

## Suchitra Mitra as Cultural Activist: A Redefined Artistic Identity

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### Abstract

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At the dawn of the twentieth century, a music reform movement in India, demanded emancipation of Indian music from the grasp of immoral women performers and handed music over to literate music scholar, singer as well as performers. Bengal, once the pleasure ground of Kirtan, Panchali Gan, jatra was also influenced by this purification zeal. The so called purified sphere of music permitted women from noble birth to enter the world of music, that was yet to face various obstacle. Along with reform oriented stimulus the commoditization of music enabled the women performers to search their professional identity in this branch of fine arts. Unfortunately the artist's vigour served for reformer's sake or sometimes only for devotional purpose. Till the decades of thirties women artists searched for their identity mostly in two specific genres of kabyageeti and devotional song. But from the stormy decades of forties very few women responded differently. Unlike previous decades they began to understand the social needs of an artist. Suchitra Mitra, a popular Rabindrasangeet artist is one of them. In this paper, I have tried to shed some light on the unconventional identity of Suchitra: the identity of a cultural activist that encouraged her to redefine her artistic dignity by considering herself a performer for IPTA, utilizing Rabindranath Tagore's creative belongings for political purpose and towards breaking the cultural code for Bengali women as well as artists.

**Keywords:** Purification, Women artist, Cultural Activist, IPTA, Kabyageeti

‘Now a days in Bangladesh no music expert can even imagine those days when music was totally prohibited for an woman of modest Bengali family. It was not very common to become a listener of the song sung by a domestic woman in public.’

*Sarala Debi Choudhurani, Jibaner Jharapata*

When An eminent musicologist as well as political activist Sarala Debi was seeking for an equation of relation between Musical society and modest women, it was a matter beyond imagination that Bengali women had to maintain a distance from the pursuit of musical cultivation. The author passed almost half of the twentieth century and experienced a fare number of Bengali artists enriched the music world. These artists registered their presence in Kabyageeti<sup>1</sup>, devotional and modern songs. The musical landscape of Bengal during this century was upgraded to multiple genre of music. The pleasure land of Kirtan, Jatra, Panchali included classical, semi classical music and light songs within its ambit. Even the dawn of this century experienced with a reformation movement, connoted as musical renaissance led by Brahmos' and the other, the commoditization of music that made an ample opportunity for women singers to come in the realm of music. But musical renaissance and commoditization of music wrote different destiny for different artists.

Women musicologists of early decades of this century, Pratibha Debi, Sarala Debi, Indira Debi Chowdhurany confined themselves with notation framing, music teaching that more or less met the reform agenda for institutionalization of music. The mid twentieth artist figures like Uma Bose, Juthika Roy, Sahana Debi further bonded their artistic merit to 'Kabyageeti'<sup>1</sup> and to some devotional and semi classical songs. Though a wide range of female singers responded to the commoditization of music and were luminated with light songs such as *nritya sambalita gan* (dance included song), modern song, film song. But in stormy decades of forties few women artists wanted to be social worker also. They broke the notion of 'art for art's sake'<sup>2</sup> and art for devotional sake that would limit their voice within specific genre of music like previous decades. A strong affiliation of art's for social sake led these exceptional artists to redefine their artistic dignity as cultural activist. Suchitra Mitra such an exceptional one explored herself in this changing times. Beyond Kabyageeti as a cultural activist, Mitra's artistic identity will be analytically discussed in this present article. To locate her identity three historical trajectories –music reform movement, commoditization of music, cultural contribution of IPTA will be taken into relevant consideration.

### **Music reform movement in Bengal and new role for Brahma women**

The presence of courtesan community in musical realm of Bengal ostracized women of noble origin for long times. Respectable families often kept their women in Purdah and their music education was deprived of. Women of these households often satisfied themselves through performance of courtesan communities, Vaishnavis, poetess singer, hailed from humble origin.<sup>3</sup> But situation became changed from late nineteenth century, when the wave of 'musical renaissance'<sup>4</sup> touched Bengal, especially the cultural hub Calcutta. Moulded by revivalist ideology, the bearer of renaissance initiated music reform movement that ensured marginalisation<sup>5</sup> of hereditary performers, establishment

of music school through institutionalisation of music. As a part of this process hereditary performers would be replaced with music school. But who would replace the entertainer? Women were considered the best solution. Convinced by spiritual as well as impeccable aesthetic elements of devotional music, they allowed their women to enter the sphere of music. Brahmo women like Sarala Debi, Suniti Debi, Pratibha Debi successfully marked their pivotal role through composing Brahmo Sangeet, framing of notation and some of them would perform these songs in Brahmo Samaj.<sup>6</sup> Unlike courtesan community they were refrained from singing in public. Khitindranath Tagore, a musicologist remarked that the tender girl should learn music for uplifting gentleness of her heart, but she must be refrained from performing music until it had been represented in a restrained environment.<sup>7</sup> Reformists of renaissance age put a greater restriction on public performance of women singer. Thus patriarchal imposition limited her freedom to perform publicly. Their rendition was limited to devotional songs only. The condition of the Hindu family was more or less the same. Saralabala Sarkar recollected her childhood memories – ‘In our childhood days, cultivation of music was in vague among girls. Singing of song was a matter of condemnation...Boys used to cultivate *ustadi* music and the girls would sing *yatra* song.’<sup>8</sup> Lack of permission obliged later to depend on oral learning of uncultivated native song. Reminiscence of Saralabala is not sufficient to substantiate the fact of inadequate girl’s music education. If we cast our eyes on the later decades of nineteenth century Bengal, it may appear that music schools for girls were literally like looking for a needle in haystack. They could attend a *Kirtan* and *Jatragan* but not perform anything else. Rabibabur Gan, Thumri, Tappa having a close affinity with courtesan community were forbidden for them. Eventually a woman humming for a non devotional song could be subjected to moral transgression.<sup>9</sup>

### **Art is not for Art Sake! New constraints for women artists**

From the first decade of the twentieth century, public sphere welcomed modest women performers ignoring the red eye of the Hindu society. They began to rely on Gramophone agency to gain self recognition.<sup>10</sup> But even then the women from noble birth had to mention their name as amateur performer to keep up a separate entity of modesty for them. Amala Das, a Brahmo woman, first recorded for Gramophone company. She was followed by Amia Tagore, Amala Dutta, Sahana Debi, Sabitri Debi etc.<sup>11</sup> Commoditization of music could have made successful career for these artists. In comparison with male singer a woman singer was deemed to be more profitable for recording companies. These companies would employ various trainers to train artists.<sup>12</sup> Thus compulsory music education became a redundant proposition. Eventually women from middle class families began to make their artistic appearance in music industry with different genre of Bengali music. Termination of silent era in Bengali film industry proved to be another source for the betterment of these promising

women singers. But professional possibility could hardly break impregnable barrier of moral obligation for women artists. As a consequence, women from noble origin began to offer their voice only in kabyageeti written by Brahmo composers. In the sphere of marketed sound a woman artist in addition to her playing the role of notation framer and music teacher now began to perform Kabyageeti. Their reverential responsibility is prominent in a contemporary popular singer's reminiscence-'People of blue blood would often play on records of Sahana Debi, Kanak Das and Sati Debi. Not only the aristocrats, the gramophone company also applauded their performances as 'par excellence'.<sup>13</sup> As a part of music reform movement, an institution of fine arts a creation of gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore was founded in Santiniketan. Ashram students of this institute performed a significant role in promoting the mood, style and thought of gurudeva-a parallel notion of art's for art sake. Inspired by the notion, arts for Tagore sake, Ashramik girls<sup>14</sup> took the responsibility of spreading Tagore's musical wealth all over the world. In the era of commoditization these girls maintained specific type and style of singing. Along with conventional education they would receive education on music, musical instruments and dance. After the completion of education, they would promote Tagore's music through their own academy. Amita Sen, an ashram kanya in her reminiscence spoke about Sabitri Krishnan. Fascinated by Tagore music Sabitri came from her motherland to take music education in Shantiniketan. After completion of education Sabitri exposed herself to the degree of establishing music academy for teaching of devotional songs in foreign country. Another Ashramkanya Rama Cahkrobarty, returned to Calcutta and set up a music school, Surangama.<sup>15</sup> Even Mrs. Amita Sen during her conjugal life in Decca, made people known the dancing style of Ashrama. These girls of ashrama achieved great success through their aesthetical services for Gurudeba.

Apart from singing songs of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, women of respectable families skillfully devoted their voice to Bhajan, Kirtan to feed the patriarchal notion. They also deployed their devotion to go well with Gandhi's sonic nationalism. Gandhi threw his weight on music reform project of Vishnu Digambar Paluskar and conditioned his decision to use devotional music as a part of self developing skills that would promote his countrymen to gain Swaraj. In his *ashram* congregational songs and Bhajan were enabling devices to absorb an audience of devotion. Women like Prema Behn, Ganga Behn Vidya were entitled to render additional service in evening prayer.<sup>16</sup> In Bengal also artists such as Juthika Roy, Uma Bose devoted their artistic self towards spirituality. In her autobiography Juthika stated that she used to sing devotional song like Bhajan of Mirabai, Kabir and refused to be a playback singer. Because she wanted to cast her identity based on devotional value. Even few songs which she recorded for movies were also devotional songs.<sup>17</sup> Gandhi was so much influenced by her music that her voice of devotion was used by him in one of his political session in

Maidan. Another one, Uma was called 'Nightingale' by Gandhi for her sweet devotional voice. Discography of Uma pointed out the fact that out of twenty nine records, she recorded seventeen songs of devotional genre and some of semi classical genre. A disciple of eminent musicologist Dilp Kumar Roy, Uma got valuable appreciation from Mahatma for her two duets 'Chakor rakho ji' and 'Aji sakhi shuno banshuria' with her master.<sup>18</sup>

### **IPTA movement and transgression of a women artist**

When the women singers quested for their identity through their performances of devotional songs, Gurudeb's musical belongings and kabyageeti of Brahma reformers, Suchitra Mukherjee (later Mitra) turned her artistic identity to some extent in different direction. Suchitra appeared in Shantiniketan in 1941. She came to Ashram shortly after demise of Tagore. Prior to this affiliation she was a student of Bethune school, where she learned Rabindrasangeet under the guidance of Amita Sen.<sup>19</sup> Presence of musical surroundings, the blessing of Rabindra devoted father, accompaniment of well known artists like Pankaj Mallick and Bani Kumar of All India Radio provided her confidence to choose a musical career. Apart from musical surroundings Suchitra along with her two sisters was attracted to the leftist ideology<sup>20</sup>. From the decades of forties Calcutta became a central point of leftist followers. Intellectual artists from every nook and corner of Bengal gathered here for a common interest, the interest to popularise folk songs during those days.

Jyotirindro Moitra from Kushtia, Binoy Roy from Rangpur, Hemanga Biswas from Shylet arrived in Calcutta and transformed 46, Dharmatala Street as a laboratory for cultivation of communist culture.<sup>21</sup> Feeling the demand of time Suchitra used to pay her visits to this address. Even poet Subhas Mukhapadhyaya spoke highly of her intellectual talk in *Ghoroa Adda*.<sup>22</sup> As a politics conscious woman she took culture very seriously and became '... visible and audible in the intellectual and political discussions.'<sup>23</sup> Thus from the very beginning Suchitra was acquainted with Rabindrik and Non Rabindrik tradition, unlike other Ashramkanya of her age. Moreover Suchitra convinced herself with social liabilities for artists and conditioned herself to join Indian People Theatre Association.<sup>24</sup> During those days anti colonial movement gained momentum by introducing a series of agitation. The leftist became overactive in those days. Under imperial compulsion India's reluctant involvement into the second world war, Japanese invasion of Brahmadesh, food scarcity, famine, Hindu Muslim Riot made the entire situation turbulent.<sup>25</sup> The crying need for voicing protest gave birth to mass song. Supplanting Mahatma's devotional notion Indian People Theatre Association pitched their voice in protesting tune.

Music as a medium of protest was not a new initiative in colonial period. The lyricists of Kabyageeti, Rabindranath Tagore, Atul Prasad, Rajanikanta, Dwijendralal Roy composed songs for Swadeshi period. During those days these

songs were subjected to *Prabhat ferries (morning procession)*, Congress session. Very few artists like Kanak Biswas, Debabrata Biswas rendered some of these songs in HMV records.<sup>26</sup> But during this turbulent period swadeshi element seemed to take a sturdy form of mass song<sup>27</sup>. The lyricist or the composer dared not exclude swadeshi lyrics in their songs. Instead of singing song in a constrained sphere of nationalist politics or performing song in stage of congress session performers now got ample opportunities to mingle themselves with oppressed Indian. Preeti Banerjee, Binata Basu (later Roy), Sadhana Basu (Ray Chowdhury) performed songs for stormy decades<sup>28</sup>. Preeti Banerjee recollected it was the national movement that had launched her on her music career. While a student at Rajshahi She used to take part in the Prabhat pheri (morning session) singing Roy's famous song : *Dhono dhanyo pushpe bhora/ amader ei bosudhara/tahar majhe desh ek sokol desher sera* (the earth of our is full of riches, crops and flowers /and one country here is the best of all countries.) Afterwards she got the pamphlet of a song composed by Binoy Roy 'Awake Indian! how long you will remain asleep. She went further to state that this song initiated a 'New Phase' in her life.<sup>29</sup> Why did she use the term new phase? It seems to bear a deep meaning. A member of central ballet troupe of Cultural Squad, Preeti Banerjee faced various obstacles for joining party but cultural squad gave her privilege to break the socio-cultural code for women. Now if an artist like Preeti considers her joining in cultural squad a new phase for her life, how and to what extent those ashram kanya of Shantiniketan, having double bondage of patriarchal code of womanhood and bearing tradition of ashram faced such a situation? To get the answer the artistic life of Suchitra Mitra as an cultural activist should be taken into consideration. Being a representative of an age of conflict between neo modernism and modernism she could not afford a commitment either to marxism or to anti marxism.<sup>30</sup> She never disclaimed her family tradition of Tagore devotion nor did she ignore her inclination to leftist ideology .So she was as frequent in mass song as she was in Rabindrasangeet.

The lyricists of cultural squad never declined thoughts of Rabindranath Tagore. In true sense they wanted to change Rabindrasangeet into mass songs as they had made great swadeshi songs suitable for their tune. In this changed milieu Suchitra responded with her dual identity. She introduced Rabindranath's swadeshi song to the then people of riot affected Bengal. During the riots of 1946 she sang 'Sarthak janama amar janmechi ei deshe' (Blessed am I that I was born in this land).<sup>31</sup> She staged the drama *Tapati* before public. An invited artist of IPTA, Utpal Dutta stated that Suchitra used to sing Tagore's song in cultural squad and surprisingly those songs of *shanta rasa* (tranquil feeling) made a significant effect upon mass of riot affected areas. But feeling the very nerve of time she could not limit herself within tranquil nature of Tagore songs<sup>32</sup>. In 1950, She recorded the song 'Sei Meye' (that girl)<sup>33</sup>, a sequel to Tagore's *Krishnakali ami tarei boli* (To me she is a dark bloom)<sup>34</sup>. The success of her golden voice in the

sound market inspired Salil Chowdhury to record his composition by Suchitra Mitra. Tagore was fascinated with the beauty of black woman, Krishnakali. But Salil placed the imagination of Tagore in the burning times of forties. Suchitra expressed her regret about Krishnakali, a song which could have been a protest against apartheid, this song however found its destination within the four walls of bengali intellectual's drawing room. Plekhanav argued 'The tendency of artists and of those who have a lively interest in art, towards art for art's sake arises when they are hopeless disaccord with social environment in which they live.'<sup>35</sup> Out of social responsibility Suchitra wanted to value Krishnakali as a form of protest in replacing its aesthetic value. Apart from Tagore's songs she used to sing songs of Jyotindra Moitra, Manmatha Bhattacharya, Abhijit Bandopadhyaya etc. In 1951 she recorded a chorus song for peace *amader nanan mate (in our varied opinion)*<sup>36</sup>, *Dhonyo ami jonmechi ma (I am obliged that I have been born)*<sup>37</sup> and in 1954 *Aj Banglar buke darun hahakar (Today Bengal wailing)*<sup>38</sup>. Moreover Suchitra was involved in utilizing Tagore's musical belongings to raise money for political purpose. Eminent singer Debabrata Biswas recounts 'most probably in the year 1949 a secret letter touched my hand. In that letter there was an instruction to raise fund for underground party. Some of us decided to stage the dance drama 'Chitrangada' of Tagore with Suchitra Mitra, the heroine of Rabindra sangeet and owner of an extraordinary tonal quality. We started our duties. Chitrangada was successfully staged and the collected money was sent to its destination through proper channel'<sup>39</sup>. In the previous decades occasionally Rabindranath himself along with the girls of Ashrama had staged his creative belongings for raising money on account of Ashrama<sup>40</sup>, but in this present case artists like Suchitra Mitra, Debabrata Biswas used this belongings for political purposes. Her activism was applauded by play writer Utpal Dutta who told her 'a leading soldier of Ganantya Sangha'<sup>41</sup>. The new identity of cultural activist for Suchitra did not mean that she left her ashramik entity. Like other Ashramkanys of Shantiniketan she told that Rabindranath was intermingled with her life, but what makes her exceptional she could feel the nerve of the time and so she further wished to sing Subhas Mukherjee's poem 'Agnikoner Tallat'<sup>42</sup>. After the demise of Suchitra, Debyojit Mishra unearthed a tragedy of another Ashramkanya, Kanika Bandopadhyaya. Salil Chowdhury wanted Kanika to record his two songs- 'Kichu Moner asha' and 'Prantar Gan'<sup>43</sup>. But on the day of recording she did not appear in the studio. Kanika admitted the fact in her autobiography.<sup>44</sup> Sudhir Chakrobarty informed us that the song 'Sei meye' was first nominated for Kanika's voice by Salil, but she did not secure permission from authority, Even when Suchitra gave her voice to this song, that record had been smashed by that authority<sup>45</sup>. In spite of such aggression she had been a lifelong devotee of Gurudeva, and continued to sing songs of Rabindranath. But the imposition of authoritarian rule by the Ashrama compelled her to voice her

grievance that ‘Rabindranath was simultaneously freedom and restriction for her.’<sup>46</sup>

### Conclusion

If we observe the musical society of twentieth century through the eyes of Sarala Debi enhancement in number of women artists is a matter of great significance. But unfortunately very few of them stepped in or out of the notion of art for art’s sake or art for devotional sake. Suchitra Mitra was exceptional one. The authoritarian control of ashrama, the burden of devotional accountability could not limit her voice within a specific genre of music and style of singing. Even if one put a cursory look on the record catalogues of this period it can hardly be found therein records of female artists for IPTA except for Gita Mukherjee and Suchitra Mitra.<sup>46</sup> Nirendranath Chakraborty wrote for Suchitra Mitra-

*Akash jokhon chokkhu boje ondhokarer shoke*  
*Tokhon jemon sobai khonje Suchitra Mitrake*  
*Tari gane jyotsna jole bhasai jibon khani*  
*Tai to take shilpi bole bondhu bole jani*

(When sky closes its eyes with sadness of darkness/Everybody looks for Suchitra Mitra/Through her songs, I float my life in the water of moon light/ So I look up her as an artist and my friend)

The transgression of an Ashrama girl to become a friend in need is not easy to cover. There must have had multiple burns for her yet she voiced for the social efficacy of music.

### Notes and References

1. Kabyageeti comprises a poetic value. Rabindranath Thakur Atulprasad Sen, Rajanikanta Sen used to compose such songs. Women singers sang their songs.
2. In the early nineteenth century a french philosopher Victor Cousin coined a phrase *I’art pour I’art* or art for art’s sake. The phrase expresses the belief that art need serve no political, didactic or other end. (Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia.’ Art for art’s sake’. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 23, 2015. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/art-for-arts-sake>., Accessed 17th october,2022)
3. Bengali literature of nineteenth century and seminal work of Sumanta Bandopadhyaya depicts about such women performers. (see Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya: *Bishbriksha*, Bangadarshan,1872; Sunil Gangopadhyaya: *Sei Samay*, Calcutta, Ananda Publishers, 2015; Sumanta Bandopadhyaya: *Unish Shotoker Kolkata O Saraswatir Itor Santan*, Calcutta, Anusthup,2008)
4. Musical Renaissance is a coinage used by Martin Clayton. The movement of restoring Indian music from fallen hand of illiterate ustads was termed as musical renaissance. (See Martin Clayton: ‘Musical Renaissance and its margin in England



- and India, 1874-1914', in Martin Clayton and Benett Zon (eds.), *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire: Portrayal of the East*, England, Ashgate Publishing limited, 2007, pp.83-94)
5. Sumanta Banerjee: 'Marginalisation of Women's Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century Bengal', in Kumkum Sangri & Sudesh Vaid (eds.), *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*, New Delhi, Kali for Woman, 1989, pp.127-179
  6. The wave of music reform was greatly encouraged by Brahmos'. Brahomo women used to excute their role as notation writer, song collector, musicologist instead of public performer. (See Sarala Debi Chodhurany: *Jiboner Jharapata*, Calcutta, Sahitya Samsad, pp.73-82; Indira Debi Choudhurani: *Smriti Samput*; Chitra Deb: *Thakur Barir Andarmahal*, Calcutta, Ananda Publishers,2016)
  7. Khitindra Nath Tagore: 'Thakur Paribare Stree Shikhsa', *Punya*, Ashar-Shraban, 1899, pp.458-471
  8. Saralabala Sarkar: *Harano Atit*, Calcutta, Bengal Publishers, 1953, pp.20-21
  9. Jasodhara Bagchi: 'Matriliny within Patriliny', in Leela Gulati and Jasodhara Bagchi (eds.), *A Space of her own: Personal Narratives of Twelve Woman*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2005, pp.223-236
  10. Gramophone company was marked for recording women's voice both from humble and noble origin. The record catalogue or books published in those days support this fact. (see. A.N Sharma: *Bajanaama: A Study of Early India Gramophone Records*, Mumbai, Kathachitra Prakashan,2012; Shrish Chandra De, *Kaler Gan*, Calcutta, Kar and Mahalanabish,1927)
  11. *Hindustan Record e purbe prokashito ganer sampurno talika 1962*, Hindustan Musical Products LTD, pp.2, 16, 17
  12. Women artists of mid thirties frequently recollected frequently their trainer in their memoir, biographies and Autobiographies (See. Juthika Roy: *Ajo Mone pore: Sangit jiboner Smriti kotha*, Calcutta, Subarnarekha, 2002, p.47)
  13. Debabrata Biswas: *Bratyajaner Ruddha Sangeet*, Calcutta, Karuna Prakashani, 1978, p.38
  14. Shantiniketana is connoted as ashrama, where residential students (both girls and boys) would get formal education along with fine arts. (See. Amita Sen: *Shantiniketane Ashramkanya*, Calcutta, Tagore Research Institute; Shailajaranjan Majumdar: *Jatrapother Anandagan*, Calcutta, Ananda Publishers, 1985)
  15. Amita Sen: *Shantiniketane Ashramkanya*, op.cit, p.37
  16. Lakshmi Subhranian: *Singing Gandhi's India: Music and Sonic Nationalism*, New Delhi, Roli Books, 2020, pp.50-96
  17. Juthika Roy: *Ajo Mone Pore: Sangit jiboner Smriti*, op.cit.p.53
  18. 'Discography of Uma Bose (Hashi)', The Record News, *The Journal of the Society of Indian Record Collectors*, TRN-2005, pp. 45-50

19. Suchitra Mitra: *Mone Rekho*, Calcutta, Ajkal, p.32
20. Anuradha Roy: *Challisher Dashoker Banglay Ganasangeet Andolon*, Calcutta, Papyrus, 1992, p.11
21. ibid
22. Documentary on Suchitra Mitra by Raja Sen, Part-3, Interview of Subhash Mukhopadhy, 1:55-2:24 seconds, <https://youtu.be/LXH08KCcrKU>, Accessed 17th october, 2022
23. Tanika Sarkar: 'Time in Place: Urban Culture in Decades of Crisis', in Tanika Sarkar and Sekhar Bandopadhy (eds.), *Calcutta: The Stormy Decades*, London, Routledge, 2018, p.466
24. Debarata Biswas: *Bratyajaner Ruddhasangeet*, op.cit, p.58
25. Tanika Sarkar: 'Time in Place: Urban Culture in Decades of Crisis', op.cit. p. 461-474
26. *Complete Catalogue of Bengali Records: His Master's Voice 1961*, The Gramophone Company LTd, pp.37,39
27. Composer of such songs attaches importance to ordinary listeners and its tune is characterised by church song of medieval Europe. (See. Priyadarshi Chakraborty: *Je Poth Geche...*, Calcutta, Dey's Publishing, 2021, p.16)
28. Anuradha Roy, *Cultural Communism in Bengal 1936-1952*, Delhi, Primus Books, p.148
29. Anuradha Roy, *Cultural Communism in Bengal 1936-1952*, op.cit, p.144
30. Heated debates on Marxism and anti Marxism is widely described by Amit Kumar Gupta (See Amit Kumar Gupta: *Crisis and Creativities: Middle Class Bhadrolok in Bengal c.1939-1952*, New Delhi, Orient Black Swan, 2009, pp.166-238)
31. Suchitra Mitra, *Mone Rekho*, op.cit, p.44
32. Documentary on Suchitra Mitra by Raja Sen, Part-2, Interview of Utpal Dutta, 0:38-1:44 seconds, <https://youtu.be/9-qdqYIeqfw>, Accessed 17th october2022
33. HMV Record No N31180, *Complete Catalogue of Bengali Records: His Master's Voice 1961*, op.cit, p.32
34. HMV Record NO. N82923, 7EPE 1005, *Complete Catalogue of Bengali Records: His Master's Voice 1961*, op.cit, p.33
35. G.V Plekhanov: *Art and Social Life*, London, Awrence and Wishart LTD, p.172
36. Record No.GE7948, Suchitra Mitra: *Mone Rekho*, op.cit, p.84
37. ibid
38. Record No.24707, Suchitra Mitra: *Mone Rekho*, op.cit, p.84
39. Debabrata Biswas: *Bratyojoner Ruddhasangeet*, op.cit.p.73

40. Amita Sen: *Ananda Sarbakaje*, Calcutta, Tagore Research Institute, 1982, p.98
41. Documentary on Suchitra Mitra by Raja Sen, Part-2, Interview of Utpal Dutta, op.cit, retrived at 17/10/2022
42. Debyojyoti Mishra: 'Rabindra Junction', *Robbar Pratidin*, 23 Nov, 2011, p.12-15
43. Ibid
44. Kanika Bandopadhyaya: *Anandadhara*, Calcutta, Ajkal, 1998, p.58
45. Sudhir Chakrobarty: *Nirbachita Prabandha: Sudhir Chakrabarty*, Calcutta, Anubhab, 2010, p.426
46. Debojyoti Mishra: 'Rabindra Junction', *Robbar Pratidin*, op.cit, p.12-15
47. *Record Catalogue of Megaphone, 1948*, April, p.11; *Complete Catalogue of Bengali Records: His Master's Voice*, op.cit, p.33