataa eka jaataa hai,
   Koi bastu nahi sthira jaga me,
   Brithaa mamataa dhana jobana kaa....

2. Yonee anekan me phirate phirate,
   Dhanya manusha deha milaa,
   Karale bahaaeyo kaama kachu aba,
   Taja yaha duniyaa maayaa kaa....

Translation

('Sing in praise the name of Niranjana [God free of illusion]. .../1. This world is an inn for all kinds of beings,/One comes, another goes,/Nothing is permanent in the world,/And vain is the attachment of wealth and youthfulness./2. Wandering from birth to birth,/Blessed is he who gains a human form,/Now brother, achieve something,/And abandon this world of illusion.')

Bhajale Naama Niranjana Kaa
Title: Bhajale Naama Niranjana Kaa
Refrain, Verse 1
Performer: Divine Life Society, Unit 1
Area: Felicity, Trinidad
Freely

Type: Bhajan
Coll: HM
Trans: HM

Example 24

Tape No: T3/77/F/144

Bhajale naama /a/ ma-na-wa
Bha-ja-le

REFRAIN

Verse 1
Bhajale naama /a/ Naama
Bhajale

REFRAIN

('Sing in praise the name of Niranjana /God free of illusion/')
Example 24

Tape No: 
Title: Bhajale Naama Niranjana Kaa 
Area: 
Performer: 
Type: 
Coll: 
Trans: 

Leader

Chorus

VERSE 1/i

Chorus

VERSE 1/ii
Example 24

Tape No:  
Area: a

Title: Bhajale Naama Niranjana Kaa  
Performer: 

Type:  
Coll: 
Trans:

\[ \text{Verse 1/i} \]

\[ \text{Chorus} \]

\[ \text{Verse 1/ii} \]

\[ \text{Leader} \]

\[ \text{Chorus} \]

\[ \text{Verse 1/iii} \]

\[ \text{Leader} \]

\[ \text{Chorus} \]

\[ \text{Leader} \]

\[ \text{Chorus} \]

Ye sa-n(a)-sa-ra sa-mar-y chal-a aachal/a/\text{E-}\text{ka} a-ta\text{a}_e\text{-ka jaa-taa\_hai}\]

"Nothing is permanent in the world,"

Ko-i bas-tu nah-i sthi-ra ja-ga me,

Ko-i bas-tu nah-i sthi-ra ja-ga me,
Example 24

Tape No:  Title: Bhajale Raama Niranjana Kaa  Type: 
Area:  Performer:  Coll:  Trans:

Leader:  Ko-i bas-tu na-hi sthi-ra ja-ga me,  

Chorus:  Ko-i bas-tu na-hi sthi-ra ja-ga me,  

Leader:  Bri-thaa ma-ma-taa dha-na jo-ba-na kaa_  
('And vain is the attachment of wealth and youthfulness')  

Chorus:  Bri-thaa ma-ma-taa dha-na jo-ba-na kaa_  

Leader:  Bri-thaa ma-ma-taa dha-na jo-ba-na kaa_  

Chorus:  Bri-thaa ma-ma-taa dha-na jo-ba-na kaa_  

Bha-
Example 24

Title: Bhajale Raama Niranjana Kaa

Performer:

Tape No: 

Area: 

Leader

Chorus

Leader

Chorus

Leader

Chorus

456

Type: 

Trans: 

Coll: 

RETRAIN

Example

24

Bhajale Raama Niranjana Kaa

('Sing in praise the name of Niranjana (God free of illusion?)')

REFRAIN

REFRAIN

REFRAIN

REFRAIN

REFRAIN
TABLE VIII

Bhajale Naama Niranjana Kaa

FORM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refrain</th>
<th>free tempo</th>
<th>verse 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>text</td>
<td>R R R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tune</td>
<td>s r r r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>text</td>
<td>R R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tune</td>
<td>r r r'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Leader   |      |      |      |      |      |
|          | iii  | iii  | iv   | iv   | R    | R    | R    |
|          | b    | b    | c    | c    | r    | r    | r'   |
| Chorus   |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|          | iii  | iii  | iv   | iv   | R    | R    | R    |
|          | b    | b    | c    | c    | r    | r    | r'   |

Key

S - solo improvisatory introduction
x - tune, introduction
R - text, refrain
r - tune, refrain
i, ii, iii, iv - text, verse lines 1, 2, 3, 4
a, b, c - tunes, verse lines
r' - refrain tune, melodic extension
Nearly all bhajan singing in Felicity temples is accompanied by harmonium. The leader of a song may accompany himself, or he may be accompanied by another musician. Singers usually accompany themselves with a drone at the unison and fifth, or by echoing the melody. When the singer is accompanied by another musician the accompaniment is often more complex, with many rhythmic and melodic variations of the melody, as shown in the two solo passages from Bhajale Naama Niranjana Kaa, verse 2, transcribed in ex. 25.
Example 25

Tape No.: T3/77/F/144  Title: Heterophony/Bhajale Naama Niranjana Kaa
Area: Felicity, Trinidad  Performer: Divine Life Society, Unit 1

Type: Bhajan  Coll: HM  Trans: HM

**Example 25**

**VERSE 2/iii**

Voice:

Harmonium:

**VERSE 2/iv**

Voice:

Harmonium:

**VERSE 2/iv**

Voice:

Harmonium:
The Felicity bhajan repertory is interesting not so much for metric complexity (most of the bhajans are in 4/4 time) or modality (most are in the diatonic major or minor), but for performing style. Many pitches are highly inflected and at times the pitch that we think we hear may not actually be present, or at any rate not sustained, but defined by upper and lower neighbours. Felicity singers show rhythmic discretion in approaching the first beat of a bar. They tend to disguise beat one, either by tying into the bar (as in Bhajale Naama Niranjana Kaa, verse 1, line 2), by leaving a quaver rest on beat one (Mere Mana Basigayo, throughout), by gliding into the principal pitch on beat one from below (Raama Raama Bhaju Raama, throughout), or through syncopation (usually quaver, crotchet, quaver; in many of the examples). This careful approach to beat one can be heard in some form in nearly all of the Felicity examples.

These features of style are easily heard when performances of the same song by different groups are compared. Example 26 gives three versions of Jai Jagadisha Hare, an ārī bhajan sung in all the village temples many times throughout the year. For comparison, two of the variants were recorded outside Felicity: version 1 was recorded at an Arya Samaj service in Carolina, a small village in the cane lands of central Trinidad; version 2 in the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha on Nolan Street in Felicity; and version 3 in the Divine Life Society (Unit 24), in the village of Enterprise, a few miles east of
Felicity. For the Carolina village version, the harmonium part is also shown.

Text

Jai Jagadisha hare, Swaami jai Jagadisha hare,30 Bhakata jano ke sankata, kshana me dura kare....

1. Jo dhyaawe phala paaawe, dukha bina se mana kaa, Swaami dukha bina se mana kaa, Sukha sampati ghara aawe, kashta mite tana kaa....

2. Maata pitaa tuma mere, sharana gahu kis ki, Swaami sharana gahu kis ki, Tuma bina owra naa dujaa, aasha karu kis ki....

3. Tuma purana Paramaatma, Tuma Antarayaami, Swaami Tuma Antarayaami, Parama Brahma Parameshwara, Tuma saba ke Swaami

4. Tuma Karunaa ke Saagara, Tuma paalana karata, Swaami Tuma paalana karata, Deena dayaalu kirpaalu, kripaa karo bhartaa....

5. Tuma ho eka angochara saba ke praana pati, Swaami saba ke praana pati, Kisa bidhee milu dayaamai, Tuma ki mai kumatee....

6. Deena Bandhu dukha harataa, Tuma rakshaka mere, Swaami Tuma rakshaka mere, Karunaa hasta barhaaowo, sharana paraa tere....

7. Vishaya vikaara mitaawo, papa haro devaa, Swaami paapa haro devaa, Sraddhaa bhakti barhaaowo, santana ki sewaa....

Translation

('May the Supreme Being, Lord of the World be ever victorious. May He remove in an instant the misfortunes of the pious ones./Who prays to You receives good fruit and avoids mental distress. Happiness and worldly riches come to the home, bodily trouble is avoided./O Supreme One! You are our Mother and our Father, whose shelter and protection we seek. There is no other but You, on whom we may place our hope./You are the Perfect One, the All-Everlasting One, the Supreme Soul, the Supreme Being. You are the Protector of all./You are the Ocean of Mercy. You are the Preserver of all. Have mercy on us O Supreme Being and Destroy our sensuality and defects./You are invisible, You are my aspiration. Oh merciful God, how can I meet you when I am foolish?/You are brother of the poor, remover of all hindrance and my protector, Oh God, increase mercy in me, I kneel to you./And may You increase the sum of goodwill and devotion for the benefit of pious people.')
Example 26

Tape No: T3/77/F/53
Area: Trinidad

Title: Jai Jagadisha Hare
Performer: Trinidad Sevashram Sangha, Felicity

Type: Bhajan
Performer: Trinidad Sevashram Sangha, Felicity
Coll: HM
Trans: HM

Divine Life Society, Unit 24, Enterprise

Jai Jagadisha Hare
('Be triumphant, Hare, lord of the world.'*)

Aum jai ja-ga-
Harmonium

77/53
Singers

75/8
Singers

74/11
Singers

*Refrain from the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva (12th century)
Example 26

Tape No: 77/53
Title: Jai Jagadisha Hare
Area: Di-sha ha-re
Performer: Bhak(a)-ta ja-n/a-na7 ke-
Type: Coll: Trans:

Performer: Siak(a)-ta ja-no ke-

Performer: Swa-am jai ja-ga-di-sha ha-re, Bhak(a)-ta ja-no ke-
Example 26

Tape No: 
Area: 
Title: Jai Jagadisha Hare
Performer: 
Type: 
Coll: 
Trans: 

77/53
san-ka-ta Bhak(a)-ta ja-na-na7 ke san-ka-ta ksha-na me
('May he remove in an instant the misfortunes of the pious ones.')

75/8
san-ka-ta, Bhak(a)-ta ja-no ke san-ka-ta ksha-na me

74/11
san-ka-ta, Shakt(a)-ta ja-no ke san-ka-ta ksha-na me
Example 26

Tape No: 
Title: Jai Jagadisha Hare 
Type: 
Area: 
Performer: 
Coll: 
Trans: 

Maa- ta pi- taa tu- ma me- re, sha- ra- na ga-
('You are our mother and our father, whose shelter and protection we seek.')
Example 26

Tape No: 26
Title: Jai Jagadisha Hare
Area: 26
Performer: 26
Type: 26
Coll: 26
Trans: 26

All Solo

75/8 74/11
Example 26

Tape No: 
Title: Jai Jagadisha Hare
Area: 
Performer: 

Type: 
Coll: 
Trans: 

('There is no other but you on whom we may place our hope.')
Example 26

Title: Jai Jagadisha Hare

Performer:

Type:

Coll: Trans:

Pitch

Range

Pitch

Range

Pitch

Range
The *gamaka* in the three versions correspond: on the syllable 'jai' (measure 4), 'di' (measure 5), 're' (measure 6), 'san' (measure 9, 12), 'Aum' (measures 15, 18, 36), 'ow' (measures 29, 32), and so on. This agreement between the versions suggests that *gamaka* are not casual 'ornaments' but fixed features of performing style as indeed they are in the Indian classical system. For example, if the underlying melodic movement of the song is from A to G, singers from Felicity, Enterprise, or Carolina are likely to add the upper neighbour, hence A B A G (ex. 26, measures 9, 12); if the melodic movement is a leap from B to D, these singers are likely to bridge the gap (B C D; ex. 26, measures 3-4), and so on.

The *gamaka* in versions of *Jai Jagadisha Hare* in Indian films are much bolder, and in many cases so pronounced that the transcriber might better show them as main melody notes rather than as subsidiary notes as in the Trinidad examples.

It is likely that vocal *gamaka* was a feature of the vocal style of the indentured labourers, since this practice can, to a certain degree, be heard in the *byāh ke gīt*. But the intensification of this practice in the temple *bhajans* shows that this style has been reinforced since the importation of Indian films and records in recent years.

* * * * *
A morning at the Felicity temple left one with much to ponder: about religion and history, about music repertory and performing style; about the purification rites of ancient Aryans, introduced to a Trinidad village of the 20th century, embraced by local Hindus, and now faithfully performed each Sunday at the break of day; about new bhajans from Indian films, purchased on record or pirated with cassette recorders at the cinema, then carefully memorized by temple congregations; and about the vocal mannerisms of an old generation of vocalists from the Bombay studios, the Rafi's and the Lata's, Mukesh and Hemant Kumar, inspiring a new generation of Indian singers half a world away.
CHAPTER 10

MUSIC AND MIRACLES

The Miracles of the Church seem to me to rest not so much upon faces or voices or healing power coming suddenly near to us from afar off, but upon our perceptions being made finer, so that for a moment our eyes can see and our ears can hear what is there about us always.

Death Comes for the Archbishop
Willa Cather

'I was wondering about these amazing things that happened to you,' I said.

'Ah, well,' Mr Dhun replied. 'It started about four years ago. We lived as anybody else in Felicity. We had a small altar right across here and the children did puja there. One night the neighbour next door had prayers and we went across to them. When I came back, I saw on the pictures - there were about four or five
different pictures, we had Shiva, Sai Baba, Maha Lakshmi, Hanumanji, Shri Ganesh - I see from the forehead of all the picture three streams of things start leaking. It's like water but it's thicker than water. So I look at it. Before, I heard they say honey from Sai Baba's picture does be flowing. So when I look at it, you know, I call the wife. I show her. I wake the neighbours and I call the children and I show them. In the space of half-an-hour, we had over a thousand of people here. People looking at this. And this keep flowing. And this continue for about six or seven months. Coming and leaking and we doesn't know where it coming from. We look around, right around. There was nothing. They say it is amrit ['nectar'].

'As the news went around, people start coming with groups now, and chanting the name of the Lord. We had prayers and sandhya. Night upon night, night after night. Every night we had a different group come and every group come they offer flowers. And they went and they bowed to Lord Shiva and Sai Baba. This went as is for a few months. 'A lady from Assam in India was here. She ask if she could offer her flowers. I say, "Sure". So she made a flowers and she bring and she offer it to the pictures. And she offer the flowers to Lord Shiva picture and we

see something as a smoke come right across. And in Sai Baba picture the whole picture get wet. Right away it wet like somebody sprinkle water or they throw water on it. And she saw it, so she asked me if this was so. "No, when you started it wasn't so." I said. Then she say she left home in the intention to see what we speak about and she see and she is very happy. She say she were expecting that.

'We had three Swamis from Venezuela was here. And they were sitting and they said, "Mr Dhun, I heard about honey coming from your picture." I say, "Well, I really don't know if it's honey or what it is. But I believe on Sai Baba." They sit down and they start looking at the picture. And while looking at the picture the thing start, the honey start flowing again and it start dripping down by the drop. And they were very happy too. But these is some of the things that happen. God himself came into me, into this house.'

'How did you feel?' I asked.

'Well', he said, 'you get vibration. When you get vibration you feel - you get strength twice the amount you got.'

'You're not afraid?' I asked.

'No,' he said. 'These things I expect.'
Bhagwan Shri Sathya Sai Baba was born on the 23rd of November, 1926, in Puttaparthi, a small village in Andhra Pradesh in southeastern India. The third child of a pious but otherwise unremarkable family, he was given the name Sathyanarayana Raju. It is said that he performed his first miracle as a schoolboy at the age of eight, and that he subsequently developed quite a reputation locally for materializing sweets, fruits, pencils, and toys, for tracing lost property, and for reading far into the future and deep into the past. On the 23rd of May, 1940, he declared himself to be 'Sai Baba' the reincarnation of the Shaivite, Sai Baba of Shirdi (?1850-1918), and an avatar (incarnation of God on earth), come to save humanity from downfall. 'I have come in order to repair the ancient highway leading man to God. Become skilful, sincere engineers, overseers and workmen, and join me. The Vedas, Upanishads and Sastras are the roads I refer to. I have come to reveal them and revive them. I have come to sow the seeds of faith in religion and God. I come in response to the prayers of sages, saints and seekers for the restoration of "dharma" [duty, righteousness].'

Baba said that his first 16 years would be devoted to 'sportive pursuits' and that he would then draw people

to him and his mission by means of miracles, up to the age of 32. His upadesha, or teaching, would begin after 32. He requested that his devotees, of which there were already some number, should worship him on Thursdays.³

The teachings of Sai Baba fall within the scope of conventional Hindu thought. He maintains that each man is linked to God through the atman ('soul', 'spirit') which, like God, is both formless and eternal. At death, the atman survives the physical body and, because of man's earthly desires, reincorporates itself into another object or creature. The goal for Hindus is moksha or liberation of the atman from this cycle of birth and re-birth. To achieve moksha, a man must eliminate all his worldly attachments and passions and train himself to distinguish between the permanent (brahman) and the transitory (maya) through spiritual practices (sadhana). Yoga is an effective means of spiritual self discipline. Of the three principal types of yoga, karma ('action'), jnana ('knowledge'), and bhakti ('devotion'), Sai Baba teaches that bhakti is the surest and easiest path for most people to follow.⁴

---

³ 'Bhagwan Shri Satya Sai Baba: Present-Day Avatar' /Port of Spain, 1974/, 2 pp.
Among Hindus, there is much less scepticism over Baba's divinity than a Christian might expect, for Hindus do not find it surprising that God would manifest himself on earth in human form more than once. Although there is a great deal of disagreement about who the modern-day avatars are, the principle of divine incarnation is practically unchallenged. In Felicity, any villager will point out that God has visited man on a number of occasions, for example, the avatars Rama, Krishna, the Buddha, Jesus Christ, and Mohammed. The scriptural justification for divine incarnation is found in the Bhagavad Gita, best-loved of the Hindu texts, in the passage where Krishna reveals himself to the warrior, Arjuna.

For the protection of the good,
And for the destruction of evil-doers,
To make a firm footing for the right,
I come into being in age after age.\(^5\)

It is the miracles of Sai Baba that have attracted attention. Hindus expect all great yogis to possess super-human powers, but Baba's gifts do seem extraordinary even to very devout Hindus. His best-known power is the materialization of vibhuti, a sweet-smelling sacred ash, with a wave of his hand. He is also said to materialize many other items including gold chains, coins, gems, and...
and religious statuettes. He is attributed with miraculous powers of healing, and it is claimed that, on several occasions, he raised the dead to life. He has also been reported to be in different places at the same time.  

The Sai Baba movement in Trinidad began in 1974. In April of that year, a group of East Indians returned from a visit to Guyana and Surinam with the news of the saint and first-hand accounts of his miraculous feats. The first devotional session in Trinidad was held in May, and during the following months more sessions were organized around the island. It was not long before miracles similar to those observed in Guyana and Surinam were reported in Trinidad. The 'Sai Bulletin' reports:

We in Trinidad believe that Sai Baba is acknowledging our faith in him by adding fuel to our fires of devotion. This is in the form of certain esoteric, phenomenal occurrences ... which are beginning to happen almost weekly to certain devotees.... Also, I feel very fortunate, and humbly so, that he has tangibly satisfied my faith by allowing Vibhuti to appear on the surface of the big picture I have of Him. On Friday 28th June, Miss Vidya Roopnarinesingh and the family of Dr. H. Sukhbin were blessed with similar experiences. Vibhuti appeared on a small picture of Sai Baba given to Miss Roopnarinesingh by Mrs. Rooplalsingh whilst Vibhuti appeared on a dressing table belonging to the Sukhbins. How wonderful and reassuring it is to know that Baba's divine presence is always with his devotees and what more can one expect from God?  

8. P. 1.
During the crop time in 1974, Parsuram and Sulin Ramsundar held the first Sai Baba satsangh in Felicity. This event attracted a crowd so large that it spilled out of their spacious yard and into the neighbouring school and temple grounds. In August, 1975, a group of villagers participated in a charter flight to the Baba ashram in India. Among the pilgrims were Parsuram and Sulin of Felicity and the Swami Satchidananda of the Divine Life Society. The Swami brought back with him a vial of vibhuti to distribute amongst his devotees. When he got home, he discovered that he could not empty the container, for however much he distributed to his congregation, the supply was mysteriously replenished by the following Sunday.

Until the August visit, no one in Felicity had seen Sai Baba. What they knew about him and his teachings they had learned through hearsay, through reading, and through films distributed by his international organization. By 1975, about seven twenty-minute colour films with sound tracks (in English) were being circulated around Trinidad. The ones I saw give the life story of Sai Baba, facts about his mission, and documentation for his feats, particularly the materialization of vibhuti. They show the Baba in his long, salmon-coloured robes, giving dharshan ('viewing') to crowds of thousands at his ashram.

Singing is believed to be one of the most effective forms of bhakti yoga, and all of the films include several dhun dedicated to Sai Baba, and composed by Baba or his
followers. The songs are characterized by their short and comparatively simple nonstrophic texts; they are often referred to in Trinidad as 'chants' or simply as Sai Baba songs. Around 1975, a songbook, *Bhajans and Chants of Shri Satya Sai Baba* was printed in Trinidad; it included 80 Hindi texts (113 in the second edition) in Roman transliteration.

The performance of a Sai Baba song starts slowly and softly and gains speed and volume with each of the many repetitions of the text. The melody usually begins on a low pitch level and progresses to a higher one. In Trinidad, as the excitement builds and the momentum of the singing increases, loud handclapping on the beat is added; handclapping is not usual on recordings of Sai songs from India. This style is very different from *bhajan* singing in Trinidad for which a uniform volume and tempo are maintained throughout and handclapping is avoided.

_Ganesha Sharanam_ is one of the most popular Sai songs in Felicity and in the international Sai Baba movement. A disc version recorded by Sai devotees in India (most likely the model for the Felicity version) illustrates many typical features of the style: simple duple metre with syncopation producing rhythmic interest; an uncomplicated melody that starts in a medium register and moves higher; a short nonstrophic text; leader-chorus responsorial form; accompaniment by tabla, flutes, and various idiophones; accelerando and crescendo; and
pronounced gamaka, particularly on the syllables 'nam' (of sharanam) and 'e' (of Ganesha and Sayesha) (ex. 27).
The Felicity version (ex. 28) retains simple duple metre but lacks the syncopations; the melody is pentatonic and moves from a medium to a high register and back again. Some pitches differ from those in the Indian model. The text is as for the Indian version, but most of the gamaka are absent. The form is responsorial, and the accompaniment is by harmonium, dholak, and idiophones. Altogether lacking in the Felicity version are the undulations and irregularities of pitch and rhythm that give the Indian version its distinctive character (ex. 27).

In Om Bhagawan, a popular Sai song in Felicity, both the harmonium drone and the modality (diatonic major with lowered 7th degree) are somewhat unusual for the village style (ex. 29). This example also illustrates the typical leader-chorus responsorial form of Sai songs, crescendo and accelerando, the repeated use of a short simple text, gamaka (on syllables 'Om', 'wan' - Bhagawan, 'Sai', and so on), and the preferred overall timbre, distorted from the over-close miking and the use of a public address system.
Example 27

Tape No: Cassette C-015
Title: Ganesha Sharanam/India and Felicity
Area: Bombay
Performers: 'Devotees', Sai Baba/India
Type: Sai Baba Song
Performer: 'Devotees', Sai Baba/India
Coll: Trans: HM

India Version Leader

India Version Chorus

India Version Flute, Sitar

India Version Tabla, Manjeera

Felicity Version Leader

Felicity Version Chorus
Example 27

Title: Ganesha Sharanam/India and Felicity
Type: 
Performer: 
Coll: 
Trans: 

Ganesha Sharanam Sharanam Ganesha,
('Surrender to Lord Ganesh.')
Example 27

Tape No:     Title: Ganesha Sharanam/India and Felicity
Area:       Type: 
Performer:   Coll:  

\[ \text{India/Leader} \]

\[ \text{India/Chorus} \]

\[ \text{Felicity/Leader} \]

\[ \text{Felicity/Chorus} \]

\[ \text{Pitch (India) Range (India)} \]

\( \sim = \text{Gamaka} \)

See also example 28
Example 28

Tape No: T2/75/F/2  Title: Ganesha Sharanam  Type: Sai Baba Song
Area: Felicity, Trinidad  Performer: Divine Life Society, Unit 1  Coll: HM  Trans: HM

Ganesha Sharanam, Sharanam Ganesha,
('Surrender to Lord Ganesh.')

etc.

Dholak

etc.

Tambourine

Jingles

etc.

Claps
Example 28

Tape No: Title: Ganesha Sharanam Type: 
Area: Performer: Coll: Trans: 

Leader

Chorus

Leader

Chorus

Leader

Chorus

Leader

Chorus
Example 28

Tape No: 
Area: 

Title: Ganesha Sharanam
Performer: 

Type: 
Coll: 
Trans: 

Leader

Say-esh-a Sha-ra-nam, Sha-ra-nam Say-e-sha,
('Surrender to Lord Sai Baba.')

Chorus

Sharanam Gan-esha,
Say-esh-a Sha-ra-nam, Sha-

Leader

188

Chorus

aa-ra-nam Say-e-sha, etc.

Pitch

Range (Pentatonic)
Example 29

Tape No: T3/77/F/54
Title: Om Bhagawan
Type: Sai Baba Song
Area: Tunapuna, Trinidad
Performer: Sai Baba devotees from Trinidad
Coll: HM
Trans: HM

Time signature: $J = \text{MM} 84-134 \frac{4}{4}$

Om Bhagawan Om Bhagawan de-do-da-ra-shana Satya
("Oh Lord, grant me your vision.")

Dholak
Dholak
Manjæra
Example 29

Tape No:

Area:

Title: Om Bhagawan

Performance:

Type:

Coll:

Trans:

Leader

Sai Bhagwan

Chorus

Om Bhagwan Om Bhagwan de-do da-ra-sha-n(a) Sat-ya Sai Bhagwan

Harmonium

490

Dhantal

Dholak

Manjeera

etc.
Example 29

Tape No: Title: Om Bhagawan
Area: Performer:

Type: Coll: Trans:

Leader

Om Bhagawan
Om Bhagawan
ded dada-rasna Satya Sai Bhagawan

Om Bhagawan
manjeera, dhantal
etc.

Chorus

Om Bhagawan
ded dada-rasna Satya Sai Bhagawan

Leader

491

Pat PUR IS Ha
('Lord of Patri,

Chorus

Om Bhagawan
ded dada-rasna Satya Sai Bhagawan

Leader

Tumbo Maa-ta
mother of all.

Chorus

Pat PUR IS Ha Tumbo Maa-ta

('Lord of my soul.')
Example 29

Tape No:          Title: Om Bhagawan          Type:
Area:            Performer:                Coll:         Trans:

Leader

Chorus

Leader

Chorus

Leader

Chorus

Leader

Chorus

(Da-yaa ka-ro Baba
('Have mercy, Baba,
Example 29

Title: Om Bhagawan

Leader:

Aa-shir-wa-d(a) do
dayaa ka- ro Ba-ba

Chorus:

Saayi_Gha-n(e)-shyaan Raam
('The blue-complexioned
Lord Krishna.')

Saayi_Gha-n(e)-shyaan Raam
Saayi_Gha-n(e)-shyaan

Saayi_Gha-n(e)-shyaan Raam
Saayi_Gha-n(e)-shyaan
Saayi_Gha-n(e)-shyaan

Example 29

Tape No: 
Area: 
Performer: 
Type: 
Coll: 
Trans:

Leader

Chorus

Saayi _Gha-n(e)-shyan Raam Saayi__Gha- n(e)-shyaam

Pitch
Range

FORM

Leader Text | A | A | B | C | B | C | D | D | E | E | E' | E' | A |
Tune | a | a | b | b | b | b | c | c | d | d | d | d | a |
Chorus Text | A | A | B | C | B | C | D | D | E | E | E' | E' | A |
Tune | a | a | b | b | b | b | c | c | d | d | d | d | a |

Saayi Ba-ba Sat-ya Saayi_Ba-Ba etc.
Every week during my stay I had three opportunities to hear Sai Baba songs. On Thursdays, Matti, her aunt Kowsil, and I would go to the Sai Baba satsangh (prayer meeting) in the market town of Chaguanas, a few miles east of Felicity. The session was held in a new building on the main street, in a large room that perhaps could have seated a crowd of five hundred. Our weekly gathering usually numbered less than one hundred, leaving plenty of space for the small children to run and play during the service. At the altar were many pictures of Baba - standing, seated, hands raised, serious, smiling. There were also the usual coloured pictures of the other deities such as Hanuman, Ganesh, and Shiva. All the images were adorned with garlands of fresh flowers, and incense was burning. In the centre of the altar was an empty armchair draped with a saffron-coloured bedspread, and on the floor, propped up against this chair, was a photograph of the saint's feet and the hem of his robe for the devotees to touch and worship.

The Chaguanas service always followed the same pattern. It began with the chanting of an opening prayer. Then, there was an hour or an hour and a half of Sai Baba songs sung by the congregation. Different members would take turns leading the singing - sometimes a woman, sometimes a man, and sometimes a child. All the songs were accompanied by the instrumental group - harmonium, dholak, kartal, and dhantal. Many pairs of tiny manjeera finger cymbals were passed out amongst the congregation and their
sound gave a jingly effect to all the songs. During the singing, members of the congregation would get up, one by one, and perform ārtī, the offering of fire, to the images at the altar. On special occasions like Sai Baba's birthday in November, a short address might be given after the ārtī, but normally the service ended with prayers and meditation, the distribution of vibhuti and prasad (sweetmeat) and the closing prayers. 9

On Wednesday nights, I went to the Sai Baba satsangh at the home of Mr and Mrs Dhun on Pierre Road. They began holding services in their home in 1974, following the miraculous occurrences at their family altar - the honey 'leaking' from the icons, and the dreams and visions of Baba. The usual order of this service was: opening prayer, Sai Baba songs and other bhajans, sandhya, distribution of vibhuti, more Sai Baba songs (optional), and closing prayer. 10

Sai Baba songs were also sung at the Divine Life Society. On Friday nights, Mesho, Matti, their children, and I went to the Unit 1 temple on Cacandee Road. The simple service lasted only an hour. It began with an opening prayer, then continued with half an hour of bhajan

singing and ārṭī. Sometimes a sandhya service followed, but often the evening ended with meditation, a few more songs, and the closing prayer.11

Mesho usually played the dholak and he often led the singing. In 1974, the first year I visited Felicity, nearly all the songs at the Friday evening service were traditional bhajans from Divine Life Bhajans. On my second visit in 1975, I was surprised to learn how many new songs the group had added to their repertory from Bhajans and Chants of Shri Satya Sai Baba. They sang the Baba songs in the characteristic style, starting softly and slowly and ending loud and fast with enthusiastic handclapping. During 1974, I had never heard any clapping in the Divine Life Society temple, but in 1975, occasionally they added clapping and accelerando to the older bhajans.

On my third visit to Felicity in 1977, both songbooks were still being used at the Friday night service, but the traditional bhajans were regaining some of their former popularity. Most evenings, about half of the songs were taken from one book and half from the other. The familiar bhajans were too well loved to be forgotten, but the villagers really enjoyed singing the Sai Baba songs with their short

11. T2/75/CS/8, Friday Service, Divine Life Society, Unit 1, Felicity, 27 June; T2/75/CS/9-10, Friday Service, Divine Life Society, Unit 1, Felicity, 4 July; T2/75/F/49-50, Friday Service, Divine Life Society, Unit 1, Felicity, 18 July; T3/77/CS/26, Friday Service, Divine Life Society, Unit 1, Felicity, 18 Nov.
catchy texts and lively style.

Mesho's group from the Divine Life Society temple often went out to sing bhajans at havan services around Felicity and in other villages. They always sang a few Sai Baba songs at these functions, both before the havan was performed and again after the service. Several members of the temple group taught at the Felicity Hindu School, and during 1975, they began teaching the Baba songs to the children during the morning devotional period. The songs caught on quickly even though the children are not allowed to clap while they are singing in school.

I never heard the Sai Baba songs performed at the Shiva Shankar Mandir on Cacandee Road or the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha on Nolan Street. Chandra was a member of the Nolan Street group. When I played for her one of the Sai songs I had recorded at Mr Dhun's house, she said, 'Well, you see, I would say it's too fast, right? Probably different groups sing it different way.'

'Yes', I said, 'but what is your opinion?'

'Well, I think it's too fast. Because in our temple we didn't learn it so. We learn it as slow and easy way. We don't go rushing down and probably at the end of the song we sing it a little fast and cut it off with that. When you sing anything too fast people get

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12. T2/75/F/2-5, Havan Puja, Divine Life Society, Unit 1, Caroni Savannah Road, Chaguanas, 21 June; T2/75/F/52-56, Sai Baba Satsangh, Caroni Savannah Road, Chaguanas, 19 July.
sort of stupid and they start dancing, and the temple isn't the thing for that, right? They start making unnecessary noise. If we have to sing one, we sing it very slow.'

'Are they normally fast?' I asked.

'Yes,' she replied. 'Well, anywhere I hear them, I hear them fast.'

'And loud or soft?' I asked.

'Very loud,' she replied. 'There's a lot of clapping in it. Well, probably the songs that he [Sai Baba] made, he sang them like that and they tape them just like that. And the records were sent out and the people learned it just like that.'

Channu was a member of the Shiva Shankar Mandir group. When I asked her about the Sai Baba songs, she explained that they had 'more speed and more action' than the traditional bhajans. But she told me that the fast tempo and the handclapping of the Sai Baba style made it hard for her to meditate.

One afternoon we were listening together to one of my recordings:

'That's a Sai Baba song,' she said. 'It's a song that one can concentrate when they praying, giving devotion to Sai Baba. Some, most of the devotees now, some of them do more prayer to Sai Baba. They consider Sai Baba as a

lord that they achieve lately, right? It is a reincarnation, is an {\it avatar} of Lord Shiva. After Shiva he, Sai Baba, come from the next {\it avatar} out of Shiva.'

'Do you believe that?' I asked.

'Well, no,' she admitted. 'I don't believe in Sai Baba. Well, I say he is just a disciple. He is not the Lord himself. I just say so. He is just a follower of the Lord. Maybe his standard is higher than ours, right? But I don't believe that he is the Lord. I, to myself, can sit down and concentrate on Mata Lakshmi and I can feel the difference. And I can concentrate on Hanuman and I can feel the difference. But I don't have that amount of belief in him.'

'What about the songs? Are they the same as {\it bhajans}?'

'Yes. It's just that, to my knowledge then, I know the {\it dhun} in Sai Baba is a little bit different from the {\it dhun} in the ordinary {\it bhajans} that we sing. You see, they use a lot of clapping and meditating and more tempo like. They put some more action and them. They take on more speed like to concentrate when they do it. But most of our {\it bhajans} now, we sit down relax and quiet and, now like them, they will sing fast fast fast. But if we have to sing, we will sing slowly and soft, in a smoothing kind of way. We get accustomed to that from ever since, so we like it that way. But probably, if we was together with them and in that tempo kind of way, we might value it.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{14} T3/77/CS/3, Interview EL1, 8 Nov. (FN/207-210).
Many people who don't believe in Sai Baba or his miracles still like the songs. One afternoon, I was talking with Kedar Pandit about Baba. I said:

'In Felicity you hear a great deal about the miracles of Sai Baba.'

'Well', he said, 'to be honest my personal opinion is that I really don't believe that Sai Baba could perform those miracles that we read about and we hear about. Some of these miracles are so great that I believe it only could be performed by the Almighty God. There are lots of people in India today who can do a lot of things with their hand which you call the black part of magic.'

'What about the songs?' I asked.

'The sound is very very very enchanting. There is nothing wrong with the songs. They are well worthy and I believe it gives you a certain amount of integration, vigour. They really stir you up and it put you in mood to be near the Lord. If music has got in it what Shakespeare said, if music be the food of love, then play on, right? And any one of these deities that we serve, you will notice that Saraswati Mata, she has the vīpā, right? Lord Krishna was playing the flute, right? And so music is one of the ways whereby you could really take your mind off the material things.'

Suruj Pandit agreed with Kedar that Sai Baba was

15. T3/77/CS/19, Interview SP3, 16 Nov. (FN/44-9).
not an avatar. But he too liked the songs. He explained to me that it was the performance style which gave these pieces their characteristic sound and not the songs themselves. One afternoon, I asked Suruj:

'Have you heard about Sai Baba?'

'Sai Baba is a devotee of the Lord,' he replied. And he's got some powers. He's a devotee as I and you. He's not no avatar. But often we worship the Lord for a certain period of time and the Lord is pleased with our devotion. Then he give us a gift. It is a gift given unto you whatever you are praying for. And with that gift you can perform miracles. You can heal people, but it is through his power, not through your power.'

'What do you think about the songs?' I asked.

'The songs are wonderful,' he replied. 'They teaching people to pray to God, not to Sai Baba.'

'What is different about these songs?' I asked.

'The songs not different but the method in which they sing it. It brings a certain amount of force into you, compelling you to worship, to sing it. You see, the tune they sing the bhajans then, it is very nice to listen to. Yes, very pleasing to the ears and it at least interests you a lot to take part in singing it, you see.'

'They use a lot of clapping,' I said.

'Nothing wrong with that,' he replied. 'You are just joyful in mind. You feel happy when you sing these things. It does not mean to say that when you are singing the other bhajans you can clap, you can dance, you can play
all music and so on /i.e., you can't clap, you can't dance, you can't play all music/. No harm in that. That is very good. When the amount of joy come in you."

'When I'm listening to them, they seem to go in a more....'

'A faster way,' he replied. 'They start slow and then they move up a little higher and then they go a little faster again. They start slow and then get faster. You see, as you keep chanting it is a sort of a chant.'

'Is it a dhun?'

'Yes, yes, it is a dhun. Well, the chant is the dhun.'16

Brahmchari Karma of the Divine Life Society liked the songs too. One morning, we were discussing the change in repertory of the Unit 1 temple since 1974.

'What is the difference between the Sai Baba songs and the other bhajans?' I asked.

'Well', he replied, 'the Sai Baba songs, they are very short chants. They calling the name of God in different ways. Very short, so that someone could grasp it very quickly whether they do not know the song, they can grasp the words very quickly. Just two lines or three lines. Very easy.... And they different. Slow beginning, slow start, then goes faster.'

'And I noticed they had clapping.'

'Clapping, yes. More to be happy. They say that when you sing and you clap you destroy all the past *karmas.* You beat them off.'

'What happens to the devotee when he's singing these songs?' I asked.

'Well, you see now he is so inspired that he gets in a mood. He becomes emotional.'

'What sort of feelings would he have after a long session of these songs?'

'Well, he would have a divine or serene.'

'If they start slow and go fast, why wouldn't he become very excited. Why would he become serene?'

'Well', he replied, 'this is more emotional. You know, feeling. You know, this amount of joy, it begins to expand. From small it begins to expand.'

'Do the Sai Baba songs make people feel in a different way than the other *bhajans*, the ones that are in the yellow book? /Divine Life *Bhajans/?

'Well, this is more so with the individual. The individual can sing the other song. He will get the same amount of inspiration, whether it is a Sai Baba or a *bhajan*, the same amount of inspiration, or even more. That is dependant on the individual.'

'Do you prefer songs to be sung fast or slow?' I asked.

'Now some have to be sung faster, some have to be slower,' he replied.

'What about "Jai Jagadisha Hare"? I asked, picking
a well-known bhajan.

'Yes, well, that is done in a medium beat.'

I began to sing *Jai Jagadisha Hare* in what seemed to me to be a medium beat.

'Is that too fast or too slow?' I asked.

'Well, this is dependant on the individual taste. So some singers prefer it slow, some little faster, some fast.'

'Is one way better than the other?' I asked.

'Ah, no,' he said. 'I didn't say one way is better.'

Was it just a question of taste? Chandra, Channu, Suruj, Kedar, and Karma, all were saying that there were two styles of singing in Felicity. Chandra had summed it up when she said, 'Well, different groups sing it different way.... I think it's too fast.... We learn it as slow and easy way.... We don't go rushing down.' Channu had explained it in a similar way. 'You see, they use a lot of clapping and meditating and more tempo like. They put more action.... They take on more speed.... But if we have to sing, we will sing slowly and soft ... in a smoothing kind of way.' Some villagers preferred the one style, the 'rushing', the 'action', and some the other, the 'slow', the 'smoothing'. But why did the Sai Baba movement and the Sai Baba songs catch on in the Divine Life Society temple and not in the Shiva Shankar Mandir and the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha? Perhaps it was indeed a question of

taste. Conservatively disposed individuals - you will find these in any community - they preferred the 'smoothing' style of the traditional bhajans. More liberal thinkers preferred the 'fast fast' style of the Sai Baba songs. Mesho and the other musicians at the Divine Life Society temple were bold in their taste and liked to experiment with different styles including the Sai Baba songs. But Mesho also appreciated many features of Sai Baba's teachings, especially the anti-brahmanical ideals. Whether he and the others were more influenced by musical style, by theology, or by some local political current (that I was unaware of), which affected the three temples, I can not say.

It is easier to explain why the Sai Baba songs caught on in the Divine Life Society than why they didn't in the other two temples. Because of their musical style, the Baba songs are particularly well suited to group worship. They are short and simple, and their tunes are easily learned. With many repeated verses and leader-chorus style, they are ideal for public singing at large gatherings; a villager could easily learn four or five new songs during one evening satsangh.

Villagers may feel that they are better able to assert their ethnic identity, their Asian roots, with the loud and conspicuous Sai Baba style than with older styles of singing. They may feel that singing new Sai Baba songs from India, with their drones and unusual modalities, emphasizes their own Indianness, and provides them with
what anthropologist Wagley called an 'acceptable speciality' or 'alternative', 'distinctive cultural equipment ... to serve as a rallying point for sentiments of group solidarity.'

The Sai Baba style is also a more effective enculturative medium than older bhajans and traditional folk songs. Felicity children don't sing wedding songs, sohar, or chowtal, but they sing Sai Baba songs every day. One reason is that few village children can speak or sing in Bhojpuri, and even the Hindi bhajans from Divine Life Bhajans have long texts and complex responsorial forms, and require a mastery of Hindi that few Felicity children command.

In Felicity, religion and religious music have been among the most flexible cultural forms, a case that counters Merriam's theory of 1964 that 'less change can be expected in religious than in social or recreational music'.

In the 1950's Morton Klass observed experimentation in religious life, experimentation on issues that are still important in Felicity today.

The Brâhmans may be said to have controlled the expression of Hinduism in Amity. Recent developments have challenged their power, however. Sparked by teachings deriving out of modern India, plus an awareness of Western religious forms and concepts, new religious leaders have come forth among the young people of Amity. They have introduced congregational weekly prayers in the temple, and one of them is even preaching an every-man-


as-his-own-priest rebellion against the monopoly of the Brâhman pandits.20

The Westernization, congregationalism, and antibrahminism that Klass noted in the 1950's typify the Baba movement of the 1970's and 80's. That Baba's teachings suited theological requirements of some villagers surely contributed to the sudden popularity of the movement and its songs.

The Baba movement in Felicity exemplifies many features of 'revitalization' as defined by Wallace, particularly the 'messianic' aspect (Sai Baba as divine 

\underline{\text{avatar}}\) and the 'nativistic' and 'revivalistic' features (Felicity Hindus wish to alter their culture so that it corresponds more nearly, at least in some aspects, to the culture of India).

A revitalization movement is defined as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture. Revitalization is thus, from a cultural standpoint, a special kind of culture change phenomenon: the persons involved ... must feel that [their] cultural system is unsatisfactory. ...

The classic processes of culture change (evolution, drift, diffusion, historical change, acculturation) all produce changes in cultures as systems; however, they do not depend on deliberate intent by members of a society, but rather on a gradual chain-reaction effect.... 'Nativistic movements', for example, are revitalization movements characterized by strong emphasis on the elimination of alien persons, customs, values, and/or materiel from the mazeway (Linton 1943). 'Revivalistic' movements emphasize the institution of customs, values, and even aspects of nature which are thought to have been in the mazeway of previous generations but are not now present (Mooney 1892-93)....

'Messianic movements' emphasize the participation of a divine savior in human flesh in the mazeway transformation.... These and parallel terms do not denote mutually exclusive categories.21

From 1974 to 1977, the first three years of the Sai Baba movement in Felicity, I witnessed the dynamic nature of village religious life and documented the rapidly changing musical repertory of the temples. But the Baba movement is not the unique example of sudden change in the musical history of Felicity. Morton Klass witnessed a similar transformation following Swami Purnananda's stay in Felicity. And no doubt there have been other such periods of cultural instability, unobserved by outsiders: during the indenture years when shiploads of new immigrants were brought to work on Felicité Estate (some might have been skilled singers and instrumentalists); when the Arya Samaj missionaries came to Chaguanas in the 1920's; when Indian religious films were imported in the 1930's and 1940's; and when records from India became available in the 1940's. I do not think that future generations will be less concerned with change, especially change stimulated by contact with India, than are the present-day villagers. If the patterns of the past can help us foresee the future, then it seems likely that the villagers of Felicity will continue to look to India for new ideas, particularly religious norms and associated musical styles, these being amongst the most adaptable features of their culture.

CHAPTER 11

SWEET MEMORY

I know how men in exile feed on dreams.
Aeschylus, Agamemnon

The time drew near for me to leave Felicity, and I watched the planes flying over the village, away from Trinidad, with an ever increasing sense of sadness. The villagers and I joked about the possibility of my returning in a few months to record the chowtal at Phagwa and the all-night bhajan singing at Shivaratri. But they knew and I knew that in all likelihood, we would not meet again for a very long time.

Saying goodbye to Felicity was not easy. Ever since I was a child, I had been fascinated by stories of other people in other lands, but it was from these villagers
and in this village that I had first actually experienced the 'otherness' of another people and another culture. And they had made the discipline of musicology come alive for me. These were debts that I could never repay.

I had come to love the music of Felicity - the traditional folk songs, temple songs, film songs, Sai Baba chants. I had enjoyed the hours spent sitting with groups of women as they recalled one wedding song after another, or relaxing in the evenings with Mesho's mother who would play the dholak and sing lachārti, or walking down Cacandee Road to see Sankey or Channu or Dolan to chat about music, or going out of the village with Mesho's group to sing at a puja. I knew I would especially miss the quiet of the temple services at dawn and dusk (since the sandhya is always performed at the change of light) and the special mood of repose that those services invoked in me. Even before I had left the village I could see that my memories of Felicity would be good.

Of course, I had many regrets. The old traditional songs could easily have been the subject of my entire study. I was sad to think that songs of this repertory that I had failed to collect might never be recorded. I wished that I had collected more variants, done more work on the song texts, delved more deeply into the genres associated with rice cultivation - pursued these and many other lines of enquiry. I also regretted that I had not had time to learn to play the dholak or the harmonium well enough to perform in some of the simpler temple songs.
Village drumming could easily have been the subject for yet another major study; Dhanlal, the village drummer, and I had only just begun to discuss the more important techniques when it was suddenly time to return home. My goal had been a portrait of the musical life of Felicity, and although that story was not complete it was at least well begun; much of the picture was still buried in the many reels of tape recordings I was busy packing during my last few days. Looking ahead to the hours of transcription to come, I knew the memories of these musicians and this music would all be very good indeed.

About the musical life of Felicity I had come to a number of conclusions. Singing, especially of religious songs, was the most important musical activity for the villagers. Most people I met liked to sing bhajans; some of the women were noted for their proficiency at wedding songs and some of the men for chowtal, jhumar, and ulaara. Nearly everyone who could sing was able to accompany themselves on the manjeera (finger cymbals) and kartal (clappers with jingles). The dhantal (stick idiophone) is much more difficult, but many villagers played it. Many were also able to perform simple drone or heterophonic accompaniments on the harmonium. Drumming on dholak, tassa, or nagara is thought to be more of a speciality, and there are relatively few experts.

Nearly all the music I heard in Felicity was in leader-chorus form, an important self-teaching feature crucial in a musical culture in which the song texts are
in a foreign language and difficult to master. But the varieties of leader-chorus style in Felicity seemed endless, from the simple call-and-answer form of the kirtan, chowtal, and Sai Baba songs (in which the answer duplicates the call), to the many complex verse and refrain patterns of the bhajans and wedding songs.

Most dear to the villagers was what they called 'Indian music'. Indian music meant different things to different people. For the younger generation it referred especially to film songs, for the older, to the traditional folk songs, and for practically everybody, to temple songs. But for all, it meant a repertory with texts in an Indian language, be it Bhojpuri or Hindi, Bengali or Sanskrit. This special relationship with Hindi/Bhojpuri - what is for some villagers their mother tongue and for others a foreign language - dominates Felicity's culture and Felicity's music. I cannot imagine songs with English words ever replacing the much-loved Indian genres. Bhojpuri is little spoken by the younger generation. The songs are still sung by older women, but how the villagers will continue singing them if the spoken language finally dies (as it seems it surely must) is an imponderable question. Newly introduced songs in Hindi will perhaps replace the traditional Bhojpuri repertory; this process is already well under-way as for example, in the wedding ceremony where the byāh ke gīt are often enough drowned out by recorded music or songs played by a hired Indian orchestra.
Another way of maintaining an Indian repertory I saw exemplified with the Sai Baba songs - substituting short catchy Hindi songs for longer, structurally complex strophic Hindi bhajans. Songs learned from Indian films offer yet another solution. Villagers find it easy enough to learn the tunes from the cinema, the radio, or records. The texts and translations for recently imported film songs are available in *Filmindia*, a magazine published in Trinidad. Another strategy is for the villagers to turn more towards instrumental music - *tassa* drumming is already very popular as are the island's many Indian orchestras. No doubt the villagers will devise other solutions for retaining 'Indian music' without fluency in an Indian language, looking all the while to India for new musical inspiration.

This process of musical revitalization, rejuvenation, is the great fascination of musical history in Felicity. For over a hundred years India has been the source of new musical ideas for these immigrants. Some of the styles to reach Trinidad were new in India (film songs, for example); others (such as Indian classical music) were not. During the indenture period, with immigrants arriving by the thousands each year, established settlers must have been glad to learn new folk songs from the recruits. The core repertory known both to the settled immigrants and the recruits was reinforced, and minority views (the south Indian repertory, for example) seem to have been rejected. But for the village ladies, every new ship arriving in the
harbour of Port of Spain brought more women to sing the many songs of the life cycle and the agricultural calendar.

During the 1920's, the Trinidad Indian's repertory was enhanced by the songs and chants of missionaries from the Bombay-based Arya Samaj ('Society of Aryans'), including Pandit Mehta Jaiman and Pandit Ayodhya Prasad. In 1935, 'Bala Joban', the first Indian talkie, opened in San Fernando, inaugurating a new period of musical history in Felicity - that of the film song. In 1936, the first shipment of Indian records reached Trinidad, providing more material from which the Felicity villagers might replenish their repertory, particularly that of 'local classical' songs like the gazal and thumri. These forms survive in Felicity today mainly as passive listening repertory, although as such, they are much loved. In 1951, Swami Purnananda arrived in Felicity, introducing new forms of temple worship and new songs, still performed in the Nolan Street temple today. In the 1960's Professor Adesh introduced Indian classical music to Trinidad. And in 1974, the Sai Baba movement brought yet another style of worship and another song repertory to Felicity. This pattern of revitalization from Indian sources has been continuous in the village since the early years of this century, and is without doubt the greatest force for change in the musical history of Felicity.

Acculturation is less conspicuous in Felicity music. Villagers sing the occasional Hindi calypso, but these songs tend to be regarded as curiosities. Locally composed
Indian film-type songs are popular on the weekly television programme, *Mastana Bahar*, and on the various radio programmes devoted to Indian music; these items often find their way to village jukeboxes in rum shops. Apart from hymns, I never saw a villager perform any of the English or Afro-Caribbean genres popular in Trinidad such as calypso, steel-band, and cult forms. But the social role of music has certainly been influenced by its West Indian setting. Bhajan singing in temple services is analogous to English hymns; Ramayan chanting during the night after a death is analogous to the Christian singing at Creole wakes. Chowtal competitions compare with Calypso competitions. And so on. Certain features of musical style may also be Westernized, but this is often difficult to pinpoint. For example, musical pitch in Felicity appears to be much influenced by the fixed equal tempered pitch of the harmonium, a product of the West. Rhythmic organization tends to be in groupings of 2's and 4's. In general, the grouping of 3+4 of the song texts of the Bhojpuri repertory has been abandoned in the more recent song forms. This simplification of rhythmic forms may also result from Westernization, although this is difficult to say with certainty as kaharwa tala (8 beats) is also typical of north Indian folk and devotional music.

The essential question I had hoped to answer, however, was 'why?' - why was music important in Felicity village? I could see that music was essential for their religious rites, for events of the life cycle, and for
entertainment. It was also an effective enculturative medium for teaching children Indian language and religion. On a more profound level, it served as an ethnic marker, a symbol of Indian culture, to display to the Creole population of the island and to the outside world. But these were not the answers the villagers gave me.

'Why sing?' I asked Brahmchari Karma.
'They say that, you know, when you sing and you clap, you destroy all the past karmas. You beat them off.'

'Why sing?' I asked Kedar Pandit.
'If music has got in it what Shakespeare said, "if music be the food of love, they play on," right?'

'Why sing?' I asked Popo.
'Like to sing', she replied, 'and fete naa. I like to sing and fete. Enjoy yourself. To live. Nice. I feel nice.'

'Why sing?' I asked Siewrajiah.
'Who could afford to have music make it more beautiful, more pleasure, more happiness.'

'Why sing?' I asked Moon.
'You know how she like singing? her daughter replied. 'If it have a wedding anywhere, she want to go and sing, you know.'

'I feel I should get more young', Moon said, 'only just for singing's sake.'
CHRONOLOGY

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ORIGINAL SOURCE MATERIALS
CHRONOLOGY

1498  Columbus reached the shores of Trinidad.

1592  First permanent Spanish settlement of Trinidad.

1650  Sugar became an important crop in the British West Indian islands.

1797  Trinidad came under the British Flag.

1808  Parliament passed act abolishing the slave trade.

1828  Brahmo Samaj ('Society of God'), Hindu reformist movement was founded in India, marking the start of the 'Bengal awakening' (Hindu renaissance). Effects ultimately felt in the West Indies.

1833  Parliament passed the Emancipation Act.

1837  Indian indentured labourers to Mauritius exceeded 20,000.

1838  'Gladstone Coolies' arrived in British Guiana.

1845  30 May: Fatel Razack from Calcutta arrived in Port of Spain with 197 Indian males, 28 females.

1845-1917  Indentureship period in Trinidad.

1872  Termination of immigration from south India.

1875  Arya Samaj ('Society of Aryans') founded in Bombay by Swami Dayananda. Espoused monotheism and the four Vedas. Denounced caste, image worship, and sacrifice.

1875-80  Original residents of Felicity left India.
1886 Felicity founded.
1889 Swami Dayananda died.
1891 16 September: The Rev. John Morton visited Felicity (then known as Cacandee Settlement). 'I catechized the children.'
1904 Pandit Tiwary and Pandit Haripersad, missionaries from the Arya Samaj, visited Trinidad and worked in the Gasparillo-Marabella area.
1914 Importation of East Indians to Trinidad interrupted by World War I.
1917 Indentureship period ended. Last ship, SS Ganges, arrived in Trinidad on 22 April.
1920 Importation of East Indian indentured labour legally abolished.
1926 Shri Satya Sai Baba was born in India.
1929 Pandit Mehta Jaiman, Vedic Missionary from the Arya Samaj in India arrived in Trinidad.
1931 Swami Satchidananda, leader of the Divine Life Society in Trinidad, was born in Trinidad.
1934 First Indian silent film, 'Karma', shown in Trinidad.
1934 Pandit Ayodhya Prasad, Vedic missionary, arrived in Trinidad after addressing the World Fellowship of Faiths in Chicago. He remained for three years.
1935 Pandit Satya Charran Shastri opened the first Arya Samaj Mandir in Chaguanas.
1935 7 December: first Indian talkie, 'Bala Joban', shown at the Gaiety Theatre, San Fernando, Trinidad.
1936 In Port of Spain, the Inspector General of the Constabulary issued warning to East Indians to cease playing of drums.
1936 First shipment of Indian records reached Trinidad.
1938 First Indian record made in Trinidad.
First Indian talkie subtitled in English, 'Sansar ('Such is Life'), shown in Trinidad.

Indian shows, 'Gulshan Bahar' and 'Naya Zamana', produced.

Radio broadcasting in Trinidad. The first Indian programme, 'Indian Talent on Parade', produced by Kamaluddin Mohammed, featured local singers and musicians.

Indian Independence.

Trinidad Village by Melville Herskovits published.

Maha Sabha constructed the Felicity Hindu School.

31 December: four Swamis from the Bharat Sevashram Sangha, a monastic organization of north India, arrived in Trinidad. Swami Purnananda, settled in Felicity and remained for three years. Another became ill and returned to India. The two remaining Swamis went to British Guiana.

Swami Satchidananda joined group of spiritual students under Swami Purnananda in Felicity.

Dorman Nursery School, Cacandee Road, Felicity, opened under the sponsorship of Swami Purnananda.

Swami Purnananda left Felicity for British Guiana.

Foundation in Trinidad of the Society of Indian Art and Music.

Anthropologist Morton Klass visited Felicity.

Felicity population numbered 4,000 with 623 households.

Vishwanath Cultural Group, Unit 1 (Divine Life Society) founded by Brahmchari Hari Ram (later Swami Satchidananda).

Split between the Divine Life Society and Bharat Sevashram Sangha in Felicity.

Bharat (Trinidad) Sevashram Sangha puja class began in the home of Basraj Bridglal, Cacandee Road.

Street lights on Cacandee Road.

Famous Indian dancer, Ram Gopal, toured Trinidad.
1960 First Indian LP record produced in Trinidad (Tarran Persad).

1962 'Sunday Morning Indian Hour' began on Trinidad radio.

1962 Independence of Trinidad and Tobago.

1963 Anthropologist Ahsan visited Warrenville, a village a few miles from Felicity, to study cultural geography.

1963 Anthropologist Smith visited Charleyville, Felicity's nearest neighbour to the west, to study acculturation.

1963 3 March: foundation stone of the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha, Nolan Street, Felicity, laid.

1963 Swami Nirliptananda went from Georgetown to join the London Branch of the Bharat Sevashram Sangha.

1964 Karma of Felicity became Brahmchari of the Divine Life Society, Unit 1.

1964 Foundation in Trinidad of the National Council of Indian Music and Drama.

1964 Popular Indian singer, Hemant Kumar, visited Trinidad.

1964 Publication of Filmindia, English-language Indian popular film magazine, began in Trinidad, D.N. Vidiarthi, editor.

1965 Trinidad musician Harry Mahabir was first to receive scholarship to study music in India.

1965 Famous Indian playback singer, Manna Dey, visited Trinidad.

1966 Anthropologist Cloak visited Endeavour near Felicity to study cultural adaptation and loss.


1967 Hari Ram (Swami Satchidananda) received scholarship to study Hindu philosophy in India. Went to study with H.H. Sri Swami Chinmayananda.

1967 Swami Chinmayananda visited Trinidad.
1967 30 July: opening of the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha, Nolan Street, Felicity.

1968 3 March: first issue of Jyoti published by the Bharatiya Vidya Sansthaan, Professor Adesh.

1968 Editor Vidiarthis added Devanagari script song translations to Filmindia.

1968 Indira Gandhi visited Trinidad.

1968 Swami Maharajh (Georgetown) founded a Branch of the Bharat Sevashram Sangha in New York City.

1969 Famous Indian playback singer, Mohammed Rafi, visited Trinidad.

1969 Swami Satchidananda returned to Trinidad as an ordained Swami.

1971 Incorporation of the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha.


1974 Helen Myers made first visit to Felicity.

1974 May: first meeting of Sai Baba devotees in Trinidad.

1974 Friday 28 June: Miss Vidya Roopnarinesingh and family of Dr H. Sukhbin reported miracles believed to be caused by Satya Sai Baba.

1974 July: first number of the 'Sai Bulletin'.

1974 'Amrit' seen to flow from pictures in home of Mr Dhun, Felicity. Dhun founded Sai Baba ashram in Felicity.

1975 Helen Myers made second visit to Felicity.

1975 Professor Adesh returned to India for visit of three months.

1975 Deodata Ramlagan, student of Professor Adesh, began Hindi classes in Felicity.

1975 Ground broken for Hindu Secondary School, Nolan Street (behind the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha Temple).

1976 First Indian film shown on Trinidad and Tobago Television.

1977 Helen Myers made third visit to Felicity.
1977 Felicity population numbered 6,500, with 928 households.


1977 Swami Purnananda returned to Felicity, from London, 26 years after his first visit.
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Prixie 62. Nacho Ji Nacho (Side A); Harmonica Tempo. Indian Twist Time (Side B). Accompanied by the Trinidad Philharmonic Orchestra. K.D.R. Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), KDR-001. 7 in. 45rpm, 2 sides, mono.

Soono Bhabhana (Side A); Maai Mohay Largay (Side B). Accompanied by the Trinidad Philharmonic Orchestra. K.D.R. Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), KDR-011. 7 in. 45rpm, 2 sides, mono.

Today is my Birthday (Side A); Mikey Cipiani (Side B). Accompanied by the Trinidad Philharmonic Orchestra. K.D.R. Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), KDR-008. 7 in. 45rpm, 2 sides, mono.

Ramasar, Kissoon and Phoolbassia Ragoobir. *Tribute to Mastana Bahar* (Side A); *Chitawaniya May Naina* (Side B). K.D.R. Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), KDR-010. 7 in. 45rpm, 2 sides, mono.


Rambachan, Surujrattan and the Saraswati Kirtan Mandali. *Bhajans and Chants*. Balroop (Tacarigua, Trinidad), B-4. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, stereo.


Razack, Abdool 'Kush' and Roy Cooper. Indian Classical Songs. Moean Mohammed, prod. Windsor Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), LP W/021. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, stereo.

Sai Bhajan: Om Sai Ram Baba's Selected Bhajan Songs. Hindusthan Record (Calcutta, India), 1412-0001. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, mono.


Sewnath, Benny (Side A); Sayeed Mohammed (Side B). Hindou Song: Kamach Bintee (A); Quawal Song: Mora Ji Ghabarya (B). Accompanied by the Jit Sceshai's Indian Orchestra (A); Nazir Mohammed Orchestra (D). Recorded in Trinidad. Decca (U.S.A.), 16501A/16501B, cl1940. 10 in. STD, 2 sides, mono.


Sharan, Hari Om. Souvenir of the West Indies: Devotionals. Sharan Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), S-2. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, stereo.

Sharan Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), S-1. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, stereo.

Souvenir of the West Indies: Excerpts from the Tulsidas Ramayan. Sharan Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), S-2. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, stereo.

Shyma, Ramdhani (Side A); Tulsi Dass (Side B). Hindi Ghazal (A); Urdu Ghazal (B). Accompanied by Gopi's East Indian Orchestra. Recorded in Trinidad. Decca (U.S.A.), 16502A/16502B, cl1940. 10 in. STD, 2 sides, mono.


Sookhraj, Sookdeo. Hanuman Chalisa, Shawan Kumar-Katha and Bhajans. Windsor Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), 12 in. LP, 2 sides, mono.

Tent Singing by Sookdeo Sookhraj. David Beresford, eng. Moean Mohammed, prod. Windsor Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), LP W/025. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, stereo.

Tewari, Laxmi. *Folk Music of India (Uttar Pradesh).* Lyricord Records (New York), LLST 7271. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, stereo.

Tulsi Das. *West Indies Records Ltd.* (Barbados), under licence from EMI India Ltd., EMI W-124. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, stereo.

Universal Mother Laxmi. *West Indian Records Ltd.* under licence from the Gramophone Company of India Ltd., EMI/W-129. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, stereo.


Yankarran, Issac. *Gems of Yankarran: A Tribute to the Late Issac Yankarran.* Accompanied by the Beena Sangeet Orchestra of Tunapuna. Windsor Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), LP W/003. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, mono.

Yankarran, Issac. *Songs to Remember by the Late 'Yankarran'.* Accompanied by the Naya Zamana Orchestra. Balroop (Tacarigua, Trinidad), B-3. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, mono.

Yankarran, Sharm. *Favourite Hits by Sharm Yankarran.* Eric Michaud, eng. Tropico (Port of Spain, Trinidad), TSI 2037. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, stereo.

Yankarran, Sharm. *Tent Singing by Sharm Yankarran.* Moean Mohammed, prod. Windsor Records (Port of Spain, Trinidad), LP W/032. 12 in. LP, 2 sides, stereo.


T1/74/F/1-3. Guru Purnima Day (Hindu celebration). Prof. H.S. Adesh, leader, and the Bharatiya Vidya Sansthaan. At El Socorro Road, San Juan, Trinidad. 3 July.

T1/74/F/4-5. Bhajans and Prayers. Felicity Hindu School and Choirs. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 5 July.

T1/74/F/6-7. Bhajans and Prayers. Five Rivers Hindu School and Choir. At Arouca, Trinidad. 8 July.

T1/74/F/8. Muslim Songs, Folk Songs, and National Songs. Five Rivers Islamia School and Choir. At Arouca, Trinidad. 11 July.

T1/74/F/9. Byāh Ke GIT (Wedding songs). At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 12 July.


Sohar and Kajri Songs (Childbirth celebration and rice planting). At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 18 July.

Bhajans. Divine Life Society, Unit 1. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 18 July.

Indian Film Songs and Bhajans. Choti Sangeet Saaj. At Cap-de-Ville, south Trinidad. 19 July.


Janeo (Sacred Thread) Ceremony. The Shivaprasad Family and the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha. At Port of Spain, Trinidad. 21 July.


Bhajans. Students of the Central Secretarial Institute. At Southern Main Road, Couva, Trinidad. 25 July.

Indian Film Songs and Bhajans. Solo Sangeet Orchestra. At San Juan, Trinidad. 25 July.

Maha Bharat Yagya (Hindu service). At St Lucien Road Temple, Diego Martin, Trinidad. 26 July.


Byāh Ke Git. Moon Ramnarine, singer. At Felicity, Trinidad. 28 July.

Havan Puja. Pearl Rambally, Tara Deepan, singers, and the Port of Spain Hindu Mandir congregation. At St James, Port of Spain, Trinidad. 28 July.

Byāh Ke Git. Moon Ramnarine, singer. At Felicity, Trinidad. 28 July.

T1/74/F/49. Maha Bharat Yagya. At St Lucien Road Temple, Diego Martin, Trinidad. 29 July.

T1/74/F/50-52. Eka Dassie Katha (Hindu service, four days before full moon). Pearl Rambally, singer, and the Port of Spain Hindu Mandir congregation. At St James, Port of Spain, Trinidad. 30 July.

T1/74/F/53. Ramayan and Gita Satsangh (Hindu service). At the Port of Spain Hindu Mandir, St James, Port of Spain, Trinidad. 30 July.

T1/74/F/54-55. Trinidad STD Discs, c1940 (Acoustic transfer). 31 July. Separate entries in discography.


T1/74/F/60-62. Sunday Morning Class (Hindu service). At the Port of Spain Hindu Mandir, St James, Trinidad. 4 Aug.

T1/74/F/63-66. Havan Puja. Pearl Rambally, Tara Deepan, singers, and the Port of Spain Hindu Mandir congregation. At St James, Port of Spain, Trinidad. 4 Aug.


T1/74/F/72-73. Sohar and Kajri Songs. Moon Ramnarine, singer, and her group. At Felicity, Trinidad. 7 Aug.

T1/74/F/74-78. Bhagwat Yagya and Goberdhan Puja (Hindu service). At Siparia, south Trinidad. 8 Aug.

T1/74/F/79-80. Bhagwat Yagya. At the Aranguez Hindu Temple, Aranguez, Trinidad. 10 Aug.

T1/74/F/81-82. Havan Puja. The Ramsamooj Family and the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha. At Carolina village, central Trinidad. 11 Aug.
T1/74/F/83-86. Krishna Jhanam Æstãmî (Birthday of Krishna). Pearl Rambally, Tara Deepan, singers, and the Port of Spain Hindu Mandir congregation. At St James, Port of Spain, Trinidad. 11 Aug.

T1/74/F/87. Ramayan and Sohar. Mr Charan, singer. At Chaguanas, Trinidad. 12 Aug.


T1/74/F/91. Sunday Morning Service (Hindu). At Sipiria, Trinidad. 18 Aug.
T1/74/CS/1. Indian Melody Hour. Radio Trinidad, 29 June.

T1/74/CS/2. Melodies of India. NBS Radio. 29 June.

T1/74/CS/3-4. Silver Jubilee Function, Tackveeyatul Islamic Association of Trinidad and Tobago, Inc. At Nur-E-Islam Mosque, El Socorro Road, San Juan, Trinidad. 4 July.

T1/74/CS/5-6. Mastana Bahar. Trinidad and Tobago Television. 6 July.


T1/74/CS/9-10. Morning Prayer, Bhajans, and Evening Prayer, Montrose Vedic School Choir. At Montrose, Chaguanas, Trinidad. 10 July; Bhajans, Seereeram Memorial Vedic School. At Chaguanas, Trinidad. 10 July. Our Father Who Art in Heaven, National Anthem, Fyzabad Presbyterian School. At Lum Tack Hill, Fyzabad, Trinidad. 10 July.

T1/74/CS/11-12. Sai Baba Satsangh (Hindu service). Narsaloo Ramaya, organizer. At San Juan, Trinidad. 11 July.


T1/74/CS/15-16. Mastana Bahar. Trinidad and Tobago Television. 13 July.

T1/74/CS/17-18. Indian Film Songs and Bhajans. Solo Sangeet Orchestra. At San Juan, Trinidad. 25 July. See T1/74/F/36-37.


T2/75/F/1. Byāh Ke Git (Wedding songs). Siewrajiah Lochan, singer. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 21 June. (Mono)

T2/75/F/2-5. Havan Puja (Hindu service). Swami Satchidananda and Brahmchari Karma, leaders, and the Divine Life Society, Unit 1. At Caroni Savannah Road, Chaguanas, Trinidad. 21 June.

T2/75/F/6-10. Sandhya (Hindu service). Pandit Basraj Bridglal, leader, and the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha. At Nolan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 22 June.


T2/75/F/15-20. Sai Baba Satsangh. The Dhun Family. At Pierre Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 26 June.


T2/75/F/22. Indian Film Songs. André Persad and the Melotones. At Chase Village, Trinidad. 28 June.


T2/75/F/39. Hymns and Folk Songs. Felicity Presbyterian School and Choirs. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 2 July.

T2/75/F/40-43. Sai Baba Satsangh. At Montrose, Chaguanas, Trinidad. 3 July.


T2/75/F/46-47. Byāh Ke Git and Lachārī (Wedding songs). Rajiah Sooknanan, singer. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 14 July.


T2/75/F/52-56. Sai Baba Satsangh. At Caroni Savannah Road, Chaguanas, Trinidad. 19 July.


T2/75/F/59-61. Chowtal and Jhumar (Songs for the Phagwa Festival). Dhanlal Samooj, dholak, Ramnarine, singer, and the Felicity Chowtal Group. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 20 July.

T2/75/F/62-63. Byāh Ke Git. Sahodare Nanan and Bhagmania George, singers. At Endeavour Village, Trinidad. 21 July.

T2/75/F/64-68. Sandhya and Bhajans. Ranjit Kitwaroo, leader, and the Shiva Shankar Mandir Group. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 21 July.
T2/75/CS/1. Interview no. 1, Siewrajiah Lochan. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 21 June; Interview no. 2, André Deonarine Persad. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 23 June.

T2/75/CS/2. Full Moon Katha (Hindu service). Brahmchari Karma, leader, and the Shiva Shankar Mandir Group. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 23 June.

T2/75/CS/3. Interview no. 3, Ragoonanan Family. At Pierre Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 24 June; Interview no. 5, Channerdaye Ramdhanie. At Pingle Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 26 June.

T2/75/CS/4. Interview no. 6, Kowsil Ramlall. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 27 June; Interview no. 7, Roopchand Family. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 27 June.


T2/75/CS/9-10. Weekly Friday Service. The Divine Life Society, Unit 1. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 27 June.

T2/75/CS/14. **Poolside Night**, Hilton Hotel. Texaco Stars Steelband. At Port of Spain, Trinidad. 8 July; Scouting for Talent. Trinidad and Tobago Television. 8 July.

T2/75/CS/15-16. **Calypso**. Bucco Point Folk Theatre. At Bucco Point, Tobago. 10 July.

T2/75/CS/17. **Havan Puja**. Brahmchari Karma, leader, and the Divine Life Society, Unit 1. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 11 July; Interview no. 9, Kamini Ragoo. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 13 July.

T2/75/CS/18. Interview no. 8, Dotty Bholansingh. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 28 June; Interview no. 10, Mona Deo. At Pierre Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 28 June.

T2/75/CS/19. Interview no. 11, Betty Dhoon. At Pierre Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 14 July; Interview no. 12, Rajiah Sooknanan. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 14 July.

T2/75/CS/20. Interview no. 13, Deokie Mohanlal. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 15 July; Interview no. 14, Mrs Ramsaroop Raghoo. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 15 July; Interview no. 16, Bonnie Kassie. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 19 July.

T2/75/CS/21. Interview no. 17, Routie Kassie. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 19 July; Interview no. 18, Popo Chattoor. At Pierre Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 20 July.

T2/75/CS/22. Interview no. 21, Moon Ramnarine and daughter. At Felicity, Trinidad. 17 July.

T2/75/CS/23. Interview no. 15, Moon Ramnarine and daughter. At Felicity, Trinidad. 17 July.


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T2/75/CS/27. Wedding Song Elicitation Tape (from 1974 Collection).

T2/75/CS/28. Interview no. 20, Pandit Basraj Bridglal. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 15 July.

T2/75/CS/29. Interview no. 19, Mohani Jagatram. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 23 July.


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OPEN-REEL TAPE RECORDINGS

T3/77/F/1-5. **Havan Puja** (Hindu service). Buccaro Cultural Group (McBean). At McMillan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 7 Nov.

T3/77/F/6-10. **Lakshmi Puja** (Hindu service). Suruj Pandit, leader. At the Felicity Hindu School, Felicity, Trinidad. 9 Nov.


T3/77/F/22-26. **Lachārī at Wedding** (Boy's side). At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 13 Nov.

T3/77/F/27-33. **Lachārī at Barahi** (Celebration after childbirth). At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 19 Nov.

T3/77/F/33-36. **Morning Worship** (Christian service). Rev. Furlonge, leader. At the Furlonge Church (Pentecostal), Makhan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 20 Nov.

T3/77/F/36-38. **Evangelistic Service** (Christian). Rev. Ramprhal, leader. At the Church of the Nazarene, Lyle Lane Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 20 Nov.

T3/77/F/39. **Open Week Children's Concert**. At Felicity Presbyterian School, Felicity, Trinidad. 23 Nov.
T3/77/F/40-45. Sai Baba Satsangh (Hindu service). At Montrose, Chaguanas, Trinidad. 23 Nov.


T3/77/F/63-66. Evangelistic Service. Rev. Ramphal, leader. At the Church of the Nazarene, Lyle Lane Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 27 Nov.


T3/77/F/82-83. Tassa Drumming. Dhanlal Samooj, leader, and his group. At Pingle Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 4 Dec.


T3/77/F/104-115. Spiritual Baptist ('Shouter') Prayer Meeting. At Success Street, Chaguanas, Trinidad. 10 Dec.


T3/77/F/137-142. Sai Baba Satsangh. At Montrose, Chaguanas, Trinidad. 15 Dec.


T3/77/CS/1. Sounds of the Village at Night, I (Wedding in Distance). At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 5 Nov.; Indian Variety Show. Ghar Ghar Ke Kahani (film), Beginning only. Trinidad and Tobago Television. 6 Nov.; Sounds of the Village at Night, II (Jukebox in Distance). At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 6 Nov.

T3/77/CS/2. Discussion about Old Mr Cacandee with Dotty Bholansingh and Kowsil Ramlal. Counting Exercises and Closing Prayer, Felicity Hindu School. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 7 Nov.; Opening Prayer and Hymns, Felicity Presbyterian School. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 8 Nov.

T3/77/CS/3. Elicitation Interview No. 1 (EL1), Channerdaye Ramdhanie. At Pingle Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 8 Nov.


T3/77/CS/5. Durga Puja (Hindu service). Brahmcari Karma and the Rohit Family. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 10 Nov.


T3/77/CS/9. Interview EL2 (cont.); Byah Ke Git and Discussion about Wedding Traditions, Channerdaye Ramdhane. Interview EL3, Rookmi Ragbir. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 11 Nov.


T3/77/CS/11-12. Ramayan Yagya (cont.)


T3/77/CS/14. Interview EL4 (cont.); Interview EL5, Mrs Kedar Maharajh and Kala Maharajh. At Nolan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 15 Nov.

T3/77/CS/15. Interview EL5 (cont.); General Interview No. 1 (GL1), Popo Chatoor and Mala Dwarika. At Pierre Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 15 Nov.

T3/77/CS/16. Interview EL6, Jagdai and Tara Ragoonanan. At Pierre Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 15 Nov.

T3/77/CS/17. Interview EL6 (cont.); Special Interview No. 2 (SP2), Suruj and Dolan Maharajh. At Greenidge Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 16 Nov.

T3/77/CS/18. Interview SP2 (cont.); Interview EL7, Suruj and Dolan Maharajh. At Greenidge Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 16 Nov.; Byah Ke Git, Ramkumari Rammarine. At Nolan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 16 Nov.

T3/77/CS/19. Interview SP3, Pandit Kedar Maharajh. Instruments Interview No. 1 (IN1), Pandit Kedar Maharajh. At Nolan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 16 Nov.

T3/77/CS/20. Interview IN1 (cont.); Interview EL8, Indra, Chandra, and Shama Baldeo. At Phillips Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 16 Nov.

T3/77/CS/21. Interview EL8 (cont.); Sandhya (Hindu service). Ranjit Kitwaroo, leader, and the Shiva Shankar Mandir Group. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 16 Nov.

T3/77/CS/24. Ramayan Yagya (cont.); Ethnographic Interview No. 1 (ET1), Dotty Bholansingh. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 18 Nov.

T3/77/CS/25. Interview ET1 (cont.); Interview EL9, Sonwah and Veni Ramroop. At Nolan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 18 Nov.


T3/77/CS/27. Interview ET2 (cont.); Interview ET3, Rajiah Sooknanan and Savtri Dwarika. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 19 Nov.


T3/77/CS/30. Sandhya (cont.).


T3/77/CS/32. Evangelistic Service (cont.); Interview EL10, Dhanmatie Ramadeen and Judy Ramadeen. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 21 Nov.

T3/77/CS/33. Interview EL10 (cont.); School Game, Felicity Presbyterian School. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 21 Nov.; Jhandi and Katha (Hindu services). Suruj Pandit and the Ramdhanie Family. At Pingle Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 22 Nov.
T3/77/CS/34. Jhandi and Katha (cont.); Evening Prayer, Felicity Hindu School. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 22 Nov.; Interview SP5, Rajkumari Ramsubhag. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 22 Nov.

T3/77/CS/35. Interview SP5 (cont.); Interview EL11, Rajkumari Ramsubhag. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 22 Nov.

T3/77/CS/36. Interview EL11 (cont.); Interview SP6 and Hymns, Thelma Braithwaite. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 23 Nov.; Interview ET4, Siewrajiah Lochan. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 24 Nov.

T3/77/CS/37. Interview ET4 (cont.); Interview GL2, Veni Ramroop. At Nolan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 24 Nov.


T3/77/CS/39. Interview EL12, Kamini Ragoo. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 26 Nov.

T3/77/CS/40. Interview EL12 (cont.); Interview IN3, Kamini Ragoo. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 26 Nov.; Music Class. Prof. H.S. Adesh, teacher, and the Bharatiya Vidya Sansthan. At the Adesh Ashram, Aranguez, Trinidad. 26 Nov.


T3/77/CS/43. Wedding (with Tassa Drumming) (cont.); Conversation with Matti Rohit, Mona Deo, and Popo Chatoor. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 27 Nov.; Interview SP6, Kowsil Jaggesar. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 29 Nov.

T3/77/CS/44. Cinderella Play Rehearsal and Closing Prayer, Montrose Vedic School. At Montrose, Chaguanas, Trinidad. 29 Nov.; Interview SP7, Siew Supersad. At Montrose, Chaguanas, Trinidad. 29 Nov.

T3/77/CS/45. Interview SP7 (cont.).
T3/77/CS/46. Interview SP8, Ravideen Ramsamooj. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 29 Nov.

T3/77/CS/47. Interview SP8 (cont.); Hari Krishna Group (American), Shiva Shankar Mandir. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 29 Nov.


T3/77/CS/49. Interview SP9, Brahmchari Karma. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 30 Nov.

T3/77/CS/50. Interview SP9 (cont.); Interview SP10, Sankalia. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 30 Nov.; Interview SP11, Basdeo Gurupersad. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 30 Nov.; Interview EL13, Sharda Ramdhanie. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 30 Nov.

T3/77/CS/51. Interview EL13 (cont.).


T3/77/CS/53. Second Elicitation Interview No. 1 (EL2-1), Shanti Ramnarine. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 2 Dec.

T3/77/CS/54. Interview EL2-1 (cont.); Wedding (with Tassa Drumming). At Nolan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 2 Dec.; Interview GL3, Kamini Ragoo. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 3 Dec.

T3/77/CS/55. Interview GL3 (cont.); Interview SP13, Mr Dhun. At Pierre Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 3 Dec.

T3/77/CS/56. Interview SP13 (cont.); Interview SP14, Members of the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha Music Class. At Nolan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 3 Dec.

T3/77/CS/57. Interview SP14 (cont.); Mastana Bahar. Trinidad and Tobago Television. 3 Dec.; Singing in the Car after a Session, Members of the Trinidad Sevashram Sangha. Returning to Felicity, Trinidad. 3 Dec.; Lava Ceremony of the Wedding (with Tassa Drumming and Lachâri Songs). At Nolan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 4 Dec.; Byâh Ke Git and Interview SP15. At Nolan Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 4 Dec.
T3/77/CS/58. Interview IN5, Gita Jaggan. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 5 Dec.; Interview SP16, Gita Jaggan. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 5 Dec.

T3/77/CS/59. Interview SP16 (cont.); Interview EL2-2, Gita Jaggan. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 5 Dec.


T3/77/CS/61. Music Class (cont.).


T3/77/CS/63. Music Before the Service, Curepe Pentecostal Church. At Curepe, Trinidad. 7 Dec.; Interview SPL7, Ravideen Ramsamooj. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 7 Dec.

T3/77/CS/64. Interview SPL7 (cont.); Sandhya. Ranjit Kitwaroo, leader, and the Shiva Shankar Mandir Group. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 7 Dec.

T3/77/CS/65. Sandhya (cont.); Interview SP18, Dhanlal Samooj. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 7 Dec. See T3/77/F/102-3.


T3/77/CS/67-68. Spiritual Baptist ('Shouter') Prayer Meeting (cont.).

T3/77/CS/69. Spiritual Baptist ('Shouter') Prayer Meeting (cont.); Interview SP19, Aji Ramsamooj. At Carolina village, central Trinidad. 11 Dec.


T3/77/CS/72-73. Interview SP20 (cont.).


T3/77/CS/76. Byâh Ke Git (cont.); Interview GL4, Channerdaye Ramdhanie. At Pingle Street, Felicity, Trinidad. 15 Dec.

T3/77/CS/77-78. Interview GL4 (cont.).


T3/77/CS/80-82. Interview SP21, Amar Rajkumar. At First Street, San Juan, Trinidad. 17 Dec.

T3/77/CS/83. Havan Puja. The Rajkumar Family. At First Street, San Juan, Trinidad. 18 Dec.

T3/77/CS/84. Conversation with Matti Rohit, Mona Deo, and Popo Chatoor. At Cacandee Road, Felicity, Trinidad. 19 Dec.


LON2/79/F/1-9. Havan Puja, Ramayan Satsangh, and Bhajans. At the Hindu Temple, Lady Margaret Road, Southall, London. 7 Jan.


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COMPACT CASSETTE RECORDINGS


LON2/79/CS/9-10. Interview no. 2 (cont.).
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LON3/80/CS/4-9. Interview no. 2 (cont.).


LON3/80/CS/15-19. Interview no. 4 (cont.).


LON3/80/CS/24-34. Interview no. 6, Amar Rajkumar. At Carlton Hill, London. 10 April.

LON3/80/CS/35. Interview no. 6 (cont.); Interview no. 7, Amar Rajkumar. At Carlton Hill, London. 11 April.

LON3/80/CS/36-40. Interview no. 7 (cont.).

LON3/80/CS/41-44. Interview no. 8, Amar Rajkumar, Ramesh Maharajh, and Zubeda Maharajh. At Tunnel Avenue, Greenwich, London. 20 April.