

Káfriinha, Kaffringha, and the Bailasphere—Sri Lanka and Beyond

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The music begins with the violins of Newton and the youngsters, Angelo and Rushman, as the dancers in each couple turn to each other. Hayed soon beats three beats on the *rabáána*² (frame drum) in a hemiola before launching into the “jungudu-jukkung” 6/8 or 3/2 hemiola rhythm. I am very familiar with this beat.

INTRODUCTION

Scholars of Portuguese creoles in the Indian Ocean have argued that linguistic and cultural material circulated within the Portuguese Indian Ocean world, leading to what Dalgado (1917) referred to as “reciprocal transfusion” of linguistic influence in the development of Asian Portuguese creoles (see also Tomás 2009; Cardoso 2014; Cardoso, Hagemeyer, and Alexandre 2015). Meanwhile, there has also been an increase in scholarly interest in Indian Ocean and trans-oceanic cultural history, including a focus on syncretic music and dance forms (Kabir 2020; 2021; Sardo 2017; Kartomi 2012; Castelo-Branco 1997; Sarkissian 2000; Ganap 2006).

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The island of Sri Lanka constitutes a significant geographical and cultural hub at the center of the Indian Ocean. Situated between the western and eastern Indian Ocean regions, it has been an important stop on trade routes that stretched back to ancient times, reconsolidated during the waves of European colonial expansion. The musical history of the island itself is characterized by “rampant cultural interaction” (Sykes 2011, 482) and reflects the shared history between its diverse communities. While Sinhala people are the ethnic majority of Sri Lanka, constituting roughly 75 percent of the population, the island is home to significant Tamil and Muslim minorities and smaller groups such as Burghers who trace their ancestry to Portugal, Holland, and other parts of Europe (Kumari Campbell 2005) and Afro–Sri Lankans, also known as Kaffirs,³ whose presence on the island stems largely—though not exclusively—from the slave trade from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries (Jayasuriya 2005). The highly iconic and catchy style of music, Sri Lankan *baila*, developed mainly from the interaction between these ethnic groups particularly with Portuguese Burgher *káfriinha* (Ariyaratne 2001; White-Radhakrishnan 2021; Sheeran 1998, 2004).⁴ *Baila* is the most popular music genre on the island in terms of record sales and is recognized in India⁵ and other parts of South Asia. This deep connection rightly cements the strong historic contribution of Asian Portuguese communities such as the Portuguese Burghers to Sri Lanka and the broader region. Portuguese Burgher communities are present around the island, but those with significant populations, greater visibility, representation, and maintenance of culture and their language—Sri Lanka Portuguese—are concentrated in and around the east coast towns of Batticaloa and Trincomalee.⁶ It is in these places that *káfriinha* is still performed as a social dance during Portuguese Burgher weddings and other significant occasions including First Communions and puberty ceremonies.

Scholarship on Sri Lankan *baila* has increasingly focused on these historic intercultural processes (Sheeran 1998, 2004) and more rigorously explored links between the genre and its related forms. These include Portuguese Burgher *káfriinha* and Afro–Sri Lankan music (Ariyaratne 2001), which has become quite a popular form of cultural performance in recent times.⁷ Links with broader oceanic cultural circulations have also begun to be explored (Jayasuriya 2017, 22–23). Out of these scholarly perspectives I propose that there exists a broad category of related genres with common musical and kinetic reference that I call the *bailasphere*, drawing on Sri Lankan *baila* and the identically named and related genre from the west coast of India, derived from the Portuguese *baile* “dance” or *bailar* “to dance.”

In a discussion of the geographic spread of the song “Jinkly Nona,” a very clear example of shared repertoire in the *bailasphere* (see Jingali Nóna below), Sarkissian (1995, 42) points to a lack of attention to musical form in the comparative analysis of the song. In this chapter I argue for the importance of looking at musical form in addition to social context and textual comparison to illuminate histories of cultural circulation such as within the Indian Ocean network.

THE BAILASPHERE

The idea of a music and dance circulating in the Indian Ocean is not new (see Cardoso 2010, 96; Dalgado 1919, 474; Jayasuriya 2017; Kabir 2014; Sarkissian 1995; Sardo 2017). Kabir describes it as a *kinetoscape* that foregrounds the centrality of dance movements but also includes music within its scope. Sardo's term *lusosonic*, which she proposes in contrast to *lusophonic*, a term with colonial connotations (Sardo 2017), is another useful way to conceptualize this network. The use of the prefix *luso-* still arguably places an emphasis on Portugal both culturally and territorially, which could potentially perpetuate its centrality and diminish or erase other cultural layers.

Despite also having a Portuguese association, the term *bailasphere*, being associated by etymology rather than identity and place, foregrounds the diverse cultural convergences, be they African, Asian, Portuguese, or from elsewhere in Europe, and cross-cultural processes without being defined by one or more of them.⁸ Descriptions of Sri Lankan *baila* as variously Portuguese, Afro-Portuguese (Jayasuriya 2014) or Afro-Iberian (Sheeran 2004) are examples of this kind of definitional straitjacketing. While such descriptors are not inaccurate in their identification of the major cultural influences, they are somewhat limiting in that they erase the other layers of influence and the processes. Focusing more on style and repertoire allows scope to explore layers of influence (wherever they come from) in a historical perspective and also look at the circulations past and present, including in recent popular culture.

Central to the *bailasphere* are a range of genres characterized by a 6/8 asymmetric or hemiola rhythm and typically based on primary chord structures and diatonic melodies, in other words, the major scale in western music. Goan *mando*, Mangalorean *baila*,⁹ Sri Lankan *baila* (with subgenres of Sinhala *baila*, Tamil *baila*, and such), Portuguese Burgher *káfriinha*, Afro-Sri Lankan *manja*, and Portuguese creole music from Diu and Daman, constitute core genres from the South Asian subcontinent, as well as *joget* and *branyo*, both of which originated in the Portuguese Eurasian community in Melaka, Malaysia.¹⁰ All of these *bailasphere* styles overlap in turn with other local and translocal genres such as Bollywood, and Sinhala, Tamil, and Malay film and pop music¹¹ and rhythmically similar subgenres such as Tamil *kootthu* and other South Asian folk and classical genres based on *khemto* rhythms, which are largely outside the *bailasphere*.¹² While the focus of this chapter is on delineating the core elements of the *bailasphere*, these genres and stylistic overlaps provide an important check against jumping to uninformed conclusions.¹³

Another set of genres in the eastern Indian Ocean can be regarded as stylistically peripheral *bailasphere* genres and includes *kerongcong* and *sikambang kapri* from Indonesia, *Maquista music* from Macau, and other related eastern Indian Ocean styles. These could be regarded as part of the *bailasphere* by virtue of the shared melodic and thematic material and, in the case of *kerongchong* and Macanese music, the shared grounding in Portuguese creole speaking cultures.

However, these genres are all typically in 4/4 or duple-based rhythms, demonstrating that rhythm on its own is not an essential aspect of the *bailasphere*.¹⁴

On the western side there is another set of even more stylistically peripheral genres including *Sega*, *t'sega*, *t'shega* (Wergin 2009), *maloya* (Medeiros 2003), and other related western Indian Ocean styles performed in countries such as the Mauritius, the Réunion Islands, and Seychelles and traced back to the music of African enslaved individuals in those islands. These could be considered as a separate sphere (perhaps the *segasphere*?) linked to the *bailasphere* by their grounding in European harmony set to 6/8 asymmetrical (hemiola) rhythms—though with a slightly different emphasis as compared with *baila*. European colonization, slavery, cultural contact, and the emergence of creolized quadrille dances to similar rhythms shaped the cultural contexts from which these forms emerged, hence reflecting parallel processes of syncretism in social dance. Ascertaining whether or not these western Indian Ocean styles can be regarded as part of the *bailasphere* necessitates asking important questions about whether stylistic similarities between *sega* and *baila* can indeed be traced to specific trajectories of material or are simply the result of coincidence. Comparative work on this should look at the development of syncretic quadrilles in each place and could also expand the comparison to include other western Indian Ocean music and dance forms such as *bodu beru*, a vocal and drum genre from the Maldives, as well as Malgache and Mozambican music forms.

CAFRINHO TO KÁFRIINHA AND KAFFRINGHA

An important historical backdrop to the *bailasphere* is the curious phenomenon of music and dance genres known by similar sounding names such as *káfriinha*, *cafferina*, *kapriñña*, *kaffringha*, and other variant spellings (Dalgado 1919, 474; Cardoso 2010, 97; Tan 2016; see also Ganap 2006; Kartomi 2012, 406) and the likely precursor of these, *cafrinho*, a form of dance music variants of which are attested in a range of musical cultures by the turn of the twentieth century. Dalgado's (1919, 474) *Glossário luso-asiático* defines the word *cafrinho* as “apparently the same as the *mando*, practiced originally by Africans (*cafres*),” adding that “the dance would have been widespread in the east during the sixteenth century, since it is known in the Moluccas with the name of *kafrinu* and in Timor as *kafrinia*.”¹⁵

The etymology of the name *cafrinho* is a compound of the Portuguese *cafre*, “African”—now largely considered a derogatory term in Portuguese—and *-inho*, a diminutive, or term of endearment, referencing an African origin, influence, appropriation and/or imitation (see Hornback 2008) linked to slave transportation and other forms of migration within the African diaspora (Kartomi 1997, 313; 2012, 241; Jayasuriya 2008; Cardoso 2010). While scholars have often emphasized this African association, all of the genres that are known by variants of the name developed out of the combination of different musical elements. For example, they

bring together influences associated with African music, including syncopation and hemiola, largely Asian vocal styles, melodic influences and performance contexts, and largely European-derived diatonic melodies based on primary chord structures or dance formations (Kartomi 1997, 2012; Sarkissian 1995; Kabir 2021). Yet the interculturality of these forms often contrasts with past and contemporary understandings and attitudes shaped by the racial legacies of colonialism (Sheeran 2004; cf. Radano and Bohlman 2000).

The earliest probable reference to *cafrinho* is in the form of a Portuguese decree given in Goa in 1606 ordering that “sarabanda, nor songs called mundã¹⁶ or cafrinho,” are allowed to be “danced or sung” (Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, fasc. 4, p. 264 cited and translated in Beltes Manso 2007, 41).¹⁷ In the decree both *cafrinho* and the *mando* (here called mundã), are placed side by side in addition to *sarabanda*, a dance originating in Latin America and arriving in Spain during the sixteenth century and popular from that time until the eighteenth century. According to Bellingham (2011) the original *sarabanda* was “accompanied by song, castanets, and guitars” and was “a fast, lively dance alternating between 3/4 and 6/8 metre and with a reputation for lasciviousness.”¹⁸ The fact that *sarabanda* produced an ambiguity between 6/8 and 3/4 warrants further inquiry to ascertain if hemiolas are a rhythmic characteristic that may have been shared among these prohibited forms and perhaps at the core of their perceived impropriety and sense of otherness.

The lack of details about *cafrinho* in the above passages and its scarce appearance in the historic record to date mean that it is difficult to say with certainty whether it was simply used as a catch-all term for a range of dances performed by African people at that time or whether it indicated a specific dance performed either by Africans or by others as an appropriated form or imitation of one or more of their forms. The history of *Moresco* dancing, another dance with a similarly long history and with many variants, may provide some relevant insights and parallels in this regard (see Grove 1907 [1895], 136 and Hornback 2008, 201). Further investigation of documents relating to the links between Goa, Portugal, and the Southeast Asian archipelago including forced and free migration (Ganap 2006, 14) would also shed some light on this and the links between the aforementioned seventeenth-century *cafrinho*, more recent *káfriinha*, and broader *bailasphere* styles including peripheral styles such as *sega* from Mauritius, *maloya* from the Réunion Islands, and *bedu beru* from the Maldives.

Jumping ahead a couple of centuries and to the Sri Lankan context, Dutch travel writer Jacob Haafner’s (1995) *Reize te voot door Ceilon*, originally published in 1826, presents some evocative passages of music involving a man who, based on the account, was probably a Dutch Burgher and his enslaved attendants (their ethnicity is not given). While there is no specific reference to the music being of a particular genre, the passages suggest that it may possibly be an early form of *káfriinha* because of the combination of instruments and the mention of contradance and, elsewhere in the book, a quadrille (both of which would suitably describe *káfriinha*). The inclusion of *chicoties*¹⁹ within the repertoire, the presence of

the violin and *rabana*, and the energetic and peculiar style of dancing, which was strange to the European dance sensibilities of the writer, and indeed the dancer, give further weight to this possibility:

When supper was over, one of the company again took up the *rabanna* [sic] but M. D'Allemand, who was little entertained with its music had privately ordered his slave to surprise them with his **violin**. The sound of the instrument no sooner reached their ears, than they all seemed as if **struck by an electrical shock**. They all stood up, and the young girls, encouraged by the example of their parents, eagerly called for a **country dance** (*Contredanse*), and taking us by the hand, notwithstanding our objections and protestations of being fatigued, they drew us **into the circle**. . . . After dancing some time, we found ourselves incapable, from fatigue, to hold out any longer ; and we sat down before the hut. The rest of the company having also finished came and placed themselves by us, and began to sing a sort of **Malabar love songs, called chicoties and chacras**. (1995, 38; emphasis added)

Haafner's book later mentions of "fandangos, quadrilles, and Cingalese dances" (1995, 68–69), which, if the labels are accurate, suggests that all of these diverse dance repertoires would have already been coalescing in early Sri Lanka by the early nineteenth century. It is also interesting that the *chicoti* is described as a genre of "Malabar love songs," suggesting, again if accurate, either a regional or linguistic association.²⁰ The other genre mentioned by Haafner is *chacra*, which quite possibly refers to a variant of the genre known as *jácara*, *chácara*, *xácara*, a Spanish genre with notable variants in Latin America closely connected to the *villancico* tradition as well as the *sarabanda*, and also using hemiola time (Shalom 2022, 360).²¹ The absence of any reference to Portuguese language or cultural identity in the passage is interesting as is the description "into the circle," possibly suggesting something about its formation and indicating that it may not have been a quadrille.

A fascinating account by British colonial journalist and coffee planter John Capper (1878) details Dutch Burgher revels that took place following the twice-a-year arrival of a ship and demonstrates the establishment of *káfriinha* as a ballroom dance and popular institution across colonial society on the island. Capper arrived in the island in 1837, so the description is likely to reflect life around the 1840s:

The evening meal being over, the tables were moved aside and to the sound of mirth-provoking music the whole party joined in the frantic movements of the Ceylon "Caffreina," a kind of tropical "Cancan," in vogue to the present time. (Capper 1878, 49–50)

While expressed in colonial exoticizing language, Capper's assessment provides a richer and more broad-minded account of the *káfriinha*, providing clues as to its peculiarity to European sensibilities and highlighting the "considerable latitude" of movement.

C. M. Fernando's "The music of Ceylon" is yet another colonialist source but also an invaluable scholarly perspective on *káfriinha*. Presented for the Royal Asiatic

Society branch of Ceylon in 1894 and published in its proceedings in 1895, Fernando's work includes pictures of instruments, some details about the music and movement, and, notably, musical notation of several pieces including both *káfriinha* and *chikóóti* plus a couple of song texts. Of particular note, Fernando describes *káfriinha*'s rhythm as "peculiar," "jerky," "6/8 time . . . the last note being a crotchet" (1895, 186) and attests to its being a sung, improvised form of song dueling.

These passages highlight the social and scholarly commentary and awareness about *káfriinha* including attention to its unusual rhythm and movement from a European perspective within the broader framework of familiar European social dance structures, major melodies, and European-derived musical macrostructures (primary chord patterns, diatonic melodies). An important area for further work is the role of African musicians during the European colonial periods, both within the slave economy and the military sphere,²² such as the Colombo Volunteer's Band,²³ Further evidence from the Portuguese and Dutch colonial periods in Sri Lanka would greatly deepen research in this area.²⁴

Portuguese Burgher discourse rarely reflects on the origins of *káfriinha* or the word itself. Typically, it is described as the dance "brought" by the Portuguese, as in the reflections of Newton Sellar in a podcast interview (White-Radhakrishnan and Curran 2022, 53, 09–53:42), an idea that has currency in broader Sri Lankan discourse about it, including in *baila* song lyrics.²⁵ In a rare instance in which the actual name *káfriinha* was brought up, a senior Portuguese Burgher musician and community leader responded that the word was related to *kafal* (i.e., the borrowed English word "couple"), reflecting a time when everyone in the community was dancing together as couples and in harmony with one another. In both these instances any Afro-Sri Lankan connections are overlooked by community members, but in some rare instances they are acknowledged or even emphasized, another aspect that warrants deep and sensitive examination.

CASE STUDY—JINGALI NÓÓNA

Probably the most well-known illustration of the *bailasphere* is the song known as "Jingali Nóóna," which scholars, notably Jackson (1990; 2007) and Sarkissian (1995) have treated in some detail (see also Byl and Sykes 2020, 406). The following image shows three versions of Jingly Nona with significant melodic matches (in red horizontal parentheses) and attested locations of the song mapped out (music example 13.1).

Jackson (1990; 2007) correctly demonstrates the presence of "Jingali Nóóna" (a.k.a. "Singele Nona") in the Portuguese Burgher repertoire in 1895, the presence in its text and tune across various parts of the Indian Ocean and in Trincomalee, eastern Sri Lanka, in 1974. However, in Jackson's recording in Trincomalee, the song text (which corresponds closely with that in Fernando [1895]) is sung to a variant of another song format, straight *báyla*, as opposed to the song's associated tune (as in music example 14.1). Meanwhile, this tune is performed as an



Shingly Nona, Kerala, India, 1987



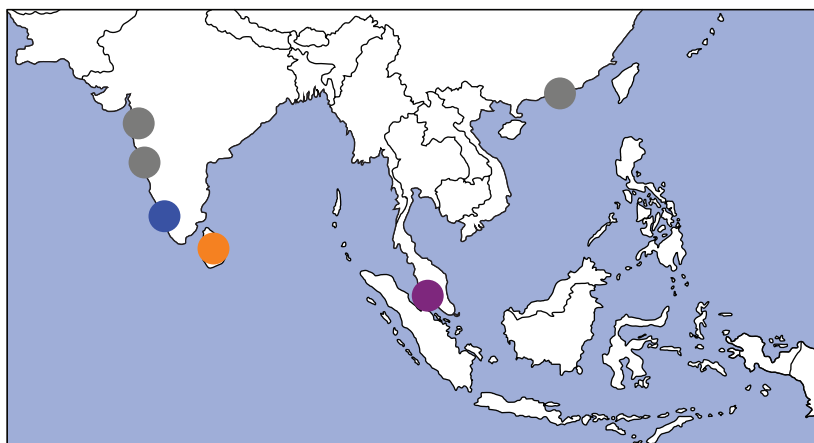
Singalee Nona, Sri Lanka, 1895



Jinkly Nona, Melaka, Malaysia, 1991



Other mentioned locations



MUSIC EXAMPLE 13.1. Three versions of Jingly Nona with significant melodic matches highlighted (*top*) and the locations of the matches marked (*bottom*). These include Shingly Nona in Kerala (Desta Barra Fora, Track 4), Singalee Nona in Sri Lanka (Fernando 1895) and Jinkly Nona in Melaka (Sarkissian 1995, 43).

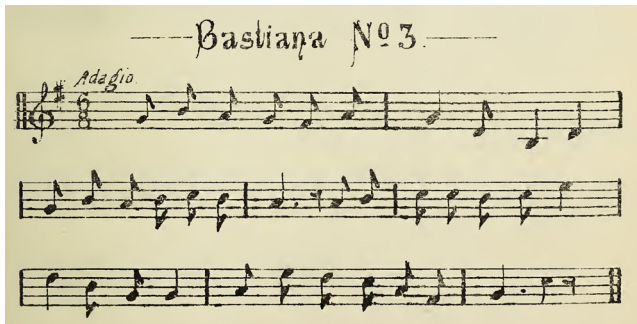


FIGURE 13.1. Bastiana from Fernando (1895).

instrumental *káfriinha* with no words sung. This separation of tune and text is confirmed by the fact that the older generations in the Portuguese Burgher communities in both Batticaloa and Trincomalee remember the tune but do not remember it being a song in their youth (even those familiar with the verse beginning “Singele Nona” did not associate those words with the tune).

An added twist to this complex trajectory is that the song is, in fact, performed today, notably by the group Burgher Folks, which is mostly made up of younger musicians (Cardoso 2017, slp039_5). Significantly, the words used for the song are based on the Melaka version²⁶ rather than the similar but different Sri Lankan version as transcribed in Fernando (1895) and recorded and transcribed by Jackson (1990). This “return” of Jingali Nóóna to the Portuguese Burgher repertoire highlights the way that scholarship and recent initiatives appear to have reinvigorated the nodes within the *bailasphere* leading to present-day exchanges and influence. The appeal of the Melaka version of the song is further supplemented by its indexing of Portuguese diasporic culture. The already iconic place it has in Malaysian culture has given this a great deal of visibility. The stylistic intelligibility of *káfriinha* and *branyo*, and parallel to these, the more broadly popular genres of Sri Lankan *baila* and Malaysian *joget*, and the continued presence of the tune allowed for a seamless (re)incorporation of a different version of an obsolete song (in terms of the whole music and text coming together) into the contemporary Portuguese Burgher repertoire.

CASE STUDY—BASTIANA

Another early circulation within the *bailasphere* is a song known as “Bastiana,” no longer sung within the Portuguese Burgher repertoire or present as a tune (figure 13.1). Meanwhile, this song is prominent in Macau today and is highly iconic of Maquista creole tradition. A search through the network of folkloric texts shows that around the turn of the twentieth century this particular song-text is present in Diu (Quadros 1907 cited in Cardoso 2018), Sri Lanka (Fernando 1895; Jackson 1990), and as a parody version from Macau (Marques Pereira 1901, 239–43), suggesting the song was

in the 1880s and 1890s). The tune is also one of those “quoted” in bars 146–161 of Norbert Rodrigo’s 1929 arrangement, *Ceylonese Dances* (reproduced in Ariyaratne 2001, 80–87), where it is presented along with other *káfriinha* tunes. Here it is also in 6/8. The coexistence, melodic resemblance, and contrast in the rhythm between the versions from Macau and Sri Lanka are an interesting possible indication of continuities and changes in the music across the *bailasphere*. The 4/4 pattern used in *keroncong tugu cafrinho* may reflect a similar pattern of change. In fact, it is very interesting that in the *keroncong* context, dancing does not appear to play the same role as it does with the *káfriinha* and the *branyo*, for example. Meanwhile, the absence of Bastiana from the contemporary *káfriinha* and *kaffringha* repertoires highlights the vagaries of musical continuity.

RHYTHMS OF THE BAILASPHERE

Portuguese Burgher *káfriinha*, Sri Lankan *baila*, and, to an extent, Afro–Sri Lankan *manja* share common rhythms, typically underpinned by the *rabana*.²⁷ The idea of rhythm being integral to these styles is emphasized in the lyrics of Sri Lankan *baila* songs, which typically present *baila* and *káfriinha* as “rhythm” or “beat.” This rhythm is best described as a three-over-two hemiola but alternatively as 6/8, the latter of which is the way in which I have always heard of it in discourse among those with Western music training from Sri Lanka including Portuguese Burghers.²⁸

The interplay of the *rabáána* with accents on the first and fifth beats (if counting in 6/8) and other—often higher frequency—percussion (e.g., the *salaari* in Portuguese Burgher *káfriinha*) sounding on the first and fourth beats produces the three-over-two hemiola effect. The melodic rhythm of the violin and voice is often in a crotchet-quaver-quaver-crotchet pattern, which I would argue is the prototypical *kafrinha* rhythm. Wally Bastianz’s *Irene Josephine*²⁹ provides a clear example of this in Sri Lankan *baila*. Following a lyrical free time violin intro, the song starts with four bars emphasizing this rhythm played by the guitar (music example 13.2). Following the passage in this transcription, the rhythm is maintained with the bass instrument (likely contrabass) emphasizing the first and third crotchet beats (again the hemiola) and the guitar playing the *káfriinha* rhythm in a more arpeggiated style. A hi-hat plays on every quaver with an open hi-hat on the fifth quaver of the second bar (i.e., the third crotchet). Meanwhile, a second percussion instrument (likely *rabana*) joins the rhythmic fray, playing on every quaver with open beats on the first and third crotchet and relatively muted beats on the rest as in Portuguese Burgher *káfriinha*.

It is also worth juxtaposing the *rabana* and *salaari* rhythm in *káfriinha* with the *dōlak* and coconut shells and spoons rhythm in Afro–Sri Lankan *manja*. Both genres are characterized by hemiola rhythms, with an emphasis on the fifth beat—in *káfriinha* this is evidence in the fifth *rabáána* beat being a lower and more open beat compared with the others, while in *manja* this is evident in the fifth beat



MUSIC EXAMPLE 13.2. Guitar for opening bars of Wally Bastianz's *Irene Josephine* after intro.



MUSIC EXAMPLE 13.3. Opening bars capturing *rebana* rhythm used in a recording of *branyo* made by Alan Baxter.

being a crotchet. In addition, these beats are not isochronous. In both *káfriinha* and *manja* it appears that the first and fourth beats are of slightly longer duration than the others, which has the effect of creating ambiguity between a duple and triple rhythm.

The rhythmic emphasis in *káfriinha* and *manja* echoes the rhythms found in a range of other *bailasphere* styles. While a comprehensive comparison is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is worth providing some more cursory examples as a prompt for further inquiry.

- In both *mando* and *dulpod* from Goa and other parts of the west coast of India, the fifth beat of the 6/8 (or 6/4) bar is a crotchet, which corresponds with the *káfriinha* rhythm. This can be explained by the strong cultural connections and continuities among various South Asian Portuguese cultures, in particular between Goa and Sri Lanka.
- Meanwhile, the percussion rhythm used by the *rebana*³⁰ in a song recorded in Melaka, Malaysia, in 1981 by Alan Baxter in the *branyo* music of the Melaka Portuguese community shows a slightly different emphasis (music example 13.3). In this example, while the fifth beat is always played and is always a crotchet, the overall rhythmic cycle goes over two bars with the second beat of the first bar being a crotchet rest (bars 4 and 6) while the remaining bar presents a dotted quaver-crotchet-quaver-crotchet rhythm. The overall result is a different sounding rhythm, more sparse compared to the other *bailasphere* rhythm but sharing an emphasis on the crotchet at the fifth beat.³¹
- In *kerongcong*, another *bailasphere* style performed in Jakarta, Indonesia, it appears that some of the same tunes may have undergone rhythmic transformation into 4/4 (or possibly 2/4) in parts of Southeast Asia including Indonesia as well as Macau (see discussion of Bastiana above). For example, the song *kerongcong tugu cafrinho* has, in my view, a strong melodic overlap with the Portuguese Burgher song *kuráánjaniita* from Sri Lanka and the song *Canto*

de marilha from Daman, but unlike *kuráánjaniita* and *Canto de marilha*, the *kerongcong* song is in 4/4.

- One can also catch a hint of the rhythmic resonances in the opening rhythm used in a recorded performance of *sega tipique* on the *ravanne*³² and triangle. It is the first, third, fourth, and fifth beats that are emphasized by the *ravanne*, with the fifth beat the most open and the second and fifth beats emphasized by open beats on the triangle creating a sense of syncopation, asymmetry, and hemiola. This seems to have echoes with *káfriinha* with its typical crotchet-quaver-quaver-crotchet rhythm and Fernando's (1895) observation about the last note being a crotchet. While the overall rhythmic effect is distinct, there appears to be sufficient overlap to warrant further comparative work.

CONCLUSION

The above examples highlight the musical continuities and contiguities between the Portuguese Burgher *káfriinha* repertoire past and present and the *bailasphere* of Sri Lanka and the wider Indian Ocean. The comparative analyses presented here, building on studies that have tended to foreground social context or text over musical form, demonstrate the validity of a domain of cultural sphere that I call the *bailasphere*. This chapter begins the process of trying to map out the *bailasphere* and its trajectories of musical and kinetic flow, which mirror the cultural, economic, and linguistic flows between various parts of the Indian Ocean during the occupation of Portuguese, Dutch, British, and other European powers. In the Southeast Asian context it will also be significant to consider the Arab, North Indian, and local Asian influences, which have shaped musical styles there such as Sikambang Kapri (Kartomi 2012).

The mapping process requires much further work. There are a number of tunes, tune fragments, dance movements, and song lyrics yet to be analyzed in juxtaposition (White-Radhakrishnan 2021; Jayasuriya 2017, 22), work that requires a careful balance of “scope and zoom” and close attention to the perspectives of community members (Byl and Sykes 2020, 408). Historical research on attestations of *cafrinho* (and variants of the word) in discourse about music and dance in Portuguese, Dutch, British, Spanish, and other language sources will provide an important insight into the establishment and development of *kaffringha*, *káfriinha*, *mando*, *kerongcong tugu cafrinho*, and other *bailasphere* styles including western Indian Ocean styles, which warrant careful consideration. There is far more comparative work to be done to ascertain whether there was some kind of relationship in the development of these western Indian Ocean genres with other *bailasphere* genres, including analysis of melodies past and present, the content and structures of song texts and movement including comparative work on the quadrille, building on the work of Kabir (2021). Another related significant project concerns interrogating the supposed interconnection between African performance forms within

the Indian Ocean space and *cafrinho* especially given the readiness with which Dalgado (1919), Fernando (1895), and other scholars have arguably emphasized its African provenance. Related to this aspect is the erasure of African-ness within the Indian Ocean space, a significant issue of history, identity, and justice; for much of the evidence points to the *bailasphere*, drawing significantly from African cultures and peoples whose voices are missing from the historic record. Another important aspect of *bailasphere* research will be to compare if (and if so, how) trajectories and developments in creolized music and dance map onto Dalgado's (1917) reciprocal transfusion hypothesis with regard to the development of Asian Portuguese-lexified creoles. Finally, and significantly, *bailasphere* research must focus on contemporary practices, including the maintenance and revitalization of vulnerable music traditions such as *káfriinha* including examination of innovations, the renewal and recalibration of past networks of circulations, and the formation of new ones. From the perspective of cultural diversity and global history, the *bailasphere*, and the other domains of performative styles with which it comes into contact, reveal important stories of connection that await urgent and careful scholarly attention and (re)telling.

NOTES

1. An audio version of this reflection can be heard on *Sakudii bayláá* a Music!Dance!Culture! podcast episode about Portuguese Burgher *káfriinha*. www.buzzsprout.com/1886223/10690584, segment from 2:03–3:53. The performance itself was recorded as part of the Documentation of Sri Lanka Portuguese project (Cardoso 2017, slp035_2).

2. *Rabáána* is commonly spelled *rabana*. When discussed within the Portuguese Burgher context I use the Documentation of Sri Lanka Portuguese orthography developed by Hugo Cardoso (see Cardoso et al. 2019).

3. This term comes from the Portuguese word for African, “Cafre,” which in turn derived from the Arabic “Kaffār” (infidel). While recognized as derogatory in much of the world, “Kaffir” was commonly used in Sri Lanka as an ethnonym, including by the community. Recently, community members have increasingly started to use and prefer the term Afro–Sri Lankan. While I also prefer the term Afro–Sri Lankan to refer to the community, the formerly used term is important to be aware of because of its historical salience and because the term is widely accepted by scholars as linked with *káfriinha*.

4. Portuguese Burgher *káfriinha*, an oral dance and music tradition with repertoire in Sri Lanka Portuguese, is distinct from Sri Lankan *baila*, a highly produced popular music genre that is mostly in Sinhala (with variants in Tamil and other languages). The two forms have a shared history with the *káfriinha* playing a significant role in the historical development of Sri Lankan *baila* in its early stages when it was also known as *kaffringha* and more closely resembled *káfriinha* music. Sri Lankan *baila* likewise has had influence and cultural salience on Portuguese Burgher *káfriinha*, especially in modern times where modern *káfriinha* songs in Sri Lanka Portuguese have been based on Sinhala *baila* songs.

5. While Goa and the west coast of India has its own related tradition of “*baila*” music, the association between *baila* and Sri Lanka is still strong in the South Asian popular imagination. For example, the 1993 Tamil film song *Pattu Nila*, with lyrics by Vaali and music by famed Tamil film music composer Ilayaraja, had the chorus “Sinhala *baila* has come (to) India! Start a party! Make a jumpy dance!” (my translation). This song can be viewed at www.youtube.com/watch?v=VowLdf22JeY.

6. There is a small community in Jaffna too, but their numbers are very few and only a handful speak the language. The extent of cultural maintenance and identification in other areas (e.g., Galle) remains to be studied.

7. Scholarly and popular interest in Afro-Sri Lankan culture, including their music tradition, *manja*, is, for example, reflected in the documentary *Kaffir Culture* produced by Kannan Arunasalam. www.youtube.com/watch?v=BXvLYV9MZLI.

8. I acknowledge that the Portuguese language roots of the word *baila* might suggest the foregrounding of its Portuguese elements (much like the prefix *lusó*). However, I would argue that it is a word that, at least within the Sri Lankan context, has deep (and varying) significance among the diverse communities connected to the associated styles including African communities in Sri Lanka and across the Indian Ocean network who mostly spoke a variety of Portuguese creole, giving the term arguably wider prominence, certainly more than other terms that directly foreground Portuguese cultural primacy. The term is also much less othering than any term indexing *káfriinha*, *kaffringha*, or *cafrinho*.

9. Baila in the west coast of India can be regarded as a different genre with its own history. At the same time, both Sri Lankan baila and Indian baila are closely related, and their development would likely have significant overlaps. Songs in one genre/country have been popular in the other. Examples are the Sinhala (Sri Lankan) baila song “*Surangani*” widely known across India, and the Konkani (Indian) baila song “*Catherina*” widely known across Sri Lanka. These overlapping histories call for deeper exploration.

10. *Joget* is a common Indonesian and Malay word for “dance” and is used for a range of genres in both countries. Here we refer to the popular genre in Malaysia, which is derived from branyo.

11. The blurriness of these boundaries is particularly evident in 6/8 Sinhala pop music, which is often regarded by its performers as separate from baila despite sharing more commonalities than differences. As Gabriel Mininberg, in his unpublished thesis, states, “The distinction between baila and Sinhala Pop may be . . . more a matter of labeling than a fundamental difference in content.”

12. The stylistic intelligibility of *koothu* and *khemto* music, as well as Arabic rhythms, which would have been circulating especially in the Indonesian-Malaysian archipelago, would have also led to interesting convergences.

13. Jim Sykes hypothesizes that the well-established presence of these three-over-two rhythms in South Asia could represent a much earlier convergence of rhythms across the Indian Ocean linking Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

14. The reason these genres are in 4/4 could be due to the influences of dominant rhythmic patterns, including potentially from traditional Malay and Indonesian forms. This is another area requiring further inquiry.

15. This passage is also cited and discussed in Kabir (2021) and Almeida (2013).

16. Dalgado (1919) states that this is the same word (or variant spelling) of *mando*.

17. “Since there is no such thing that incites more sensuality than songs and lascivious and dishonest dances, this sacred Synod determines that under the penalty of excommunication no person from here on shall dance or sing the saraband, nor the songs that are called *mundā* or *cafrinho*, nor order someone to dance, or sing . . . and wishing to prevent the evils that follow in the republic of the multitudes of singing girls, and dancing girls that are in this State, strictly prohibits schools where they teach girls how to dance, sing or play musical instruments. (Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, fasc. 4, p. 264 cited and translated in Beltes Manso 2007, 41). I learned of this decree in a paper presented by Dr. Inês Guarda on January 3, 2018, at Lisbon for the Goa Research Cell, a working group within the Modern Moves project led by Professor Ananya Kabir.

18. The *sarabanda* was, for example, suppressed by Philip II of Spain in 1583 and also condemned by Jesuit priest Father Mariana in 1609 for its vulgarity (Bellingham 2011), reflecting the sentiments expressed in the English work, *Dialogue against Light, Lewd, and Lascivious Dauncing* (1582) by Christopher Fetherston, which included a diatribe against Morris dancing (Hornback 2008). Despite its

suppression, the *sarabanda* continued to flourish, spreading to Italy and France where it evolved into a “much slower and more stately version” in the seventeenth century. This taming of the *sarabanda* is comparable to processes and discourses around the *mando*, *kaffringha*, and *sega*, where “crazy” variants were transformed into, and/or coexisted with more controlled and dignified versions (Kabir 2021; Capper 1878; Sheeran 1998).

19. De Vos (1950) discusses “chicoti,” mentioning Haafner’s definition, but also suggests that the word “is perhaps a corruption of ‘chacota.’” another genre of music that was circulating in the Portuguese world around the seventeenth century.

20. Malabar is the name of the southern west coast of India, but the term was also often used by the Portuguese to denote Tamil or other southern Indian languages, a term that survives in Sri Lanka Portuguese as the word *Malvâár* for Tamil language and people.

21. Other important Latin American styles to consider for comparative work are Mexican mariachi and Paraguayan harp music, both of which are frequently based on hemiola rhythms. In fact, Sri Lankan baila artists have often tapped into the resemblance between their music and these styles, including a wave of baila bands in Colombo in the 1960s with names beginning with the Spanish articles “Los” and “La” and an indexing of Latin America (e.g., La Bambas, La Ceylonians, Los Muchachos). There were even forays into these styles, most notably Joe Perera, who sang a baila fusion version of the song “Chiquita Linda” from the Paraguayan harp tradition www.youtube.com/watch?v=SUq9JqbSCMc. From the other side there appears to be a category of Mexican *villancico* dance that drew on the dance of Africans and other ethnicities (Baker 2016, 399–408), which brings the connection full circle but also highlights why careful work is needed in understanding the relationships between these genres.

22. African migration to Sri Lanka significantly comprised but also outlasted slavery. The military was a type of slave labor but also became an important source of employment into the start of twentieth century (Jayasuriya 2008, 137).

23. For example, an Australian traveler to then Ceylon in 1892 reports, “The CoLombo Volunteer Band played in the verandah of the Grand Oriental one evening, and the big dining room was cleared out for a dance. The musicians were all black men, and I was told three of them were Kaffirs. They played polkas, schottishes, and quadrilles indifferently, the barn dance badly, but I never heard such lovely time as their waltzes. A waltz seemed somehow to fetch them, and they seemed to put all their soul into it. The floor was lovely, and I had one waltz, hot as it was, with a real good dancer—never had I a better. The spring this black band put into waltz music was wonderful.” (Letters to Boys.—No. V, South Australian Chronicle, July 23, 1892). Given the three-over-two timing it is possible that the lively “waltz” the writer observed may have been influenced by, or a version of, *kaffringha*.

24. Another significant early nineteenth-century account is in De Butts (1841), referring to a “Cafre dance.” Though written in a deeply racist and condescending tone, it provides an interesting insight into a dance form that may have been an early version or antecedent of *káfriinha*. See Jayasuriya (2018) for a discussion of this account.

25. One example of this is Corrine Almeida’s Kapirigngna (www.youtube.com/watch?v=lniu8YJsVS4).

26. Community leader Earl Barthelot related the story of how he shared the Melaka version with the community, and this was taken up.

27. Though Sri Lankan baila frequently utilizes tabla, drums, or synth pads, the *rabana* is considered typical. Meanwhile, Afro-Sri Lankan *manja* uses a *dholak*, a double-headed Indic drum, demonstrating another interesting instance of syncretism.

28. In fact, one prominent family of Portuguese Burgher musicians refer to “straight *báyla*,” one of the most prototypical *káfriinha* song formats as “six-eight,” highlighting the rhythm used for the overall genre. Nevertheless, the characterization of baila as 6/8 is not universally accepted by scholars. I am grateful to Jim Sykes and Julia Byl for drawing my attention to this contention.

29. A copy of this song is accessible at www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWYL6SO2JAo.

30. The *rebana* is a drum used across the Malaysian archipelago. It has the same etymology as the Sri Lankan *rabana*, with its origins in the Malay language and indicating a drum with ties to Islamic cultures. The Mauritian *ravanne* may also share the same etymology. Any etymological connection does not necessarily indicate a relationship between these drums or definitively point to shared origins, but they are all frame drums.

31. A commonly used rhythm for the percussion in modern *branyo* is the crotchet-quaver-quaver-crotchet *káfriinha* rhythm, which is also used in Malaysian *joget* music. Chopyak (1986, 125) highlights that for *joget*, “the single most important feature is a constant rhythmic feeling of two against three,” while Sarkissian (1995, 42, 47–48) equates *joget* and *branyo*, applying the transcription conventions for *joget* notation and Chopyak’s description of *joget* rhythm to *branyo*. What is most significant here is that both music forms are characterized by the same hemiola rhythm. It is worth noting that Sarkissian’s (1995, 43) notation of the violin melody of “Jinkly Nona” is in 6/8, possibly demonstrating that *branyo* rhythm is perceived and described by its performers as 6/8 rather than purely as three over two.

32. See note 30 in this chapter regarding the connection between *ravanne*, *rabana*, and *rebana*. This recording is available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=FfKN33CUik8.

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