THE MANGALAM
AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE
TO INDIAN SOUTH AFRICANS
IN KWAZULU NATAL

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ABSTRACT

Weddings have always been an indispensable and auspicious part of Hindu life both in South Africa and in India. This study is an examination of one aspect of Hindu weddings, viz. the vocal and sometimes instrumental recital of songs of blessing and praise. These songs are known as mangalams and have evolved in South Africa in the last century due to various factors. Analysis of the mangalam enables us to understand how traditions and customs continue and change in accordance with changing circumstances. Much of the data presented in this thesis has been gleaned from oral sources and, as such, the methodology of oral history has been extremely influential in the shaping of this dissertation.
The whole thesis, unless otherwise indicated, is my own original work.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

TOPIC AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Hindu life, both in South Africa and in India, is generally characterised by the performance of a number of *samskaras* or ceremonies which mark the various stages of a person's spiritual, psychological and physical development. The term Hindu, in this study, encompasses all persons who practice the Hindu religion. In Kwazulu Natal this would generally include the Hindi and Gujerati persons of North Indian heritage and Tamil and Telugu persons of South Indian heritage.

Of the *samskaras*, marriage is perhaps the most auspicious as it is at this point that another life becomes inextricably intertwined with the first. Without marriage, Hindu scholars believe, the continuity of the four *ashrams* or stages of Hindu life would be broken.
Marriage is also considered sacred as it, serves as a vital institution for the experience of religious, cultural and spiritual practices of the Hindu people thus ensuring the preservation and perpetuation of the religio-cultural and philosophical values of Hinduism (Singh 1989: 67).

Hindu weddings, much like Hindu life, are also characterised by a number of rituals which not only mark the various stages of the ceremony, but at which points vows are taken, promises are made and lessons are learned. A Hindu wedding thus becomes a metaphor for Hindu life itself.

Inspired by the various ceremonies and rituals that occurred in my own family, I set out to discover some of the most significant aspects of Hindu weddings. Speaking to priests and other Hindu scholars, I found that the vocal or, in rare instances, the instrumental recital of mangalams or songs of praise and blessing form an auspicious and are an indispensable part of Hindu weddings.
Hindu weddings in South Africa have evolved due to various influences. The mangalams of today are by and large modifications of the original repertoire brought down by the early Indian immigrants to South Africa.

An analysis of Hindu South African perceptions of the mangalam, the significance they attach to it presently, and the content of mangalams themselves will thus provide important clues to the way in which traditions continue and change in response to changing circumstances.

The aims of this thesis are thus:

1. to provide a detailed description of the mangalam as it is performed in Kwazulu Natal, to demonstrate how it functions within various contexts and to document its significance on such occasions as weddings.

2. to use information gleaned in this research to demonstrate how traditions continue and change as a result of cultural migration, urbanisation, westernisation and modernisation.
MOTIVATION FOR THE PROJECT

A class assignment during the coursework section of my Master's degree required an investigation of my personal music history. This resulted in me tracing an original handwritten mangalam, dated 1925, by my husband's late grandfather, Francis Masilamoney Konar (Appendix A, Mangalam 2). This mangalam also contained names of people and other information. Using the document as a source, I thereafter set myself the task of locating these people in an effort to find out more about Konar, his background and the influences in his life. This proved successful and taught me the value of documentary evidence as a vehicle for tracing information and life histories.

Another factor that stimulated the choice of this topic was that although I grew up studying western music, the results of my class assignment instilled a deep sense of pride in my being an Indian South African. It also developed in me a keen sense of Indian culture, tradition and music.
The study has also been reinforced by my interest in my late father who himself had composed a few mangalams, three of which were for weddings.

The attitude I experienced from people regarding the mangalam together with the above-mentioned factors precipitated the choice of the present topic for academic study, since, to date, there is no available literature on this topic.

LITERATURE SURVEY

Due to the pioneering nature of this study, there is a dearth of literature directly concerned with my topic. I did however find information in a number of related works carried out by scholars such as Sallyann Goodall (1991), Melveen Jackson (1988), Varijakshi Prabhakaran (1992) and Nelistra Singh (1989).

Goodall's "Hindu Devotional Music in Durban: An Ethnomusicological Profile as Expressed Through the Bhajan" proved extremely influential to this
study as it focuses on a number of key issues. These include: the significance of devotional music to Hindu culture, the intersection between the Great and Little traditions, Indian - western cultural shifts in local Hindu communities, and continuity and change in Hindu musical worship in Durban.

Jackson's "An Introduction to the History of Music Amongst Indian South Africans in Natal 1860 - 1948: Towards a Politico - Cultural Understanding" is an exploratory study of Indian music and its relation to socio-economic and political circumstances that framed its development. The study focuses on all types of music appreciated by Indian South Africans and includes studies of Indian customs, music personalities, music forms and music functions.

Two texts not related to music were also found to be of great assistance to my research. The first of these is Prabhakaran's A Language Challenged: The Struggle of a Minority Language in South Africa. In this study, socio-linguistics is seen within religio-
cultural, social and educational contexts in South Africa. While dealing specifically with the status of the Telugu language in South Africa, the study also mentions other issues such as: the effects of cultural migration, the various immigration restriction acts in South Africa, the study of the status of the Telugu language in Natal, language maintenance and language shift and erosion, as well as the interrelationship between language and culture.

Singh's "An Exposition of the Vivaha (Marriage) Samskara and Related Rituals as a Paradigm of Religio-cultural Continuity among the Hindi-speaking Community of South African Hindus" is a study that has provided vital information concerning the significance of the marriage ceremony to Hindu South Africans. It demonstrates how the marriage ceremony ensures the preservation and perpetuation of religio-cultural values among Hindus. Although mention is made of the music of the pre- and post-nuptial ceremonies, no references are made to the singing of the mangalam.
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

When dealing with a minority group and its attendant customs and traditions, one has to bear in mind that over a period of time, it will undergo a degree of modification. This is due to changing circumstances, the identity of that minority group, as well as the nature of its customs and traditions. Indians, since their arrival in South Africa 139 years ago, have been subjected to racial discrimination at every level in their lives. Apart from a handful who returned under various government repatriation schemes in the thirties and forties, the majority have had little contact with their ancestral home. Thus, Indian South Africans have emerged on the South African landscape as a fractured and disempowered, inward-looking community.

This study researches the practice of mangalams from 1925 to 1997 and will show:

• the evolution of the mangalam in South Africa in the last century
• the ways in which traditions and customs continue and change in response to changing circumstances

• the great influence of oral history in the shaping of this dissertation

One of the primary theoretical issues underpinning this research is therefore the way in which customary events undergo change over time. In this regard, Eric Hobsbawm's discussion of customs helped shape my thinking on the subject. He states that:

Custom[s] ... do not preclude innovation and change up to a point, although evidently the requirement that it appear compatible or even identical with precedent imposes substantial limitations on it. What it does is give any desired change... the sanction of precedent, social continuity and natural law as expressed in history (1988 : 2).

In the absence of any written sources on my topic, and with the reliance on informants for information, another issue that surfaced during my research was the validity of oral data. Paul Thompson in *The Voice of the Past* (1988) however, states that:
The historical value of the remembered past rests on three strengths. First ... it can and does provide significant and sometimes unique information from that past. Secondly, it can equally convey the individual and collective consciousness which is part and parcel of that very past ...
More than that, the living humanity of oral sources gives them a third strength which is unique. For the reflective insights of retrospection are by no means always a disadvantage ... If the study of memory "teaches us that all historical sources are suffused by subjectivity right from the start", the living presence of those subjective voices from the past also constrains us in our interpretations ... (1988 : 148)

He concludes that, "We are dealing, in short, with living sources who, just because they are alive have, unlike inscribed stones or sheaves of paper, the ability to work with us in a two-way process" (1988 : 149).

Another issue that faced this research concerned the degree of "saming" involved in Indian South African traditions and customs. Naomi Schor tells us that often people imagine that others like them are involved in similar courses of action although, in reality, this may or may not be the case (1989 : 38). In other words, in the case of a diaspora, one, more often than not, encounters acts of "saming" in that people belonging to a
diaspora do what they believe is occurring at "home" but in fact develop their own modifications of these. In the case of the mangalam, such modifications were important to its survival until the present day, and as will be shown there is evidence that Indian South Africans believed that the modifications they made were also taking place in India.

RESEARCH METHODS

INTERVIEWS
Due to the scarcity of primary sources on the topic, a major part of my research constituted interviews with community members. Thompson maintains that when choosing interviewees "the issue is not representativeness but who knows best" (1988 : 130). Interviewees who were chosen thus included: lyricists and writers, composers, performers, priests and other religious leaders, cultural leaders, academics, parents of bridal couples and wedding guests. Informants represented all the linguistic and religious groups of the Indian community including Muslims and Christians. Interviews conducted were both informal and formal. Formal interviews were based
on a selected list of open-ended questions that were designed to stimulate discussion (Appendix D). Examples of some open-ended questions are:

What does it (the mangalam) mean to you?

Why do people request the performance of a mangalam?

Most open-ended questions pertained to people's personal perceptions of the mangalam tradition and attitudes of people (e.g. nos. 9, 13, 18) and views on the significance of various practices (e.g. nos. 8, 10, 11, 12). Questions concerning general information and views were posed to all interviewees (nos. 1-26). Questions (from no. 27 onwards) that were more specific to musical or poetic prowess were reserved for lyricists, composers and singers. Informal interviews were performed telephonically or when people were met casually. Of great assistance to my methods of interviewing was Isidore Okpewho's African Oral Literature: Backgrounds, Character, Continuity (1992). All formal interviews were recorded on audiocassette and later transcribed. According to Thompson, "the recording is a far more reliable and accurate encounter than a purely written record." He adds that besides the
actual spoken words, there are "social cues, the nuances of uncertainty, humour, or pretence, as well as the texture of dialect. It conveys all the distinctive qualities of oral rather than written communication ..." (1988 : 108).

OBSERVATION
One of the most rewarding aspects of my study was the attending of concerts and weddings. My concentration, in both cases, was on the behaviour of individuals during the performance of the mangalam. At weddings, it was the responses and reactions of the bridal couple and their respective parents that came under close scrutiny. At concerts, I observed the response and behaviour of both performers and audiences and made notes on these at the time.

COLLECTION OF PRIMARY SOURCES
A selection of written mangalams was collected from various lyricists or family members of those who were deceased. The oldest mangalam was written in 1925 and the most recent in 1997. Of the balance, some are written in the original handwriting of the lyricist while others are typewritten (See Appendix A for a selection of
these). Particular attention was paid to those mangalams that were written in various Indian languages including Hindi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.

Thompson, in referring to means of communication maintains that the "paper document can then be primary; word of mouth a subsidiary form" of record (1988: 109). I have used both methods equally.

While most mangalams are original compositions, some have been transcribed from audio cassettes or records obtained from India. Some mangalams were also taken from popular Indian films.

RESEARCH PROBLEMS

INTERVIEWS

The following problems were experienced:

1. Making contact and setting up appointments with interviewees was by far one of the biggest hurdles that confronted this research. Many were eager to lend their voices to this study but due to other engagements were unable to keep appointments. Further, many also promised to make alternative arrangements, but here too, this did
not always materialise. This slowed down research considerably.

2. A major setback for my study was that many of the singers and lyricists are deceased. I therefore contacted close associates or family members to obtain the relevant information. The accuracy of information in this instance leaves room for questioning. Cognisance was taken of Thompson’s views on reliability of sources. He maintains that in the basic test of reliability of sources “All are fallible and subject to bias, and each has varying strengths in different situations” (1988 : 132).

3. Some informants were at first reluctant to be recorded as they did not want some of their critical comments to be reproduced although they were willing to share their knowledge with me. After making them feel comfortable and gaining their trust, I suggested that if I needed to print any "confidential" information I would first consult them for their approval. Informants agreed with this. At times it was perceived that informants were guarded in their comments as they did not want to say anything that they believed
may be contrary to my background or way of thinking. In this regard Thompson refers to the social presence and influence the interviewer has over the informant such that the informant may not be willing to share his own views due to respect for the interviewer’s own views (1988: 118).

4. Language also presented some problems. Older informants who generally still speak Indian languages often misunderstood questions that were posed in English. As a result, questions had to be rephrased or simplified to facilitate communication. The answers received were thus not entirely what was required. As a result, some informants requested not to be directly quoted.

5. People also felt that they were not qualified enough to answer questions and were wary about being quoted. With the older informants it was easier to reassure them that I was eager to learn from them as they had something to offer me.
ORTHOGRAPHY AND TRANSLATIONS

As Veit Erlmann states in Nightsong, one is never able to capture the exact meaning when translating something from its original language into another. He cites Joseph Shabalala who maintains that the term "ingomaebusukhu" can be translated as "Nightsong" but it will never have the same effect as it has in the original isiZulu (1996 : XVII).

While translation will never do proper justice to the original, one should take into consideration that, "Ideally, the translation should match the effectiveness of the original one to one" (Okpewho 1992 : 353).

In my research of those mangalams written by people who are now deceased, translations were obtained from scholars of Indian languages. However, I found that different people often proposed different terms and phrases. Thus, translations had to be checked and re-checked with the original. Another problem concerned the issue of diacritical markings. I found that different translators used different diacritics.
Following Melveen Jackson who stated that the wide variety of diacritical markings are often inaccurate I have, where inconsistencies appear, left them out of the text.

LANGUAGE GROUPS VS RELIGIOUS GROUPS

During interviews, many informants made a clear distinction between themselves and people of other language groups. As Sallyann Goodall states, while people in India refer to themselves according to the closest city or state of origin (e.g. a Tamil from Madras is often called a Madrassi), in South Africa, Hindus refer to themselves according to their mother tongue (e.g. Hindi). While the younger generation may not agree with this distinction, it is evident that older people still use it. I have also noted that this is generally the case with Muslim and Christian Indian South Africans. In my study, I refer to persons of South Indian heritage as being either Tamil- or Telugu-speaking people and those of North Indian heritage as being Hindi- or Gujerati-speaking people. Due to my mixed background, people were quite confused about my religious origins during interviews. I am a Hindi-speaking Hindu who married a Tamil-
speaking Catholic. I have a Sanskrit name and an English surname. This mixture was advantageous as I was "accepted" by many members of all religio-linguistic groups.

However, being a Hindu of North Indian origin I experienced some difficulties during my interviews with Tamil-speaking informants especially when it came to discussing texts and using South Indian musical terminology. This was rectified when I began studying various sources on South Indian music.
CHAPTER TWO: THE MANGALAM:

DEFINITION, DESCRIPTION AND ORIGIN

Prior to undertaking this research my personal impression of the mangalam was that it is a song of blessing performed for the bridal couple at the end of the Hindu marriage. Personal communication with various sources has, however, revealed to me that many people regard the mangalam as being simply a rendition of a song, not requiring any technical virtuosity on the part of the performer since the essence lies in the meaning of the words and the manner in which it is delivered. As my research progressed, I realised that there was more to the mangalam than the above simple description.

Using both oral and written sources cognisance was taken of Thompson’s observation that:

the original of evidence is sometimes oral, and sometimes not, and equally may or may not present itself, after transmutations, in the same form; and neither oral nor written evidence can be said to be generally superior: it depends on the context (1988 : 110).
Mangalam, according to A Dictionary: Tamil and English, is a Sanskrit word meaning "auspiciousness, praise, blessing". Mangalam pada in the same source, means "to sing the mangalam or to say it for the praise of God or others, to congratulate, to praise or to bless" (Fabricius 1933 : 248)

According to lecturer Varijakshi Prabhakaran, mangalam, mangala and mangal mean "something good, auspicious, prosperity" (1997). She adds that the Tamil and Telugu word mangalam is derived from Sanskrit, since most Indian languages have "borrowed heavily from Sanskrit." Other informants have also stated that "mangal" is the Sanskrit word meaning auspicious or good wishes. One could therefore conclude that the word, or term mangalam, is derived from the Sanskrit word mangal. Prabhakaran emphasises that cognisance should be taken of the word "auspiciousness", otherwise the entire meaning and significance of the mangalam will be lost. Various sources were consulted to obtain a definition of the mangalam. The most appropriate ones were those found in the sources cited below.
Mangalam, in *A Dictionary of South Indian Music and Musicians* is described as:

a song of salutation or hail. It is an important sacred form. It is the concluding item in all music concerts, dance dramas, operas, bhajanas and kalakshepas. It is a composition in the kirtana form and consists of a Pallavi and a number of Charanas, the Charanas being sung to the same tune. Sometimes the Anupallavi is also present, as in the mangalam, Makulamuna, in Nowka. There are many mangalams in Sanskrit, Telegu, Tamil and Kannada. These compositions are in auspicious ragas like Dhanyasi, Asaveri, Mangala Kaisiki, Vasanta, Saurashtra, Ghanta, Madhyamvati, Sriraja, Surati, Mohena, Yadukulkambhoji and Pantuvarali. (Sambamurthy 1971 : 43-44)

C.R. Day, in *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan*, explains the mangalam thus:

Songs of salutation or hail, called Mangals, are sung at the conclusion of all performances. Melodies of this kind are usually in either the ragas Surati or Saurashtra. (1974 : 85)

In his description of the Kalakshepam (a South Indian song-sermon), Emmons E. White, in *Appreciating India's Musics*, states that the Kalakshepam "ends with the Mangalam song, in
which Divine blessing is invoked upon the message thus presented" (1971: 50).

While the description provided by Sambamurthy was seen to be the most accurate by some of my interviewees, its limitations are also worth noting. One has to consider that this source is directed at the South Indian scholar or reader, since all the terms are South Indian and Sambamurthy neither includes their North Indian equivalents nor provides the English meaning of the terms. While Sunthrodayam Moodley supports Sambamurthy's definition, she maintains that "blessings" should also be incorporated in the description or definition of the mangalam (1997).

Various sources indicated that there is no requirement to follow a particular structure or form when performing a mangalam. It is my assumption that the kirtana format (consisting of a pallavi - refrain, anupallavi and charanam - stanzas) may have comprised the original structure that may have changed over a period of time. My personal observation is that today, in South Africa, the structure is very often divided into two parts - chorus (refrain) and verse (stanza).
Taking into account all the above definitions, I have attempted to provide a general description or definition of the mangalam. This collation is based on Thompson’s reference to oral and written sources as a means of communication (1988: 110) and individual and collective memory of the past. Thompson maintains that:

The constructing and telling of both collective and individual memory of the past is an active social process, which demands both skill and art, learning from others, and imaginative power (1988: 140).

A general description or definition of the mangalam, could therefore include the following points:

1. The mangalam is auspicious and is associated with prosperity.
2. It is a composition of poetry that is recited or sung.
3. It is usually the concluding item in an auspicious occasion such as a wedding, religious ceremony, dance recital or music recital. It is not performed at a funeral as this is not regarded as an auspicious occasion (Prabhakaran 1997; Nanackchand 1997).
4. It is a song or chant of blessing, congratulations or good wishes, salutation or hail and praise (Refer to Appendix A).

5. It is sacred because it contains phrases that invoke the name of God or one or more Hindu deities. It asks for blessings and contains supplications.

6. The form or structure may consist of two alternating sections: the refrain or chorus, (pallavi - South Indian; asthayi - North Indian), where the words and melody remain the same throughout the performance; and the stanzas or verses (charanam - South Indian; antara - North Indian), where the melody is different to that of the chorus and remains constant while the words change in each verse.

7. Mangalams are usually performed using ragas that are suitable for auspicious occasions (In Cass. Side A, No. 2 the mangalam is in raga mohena). Recognition of these auspicious ragas indicates to the listener that the occasion is drawing to a close. This is the case especially in instrumental concerts (Padmanathan 1997; Mahenthri Govender 1997).
8. In some instances the mangalam is not sung but played instrumentally on the nagasvaram or nadaswaram (a South Indian double-reed oboe) or on a shehnai (a North Indian double-reed oboe) at the conclusion of an instrumental or vocal concert. This practice also occurs at some weddings. These instruments are used because they have been associated with royalty and auspiciousness and have therefore been played at weddings. In many instances, as the bridal procession entered the place where the ceremony was to take place, it was accompanied by players playing these instruments. Holroyde maintains that "because of its association with times of marriage, the shehnai has provided inspiration for innumerable love lyrics and has an emotive value that no other North Indian instrument possesses" (1972: 261).

While these points are true of the mangalam, many changes have occurred over the years as a result of various factors, some of which were the influence of the popular film industry, westernisation, modernisation, changes in performance practice and style, as well as
personal preferences of the individuals concerned.

In Kwazulu Natal, some mangalams that are performed at weddings may contain no reference or invocation to God or to Hindu deities, but may contain words of good wishes, advice and blessing of the parents and the elders. Others may not follow the same structure as they may be based on film melodies (Appendix A, Mangalams 3, 4, 5, 9 and 10) or other popular religious or folk melodies such as ghazals (Urdu poetic form of songs in light classical style), dhuns (light classical songs or airs) or bhajans (songs of praise). The song may be based on a simple folk melody rather than being sung in a classical raga.

It must be clarified that the mangalam is not a song of thanks at the end of an occasion but a song of salutation to, or, in praise of God or a deity, or it is comprised of blessings and good wishes for the person or people for whom the occasion is held.
HISTORY AND ORIGIN OF THE MANGALAM

Due to the lack of written documentation, the information provided for this research was based predominantly on the perceptions and views of my informants. While many sources were unable to provide details with regard to the origin of the mangalam, some sources strongly believed that its origin was "as old as the Vedas" (Nanackchand 1997; Maharaj 1997). The Vedas are the ancient sacred writings of Hinduism.

Pushpamal Murugan (1997), as well as these informants, maintains that the type of mangalam that is sung must have been derived from the benedictory mantra (chant in sacred prayer) that was recited or chanted by priests at the end of all auspicious samskaras or ceremonies, prior to the final prayer of peace. According to Nanackchand, the original mangalam, referred to as Van dev gan, first appears in the Sama Ved in which the celestial songs are contained. This is chanted or recited by the priest at all ceremonies -- except for funerals -- at the end of the ceremony. It consists of three verses with
their meanings: (Appendix A, Mangalam 1; Cassette. Side A, No. 1)

**VAN DEV GAN**

1. *Om Bhur Bhuvah Swah*

*Kaya naschitra abhuvaduti sada vridhah sakha*

*Kaya shachishtaya vrita*

God is existent, conscious and all-blissful. He is always mature, unique and friend of all. May He come to our help with His pleasant protection and in auspicious intelligent manner.

2. *Om Bhur Bhuvah Swah*

*Kastwa satyo madanam mamhisto masadandhsahah*

*Dridha chida ruje vasu*

God is existent, conscious and all-blissful. God, the greatest possessor of blessedness is true and all-bea(u)titude. O man! It is He who may make you happy and courageous with his power to overcome the internal enemies firmly.
3. Om Bhur Bhuvah Swaha

Abhi shunah sakhi nama vita jaritrinam
Shatam bhava sewtaye

O Lord! You are the protector of the eulogizers who have attained great intimacy with you. Please come to our protection hundred times.

(Sanskar Vidhi 1985 : 46-47)

Nanackchand speculates that people may have adopted the Van dev gan by including certain words from this chant into mangalams at various occasions. She also maintains that, as a result of the various offshoots of Hinduism, there have also been various derivations of the Van dev gan that she has made reference to. Hence, one would find different priests using different benedictory mantras (1997). In the Hindi Vedic wedding all priests recite the same mangal mantra (Cass. Side 1, No. 3).

It should be noted that Nanackchand, Singh and Maharaj have made reference to the scriptures used by the North Indians (Hindi people) in South
Africa where the basis of the language is Sanskrit. Murugan also makes reference to the benedictory mantra that is used by the South Indians (Tamil and Telugu people) in South Africa (1997). According to Prabakaran, since not all priests knew the Sanskrit text of the benedictory mantra, it was probably replaced by a vernacular text when sung (1997). Goodall maintains that, after the eleventh century, vernacular languages rather than Sanskrit, were used in North and Central India and this practice then moved South, resulting in a new medium for religious literature (1991: 43).

According to my informants, until the sixties, it was common practice for a group of people, usually women, to sing appropriate songs in the vernacular at every important stage during the wedding ceremony. The words were very pertinent to a particular ritual or rite and it is possible that, likewise, the mangalam was sung immediately after the recitation of the benedictory mantra. While the other songs are no longer being sung, the mangalam is evidently more important and is thus still being performed at weddings today.
OCCASIONS WHEN THE MANGALAM IS PERFORMED

As mentioned, it was my belief that mangalams had been sung only at weddings as it was my experience that this was the only place at which I had heard the performance of mangalams.

This view has also been supported by many of my informants who maintained that they had no idea that the mangalam was or could be performed at any other occasion. They perceived it as being a song of blessing, praise and good wishes to the bridal couple after they had completed their marriage vows.

During my research it became apparent that this was not the case, since upon close examination of the definitions of the mangalam provided by various literary sources as well as informants, I realised that the mangalam could be performed at any auspicious occasion. Pandit Lallddeo Maharaj emphasises that the benedictory mantra ought to be chanted at the end of every auspicious occasion but that in the present day people are unaware that this is the mangalam or benedictory
mantra, since they expect it to be sung rather than chanted (1997).

While there may be many occasions at which the mangalam is performed in India, in South Africa, and particularly in KwaZulu Natal, the mangalam is predominantly performed at the following occasions:

1. Religious festivals or celebrations

Certain religious celebrations or festivals such as Kavady, Shivaratri and Purutassi are concluded with the singing of a mangalam in praise of a deity or deities with whom the festivals are associated (Gopalan Govender : 1997) (Appendix A, Mangalams 15-18). In the Kavady festival, the mangalam is performed in dedication to Lord Muruga (Cass. Side B, No. 5) whereas in the Purutassi celebrations the mangalam is sung in dedication to God as Govinda (Moodley : 1997). Likewise the Swami Tyagaraj mangalam is sung in praise of Lord Rama (Mahenthri Govender : 1997). Sukhraj Chotai also wrote two mangalams in Hindi; one dedicated to Swami Dayanand (App. A, Mangalam
19; Cass. Side B, No. 2) and the other, in praise of the Vedas (App. A, Mangalam 20).

2. Music Recitals (Katcheris)

In both vocal and instrumental South Indian recitals of classical music (katcheris), the mangalam may be played instrumentally or sung at the end of the performance. Mahenthri Govender states that as soon as the audience recognises "the initial strains of the raga", they realise that this is the concluding item of the performance. The composition is usually not very elaborate technically, but rather short and simple. It is usually sung in praise of the composer or of the deities to whom the performance is dedicated. She also maintains that there are certain set, well-known mangalams that are performed by all singers in the same melody, such as the Swami Tyagaraj mangalams which are Telugu masterpieces in praise of Lord Rama. While there may be slight individual differences in singing style between singers, the basic structure of the melody remains the same (1997).
3. Dance Recitals
Day states that a nautch (dance recital) is usually brought to a close by the singing of a mangalam in either ragas Surati or Saurashtra. According to Mahenthri Govender, the Indian dancer in India and in South Africa usually has musicians or artists to accompany her while she dances. The mangalam is sung at the end of the dance recital and is usually in praise of the deity or deities to whom the performance is dedicated, while the dancer does her prostrations and salutations to all (1997).

4. Naming Ceremony (Namkaran Samskar)
A few weeks after the birth of a baby, an auspicious date is set aside for the ceremony at which the baby is given his or her name. According to Somaroo, various songs are sung during this ceremony by a group of women. These songs are called sohars or araros, in Hindi (1989: 256). "The songs bestow good wishes on the mother and child and avert evil influences. They contain frequent references to the Indian scriptures, and the childhood of Rama and Krishna is a common theme" (1989: 256). One could
therefore conclude that the content of these songs were similar to that of the mangalam but that they have been referred to differently, since they were sung at different stages of the ceremony. Perhaps the concluding song may be regarded as the proper mangalam.

5. Other Auspicious Occasions
Occasions such as wedding anniversaries (App. A, Mangalam 5; Cass. Side A, No. 5), house warming parties, birthdays and engagements may also conclude with a mangalam. The most common occurrence of the mangalam in South Africa is its performance at weddings, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.
Of the sixteen sanskaras (sacraments or ceremonies) that a Hindu should perform from birth to death, the wedding is regarded as being the most auspicious. It signifies the unity of two people and the creation of a new family. It is therefore an important step from the first stage of a person's life - bachelorhood (Brahmachrya 0 - 25 years), to the second stage of householder - (Grihastashram 25 - 50 years) (Nanackchand 1997). Without marriage, there would be a break in the continuity of the four stages (ashrams) of life. Therefore, marriage is regarded as being an important stage in a person's life and as a sign of spiritual growth. Thus it is considered sacred (Singh 1989 : 76). Marriage, Singh continues,

serves as a vital institution for the experience of religious, cultural and spiritual practices of the Hindu people thus ensuring the preservation and perpetuation of the religio-cultural and philosophical values of Hinduism (1989 : 67).
It is my assumption that the perpetuation of these practices may be pertinent to those who live in a diaspora where one often encounters acts of "saming". It is Schor's belief that often people imagine that others like them are involved in similar courses of action (1989: 38).

THE HINDU WEDDING IN KWAZULU NATAL

One ceremony that all Indians in South Africa have maintained over the years is the wedding. According to Singh, "it is still one of the most important 'rites of passage' performed and adhered to by the Hindu community of South Africa" (1989: 444). Ritha Ramphal points out that while Indian South Africans may have adopted certain practices and customs of the West, "resistance to change has been relatively stronger in the areas of religion, marriage and courtship, i.e. areas which carry heavy emotional overtones" (1989: 74). This adherence to certain customs and ceremonies may be attributed to the degree of "saming" as postulated by Schor.

Although civil marriages are compulsory according to South African law, with traditional Hindu weddings being regarded as legally valid only
recently, Hindus still consider the traditional wedding to be both legally and spiritually binding (Singh 1989: 234-235). This shows a strong sense of confidence and pride in the traditions inherited by Indian South Africans from their parents and grandparents.

It is interesting to note that although many Indian youth presently in KwaZulu Natal do not understand the sacred language in which the traditional Indian wedding ceremony is conducted, they are still prepared to get married in this way and regard it as being a very significant day in their lives. Through the medium of the sacred language, they feel "connected" to their ancestral past and believe that they are continuing the tradition of their forefathers. While Anderson states that there was a gradual decline in the use of classical languages from the 16th century (1991: 18), this change has not occurred in traditional Indian weddings where the ceremony continues to be conducted in a sacred language even in South Africa. Bundhoo maintains that while certain rituals may have been omitted due to their length or their lack of relevance to the ceremony, the main core of the ceremony is
still being performed in KwaZulu Natal (1997). This flexibility suggests what Hobsbawm cites as the combination of "flexibility in substance" with "formal adherence to precedent" (1988 : 2).

**THE SIGNIFICANCE AND PLACE OF MUSIC IN THE WEDDING**

While music has always played a significant role in Indian weddings, many sources have indicated that the nuptial ceremony is extremely important and that music should take a secondary place during the ceremony. There is, however, much merriment that involves music-making which is associated with the wedding preparations. In some more traditionally oriented families, these may begin prior to the wedding day (almost a week in advance). On the wedding eve, many relatives and friends converge at either the bride's or the bridegroom's home where certain rituals and prayers are performed. Thereafter, a few musicians often entertain the people for the entire evening.

In my personal experience as well as those of my informants, it was common practice during the 1960s and 1970s at many Hindi weddings in KwaZulu...
Natal for the bridegroom to enter the place where the nuptial ceremony was going to be held, led by a troupe of two or three musicians playing the shehnai. Likewise in the South Indian weddings here, the bride enters the venue for the nuptial ceremony, led by musicians playing the nagasvaram. While this practice of leading the bride or bridegroom into the hall or temple by a group of musicians is still in existence in some weddings today, many families are not able to find adequately trained musicians and thus have to resort to the use of cassette recordings from India.

Until the sixties, during the North Indian wedding ceremony in Kwazulu Natal, a group of musicians, very often women, sang appropriate songs at every important stage. They used a "dholak, a two-faced drum commonly used in folk music" to accompany their singing (Somaroo 1989 : 256). Somaroo mentions that these songs were based mainly on "the theme of Rama and Sita -- the eternal, cannonised characters of the Ramayana who epitomise the ultimate relationship between man and wife" (1989 : 255).
Although songs were sung while the ceremony was in progress, they did not detract from the occasion or its significance. One was still able to hear the priest reciting the mantras (Nanackchand 1997; Rambharos 1997). Similarly, in South Indian weddings in Kwazulu Natal there used to be a small group of musicians playing instrumental pieces during the ceremony. Sometimes people also sang religious songs during the ceremony. Naresh Veeran states that this practice began towards the end of the nineteenth century (1996: 17). He argues that the introduction of the Indian film during the mid-thirties, together with the emergence of the record industry, had an immense impact and influence on the musical style and performance amongst Indian South Africans.

Indian South African audiences identified readily with these films, since they had been exposed to the dramatized version of the same stories enacted by local artists ... (Veeran 1996: 23)

It is interesting to note that this practice was also occurring in India. Siddiqi, in his article "Folk Roots of India" states: "Whereas in the past traditional wedding songs would have been
sung by the neighbourhood women all through the festivities, it is now more usual to hear film songs blaring away at Indian weddings” (1994 : 234).

The introduction of bands or orchestras both locally as well as in India became a very popular medium of entertainment at weddings, especially during the seventies and eighties, because they played popular music from Indian films and recordings. The reason for the acceptance of film songs may be attributed to the fact that “composers borrowed from all cultural sources including Indian classical, stage and folk music, ... which also featured western styles and popular music of India” (Booth 1990 : 255). In Kwazulu Natal there was a tendency for the band to dominate the entire ceremony thus making the vows and other rituals being performed inaudible to the audience. There are those who preferred having these bands as a form of entertainment for the audience for various reasons, one being the length of the weddings. Bands were also popular at local South Indian weddings until the late 1970s but as people became more conscious of the beauty of Karnatic (South Indian classical)
music, there were requests to have a small group of musicians perform vocal or instrumental katcheris (concerts).

At many North and South Indian weddings in Kwazulu Natal, there are no musicians performing, but often during the ceremony a very soft recording of Indian classical music, usually instrumental, or sometimes of instrumental popular music, is heard in the background. Often the only song that is sung is the mangalam.

PERFORMANCE OF THE MANGALAM

The performance of the mangalam occurs at the end of a Hindu wedding before the final concluding prayer of peace with which all occasions should be concluded. The Hindi people refer to this prayer of peace as the Shanti Paat. During my research, I discovered that the mangalam was not only performed at Hindu weddings. At certain Christian weddings, such as those conducted in the Telugu Baptist Churches in Kwazulu Natal, mangalams are also sung. In Muslim weddings they are referred to as Sehra (Appendix A, Mangalam 11; Cass. Side B, No. 1). Melveen Jackson cites
A.G. Pillay who mentions that Christian Indians, especially those in India, sang their lyrics in the vernacular (1988: 84). This has also been the practice among some Indian Christians in South Africa.

In Hindu weddings amongst South Indians in Kwazulu Natal, the *mangalam* is sung immediately after the tying of the *thali* (sacred thread that the bridegroom places around the bride's neck as a symbol of their marriage). The tying of the *thali* (App. C, Pict. 4) is a very important part of the South Indian wedding both locally and in India. At this time, the priest holds the *thali* in his hand and asks all people present, starting with the parents of the bridal couple, to bless the thread (App. C, Pict. 1), thus giving the union their blessings (Murugan 1997). The *thali* may also be referred to as "*mangaliam*". In some weddings the *nagasvaram* player and *mrdangam* (two-headed barrel shaped drum) player play an instrumental *mangalam* while the *thali* is placed around the bride's neck. Some people disapprove of this, because they believe that a *mangalam* should be sung since the words convey an
important message. Others feel that it is "different" to have an instrumental version rather than the usually sung mangalam. Eric Hobsbawm tells us that:

Custom[s]... do not preclude innovation and change up to a point, although evidently the requirement that it appear compatible or even identical with precedent imposes substantial limitations on it. What it does is give any desired change... the sanction of precedent, social continuity and natural law as expressed in history (1988 : 2).

In North Indian weddings in Kwazulu Natal the mangalam is sung after the ashirvad (blessing) when close members of the family of the bridal couple assemble around the couple and recite words of blessing from the benedictory mantra and then shower flower petals or confetti onto the couple (App. C, Pict. 2). This is a very auspicious moment and it is at this time that the mangalam is sung. The mangalam is sometimes also sung after the sindur (red powder/vermillion) is placed by the bridegroom onto the bride's forehead as a symbol of marriage (App. C, Pict. 3). This is also a very auspicious moment in the nuptial ceremony.
In Telugu Baptist (Christian) weddings, the mangalam is performed after the vows have been taken during the signing of the marriage register (Davids 1997). In Muslim weddings the Sehra is performed as soon as the nikah (nuptial ceremony) is completed (Ramchandra 1997).

While this is the usual practice of mangalam singing in Kwazulu Natal, in some weddings it is performed immediately after the ceremony due to the personal preference of the people concerned. However, those who are aware of its significance at a particular time in the wedding, maintain that it should be performed at that auspicious and sacred moment.

As has been mentioned, the mangal mantra (benedictory chant) is usually chanted by the priest (App. C, Pict. 1 and 2; Cass. Side A, No. 3), so the singing of the mangalam is an added feature and could therefore be considered optional in the ceremony. This is probably one reason why some weddings have no mangalams sung, as some people do not see it as being absolutely essential to the ceremony. Here again, those who realise its significance advocate that the
wedding is incomplete without the singing of the mangalam.

A common practice in Kwazulu Natal has been for the bridal couple or their parents to request a close family member or a friend to sing the mangalam. This is evident in the families of N.C. Naidoo and Master Harisingh. Many singers regard it as being an honour and a privilege to sing the mangalam. Those who wish to have a mangalam performed at their weddings but who do not know of anyone close to sing it, arrange for a professional singer to perform it. Some people have told me that they would have liked the performance of a mangalam at their wedding but that they did not know of anyone who could have done this. In many instances if a person heard a mangalam that he liked, he would request the writer or singer to sing the same mangalam at his own wedding (Refer to App. A, Mangalam 4).

Until the sixties, the mangalam was performed at almost every Hindu wedding in Kwazulu Natal, but its frequency has diminished due to various reasons, not least the lack of suitable singers or lyricists. In part this may be attributed to
the dispersion of Indian South Africans after the implementation of the Group Areas Act in which Indians were forced to relocate to racially designed townships. Contacting a lyricist or a singer thus became a difficult task.

While some informants believe that the occurrence of the mangalam singing is gradually diminishing, others feel that people are now becoming more culturally aware of their Indian heritage. Some religious organisations such as the Sungham and Jyothi groups are responsible for the retention of the mangalam as it is sung at the end of all Sungham and Jyothi weddings.

During the period when Indian orchestral bands were popular (1940 – 1970), some local bands ensured that they performed a mangalam at all the weddings where they were requested to entertain the guests. Otherwise, mangalams were written by people who were well-versed in Indian languages and had good poetic writing skills. These people wrote a mangalam especially for the bridal couple. Very often the names of the couple or the family name were included in the text. Nowadays, many singers use the same mangalams but change the names of the people within the text (App. A,
Mangalam 4). Many singers have now acquired cassette recordings of mangalams from India, and choose one of these to perform at a wedding.

The mangalam in KwaZulu Natal is presently performed in the following languages: Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Gujarati, Urdu and occasionally, in Sanskrit. Since not all lyricists are musicians, many have based the tune on a film melody, i.e. they have written the words with a film tune in mind. (App. A, Mangalams 3,4,5,7,9 and 10; Cass. Side A, Nos. 3,4,5,6 and 7).

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN PRACTICE AND PERFORMANCE

STYLE

From the above, one can see that there are no longer rules for the performance of the mangalam. Indians in Kwazulu Natal have adapted the mangalam to suit particular circumstances and have thus interpreted it in their own unique way. This has occurred due to such factors as ignorance of Indian traditions, westernisation, modernisation, the influence of the film and record industry on local performance, and the scarcity of lyricists and singers.
The significance of the *mangalam*, in my opinion as well as those of my informants, has not been forgotten. While many local youth may not have an idea as to its purpose in an occasion, many adults are aware of its "auspicious" qualities.

It is also my conclusion that the people of South Indian heritage in Kwazulu Natal are more aware of its significance than those of North Indian heritage. A reason for this could be the frequency of the performance of the *mangalam* in local South Indian occasions. The *mangalam* is performed during the tying of the *thali* at almost all South Indian weddings in Kwazulu Natal. Another reason could be the fact that most local South Indian musicians and singers have at least one *mangalam* in their repertoire. They are also aware of the *ragas* in which the *mangalam* ought to be sung.

In the local North Indian weddings, while the frequency of *mangalam* performances is not the same as that in the first half of the twentieth century, its survival may be partly due to the influence of the Indian film industry. Many
lyricists, especially those of North Indian heritage "borrow" the melodies of popular film songs and work their lyrics around this. Also, since these films were so popular, when people saw a ritual or practice on the screen they often adopted these into their own lives. This may have been the case with the mangalam.

Another very important factor in regard to aspects of continuity is the maintenance of the vernacular language in the mangalam although many people do not understand the vernacular. This could be attributed to acts of "saming" as postulated by Schor where people imagine that others like them are involved in similar courses of action (1989: 38).

A major change in the style of the mangalam both locally and in India, is singing it in film, folk, ballad, or light classical rather than classical style. This can be attributed to changes in lifestyle and modern influences.

The practice of presenting the mangalam to the bridal couple at the wedding and of displaying the mangalam in a prominent position has also
disappeared. Hereagain the above-mentioned factors may have influenced this.

Certain instruments such as the violin and mrdangam are still being used as accompaniment to the singer in local South Indian weddings. In local North Indian weddings the singer either sings unaccompanied, or is accompanied by the harmonium and tabla or western instruments such as the keyboard and electric guitar. The introduction of western instruments in "Indian" music may be regarded as change or adaptation in performance style. It is my assumption that the accompanying instruments in the local North Indian weddings were originally the harmonium and tabla.

I argue that Indian South Africans continue to include such traditions as mangalam singing in their various customs and traditions to form an imaginary link with their ancestral home. In the case of the mangalam, it may be that its survival to the present can be attributed to the process of "saming". This would not only account for its survival, but also, as evidence indicates, its modifications since the 1920s. Indian South
Africans may have believed that such modifications were concurrently taking place in India. Through the medium of the mangalam, I argue, Indian South Africans, imagine themselves as being part of a diaspora still linked to India - if not functionally then in an imaginary sense.

ELEMENTS THAT CONSTITUTE THE MANGALAM

LYRICS

The lyrics are the most important aspect of the mangalam since they convey special messages to the bridal couple. However, each mangalam is different because of the individual styles of writers and their skills in the art of poetry. A general overview of the content matter of those mangalams found in Appendix A are:

1. They contain congratulatory messages to the bridal couple (Refer to App. A and Cass. Recording).
2. They ask for God's blessing, protection and love, and for the couple to live a long and a happy life together.
3. They make reference to God and sing the praises of God.

4. They remind the couple of the vows that have been taken and that the couple should not forget these vows.

5. They remind the couple to respect, love and care for each other's families.

6. They make reference to the bride leaving her parents' home and for her to live in harmony with her husband and in-laws.

7. They make reference to the main characters of the Hindu Scriptures (e.g. Ram and Sita) and use them as examples that the bride and bridegroom should emulate (App. A, Mangalams 2, 5 and 7).

MELODY

Whilst the description of the mangalam in Chapter Two contains references to ragas for performance, the melodies of most mangalams were created or chosen by the singer or the lyricist. Master Harisingh is both singer and lyricist, and thus creates his own melodies for his mangalams. Bickraj Ramchandra also composed his own melody around words that were written by others (Cass. Side B, No. 1). Ashalata van Dijk-Chotai created the melodies for two mangalams that were written
the melodies for two mangalams that were written by Sukhraj Chotai (App. A, Mangalams 19 and 20; Cass. Side B, No. 2). Others have adopted folk, ghazal and dhun melodies in their mangalams. Veena Lutchman's mangalam is based on a Kashmiri dhun (App. A, Mangalam 6; Cass. Side B, No. 6).

Informants suggested that any melody could be chosen such that it brings out the essence and the meaning of the lyrics. Most melodies are therefore not purely classical but more folk-oriented. Kumaresen Chetty mentions that there are certain popular captivating ragas that are frequently used by the local South Indians in Kwazulu Natal. These are: Madhyamavati, Mohena, Surati and Kalyani -- the most auspicious one being Madhyamavati (1997). In the local North Indian mangalams, ragas are chosen according to personal preferences, and depending on the time of day during which the mangalam is to be performed. The favourites of Master Harisingh are Raga Yaman and Raga Kalyan. Mahenthri Govender maintains that the melody should not be elaborate, since the aim is not at technical virtuosity, but to bring out the meaning of the lyrics.
Since the 1960s, the use of film songs as the basis of mangalam melodies became a popular practice. Further, audiences who know the original tunes enjoy the renditions (Appendix A, Mangalams 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 10; Cass. Side A, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7).

RHYTHM
The rhythmic component of the mangalam is usually played on a tabla or a mrdangam. Popular rhythmic cycles or talas used in Kwazulu Natal are: adital, a measure containing 8 time-units (4+2+2) and teental, which has 16 time-units in four divisions (4+4+4+4).

TEMPO
Most mangalams are performed in a moderate, flowing tempo since it is important that the lyrics are made prominent.

ACCOMPANIMENT AND INSTRUMENTS USED
The mangalam in Kwazulu Natal is usually performed as a solo or a group song. Popular instruments used to accompany singers are the harmonium and tabla in local North Indian weddings, and mrdangam and violin in local South
Indian weddings. Sometimes instruments such as sitar (string instrument), mandolin and tanpura (four-stringed instrument used as a drone) are included, depending on the availability of performers. Keyboards (Cass. Side A, Nos. 3, 4 and 5), guitars and electronic instruments have recently also become popular choices.

STRUCTURE
As has been mentioned, mangalams generally comprise verses and choruses. However this may differ from performer to performer. Some mangalams may begin or end with an invocation (Appendix A, Mangalams 2 and 7).
CHAPTER FOUR:

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF

THE MANGALAM IN WEDDINGS

The mangalam is performed during a very important part of the nuptial ceremony in both North and South Indian weddings. The application of the vermillion (sindur) in Hindi weddings and the tying of the sacred thread (thali) in Tamil and Telugu weddings respectively are regarded as very auspicious symbols. It is at this auspicious moment that the mangalam is performed (App. C, Pict. 3 and 4).

Since the benedictory (mangal) mantras are already chanted by the priest, the practice of singing a mangalam is optional to the ceremony. However, its practice has not become extinct in South Africa. While it may not be performed as frequently as it was in the sixties, the fact that it is still being performed at weddings,
unlike many of the other wedding songs, indicates that there is something special and significant about its performance and its performers. Performers, Veit Erlmann tells us, like diviners and healers, by virtue of their ability to direct the flow of power through special channels of words, music, and bodily movement, are privileged in handling power (1996 : XIX). Erlmann's argument provides an important clue to our understanding of mangalam performance. It may be that mangalam performance like other types of performance are empowering acts that contributed significantly to Indian South African cultural identity.

Judging from the response of interviewees, there are a number of reasons for the current significance of the mangalam.

Participants in weddings find that the mangalam brightens and adds musical colour to the occasion since it is a form of entertainment which, at the same time has sacred associations. According to Davids:

The beauty of the ceremony is lost without it as it is the crowning item in the entire wedding ceremony (1997).
The mangalam is seen by some as a bridge between the serious, solemn and sacred part of the nuptial ceremony and the lighter, social part of the wedding where meals are served, people interact with each other and there is much revelry and joy (Rambharos 1997).

Since the nuptial ceremony is performed in Sanskrit and the mangalam is sung in the vernacular, members of the audience are able, through the combination of both sources, to understand and therefore appreciate the meaning of the wedding itself. It must be pointed out that since the seventies, not all Indian South Africans speak or understand Indian languages. The older generation and those actively involved in religio-cultural activities, however, are better able to understand and appreciate the lyrics.

During my observations and research, I found that many youth were unfamiliar with the mangalam tradition. However, they still accorded that time in the wedding the kind of reverence it deserved. Similarly, in reference to South African freedom songs, Blacking states that “it was their music
which made the deepest impact, especially on those who did not speak the language in which sentiments of the songs were expressed." He adds that the "sound of the music conveyed as clear a message as the words of the songs" (Byron 1995: 33).

Those who were related to or closely associated with the respective families showed appreciation for the performance of the mangalam. It was not just the good wishes of the lyricist or singer but was regarded as being the good wishes of the entire community present at the occasion.

It was not unusual for the parents of the bridal couple to invite everyone they knew to their children's wedding (App. C, Invitation 1 and 2). According to Singh, the presence of the assembled guests was extremely important since they were not merely onlookers but were regarded as being an integral part of the ceremony in that they served as witnesses to the performance of the rites and the union of the bridal couple (1989: 389). Singh adds that there is the belief that the blessings of the guests also secured for the

Until the sixties, the common practice with regard to the mangalam was that it was written and sung by a single person. This was the case with the mangalam written in 1925 by Francis Masilamoney Konar (Appendix A, Mangalam 2). After the performance, the lyricist or singer presented the written copy of the lyrics to the bridal couple as a gift. In the mangalam written by Konar, he states that it was presented by the Jacobs Dramatic Sabha of which he was a member. According to informants, great pride was taken in the presentation of the mangalam. It was usually written by a calligrapher and was often surrounded by interesting artwork such as paintings or dried flowers. There were people who were skilled in this field and were referred to as Mangal Artists (Murugan 1997). The hand-written mangalam was then placed in a beautifully carved wooden frame. This was also the case in which the mangalam mentioned above was presented. After the wedding, the mangalam was taken to the home of the newly weds and was placed in a prominent position in the house usually where the
family portraits and photographs were housed. Thompson refers to different processes of transmitting family history. He mentions wedding photographs being hung on a wall as a means of reconstructing memory (1988:142). One could conclude that this was a common practice shared by various cultures. The practice of hanging up the mangalam in a prominent position on a wall was also done to enable visitors to read the text. The mangalam written by Konar for Mr and Mrs Dickson Pillay was hanging up on the wall of the lounge of Mrs Pillay when contact was made with her for this research project. According to Subramaniyan, this display was common practice in India because the mangalam was regarded as a document that verified the marriage between the people concerned (1996).

In South Africa, within the past five years Hindu and Muslim marriages were recognised by the South African state. Prior to this Hindu and Muslim marriages were not legally recognised. People therefore felt very proud of their mangalams as they signified outward symbols of their marriage.
Mangalams were also constant reminders of the vows that were taken on their special day. People who visited often read the mangalam and, as evidence indicates, commented on the poetic prowess of the lyricist. Unfortunately, this practice of displaying the mangalam is not in existence today due to such factors as modernisation and changes in lifestyle generally. However, after the interviews many informants mentioned that they were inspired to find their mangalam and have it displayed in their homes.

According to Nanackchand, prior to the 1970s, priests and elder members of the family sang the mangalam at a wedding. Thereafter, the audience would be invited to sing their "gifts" to the bridal couple. Sometimes as many as five or six people sang mangalams at a single wedding (Nanackchand 1997, Murugan 1997). Murugan mentions that people, of their own accord, also wrote mangalams and brought them along as gifts for the bridal couple (1997). It may be that speeches at weddings are a western concept and their importance was transferred to the mangalam in an Indian context (Satish Chotali 1997).
For those people who have an in-depth understanding of Indian languages, cultures and religions, the performance of mangalams was considered as enhancing a wedding ceremony (Murugan 1997, Rambharos 1997).

Since the seventies, there has been a change in the performance practices of the mangalam. Due to the decline in the use of vernacular languages, many singers were not able to confidently write lyrics themselves and thus it became common practice to request another person who had a good command of the Indian languages and customs to write a mangalam for a particular wedding. In the case of the mangalam written by Konar in 1925, he was requested to write and perform the mangalam by the bridegroom, Dickson Pillay, who was his close friend. For many of the lyricists and singers, it was a great honour and privilege for them to be chosen to write or to perform a mangalam. This view is supported by Sunthrodayam Moodley -- daughter of the late N. C. Naidoo -- who states that she always feels very honoured when asked to perform a mangalam at a wedding (1997).
In some families, the singing of the mangalam characterises their weddings. This is especially the case in the N. C. Naidoo and the Master Harisingh families in Durban.

Since the mangalam was written especially for a particular family, references are made to family members. It is therefore very personal and specific to the families involved. One could say that it was "their" song as it holds great importance and significance to them (Refer to Appendix A, Mangalams 2, 3, 4, 7, 9 and 13). Bundhoo maintains that he always takes into consideration the family when he writes a mangalam.

The performance of the mangalam is very meaningful to the parents of the bridal couple and usually evokes a feeling of sadness especially if mention is made of the bride's relationship with her family and the fact that she will be leaving her home and entering married life. While tears of joy and sorrow are shed at the same time, it is also a time when parents realise that their children have now grown and are no longer under their care and protection (Appendix A, Mangalam 6).
I argue that the mangalam is not just any song that is sung at a wedding, but one that has different meanings to various people associated with the wedding. These meanings affect the different roles played by these people. Likewise, Blacking maintains that "the same piece of music may communicate in different ways to different people on the same occasion" (Byron 1995: 38).
CHAPTER FIVE:

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have attempted to describe and examine the significance of the mangalam, an aspect of Hindu weddings. I have also tried to show how mangalams have evolved in South Africa in the last century. The issue of how traditions and customs continue and change in accordance with changing circumstances is also addressed.

The value and methodology of oral history in reconstructing the past has been influential in the shaping of this thesis. Due to a dearth of literature on this subject, the only means of obtaining information on the written mangalams was oral. Thompson’s reference to the use of both individual and collective views of informants has proved to be useful to this research. He addresses the issue of memory and interest of the interviewee with regard to the questions posed to him and adds that when questions are based on a particular incident or personal experience, interviewees show more consistency in answers (1988 : 135). During my research it was evident
when talking to interviewees about the mangalam that this was something memorable and of personal interest to them.

A major area of focus throughout the research concerned continuity and changes in customs and traditions in changing circumstances. Here Hobsbawm's theory on custom proved useful. According to Hobsbawm, "'custom' cannot afford to be invariant because even in 'traditional' societies life is not so." He adds that custom "gives any desired change... the sanction of precedent, social continuity and natural law as expressed in history" (1988 : 2). While my study pertains to Indian South Africans in Kwazulu Natal, it is notable that changes in customs also occurred in India. Einstadt ascertains that "the response to change is more pronounced in India than in many other traditional societies," yet "the core of Indian tradition seems to have shown a far greater resilience or continuity than many other Great Traditional Civilizations" (1970 : 23).

In South Africa, "[d]espite the fact that most of the indentured labourers came from rural backgrounds with no priests or theologists among
them, these people showed a dire need and interest in maintaining their religious practices, teaching and customs" (Goodall 1991: 5).

It is my assumption that this occurred because they felt that these practices were also taking place in their mother country and therefore felt connected to it. Schor’s theory of “saming”, where people imagine that others like them are involved in similar courses of action, could be applied to this situation.

Between 1860 and 1994, Indian South Africans were severely discriminated against both in the legislative level and in their daily lives. While their response to these injustices have been varied, they have left a disempowered community which looked towards various Indian traditions for inspiration. In the absence of any direct contact with their ancestral home, Indians began looking at some of their older sources, in our case, mangalams, which became sources of both inspiration and identity.
Indians in South Africa are part of a diaspora. However, unlike other Indian communities throughout the world, their movements in and out of South Africa have been extremely limited until quite recently. As a result, their culture, comprising both customs and traditions that were brought down by the original settlers, were the only sources of cultural identity.

As mentioned, over a period of time a number of these customs -- including the singing of mangalams -- changed in response to factors such as westernisation and urbanisation. While these changes were also occurring elsewhere, Indian South Africans, unlike those of other countries, experienced further factors that influenced change in customs. The effects of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 where English became the medium of instruction in KwaZulu Natal and the Group Areas Act where people were forced to relocate to racially designed townships had disastrous effects on the Indian South African way of life. Some of these are: the loss of language, breakdown of the joint family system and lack of suitable lyricists and singers.
I argue that despite these external influences Indian South Africans have not relinquished their cultural and religious practices. Many customs and religious traditions are still being practiced. It is notable that mangalams are still in existence.

I argue that its survival is due to the fact that it is a symbolic and significant song pertaining to a very important occasion celebrated by all Hindus in South Africa, the wedding. Another reason for its survival is that its style and performance practice have undergone various modifications. While some may disagree with these changes because it is not "authentic", I endorse Blacking's statement that "without change and adaptation to each situation that challenged the species, the very survival of the organism is threatened" (1982 : 20). In regard to continuity, Goodall maintains that:

the adaptations themselves have allowed continuity, as if continuity is an expression of the desire to keep or "hold on to", and that adaptation allows continuity to take place in a "foreign" environment (1992 : 300).
My views have to a large extent been influenced by those of my father, Sukhraj Chotai, who always maintained that "one has to move with the times" if one wants to survive and make progress in life.

I conclude with a quote by Martin Stokes:

Music is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them (1994 : 5).
APPENDIX A

MANGALAMS AND MUSICAL ANALYSIS OF MANGALAMS

MANGALAM 1 Van Dev Gan (in Sanskrit)

1. कथा निष्ठ्र ग्रा भुवुद्धी सद्वृद्ध: सखा।
   कथा वरिण्डया वृत्ता ॥

   (1) O King in what manner wilt Thou become our friend? Through protection wilt thou be our friend. With what conduct wilt thou be the master of extraordinary traits, actions and nature? Through wisdom wilt thou be. Thus wilt thou ever progress! (682)

2. कस्तवा सत्यो मदानां महिष्ठो मस्तत्त्वसः ।
   दुष्य विदाज्जेव बुध ॥

   (2) O King, what excellent, pleasant, truly pleasure-giving object, infuses thee with strength to break asunder the fortress of the foe? Know, food! (683)

3. अभी दु या: साहिनामविता जरिल्लाम्।
   शतं सेरस्तृत्य ॥

   (3) O God, be Thou the Guardian for one hundred years, for the protection of our friendly learned persons! (684)

Sam Ved (I:I:XII:142-143)

God is existent, conscious and all-blissful. He is always mature, unique and friend of all. May He come to our help with His pleasant protection and in auspicious intelligent manner.

God is existent, conscious and all-blissful. God, the greatest possessor of blessedness is true and all-beatitude. O man! It is He who may make you happy and courageous with his power to overcome the internal enemies firmly.

O Lord! you are the protector of the eulogizers who have attained great intimacy with you. Please come to our protection hundred times.

Sanskar Vidhi (1985:46-47)

Courtesy of Pandita P. Nanackchand 75
Musical Analysis

Style: Chant - recited by the priest
Melodic structure: Revolves around three consecutive notes above and below the tonic
Tempo: Moderately slow
Accompaniment: Unaccompanied
MANGALAM 2

Written and performed by Francis Masilamoney Konar
- 1925 (in Sankritised Tamil)

Composed by J. 176

Set out by Jacob 3 Indian邓洛洁 130 48/36

Courtesy of Mrs Dickson Pillay
Blessings to the bridal couple
Prayer and greetings to the Divine Lord
Prayer to thee, O Lord, who is supreme
In beauty and in holiness, who bestows
all kinds of happiness

I bow before you, O Holy and Blissful One
In this beautiful world, may you, as a flower,
bloom in glory and praise
And realize the purpose of life, as today is a
special day
This union with Sri Perumal Pillai (eldest and
only son of Sri Narayanasamy Pillai)
and Sowbagyavathi Nagavalli Ammal (daughter
of Sri Govindsamy Padaiyachiyar) I pray to the
holy, merciful God to bless and guide them

I have composed this song of happiness on
this day for this couple
May they live happily, like Siva who adorns
the crescent
May they live happily like all kinds of
flowers
May they live and lead a blissfully long life
I pray to you, Lord Siva, the Supreme, to
bless this happy couple Sri Perumal Pillai and
Sowbagyavathi Nagavalli Ammal

May there always be sunshine on this couple
May God Bless them and may they shine like
stars
May they live a long life, be blessed with
children, grandchildren, and great
grandchildren
With continuous devotion to You,
And following the scriptures with devotion
Jaya, Jaya, Jaya! I sing this mangalam

This marriage is performed by the holy Brahims
In the presence of the community,
Surrounded by friends and family
And witnessed by the Lord Sun and Lord Moon
May your life shine like the light
May purity prevail
Like the full moon, may you live a long life
together
Peace, happiness and prosperity

I, Masilamoney Konar, wish them a happy
married life on this earth
May they be blessed with good children

Translated by Subramaniyan and Murugan
Musical Analysis

Style: Classical
Melodic structure: Raga Mohena
Rhythmic structure: Adital (a measure containing 8 time units - 4+2+2)
Tempo: Slow - moderately fast - slow
Accompaniment: Harmonium
Form: 3 Sections:-
1 - Prayer and introduction chanted - consisting of three pitches revolving above and below the tonic.
2 - Song beginning with the refrain and consisting of three stanzas.
3 - Conclusion - wishes of the composer
MANGALAM 3

Written by Sukhraj Chotai- 1977 (in Hindi)

CHORUS:
Vinti karti hoon, Arji karti hoon
Asheesh de do, Asheesh de do
Mangal sada ho, Jeevan jagmag ho
Prem se bassa do, Prem se bassa do

VERSE 1
Anand se bharpoor ho, Asha se na door ho
Gale se laga do, Gale se laga do
Vinti...

VERSE 2
Manme sankalpa uten, Gharne shanti phailen
Phoolon se saja do, Phoolon se saja do
Vinti...

VERSE 3
Jagme kirti pawe, Dilme prithi jage
Pyar se mila do, Pyar se milo do
Vinti...

VERSE 4
Kripa teri rahe, Daya in par pade
Annse jila do, Annse se jila do
Vinti...

VERSE 5
Howe santhathi bhi, Dhan aur dhanya bhi
Khushi se dila do, Khushi se dila do
Vinti...

Courtesy of Ashalata van Dijk-Chotai

Written in 1977 for his daughter’s wedding
Based on film tune “Uljan suljhe na” from the film, “Dhund”
Translation - Mangalam 3

CHORUS
I am praying,
I am asking for your blessings
For this couple to be always joyful,
Sparkling with life
Enjoined with love

VERSE 1
Abound with happiness,
Never far from hope
Embracing with feeling

VERSE 2
The mind be poised in pledge
Peace reigning in the home
With the spread of flowers

VERSE 3
In this world be worthy of praise
In the heart, love that abounds
Such love that unites

VERSE 4
Always on them be His grace
His compassion be great
With food for health, they abound

VERSE 5
May they be blessed with progeny
With wealth and prosperity
All this be fulfilled with ecstasy

Translated by Dasarath Bundhoo

COMMENT: The names of the bride (Asha) and bridegroom (Anand) are included in the text very subtly, conveying a dual meaning (Asha-hope; Anand-happiness).

Musical Analysis

Style: Film/popular
Melodic structure: major key
Tempo: flowing, moderate
Meter: Quadruple
Accompaniment: Indian orchestra/band
Form: Refrain and 5 stanzas
Aage peechhe teri yeh preet ki jyoti jalana.
Kabhi prem diya na boojha, kabhi prem diya na boojha.
Phoolte phalte ab dono tum pyar karte rahana.

Saathe hauste gaate han din madhu ras peena
Nayi zindagi ki roshan mc sukhse tum deena
Aate jaate sada dil milate rahana

Tara bani dulhan Deva huwe magan
Aaj sab ki saamne huwi teri lagan
Mangal ho jivan namesh kushi se rahana.

COMMENT: In the last verse the names of the bride (Tara) and bridegroom (Deva) appear. Above these names appear the names of another couple, Geeta and Prem. The same mangalam was used for two occasions with the names of the bridal couple being changed. Often if one heard a mangalam that was sung at another wedding and one liked it one asked permission for the same one to be sung at one's own wedding. I assume this could have occurred with this mangalam.
**Translation** - Mangalam 4

**VERSE 1**

On all sides of you  
May the light of love shine  
The lamp of love never fading,  
The lamp of love never fading  
Blossoming and flowering  
Now both keep loving  
The lamp of love never fading,  
The lamp of love never fading

**VERSE 2**

Laughing and singing together  
Drinking honeyed juices daily  
In the light of your new life  
May you live happily  
Coming and going  
Let your hearts be one  
The lamp of love never fading,  
The lamp of love never fading

**VERSE 3**

With TARA being the bride  
DEVA is overjoyed  
Today, in the presence of so many  
You have become man and wife  
Always live happily  
Your married life is blessed  
The lamp of love never fading,  
The lamp of love never fading

Translated by Dasarath Bundhoo

**Musical Analysis**

- **Style:** Film/popular  
- **Melodic structure:** Alternating between major and minor keys  
- **Harmonic structure:** Alternating between major and minor keys  
- **Meter:** Quadruple  
- **Tempo:** Moderate and flowing  
- **Form:** Refrain and 2 stanzas  
- **Accompaniment:** Harmonium and tabla
MANGALAM 5

Written by Sukhraj Chotai - 1970s (in Hindi)

Chorus:
Nani - nana, dadi - dada, ma - pita,
Tere kirti gate ham dular se

Pyar ki pukar lo jehan ho tum
Pyar ki pukar lo jehan.

Verse 1
Ho ---
Dukh aayi sukh aayi, aayi maan,
Haar aayi jeet aayi, aayi shaan
Ram Shyam Om naam gaa - chala
Tere yesh sunate ham mitas se

Pyar ki...
Chorus

Verse 2
Ho ---
Kare seva, nari - nar, bhai - bahen
Dhyaan se imanse tan man
Kushiki bahaar aaj aa - gaya
Mangalachar gate ham prem se

Pyar ki...
Chorus

Verse 3
Ho ---
Shadi aayi, suvarnaki preetki
Veenayi meri pyarki aasheeshki
Ishwar japo, hari, bhaijo, ma - pita
Karte ham namaste satkarse

Pyar ki...
Chorus

Courtesy of Ashalata van Dijk-Chotai

Written for the Golden Wedding Anniversary of Chotai’s brother, Ramtahal Chotai and his sister-in-law. Based on the film song “Pyar ki Pukar”
Translation - Mangalam 5

CHORUS
Maternal grandparents, paternal grandparents, mother–father
We sing your praise with deep affection
Take our call of love wherever you are
Take our call of love wherever you go

VERSE 1
Come pain, come sorrow or may be praise
Take the name of Ram / Shyam
And keep reciting ‘Om’
We shall sing your fame with our sweet voices
Take our call of love wherever you are
Take our call of love wherever you go

VERSE 2
Keep serving all men and women,
Sisters and brothers
With thought and mind both physically
And with honesty
We sing the song of happiness today
Let us sing for your well-being with all our love
Take our call of love wherever you are
Take our call of love wherever you go

VERSE 3
Your Golden Wedding Anniversary has come with love
Our prayer for everlasting love and of blessings
Singing the name of the Lord and of Hari,
Dearest MUM and DAD
We bow to you with great respect and in obeisance
Take our call of love wherever you you are
Take our call of love wherever you go

Translated by Dasarath Bundhoo

Musical Analysis

Style: Film/popular
Melodic structure: Major key
Harmonic structure: Major
Meter: Quadruple
Tempo: Moderately fast
Rhythmic Structure: Bouncy dotted rhythm pattern
Form: Refrain and 3 stanzas
Accompaniment: Harmonium and tabla
MANGALAM 6

Written and performed by Veena Lutchman (in Hindi)

अलैं बेही वचनोल अमुलाम,
हिरे हमारा चुंबन पर अनं यह लक्षणा,
उसका अंदर ही नया संचार खुलासा।

कौन से आई सू भाँड़ है वह हिरे,
किसी के काम वचन ले याहू है वह हिरे।
अलैं लिख जा आगा शुभा कटौं नयांगाज।
आज बालुका को हिला तुर्कौं (2) छोउ आरामी।

पतझारा ही सू बेही अंदर रहेमी,
दुनके के कामन में अलैं रू स्वीमन,
आशिओं की अद्वियौं में अलैं रू रहेमी,
सुधौंमियों के दर्शन में बलते रहेमी।

अं गिते मही बेही एके बालुक की दुनके,
अमे परिवार की जोहरी मूं सहा नजारी,'
सुधिओ की सुनभाड़ मैं देवौं णूमी,
वहाँ का अभियम तनके कभी नहीं लीमी!

Courtesy of Veena Lutchman
Transliteration
Aaj beti chalegi sasooraal
Dil hamara dukhega par man yeh kahega
Sukh bhara ho nayaa sansaar thumhara

Chaman mein aayi tu yaad hai woh din
Ban ki kali khili tu yaad hai woh din
Aaj maike ka aangan suna chod jayegi
Aaj babul ka dil tukde tukde chod jayegi

Paraya ho gayi tu par beti rahegi
Pita ke chaman mein aaj tu zaroor khilegi
Aashirvaadon ki laron mein sadaa tu rehana
Kushiyon ke daaman mein tu baste rehana

Jawo meri beti leke ye duwayen
Naye pariwaar ki jyoti jalana
Kushiyo ki kushboo tere jivan ko chume
Baharon ka mausam tumhe kabhi na chode

Courtesy of Veena Lutchman

Translation - Mangalam 6

CHORUS
Today my daughter will go to her in-laws
My heart will be sore but the mind will say
May your new world be filled with joy

VERSE 1
I remember the day you came into my flower garden
I remember as well the day you blossomed
Today you leave your mother’s courtyard deserted
Today you leave a father whose heart is broken

VERSE 2
Never will you a stranger be, you will always be my daughter
Today you will blossom in the garden of your lover
May you always dwell in waves of blessings
And may you always live - sheltered in happiness

VERSE 3
Go my child with the blessings of a father
And keep the light of your new family burning
May the fragrance of joy kiss your life
May the youth of spring never leave you, as a wife

Translated by Dasarath Bundhoo

Musical Analysis
Style: based on Kashmiri dhun (a light classical air)
Tempo: Moderate
Form: refrain and 3 stanzas
MANGALAM 7

Written and performed by Srimati Polly Bharat Singh (in Hindi)

Bade ache lagthe hai, ye dulha, yeh dulhan, yeh mausam, yeh bahaar.

Naleena jaisi chand chakora chanchal hai faristeh.
Denzil jaiseh suraj ke kirneh, akash me chamkeh
Baane sundar lagthe hai, yeh dulha, yeh dulhan, yeh mausam, ye bahaar.

Bade ache ...................................................................................

Sita jaisi laaj nibhana saatho hi rung meh
Raam jaiseh raghuvanch ki, apna vachan na bhoolana .... x 2

Kitne pyare lagthe hai, yeh dulha, yeh dulhan, yeh mausam, yeh bahaar
Bade ache ...................................................................................

Aaj ki shaadi mubarak ho , prabhoo se yehi doowa
Joog joog jeeyo kooshi rahtyo aum soobhaagyaa masthoo ....x 2

Sithare jaise lagthe hai, yeh dulha, yeh dulhan, yeh mausam, yeh bahaar
Bade ache ..............................................................................x 2

Aum soobhagya masathoo
Aum shivam bhavatu ................................................................x 3

Composed by Polly Bharat Singh.

Courtesy of Indhar Bharat Singh

Written for the marriage of Singh’s son, Prakash. It was performed by her son, Indhar and daughter, Shoba
Translation - Mangalam 7

CHORUS
How good they look,
this groom, this bride, this youthful season

VERSE 1
Lotus - like bird attracted to the moon,
the impatient angel
Like the rays of the sun that shine in the sky
Very attractive they look,
this groom, this bride, this youthful season

CHORUS

VERSE 2
Uphold your honour like Sita,
in all seven colours
Like Raam of Raghu dynasty
never fail to keep your promise
How loving they are,
this groom, this bride, this youthful season

CHORUS

VERSE 3
Congratulations on today’s wedding,
Our prayer to the Almighty
May you live long, full of happiness,
Wealth and prosperity
They look like the stars,
this groom, this bride, this youthful season

CHORUS

Translated by Dasarath Bundhoo

Musical Analysis:

Style: film tune
Melodic structure: major key
Meter: compound duple
Tempo: Moderate - slow
Form: Refrain and 3 stanzas. Ends with a prayer recital
Mangalam 8

Written and performed by Master Harisingh (in Hindi)

ASTHAI:  
Prabhu ne dikhaya shubh din hai sab gaye mangalachar  
Bhugwan hai teri then ye shubh din mangal mangalachar  
War ho mangalam, wadhoo ko mangalam kutumb ko shadi bahar mangalam  
Mata pita ko badhai gohar mangal mangalachar  
Bhugwan mangal mangalachar  
Garbhdan thi mata maw masa pita ka hriday umang niwasa  
Kutumb sanchi gaye lalkar mangalam mangalachar

ANTHARA 1:  
Bal brahmacharee vidhya ki baree grihastashram prabhu ki sansaree  
Banprahast sevak satkaree boodhapan sanyas ki paree

ANTHARA 2:  
Char ashram prabhu racchana mangalam mangalachar  
Warbadhoo tum bhool najana sanskar ka mantra nibhana  
Dukh aur sukh me na ghabarana jeethe ji bhar prabhu gun gana  
Veer bhakth santan bhi ho janma sooful ho tumhar mangal mangalachar

ASTHAI:  
Jeewan hai ek prem ka sapna hriday prem se masthhee rakhna  
Manushya jati ki seva na chukna panchhi pashoo bhai bahan apna  
Nacheez ki ye vinay kirtar mangal mangalachar

Courtesy of Master Harisingh
Translation - Mangalam 8

The Almighty has given a beautiful day,
Let us all sing praises
The Lord has made this gift,
This auspicious day with his blessings
Good wishes to the bridegroom,
Blessings to the bride and congratulations
To the relatives for this day
The parents are worthy of praise
On such an occasion
The mother carried this child for nine months,
And the father's heart filled with elation
Friends and relatives all join in the chorus
In wishing them best wishes and praises

The first stage as a student is to receive education
The second to lead a family life
The third in retirement to serve society
Then enter sannyasa as a recluse
The Lord has prescribed the four ashrams
And thus the bride and bridegroom must never forget
The sacred mantras and vows
Do not despair in pain or sorrow
Keep chanting the Lord’s name
May you beget brave and pious children
Who would be worthy of your name and fame

Life is a dream of love
May the heart overflow with love
Do not fail to serve all beings,
Even birds and animals are like our brothers and sisters
This is a prayer of the writer,
May God Bless You with long life and happiness

Translated by Dasarath Bundhoo

Musical Analysis

Style: Classical
Melodic structure: Raga yaman
Rhythmic structure: teental
Tempo: Moderately fast
Form: refrain - 2 stanzas - refrain
MANGALAM 9

Written by Dasarath Bundhoo-1997 (in Hindi)

Based on the film song "Tumhi ho mata pita tumhi ho"

Courtesy of Dasarath Bundhoo

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Translation - Mangalam 9

Be happy Dhini, Never be happy
Be happy O Bride, Happily be the groom
Happy be the loving daughter of her parents
Happy be the smiling sister of her brother
Once you were the light of the Purmasiv home
Now a daughter-in-law in the Jagadev home
We cry for you, flooded with tears
But send you with the very best of wishes
A loving eye may you always have
With kind thoughts of a father's love.

DA SARATH BUNDHOO

Courtesy of Dasarath Bundhoo

Musical Analysis

Style: Film/Popular
Melodic structure: minor key
Harmonic structure: minor chords
Meter: Quadruple
Tempo: Slow
Form: Refrain and 2 stanzas
Accompaniment: Unaccompanied-solo
MANGALAM 10

Written by Dasarath Bundhoo - 1997 (in Hindi)

SHADI mudarak thu lete chalo
Prem ki Ganga bahare chalo
Rah me aye kasht kabhi
Dose sahne ki koshish karo
Naaz choti, raah par cheeta
Sapna huwa bachpan ka basera
Matriti ki Dulari Beti
Bhai, Bahan ki Pyari Didi
Ab Sasurai ki ory tho chali
Banega wohi ki Bahurani
Betki tho hey, chan hi paraya
Koee oose paas na rakh paya
Atal tahe suhaa thumhara
Jab lo Gange - Jumna Ki dhara

Courtesy of Dasarath Bundhoo

The melody is based on the film song "Jyot se jyot"
Translation - Mangalam 10

Take our wedding blessings with you
May your love like the Ganga flow
If any obstacles do come your way
you must with courage try to endure
You leave your abode and mother's home
The days of childhood are now a dream
You were the darling of your parents'
A friend of loving brothers and sisters

Now you go to the home of parents-in-law
To become their daughter-in-law
A daughter is the wealth of another
No one could keep her for any longer
May you be united for as long as ever
Like the waves of the Ganga-Jumna were

Courtesy of Dasarath Bundhoo

Musical Analysis

Style: Film/popular
Melodic structure: Minor mode
Harmonic structure: Minor chords
Rhythmic structure: teental (4+4+4+4)
Tempo: Moderate and flowing
Form: Refrain and 2 stanzas
MANGALAM 11

Written by "Farooqi" Mehtar (in Urdu)
Performed by Mayadevi Ramchandra

MANGALAM - SEHRA

Lagn ka munnap sajā hé, hé barhi khūshyoṅ ka din
Dilmeṅ khūshyāṅ a basi heṅ, hé barhi khūshyoṅ ka din.

Roop ki śundri bani hé apsarā jēsi dūlhan
Jispé sūrajné sūnahri dāldi apni kiran
Chānd tārē ho gayē heṅ āj khūshyoṅ sē magan
Gā rahā hé dilke sooroṅ pē mūhabbat ka gagan
Lagn ka awser mila he, hé barhi khūshyoṅ ka din

Āj mata awr pita ānkeṅ bichatē heṅ yahāṅ
Donoṅ khūshioṅ sē nahiṅ phulē samātē heṅ yahāṅ
Bhai behneṅ bhi khushi ke ēheet gatē heṅ yahāṅ
Din salona ā gaya, hé barhi khūshyoṅ ka din

Dil sē ashirwād ēreta hé tumheṅ yeh manglam
Preet ka sangeet sūnata hé tumheṅ yeh manglam
Rang jiwan ka dikhata hé tumheṅ yeh manglam
Prem ki khūshbū suṅghata hé tumheṅ yeh manglam
Wer wadhoo tūṅko mila hé yeh barhi khūshioṅ ka din

Dhanyawād ishwer ka ho devoṅ ka tūṅko dhanyawad
Devian bhi deti heṅ ēagākē tūṅko dhanyawad
Wer wadhoo dekheṅ her ēk ēreta hé tūṅko dhanyawad
Dūha Dūlhan ko mūbareṅ ho barhi khūshioṅ ka din

Courtesy of Mayadevi Ramchandra
Translation - Mangalam 11

CHORUS
The wedding stage is all set
For it is a day of great joy
Deep in the heart there is joy
For it is a day of happiness

VERSE 1
She is a model of beauty this fairy-like bride
One on whom the sun has shed its golden rays
The moon and the stars as well,
are in extreme happiness
They are singing songs in tune
with the heart of love
It is the auspicious occasion of marriage,
a very happy day

VERSE 2
Today both father and mother
have their eyes focussed here
Both are overwhelmed with a deep feeling of joy
The brothers and sisters too
are singing songs of praise
This beautiful day has come,
it is a day of great rejoicing

VERSE 3
From the bottom of the heart
this Mangalam wishes you well
It is a song of love which
this Mangalam conveys to you
The colours of life this Mangalam is showing you
And the fragrance of love is being showered on you
Both of you have received such a wonderful day

VERSE 4
Blessings from the Almighty
and the gods from above
The goddesses as well are singing praises of love
Look, all the people are joining together
to bless you and say
Congratulations to the bride and bridegroom
on this very happy day

Translated by Dasarath Bundhoo

Musical Analysis

Style: Ghazal-light classical
Melodic structure: Raga Bhairavi Morning:
Invocation

Tempo: Moderate
Form: Refrain and 4 stanzas
MANGALAM 12

Written by Pushpamal Murugan (in Tamil)

Courtesy of Pushpamal Murugan
Translation and Transliteration - Mangalam 12

Wedding Song

Auspicious Blessing we will give
for in happiness to live
we will offer auspicious blessings with praise
to live long, lovingly in god's grace.

Even if two bodies, live as one life
all the sixteen blessings for the new husband and wife
togather great fame
in the lord's great name

Mangalam yenru vaazhthuvom
naame mangalam yenru vaazhthuvom
Sunthari morgan anbudan Vaazha
mangalam yenru vaazhthuvom
naame mangalam yenru vaazhthuvom
Iravan arulaal anbudan vaazha (mang)

Eerudai aanaalum Wor Wuyiraaga
Selvanga Pathiraaarum
Pugazhduan Serave
Aram Porul inbam Veedennum marakkathil
Seeriya Maantharai Vaazhvil thulangida (mang)

Courtesy of Pushpamal Murugan

Musical Analysis - Mangalams 12 -14

Style: Semi- classical
Melodic structure: Based on a raga
Tempo: Moderate
Form: Refrain and stanzas
MANGALAM 13

WEDDING SONG

Manak Korlam Thiru Manakkorlam
Reservoir Hillsil Vizhaak korlam
Percy magalaam Vemikkum
naidoo maganaam nalanukkum
Inbam Wulla Kalayanam
Orient hallil Kalyanam

Thiraavida Kazhagathi Cherthavarum
Wutraar Wuravinar anaivargalum
aandavan thuthippadi vaazhthugiram
vaazhga Vaazhgena Vaazhthuvome

WEDDING SONG

Weeding Sht auspicious wedding sight in reservoir hills, a festive sight
percy's daughter vermi
Naidoo's son
joyfull wedding, come we call
to the lovely orient hall.
friends and relatives happy ano gay
friends and relatives happy and gay
sing in worship to god, his blessing to shower
long live long live he will keep you two in his power.
MANGALAM 14

Written by Pushpamal Murugan - (in Tamil)

நங்களே பொறுப்பு - WEDDING BLESSING

மந்தலம் தருண்டு வாருஞ்சொல்லாரம்
நாட்டின் மந்தலம் தருண்டு வாருஞ்சொல்லாரம்
நட்டிய வேலவர் அறிவுடைய வாழ்க
மந்தலம் தருண்டு வாருஞ்சொல்லாரம்

Thirumanap Paadal - Wedding Song

Puthiya Vaazhkai Vanthathu
Puththoli Yengum Veesuthu
Manam Kalika Cheiyuthu
Manamakkal mugathaip paarkkavc
anaivarum wonraai koodanum
wordi aadip paadanum

intha nalla naalile
yaavarkkum inbam ponganum
Reservoir Hills vaazhum manamagalum
asherville vaazhm manamaganum
irumanam wonru koodiyathu
thiru manam orient hallil nadakkuthu

maathargal naam yellaam wonraaga
mangala vaazthugal paadi nanraaga
kadavul arulai vernduvorm
iruvarum nanraai vaazhnthidave

Courtesy of Pushpamal Murugan
A new life has begun for this pair
A new light fills everywhere
our hearts are happy and fills with pride
to see the radiant faces of groom and bride
all must get together in a ring
we must joyfully dance and sing
A good day such as this
all must be filled with joy and bliss
the bride from reservoir hills
and the groom from asherville
two hearts together as one are heading
to orient hall to their wedding
the ladies together, come along

for the auspicious blessing song
for god's grace we all pray
for the pair to live together till they are grey
MANGALAM 15 - In Tamil

This mangalam is from the film Krishna Bhakti.

MANGALAM 16 - in Tamil

Courtesy of Gopalan Govender
MANGALAM 17 - in Tamil

MANGALAM
MANGAY UMAV NAYAGIKKU DEVI SAKTHI PARVATHIKKU
SAAMAVI SIVA SANKARIKKU ABIRAMMI SUNDARIKKU
MANGALAM SUBA MANGALAM NITHIA JAYA MANGALAM
SUBA MANGALAM
AMMAI THAYAL AMAIKKU ADI PARASAKTHI KKU
PARAMAN MAGIJH DEVIKKU MUTHAMIJH DEVIKKU (MANGALAM)
SEN GALMALAR NAYAGIKKU NARAYANAN DEVIKKU
BAAKIYYA LUTCHMEKKU PAAR PUGAJHUM AMMIKKU (MANGALAM)
VENTHARMARAI DEVIKKU VEDAVALLI THAIKKU
KALAIARA SI VAANIKKU SARASVATHI DEVIKKU (MANGALAM)

MANGALAM 18

Murugan mangalam - in Tamil

Anbulla muruganukku vetri vel aghaganukku
Ambigaiyin paalanukku amaragal thunaivanukku
Mangalam suba mangalam nithya jaya
Mangalam suba mangalam

Theyvayaanai amaikkum vedar kula vallikum
Saravana bavanukku shunmuga naathanukku
Mangalam suba mangalam...

Kanada kan kanda kandanukku kaliyug
a värathanukku
Kanuthal mainthananukku
Valli theyva yaanaikku
Mangalam suba mangalam...

Courtesy of Gopalan Govender

Musical Analysis Mangalams 15 -18

Style: Classical
Melodic structure: Based on the raga in a mangalam from the film, Krishna Bhakti
Tempo: moderately fast
Rhythmic structure: Adital
Form: refrain and stanzas
MANGALAM 19

Written by Sukhraj Chotai - (in Hindu)
Melody composed by Ashalata van Dijk-Chotai

SONG OF DEDICATION - TRIBUTE TO SWAMI DAYANAND

DAYANAND KI JAI

Chorus:
Sab milkar bolo jai, jai, jai
Swami Dayanand ki jai -
Rishi Dayanand ki jai

Verse 1
Goon aur gyan sikhane wale ]
Veda prakash karane wale ] X2
Amrit dhara barsane wale X2
Chorus: Sab milkar...

Verse 2
Satya dharma batlane wale ]
Poonya karma siklane wale ] X2
Reet rivaaj samjhane wale X2
Chorus: Sab milkar...

Verse 3
Jaath jaath thodne wale ]
Mithya pakand hatane wale ] X2
Ishwar poojan siklane wale X2
Chorus: Sab milkar...

Verse 4
Naari jaati utane wale ]
Istri shiksha darshane wale ] X2
Arya Samaj banane wale X2
Chorus: Sab milkar...

Verse 5
Sothe bharat ko jagane wale]
Bhakti maarag dikhlane wale] X2
Mukti ki raah batlane wale X2
Chorus: Sab milkar...

Verse 6
Chamkega rishi naam tumhara ]
Jab tak rahega chand sitara ] X2
Amar rahega naam tumhara
Jab tak rahega suraj tare
Chorus: Sab milkar...

Musical Analysis

Style: Dhun - a light classical improvisation
Melodic structure: Raga Bilaval
Meter: Compound Duple
Tempo: Moderate and flowing
Form: Refrain and 6 stanzas
MANGALAM 20

Written by Sukhraj Chotai - (in Hindi)
Melody composed by Ashalata van Dijk-Chotai

SONG OF DEDICATION - TRIBUTE TO THE VEDAS

Refrain:
Jagat me vedon ka shiksha phailo dho X2

Verse 1
Veda hi gyan hei, veda hi pran hei X2
Veda-jivan ka adhara hei X2

Jagat me vedon ka shor macha dho
Jagat me vedon ka shiksha phailo dho

Verse 2
Veda hi prem hei, veda hi dharm hei X2
Veda-satya ka bh andara hei X2

Jagat me vedon ka danka baja dho
Jagat me vedon ka shiksha phaila dho

Verse 3
Veda hi jyoti, veda hi mukti X2
Veda-shanti ke hi sara hein X2

Jagat me vedon ka mantra suna dho
Jagat me vedon ka shiksha phaila dho

Verse 4
Veda hi ishwar, veda hi puja X2
Veda amrit kahi dhara hei X2

Jagat me vedon ka jhanda phahara dho
Jagat me vedon ka shiksha phailo dho

Courtesy of Ashalata van Dijk-Chotai

Musical Analysis

Style: Dhun - a light classical air
Melodic structure: Raga Yaman- Evening:merriment
Tempo: Moderate
Form: Refrain and 4 stanzas
APPENDIX B

RECORDINGS

SIDE A


SIDE B

1. Mayadevi Ramchandra. *Shudmani ka din aaj aaya.* Recorded by Farooqi Mehtar at the Ramchandra residence in Sea Cow Lake Durban, South Africa.


3. Gopalan Govender and members of the Shri Vaithianatha Easvarar Alayam Temple. *Vishnu Mangalam.* Recorded at the temple in Umgeni Road in Durban, South Africa. Accompanied by harmonium, violin and mrdangam.

4. Gopalan Govender and members of the Shri Vaithianatha Easvarar Alayam Temple. *Anbulla Muruganukku vetri.* Recorded at the temple in Umgeni Road, Durban, South Africa.

5. Gopalan Govender and members of the Shri Vaithianatha Easvarar Alayam Temple. *Mangay Umay.* Recorded at the temple in Umgeni Road, Durban, South Africa.

APPENDIX C: SECONDARY SOURCES

WEDDING INVITATION 1

AUM

Mr & Mrs Perumal Govender (Soobree)
of 98 Cartmel Road Clare Estate

AND

Mrs James
of Rd. 706, H:e. 691, Montford, Chatsworth

Have pleasure in inviting You & Your Family
to grace the marriage of

Sageran (Sagie)
Eldest son of Mr & Mrs P Govender

TO

Elaine
Youngest daughter of Mrs James & late Mr James

on Saturday 7 December 1996

VENUE: Saiva Sithantha Sungum Temple
(37 Derby Street, Durban)

TIME: 4 – 5 pm
Bus leaves Brides residence at 3Pm
Dear Martin, Amrita & Baby

Mr & Mrs Ranjith Ram (George and Rani)

Kindly request your presence to bear testimony to the marriage of their daughter

Gayatri

to

Rajiv

son of Mr & Mrs Ishwarparsad of Verulam

This auspicious event will take place on 3rd August 1997
At the Truro Hall, CNR of Bombay & Khan Roads, Northdale,
Pietermaritzburg
Time: 20h30 for 21h00

R.S.V.P:
21 Priwat Raul, Raigethurpe
Pietermaritzburg 3201
Phone: (0331) 912421

Saturday, 2nd August 1997
Hordee at 17h30
Venue: Truro Hall
Pietermaritzburg
PICTURE 1: MANGAL MANTRA

Courtesy of Suemeshni and Loganathan Kistanna
PICTURE 2: ASHIRVAD
(SHOWERING OF PETALS)

Courtesy of Usha and Prashanth Mohan
PICTURE 3: APPLICATION OF SINDUR (VERMILLION)

Courtesy of Usha and Prashanth Mohan
PICTURE 4: TYING OF THE THALI

Courtesy of Suemeshni and Loganathan Kistanna
APPENDIX D

INTERVIEWEES

5. Francis, Sylvia. 1995. Interview
17. Pillay, Mrs Dickson. 1995. Interview
APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is a mangalam?
2. Can you describe/define it?
3. At which occasion is the mangalam performed?
4. Where else is it performed?
5. How old is the mangalam?
6. Can you give me any information about its history and origin?
7. How was/is it performed in India?
8. What is the significance of the Indian wedding to people in India and in Kwazulu Natal, South Africa?
9. With regard to the above, is the perception of people living in Kwazulu Natal, South Africa different to those living in India?
10. What is the place of music in the wedding in India and in South Africa?
11. What is the significance of the mangalam performed in the wedding in India and South Africa?
12. What is the significance of this mangalam to the people listening to it? Why?
13. What does it mean to you?
14. What is its significance to people today in Kwazulu Natal?
15. Do people still sing mangalams at weddings?
16. How frequently is it performed?
17. Has its frequency decreased over the years? If yes, why?
18. If it is omitted how do people feel about this?
19. Do people request a mangalam or is it optional in the wedding?
20. Why do people request it?
21. Do people sing the same mangalam or different ones at weddings? Why?
22. Does one write/compose a special mangalam for every occasion or could one perform the same one at all weddings?
23. Are those who request/sing/compose/write mangalams more traditionally oriented?
24. In what language is it written? Has it been written in other languages?
25. Does the audience understand the meaning of the words? If not, why?
26. Does one specifically request someone to write a mangalam for them or is it an accepted practice at all weddings?
27. Does one have to have a particular skill in order to write/compose a mangalam?
28. How does one compose a mangalam?
29. Does one write the words first or the music?
30. If only the words are written, how does one know the melody?
31. What is the text about?
32. What are the values that are embedded in the text?
33. Is the melody the same or different for all mangalams?
34. Why is it the same or different?
35. In what style is the mangalam written—classical, pop, or folk?
36. Does it have a structure?
37. Is it performed as a solo or as a group?
38. Is it performed with or without an accompaniment?
39. If accompanied, what instruments are used as an accompaniment?
LIST OF SOURCES


Schor, N. 1989. "This Essentialism which is not One: Coming to Grips with Irigaray." Differences. 1, 2, 38-58.


