# Three Perspectives on Music and the Idea of Tribe in India

Richard Kent Wolf

# Three Perspectives on Music and the Idea of Tribe in India
by
## Richard Kent Wolf[1]

Critical theory has taught us that to name and delineate a social-cultural category is also in some sense to construct or objectify it. The papers in this volume focus on the music associated with one such category in India, the "tribe." In talking about tribal music we are tacitly accepting the concept of tribe, and yet perhaps this concept itself deserves a closer look first. Clearly, the way in which people (including ourselves) define what is tribal -- their idea(s) of tribe -- will affect the ways one might discuss tribal music.

In this paper I will consider three possible ethnomusicological approaches to the idea of tribe in India (all are used to various extents by the authors in this volume).[2]     After presenting the three approaches I will consider their relative merits, and suggest ways in which each approach may serve as a critique for the others. The three approaches I label as follows: 1) The "popular-representational" approach -- that is, to study a tribe or tribes from their representations in Indian popular media and academic writing; 2) The "on the ground" approach -- to study the idea of tribe by investigating the concepts and categories used by a present-day mixture of peoples living in a multi-ethnic setting; and 3) the "synthetic ethnomusicological" approach -- to study tribal music by discovering to what extent the many musical traditions across India that we call tribal share elements of style or structure, and to assess the significance of these common elements.

The third approach is the most troubling of the three because it challenges us to consider whether "the music of tribes" can also be described analytically as "tribal music." Although it is not my intention to define tribal music *per se*, I would like to show at the conclusion of this paper that the process of formulating definitions or descriptive models (such as those that approach three would call for) may lead to broader insights about south Asian music in general.

Moreover, since only a few musicologists have conducted research among India's many tribal peoples I would like to use this article to assess this subfield of Indian musical studies and to suggest possible directions for further research. I will ultimately argue that if it makes sense at all to speak of "South Asian Music," and to mean by this term a collection of musical traditions that can be described as forming a loosely unified whole, then the musics of India's tribes should be considered central -- not marginal -- to such a representation.
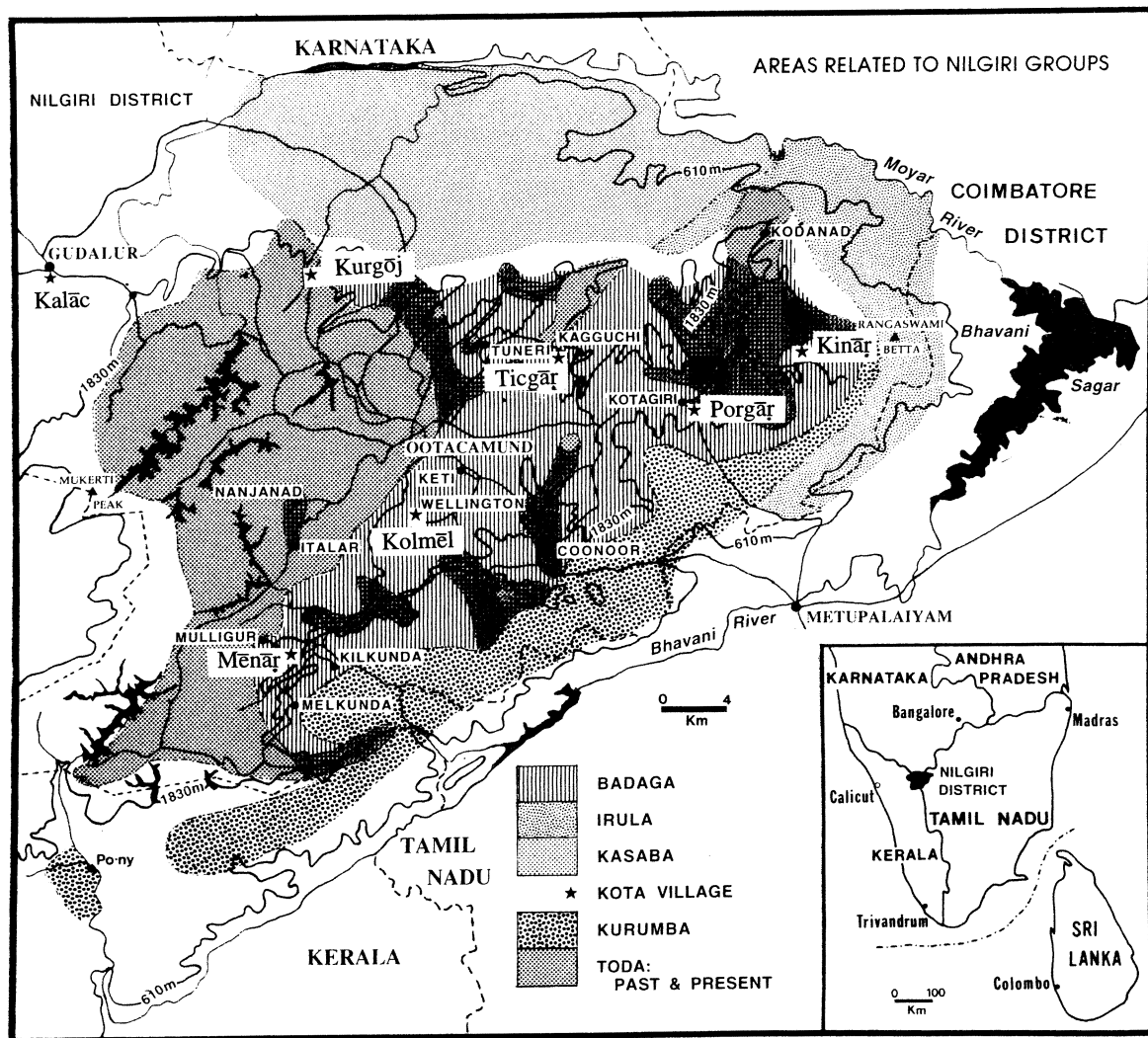
Figure 1: Map of the Nilgiri Hills showing important towns, villages, and the distribution of Kota and other Nilgiri communities. Courtesy of William Noble.

My observations are based on data collected during my 1990-92 fieldwork in the Nilgiri hills, a section of India's Western Ghats near the junction of the three south Indian states, Tamilnadu, Kerala, and Karnataka.[3] My fieldwork focused on the Kotas, a group of musicians, blacksmiths and artisans who until the early 20th century participated in a system of economic and ritual exchange (see, e.g., Mandelbaum 1941; 1989). The Kotas speak their own language in the Dravidian family and practice their own religion which parallels Hinduism in some respects but is distinctive in others (Emeneau 1944-46).

Tribal populations of the Nilgiri hills have been known to the Western world since the Jesuit priest Giacomo Fenicio (a.k.a. Jacome Finicio) visited the region in 1603 (Rivers 1986 [1906]). The people he met were the Todas, a Nilgiri tribe upon whom English and Europeans were later to project their most diverse and fanciful historical imaginings (Walker 1997). The Todas and other Nilgiri people had prolonged contact with the West because Ooty (Ootacamund or Udhagamandalam), located in these hills, was a British retreat from the searing plains in the summer. Ooty continues to be a center of Anglo-Indian elite culture and schooling. It is also a famous vacation spot and a favorite backdrop for Indian commercial movies. This history makes the Nilgiri hills an ideal site for observing the various ways that tribal people have been represented (See Fig. 1).

## Approach I: Popular-Representational Views of Tribe in India

One may argue that popular ideas of tribe in India grow out of 18th and 19th century notions of the "natural man" and are articulated administratively through the bureaucratic residue of the Colonial census. Such a notion not only associates tribals with nature and the primitive, but also infantilizes tribals and considers their culture to be the raw primeval base from which arose certain strains of Hinduism and Jainism. In using the concept of tribe here, we are referring not to specific cultural or musical features *per se*. Rather, we are interested in the processes by which scholars and lay people construct an idea of what a tribe should be.

It will be useful briefly to provide contextual background for the term "tribe." In many Indian languages the term for tribal is *ādivāsī*, which means original inhabitant. The term is modern, however. The tribal designation was, in British times, an administrative one, which, like caste, was useful for classification and enumeration. Tribal beliefs and behavior had not been defined before this as Pan-Indic phenomena; perhaps as a relic of the classification process, tribal religion appeared to be distinct from what was defined as Hinduism.

Tribals were and still are defined economically and politically: culturally marginal and politically under represented, they have often been exploited by wealthy landowners.   British and later Indian governments sought to identify such peoples for economic and other assistance.  The line of distinction between tribe and castes of the lowest strata, however, has frequently been a thin one.   Judgements have usually rested on the distinctiveness of cultural practices, geographic isolation, uniqueness of language and the nature of interaction between the "tribal" community in question and outsiders.

If the categories were not strongly enough drawn through administration and missionary moral doctrine, they were certainly bolstered by the imaginations of travelers, administrators, and even scholars.   The Reverend John Hough, writing in 1829, provided the first published epistolary description of the Todas from the Colonial period,

> in appearance, a noble race of men, their visages presenting
> all the features of the Roman countenance very strongly
> marked, and their tall athletic figures corresponding with the
> lineaments of the face. . . I cannot but think that they may be
> found to be the remains of an ancient Roman colony.
> (1829:63-4)

Others have argued that the Todas are descendants of Scythians or a lost tribe of Israel. In 1991 a customs officer at the Madras airport assured me that the Todas were actually ancient Greeks (another favorite) -- a piece of information, I gratefully assured him, I would use in my dissertation (See Fig. 2).

Colonial observers recognized tribal peoples to be diverse, but they also presumed that in spite of their diversity these peoples shared a set of practices and beliefs that transcended historical time.   Nineteenth century European views of human evolution were projected onto tribal culture: tribal culture was "simple" because it preserved a stage of early man.  A culture was authentically tribal only if it maintained pre-industrial techniques of subsistence such as hunting and gathering.   Tribal ritual practices were usually interpreted as "animistic" and "magical" rather than respectable manifestations of developed religious systems.   Even now, some Indian scholars describe tribal cultures as displaying, in quasi-Durkheimian fashion, the elementary forms of religious life.

The "elementary form" assumption also pervades some Indian musicological works on tribal music.  Onkar Prasad, for example, in one of the few books devoted to the music of Indian tribal people, attempted to analyze all Santal music in terms of characteristic four-note motives. Finding one motive dominant in 37 of 51 examples, he reported,

So far the examination of the Santal melodies has revealed that there exists an 'invariant structure' in them. Apart from this, other dependent structures or class-motifs. . . have also been found appearing independently in some specimens. . . *which are unlikely to be so in a primitive music like the Santal one where there is a tendency to concentrate on a single class-motif.* (Prasad 1985:117 [my emphasis]).



**Figure 2: Poster for Clemens Kuby's film "Todas on the Edge of Paradise" in. Berlin November 1996; an example of the continued Western "Romance with the Toda," to use a phrase of Anthony Walker (1997). This is a romance or fascination that has fed back into popular Indian discourse on tribe generally.**

To Prasad, anomalies were the result of outside influence. The implied logic in Prasad's model was that since all music must have evolved from simple and repetitive music, tribal music, a survival of the oldest kind of music, must also be simple and repetitive. This evolutionary assumption is expressed even more transparently by the award winning radio broadcaster and musicologist Amalendu Bikash Kar Choudhury, who wrote. in a sympathetic if musicologically thin book, the *Tribal Songs of Northeast India*,

According to our modern ideas tribal life may not be rich in their performing arts like dances and music, it is also true that tribal music is lacking in modern musical accompaniments but at the same time it is true that *we can have a glimpse at the past still living in the tribal areas, in their music with simple and easy tuneful songs and with easy and simple unskilled dances.* (Kar Choudhury 1984:46 [my emphasis])

Indians writing on Indian society are not the only modern writers who continue to find in the "primitive" the essential components of early man. Generations of European thought gave rise to such ideas. In America, romantic fascination with the Pygmies led Alan Lomax, for example, to express similar ideas, though in more sophisticated terms (e.g., Lomax 1968).

As one examines additional representations of tribals in movies, the media, and in some scholarship as well, it becomes clear that in India, the "tribe" exists as an idea -- as an ideal type, independent of the people themselves. Although there are surface similarities among some of the best-known tribal groups, Indian tribal people do not actually constitute a historically or culturally meaningful entity.

What then are the ethnomusicological implications of this unremarkable conclusion? If "tribe" is an external construction with no other ontological basis, of what use would it be to study the music of an Indian tribe *qua* its identity as a tribe? Shifting the object of study from what specific communities share because they are tribes (an essentialist approach) to what they actively emphasize as essential to their "tribal" identities (an agentive approach) would be one methodologically safe solution. Moreover, studying the role of music in various constructions of tribe makes it unnecessary to evaluate arguments such as whether tribals really are the oldest living representatives of south Asian cultures, or whether their music can be shown to preserve some early stage in south Asian musical evolution.

Using the methods of ethnomusicology to interrogate the idea of tribe, one might analyze, for example, 1) what and how music is used in Indian popular films during tribal dance scenes; or, 2) in a given political, economic, or other cultural arena, what musical choices tribal musicians make when representing themselves as "tribals" in a general sense, rather than as a particular ethnic group.

Textual examples appropriate for the second category are not hard to find. The Kotas, for example, compose songs that celebrate their aboriginal identity and educate others about what it means to be a Kota tribal person. Kotas have incorporated their own self-image as tribals into the interpretation of their ritual systems (See Wolf 1997b). The specific "handles" Kotas employ in their claims of indigenousness in the Nilgiris are precisely those which serve as charged symbols for their religious system. Kota-language songs such as the following, composed by Mr. B. K. Krishnan of Ticgār village,[4] reinforce this primordialist component of Kota identity:

| | |
|---|---|
| aginī koṇḍaṛubēm ammā | we celebrate fire[5] |
| ayṇōr ammā | father god |
| aginī koṇḍaṛubēm ammā | we celebrate fire |
| vilamb cōymē vēṭukār ayya vēyṇḍir etōma | We continue praying to Bow-and-Arrow God, Hunter Father |
| vēgōmadinē tadīrā | You give us a reward |
| kālagālatilē kātirē itīrā | You have been protecting us for ages and ages |
| kamaṭo māydē iḍre pērēnē vecīrā | You name us Kamaṭo and Māydē[6] |
| pālē pūjmē patumēnē kātēmā | We keep vigil over the vessel for the milk worship[7] |
| pacēmaratilē ticēnē tadīrā | You give us fire from a live tree |
| kaṇakaḍuvaducōymē kannāṭerāya | God who was seen, Kannāṭraya |
| kalāyṛe mārira karatāyṛe kātîrā | You changed into a stone and carefully guarded us[8] |
| ēyēy kōkālē kaṭurire paytīrā | You told us to build seven villages |
| nimede bāram elām emekēnē tadīrā | You gave all your burdens to us[9] |
| ādēvāycāymē anāyṛāyṛ oḷuvēmē | We *ādīvasīs* are living in the manner of orphans[10] |
| ādaruvē ilāmō cāvurumē kaṇammā | without protection, a tribe of one thousand. |

Each stanza self-reflexively identifies the song as "Kota" and/or "tribal." The essential terms, ideas, or themes are, 1) fire, 2) hunting, 3) ritualized naming, 4) the power of Kota gods to transform natural materials, 5) the ever-presence of Kota gods, and 6) the identification of Kotas as tribals who need protection with the idea of the devotee who longs for god.

In their rituals, in talk about rituals, and in songs such as this one, the Kotas characteristically associate divinity with permanence, immortality, the continuance of community, and what in everyday language would be called the "natural."[11] Kota identification of the "natural" with divinity and community attains a wider significance because it resonates with ideas of tribe on an India-wide level.

Examples based on musical content that fall into this category of tribal self-representation are more difficult to identify. Tribes of India have not selected and emphasized a single, unified musical core, in the manner of Native Americans, for example, who, according to Nettl, emphasize (and exaggerate) Plains Indian musical style in intertribal performance contexts such as the Pow Wow (cf. Nettl 1985:33-36). If one accepts the argument that "the tribe" is not a meaningful cultural or historical entity at an India-wide level, one might instead look carefully at a regional cultural situation that includes people called tribals, and consider the degree to which different tribes actually share something with one another that distinguishes them from non-tribals.

## Approach II: Tribals "On the Ground"

"Each community has its own style of music and dance. A dog behaves like a dog, a man like a man"[12]

-- Munian, an Iruḷa of Bāvikarai village

The Nilgiri Hills provide an ideal setting for an areal "on the ground" approach to the problem of tribal music. The Nilgiri plateau hosts the Kota and Toda tribal peoples; Iruḷas and Kurumbas populate the somewhat more rugged and dangerous slopes. These four groups (the latter two are also subdivided) are generally considered the oldest living inhabitants of the hills. The Badagas are a cluster of castes who began migrating from the Mysore area in the 16th century (Hockings 1980) and speak a language that evolved from an early form of Kannada (the language of Karnataka state). Now populations from all over India live in the Nilgiris: plantation owners and laborers, employees of Hindustani Photo Films (HPF), Sindhis capitalizing on the tourist market, and English and Anglo-Indian hangers-on from colonial times.

The dominant forms of music-making on the Nilgiri plateau are tribal, plains "folk" (especially Hindu ritual musics from Karnataka and Tamilnadu), "band" music (clarinets, brass, maracas and drums), devotional songs (*bhajan*s in several languages), and syncretic musics based on cinema or folk songs orchestrated with instruments such as harmonium and tabla. Classical Indian music is rarely performed live. All types of Indian music and many types of Western music (particularly American Country Music) are available on cassette.

The justification for the term "tribal" as a designation for one form of music making in the Nilgiris is not only that so-called tribal people perform it, but also that much of it is identifiable musically. In particular, the *instrumental* music of the several tribes in the region is homogeneous and

distinct from the music of caste Hindus. The principal tribal instruments are the same for all groups: cylindrical drums, frame drums and double reeds. Table 1 presents the Kota names for these instruments. The other tribes use similar instruments with cognate names.

**Table 1: Kota Ensemble Instruments** (See Figs. 3 and 4; compare Fig. 6)
1) *kol* (double-reed, conical bore, six finger holes)
2) *dobar* (cylinder drum with relatively low pitch)
3) *kinvar*(cylinder drum with relatively high pitch)
4) *tabatk* (frame drum)
5) *kob* (curved brass horns played in pairs)
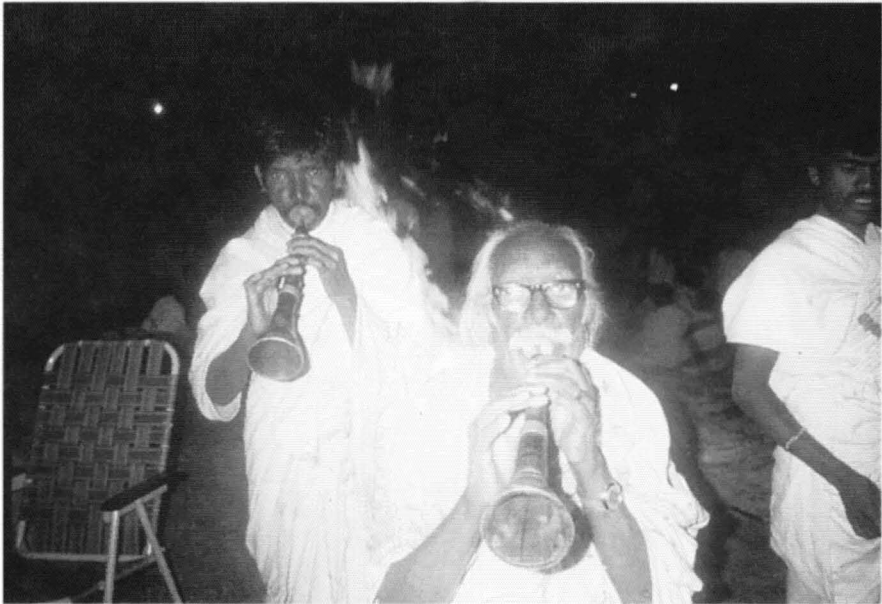6) *jālrāv* (cymbals)



**Figure 3:    K. Puccan and S. Raman playing the double-reed aerophone, *kol*.**

The music played on these instruments consists of a repeated melody (usually short) which remains loosely in phase with one of four or five drummed ostinatos. The melodies are associated with particular sets of dances or rituals; they are often named after these dances or rituals and thus refer to these paramusical activities in the manner of signs (Kaden 1984; Stockman 1991; Turino 1999:235). For example, one melody is called the "fire lighting melody" and is used when Kotas ignite the bier during a funeral. Because of its associations, the melody is only performed during a funeral. Another type of melody is used for offering food to the gods during the annual festival, *devr*; the melody used for offering food to the

ancestors and gods at memorial ceremonies for the dead (*varldāv*), is closely related to this *devr* melody. The musical system thus indicates by melodic *similarity* the fact that both rituals are food offerings, and by a slight difference, the fact that the encompassing ceremonies (worship and mourning respectively) are different.



Figure 4: Kota musicians from Kurgōj village performing at the Cikkamman goddess festival in Mullikkorai, on the outskirts of Ooty (Aug 1991). Instruments from left to right are *par* (cylinder drum), *koḷ* (double-reed aerophone), *tabaṭk* (frame drum), and two *kobs* (lit. "horns;" brass valveless trumpets).

Although Kota melodies are semiotically connected with individual rituals, their rhythmic patterns are not. For example, in other parts of the subcontinent, and in some of the folk drumming traditions on the plains of Tamilnadu, there are special "death beats" for funerals (Moffatt 1979) and drums such as the *pampai* are used to induce possession (Nabokov 1997). Unlike in these traditions, Kotas use a common pool of rhythms in a variety of ritual contexts, spanning worship, celebratory dance, and mournful commemoration of the dead. However, the Kotas consider one particular set of percussion ostinatos to be of Kota origin and distinctly "tribal." The likely truth of this assertion is born out by the use of these ostinatos by virtually all of the Nilgiri tribes. There is also one pattern that Kotas use exclusively for the worship of Hindu deities, and which they maintain is not

tribal in origin. It is noteworthy that the relative foreignness of the Hindu deities is marked by a relatively foreign rhythmic pattern.

It may be suggested that in an objective sense there is a "Nilgiri tribal music" distinct from the music of the plains. Subjectively, this difference is not only readily perceived but also used by tribals and non tribals alike in dialectic constructions of one another. Two examples will illustrate these "objective" and "subjective" ways of understanding tribal music.



**Figure 5: Cikkamman temple festival on the outskirts of Ooty (Aug 1991); Kannada speaking musicians in foreground, left, playing *nāyaṇam* (double reed aerophone) and *uṛumi* (waisted friction drum); Kotas from Kurgój village on right; and Iruḷas from Bokkapuram in rear. All play different music simultaneously.**

Example one: A syncretic clarinet band has begun to supplant the musical function once fulfilled by Kota tribal musicians. Musical patrons of the Badaga Hindu community in one village hire a clarinet band to perform dance music for their annual temple festival. Of note here is that the clarinet band uses a percussion ostinato that mimics assiduously the most frequently played rhythmic pattern in Nilgiri tribal music. Without digressing into issues of interpreting the phenomenon of musical borrowing, suffice it to note that the syncretic band's drummers employ tribal rhythmic models in their performance. They may not necessarily be trying to sound "tribal."

Their use of this rhythm illustrates, rather, that these musicians recognize a distinctive musical culture in the Nilgiris that is tied to the structure of the dance. In order to participate in that culture musically, it is necessary to incorporate some of its structural features.



Figure 6: Although the musical instruments and styles of all Nilgiri tribal groups are largely homogeneous, some diversity exists as well. Iruḷas from Āṇappālam village (south-central Nilgiris), for instance, perform on the clay barrel drum, *tavil*, as well as instruments that have Kota equivalents, the cylinder drum *per*, and the double-reed aerophone, *kokāl*.

Example two proceeds from the nominally "objective" realm of musical content to the "subjective" realm of "tribalness": Iruḷa and Kota musicians are invited to perform for the Cikkamman goddess festival (near Ooty) simply because they are tribal.[13] The explanation behind this practice is that a local goddess possessed a priest and informed the Tamil temple organizing committee of her desire to be worshiped with music of the Nilgiri tribes. The Hindus who worshiped at this temple were not particularly interested in tribal music *per se*, although like others in the region, they accepted the tribals' aboriginal claims on the land and participated in the representation of tribals as exotic, mystical and supernaturally powerful. The solution to this request was to hire two tribal bands to please the goddess and a conventional folk ensemble from Karnataka to please the devotees (See Fig. 5).

Who is constructing whom here? Clearly one may argue that both the goddess and the Tamilians were in some sense presenting ideas of what it means to be "tribal" in this context. But for the Kota and Iruḷa musicians invited for this function, it was simply a paying "gig." They played melodies to a special non-tribal percussion ostinato, thus marking the occasion as musically "non-tribal" from their standpoint -- quite an irony considering their performance was being valued for its tribalness.

On a local level, the ways in which non-tribals represent tribal peoples and the ways in which tribals represent themselves are significant; indeed they help one to understand how both the idea of tribe, and concrete manifestations of tribal music, are circulated on the ground.[14] "On the ground" approaches rely on a relatively contiguous space shared by tribal peoples -- and some history of contact. Local approaches will obviously be ineffective over a more diffuse geographical spread and cannot cope with communities who do not share a significant history of interaction. They cannot answer a more difficult question: is there any *musical* basis for grouping the musics of tribes from different parts of India under a single analytical rubric? In other words, is it justifiable to speak of "Indian tribal music" as opposed to "the several musics of India's tribes"?

## Approach III: A Synthetic Ethnomusicological Approach to Indian Tribal Music

Assertions that the category of tribe in India is a recent invention, a residual slot in a bureaucratic society, and a social *tabula rasa* upon which India can project selective imaginings about its past, would certainly seem to militate against any nomothetic representation of Indian tribal music. These arguments about the artificiality of the tribal concept notwithstanding, I thought it worthwhile, as an exercise in devil's advocacy if nothing else, to provisionally adopt a third approach and analyze Indian tribal music as if it were an entity. Is it possible to find coherence in the existing musicological observations about tribal music in India?[15]

Carol Babiracki (1991) provides a lead in this pursuit by bringing to our attention a broad set of characteristics that the musics of the few documented Indian tribal cultures share with one another. These include parallel harmonies and bitonal responsorial singing, asymmetrical rhythmic divisions, and perhaps most characteristic, a slightly offbeat or out of phase quality between the melody and drum rhythm. I have attempted to abstract Babiracki's observations, combining them with my own, in formulating a more general model. The model posits a relative flexibility and independence among elements of a performance:

> Frequently, in the music belonging to Indian communities called tribal, melodic patterns, patterns of stressed and unstressed beats, numbers of beats in a cycle (either percussively or melodically articulated) and patterns of movement appear to be distinct and to an extent separable entities. Performance, composition, improvisation and so forth thus become, to various extents, matters of negotiating the conjuncture of these entities.

What I mean here by "separable" is not so much that these entities (such as a cycle of beats articulated in a melody and a cycle of beats articulated on the drums) can stand alone, but that they can function independently, either within a given musical context (as in a melody and drum beat appearing to be out of phase in a particular song) or in alternate musical contexts (where one drum beat can be played against melodies of different lengths in different songs). Sometimes, but not always, the entities are also independently named. By "negotiating the conjuncture of these entities," I mean putting together a melodic pattern with a rhythmic cycle, or applying a pattern of stressed and unstressed beats to a rhythmic cycle, or fitting a dance to the length of a song. The relative independence of these cycles, patterns, or steps sometimes makes the process of putting them together rather complicated, and the results at times unstable.

This model describes some of the features of tribal musical organization that have been noted as distinctive in the few recordings now available. The scope of this article precludes discussing all of the supporting evidence (see Wolf 1997a for a more detailed discussion), but Genevieve Dournon (1980) found for instance among the Gonds of Central India that the "most striking characteristic" of the Gondi rhythm "can be found in some of the dances for both boys and girls: it is a superimposition of different rhythmic systems which do not depend on a shared time unit." Roderic Knight, working with these same Muria and Maria Gond tribes, found these rhythms to be slightly less independent in some examples, noting "all elements are synchronized rhythmically but they are out of phase with each other in different ways." In another example, Knight noted how a song and its accompanying dance are continuously out of phase, the former based on a cycle of 21 beats and the latter consisting of only 12 (1983:3).

One melodic analogue of superimposing "different rhythmic systems which do not depend on a shared time unit" may be found in the serial performance of melodies that are not based on a shared tonic. Knight notes, in Central Indian Baiga songs, that,

> The complete melody (that is, the men's part followed by the women's part) can appear to be based on a single scale. . .

> But more often than not, the effect is instead one of
> bitonality, such as the men singing G-A-B, followed by the
> women's C-D-Eb. What appears at first to be two different
> melodies in these examples turns out to be the men's and
> women's versions of a single melody, sung at different pitch
> levels (1993:8)

In keeping with the sorts of complex rhythmic coordination observed
by Dournon and Knight, Carol Babiracki identified among the Mundas a
pervasive non-coincidence between *tāl*, song and dance steps, both in
traditional repertoire and in the *karam* dance (1991:276), and a preference
for asymmetrical rhythms.

In the Nilgiris too we find structural features that remind us of these
other tribal musics. I have found independence in at least three
combinations of elements: the relationship between melody and percussion
pattern; between dance and percussion pattern; and in the classification of
percussion patterns *vis à vis* the number of beats they contain.

First let us consider the relationship between the rhythmic character
of an instrumental melody and the percussion ostinato against which it is
played. The tension between melodic fluidity, that is, the tendency toward
free rhythm, and the tendency toward rhythmic coordination with the drum
beat is a pervasive one in Kota instrumental practice. Among the Kotas,
instrumental melodies are first composed and only later set to one of a few
possible percussion patterns. This may be one of the reasons why different
versions of a single melody are aligned differently with a percussion pattern,
and why the "fit" may be difficult or complex (See Ex. 1). Some of the
longer melodies exhibit a free rhythmic quality, but in each melody a few
points serve as places for alignment with the structural beats of the ostinato.
Musicians sometimes must slightly rush or slow down a melody in between
these points to maintain this alignment.

Lines 1a and 1b of Example 1 illustrate the complexity of the
relationship between melody and percussion pattern. The downward-
pointing arrows indicate beats where the melody and drumbeats most
frequently coincide. Usually if the melody is a bit ahead or behind the
rhythmic framework it will be realigned at these points. The points of
congruence are different in the two versions. The lowest pitch, notated here
as "e," punctuates the melody, providing articulation of phrase sections as
well as rhythm (see discussion of "gag" syllables in "Mourning Songs
and Human Pasts" Wolf, this issue).

Both versions contain these articulations in analogous points in the
melody but they do not occur on the same structural beats in the percussion
ostinato. The melodic/rhythmic figures that are used as anchor points for

alignment with the percussion ostinato are also different in each version of the melody. The general point to be made is that the rhythmic character of the melody and the percussion pattern are treated with relative independence. This independence is illustrated in several ways. A tension exists between the "free rhythm" of the melody and the fixity of the percussion pattern; there is a choice of anchor points in the melody; and there is a flexibility in how a melody is to be fit with a pre-existing set of percussion ostinatos.

Example 2 illustrates the fluid relationship between rhythm as articulated on the drums and that articulated through dance steps. Just as melodies must be set to a limited number of rhythmic patterns, so must the dances. This sometimes creates three different kinds of cycles: one articulated by the drums, another articulated by a full performance of a melody (this is usually an integer multiple of the number of beats in the rhythmic ostinato cycle), and another articulated by a complete set of dance steps. When there are no instruments, women's singing provides a similar set of cyclical relationships: melody, dance pattern and handclap pattern.

**Example 1:** The notation attempts to combine the rhythmic and melodic precision of staff notation with the technical precision of tablature. The pitch values are relative, not absolute. The shawm-shaped figure placed on a staff and in an approximate equivalence relation with the treble clef and key signature is a key to how the notated pitches line up with covered holes on the Kota double-reed instrument (*kol*). There are six holes (represented by varieties of the pitches e, g, a, b, c, d) and an additional pitch when all holes are left open (e'). I have placed arrows on the sharp and flat signs to indicate microtonal variation; they do not represent quartertones per se, but rather, approximate and sometimes variable deviations in pitch, either above or below the value indicated by a sharp or flat. The pitch *g* generally receives considerable dynamic emphasis, often resulting in a pitch fluctuation, the value wavering between *g* and *g#*. In the key signature I have approximated its pitch as a quarter-tone below g#. The upper end of the scale is often compressed, so that the pitches notated *c*, *d*, and *e'* are actually quite close to one another: c is separated by less than a semitone from the step above it, and d three quarter-tones flat is separated by a semitone or less from the step above that. The pitch *e* punctuates the melody rhythmically in a manner quite typical of all Nilgiri tribal instrumental music. The asterisk indicates the beginning of the two respective melodies. Downward arrows indicate regular points of convergence between particular notes of the melody and important drum beats outlining the rhythmic ostinato. Other rhythmic values are notated approximately as they appear within the overall flow of the percussion pattern -- i.e., they do not line up regularly or exactly with subdivisions of the percussion ostinato, but more or less stay in overall phase with the ostinato. The division of note values is organized according to the structural beats of the rhythmic ostinato in a manner analogous to the organization of beats in a measure.

**Example 1 (cont.):**
Line 1a: a Kota *devr koḷ* (God Tune), recorded in 1975 by N.A.
Jairazbhoy. Kurgoj village (Sholur Kokal), The Nilgiris, Tamilnadu.
Line 1b: a Kota *devr koḷ* (God Tune) recorded in 1991 by Richard Wolf.
Komel village (Kollimalai), The Nilgiris, Tamilnadu.

The women's dance of the Iruḷa tribe represented below exhibits a kind of independence among dance/percussion rhythmic patterns that parallels in some ways the melody/rhythmic ostinato relationships in Example 1. Here, against a fast seven-beat rhythmic pattern that sounds rather like a limping 6/8, the dance steps look as if they are rendered in a graceful waltz rhythm, with a small kinetic "hiccup" at the end to keep the dance in phase with the percussion pattern. An idealized representation of the way dance and percussion line up is shown in Example 2.

**Example 2: Iruḷa dance and percussion ostinato**
**A. Percussion ostinato, three sets of seven pulses each**
**B. Dance steps, three steps of six pulses each plus a three pulse rest –**
    **or, seven sets of three pulses each in which sets one, three, and five**
    **are marked out by dance steps.**
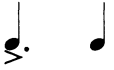
```
        1               2               3
A.   [: x . . x . x . | x . . x . x . | x . . x . x . :]

B.   [: x . . | . . . | x . . | . . . | x . . | . . . | . . . :]
        1       2       3       4       5       6       7
        1       +       2       +       3       +       +
```
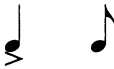
The cycle of dance steps lines up, more or less, with the percussion, but not exactly. It appears as if there are three relatively evenly timed steps (indicated by the bold-faced numerals **1 2 3**) followed by a brief interval for realignment, so the dance steps are always in phase with any three repetitions of the drummed ostinato. The drum part and dance cycles are themselves somewhat independent of the melody -- this dance/percussion relationship is maintained for many different melodies, some of them spanning an odd number of repetitions of the drum part, others an even number.

Example 3 illustrates Kota cognition of rhythmic patterns.[16] It will be recalled that only a limited number of rhythmic patterns are employed in Nilgiri tribal music. Kotas of Kolmel village refer to most of their rhythms with the two names, *tiruganāṭ dāk* and *cādā dāk*. *Tiruganāṭ dāk* means "turning dance variety" and *cādā dāk* means "plain variety."

*Cāda dāk* refers to ostinato patterns in six, seven and ten beats. This initially caused me some confusion, since I was told that these were faster and slower versions of the same thing. Without counting, I could follow the patterns and play along on the drums without getting lost. But whenever I tried to play one ostinato as if it were a faster or slower variety of the other I would get off the beat. Only after an embarrassingly long interval, and some close listening to taped examples at half speed, did I realize that the ostinatos were not related by the number of beats in a cycle, but by the patterns of stressed and unstressed beats, and by the relatively long and short beats. The assertion that the six-beat pattern was a faster version of the ten-beat

pattern did not mean that it was doubled, but that it was played faster and that its internal subdivisions displayed some of the same structural features. That is, the principle upon which the rhythmic pattern is identified is somewhat independent of the number of beats the pattern contains.

These are examples of the kinds of musical phenomena which, in this incipient stage of Indian tribal musical studies, have been taken to be characteristically tribal. But as I have begun to review my own comparative material from south India, and the literature on other kinds of Indian music, *thumrī*, the classical dance form *patam* and music of the south Indian street theater, *terukkūttu*, I am beginning to think these phenomena may be characteristic a range of forms. The scope of this article does not permit a detailed treatment of these similarities. A few may be briefly noted here, however.

| | Long   Short | Long   Long | No. of statements per minute (approx.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10 pulse pattern used for rituals | | | **40** |
| 7 pulse pattern used for dance | | | **60** |
| 6 pulse pattern used for dance | | | **54** |

Example 3: Cādā dāk. In Kolmēl village, this term refers to three subtly different drum ostinatos. They are aligned in this example to show both their differences and their common features. The notation shows, in simplified form, my perception of the rhythms played on the lead instrument of the ensemble, a frame drum called *tabaṭk*. Rather than assuming that a single "rational" denominator underlies these patterns (although this is possible), I propose that all the rhythms conform to an underlying pattern consisting of length (long-short-long-long) and stress (shown by the accent marks). The pattern falls into two halves (although unequal in the 7-pulse pattern). There is an anomaly in the 10-count pattern, in that the "short" stroke and the "long" stroke following it are actually the same length, but this "long" stroke is on a stressed beat, seeming to make up for its brevity. Relistening to these rhythms at half speed as this article is going to press, I can now hear the 7- and 6-pulse patterns as 10-pulse patterns as well. Computer analysis reinforced this perceptual ambiguity. The tempo is variable, but there appears to be a psychoacoustical effect such that in slower melodies one hears the 10-pulse pattern, in medium tempi, the 6-pulse, and in the fastest tempi, the 7-pulse.

Peter Manuel found in north Indian *ṭhumrī*, "loose and inconsistent nomenclature of light-classical *tāla*s and the tendency to identify them not by their theoretical *mātrā*-count, but instead by less formal criteria like accent patterns" (1989:145). Richard Frasca found, similarly, in the rhythmic practice of Tamil street theater, *terukkūttu*, "performers' metrical expertise, like their handling of ragas, is functional and primarily nonanalytical. Most informants, although sometimes unable even to recall the number of counts a particular *tāḷam* had, were invariably able to beat this *tāḷam* out correctly on their hand cymbals using sets of *terukkūttu kriyas* [patterns of claps]" (Frasca 1990:87)

In the context of the Tamil *patam*, Matthew Allen discussed at length the *varṇameṭṭu* literally "color melody," which, he argued, refers in an extended sense to "a virtually identical melodic setting found in several songs within one *rāga*" (1992:386). The presence of the same melody in different songs, Allen found, sometimes resulted in a transformation of the metrical framework.

The manner in which Kota musicians must manage to align a melody that is rhythmically flexible, or even non-metric or (loosely) "free-rhythmic" in many places, with an ostinato pattern articulated on the drums finds many parallels in other Indian musics. In Hindustani music, for instance, *baṛa khyāl* improvisation exhibits a comparable juxtaposition. As Wade notes "although the tāla is kept by the tablā player, who repeats and repeats the theka, and although the singer certainly knows where (s)he is in the tāla cycle, the rhythm seems free and floating, as in unmetered ālāp" (1979:173).

These brief examples suggest that the provisional model of tribal musical organization presented above -- finding that tribal peoples of India possess ways of coordinating and conceptualizing parts of a performance which are, *as a whole*, distinct from mainstream Indian musics -- is perhaps not a model of "tribal music" at all. These musical processes need to be re-examined with a south Asian lens of wide angle rather than a telescopic tribal one.

This re-examination raises two questions. Question 1: Can what appears to be tacit phasing in the rhythmic cycles of some tribal music and dance be considered *of a kind* with the more controlled phasing found in the rhythmic tension of Indian classical music? Insight into this question might be provided by a historical inquiry into when and how *tāla* evolved as an abstract regulatory principle -- information that I am not at present equipped to provide. To rephrase the question, could the evidence from India's tribal music suggest a new way to conceptualize the historical role of *tāla*? Could *tāla* be regarded as a historically evolved and systematic solution to what

might be called the south Asian "problem" of rhythmic asynchrony among elements in a performance?

There is a bit of a paradox in this speculation: synchrony is neither a problem nor an appropriate analytical term for musical cultures in which synchrony is not perceived and valued for its role in establishing stasis or closure. In other words, *tāla* and the forms of metarhythmic control contained within its theory and practice are appropriate for south Asian expressive forms whose aesthetics demand precise, consistent, and ultimately resolving relationships among such elements as the number of beats in a percussion cycle, a set of dance steps, or a repeating melodic phrase. The same relationships may be at issue in tribal musical performances, but the degree to which these relationships are regulated, and their style of regulation, appears to be different both from the classical and from the many folk and popular forms that draw upon classical forms of musical organization.

A parallel set of questions may be raised concerning the evolution of melodic practice. It has been suggested that the fixed tonic in Indian classical music, the entity referred to by the singing syllable *sa*, did not exist from time immemorial but came about as a result of changing preferences for lute-type rather than harp-type musical instruments (Powers 1980).

Question 2: In music without a melodic point of reference, i.e., the drone, is it possible that at some point in the past multiple singers or instrumentalists might have occasionally lapsed into parallel harmonies or bitonality? More to the point, could the practice of bitonal or parallel harmonic singing have come to be regarded as a lapse in one musical system/culture (i.e., classical and a variety of mainstream vernacular musics), while in another (now called tribal) developing as a normative feature of practice?

Of course, in trying finally to pin down Indian tribal music by either delineating these alternative regulatory principles or even suggesting that such relationships are at issue, I risk objectifying the idea of tribe in no more noble a manner than that of the Victorian paternalists quoted at the outset of this paper (well, maybe slightly nobler). To enumerate musical features that are characteristically "tribal" it may be necessary to focus on regional tribal complexes with clear and strong historical ties. And yet, it is this very regionalism that would prevent incorporating tribal music into a broader understanding of the music of south Asia.

Lest this article also appear as another attempt to cast tribal music as an earlier form of Indian classical music, let me simply suggest that some of the *systematic differences* between what we now call Indian classical music and tribal music may have evolved historically.[17] Certain Indian musics

must have *become* classical as its practitioners began to codify forms of musical instruction and invent methods for its description and documentation. Early practitioners and writers worked to perfect music as an abstract cognitive system. This is not to say the many forms of music now associated with tribes in India have not also changed. It is rather to suggest the possibility that in the past, ancestors of today's "tribals" may have performed a type of music that was not so markedly different from the other musics of the day, some of which evolved into India's classical and other musical traditions.

These speculations cannot, unfortunately, be responsibly addressed with the musical evidence we now possess. The earliest portions of the oldest treatise on music, the *Nātya Śāstra*, were written probably no earlier than the 4th century C.E. Taking the Nilgiri tribal case we find that the isolation of Toda and Kota languages from regional vernacular Tamil language was established at least 400 years before that (Emeneau 1989:135), i.e., before the turn of the millennium. Munda languages spoken by central and northern Indian tribals would have separated from their presumed southeast Asian relatives centuries if not millennia before that. We simply do not have sufficient evidence or even the analytical tools that will allow us to reconstruct proto-musical systems in a manner analogous to protolanguages.

These speculations will have to remain as speculations. However, it is my hope that this discussion has moved beyond the notion of a distinct "tribal music" of India to a more general way of describing "Indian" or perhaps "south Asian" musical processes. I have attempted to create a model for describing some of the commonalities among the musics of some Indian tribes. Although the model is admittedly tentative, I would hope that one of its strengths is the ability to suggest relationships that extend beyond tribal music. We have learned that the music of an Indian tribe in one area may exhibit features of structure (such as the superimposition of a relatively free-rhythmic melody with a metered rhythmic pattern) that appear to be similar to both non-tribal and tribal musics of other areas. Although these similarities may result from traceable historical interactions, they may also follow from a far more diffuse process: Ideas of many kinds "circulate" throughout the subcontinent; such ideas may generate musical forms. But it is difficult to trace the trajectories or the original forms of such ideas. Despite the diversity of the subcontinent, it is the fact that so many cultural forms are deeply entangled with one another in different regions (as a result of such circulation) that allows us to continue viewing south Asia as an "area" in some sense.

## Comparative Assessment of the Three Approaches

Indian popular views of tribe grew out of the colonial period and are fraught with European ideas of evolution and the primitive. If the category is a modern construction, it would seem incumbent upon us to treat "music and the idea of tribe" as either the way that music is used by people called "tribes" in the construction of their own identities, or the way that non-tribal peoples create the category of tribe using selected musical features as grist for their (political, societal) mills. That is, by arguing for a focus on the construction of the category of tribe as I have in approach one, one must implicitly argue against what I have done in approach three, creating a descriptive model for the sound structural features of tribal music. If the Mundas and Kotas have absolutely nothing to do with one another, one might as well compare Toda music with that of the Yap islanders.

Approach two, a local areal study of tribal music, would seem to be an alternative to approaches one and three. Certainly the self-identification of tribe is important in the maintenance of identities in the Nilgiris. Both tribal musical sound and tribal music-making *per se* are traded as cultural capital in the Nilgiris; Nilgiri tribal music can only exist as an entity because there is a holistic musical-cultural system that seems to be shared in many details only among the *ādivāsīs* of the region. It does not matter how this entity is named since there is a clear historical and geographical basis for discussing the music of what we may call the premodern inhabitants of the Nilgiris. In this sense it does not matter whether the members of the clarinet band borrowed a "tribal" rhythm or not; they borrowed a widely recognized sonic feature of local music so as to fit a pre-existing musical cultural context. Likewise, it does not matter whether the goddess called for "tribal" music, or whether she called for any music associated with the people rooted to the region. For this reason, in a general sense, it does not matter whether the people in question are called "tribals" or by some other name.

In what direction may one then proceed? It has been the valuable contribution of scholars such as Anthony Walker to show that so called "tribes" like the Todas are not so different from other Indian peoples, or as Walker puts it, that they are "essentially within, not outside, the Hindu world of south India" (1986:8). Such work might suggest that we overlook some of the surface differences (overt sound) among tribal and non-tribal musics, and instead consider the musical cultures of the Nilgiris to be situated broadly within an array of south Indian musical cultures -- particularly because the uses and functions of music in Nilgiri and Tamil societies are not significantly distinct.

Compared to the first two approaches, the third, synthetic ethnomusicological approach would seem to have the least empirical ground on which to stand. Approach one encourages the study of how people talk

about tribes, and how they use music to support this discourse.  The data are abundant and it is also epistemologically safe because one need not consider whether or not tribes *really are* the descendants of the earliest inhabitants of India or whether tribal societies *do* preserve remnants of ancient Indian social orders that have been overrun by waves of foreign invasions. Approach two, the study of tribe in a local ethnographic setting, is also rather safe in that clear geographic and social boundaries provide neat limits for generalizations.

In what way can approach three possibly represent a critique on the first two approaches?  First, the discovery of widespread musical organizational principles shared by *ādivāsīs* and by no other communities would mean, of course, that tribes need not only be described negatively, by what they lack in comparison with caste societies, but also in positive terms, by what they assert as a whole (regardless of how or on what basis one may argue for their wholeness: modern or ancient, constructed or historically related, political or economic).  Second, it is only through the critical examination of music in so-called tribal societies that one may assess the degree to which south Asia can be regarded as possessing some degree of musical unity.  By attempting to incorporate tribal musics in an analytical framework which also includes the better-known musics of south Asia, we are invited to move beyond some of the convenient, misleadingly "emic," set of perspectives provided by the multitude of south Asian texts on music in ancient and modern languages.  As Regula Qureshi has written,

> . . . the broad outlines of a descriptive analytical framework have now largely been worked out for Indian classical music on the basis of musicians' own verbalized theory and amplified, as well as standardized, with reference to classical Indian scholarship. . . .
> This theoretical framework of Indic musicology constitutes an appropriate tool for analysing the music of particular South Asian performing traditions.  At the same time, such music must be considered as a distinct idiom, not to be subsumed within Indian art music which generated the theoretical framework (Qureshi 1987:60).

Unfortunately, in the study of Indian tribal musics, unlike that of the Sufi musical tradition so thoroughly documented by Qureshi, one finds that musicians are not usually "hereditary performers with a tradition of teaching and talking about their music in terms compatible with art music" and "most musical conceptions" are not, in the same way, "available literally for the asking" (Qureshi 1987:60).

Of course, by arguing for a more inclusive conception of south Asian music I would seem to invite the kinds of problems encountered by

the early ethnomusicologists of African music, who were striving to create a vocabulary and analytic framework for understanding that viscerally-felt but difficult-to-pin-down idea of what makes African music African. It has not been my intention in approach three to create a "theory of south Asian music" that encompasses and describes all musics in this diverse area.

Indian classical music theories have thus far, for better or worse, provided analytical tools for the study of those musical traditions in south Asia without explicit or distinct musical theories. It is my hope here, in contrast, that the processes of creating and critiquing descriptive models for the music of India's designated tribes may lead to new kinds of inquiries about many of the other musics and musical cultures of south Asia.

**Harvard University**
**Cambridge, Massachusetts**

_____

# Notes

[1] Notes on transliteration of Kota words: not all of these letters may be reflected in the terms actually employed in these articles; the complete range is provided for completeness.

-      the macron indicates a long vowel (applies to ā, ē, ī, ō, ū)

ṭ      the dot underneath a consonant indicates retroflex (applies to l, r, t, d, n)

ḏ      underscore indicates an alveolar consonant or nasal (applies to n, d, t)

c      the letter c indicates a free variant syllable pronounced either as the sibilant "s" as in "soda," or the alveolar-palatal affricate "c" as in "cello"

The transliteration of Kota used here is an adaptation of a technical description of Kota phonetics and phonemics by Emeneau (1944-46, I:15-17). Transliteration of Tamil terms follows the Library of Congress system.

[2] The arguments of this paper are expanded in my doctoral dissertation, "Of God and Death: Music in Ritual and Everyday Life. A Musical Ethnography of the Kotas of South India" (Wolf 1997a).

[3] While revising this article I completed approximately four months of additional fieldwork among the Kotas, following up questions raised in my doctoral dissertation. I undertook this additional research in several visits during the years 1996-1999, at which time I was pursuing a different project in North India and Pakistan.

[4] This version was sung by Rājammāḷ and Cintāmaṇi of Ticgāṟ village on 27 April 1991. Mr. Krishnan began singing the song on festival days. Eventually others in the village

learned to sing the song and it has now become one of the best-known pieces in the village.

[5]The term used here is fire apotheosized as the Vedic deity Agni.

[6] These are the prototypical Kota names for men and women respectively. Each first born man in Kolmēl village, for example, is ritually named Kamaṭo, and may then be given an additional Tamil name or Kota nickname. One name of the Kota Father God is Kamaṭraya; among Kotas, as among Hindus, personal names may also be names for deities.

[7]The milk ritual is one of the most important Kota religious events. A vessel of milk is placed in the house of the leading village ritualist. If the Kotas have been acting righteously, the gods show their power by causing the milk to spontaneously rise and foam over. See description in Emeneau (1944 IV:300-09).

[8]Kannāṭrayṇ is the name of a god who is believed to reside in a boulder across the road from Ticgāṛ village. He is propitiated for rain and other community or individual needs.

[9]According to Kota mytho-history, a divine black cow led them through the Nilgiris and, with its hoof, pointed to the places where each village should be founded. The phrase "you gave us all your burdens" is obscure. It could refer to the difficulty Kotas experience in fulfilling their gods' requirements.

[10]This phrase appears repeatedly in modern Kota songs. It has been adopted from Tamil *bhakti* songs, in which the devotee is cast as an orphan, alone and in need of love and protection from 'parents' (i.e., the gods). See also "Mourning Songs and Human Pasts" (Wolf) in this volume for the use of the orphan image in Kota songs of mourning.

[11] Such an association is common in the history of religions (see, e.g., Eliade 1959: 34-7).

[12]A rough translation from the Iruḷa ". . . jādikki takka . . . nāykki nāy buddi. . . aḷkki āḷ buddi irukke." The context for the statement was a casual conversation about music in an initial, exploratory visit to an Iruḷa settlement in 1990.

[13]See Wolf 1997a:409-13 for further explanations of how, in this context, the concept of "tribe" relates to south Indian goddesses, Dravidianness, and primordialism. See also Gell (1996, 437) on the political significance of the assimilation of Hindu goddesses into generic tribal "mother" goddesses.

[14]In a recent example of an "on the ground" approach, Alfred Gell shows how Bastar tribals use the tribal ascriptions such as "an appearance of poverty and primitiveness. . . to keep exploitation by overlords at bay" (Gell 1996:435).

[15]I must emphasize the limitations of "existing musicological observations"; Indian tribal musical research and documentation is yet in its infancy.

[16]The individual patterns for the frame drum and two cylindrical drums are notated in Wolf (1997a). Here a simplified version of the combined pattern is provided.

[17]I also maintain that, although Tamil Sangam literature divides ancient Tamil society into distinct, regionally defined cultural worlds, including the category of those who inhabited the hilly regions (now misleadingly labeled as "hill tribes"), "in the Tamil world of Sangam poetry there was no exclusion, no systematic difference constructed between a mainstream (what we now might call a popular Hindu) civilization, and a marginal, more ancient people living at its fringes (the tribes)" (Wolf 1997a, 48). Indira Peterson similarly argues that in the later Sangam "*Cilappatikāram...* the differences in form, purpose and aesthetic between the urban-courtly and rural/communal/folk [and tribal is part of this half of the dichotomy] art does not seem to be based on major distinctions in cultural consciousness between people of the two social groupings" (Peterson 1998, 49). These differences in consciousness emerged in part, she suggests, in the 18th century under the impact of migrations and political changes of the preceding two centuries. The dramatic art that Peterson uses to discuss these changes, the *Kuṟavañci* dance drama, is an excellent example of "popular representation" of tribe and related social categories.

# References

Allen, Matthew
      1992    *The Tamil Padam: A Dance Music Genre in South India.*
               Ph.D. diss. Dept. of music. Wesleyan University.

Babiracki, Carol M.
      1991a *Musical and Cultural Interaction in Tribal India: The*
               *Karam Repertory of the Mundas of Chotanagpur.* Ph.D.
               diss, Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

      1991b "Tribal Music in the Study of Great and Little Traditions of
               Indian Music." In *Comparative Musicology and*
               *Anthropology of Music*, ed. Bruno Nettl and Philip Bohlman,
               69-90. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Dournon, Genevieve
      1980    *Inde Musique Tribale du Bastar.* Le Chant du Monde LDX
               74736.

Eliade, Mircea
      1959    *Cosmos and History.* New York: Harper and Row
               Publishers.

Emeneau, Murray B.
      1944-6 *Kota Texts.* 4 parts. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

      1989    "The Languages of the Nilgiris." In *Blue Mountains: The*
               *Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*,
               ed. Paul Hockings, 133-43. Delhi: Oxford Univ. Press.

Frasca, Richard
    1990   *The Theater of the Mahābhārata: Terukkūttu Performances in South India.* Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press.

Gell, Alfred
    1996   "Exalting the King and Obstructing the State: A Political Interpretation of Royal Ritual in Bastar District, Central India." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (n.s.) 3: 433-50.

Hockings, Paul
    1980   *Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History 1550-1975.* The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Hough, James
    1829   *Letters on the Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, &c. &c. of the Neilgherries, or Blue Mountains of Coimbatoor, South India.* London: John Hatchard & Son.

Jairazbhoy, Nazir A.
    1975   The Nazir Jairazbhoy Collection. American Institute of Indian Studies Archives and Research Center for Ethnomusicology. New Delhi.

Kaden, Christian
    1984   *Musiksoziologie.* Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik. (Cited in Stockman 1991)

Kar Choudhury, Amalendu Bikash
    1984   *Tribal Songs of Northeast India.* Calcutta: Firma KLM private Ltd.

Knight, Roderic
    1983   *Tribal Music of India: The Muria and Maria Gonds of Madhya Pradesh.* Folkways FE 4028.

    1993   *Baiga Dances.* Video and notes. Original Music OMV007.

Lomax, Alan
    1968   *Folk Song Style and Culture.* American Association for the Advancement of Science, no. 88. Washington D.C.

Mandelbaum, David G.
    1941   "Culture Change among the Nilgiri Tribes." *American Anthropologist* 43/1:19-26.

1955    "The World and the World View of the *Kota*." In *Village India*, ed. McKim Marriott, 223-54. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

1989    "The Kotas in their Social Setting." In *Blue Mountains: The Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*, ed. Paul Hockings, 144-85. Delhi: Oxford Univ. Press.

Manuel, Peter
1989    *Thumri in Historical and Stylistic Perspectives*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Moffatt, Michael
1979    *An Untouchable Community in South India: Structure and Consensus*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Nabokov, Isabelle
1997    "Expel the Lover, Recover the Wife: Symbolic Analysis of a South Indian Exorcism." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (n.s.)* 3:297-316.

Nettl, Bruno
1985    *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival*. New York: Schirmer Books.

Peterson, Indira V.
1998    "The Evolution of the *Kuṟavañci* Dance Drama in Tamil Nadu: Negotiating the 'Folk' and the 'Classical' in the *Bhārata Nāṭyam* Canon." *South Asia Research* 18/1:38-72.

Powers, Harold
1980    "India." In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.

Prasad, Onkar
1985    *Santal Music: A Study in Pattern and Process of Cultural Persistence*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.

Qureshi, Regula
1987    "Musical Sound and Contextual Input: A Performance Model for Musical Analysis." *Ethnomusicology* 31/1:56-86.

Rivers, W. H. R.
        1986 [1906]    *The Todas*. Reprint. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Stockman, Doris
        1991    "Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Musical
                Communication Structures." In *Comparative Musicology
                and the Anthropology of Music: Essays on the History of
                Ethnomusicology*, ed. Bruno Nettl and Philip V. Bohlman,
                318-41. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Turino, Thomas
        1999    "Signs of Imaginations, Identity, and Experience: A
                `Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music." *Ethnomusicology*
                43/2:221-255

Wade, Bonnie C.
        1979    *Music in India: The Classical Traditions*. Englewood Cliffs,
                NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Walker, Anthony
        1986    *The Toda of South India: A new look*. Delhi: Hindustan
                Publishing Corporation.

        1997    "The Western Romance with the Toda." In *Blue Mountains
                Revisited: Cultural Studies of the Nilgiris*. ed. Paul
                Hockings, 106-35. Delhi: Oxford Univ. Press.

Wolf, Richard K.
        1996-99 The Richard Wolf Collection. American Institute of Indian
                Studies Archives and Research Center for Ethnomusicology.
                New Delhi.

        1997a   *Of God and Death: Music in Ritual and Everyday Life. A
                Musical Ethnography of the Kotas of South India*. Ph.D.
                diss. (Ethnomusicology), School of Music, University of
                Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

        1997b   Rain, God and Unity among the Kotas. In *Blue Mountains
                Revisited: Cultural studies of the Nilgiris*, ed. Paul
                Hockings, 231-92. Delhi: Oxford Univ. Press.