



STATUS OF MUSIC IN ASSAMESE FOLK DRAMA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DURGABORI UJAPALI.

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ABSTRACT

The Assamese 'Raag Sangeet' (mode of music) is considered indispensable part of Indian tradition. In the background of Indian Raag Sangeet, the Assamese raag sangeet has emerged. It is not specific when the tradition of raag sangeet originated. However, it is believed in myth and dak-bachan that the word 'raag' mentioned in the Assamese social life has ancient origin. Written in 11th / 12th century, 'Sarjah Pada', Ujapali of post-era, Sankar-Madhav 'Borgeet' and drama gave indication to the rise and development of Assamese "Raag Sangeet". Prevailing in the medieval period, among the folk dramas, the name of Ujapali is mentionable. Rich in songs, dances and dramas, Durgabor Kayastha was the founder and carrier of Ujapali institution. For the presentation of Ujapali, he composed 'Manasa Geet' and 'Geeti-Ramayan'. In both of these music, he used 'Raag' and 'Taal', which reflected his skill and excellence along with national 'Raag' Sangeet has witnessed their relationship. It is known as 'Durgabori Ujapali'. In Durgabori Ujapali, 27(Twenty Seven) types of raag is used. Among these, four in Manasa Geet and 23(Twenty Three) in Geeti-Ramayan are mentioned. It is mentionable that, the 'Chalani' used by Durgabori, Deva Moran, Gundo Kali, Devadini, Meghmandoi, Akash Mandol, etc. are not found in Sangeet literature. These Raags are used even by Vyaag Ujapali tradition or by Vaisnav Poets. So, in that time in Assam, the musicians paid attention to the composition of new raag, which is proved by the raags. Durgabori was a worldly poet, lyricist and professional Uja. His sole aim was to entertain the public. It is mentionable that the use of the classical and the national raag can be noticed in presentation during the programme of Ujapali.

Keywords: - Raag, Sangeet, Ujapali, Manasa Geet.

INTRODUCTION

Ujapali is a special trend in Assamese musical tradition. Since Pre-Sankara era, Ujapali has been prevalent and formed with the fusion of classical art-form and indigeneous music. The Ujapali programme is enlivened by the combination of dance, song and musical instruments. The Ujapali recites 'Pada' and songs in different raags and rhythms. The expression of 'Mudras' made by the 'Pali' co-ordinating with the recitation of the Uja(the host) reflects the dramatic character of this art-form. The combination of song, Pada, Taal, Dhul(Drum), Nupur makes the Ujapali programme unique.

Basically, Ujapalai came into existence for religious purpose, and it was associated with the rituals and rites of the temples and with passage of time, this specific art-form became essential part of any household and community rituals, social meetings, gatherings, etc. The relation between Ujapali and Basudeva Puja, Jagar Puja, Manasa Bikhohari Padma, etc. is deep. It is particularly popular among the religious Hajong, Pati-Rabha communities.

In Ujapali programme, the stories are narrated through song and Pada(Poems). The stories are generally related with the epics, Puranas besides different sub-tales. It gained its popularity among the literate and normally attracted all. In view of that popularity, the written form continued and retained in course of time.

Character and forms of Ujapali:

Ujapali is a self-composed programme with its different characteristic. The song, dance and drama are notable characteristics of the Ujapali programme which came into existence with the combination of Indian classical music and native musical contents, the dresses worn by the Uja and the Pali, dance mudras played musical instruments, dialogues, interaction reflect the self-form.

In view of the basic differences of religious ideologies, musical character and contents, the Ujapalai programme can be broadly categorised into two types: -

- a) Epic based Ujapali.
- b) Non-epic based Ujapali.

Based on the contents, reference, structure and presentation in reference to the above mentioned two type art-forms can be categorized into various types. The notable types of epic-based Ujapali are: -

- a) Vyaah Sangeet(Conjugal Song) or Vyaah Guwa or Sabha Guwa Ujapali.
- b) Ramayana Sangeet or Ramayana Guwa or Raiman Ujapali.
- c) Vowrah or Vowriya or Vairah Ujapali.
- d) Durgabori Ujapali.
- e) Kshatriya Ujapali.

The types of non-epic based Ujapalis are known as: -

- a) Sakonani or Rang Guwa Ujapali.
- b) Bishahari Guwa.
- c) Maare-Puja Gaan.
- d) Padda(Padma) Puranor Gaan.
- e) Tukuria Ujapalai and
- f) Geetalu Geet.

In the above mentioned forms of Ujapalai, there contains some sort of characteristics as a whole, through which it reveals the whole nature of Ujapali programme.

The relationship between Durgabori music and Ujapali:

The song and pada of Ujapali programme continued orally. In course of time, the oral form of songs and Padas has been tried to preserve through the written form. In this regards, the efforts of Mankara, Durgabor, Pitambor, the eminent Narayandeva were remarkable.

The poet Durgabor was the chief performer of Ujapali programme beside being a professional Uja. So, it can be speculated that the songs were composed for performing in various programmes. The mode of expressions and the subject-matter used in the songs and poems reveal that it was composed only for performances of Ujapali.

The Manasa geets are known as Durgabori geet named after its original composer Durgabor. From musical view point, these songs came under Manasa Sangeet. The heritage of Manasa sangeet is speculated from 10th / 11th B.C. in order to ingratiate the grace of Goddess Manasa (the goddess of Snake) the songs performed during Manasa Puja are known as Manasa Sangeet.

The tradition of Manasa Sangeet is continued through the programmes of the sole recipient and carrier which are known as Manasa Ujapali. The songs and padas basically prevailed through the expression of the reciter from the age of Guru-Shisya tradition which was orally transmitted respectively. The result of the broad expansion of these songs in course of time took different regional impacts and forms. For the greater attention of the viewers and audience, the Ujas and Palis knowingly or unknowingly mixed new songs with the original term of Manasa Sangeet and in this way got its different forms, losing the original form. In the hands of the poets, the prevailing Manasa tales got expressed differently. The Manasa songs of Durgabor are the creation of such traditions.

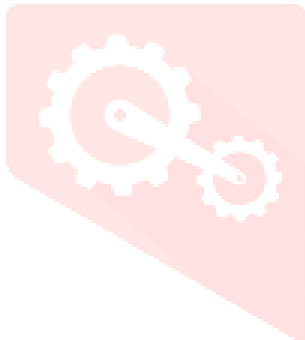
The 'Geet Padas' of the Geeti-Ramayana, the second version of Durgabor come under the Ramayan Sangeet or Ramayan Guwa Ujapali. This tradition has been prevailing since pre-Sankara age. Here, the contemporary Ujapali singer, the name of Mathura Das can be mentioned. Originally, Ramayan's story-tales or recitation is prevailing as a tradition. It was believed in folksong that the ancient poet Valmiki recited the stories of Ramayana in front of his disciples. In this context, the songs of Ramayan song by Lava & Kusha

in the royal palace of Lord Rama can be referred to. Probably, this process spread from its original Sanskrit language to regional form. The scripted version of the original model prevails in Assam. The evolution of the subject-matter of this version is picturised openly in the tales version of Ramayana which prevailed in folk-tradition.

According to Maheswar Neog, the book Geeti-Ramayana seems to be easily carried by the Uja or Ujapali like a notebook or handbook and probably Durgabor was such a Uja; and moreover, he added new imagination and tales of Rama that prevailed in the public and prepared his handbook from the Madab Kunduli's edition of Ramayana. Now, it is revealed that the two versions of Durgabor carries its identity which prevailed in two types of Ujapali programmes. From the viewpoints of religious ideologies, moral traits and contents, the Geeti-Ramayan comes under the first version and Manasa songs under the second version.

Place of Durgabor in Assamese Raag Sangeet: -

The Raag Sangeet became inseparable part of Indian tradition. So, whenever the Indian civilization progressed, the 'Raag Sangeet' was capable to influence upon the cultural and spiritual life of the public of that place. The Assamese Raag-Sangeet came to existence in the background of Raag Sangeet. Hence, from when the tradition of Assamese 'Raag Sangeet' began cannot be clearly mentioned. The Assamese saying- "Gaayanor gharor Bandaye raag taane", raager gurita na na, etc. and such saying existed in Daak-Bachan –



"Raagor mitha borari,
Gibhar mitha hohari,
Raag namani gai geet,
Parar naarit hodai chit".

proved that the word 'raag' prevailing in Assamese ethnic life is age-old.

The whole elements of music can be observed in Ujapalai musical presentations. The songs presented in those musical programmes are composed in different raags. Durgabor was deeply associated with Ujapali programmes. He composed the songs of Geeti-Ramayana by using different raags so that it can be performed in those programmes as considered suitable.

Characteristics of Geeti-Ramayana: -

The Geeti-Ramayana is a version based on the Ramayana song tradition. The Ramayana song tradition is very old. It is all-known that, the songs were performed by Lava-Kusha, the origin of Valmiki Ramayana. The Ramayana is a popular epic. So the popularity of songs of Ramayana influenced the regional languages too and is quite natural. The Ramayana tales prevailed in Assamese language from the period of age-old oral literature. Although the Pada-Ramayana of Madab Kunduli was composed in 14th century, the

prevailing oral form of Ramayana tales did not disappeared. It is noticed that some tales of Geeti-Ramayana were out of Valmiki's Ramayana.

The Ramayana of Bengali poet Kritidas and Ramcharita manas of Tulsi Das are based on Ramayana song tradition. Based on the prevalent traditional folk-tales and Pada-Ramayana of Madav Kunduli, Durgabor composed his Geeti Ramayan. The addition of classical raag form gave uniqueness to Durgabor's compositions. The addition of Biha-Pada with the raags make the songs melodious and gave unique characteristics to the songs of Geeti-Ramayana.

The recent edited version of six cantos of Geeti-Ramayana by Durgabor was published excluding the ancient canto (Adi-Kant). It was not known whether Durgabor composed the Adi-Kant or not. In this regard, no information came into light. There are 60 (Sixty) Nos. of songs in those published six cantos of explanation, where 2 (two) Nos. under Ayodhya Khand; 30 (Thirty) nos. under Aranya Khand; 16 (Sixteen) nos. under Skindya cantos; 6(Six) nos. under Sundara Khand, etc. were added. Twenty three ragas were used in those songs.

Sl. No.	Name of Raag	Nos. of Song
1	Laghu Pat Manjari	1
2	Bhairavi	1
3	Belubar	3
4	Borari	3
5	Gujari	4
6	Dhanshri	4
7	Ramgiri	6
8	Kambar	1
9	Ohir	10
10	Patmonjuri	2
11	Bhathiyali	1
12	Basant	4
13	Suhai	3
14	Monjuri	1
15	Saloni	3
16	Srigandhar	1
17	Malsi	2
18	Meghmegu	1
19	Devruh	3
20	Srigonth Kali	2
21	Maaruwar	1
22	Devjini	1
23	Akashmondali	

In such way, the raags were used in only fifty one nos. of songs. It is worth mentioning that only the word raag was used in front of the foremost song of Aranya Kant (canto) where the name of the raags was not mentioned.

However, the specimen of raag sangeet of Geeti-Ramayana made the version remarkable and it represented the strongly-based tradition of Raag-Sangeet of that period of time.

The songs of Geeti-Ramayana can be included under the raag form of prosaic song. Its original source is non-vedic tradition of Marga-Sangeeta. The Jatimbor form evolved from Marga-Sangeet. And the modified version of this form is ethnic song. The ethnic songs are the songs based on ethnic based music. The next edition of such ethnic song is a prosaic song. The term prosaic means the continuation of the contents of song. It was known as raag forms of prosaic song for addition of raag in these songs.

The subject contents of prosaic songs are associated with four 'dhatu' (element) and six angas (gesture). The four dhatus are Udagraha, Melapok, Dhruva and Aabhok. The term Udagraha is not based on meaningful words or language; it is the process of raag expansion or vocal expansion. The repeatedly song part of the song and the part which exists permanently and is fixed composed to the other parts is known as dhruva. The external connecting process between Udagraha and Dhruva is Known as Melapok. The main part of prosaic song is Aabhok Dhatu. It impart completeness to the songs. Following the use of dhatu, prosaic songs can be categorized into three classes. The classes are tetra elemented, tri-elemented, and bi-elemented. Generally, no Melpok is observed in tri-elements(tri-dhatu). In the multi-elemented either the Udagraha or Dhruva and Aabuk are place of elements. Neither Udagraha and Aabuk dhatu are placed. Two nos. of dhatu (elements) are required for any prose.

Six nos. of parts observed in a prose are-swara, biruda pada, pato and tall. Among these, the importance of pada is of paramount significance. However, the importance of 'Swara' and 'Taal' can be overlooked. In the order of explanation, the used name of human traits or God's are of similar qualities. The form of qualities are called 'birodha'. Generally, the term 'tenah' denotes the pada of Brahma or absolute being – OM, Tatva, Satva, Tatvamasi, etc. On the other hand, the sounds made by the musical instruments known as Datta. Out of the above mentioned six types of elements, the 'Birodha' and 'Pataka Pada' are the specific forms.

It is worth mentioning that the use of the above mentioned four types of Dhatus (elements) and six elements were essential in prosaic songs. But in due course of evolution, flexibility was observed in the use of such dhatus and raags. So, the whole dhatus and raags were not noticeable in the prosaic songs which were composed during the post-era.

The existence of four dhatus were observed in the composition of Geeti-Ramayan. The songs and padas of this version were performed through Ujapali. These Ujapali's were known in the name of Durgabori Ujapalai. It is the another form of Ujapali tradition who used to chant Ramayana. In the tradition of chanting the Ujapali, it has the extension of anivardha rupa raag or dialogue form before the traditional chanting of dhruva baakhya and permanent parts. The dialogues are like: -

“ ha - aa - aa - aa - aa.

ha - ta - na , na - aa.

ha - aa - aa - aa - aa.

ha - na - aa - na - aa.

These words are not meaningful words and are language-based. It is purely alphabetically-based.

After the ‘Aalap’, here in the Ujapali tradition, deva bandanas and guru-bandanas were made. In reference to vocal presentation, the rhythm is gradually minimized from the high notes to the lower one. The gradual decrease of the vocal sound increases the rhythms. The method of Durgabori Ujapalai can be termed as Melopak; the beginning of Dhruva or Sthayi Pada starts hereafter.

Excepting one or two songs of Geeti-Ramayana, the rest verses have attained the beginning status of Dhruva or permanent Pada. The place of ‘Deha’ is noticeable after Dhruva. This part is not so long as other Pada. It can be compared with pada(verse) of essay(prosaic writing). This part acts like pada in singing method.

In the verse (song), pada has acquired the next place subsequent to ‘diha’. Some padas are adequately long. This part is substitute to Aabhok dhatu(element). In attaining completeness, this verse part helps.

From this point of view, the presence of four dhatus can be distinctly observed in Durgabor’s Geeti-Ramayana. In succeeding period in most of the verse, the addition of antara and sansari dhatu with permanent and Aabhok dhatu has imported completeness to the verse. The Udagraha, Melapok and other dhatus got excluded in Hindi, Karnatak and other songs(verse). Durgabor’s Geeti-Ramayana retained the tradition of ‘Maarga’ music as a carrier. In consequence of it, the Durgabori song was separated from the contemporary songs of Sankara- Madhadeva. In keeping view of this feature, Maheswar Neog remarked, “The verse of Durgabor has similarities with the music of North India , on one hand and with ‘borgeet’, ‘ankiya songs’ on the other hand”. In his view the Durgabori Sangeet, which is different from Vaisnav Sangeet, seemed to represent the history of pre-Sankara and non-vaisnav music.

Out of six parts in prosaic type of song, the subjects relating to sound expansion or sound talk has been already discussed. That is the ‘Virodha’ form. Through the presence of such complete form cannot be seen in the divine hymns or prayers such as ‘deva bandhana’ or ‘guru bandhana’, the virodh terms are preserved. Likewise, such songs contain the use of ‘taal’ and ‘paat’ qualitatively. In the opinion of Kritinath Bordoloi, “Durgabor’s lyrics consist of two ‘taal’. These are ‘Kemta’ and ‘Kaharaba’ . such dhatu (element) and parts are distinctly expressed in Geeti-Ramayana. That is why this sort of songs are included in the prosaic songs.

Characteristics of the tone in Manasa Geet: -

The total nos. of songs composed by Durgabor is 36 (Thirty six). Out of them, in ten songs, 'Suhai', 'Ramgiri', 'Bhatiyadi', Patmonjari, etc. four raags are used. In the remaining twenty six songs, the raags are not mentioned. In total 14 songs, dhruva bachak sentence/ phrase were used. However, the first song is prayer-based. Through that song, prayers are made. In the vishahori and others, the ancient deva-devi and gurus are prayed.

Along with the Durgabor's verse the songs composed by Mankara and performed in Ujapali form is known as Vishahara songs, Ujapali songs. The programme of Ujapali music begins with 'Aaruhan' or 'Aalapa'; Guru prayers immediately follows 'aalapa'. After 'guru-bandana' the Jua initiates the 'diha' and the 'juri' (Paali) followed and chanted the diha. After this stage, the initiator of the song (the Uja) started to sing the 'padas' and songs scripturi (the pathi) and the chanters (juri) followed the chanting. The programme of vishahara songs or Ujapali prayers concluded with the chanting of a vishahari prayer. Depending on the keen observation of the musical programme from the beginning to the end, it can be classified into five stages. These are- 1) Aaruhan or 'Aalapa', 2) Guru- Bandana, 3) diha, 4) Pada and sangeeta, and 5) conclusion.

In view of the musical characteristics and skill of composition of the songs, the Manasa Geet of Durgabor can be placed within the prevalent non-vedic tradition of Marga Sangeet and prosaic songs of 'jaati-swara' and raag form under 'marga' sangeet. The songs in which the raags were mentioned and sung in raag form and these songs which were not mentioned in the 'raag' song are of jaati-swara form. The prosaic songs of jaati-swara are sung and performed in four types of singing format. These four types of format are – Anibandha, Nibandha, Saanda and Prandha and Dhruva- Prabandha. there was a tradition of singing the Raag form in two or three forms. The manasa songs were sung only in 'anibandha' and 'nibandha' forms.

Among the four dhatus in prosaic songs, in durgabor's manasa songs, 'aalap' or 'aaruhan' has been stated in the earlier discussion. After that fixed or constant sentence are recited. However, among Durgabor's manasa geet, only in fourteen songs, fixed or constant part has been included. It appears that in the place of two two songs, the tripadi part is sang like the constant one. For instances, the beginning part of the 28 (twenty eight) numbers of song are-

“Aa ki putai bu le navachanmali

Kanak onkon loh manju kamaya deh

Koti puta who ram kodoli” (10)

In the same way, in 39 (thirty nine) number dhruva or fixed part consists-

“kamaya kanser mer chowdike diyo goyil baro

Medor vitorot sarbanga sundar

Pravu ki goyil jamghar”

It seems that the melapok dhatu is absent in Manasa Geet. The ‘Aabhok Dhatu’ is appropriately used. In the same songs, only Udgraha or Aabok has found a place. In this songs, where there is no reference to ‘Raag’ and no existence of fixed sentence, only udgraha and aabhok songs have occupied a place. So, in Durgabor’s Manasa geet, the characteristics of Tri-dhatu and Dwi-dhatu are preserved.

Among the six elements of prosaic songs, only Swara virudha and Pada are existent. ‘Ten’ and ‘Taal’ are not observed in such type of song. It seems that the songs where ‘Raag’ is referred to and where not, there is a system of singing by exchange of the two.

Though the different characteristics of Manasa songs have been discussed earlier, but finally, it is noteworthy to state that the presentation of this traditional art form among the people is more important than the scientific view point.

The possible relation between use of Durgabor’s ‘Raag’ and National Raag sangeet.

It is mentioned in the earlier discussion that Durgabor’s Manasa and Geeti- Ramayana songs are based on different Raags and moreover, the names of these Raags have been referred to. The prevailing Raags highlight the Durgabor’s skill and excellence in music. In addition to it, it gives indication to the discussion of the contemporary music. This hint to the use in the prevalent traditional Ujapali sangeet has relationship with our national Raags. It is worth mentioning in this connection that the raags used by Durgabor have been prevalent in ‘Charjapada’ and ‘Borgeet’.

Comparison between the uses of Durgabor’s Raag and National sangeet.

In both of the two volumes of Durgabor, 23(twenty three) Raags are mentioned. Among them, Patmazjuri, Bhairavi, Borari, Malsi etc. are considered similar ancient Raag sastra. Out of these, Sri Gandhara is in mixed form. Purabi or purvi tat or melor are related to the maalesri and aakoguri tat and are formed as a result of combination between ‘Gandhar raag’ and this raag inspite of the reference to the nine Raags, Ghataili, Suhai. Malsi,Aahir, Ramgiri etc. all are most popular in the Indian sangeet. In the other way, ‘Loghupat Manjuri’ and ‘Pat manjuri’ are considered as different forms of Raag.

The raag used by Durgabor as Saloni, Devmohan, Gandhakali, Devjini, Meghmandal, Akash mondoli etc. are not found in sangeet treatise. The tradition of Vyas-Uojali or the vaisnav poets have not used there raags. However, in vyas Upajali, it seems that there is the use of ‘Saloni’ raag. Salengi implies Saranga raag. In sangeet treatise the raags Debaranjani, Megharanjani, Meghmandal etc. are also found, however, there is no reference to Devmohan,devjani, Meghmandol etc. actually, Megh mandol may be another form of Raag Meknullah. On the other hand, written in the post-period, in ‘Charita Katha’ along with above raags, Vayumondoli, Timir etc. the use of ‘raag’ is mentioned. According to Birendra kumar Phukan, he insisted that the emergence of Makaanandal or Aakash mandal raag is in Assam. He says in his interpretation that Assam is a country of cloud and rain. The sky covered with black cloud may have inspired some parts to

create new raags. If this opinion is true, in the contemporary time of Durgabor's Assam, in the composition and emergence of new raags can be noticed the importance given by the musician.

From the above discussion, it is seen that excluding the use of the few raags by Durgabor, the other raags are included in the 'Indian raag' sangeets. So, in the discussion of Raag Sangeet of that period, the influence of Indian 'Raag Sangeet' can be seen.

Impact of Durgabor's Raag Sangeet in Post-Era Period.

It is observed that several raags used in Durgabor's song can be seen in 'Sarya Pada'. In this context, Padmonjuri, Gunjari, Bhairavi, Dhansri, Ramgiri etc. can be mentioned. On the other hand, the traditions of Vyas Ujapali are used in Durgabor's raag. Similarly, there is resemblance between raag and 'Borgeet' of Sankara and madhava and imdramatic verses. So, in ancient Assam, these raags were widely used.

In this way, the poets of the post-era of sankardev were inspired to compose by adding raag with songs. In the tradition of new-vaisnav religion, the songs of Sankara-Madhava began the strong trend of songs. In the later period poetry, the imitation of Sankar-Madhav songs was included. The trend of secular songs became weak in consequence of such imitation. But in the regime of Rudra singha and Siva Singha, the wave of Bangla Vaisnav Community spread. It was not confined only to Raj Sabha; it also spread to the common people. As a result, either for the purpose of obtaining or fulfilling self-satisfaction of Raj Sabha, a few composers emerged for composition of above-mentioned ideology of the trend of Sankardeva. This can be easily guessed or understood. In the selection of subject-matter, the poets emphasized on the emotional aspects of the actor and actresses (male and female characters). It is easily seen that Durgabor was influenced by the Panchali poets. Rudra Singha, Siva Singha and their poet-laureate Kabiraj Chakravarti, Kabi Chandadis and the songs composed by them reflected the determination of truth and opinions. In the Post-Sankari era, among the lyricist, poets Balav, Kanu Das, Gukul Das, Balram Das can be mentioned. In the songs of these lyricists, though there exists devotional note, but the significance was given to the secular one.

When it is observed from the viewpoint of geet-raags, the later period lyricists of Durgabor, despite the prevalence of the new-vaisnav raag, many other raags were employed. In this context, first of all, we can mention Ramakanta Aata, Bhadra Kanta Aata who used the salengi raag. In spite of these two Lyricists, in some anonymous songs, the above mentioned Raag is used. In the same manner, Malasi, Padmazjuri, Bhairavi etc. can be referred to which were used by Durgabor, but not used in Sankara-Madhava Songs. In the Post-Sankari Period, among the songs of the lyricists the above raags were widely used. On the other hand, in that period, some raags, not used in earlier time, were composed. For example, Nitya Nandev raag, Bhatiyali, Lakhi Dev, Jaysree and Amot Kalyan Raags can be mentioned as well as the hilly-gaandar Raag. Probably, the secular poets inspired by Durgabor kept alive the traditional impact and composed such raags.

It is seen that in the above mentioned discussion, excluding the lyricists supported by the kings and royal families, in the compositions the followers of the new-vaisnav tradition and in the context of raag such as Durgabor's, the influence of secular poets can be marked distinctly or indirectly.

Contemporary forms of Durgabor's songs

In ancient period, particularly in the regions of Darang, Barpeta and kamrup, Durgabor's songs were discussed and practised, but in the contemporary period there is absence of such practice. Though there continues the tradition of Manasa Geet, the prevalence of Geeti-Ramayana has disappeared totally. In earlier one and half decade ago, in the region of Hajo kamrup, there lived the practitioners of Durgabori's Geet-Ramayana. But in the present time, due to shortage of such Composers, this tradition has faded away.

In Kamakhya dham (temple) of kamrup and Bamunpara Saulkhusi, there continues still the discussion of Manasa Geet in the limited form. In the celebration of Bikhori festival, the Ujapali sang systematically in sitting posture, the Mankara and Durgabori songs. Special importance is not given in the presentation of raags. In the maintenance of formalities, the singing of this song is completed timely. Although, the performance of Ujapali in front of Kamakhya temple is permitted to the public, but no permission is given to record this songs or take a photo of the programme. In the same way, except the community singers and priest, the Manasa epic poem is not allowed to be read and touched by others.

The recitation of Manasa epic poem written on the bark which were composed by Durgabor on the occasion of celebration of traditional Manasa or Bikhori puja by the Satriya Brahmin in Saulkhusi Brahmaputra is done. This book is strictly preserved as a rule. It is not possible to touch or read by the common men. Within the long four day programme, they recite and finish it by 'gutaal' and 'Juri'. They demanded the recitation and singing songs in accordance with the rules of raag. Among them, there are eight 'Geetaals'. Unlike the b'geetaals', there is no definite 'Juri'(paali). Any person from the public can participate in the time of presentation of the song with the group. There is no exchange of dialogue between them even during the time of performance in the sitting position. The older 'geetal' at that time of retirement, train and assign the responsibility to the eight members. They consider them as astah-geetal tradition(30). In the present time, the members of astoh – geetals institution are Sri Tralukya sarma (Vyakaran sastri) Sri Parag sarma, Sri Naresh sarma etc.(31).

Whatever it may be, the ritualistic performance or traditional performed of above puja, the discussion of the above puja, the discussion of the collection of Durgabor's songs play a vital role in the history of the music in Assam.

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