



## The Oral Tradition of *Agomoni* Songs as Intangible Heritage: Re-Reading the Marital Migration of the ‘Bengali Bridal Diaspora’

**Mohona Chatterjee**

Assistant Professor, Amity Institute of English Studies and Research, Kolkata

Mohona Chatterjee, Assistant Professor, Amity Institute of English Studies and Research, Kolkata. She is also a PhD Research Scholar from the Department of English, West Bengal State University, Barasat.

### Abstract

Agomoni Songs carry the rich cultural heritage of the land of Bengal. These songs carry the entrenched culture of the Bengali household - how they celebrate their Goddess as their own daughter and not only as Mahishasurmardini (slayer of the demon Mahishasur). The oral tradition of Agomoni Songs echoes mostly the migrant nostalgia post marriage of any women from the Bengali domicile. The loss of the native home for these women, lamentations and their desire to assimilate form the crux of these songs. But with the onset of modernity these oral traditions are losing their relevance. The paper is an attempt to associate the life of Goddess Uma, her struggles and re-read the narratives equating the same with the life of the Bengali refugee women in post Partition of Bengal, 1947. Re-telling of the songs will help us to recover the fading memories and re-posit them as the intangible cultural heritage of Bengal shaping the map of Bengal's folk history.

### Keywords

Heritage, Survival, Refugee, Migration, Displacement, Marriage

Heritage is the result of a selection process. It is not everything from our history – heritage and history are not one and the same. The aim of heritage protection is to pass on this selection of things with their values intact and in authentic condition (Logan 34).

Cultural heritage is a bequest of the tangible and intangible attributes that form a significant part of the essence of the history of a social order, something which bears the mark of the past for the posterior generations. The things of heritage are branched into two which are tangible and intangible heritage. The tangible heritages are physical heritage in the natural and built environment. The Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) institutes historical aspects of the past and is abounding with cultural practices, existing traditions, knowledge and living experiences.

Based on 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Commission, Intangible Cultural Heritage is ...practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (Basic Texts 5).

If we consider Intangible Cultural Heritage as initially defined by UNESCO, it is a collective work initiating from a given community based on tradition. This includes all forms of traditional and popular folk culture. Bengal's *Agomoni Songs* considered as products of heritage are transmitted either orally and culturally. The *Agomoni Songs* and the heritage will be recreated by the cultural community as in Bengal. *Agomoni Songs*, can be manifested under UNESCO's proposed five broad domains -

- i. Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- ii. Performing arts;
- iii. Social practices, rituals and festive events;
- iv. Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and
- v. Traditional craftsmanship (ibid.).

Bengal is well acquainted with the *Agomoni Songs* that adds to the rich corpus of intangible heritage of the land. The songs welcome the goddess Durga, prior to the exquisite Durga Puja. This paper lays its emphasis on the *Agomoni Songs* symbolising the advent of goddess Durga to her paternal house from her heavenly abode; and brings out the segregation, the boundaries between the archetypal goddess' parental residence and her husband's abode in *Kailash*. A literary rendering of the *Agomoni Songs* centres around the question of lost home, fragmentation of the self, assimilation, cultural negotiation. The attachment of Uma, the goddess with her native homeland (*Giripur*) is presented through the folklore. This further guarantees the study, by taking into account the *Agomoni Songs* as an intangible heritage of Bengal assaying the journey of Maa Durga from *Kailash* to her parents and then again back to *Kailash* (on *Bijaya Dashami*) as journey from one place to another, from alienation to acceptance. This journey is not constrained by her yearning but

forced by social norms. The Goddess and her family have to negotiate with the constant personal and emotional loss therefore.

It is a matter of fact that the *Agomoni Songs* largely analogized with any Bengali domestic household, claiming its position as a fundamental aspect of the cultural heritage of the geo-political space. We find the playing of *Agomoni Songs* prior to Durga Puja in Bengal. These songs sung in lucid language appeal to the larger mass encapsulating their emotions. They relate with their Goddess in a domesticated self, as the girl they had married to the vain, incompetent man, Shiva. In the traditional mythical narratives Uma, also given the name *Gouri*<sup>1</sup> is the daughter of *Giriraj* and *Maneka* but in the collective consciousness of the Bengali community at large she transgresses her image as a Goddess, and is metamorphosed into the image of the archetypal daughter of the family. But we cannot deny the fact that these *Agomoni Songs* which relate much to the Bengali household are to a large extent avoided in the popular media except for a few like Ritwik Ghatak in one of his partition trilogies *Meghe Dhaka Tara* (The Cloud-Capped Star)<sup>2</sup>, released in 1960.

What is interesting is the usage of this form of Intangible Heritage in the context of Partition of Bengal in 1947 and its ensuing forced migration with devastated subcontinental psyches. The painful memories of displacement left deep scars that have not healed and the native homeland transforms into that past that never disappears. In this paper I would like to focus on the parallels that the *Agomoni Songs* ensure, between Durga's journey, and the journey of those displaced women during and post-Partition, who were later married to find support and security. The travel that the Goddess undertake from her own 'home' to her 'in laws' is fused with the journey of the displaced from their own land to the land where they were displaced. In both the cases a journey is traced to places at a distant. Evidently their stay in this distant land away from home enabled them to reconstruct an anticipated culture, even though they faced a sense of 'loss' overburdened with memories -

The father of the mountains, Giri,  
Why don't you bring my daughter to me?  
Uma, my child lives in poverty  
I have seen a dream, where Narada said,  
Uma wailed uttering, 'Mother take me from here'  
Pauper is your son-in-law,  
Crowned head is *Gouri*, my daughter  
All what Uma possessed  
Shiva sold them to fulfil his needs...<sup>3</sup>(*My translation*).

The narratives transmitted through songs take into account the cultural and the social displacement. The fluidity of the identity of the Goddess testifies not only her own but also the fluid identity of the displaced women. For both, the family values form a wall of security around her camouflage their fragile vulnerable self. This leads to a two-dimensional world impossible to penetrate. Placed in regions either geographically or culturally secluded and hostile, or both, they would have been constantly negotiating and shaping their identities as they adapted to a new culture which would have been challenging as they began to settle in. Therefore, we find the scope to see settlement in a new place which might mean a much more secure life in a physical and material sense. The resettlement process therefore hints a tremendous change and, during the process of adaptation and acculturation, the displaced

woman is faced with confusion and distress about the new set of values, norms, and ideals to which they were exposed. Therefore, the Goddess dressed in her bridal sari, her little hands painted, her hair oiled and set with her arms heavy with dowry gold; bangles, ring, tiny arms from wrist to shoulder, journeys to *Kailash*. So does many girls from the household –

O Daughter, from where did you get so much jewelry?

Riding on the Lioness

You come to your home

I know your distress

Often you don't have anything to eat

O Daughter, from where did you get so much jewelry?<sup>4</sup> (*My translation*).

While narratives of 'cross-regional and cross-cultural marriages' (Kaur 16) as an experience is more heart-wrenching to the marriageable Bengali woman, we see the brides nowadays travelling to socially strange, sometimes rural destinations away from their own homeland, much similar to Goddess Durga. Writing about exile and homeland, we can capture the temporal and spatial dynamics of immigrant women lost in the space between her home and the location. There is estranging consciousness of relocation is haunted by sense of loss willing to look back at the precinct of the native homeland. We can focus on the alternative ways of belonging for the women displaced post marriage – cultural hybridity and 'third space of enunciation'<sup>5</sup> which are markers of survival. Thus, we try to uncover this bridal Diaspora through the mythical stories evolving round *Agomoni*. Very interestingly the Goddess find herself caught between patriarchal lost home in *Giripur* and *Kailash*, the residing place of Shiva which is her acquired home. As narrated in the *Agomani Songs* her relationship with Shiva turns out to be a relationship with a man, who lacks the sense of responsibility and leaves her alone in the time of her need.

A common 'Shyama-Sangeet' by Kazi Nazrul Islam, replicates the supremacy that the Goddess had in fostering her husband in her attained home--

In the lap of Mahakal (the lord of time)

*Gouri* transformed to Mahakali (the goddess of time and death)

Bestowing food and prosperity all over the land

The giver of food begs for food in return

For the pauper Shiva's need

The queen goddess begs for sustenance...<sup>6</sup> (*My translation*).

The life of the Goddess equalizes with the displaced married women post Partition enabling us to rewrite the traditional story of the displaced. We are able to imagine their new spaces and talk about their identity as a result of their compelling travel and dislocations. Their journey remains as a quest and a search for space tracing their identity always in flux. In a way, the *Agomoni Songs*, stand as a refuge for the women displaced. It is where their narratives conglomerate with the oral narratives derived from *Agomoni Songs*. Most importantly these songs opted to preserve an identity asserting the patriarchy of the predominant time. We find *Giriraj* asserting his patriarchal roles securing his daughter's place in the world by complying to the customs of marriage and goes for a settlement. The women in Bengal, same as the Goddess face the abjectness of the antagonistic society of the modern world instigating us to find answer in the longing for the native land.

The Queen of the Mountains, here is your daughter Uma  
 Accept her as the soulmate of *Hara* (Shiva)  
 Here is your daughter Uma  
 I had to plead a lot  
 And make Shiva contented  
 To bring Uma to the household as my own  
 Here is your daughter Uma <sup>7</sup> (*My translation*).

We cannot forget the sequence from the film *Komol Gandhar* (E-Flat) by Ritwik Ghatak, (released in 1961) when both Anasua and Bhrigu, the two lead characters speak of their alienation from the native land, as a result of the Partition of Bengal, 1947. They comment that the railway tracks which were treated as a symbol of communication and togetherness stand now as a symbol of detachment. What they reminisce about is their mother – both literally and metaphorically. Mother does not only suggest the biological mother giving her womb as a space but they treat the land as the mother who nurtured them. With the land they both share an umbilical relationship. When we find both alone, devastated with their personal losses they seek refuge in their togetherness hinting a proposition of marriage and in the background Ghatak dexterously uses Bengali folk song suggesting their marriage.

Feet coloured with red dye  
 My daughter journeys to her in-laws wearing the crown  
 She used to play under the mango tree  
 Now she gets married  
 underneath the banana tree  
 The daughter was nurtured in the laps of the mother  
 Her parting makes the mother's soul sail in the Ganges  
 The mother feels the tempest around  
 In the tears sails the ship... <sup>8</sup> (*My translation*)

If we try to explicate the lines from the above folk song, we will find the reference to the mother who nurtured her daughter with utmost care. Post marriage the soul of the mother gets wrenched experiencing the detachment from the daughter who was once the apple of her eye. The same lamentation can be located in the *Maneka*, the mother of the Goddess, explained in one of the *Agomani Songs* –

The King of the Mountains, did you know?  
*Gouri*, my daughter had come in my dreams  
 She came and rendered me conscience  
 The Goddess of principles, where did she hide now?  
 After showing herself up  
 She left this abode unattached. What about her *maya*?  
 Was there no sympathy for her mother?  
 From the *Mahamaya* (another name of *Gouri*)?  
 Again, to my thoughts  
 Why do I accuse *Abhaya* (another name of *Gouri*)?  
 She attained this indifferent behaviour  
 From her father, Giriraj. <sup>9</sup> (*My translation*)

It is a matter of fact that we cannot but notice the lamentation of the soul of the refugee women, when she detaches herself from the native homeland and struggles hard to occupy the hybrid space, after dislocations and ruptures. It leads to demographic dislocations and cannot claim the things lost corroborating to the making of ‘imaginary homelands’ (Rushdie 10). A large number of brides have to travel from India to various alien lands under ‘forced exiles’ or ‘self-imposed exiles’, however, travelling as a bride achieves both matrimonial security and work. In Bharati Mukherjee’s *Desirable Daughters* (2006) we find the exploration of multiple belongings enabling Tara, the protagonist to inhabit more than one space at a time. She says in the novel, “All the same, I stand out, I am convinced, I don’t belong here, despite my political leaning; worse, I don’t want to belong” (Mukherjee 78).

The nostalgia of Tara for her past, her protective existence with her parents and her helplessness to assimilate in the glamorous life of the new location has become the voice of all the immigrants especially women who left their home post marriage in search of matrimonial refuge. They in a way, help preserving the triumph of patriarchy giving a searing detail of the disreputable side of the traditional Bengali society. The narratives consequent to the *Agomani* and the narratives from the refugee women in Bengal, take the initiative to situate personal experiences on the historic context of Partition and its prelude and aftermath. While reading these narratives we find history crossing its conventional borders and outreaches the fuzzy zone of memories in order to bring out the experiences of the refugees and their entailed losses of all sorts – human, material and moral – in different degrees.

A recent film by Kaushik Ganguly, *Bishorjon* (Immersion), released in 2017, traces the longing and lamentation of the woman named Padma who gets widowed in few days of her marriage due to her husband’s excessive drinking. With the mounting border rigidities, the people from two sides started wandering apart. Padma saves Naseer from drowning during Durga Puja *bishorjon* (immersion of the Goddess) and tries to save him from the illegal intrusion. Padma takes the image of the lover and the mother for Naseer. Analogy can be sought between Padma and the Goddess who stands as the consort and *anyadatri* (giver of food) for Shiva. The post marriage pangs for Padma allows the director to add a folk song to her sense of loss –

For you my dear friend  
 My soul seems wrenched  
 Amidst the jungle (hostility)  
 I have my house  
 No brother, no near ones  
 Who will pay heed?  
 I had come beneath the banyan tree  
 To find some refuge  
 The branches of the tree break  
 I sit under this scorching heat  
 For you my dear friend. <sup>10</sup> (*My translation*)

Just like Tara in Bharati Mukherjee’s *Desirable Daughters*, Padma gets to the centre of her tangled love nest. She feels out of joints who cannot apprehend herself properly. It

is not unknown to us how dependent was the condition for these women leaving their homes. The song cited above has a close analogy with *Agomoni* fervent in the same strain –

The rains, Autumn has passed  
 Uma, why didn't she come?  
 She has no relatives  
 To care for her  
 Nobody to care for her  
 Loss of care makes her distraught  
 She now wanders alone... <sup>11</sup> (*My translation*)

The displacement was accompanied by a feeling of dispossession. Film critic and author Chandi Mukhopadhyay, cites Ritwik Ghatak in his own words, how the filmmaker imagined the character of Neeta in *Meghe Dhaka Tara*. He quotes:

“The symbology of Uma is very clear here. Neeta is one the most favourite character sketched by me. I imagined her as the daughter given as *gauridan/kanyaadan* (giving away the bride in marriage, who was once the beloved daughter of the house) in the traditional Bengali household. She takes birth on the auspicious day of the *Jagatdhatri* puja. Her end in the mountains might suggest her union with *Mahakal*.” (Mukhopadhyay 105).

The predictable concept of women being the nurturer is very well projected in the film by Ritwik Ghatak *Meghe Dhaka Tara* and also through the depiction of the goddess. In a way Neeta in the film portrays the idiosyncratic conservative Bengali domestic household considering a stimulating presence of *Dasabhuja*, literally, having ten hands – in accord to the Goddess; realising her everyday routines and deft in on the outside compass as well. We find the lives of the refugees chronicled and illustrated as their life's journey in search for a 'space'. Not only is their “travel” corporeal, but they also are creating a psychosomatic change that is both eloquent and essential for them to prosper in their new environment. For the refugees on the either part of Bengal, their journey meant learning to balance their newfound culture with all-important native customs. Their narratives express much about love, loss and the family ties. Ritwik Ghatak, had very aptly used the *Agomoni Song* in the film *Meghe Dhaka Tara* to make us comprehend how meticulously a woman serves, supports and agonizes and then is heard no more –

Come here my daughter Uma,  
 I take you in my lap  
 Wearing the garland made of Jasmine  
 Return Uma – the place you call home  
 My home is now vacant  
 I am the distraught mother  
 How to stay without you... <sup>12</sup> (*My translation*)

The journeys are quite relevant in Ghatak's *Meghe Dhaka Tara* where we find the image of the shoes tearing off perhaps suggesting a forced journey in the search of subsistence establishing us to the idea of the employment principles of the new city, associated to a foremost social transformation. In Bharati Mukherjee's *Desirable Daughters*, Tara seeks refuge and embrace search for the roots. Her empathy for the native soil develops and she completely annihilates her new home –

Have thou no home, what home, can hold thee,  
 Friend? The sky thy roof, the grass thy bed, and food  
 What chance may bring, well cooked or ill, judge not. (Mukherjee 299)

Tara has estranged herself with her native land though she undergoes anxiety in the apathy of being unable to return home and also finding a new home in the adopted land.

What we comprehend is that the shared account for the majority of refugee women made them the first group of resilient working women with enormous abilities to fight the challenges thrown at them by their surroundings. Referring Nandini Bhattacharya's *East Bengal: A Lost Land of Immortal Memories* (2017) we acknowledge Mrs. Ranu Chatterjee's self-given narrative about how

her insecurity and uncertainty were much more in magnitude. As she got her shelter at the house of her elder sister, married to a well to do family in Howrah district, a completely unknown hostile world made her life miserable. There she stayed till her marriage. But the experience of her being treated as a group of unwanted people... haunted her day in and day out while she kept on helping her sister's household with utmost sincerity... Her struggle as a married girl without any parental support was even more difficult... (Bhattacharya 134).

The partition trilogy of Ritwik Ghatak represented the same innermost uprising that the Bengali household had experienced while they tried to acclimatize and the extent of the hushed sacrifices by women completed the tale of their existence. The struggle of the refugee women brings in close connection to the life of *Gouri* - A mother of four, she has to beg for her insensitive husband and feed the family and toil hard for sustenance. Post marriage her life turned out to be unbridled. If we refer to art of Dutch Bengal School, of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, we might discuss the painting depicting "*Hara Gouri Kondol*"<sup>13</sup> (The fight between *Hara* and *Gouri*). This happens to be a picture of *Sivayan*. Shiva is seen to return from farming and is intoxicated. *Gouri* is angry because she had been hearing amidst his work, Shiva had developed weakness for young maidens. *Gouri* asks her Lion to rumble and confused at this incident Shiva falls to the ground. We might further cite the *Agomani Song* where *Gouri*'s physical dislocation is emphasized –

Please go Giriraj,  
 Go and fetch Nandini (*Gouri*) in this house  
 How can you stay in peace?  
 Giving *Gouri* to such impervious husband  
 Don't you know your son-in-law's ways?  
 He acts mad intoxicated  
 Returning from the burning yard  
 He takes Uma along with her  
 Such unfortunate is my daughter! <sup>14</sup> (My translation)

Urvashi Butalia's seminal work, *The Other Side of Silence* (1998) discovered that an account of Partition (whether in narrative or in written) was impossible, she states:

Tellings . . . would be left incomplete: I learnt to recognize this, the mixing of time past and time present, the incompleteness, often even contradictoriness, in the stories as part of the process of remembering, to oneself and to others (Butalia 18).

As the past has repeatedly folded, the loss of home, the separation from the mother, in every sense is traumatic. These silences prevail in the official records and books of the institutions. It is from the fragments and memory that this 'lost' selves show us the mapping and shaping history with its grand narrative structure where the alternative narrative takes a back seat. The history of Partition and its aftermath unsettles this national closure to the displacements. Therefore, we can say that leaving one's home to find refuge stood out not only as a saga of pain and loss but also as a narrative encompassing the framing of history.

The harmonizing relationship between this kind of fragmented memory and the images of the Motherland (*Desh*) is indispensable because the narratives and the *Agomani Songs* allow broken memoirs of loss and vehemence to flash across the minds of the readers. They appear and disappear, as they would in the minds. In this way, they also help a movement of an account that is reasonably useful in addressing the jumbled store of upsetting recollections about the native homeland. There is a relentless pursuit for identity negotiating displacement, dislocation and diverse experiences of the 'beyond'. Homi Bhabha says:

The 'beyond' is neither new horizon, nor leaving behind of the past [...] we find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside outside, inclusion and exclusion. For there is a sense of disorientation, a disturbance of direction, in the 'beyond'. (Bhabha 2)

The simultaneous dwelling in different locations contribute to the formation of double consciousness. In such progression the diasporic identity is in flux. *Agomani Songs* in the shape of the Intangible Cultural Heritage stands as a nostalgic refrain. The conglomeration of the women refugee narratives with it constructs explicates a new narrative of fragmented identities of the women. Our focus on the rituals and customs of the Bengali household allows us to come to a negotiation between the 'roots' and the host culture. What we read from the songs and from the narratives of the women refugees, they assert a hybrid diasporic identity. The Bengalis and their preservation of Heritage remains as a quest for tradition paving the way towards the phenomenon of root-search. The immigrant suffers displacement but desires to return to the lost origin. An intermittent state of being and stirring 'self' from one place to another following public routes and beaten tracks are the same as in travelogue but displacement is a psychological journey, a predicament between homeland and new settlement. By foregrounding the homeland (*Desh, Bhita*) linked by these narratives and *Agomani* songs we are able to study the profound memories, the forced journeys and the loss of roots.

## Endnotes

1. Lord Shiva's consort Goddess Durga is also known in different names – *Gouri*, *Uma*, *Parvati*, *Mahamaya*, *Abhaya* etc. She is the daughter of *Giriraj*, who is the lord of the Mountain Himalaya and *Maa Maneka*, the sister of the sacred river *Ganges*. In the Bengali household Goddess Durga is the common deity. She comes every year to the land or to her biological mother *Maneka* in her own residence *Giripur* traversing a long way from *Kailash*, which in Hindu mythology is regarded as Shiva's abode. The homecoming of the Goddess is celebrated in Bengal during the time of Autumn (*Ashwin* in Bengali calendar). She comes not only to her mother but to every household of the Bengalis and the community celebrate in pomp and glory. As the narrative goes, the Goddess is married to Shiva who is much elder as compared to the age of *Gouri*. Both the mother and father of the Goddess are unhappy with such distressful life of their golden spooned daughter. In *Kailash*, *Gouri* finds no comfort. She is the nurturer of the family (considering the image of *Anyapurna*) and Shiva roams about and acts irresponsible as a husband. This pitiable state of the Goddess makes the mother *Maneka* lament and she asks her husband *Giriraj/Giri* to go and bring her daughter to *Giripur*. But the *Gouri* has limited time post marriage for the mother – only five days (days celebrated as Durga Puja). She has the responsibility of the whole universe now. She goes back to *Kailash* to get unified as *Hara Gauri* (*Hara* is the other name of Shiva) keeping a tap on the time, leaving her parents alone to lament and cry. This story gets recorded as folk songs known as *Agomani*. At the advent of the celebration, these songs are played and heard to welcome the Goddess home and as a song of separation after *Bisorjon* (*Vijaya Dashami* – The immersion of the Goddess). Here *Gouri* universalizes with all the women who leave their parents' house post marriage and move to their in laws. With this, the lament and longing of the mother *Maneka* also universalizes with the mothers of Bengali household for their daughters whom they cannot see again for a year.
2. Ritwik Ghatak who was a renowned director worldwide used the image of the Goddess as an everyday woman in any Bengali household. In his film *Meghe Dhaka Tara*, he uses the concept of the woman as the bread earner thus portraying the image of *Anyapurna* in the film. The background of the story is about a Partition affected family post 1947. There Neeta (the eldest daughter) takes care of the troubled family and acts as a refuge.
3. The original rendition of the referred *Agomoni Song* in Bengali, is as follows:
 

Jao Jao Giri Anite *Gouri*  
 Uma Boro Dukhe Royeche  
 Ami Dekhiam Swapono...  
 Uma 'Ma, Ma' Bole Kendeche  
 Bhangor Bhikari Jamai Tomar  
 Sonar Boroni *Gouri* Amar  
 Mayer Boson Bhusan Sob Abhoran  
 Bhola Ta Obeche Bhang Kheyeche... (“Agamoni Gan- Jao Jao Giri Anite *Gouri*”)
4. The original rendition of the referred *Agomoni Song* in Bengali, is as follows:
 

Eto Goina Beti Kothai Peli?  
 Singhi r Opor Dingi Hoye  
 Baper Bari Chole Eli  
 Obostha Tor Ache Jana  
 Bhatar Opor Nun Jote Na...

Eto Goina Beti Kothai Peli? (“Eto Goina Beti Kothai Peli?”)

5. In his text *The Location of Culture* (1994), Homi Bhabha explicates the ‘third space of enunciation’ as a space within which cultural identities themselves are transformed. The women refugees tend to have more than one physical, ethnical and cultural identity.
6. The original rendition of the referred *Agomoni Song* in Bengali, is as follows:
 

Mahakaler kole ese  
Gouri holo Mahakali...  
Anno diye trijogote,  
Annoda mor berai pothe  
Bhikuk Shiv er onurage  
Bhikka mage Rajdulali... (“Mahakaler Kole Eshe”)
7. The original rendition of the referred *Agomoni Song* in Bengali, is as follows:
 

Girirani Ei Nao Tomar Umare  
Dhoro Dhoro Harer Jibonodhon  
Rani Ei Nao Tomar Umare...  
Koto Naame Noti Kori  
Pusiye Trishulodhari  
Rani Uma Anilam Nijo Kore  
Rani Ei Nao Umare (“Girirani Ei Nao”)
8. The original rendition of the referred *Agomoni Song* in Bengali, is as follows:
 

Ranga Paye Konya Chole  
Mutuk Mathai Diya  
Aam Tolay Jamur Jumur  
Kolatalai Biha Re  
Kolatalai Biha  
Chilo Konya Mayer Kole  
Monta Bhase Ganger Jowle  
Mayer Buke Tufan Chole  
Kainya Bhase Hiya... (“Aam Tolay Jamur Jhumur”)
9. The original rendition of the referred *Agomoni Song* in Bengali, is as follows:
 

Giri Gouri Amar Esechilo  
Swapne Dekha Diye  
Choitonyo Koriye  
Choitonyo Rupini Kotha Lukalo?  
Dekha Diye Keno  
Gelo Maya Tar?  
Mayer Proti Maya  
Nai Mohamayar  
Abar Bhabi Giri  
Ki Dosh Abhayar  
Pritridoshe Meye  
Pashani Holo (“Giri Gouri Amar Esechilo”)
10. The original rendition of the referred *Agomoni Song* in Bengali, is as follows:
 

Bondhu Tor Laaigya Re  
Amar tonu jorojor  
Aronyo ar Jongoler Majhe  
Amar Ekkhan Ghor  
Bhai o nai, Bandhobo nai mor  
Ke loibo Khobor?...  
Botobrikher tole ailam

- Chaya paibar ashe  
Dal Bhangiya Roudro Uthe  
Amar Kormodushe, Haire  
Bondhu Tor Laigya Re... (“Bondhu Tor Laaigya Re”)
11. The original rendition of the referred *Agomoni Song* in Bengali, is as follows:  
Barsa Gelo Aswin Elo  
Uma Elo Koi?  
Nai Sasuri, Nonod Umar  
Ador Korar Nai  
Keu Ador Korar Nai  
Anadore Kali Mekhe  
Berai Pothe Tai... (“Barsa Gelo Ashwin Elo”)
12. The original rendition of the referred *Agomoni Song* in Bengali, is as follows:  
Aay Go Uma Kole Loi  
Golate Ganthiya Jui  
Jao Go Jhi tomar Ghor  
Sunyo Kore Mor Ghor  
Dukhini Ma Roibo Kemone  
Tomai Bidai Diya Go  
Ai Go Uma Kole Elo... (“Ai Go Uma”)
13. For the said Dutch Bengal painting refer to  
<<<https://i.pinimg.com/736x/5f/e3/e4/5fe3e44d1116b9064ba0e06aec63e3be.jpg?fbclid=IwAR3cidmdcidmdVlcdIMHWhS7W4G5EI0gu8ly64s6k3V6Npgj qjYdIFv9VOg>>>
14. The original rendition of the referred *Agomoni Song* in Bengali, is as follows:  
Jao Jao Giribor he  
Ano Je Nondini Bhobone Amar  
Gouri diye Digombore  
Kemone Royecho Ghore  
Jano to Jamatar Rito  
Sodai Pagoler Moto...  
Aponi Soshane Fire  
Songe Loye Jai Tanre (Umare)  
Koto Ache Kopale Umar? (“Jao Jao Giribara He”)

### Works Cited

- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. Oxford: Routledge, 1994. Print.
- Bhattacharya, Nandini. *East Bengal: A Lost Land of Immortal Memories*. Kolkata: Gangchil, 2017. Print.
- Bishorjan* (Immersion). Dir. Kaushik Ganguly, Perf. Jaya Ahsan, Abir Chatterjee and Kaushik Ganguly. Opera, 2017. Film.
- Butalia, Urvashi. *The Other Side of Silence*. New Delhi: Penguin, 1998. Print.
- Kabir, Ananya Jahanara. *Partition's Post – Amnesias*. New Delhi: Women Unlimited, 2013. Print.
- Kaur, Ravinder. “Bengali Bridal Diaspora: Marriage as a Livelihood Strategy” *Economic and Political Weekly*. 45. 5 (2010): 16 – 18. *JSTOR*. Web. 27 April 2020.

- Komal Gandhar* (E-Flat). Dir. Ritwik Ghatak. Perf. Supriya Choudhury, Abanish Banerjee and Bijon Bhattacharya. Ritwik Ghatak, 1961. Film.
- Logan, William S. "Closing Pandora's Box: Human Rights Conundrums in Cultural Heritage Protection." *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*. Eds. Helaine Silverman and D. Fairchild Ruggles. New York: Springer, 2007. 33-52. Print.
- Meghe Dhaka Tara* (The Cloud-Capped Star). Dir. Ritwik Ghatak. Perf. Supriya Choudhury, Anil Chatterjee and Bijan Bhattacharya. Chitrakalpa, 1960. Film.
- Mukherjee, Bharati. *Desirable Daughters*. New Delhi: Rupa & Co., 2006. Print.
- Mukhopadhyay, Chandi. Ritwik Kumar Ghatak. Kolkata: Gangchil, 2015. Print.
- MusiTech INDIA. "Agamani Gan- Jao Jao Giri Anite *Gouri*". Online video clip. YouTube. Youtube, 18 June 2018. Web. 23 April 2020. <<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZT39fcpMrSc>>>.
- Opera Movies. "Bishorjon | Bondhu Tor Laaigya Re | Abir | Jaya | Kaushik Ganguly | Kalikaprasad | Opera." Online video clip. Youtube. Youtube, 14 April 2017. Web. 23 April 2020. <<<https://youtu.be/a5uepZE9I04>>>.
- pikeyenL. "Girirani, Rani Ei Nao (1988) Amar Pal Agamani Gan." Online video clip. YouTube. YouTube, 14 October 2015. Web. 22 April 2015. <<<https://youtu.be/APuHeGm1nQg>>>
- pikeyenL7. "Barsa Gelo Ashwin Elo (1982) Nirmal Mukhopadhyay Agamani Gan Katha O Sur Ajana". Online video clip. YouTube. YouTube, 29 September 2014. Web. 23 April 2020. <<<https://youtu.be/YLlj7LxvWmk>>>.
- . "Jao Jao Giribara He (1988) Amar Pal Agamani Gan Katha O Sur Ajana". Online video clip. YouTube. YouTube, 25 September 2014. Web. 23 April 2020. <<<https://youtu.be/wzUENzAFJ4I>>>.
- Pratima Banerjee - Topic. "Aamtalai Jhamur Jhumur". Online video clip. YouTube. YouTube, 25 September 2014. Web. 23 April 2020. <<<https://youtu.be/UNf9G2p4CUI>>>.
- Rushdie, Salman. *Imaginary Homelands*. London: Vintage, 1991. Print.
- Saroj Sanyal. "Ai Go Uma--Rangili Biswas". Online video clip. YouTube. YouTube, 21 August 2016. Web. 22 April 2020. <<[https://youtu.be/r57dpr\\_5uxI](https://youtu.be/r57dpr_5uxI)>>.
- . "Eto Goina Beti Kothay Peli--Ramkumar Chattopadhyay". Online video clip. YouTube. YouTube, 27 November 2014. 22 April 2020. <<<https://youtu.be/pfXXBipNy-Y>>>.
- . "Giri Gouri Amar Esehkhilo (Devotional Song) --Chandrabali Rudra Dutta". Online video clip. YouTube. YouTube, 25 April 2016. Web. 23 April 2020. <<<https://youtu.be/btzEXnJzV6M>>>.
- Souradip Ghosh. "Mahakaler Kole Eshe (shyama sangeet)-najrul geeti- srikanto acharya". Online video clip. YouTube. YouTube, 18 April 2016. Web. 23 April 2020. <<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A-GmORUtaCo>>>.
- UNESCO. 'Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage': 2018 edition: Paris: UNESCO, 2018. Print.

The whole process of publication of this journal is carried out in a completely paperless mode.  
Please think about our environment before printing.  
If you are reading this from a printed paper, please scan this QR code with your smartphone  
to reach [postscriptum.co.in](http://postscriptum.co.in) and read online.  
Thank you

