THE
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
OF
INDIAN MUSIC
By the same Author

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THE
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OF
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by
SWĀMĪ PRAJÑĀNANANDA

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CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL

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THE CONNOISSEUR AND DOYEN
IN THE FIELD OF ART AND CULTURE
WITH DEEPEST LOVE, RESPECT AND REGARD.
PREFACE

Though this volume Historical Development of Indian Music is not in itself a chronological history of Indian music, yet it contains a systematic historical account of some of the essential features of Indian music that enrich the pages of its history. By 'development', I mean 'gradual evolution' or 'progress' in the sense of 'unfoldment' or 'coming into being' that remains latent in the womb of Nature, and so the word 'development' or 'evolution' here connotes the idea of manifestation of the unmanifested things, through a gradual process.

There are some who believe that everything in this world remains always in a constant form, and there is nothing like evolution in the sense of change. But this is a kind of blind faith which has no logical and scientific basis. Because everything, in this world of change, is subject to movement, forward or backward. As for example, a tree remains at first in a seed form, and then comes out as a sprout, and gradually develops into a big tree. A man remains as a child before he attains maturity. So change is inevitable in this world of time-space-causation.

We are fully aware of the golden proverb: 'Rome was not built in a day', but, in truth, not only Rome, but all the cities and countries,
nay, all things in this world of phenomena, have also grown, built and shaped through a gradual process, and nothing is ever made or created accidentally or by chance. Something develops means it moves gradually forward, one step at a time, just as a man walks step by step. Indian Music has also developed through the same process. It passed through different strata of evolution, in different periods, primitive, prehistoric, Vedic, classical, mediaeval, and modern. It will move onward again, and will be modified in the near and distant future. The music of the most ancient or primitive period supplied materials for the development of the systematic and scientific music of the Vedic days. The Vedic music, sāmagāna again helped the onward progress of the gāndharva type of music, which in its turn, was again replaced by the formalised regional or deśī but classical music, with new nomenclatures and forms. So music undergoes changes through all ages, with additions, alterations, modifications, reconstructions, adjustments and readjustments, rectifications, and so on. We should maintain, therefore, a liberal and broad vision in the field of Indian music. The possibility of new orientation in forms and manifestation of this music should neither be discouraged nor overlooked or rejected, but we should draw inspiration from the glorious heritage of the past and the pristine ideal of Indian music.
Modern science and researches have also helped our musicology to have a new and progressive orientation.

Musicology is called the Science of Music, as it helps to understand or realize music in its true perspective and colour. It formulates laws and rules that lead music to its right path, and thus protects and preserves it in its pristine purity and glory as it were. The musicologists and musicians are fully aware that the notes or svaras (the word 'sva' means 'by itself' and 'ra' connotes the idea of rāñjana which means 'pleasing') are the vital elements in the domain of Indian music, and that they design the rāgas that form its very basis, nay, the life-force or prāṇa. The musicology has moreover devised the microtones long before the advent of the Christian era, and framed the notes that are deeply saturated with emotions, and are nourished by their subtle sentiments. The rāgas are formed out of the permutations and combinations of the notes. The notes are therefore, the norm or matrix of the rāgas, and as such the rāgas create impressions, and rouse the emotive feelings in the hearts of the sentient beings, and a wave of sublimity sweeps over them when they are sung. The note that generates the greater number of emotion and feeling, is called the sonant or vādī. The function of the sonant is to help the manifestation of the rāga. The sonant or vādī (vadanāt
vādī, i.e. which speaks of, or determines, or makes manifest the rāga) is the prime thing, and plays a prominent part in Indian music. It helps the living beings to become conscious of their innate delightful nature. It also makes them conscious of their inherent divine energy that lies dormant in the subconscious mind. Samvādī means the consonant of melodic affinity between the notes, first and fourth, or first and fifth, that occurs at the distances of the nineth and thirteenth microtonal units. Samvādī is termed as the consonant, because it brings in the greatest affinity between two allied notes. Anuvādī is termed as the assonant, and it acts next to the sonant or vādī (anu+vādī, i.e. that comes after vādī, the sonant), while the other one is termed as the dissonant or vivādī, for its having a contrary tendency, bent upon destroying the state of equilibrium or the balance of the rāga, and is, therefore, unhelpful in perfecting the emotive feelings.

The twenty-two microtones and ten essentials (daśa-lakṣmana) are indispensable for the fuller manifestation of the rāgas, and they are full of inner significance and value, in the science of Indian music or musicology. Besides, there are varṇas and alamkāras, mūrcchanās, and other musical ingredients. The varṇas are the musical effort or gāna-kriyā. They determine the ascent and the descent of notes of the rāgas that create the sentiments and emotive feelings (rasa and
The rāgas are so called, because they create enjoyability or rākta-bhāva, which originates from the sentiments that lie hidden in the tones and microtones. The alamkāras are the combind froms of the ascent and the descent of seven notes, and as such they are the varieties of the varnas or musical efforts. The mūrcehanās evolve with the help of the notes in a cyclic order, and they create different shades or chāyās of the rāgas, having different emotions. The vistāra or elaboration of the notes creates ālāpa that makes the prabandhas or musical compositions and sthāyas or musical phrases of the songs (gītis) prefect and significant with the parts like āksiptikā, from which a rāga is thrown out or manifested in all directions, rāgavardhanī that makes the expansion of the rāga, etc. (vide Caturdāṇḍīprakāśikā, VIII. 1-11). The Saṅgīta-Ratnā- kara is mainly concerned with the āksiptikā in connection with ālāpa, and this āksiptikā is divided into four parts. The method of ālāpa makes a rāga fully manifest, with its aesthetic beauty and emotional appeal. Besides, there are other essential ingredients that are required to be observed to make the rāgas manifest fully, with their rakti and rasa bhāvas.

Now, what are the prabandhas and sthāyas? The prabandhas are the systematic musical compositions, bound up with different dhātus (music-parts), six āṅgas (limbs), five jātis, etc. The sthāyas are the musical phrases that create
the shades or chāyās of the rāgas. Pārvādeva and Śāraṅgadeva have fully described about the forms and nature of the sthāyas in the Saṅgita-samayasāra and Saṅgita-Ratnakara. Pārvādeva observes (vide Saṅgita-samayasāra, II.34-3):

गत्या गमकयोगेन रागोनाम्येन केन वा।
स्वरेःप्रितिः स्वरदृढतिष्ठाय इत्यभिमिधीयते॥

The cluster of notes is the basis of a musical effort or varṇa (gāna-kriyā), and this cluster of notes is no other than the musical phrase or sthāya. Pārvādeva has further observed,

तत्र भावाविद्यार्णानामाध्ययः स्वरमधूः॥
श्लोकमिल्युष्टे तस्मिनिन्द्रागवण्याभ्ये॥

यथा वेष्ठवल्यां ध नि स रि ग म प, छायानत्वायां स रि ग म प
ध नि इत्यादि।

In fact, the sthāyas are the the shadowy forms (chāyās) or tonal structures of the rāgas. Śāraṅgadeva says: 'रागस्याशयः छायो' (III. 97). The total number of the musical phrases (sthāyas) are 96, as described by both Pārvādeva and Śāraṅgadeva. These 96 phrases are meant for the gītis or vocal music. There are also phrases or sthāyas for the musical instruments, and they are known as rāgamagnā: 'रागमांस्या वाचशक्त्याते चैष से बाचशक्त्याः' (SR. III. 119). Siṁhahubhupāla has mentioned: 'रागमांस्या रागान्तर्जिता थे बीणादिक्षेव वाहुल्येन प्रयोगा ददयान्ते, ते यन्त्रस्माधिनिनः.'

Now the ascent and the descent notes of the
musical phrases, together with the musical efforts or varṇas, the sonant or vādī or aṁśa, the consonant or samvāḍī, etc. create and stir up the aesthetic sense, and enrich the emotional appeal in the hearts of the sentient beings.

The question now arises whether we observe all these things for manifesting the rāgas in our present-day music. We think we do, to some extent, without knowing their proper use and value. We know that there are microtones in between the tones of the rāgas, and that they radiate aesthetic sentiments for creating enjoyability in our music, but we do neither care to be conscious of them, nor do we know how and when to create adequate emotions and feelings through the tones. We know about the varṇas and alaṁkāras, but we, so to say, have forgotten their use and intrinsic value and colour. We know the importance of the sonant, the consonant and the assonant, but we do not know the art of their use, and even of their functions, when practising or demonstrating the rāgas. We read or hear about the musical compositions like prabandhas, different musical phrases like sthāyas, having emotional units, but we take very little care for reviving their real forms, beauty and value. These are not healthy signs for the re-orientation of music. So every one of us, who love music, and culture music, should strive his or her utmost to avert the impending calamity over
our divine music. The secret of the practice of Indian music is maintained by the traditional way of understanding between the teacher and the disciple (guru-śisya-paramparayā), throughout the ages, and so, if this divine art is guided by the inspiration of the musical śāstras and intuitive teachers, its form and ideal will again be revived like that prevailing in the glorious past.

However, constructive work in the field of musicology should always be welcomed, to strengthen the bed-rock of Indian music. Physics, physiology, psychology, history, iconography, and philosophy of music should be studied in their true perspectives, and their useful principles should be applied to music, where and when necessary, for the betterment of its form, volume and value. Musical theory in the West has already been developed in a dynamic way, because science has been put in to use in the field of its study. The fruit of such a dynamic scientific development is apparent in the lives of the great geniuses like Helmhotz, Miller, Einstein, Jeans, Sullivan, Lord Rayleigh, Alexander, Wood, Seashore, Revesz, Percy Buck, Wilmer Bartholomew, and other scientists and physicists. They have undoubtedly enriched, enlightened, and enlivened the researchical as well as experimental fields of the Western music. In India, the celebrated old masters like Muni Bharata, Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Kaśyapa, Mataṅga,
Pārśvadeva, Śāraṅgadeva, Vidyāraṇya, Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala, Somanāth, Dāmodara, Govinda Dikṣita, Veṅkatamakhi, and others, and modern savants like Pt. Ārchekar, Paṇḍit Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṅḍe, Sir. S. M. Tagore, Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī, Rādhā Mohan Sen, Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee, and others have enriched the lore of Indian music by their incessant researches and experiments.

Still it remains for us to march forward, by adopting and assimilating new and novel means and methods to improve our divine music. A new era of scientific outlook has dawned upon the horizon of the world of investigation and research, and the social environment and atmosphere have undergone revolutionary changes, and as such we shall investigate again into the things of the past, in the light of modern research. The old Sanskrit treatises should be surveyed from modern scientific outlook, and a constructive view should always be maintained with creative approach. Superstition, bigotry and fanaticism should always be shunned for the sake of truth, and we must have liberal and broad vision in every walk of our life.

It is gratifying to learn that the Deccan College of Poona has already started its experimental research upon music, under the able guidance of Dr. Sankaran, Dr. B. Chaitanya Dev, and others. The Indian Institute of Science at Bāṅgalore is also making new researches
on music. Interesting experiments are also going on in the Universities of Jubbulpore and Ānnāmālāi, where the chemists and botanists are studying the effect of music on the properties of matter and plants. The same experiments have already been started in the laboratories of Bell Telephone Company, Harvard and Iwoa Universities, in the West. A. H. Swinton, Prof. A. M. Mayer, Frank E. Lutz, and others have also made researchs on the musical sounds of the insects, and some of their research works have been published in the Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, U.S.A. All these works and researches reveal hopeful sign for the future prospect of the world music.

Now, I offer my heartfelt thanks and deep sense of gratitude to Hon'ble Dr. B. V. Keskar, the Union Minister of the Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, for a learned and thoughtful Foreword, which has undoubtedly raised the prestige of this book.

I also pay homage and obeisance to my revered music teachers, Ācarya Harinārāyaṇa Mukhopādhyāya of Devanāthpurā, Banaras, Saṅgītācārya Pāñch Kari Banerjee, my elder brother, Nikuṇja Bihārī Dutt, the noted disciple of Saṅgīta-ratnākara Aghore Nāth Chakravurtty, Sangītā-Nāyaka Gopeśwar Banerjee of Viṣṇupur, Jñānendra Prasād Goswāmī, and others, from whom I learned Dhruvapada and Kheyāl, for
years together. The sweet remembrance of Banaras, where I used to take lessons in music from the renowned Dhrupadīyā Harinārāyaṇa Bābu, study in Navaṇya-Nyāya from Paṇḍit Vāmācaraṇa Bhattachāryya, Nyāyacārya, and Advaita Vedānta from Swāmī Jagadānandaji Mahārāj of the Rāmakrishna Advaita Ashrama, inspires me even to this day, like 'music that vibrates in the memory when soft voices die'.

My thanks also goes to Shri Subodh Kumar Chatterjee, B.A., Shri Upendra Kumar Dutt, Srimatī Mīrā Mitra and Dr. Bāsanti Choudhury, M.A., B.T., D. Phil, for going through the manuscript and proofs, and for helping me in many other ways.

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It is needless to mention in this connection that some of the topics of this book were previously published in some of the journals, though they have been thoroughly revised and sometimes rewritten for this book. My thanks goes to
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FOREWORD

I welcome this effort at a scientific study of the history of music by Swami Prajnanananda. It is unfortunate that at present the study of music is sadly lacking. The musicians have mainly become only practitioners, some degenerating into just repetitors. The belief, strengthened during the last three centuries or so that music is only gained by practice, is an erroneous one. The study of the theory, history and background of music is as essential for gaining a practical mastery over it as actual vocal or finger practice. The decline in Indian music is mainly due to the decline in the study of Shastra of music.

It is possible that during the 17th and 18th centuries, when large numbers of eminent Muslim musicians came to the fore, the study of the Shastras or the theory practically stopped, the reason being that the Shastras are in Sanskrit and the musicians did not know anything of that superb language. From that it was only one step to maintain that there is no practical utility in the study of the books. Some of them sincerely believed that this book knowledge is utterly useless.

Absence of this vital and essential general culture of music has created a lopsided and distorted position in our music. Parrot like copying from the voice of one Guru by his disciple has led to the gradual changing and
distortion of the various compositions and even swaras. No human instrument is perfect and no Guru can transmit to his disciple exactly what he knew and hundred per cent correctly. The capacity of the disciple, physically and mentally, to assimilate whatever has been taught vocally, is the most important factor in any such transmission. As the physical potential of every being differs from others, it was natural that every disciple dropped some of the finer points of the teaching of his Guru. In half a dozen generations this led to a very considerable change in the original compositions and the way of rendering them. This would not have happened if there had been the study of Shastra and the outline of music in writing.

The study of history and theory of music, therefore, is very essential in any further progress of music. I am very glad, therefore, that Swami Prajnanananda is rendering by writing this book a solid contribution towards that objective.

The most notable effort in the study of the theory and practice of music as a Shastra was that made by the late Pandit Bhatkhande. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that the present-day renaissance of Hindusthani music owes much to the research that he carried out in unearthing old Shastric manuscripts, in gathering together with great labour and ingenuity old genuine compositions of great masters and in analysing and rationalising all the material
that he had gathered into a coherent theoretical structure of Hindusthani music. It is a pity that the monumental work done by Bhatkhande could not be continued, because no such genius as he took up his mantle. But it is essential that scholars who have the right approach, should try to further the cause that he began so well.

The blind copying of particular compositions without any background or study of Shastras has brought present-day music to a sorry state. Eccentric mannerisms, distortions and such other influences have crept in. The object of music which is to please, has gone into the background. Acrobatics have gained prominence, and there is a danger of music losing popular support which is essential for its development and progress. Music is a dynamic art and if it does not adapt itself, on the foundation of the noble Shastras, to new conditions and create new forms, it will not be able to get any place in the new order of things. A large number of short-sighted musicians who have only a narrow view of things and are concerned only with themselves or their particular small group, do not realise that they are not helping in the growth or development of music. Unless we shed the eccentricities and acrobatics that have developed in music and make it more pleasant, more spiritual and more appealing, we will not be able to attract the public again to the enjoyment of musical art. If no heed is paid
to this state of affairs, music is not likely to gain public support in spite of all efforts of the State to revive the art.

There is another link between Swami Prajnanananda and myself. I have had the privilege of learning music for a pretty long period from the late Dhrupadacharya Shri Hari Narayan Mukhopadhyaya of Banaras from whom Swami also learnt his music. In fact, I might say that my appreciation and glimpses into the world of music are really due to Shri Hari Narayanaji. So we have, therefore, a link of brotherhood which gives me added pleasure in writing a few words to the excellent book that Swami has written.

(Dr. B. V Keskar)

New Delhi,
September, 1, 1958.
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PRELUDE

FROM the dawn of history, ever since mankind started on its journey along the path of progress and civilization, music has had a very special charm for the human mind. It can very well be called the magic of sound, and it has always been a very important element in the culture of all civilized tribes and races. We know very well that the different moods and temperaments of different tribes and races have been very largely moulded by the physical surroundings and climatic conditions of the regions, inhabited by them. The phlegmatic and stolid inhabitants of cold and bleak regions, the gay and light-hearted children of the sunny south of Europe, the fiery tribes of the deserts with their fierce love and hate, the splendour-loving people of the gorgeous tropics are all, literally speaking, children of the soil they inhabit. Their moods and temperaments are reflected in their music in which their heightened emotions try to find an outlet. Almost unutterable woe and grief, the deep and tranquil happiness of sacred life, the ordinary pleasures and pains, love and hatred, martial ardour, call to duty, are all sought to be given expression to in the music of different tribes and races in different ways and according to their character and temperaments.
Thus, we find, diversity in the music of different peoples of the world. But it seems very probable that beneath the diversity, there is an under-current of unity. The Vedânta philosophy says that the soul of humanity is one though seemingly different in different bodies. An analytical as well as comparative study of the Indian music will therefore be a useful step in that direction. It can at least be hoped that such a study will lead us to music which will appeal to all nations and tribes of the Aryan stock. To Indian musicians it is also necessary to preserve the continuity of progress and evolution.

There is a vast scope for improvement of Indian music through the adaptation of the Western technique of harmony, specially in orchestration. Many types of râgas may find their fuller realization and attain greater richness in the Western orchestration. One can see a glimmer on the horizon of the dawn of an era of such synthesis of the Western and Eastern systems of music. But the composers of such synthetic music must have a clear perception of the spirit of the Oriental music, so that their composition may also retain its Oriental character and glamour.
CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL METHOD IN THE STUDY OF MUSIC

Indian music dates from dim antiquity, and it is still on its march. It will not come to an end so long as it retains its creative force and artistic merit. A history is conceived as the narration or tale of memorable events that preserves the memory and propagates the knowledge of glorious culture and civilization of man and his society. Now, the term 'history' connotes the idea of progress. It does not stop for a moment, but marches onwards towards the eternity, weaving the networks of subjective thoughts and objective actions of the human society. K.A. Nilkānta Śāstrī, and H.S. Ramanna say: 'History is such a wide subject that it knows no beginning and no end. Each act or historical episode is the effect of some previous episode and probably leads on to another'. Further they say: 'History, then, is in part a science. It is also, and in a much greater degree, an art. It consists not only in collecting facts about the past, but in thinking and feeling about them. * * * We must have a proper conception of the facts, of the conditions, of the motives, and of the characters. * * * The past cannot be constructed by men whose knowledge of life has been gained only
from documents. Mere accumulation of facts is insufficient. Using our imagination and our judgment, we have to interpret them. No, facts do not always speak for themselves. They have to be weighed and measured. They must be placed in their proper setting. There must be intelligent reflection upon the significance of the facts. There must be that insight into reality without which the past can have no vital meaning for living men'. Such is also the opinion of Bury. To Croce, the average historian is a mere chronicler, for facts only become history when they have passed through the crucible of an individual mind. No historian can forecast the future, and so Croce rejects determinism as decisively as Toynbee. Prof. Renier emphasises the social role of history. Toynbee, like Spengler, envisages history as a record of civilizations rather than of centuries and continents. Spengler is a quasibiological determinist ‘who holds that all civilizations are fated to die, and that the future will be as the past’.

The history can be regarded as an art, and the history of music shall be known as ‘art of arts’ or a greater art, as it is not only the narrative accounts or chronicles of sensible material facts of music, but of the supersensible grace and beauty of the tones and tunes also.

1. Vide Historical Method in Relation to Indian Histories (1956), p. 11.
The mystic philosopher Schopenhauer was of the same opinion. He says regarding the celestial beauty of music that music is 'the metaphysical to everything physical in the world, and the thing-in-itself to every phenomenon; it expresses in a perfectly universal language, in a homogenous material, more tones, and with the greatest determinateness and truth, the inner nature, thing-in-itself of the world'. Plato and Aristotle call music an 'emotional import', which is no other than the imitation or the idealization of reality. Kant sums up in his Critique of Judgment that music is the highest of arts, as it plays with sensation, i.e. emotion. Hence the history of music constitutes an artistic language of the creative annals of music which is an emotional aspect of Nature. In short, both aesthetic and philosophic conceptions play important roles in the domain of the history of music, though its stuff is made of the detailed chronological order of realistic events and tales of music of different ages.

The history of music is closely associated with human society, and so it does not ignore the imaginative and creative faculty of man. It has rather a deep regard for the human society. Therefore the sociological factors which are behind the creation of music, can neither be neglected nor ignored, as it is really a product of the intelligence and creative faculty of the human society. Theodore M. Finney is of opinion that
music emerged into the historic era as a social art and consequently its history cannot be written without mentioning its social uses. 'The types of music may vary immensely, but the forms of its use, the purposes, for which any culture retains music as a part of its social heritage, remain almost the same'.

In truth, music is closely connected with human life from the very beginning of creation. Every nation or society made music their means to progress and prosperity, in social, political, cultural, religious and spiritual spheres of life. In the remote days, all rites and ceremonies were connected with the elements of music. T. C. Berkeley is of opinion that in primitive cultures, especially songs of religious or magical character, outnumber secular class of songs such as lullabies, work songs, love songs, game and drinking songs, etc., for not only must the gods be served and placated as a part of religious ritual, but there are hundreds of other beings whose impact on everyday life, on farming, hunting, marriage, burial, war, and travel, for instance, must also be dealt with. In ancient Greece, Mesopotamia, Sumer, Ur, Chaldia, and other Near East and Western countries, and ancient and greater India, music formed an integral and indispensable part of the life of the people. In Bengal too, men and women adopted music in all aspects of their everyday life, from childhood to old age. In folk-entertainments and
carnivorous, boys and girls perform everything to the accompaniment of music and dance. Their different domestic and religious functions are, in truth, saturated with different types of music. The popular ballads and folk-songs are like narrative accounts of the spontaneous enjoyment of existence and of domestic events of the peoples of East and West Bengal. The peasant songs of the paddy-fields, the seasonal songs of the children, the descriptive 'pictorial' songs of the expert Patuās, the mystic songs of the Sahajiyās and Bāuls, the river-songs (bhātīyālis) of the boatmen, the magic chants of the snake-charmers, the marriage and hunting tunes of the Sāntāls, are the vividly realistic expressions of dynamic life of Bengal. The different musical instruments of folk-music, like ekatūra, dotūra, sārindā, gopīyantra, vansī or bamboo flute, tiprā, mādala, dhola, khamaka, ānandalahari, khanjani, karatāla, etc. bear testimony to the fact of the cultural taste and outlook of the peoples of Bengal. Besides, every country of India and outside India produced music of their own, which prove undoubtedly the dynamic aspect of the human society.

The history of Indian music should, therefore, be an authentic record of development of music of the Indian people. It has extended itself from the antique pre-historic age to the present time. It changed and evolved as inevitable for
the shifting phases or changing circumstances of the human society. Regarding the evolitional nature of the art of music, Cecil Gray says, in his *The History of Music*: 'In no art, science, or other departments of human activity, has the doctrine of evolution been so enthusiastically welcomed, so eagerly adopted, and so whole-heartedly endorsed, as in music. Indeed, the whole history of the art has almost invariably been conceived and represented as a single, orderly, and undeviating line of progress from the simplest and most primitive beginnings upto the complexities of modern practice; and the account of this gradual process of development, which is generally to be met with in musical histories, reads exactly like the account given in scientific text-books of the origin and evolution of life from the amoeba'. The gradual evolutionary process of Indian music is really a key to the whole range of musical production that flowed from the imaginative conception of the Indian people. Many old treatises and stone carvings are extant to record and commemorate the great art of India. These should be studied in right perspective and spirit to gather the data on music: their different types and patterns, their presentation and appreciation in different ages. That will stir our emotional depths and uplift the level of consciousness. We are still at the spade-work stage, and so we shall have to carry on the research patiently and indefatigably.
Now, it may be asked what is the utility of the study of the development of music and what is the importance of maintaining a historical outlook in the practical field of music. It is a fact that man has an aspiring and progressing soul, and he always marches towards the ultimate goal of success, keeping his eyes fixed on the golden ideals of India. He requires a guide—a faithful guide, to lead him on the path of investigation into the forgotten chapters of music, to collect and preserve the materials, strewn here and there, for acquiring knowledge and making use of them. But the authors of the history of music should be unbiased and truth-seeking in their outlook. They should record the facts of development of music which should be properly interpreted to unfold their real purpose and intrinsic significance. We fully agree with Prof. Ogden while he says that 'in the history of art as much as in any other branch of historical research, facts are meaningless until interpreted, and the function of the musical historian is, or should be, as different from that of the period-specialist as the function of the philosopher is from that of the chemists, physicists, biologists, anthropologists, and other scientists who provide him with his material. His concern, in short, is not with the discovery of facts, but with their interpretation, and the revelation of their intrinsic value and significance'. In the introduc-
tion to his history of music, Cecil Gray subscribes also to the same view. He says: 'But while it is unquestionably a study of the greatest interest and profit to the musician to trace the gradual development of his artistic language, seeing how each period and each composer have played their respective parts in shaping, modifying, extending, and perfecting the instrument at his disposal, rendering it more plastic and more readily responsive to every subtle inflection of his thought, it does not constitute the history of an expressive art such as music any more than a philological study of language could pass for a history of literature, or a description of a man's physiological development for a biography'. Some are of opinion that the history of music being a collection of raw materials of music, has no value in the field of practice. To this it can be said that practice is only an active or applied form of theory, and practice is always preceded by theory. In music, a historical outlook is necessary to help the artists and lovers of music to get a clear vision of the entire field of music of all ages. It does not only furnish us with all the raw materials of music of our own, but well equips us with the knowledge of music of the other countries also.

Human taste and temperament, along with his outlook, change in different ages. They change owing to different geographical boundaries,
climatic conditions, traditions, special tastes and social temperament as also for other reasons, and that is why Indian music has become more or less different from the music of the Western countries. Maintaining this difference, Alfred Einstein says in his *A Short History of Music*: 'The musical culture of the Near East is quite different from what may be called in a particular sense 'Oriental', that of India and Arabia and Persia. In India, the normal seven-note octave is the basis of all melody, but it becomes transformed and overgrown by a whole host of intervals employed for the sake of ornament. The Arabic-Persian system is even further removed from ours; it is built up of small units of third of a note originally seventeen and later twenty-four to the octave and shows the influence of Greek musical theory'. But it should be noticed that though music of different countries differ in their systems, method of presentation, patterns and notations, yet amidst all the diversities there is a unity of a common fundamental psychic content. In the antique Vedic age, the chanters and common people were content with purely sacred hymnal type of the sāmans or sāmagānas, which were possessed of different numbers of notes, registers, metres and literary compositions (sāhitya). In the beginning of the classical period (600 B.C.), sāmans were replaced by the gāndharva type of music, which evolved in connection with drama. The
gāndharva music was a kind of stage-song or nātya-
dharmī-gīti, possessed of svara, tāla, and pada. Simi-
lar changes took place in the music of the ancient
Greeks. The historian Theodore M. Fenny
says that music was an integral part of the
drama, which bulked so large in the life of the
Greek city-state. Music was a part, along with
dancing, of the Greek religious ceremonies.
The epics of Homer or the Odes of Pindar
were sung rather than recited.

The dawn of the Christian era brought with
it a new awakening in the field of Indian music.
In the second century A.D. the form and system
of music were more systematic with a scientific
outlook in the hand of Muni Bharata of the
Nātyaśāstra. The genuine type of rāga came into
being, with ten determining characteristics (daśa-
lakṣaṇa) and psychological value, with the new
names of jātirāga and grāmarāga. There came
again a new change in the third-seventh century
A.D., when Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Durgāśakti, Mataṅga
and others began to systematize the aboriginal
and regional (deśī) types of tunes in the high-way
classical music. This can be said to be an age of
reformation, as the stereotyped puritanism was
replaced by liberalism. The non-Aryan tunes
gradually got into the Aryan stock and the result
was that the volume and vital force of Indian
music grew more deep and sensitive. Some of
the foreign tunes were absorbed into the Aryan
music. Hundreds and thousands of rāgas evolved
with their new and novel names and forms. The ancient *grāmas* (scales) were gradually replaced by the *mūrcchanās* (series of upward and downward notes). Variations were found in the number of notes, as some 'displaced' (*komala*) notes appeared by the side of the sharp ones. This had also happened to the Western music, during the transition from Greek to Christian. The changes took place in the period of about six hundred years, from the time of Aristoxenus until Christianity became the Roman state religion early in the fourth century A.D. The Ptolemaic system, having the Dorian scale as a model, was changed by diverse elements from Palestine, Greece, Rome, and Alexandria. The Georgian chant, plain song, plain chant, psalm-singing, Ambrosian metrical hymns, etc. were gradually changed in the beginning of the age of polyphony in 850-1050 A.D. It may be known as a revolutionary action against the old type of music, in the domain of the Western music.

From the historical accounts, placed by Curt Sachs in his *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World* we know that music underwent many changes even before the Christian era. He says that the oldest records of organized and systematized music were Sumerian and Egyptian of 3000 B.C.² That musical life

2. 'The oldest records of organized and systematized music are Sumerian and Egyptian. Sumerian texts,
was also changed in the days of David Solomon in 1000 B.C. and many foreign instruments appeared all on a sudden, just as they had appeared in Egypt after 1500 B.C. and these were: harps, zithers, oboes, cymbals, sistra, etc. Again in the eighteenth century B.C. when Egypt had conquered the southwest of Asia, the subjugated kings had sent tributes of dancing and singing girls with their strange instruments and consequently Egyptian music underwent again some decisive change, and nearly all the ancient instruments were discarded. This shows that before the beginning of the age of polyphony in 850-1050 A.D. music of the Western world underwent several changes.

In the middle of the eighteenth century A.D. there came a radical change upon the forms and groupings of the notes (vargīkaraṇa), of the rāgas in Indian music. The total bases (svarasthāna), in relation to the microtones (śruti), were also altered for some unknown cause. The groupings of upward and downward notes or mūrechanās, as generators or determining factors

written in the third millenium B.C. frequently speak of ecclesiastic music; in the great temple of Ningiru at Lagash, a special officer was responsible for the choir, and another for the training of several classes of singers and players, both male and female. The guilds of temple singers at least became a learned community***.—vide The Rise of Music in the Ancient World (1944), pp. 58-59.

of the rāgas, had already appeared with a new nomenclature of mela or thāta or melakartā, in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. The visual pictures (rāgamūrti), with their poetical descriptions and contemplative compositions (dhyāna-mantra), were already introduced, for better appreciation and intuitive perception of the rāgas, from the fifteenth-sixteenth century. But gradually that psychological motive was changed, for want of aesthetic sense and proper historical outlook.

There came also a renaissance, in the form of radical change during the period 1585-1610, in the domain of Western music. By the year 1600 A.D. the renaissance had reached and passed its high pitch. Theodore M. Finney reminds us: 'The years between 1585 and 1610 saw the unfolding of one of the most important episodes in the whole of history of music, because it furnished modern musical art with materials and methods hereto lacking'.

But that was not exactly the same case with Indian music. Because, though the Indian method of classification of the rāgas was changed from the rāga-rāgini-putra-vargikaraṇa into janya-janaka or genus-species (cause-effect) method, and most of the rāgas appeared with their new tonal forms, yet their real motive and spirit-behind did not entirely change. Again, from the study of the history of India it is found that Indian music has a tradition behind it and that tradition is no other than the preservation of the genuine
culture and method of practice (gharāṅā) of music, which are handed down from generation to generation or from the teacher to the student (guru-sisya-sampradāya).

Many are of opinion that our present system of North Indian music is much indebted to the Muhammadian period, because it produced many creative exponents, like Baiju Bāoran, Nāyaka Gopāla, Āmir Khusrāu, Rājāh Mān, Mirā Bāi, Bābā Rāmdāsa, Surdāsa, Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī, Miān Tānsen, and his worthy predecessors. Captain Day is of opinion that the most flourishing age of Indian music was the period of the native princes, a little before the Muhammadian conquest. With the advent of the Muhammadians its decline commenced. Indeed it is wonderful that it survived at all. Such is also the decision of Capt. Willards, when he says that with the progress of the theory of music arrested, its decline was speedy, although the practice, which contributed to the entertainment of the princes and nobles, continued until the time of Mohammed Shāh of Delhi, after whose reign, history of music is pregnant with facts replete with dismal scenes. But all these opinions should be reviewed with care and justice.

The Gwalior School, founded by Rājāh Mān Tunwār, really revived the culture of the dhruwapada type of nibaddha prabandha music, that was current even before the time of Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) of the Saṅgīta-
Ratnākara. It reached its climax during the reign of Emperor Akbar (1542-1605 A.D.). The kāwāl and kheyāl types of music had already got their foothold in the soil of India. Many of the noted Muhammadan and Hindu Ustāds were patronized by the Nawābs and Hindu chiefs. But during the time of Shāh Ālam II (eighteenth century A.D.), the last titular Moghul Emperor of Delhi, the glorious musical tradition of the Delhi Sultanate came to an end, and all the Muslim and Hindu Ustāds of Delhi, Agra and adjacent places were dispersed all over Northern India. The noted musicians, who belonged mostly to the Tānsen school, began to seek refuge in different Durbārs of Muslim Nawābs and Hindu kings and Zemindars of Rajputana, Oudh, Betiya, Rewa, Gwalior, Bengal and other places. This incident was in a sense a blessing for India, as it helped the propagation of classical music outside the boundaries of Delhi and Agra. At present classical type of both Northern and Southern schools of music are cultured widely in their true perspectives in Indian and Muslim countries. The services of the All India Radio undoubtedly deserve credit for the culture of music. The folk and other regional music have already occupied unique positions and got appreciation in different countries of India and Pakistan. The future of Indian music is more brilliant and hopeful, and it will surely bring a permanent solace of peace and love.
not only to the people of India, but also to other nations of the world. The development and novel creations of the types and patterns of music are the signs of hope and life, and they will supply fresh materials for the new annals of history of Indian music.
CHAPTER TWO

WHAT IS INDIAN MUSIC

The music that evolved in India and imbibed the spirit and atmosphere of spiritual India, is known as Indian Music. It possesses a synthetic mood and special character of its own, and so it differs from music of other countries. Indian music has off and on been influenced by foreign music and culture, but yet it has preserved its own quality and nature. It has rather embraced all the types and patterns of music of other countries and has absorbed them with a quite new and unifying effect.

Now, what do we mean by music? The English word music is a derivative from French word 'muse'. In Sanskrit it is called 'gāna', 'gītī' or 'saṅgītā'. It is a combination of sweet sounds that pleases and soothes the minds of living beings. It originates in the succession of tones that produce agreeable and pleasing sensations. It is, in truth, the man's expression of deeper converse with the innermost spirit, through the medium of tones and tunes. It is the language of living being's deeper soul. It is quite different from the speech sound or the speaking language. The musical sound is possessed of sweet tune, impregnated with divine lustre (lāvanya), aesthetic sentiment and mood (rasa
and bhāva). This lävanya may be compared to the lustre of a jewel or crystal. It is also found in the face of a man or woman, which looks sweet and loving. It can be said to be a symbol that represents the inner essence of man and animal.

The melodic form (rāga) is the soul of music. Now what do we mean by a rāga? A rāga is a psycho-material object, as it is an objective expression of the subjective feeling of the mind. It is first designed ideally in the mind and then projected outside in material tonal form. And so, in the process of the construction of a rāga, both mind and matter act together.

From the idealistic point of view, a rāga is a mind construction and its outward expression is an image of the subjective ideal. Some are of opinion that a succession of notes that designs the melodic form, is quite independent of the mind and it suggests an idea of the melodic patterns in the mind. But the suggestions, says Swāmī Abhedānanda, come through the eyes, through the ears, and through other organs. Those suggestions are not in the state of consciousness at first. They are merely the molecular changes i.e., changes of the molecules and the atoms of the nervous systems and of the brain. And then come the ideas of sensation. At the root they are nothing but motions. The ideas of motion are the elements, out of which the mind substance is built. Elsewhere the Swāmī says again;
'Sensations or the vibrations of the external objects which come through the nerves are nothing but suggestions and these suggestions are carried by these nerves to the brain. But the hemispheres of the brain act from considerations, that is, expectations of sensations which will be felt in one way or another.

These hemispheres are regarded as the seats of emotions, instincts and intelligence which do not exist in animals without hemispheres of the brain'.

Modern psychologists explain everything by reflex action of the brain. When we construct a structure of a melody or rāga, a reflection of tonal succession or arrangement flees in the mind in a thought form like an image which produces an impression in the brain. The impression of the rāga is again translated into a kind of feeling, and immediately the mind reacts, and through the reflex activities we project the idea of the rāga outside in material form which is not a mechanical process, but is conducted and governed by the intelligence that shines behind the mind. The sensation of the rāga comes in the form of vibrations or currents of stimuli and it suggests or inspires the artists to create music i.e. rāga. Therefore the will-to-create is the cause of manifestation of the rāga, and the subjective form manifests as the objective one.

The nature of a rāga is determined by the melodic movement or varṇa, which helps to
create pleasing and soothing sensations. A rāga is known by its constituent notes or essentials, like sonant (amśa or vādī), consonant (samvādī), dissonant (anuvādī), initial (graha), final (nyāsa), etc. These are known as determining characteristics. A rāga is sustained and animated by its inherent emotional sentiments and moods of the microtones, which constitute the forms of the tones and tonal successions.

Nārada (first century A.D.) says in his Śīkṣā that both vaidika sāmagāna and laukika (deśī) classical types of music are possessed of ten qualities (guṇas), and music manifests with them in different forms and ways. Bhattachārvākara comments: ‘laukikam ca vaidikam ca gānam daśa-guṇa-yuktam tu vaidikam kāryamityuktam’. These qualities (guṇas) enrich and make manifest the rāgas and subsequently the songs or gītis. The ancient musicologists formulate these qualities as,

(a) Raktam: An absorbing interest or attraction of men and animals for or towards the melody of the song, produced by the combination of lute (Veenā) and flute (Venu). The combination imparts also the harmonic relations between the successive notes, and thus helps to evolve the melodic form, with pleasing and soothing sensations.

The utility of the quality of raktam is to

1. लोकिकां च चानिकां च माने दम्मुष्णुष्म च च वैदिकां कार्यसिद्धामस।
attract the minds of men and animals and to create concentrated attention. The lute and the flute are the most ancient musical instruments and in their harmonic sounds or tunes abides the divine absorbing and enchanting power.

(b) Pūrṇa: Nārada of the Śiksā says that the distinct manifestation or presentation of metres (chanda), stanzas (pada) and letters (akṣara) helps to the complete formation of tones and microtones. The latter musicologists are of opinion that full play of the succession of notes in the bass, the medium and the high is known as pūrṇa.

(c) Alaṅkṛta: It is an easy process of manifesting the tonal sound in the bass and the high octaves. It may be said to be the requisite embellishment.

(d) Prasanna: Easy of recognition.

(e) Vyka: Expression of the stanzas (pada), fully equipped with music-parts (dhātu), words (kathā), metres (chanda), notes (svara) and melodies (rāga). The commentator Bhatta-śobhākara says that it is essential for the knowledge or perception of different numbers (saṁkhyā) and qualities (guṇa).

(f) Vikrṣta (or Vikruṣta): Distinct manifestation or clear expression of the words and sentences. Sometimes it means the clear use of notes of high pitch.

(g) Ślaksṇa: It is the fine and subtle manifesta-
tion of notes in different tempi. It is easily recognizable in the slow (vilamvita) tempo.

(h) Sama: Proper settings of the four melodic movements or varṇas to rhythm and tempo.

(i) Sukumāra: Easy and graceful manifestation or expression of notes in different octaves (saptakas), bass, medium and high.

(j) Madhvyya: Natural, graceful and sweet expression of stanzas (pāda), letters (aksara) and notes (svara). It is known as the graceful shining lustre i.e. lāvanya or lālityā. It is a kind of quality (guna) of an object. As for example, a precious stone possesses a shining lustre of its own, and it is the ‘lāvanya’ of the stone. As an intelligent face of a man is marked by a glow, so the sweet and orderly arranged rhythmic pattern of the notes of a rāga creates an inspiring sensation, which is known as ‘lāvānya’ or lustre. ²

2.

—केकौत्र-रक्ताकर (1)३४-३५
Indian music is always recognized through the presentation of the tonal form of a rāga and it tries to present the rāga in harmony with words, tune, rhythm, tempo and aesthetic sentiments and moods. So a rāga does never appear as a bare outline or skeleton of the tonal arrangements, but it manifests itself as living and dynamic.

The basic element of music is sound, which is manifested in the from of tones and microtones. And so the Indian psychologists and philosophers say that the psyche or soul of music is made up of sound with emotions. The nāda or causal sound is the basis or ground of music, and upon this primal ground all the phenomena of Indian music are built. The notes originate from the vibrations that evolve from the vital air or prāṇa-vāyu. The seven notes, sādja, ṛsabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, pāṇcama, dhaivata and niṣāda evolve out of the vital air, which comes in contact with the different internal parts of the body. It has been described in the Māndukīśikṣā:

Kaṇṭḥaduttiṣṭhate śadja-ṛṣabhaḥ śirasastathā /
Nāsikāyastu gāndhāra uraso madhyamastathā //
Uraḥ śirobhyaṁ kaṇṭḥacca pāṇcamaḥ svara ucyate /
Dhaivataśca lalātādvai niṣādaḥ sarvarūpavān //³

In the Nāradīśikṣā, rakta has been mentioned instead of vyakta.

3. कष्टकालिनहते पद्मकपिलो मिहसक्तया।
   नारसिकायायात साम्वरि चरशी मधामक्तया॥
That is, the note śadja is born when the vital air is in friction with throat (kaṇṭha); rṣabha emanates from the seat of the head (śira i.e. mouth); gāndhāra from the nose; etc. But the description of the Nārādiśikṣā is more rational and tenable. Nārada describes that when the vital air (prāṇa-vāyu), rising upwards from the navel base, gets in contact with the junctions of the canal of the throat, it produces sounds of different pitches and they are śadja, rṣabha, gāndhāra etc. It is a fact that any kind of sound originates from the friction of two or more things. According to Yoga and Tantra philosophies, the primal will of all living beings resides in the navel base or mūlādhāra. That is known as the

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4. In the Nārādiśikṣā (7-12), Nārada describes:

नासं कष्ट्धूर्वश्वाशालिन्यादं संगीतिः।
वायु: समुख्तिः नामः कष्ट्धूर्वश्वाशालिन्यादः।
नर्दरायवाद वायुः तत्रात्मययम् चचयते।
वायु: समुख्तिः नामः कष्ट्धूर्वश्वाशालिन्यादः।
नासि मन्नत: पुनः गायत्रीयः इत्यतः।
वायु: समुख्तिः नामिक्रीतिकामसत्तातः।
नामिक्रीति मन्नति मन्नतवः समयमलः सम्भूते।
वायु: समुख्तिः नामिक्रीतिकामसत्तातः।
पश्चात्तत्तत्तयतः पश्चात्तत्तयतः विषयते।
धैवत: च निश्चाति: च वास्तयिता सर्वसंयमः।
शैष्टानु पश्चात्तत्तयतानन्त पश्चात्तत्तत्त्विद:।
Kāmakalā or Kuṇḍalinī. It is recognized by the Sāṅkhya and Vedānta as the cosmic will or primordial Prakṛti. The Tantra says that the divine will remains as static and is figuratively described as the sleeping and coiled serpent. The serpent is a symbol of energy. When there originates a will-to-speak or will-to-sing, the vital air intensifies the volume of the will and makes it dynamic. It can be said that the sleeping serpent, Kuṇḍalinī awakens and rises upwards through the canal or passage that passes from the navel base to the throat or mouth. Śāraṅgadeva describes it as the indescribable unmanifested will which passes through different plexes or cakras, in the spinal column and is manifested in the base of the tongue. The plexes or cakras are the levels or different grades of consciousness and when the unmanifested will-to-speak or will-to-sing manifests and rises upwards with the vital power, it gets different sensations or experiences in the levels. The will is the energy and it manifests itself as material sounds of speech and song and takes the forms of words and music.

The succession of seven notes forms the basic structure of music. Even five or six notes can construct a form of melody which is the soul of music. The notes are of two kinds, placed (suddha) and displaced (flat or chromatic i.e. komala). The displaced or flat notes are so called because of the
shifting positions of the seminotes of the placed (śuddha) notes. In the pre-Christian era, we do not find the use of any subtle or seminotes. They evolved or were rather recognized in the beginning of the Christian era. The seminotes or microtones are the subtle notes or tones. They are known as śrūtis, and Nārada (first century A.D.) first uses these śrūtis in his Nāradīśikṣā. He says,

Diptāyata-karuṇānāṁ mṛdu-madhyamayostathā / śrūtīnāṁ yo'viśeṣajño na sa ācārya ucyate //

Nārada admits only five microtones, which were known or used as the genus or jāti in the time of Bharata (second century A.D.) of the Nātyaśāstra. Regarding the displaced or chromatic (komala) notes, Nārada describes antara (gāndhāra) and kākāli (niśāda) :

‘antaraḥ svara-samyukta kākāliyatra dṛśyate’.6 Bharata follows him and says : ‘svara-sādhāraṇaṁ kākāli-antara-svarau’.7 Bharata discovers twenty-

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5. दोषायता-करुणाः मृदु-मध्यायस्तथाः।
भूलोणं यथस्विभिषेकं न स साचार्य चच्चति॥

6. भन्तः सरस्वसुं स्थाप्तिकीयते हस्ति॥
7. Bharata says : सरसाघरप वाकालसरस्त्री। Kallināth comments :
हि वेदान्तार्यां कालयो विज्ञातसरस्त्री।जुलिकी निष्ठादः पद्मजनिष्ठादः: वेदान्तार्यां साधरणी भवेंतुभ्यृतिसिद्धन्यमवेश्यन। भवतः कार्यात्मक कालबली गतु साधरणं ततु साधरणं विद्युः।
Bharata says : (a) साधरणं नामाल्पस्तरताः। कबालूः श्वयोरस्तिः ततु साधरणम्।
(b) कालीसंप्रेदी निष्टादः। पद्मजः। वामाल्पस्तलस्तु साधरणं प्रतिपदः।
एवं गावार्यां वामाल्पस्तलस्तुः। गावार्याः। मध्यमः। तौपरस्तलस्तुः। गावार्यां कालोऽधिकारः।
कालात्मक काकाशी, क्रंतत्ताः, भविष्योपालताः। भववा कालिकालाः। समय समधालाः कालीसंप्रेदी॥
two microtones, based upon the five causal microtones or genera (*jātis*) of Nārada. He devises the twenty-two microtones on the length of the wires of two same-sized lutes or Veenās, *cala* and *acala* or *dhuva*, and determines four subtle and audible microtonal units that constitute the stuff of the note, *ṣadja*. He places the note *ṣadja* on the fourth unit. He successfully makes the seventh microtone as the seat or base of the note, *rṣabha*, the ninth one, the basis of *gāndhāra*, the thirteenth one, the base of *madhyama*, the seventeenth one, the seat of *pañcama*, the twentieth one, the seat of *dhaivata* and the twenty-second one as the base of the note, *niṣāda*. But this division and allotment of the microtonal bases of the seven (*laukika* or *deśī*) notes were however altered in the nineteenth century and it was made perhaps by a group of Western scholars, like Captain Williard, William Jones and others. It is said that they followed the changed method of the then masters or Ustāds, Hindu and Muslim. Mohammad Rezzā of Patna had also supported this radical change, as he himself altered the current scheme of the classification of the *rāgas*. Some are of opinion that Sir William Jones was the first to change the ancient scheme of the distribution of the microtones. The leading musicians and musicologists of Bengal, Sir S. M. Tagore, Kṣetra Mohana Goswāmī and others had also accepted the newly moulded or modified system.
of the division of microtones and their bases. The modified scheme has been accepted for the changing taste and temperament of the progressive society, but it should be further tested with a rational outlook.

Regarding the new changes in the allotment of the microtones and their definite seats or bases, Kṣetra Mohana Goswāmī, a noted musician and musicologist of Bengal mentions in his celebrated Bengali work, Saṅgitasāra that the notes, possessed of audible minute seminotes, were placed on the last microtonal bases by the ancient experts. But a close examination will show, he says, that there is less difference of space between sadja and ṛṣabha than between the notes, niśāda and sadja. The frets of a lute (Veenā) also prove this fact. They show that the space or distance between the notes, sadja and ṛṣabha is double the space or distance between the notes, niśāda and sadja. Perhaps for this reason, the modern lute players (veenkāras) have determined the seats of the notes (svarasthānas) on their last units of microtones.

It has already been said that during the time of Nārada of the Śikṣā (first century A.D.) only two displaced or flat notes were used in the Indian system of music, both in north and south, and they were antara-gāndhāra and kākali-niśāda. Bharata also adopted this method, and the result was that the total number of notes, placed (ṛuddha) and displaced (komala) was fixed
at nine. This method was followed up to the eleventh-twelveth century A.D., and in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the number of the displaced notes was increased to twelve. It was believed so long that the basic note, śadja and the fifth, pañcama were unchangeable (avikṛta) ones. But during Śāraṅgadeva's time (early thirteenth century), the two notes, śadja and pañcama were considered as changing. Śāraṅgadeva says that the numbers of unchangeable (śuddha) notes are usually seven, but for the shifting positions of the microtones, twelve displaced or flat notes evolved. He says:

Cyuto'cyuto dvidhā śadjo dvi-śrutir-vikṛto bhavet /
Śādhāraṇe kākalitve niśādasya ca dṛṣyate //

* * * *
Prāpnoti vikṛtau bhedaau dvāviti dvādaśa
smṛtāh //

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8.

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Therefore, according to Śāraṅgadeva, the numbers of the microtones are 7 (śuddha) + 12 (vikṛta) = 19. In the middle of the sixteenth century (1550 A.D.), Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya accepted only seven displaced notes and according to him, the total numbers of notes are 7 + 7 = 14. He says: (a) ‘vikṛtaścāpi saptaivetyevaṁ sarve caturdaśāḥ’ (2.33) (b) ‘caturdaśa svara hyete rāge rūpe bhavantyā’ (2.65). In the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the time of Paṇḍit Somanāth (1909 A.D.), the number of the displaced note were also seven and they were known as: ‘mṛdu-sa-sādhāraṇa-ga-antara-ga-mṛdu-ma-mṛdu-pa-kaiśika-ni-kākali-ni’. But during the time of Veṅkatamakhi (1620 A.D.) the number of the displaced notes was reduced to five only and he says: ‘svāraḥ pañcaiva vikṛtā iti siddhāntitāṁ mayā’. So it is found that the system of twelve notes (placed or śuddha 7+ displaced or komala 5 = 12) was in vogue in the sixteenth-seventeenth century and they are still followed in the modern system of Hindusthāni music.

Let us determine the utility and importance of the microtones and their divisions? The microtones are the minute audible tones (svaras) and they really determine the definite seats or bases of the tones, their nature of
manifestation, their ways of constructing the modes and melodies and even their scales. Some are of opinion that they are useless in the present systems of music, as it is not possible to distinctly manifest them in vocal music, though they are useful in the instrumental music to some extent. But that view is not correct, because the microtonal experience or sensation is essential for the determination of the tonal bases (svarasthāna) and consequently the scales and the aesthetic qualities of the rāgas. The scale (mela, melakartā or thāta) is the base as well as the fountain-head of various types of melodies. The scales are the melodies or rāgas in themselves, and yet they are known as the sources of different rāgas. In ancient times, the scales were in the form of the grāmas and grāmarāgas. Afterwards they were replaced by the mūrcchanās or the series of seven ascending notes. In fact, the mūrcchanās had their origin in the grāmas. In the Rāmāyaṇa we also find the use of the mūrcchanās in the gānas i.e. jātirāgagānas, but the author of the Rāmāyaṇa has not mentioned whether the jātirāgas evolved from the mūrcchanās, rather it is understood from the text of the Rāmāyaṇa that the jātirāgas originated from the grāmas, śadja, madhyama and gāndhāra, and following this, Bharata (second century A.D.) also mentions that the pure and mixed (śuddha and vikṛta jātis or jātirāgas evolved from the two current grāmas, śadja and madhyama.
He has not mentioned the name of the gāndhāragrāma, because it was obsolete in his time. However, the use of the mūrchanās as the origin (janaka) of the formalized regional tunes or deśī-rāgas was current up to the fourteenth-fifteenth century A.D.

What is the psychological basis of the emotional sentiments and moods of these rāgas, in relation to their constituent parts, microtones? It has already been said that in the Nāradī śikṣā (first century A.D.) we first come across the word ‘śruti,’ which determined the forms and intrinsic nature of the grāmarāgas, mentioned by Nārada and the later deśī rāgagītis and rāgas. Nārada says that the persons, who are not acquainted with the microtones and their value, are not worthy of being regarded as experienced teachers: ‘śrutinām yo’viśeṣajño na sa ācārya uchyate’. The microtones, as described by Nārada of the Śikṣā, were given significant names and imbued with special meaning and value. The microtones, as devised by Bharata of the Nātyaśāstra were twenty-two in number and they were allotted in the seven notes as: śadja 4 + ṭśabha 3 + gāndhāra 2 + madhyama 4 + pañcama 4 + dhaivata 3 + niṣāda 2 = 22. It has also been mentioned before that these twenty-two microtones of Bharata were designed after the 5 microtones of Nārada, and in the time of Bharata these series of microtones were known as the genus-species relation or janya-janaka-
samvandha. Now to make the genus-species, or jāti-vyakti or jāti-śruti scheme of the seven notes explicit, the following chart will be helpful.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Microtones as determined by Bharata</th>
<th>Microtones as determined by Nārada</th>
<th>Notes, number contained</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Śadja</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Candovatti</td>
<td>madhyā</td>
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According to Bharata, the seats or bases (svarasthānas) of the seven notes are placed on the last microtonal units and this process seems to be rational and scientific. The five microtones (afterwards jātis or janakas), as has been said before contain some specific and inherent emotional qualities and they are: firmness and

1. Or mandā.
2. Or raktā,
glowing nature (diptā), broadness and universality (āyatā), compassion and pity (karunā) softness or slackness (mṛdu), and intermediateness or mediant nature (madhyā). The microtones, as devised by Bharata, were also given the significant names, like chandovatī, raudrī, dayāvatī, ramyā etc. and perhaps they were named after the images of the microtones i.e. jātis of Nārada of the Śikṣā. As for example, chandovatī of Bharata corresponds with madhyā of Nārada, and it connotes the idea of order, system or peace; dayāvatī corresponds with karunā and it connotes the idea of compassion; raudrī corresponds with diptā and it connotes the idea of firmness, strength or heroism, etc. So, from the psychological standpoint, we find that the microtone, raudrī contains or manifests the aesthetic moods of acuteness, cheerfulness, slackness etc. that are identical with the emotional sentiment, veera (heroism), as described by Bharata, in his Nātyaśāstra. In this way it can be shown that all the microtones, making the seven notes (laukika) are impregnated with some specific aesthetic sentiment and emotive feeling, which stir and stimulate the minds of men and even animals.

In fact, the notes and consequently rāgas of not only of Indian music, but also of music of all nations of the world, are possessed of dynamic living force. They are not the dead structures of the material sound, but are the
embodiment of energy and life. The inspired poets of the sixteenth-seventeenth century composed contemplative dhyānas out of the notes and the rāgas, and the artists drew their colourful visual pictures. Therefore the gross sound or sound-body (śabdamaya-tanu) of music was transformed into divine deity (devamaya-tanu). The worshippers and lovers of music found their solace and peace of mind in the divine music and music was recognized as the greatest and foremost art: ‘na vidyā sangitāt paraḥ’.

Indian music is divided into two main categories, theory and practice—śāstra and sādhanā. The one is suggestive and directive, and the other is the call to action. The one is the way and the other is the end or highest ideal. The theory or theoretical portion of music is again divided into some different phases and they are: grammar (vyākaraṇa), acoustics (śabda-vijñāna), literature (sāhitya), history (itiḥāsa), iconography (mūrtitattva), psychology (manovijñāna) and philosophy (darśana). All these phases really constitute the entirety of theory. So, by theory of music, we should not mean only the grammar or grammatical portion of music, as it is generally understood by some scholars.

The grammar of music deals with the questions of sonant (aṃśā or vādi), assonant (samvādi), dissonant (anuvādi), the upward and downward movements of the notes (ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa), varṇa, mūrčhanā, time factor (kāla), etc. of the rāgas.
The acoustics belong to the science of physics which deals with the phenomena of sound. It determines the distinction between noise and tone, non-periodic and periodic vibrations and their sensations, etc. It deals also with the scientific method of the construction of the musical instruments, the frequencies and ratios of the wire-lengths, situation of the frets, etc. The literature of music deals with the nature and beauty of the musical compositions, their metres, rimes, graces, etc. The history of music deals with the work of collecting the chronological data of music, their origin, developments and manifestations in different countries and among different nations, variations, adjustments and re-adjustments to the taste and temperament of the peoples of different times and geographical regions. The historical aspect of music really supplies a comprehensive idea of music and helps men to get the full vision of musical developments down the ages. The iconography of music deals with the icons or visual forms of the notes and the rāgas, with their corresponding emotional sentiments and moods. It helps men to get knowledge of both the subjective and objective designs and values of music. The psychology of music deals with the psyche or soul of music. It furnishes with the knowledge that every outward manifestation of music is caused by the mind or will-power, which is the real creator of music. So our attention should be
concentrated on the creator first and then to the mover of the mind, the prime mover or higher intelligence. The *philosophy* of music deals with the wisdom or essence of music. It imparts to men a faculty of judgement and intuitive knowledge that make them analyse and understand music as the means to an end.

Therefore by theory of music, we must not think only of the grammar of music, but also understand that the word conveys all the phases of grammar, science, literature, history, iconography, psychology and philosophy. Only by the practice of these phases of theory or *śāstra*, men may attain excellence in music. The duty of the *śāstra* is to lead to the genuine path of spiritual *sādhanā*, and when *sādhanā* gets fruition, men attain in their lives, immortality and everlasting bliss.
CHAPTER THREE

EVOLUTION OF INDIAN MUSIC

'EVOLUTION of Indian Music' pervades the vast field of the origin and progression of different ingredients of Indian music, such as, notes, seminotes, scales, melodies, types of songs, musical limbs and parts, visual forms or pictures of the melodies, rhythm and tempo, musical instruments, dances, hand-poses, gestures and postures or the rhythmic and graceful movements of the body, emotional moods and sentiments, etc. Indian music is a living art. It is the dynamic power of symbolizing the divine intuition of man in sweet and soothing sound. It stimulates and stirs the human depths and awakens a higher consciousness in man.

Before entering into the discussion on the evolution of music, let us survey the musical aesthetics that impart dynamic impulse and impetus to men to create or project music. The psychic content always predominates over the world of matter. Every creative order is followed and motivated by the impulse of willing of the mind-content, which desings everything ideally before projecting materially outside. Evolution of music is possible through the self-expressive process of Nature and it comes spontaneously without the deliberate application of rigid rules.
The process of evolution is known by different terms like creation, re-creation, interpretation, expression, revelation, omission, historical process, progression, etc. The evolutionary process of music comprises the musical anthropology or the ethnic history of music, which deals with the origin and growth of music in the race or country, through different strata of time and space; which deals with the vastly varied roles of music as progressively unfolded in rising racial cultures.

Music had its root in the most primitive savage life and evolved through countless strata. Now, what are the progressively evolving concepts of music? What is the conceptual urge of man behind the evolution of music? The foundational urge and concepts of music evolved in man from three sources: (1) primitive impulses and intuitions, (2) gradually emerging scientific findings in concrete situations, and (3) working theories which are direct outgrowth of love of the creative art. There was an intense feeling for the art of singing and dancing in the bosom of the primitive men, and those feelings and love came out in the form of song and dance. The subjective impulse was thus manifested as the objective forms.

Everything physical and psychical in the world of phenomena emerged through the process of evolution or progress. Music evolved always through the historical progress from the antique
prehistoric days up to this time, and it will proceed on to the eternal future, in various changing forms and patterns.

In the primitive age, music was crude and monotonous, but it is believed that it had a much greater field than the later art-music, bound up with the everyday life of the primitive people. It was connected with many special factors: sociological, psychological, religious, symbolic and linguistic. The primitive people sang and danced when they felt something positive to express and to enjoy. Singing and dancing were the spontaneous outbursts of their simple and sweet thoughts. Song and speech were often mingled in the course of their life and social performances. It also happened that logical thought and the musical motive developed little by little from the indefinite to the definite in the course of the song, as if the initial dream-states were gradually manifesting as waking consciousness.

Well has it been said by Alfred Einstein that the first beginnings of music lie even deeper in historical obscurity than those of speech. Yet we shall have to gather knowledge of the origin and evolution of music for our historical study and culture. The musical medium is the music proper, as executed in the form of physical sounds, which have their physiological and psychical correlates. Sound forms the base of musical manifestation, or it will be correct to
say that material sound forms the physic or corporeal body and impulse or emotion, the psyche or soul of music. So when inarticulate speech is developed into the use of certain sounds as symbols for impulse or emotion, we have the beginning of speech, as distinguished from tonal manifestation or music. It may be said to be an intellectual development in the field of articulate speech, leaving music for the expression of emotion or emotive feeling of man. In fact, the will to create music is an intellectual message or inspiration to man and when he creates music, his feelings are moulded in pure tone-experience, and the musical material and form take the shape of a stimulus for feeling of the beauty of tone or music in itself, aside from formal art or meaning. A similar process also originated in the minds of the primitive men, at the beginning of the manifestation of music on earth.

Music can reveal many things of the human world, which words or speech cannot. So the primitive people did everything through words and speech, but when they sang the songs, they did it through tones and tunes, forming the narratives or stories of their daily lives. They observed the rhythm by the clanking of stones, the pounding of wood or by the dashing of stone spearheads against wooden shields. Possibly getting the idea from the hide-covered shield, they stretched skins across the two open ends
of the hollow trunks of tree or covered the open mouth of the earthen ditches and thus invented the musical instruments like drum, which accompanied their songs and dances. To keep time and to create stirring emotion, they clapped their hands, nodded their heads and moved the limbs of their bodies, and from them they gradually gathered the sense of measure of time, which, in turn, gave rise to the idea of rhythm. The primitive nations did not know at first the ratios and distant measures of the tones, but yet they used to add the notes to the words or speech, making them suitable for music. They knew the proper modes of utterances or the process of intonation. Just as a word was sometimes a sentence to the primitive men, so was a tone in songs something of a melody. Gradually they observed the forms and beauty of cadences of rise and fall in words and tones, and from the succession of words and tones, they discovered the laws and forms of melody, though in a crude form. The growth of melody was one of the main reasons why music was so significant in the life of primitive people. Prof. Marius Schneider says that primitive melody did not grow out of harmony, harmony was rather the product of melodic variants. Singing and dancing were closely related among the primitive people and they used to generate something which was more than the original movements themselves. All the rites relating to
birth, circumcision, marriage, hunting, war, weather, medicine, and death were permeated with musical elements. Among the funeral songs, the women's laments and the songs which men sang in praise of the dead deserved special mention. In primitive cultures it was very difficult to distinguish musically the various kinds of songs since there was still so little differentiation of form. Often the type of voice used determined the character of a melody. Funeral songs and erotic songs were often sung in a nasal voice; love-songs were accompanied by a significant play of the lips. In more highly developed cultures, formal differentiation was usually determined by the various layers of tradition and that tradition was evident in every society of every nation, whether primitive or advanced. An archaic style survived in animal-songs and hunting-songs, and also in children's songs, funeral songs, epic songs, and in medicine and weather charms. Lamentations had a style of their own. In songs of praise of gods or supermen, the melodic line and volume tended either to rise emphatically or to start very high. Schneider says that the relation between the musical style and the content of the primitive song i.e. the words lies not in the external occasion like rain, war, etc. but in the prevailing psychological tension. As for example, if the witch doctor implores the spirit of disease to release his patient, the song will be friendly;
if he fights it with his spear, the song will be war-like; yet both will be medicine songs. In this way it can be shown that songs of different occasions differ in their style and moods for their different situations and different atmospheres.

From the history of the beginning of civilization we know that the primitive society was at first unable to produce a tone or song clearly and cleanly, and the pitch of the music or tonal voice was invariably wavering. From this almost imperceptible rising and falling of the voice above and below one tone, says Edward Macdowell, we may gauge more or less the state of civilization of the nation to which the song or music belonged. It is also found that the phrase-tone invariably corresponds to the sentence-word, and like it, gradually loses its meaning as a phrase and fades into a tone which, in turn, is used in new phases as mankind mounts the ladder of civilization. Such was also the condition of words and songs in very early times.

Charles Darwin is of opinion that music evolved from the imitation of the cries and calls of the animals. Alfred Einstein also holds similar views. He says that comparative musicology, which deals with the primitive development of music, has admitted that primitive men may have been attracted by bird-song in the first place and have continued to use it as a model for imitation. Similar belief prevails among
the Indian people. It has been mentioned in the *Nāradīśikṣā* (first century A.D.): "ṣadjam vadati mayūro" etc., i.e., the call of the peacock is similar to the tonality or pitch of the note ṣadja, that of the bull to that of ṛiṣabha; that of the goat to that of gāndhāra; that of the crane to that of madhyama; that of the cuckoo to that of paṅcama; that of the horse to that of dhaivata and that of the kunjara or elephant to that of nīṣāda. The Śikṣā also shows the physicophysical origin of the musical sounds or notes from the friction of the air with different parts of the human body.

The Western savants like Roussau, Harder and Herbert Spencer are of opinion that speaking with a raised voice was the beginning of song or music, i.e. music evolved from the raised voice speech in the most primitive society of all nations and a kind of speech-song or chant-like recitative was indeed to be found among the primitive men. Specially the Spencerian theory is an idealization of the natural language of passion. So, according to this theory, music is an extension of the primitive desire to communicate; consequently its whole artistic function is related to the communication of human emotions and passions. Rowbotham does not accept the views of Spencer and he points out that impassioned speech is the source of music and it works as a vehicle for everyday emotions. Wallaschek, on the other hand,
advances the theory that the original musical impulse was purely aesthetic, growing out of the rhythm. Some others hold that the very ancient sound-language 'is the older element from which developed both speech and song: speech striving towards free rhythm and music towards a more regulated one'. Dr. Burney is of opinion that music is anterior to word and language. He says in his *General History of Music*: 'Vocal music is of such high antiquity that its origin seems to have been coeval with mankind; at least the lengthened tones of pleasure and pain, of joy and affection, must long have preceded every other language, and music. The voice of passion wants but few articulations, and must have been nearly the same in all human creatures, differing only in gravity or acuteness according to age, sex and organization, till the invention of words by particular convention, in different societies, weakened, and by degrees rendered it unintelligible'. In fact, we know very little about the true languages of the primitive cultures of different nations. Various races might have displayed the elements of sound-languages, but so far only a small number of examples have been collected.

Now, music that evolved in the remote primitive time can be divided into two classes purely emotional and sensuous; the one arising from the language of heroes, and the other from the swaying or wavering of the body and the
patter of feet. To both of these classes or elements, says Macdowell, if we may call them so, metre (dance) and melody brought their power; to declamation, metre brought its potent vitality, and to the dance, melody added its soft charm and lulling rhyme. So these are the two ways of looking at the primitive music: one, as impassioned speech, the nearest psychologically complete utterance of emotion known to man, and the other, as the dance, comprising as it does all that appeals to our nature. Nature exists with its exquisite beauty and grandeur, while simple hearted primitive man lives in it to enjoy it and also to conquer it. It is the strain of Nature in primitive man that gave him the dance and vocal music, and it is his godlike fight against Nature that gave him impassioned speech, beauty of form and motion on one side, and all that is divine in him on the other. The conception of an ordainer of the universe was already present in him. The universe around him, the sun, the moon, the stars, the sky and the ordered system of Nature created within him a great wonder and unbounded joy. He had realized the utility of a greater power, and, therefore, amid joys and sorrows, the hope of peace and solace led him utter the inmost converse of his heart to the world-ordainer. The language of his songs was meaningful and sincere. At first he used to sing and dance for his material prosperity.
With the dawn of civilization his intellect and understanding became shining and acute, and his outlook was changed and, consequently, his motive of offering music. His music was gradually enriched with more notes, grace and emotion. The monotonous ārṣika type of music, containing only one note, was replaced by the gāthika type, possessed of two notes. Afterwards a new type of sāmika music, with three notes, evolved out of the remains of the gāthika. Gradually for the growing taste and temperament of the more civilized Vedic people, the sāmika was replaced by the svarāntara type of music, possessed of four notes. Music with five notes, audav type of music, then evolved and it was again replaced by the sādava type of music, possessed of six notes. Upon the skeleton of the sādava type of music, the music with seven notes, sampūrna type at last flowered into full sweep and beauty.

A review of the Brāhmaṇa, Saṁhitā and Āranyaka literature shows simplicity in form and in the presentation of music of early days. Music consisted of recitative hymns or stotras, songs, prayers and lays in the early stage. With the progress of civilization and human intellect, the cultural sphere was lit up with a 'heavenly' glow. The conception of various deities and gods came into being and man paid his homage to them in words and tunes.

The sun-worship was prevalent in the remote
antiquity. The sky (ākāśa) was conceived as Varuṇa-devatā in the early Vedic society and the sun as Mitra or Mithra, the friend of the universe. Again the sun and the sky were known as the twin god, Mitra-Varuṇa. The sky was often looked upon as the ocean of milk or kṣiroda-samudra and the sun as the celestial god. The fire-worship gradually evolved as the prototype (pratiniidhi) of the sun-worship and fire was regarded as the sacred symbol of the sun, nay, the god of the nether world. Different rites and sacrifices (satra and yajña) evolved. The butter was poured into the sacrificial fire as sacred offering and it was believed that the gods and deities received their oblations through the medium of the flames of the sacrificial fire. They thought that the flames were no other than the tongues of the gods: ‘viṣṇu-jihvā’. The Viṣṇu was the representative of the sun and the fire. In the mytho-historical literature, Devī Sarasvatī, the presiding deity of learning and all arts, was described as the tongue of the sacrificial fire: ‘agni-jihvā Sarasvatī’. Along with sacrificial offerings—lays and songs were sung in rhythm, and music was considered as part and parcel of the rites and sacrifices. The songs were accompanied with various musical instruments and the cadences of dancing added to the serenity and beauty of music.

The ancient authors on music conceived and deified the primal sound, Nāda, as a symbol of
the goddess Sarasvati, nay, they personified the unmanifested causal sound (anāhata Nāda) as Sarasvati, with a dynamic spirit and eternal energy. They say that the manifested musical sound (āhata Nāda) is surcharged with that divine energy and soothes the aching hearts of worldly men and animals with its manifold manifestations as notes, semitones, colours, pitches, graces, harmony and melody.

Goddess Sarasvati has been conceived as an incarnation or the presiding deity of fine arts, music, painting and sculptures, nay of all learning or vidyā. In Vedic literature we find that the goddess has been mentioned in different forms and names. Sometimes she has been called the blazing fire or the glowing ray of the sun, as the vajra ('Sarasvati tad-avitiyam vajra-rūpam'), or the river, etc. In fact, the goddess Sarasvati is a Vedic deity and her worship was prevalent in the Vedic society. In the Rgveda we find that the minor sacrifices were known as prayāja. Eleven prayājas were used in the animal sacrifices (paśu-yāga) and those eleven prayājas were dedicated to eleven deities. The mantras, which were chanted in the names of those gods, were known as Āprīmantras, and those eleven gods were also designated as Āprīdevatās and their names were: Iḍā, tvāṣṭā, triat gods (Iḍā, Bhārati, Sarasvati), Usasanakta, Tanunapāt, Daivya-hotāra, Nāras’āṃśa, Valih, Vanaspāti, and Svāhākṛti. The 110th sutra
of 10th mandala of the Rgveda was known as the āpri-sūkta and its eighth Rk or stanza was also known by the three deities, Iḍā, Bhāratī and Sarasvatī. The Rk verse runs thus:

Āḥ no yajñam bhārati tūyame-
tvilā manṣvadiha chetayanti |
Tisro devīrvahiredam syonaṁ 
Sarasvatī svapaśaḥ sadam tu ||

Iḍā and Bhāratī were the constant companions of Sarasvatī. Besides the Sarasvatī-sūkta, they were mentioned in hymnal songs (stutī) and in forty mantras of other sūktas. In those hymns, the names of Iḍā and Bhāratī were associated with Sarasvatī. Sāyana mentioned in the commentary on the 1.13.9 Rk: ‘Iḍādisavdābhidheyoh vahni-murtayastisraḥ’, i.e. Iḍā, Bhāratī and Sarasvatī were conceived as three balzing flames of fire (Agni). In the commentary on the Rk 1.188.4. Sāyana again mentioned that Iḍā was connected with the earth, Bhāratī with the sun and Sarasvatī with the sky and they were considered as Vācdevī. Again in the commentary on the Rk 1.142.9, he connected the three deities with the effulgence of the sun or Āditya. In the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa they were conceived again as prāṇa, apāṇa and vyāna.

In the Rgveda (1.142.9) we find again the names of four deities instead of three and they were Iḍā, Bhāratī, Mahī and Sarasvatī. In the Rk 1.13.1 the name of Bhāratī was again dropped.
Gradually Iḍū, Bhāratī and Sarasvatī were conceived as one and the same, and Sarasvatī became predominant with all the qualities of the other two. So we find that Sarasvatī is worshipped from the early Vedic period.

Again we find in the Vedic literature that the sacred river, Sarasvatī was identified with the goddess. Yāska in his Nirukta (II.23) called Sarasvatī a ‘river’ as well as a ‘goddess’: ‘Sarasvatī * * etasya nādivad devatāvacca nigamābhāvāh’. Sāyana in his commentary on the Rk stanza 1.3.12 said that though the word ‘saras’ signified ‘water’ or a ‘river’, yet it meant a ‘god’ or a ‘goddess’: ‘dvividha hi sarasvatī vigrahavad devatā-nadirūpā ca’. Most of the Western scholars have identified the goddess with water or a river. In Vedic India, the river, Sarasvatī was regarded sacred like the rivers, Dvīṣadvatī, Vipāsā, etc. In fact, in the Rgveda we find the references of ‘pañcajātah’, ‘pañcajāta vardhayanti’. It is said that the Rṣis, kings and also common people used to perform sacrifices on the bank of the river, Sarasvatī. The ‘pañcajātah’ were again known as pañcajanāḥ, pañcajanāyāḥ and pañcakṛtayāḥ. Some are of opinion that pañcajāta or five races were no other than Gandharva or the semi-divine people, Pitṛ or the departed fathers, Deva or the gods, Asura or uncivilized non-Aryan people and Rākṣasa or the demon. Sometimes the name of Niṣāda is also found. Some say that by the word ‘pañcajātah’ five kinds of races or clans were
meant and they were Anu, Drahyu, Puru, Turvāsa and Yadu and Atri. Atri was their priest. These races or clans used to pray to Agni, Soma, Mitra (the sun), Indra and Sarasvatī. The Rṣis used to sing their daily prayers to the river, Sarasvatī. Gradually the Rṣis or Brāhmins began to perform sacrifices on the bank of the river, Sarasvatī, invoking Devī Sarāsvatī, and here we find that the river was identified with the divine goddess.

Further we find an interpretation of the words ‘saras’ or ‘apah’ i.e. water as the Soma, which corresponds to the Moon (candra) or Devī-Gourī. In the Rg-Veda (9.1.6) Soma was called as a ‘daughter’ (duhitā) of the sun (Mitra). In the Vedic literature, Sarasvatī was again conceived as a ‘cow’, as well as the sacred words (vācam) like svāhākāra, vaṣatkāra and hantakāra. We have already mentioned that the goddess was known in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Prātiṣākhyaas as Viṣṇu, Iḍā, Ilā, Tvaṣṭā, Bhārati, Tanunpāt, Vanaspati, Jyoti, etc. Yāska identifies Iḍā or Ilā with the sacred fire or Agni, the terrestrial Sun. Hindus, Buddhists and Jains generally recognize the goddess Sarasvatī as ‘Vāc-devī’, ‘Vāgeśvari’, ‘Vidyādharī’, ‘Bhadra-kāli’, ‘Vidyā’ and ‘Saradā’. The Buddhist Mahāyāṇi sects conceive the goddess as a divine force or sakti, an emanation of Manjuśrī, the masculine god of knowledge who destroys all the evil forms (ignorance) or avidyās and doubts or saṁśaya with his sword (kṛpāṇa). Prof. O. C.
Gangoly thinks that with the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism to China and Japan, the Indian Sarasvatī has been identified with the Japanese goddess, Benten, who like the Indian prototype carries in her hands a lute (Veena). Her full name in Japan is Dal-leen-zai-ten or the ‘Greek Divinity of the Reasoning Faculty’. This seems to recall the close association of Lakṣmi and Sarasvatī in Indian mythology. In earlier times, Devi Sarasvatī used to be worshipped in the name of Śrī or Lakṣmi on Śrī-Paṅcamī day. Gradually the idea of Śrī, the goddess of luck and prosperity, was separated from the idea of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning and knowledge.

However, the conception of the goddess Sarasvatī is a beautiful one in the Hindu literature. The seers of truth made her an embodiment of all-existence, all-intelligence, all-bliss (saccidānandamayī). She has been imagined as the fountain-head of divine potential energy that animates all beings and permeates all becomings of the world.

There runs an allusion in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (VII 2.4.1-7), from which we know that music is in itself Devī Sarasvatī or it can be said, music has originated from the goddess. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa says that Viśvāvasu a Gandharva, stole Soma from Gāyatrī. Gāyatrī is the Vedic metre like Vṛhatī, Jagati etc. and represents the Sun. Gandharva Viśvāvsva is known as a renowned author on music. When
the Devas came to know of the theft of Soma by Gandharva, Viśvāvasu, they sent the beautiful virgin Vāc or Vācdevī to rescue Soma, the nectar. The Gandharvas, it is said, were fond of women and beauty. When Vācdevī approached the Gandharvas, they were charmed with her divine and exquisite beauty and grace. They came to gods and said: 'Let yours be the Soma and let Vāc or Vācdevī be ours'. This Vāc is Devī Sarasvatī. Here Devī and the art of music have been identified. Afterwards Devī was conceived as the presiding Deity of all arts, and the musicologists called her the unmanifested causal sound, Nāda. The Gandharvas got Devī in their possession and so they excelled all others in music.¹

From this Vedic allusion we get a very important clue to music. The Gandharvas were

¹ Dr. A. K. Coomāraswāmy related this fact in a very beautiful way. He said: 'Similarly but more briefly in the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, VI. 1.6.5.6, where also the Gandharvas who utter incantations are contrasted with the (mundane) deities who merely 'sing', and Vāc follows the latter, but is restored to the former as the price of Soma. The mundane deities are, of course the immanent Breaths, the powers of the soul; it is only when they restore the Voice to the Sacerdotium that they are enabled to partake of the Water of Life; as in RV. X.109.5-7, where the (mundane) deities, restoring his wife (i.e., Vāc) to Bṛhaspati, obtain the Soma in exchange, and are made free of their original sin'.—Vide Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art (1956), p. 141.
the semi-divine people of the north-western province of India. Some are of opinion that they had a special system of music and their scale of music was known as the gāṇḍhāra-grāma. It is said that they made a special and most important contribution to Indian music, and for this reason the ancient authors of music designated the art of the laukika music as ‘gāṇḍharvam’ or ‘gāṇḍharva-vidya’, to commemorate the valuable gift of the semi-divine Gandharvas.

The primitive type of music was gradually replaced by the newly moulded ones. The Vedic music, sāmagāna evolved through the medium of songs and singing processes of the chanters and singers, and their laws, materials and processes are contained in three main song-books, grāmegeya-gāna, aranyegeya-gāna and ūha and ūhya gānas. These three Vedic song-books were really composed of three kinds of Rks or collections of verses and those Rks were: Pūrvārṣika, Āranyaka-Samhitā and Uttarārṣika. The verses were the sources or womb (yoni) of the songs. The uses of the Pūrvārṣika were divided into three parts and they were dedicated to three gods or presiding deities, Agni, Indra and Soma-Pavamāna. The gānas, grāmegeya and aranyegeya existed side by side in the Vedic society and were regarded as the Vedic gānas. The only difference between them was: the former was sung publicly by all communities of people, whereas the latter was meant for the mystic chanters or singers of the
sacred forests and they were religious and spiritual. The gānas, ūha and ūhya were also sung in the Vedic sacrifices side by side with the gānas, grāmegeya and aranyegeya. The Pañca-vimśa-Brāhmaṇa states that the notes of the ūha and ūhya gānas were similar to those of the yonigāna or veyagāna.

Now, what were the notes of the Vedic gānas? We know from the Brāhmaṇa, Śikṣā and Prātiśākhya that the sāmagānas like grāmegeya and aranyegaya, etc., were sung with different numbers of Vedic notes, prathama, dvitiya, tretiya, caturthah, mandra, atisārya and kṛustā. These Vedic notes were in downward movement (avarohaṇa-krama), whereas the notes of the classical music were in upward movement (ārohaṇa-krama). While discussing the structure of the melodic ambit of the primitive music, Prof. Schneider says that the upward extension of compass is a late product historically. In early Greek music too, we find the same downward movement of the notes in the pentatonic forms or scales. Dr. Winternitz is of opinion that there must once have existed a fairly large number of Samhitās, which originated in different schools of priests and singers, and which continued to be handed down. Many of these collections were nothing but slightly diverging recensions—śākhās or branches of one and the same Samhitā. The Prātiśākhya of the Sāmaveda, Puspaśūtra and the Nāradiśikṣā state that the followers of the
recensions like Kaṭṭha, Taṭṭṭiriya and Āhvāraka and the Sāmaveda practised the sāmagānas with only the first note; the followers of the Ṛgveda used in their songs, first, second and third notes; the Kauthuma recensions used two notes only and some of the singers used in their songs, four, five, and six and seven notes. In fact, all the seven notes were used in the Vedic music, and it is interesting to note that these seven notes were also used by the pre-historic Indus people.

We know from the diggings of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa mounds that many of the valuable things like seals, sacred tank, dolls of the deities, musical instruments like crude-type flutes, lutes or Veenā, with seven strings,¹ different kind of drums and a bronze dancing girl were discovered. It is striking to note that the lute

1. Stuart Piggott says: ‘Cymbals were used to accompany dancing, * * there were reed flutes or pipes, a stringed instrument of the lute class, and a harp or lyre, which is mentioned as having seven tones or notes * * . There is good evidence that these instruments were constituted according to the heptatonic scale (seven notes) * * ’.—Cf. Prehistoric India (1950), pp. 270-271.

Rāi Bāhādur K. N. Dīkṣit says: ‘Some of the pictographs appear to be representations of a crude stringed instrument, a prototype of the modern vīṇā; while a pair of castanets, like the modern karatāla, have also been found’.—Cf. Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley (Madras. 1939), p. 30.
or Veenā with seven strings prove that the musical sense of the Indus Valley people was very keen and artistic. Stuart Piggott admits that there is good evidence that some of the musical instruments were constructed according to the heptatonic (sampūrna) scale, with seven notes. We find similar instances in pre-historic Mesopotamian and Sumerian civilization and culture. Curt Sachs is of opinion that though very few musical instruments were excavated in Mesopotamia, and most of them were found in the royal cemetery at Ur, Abraham’s native town, yet many reliefs and plaques, seals and mosaics, from a period extending over three thousand years, depict musical scenes, where pipes or lutes with different holes were to be found. Dr. Henry George Farmer, while dealing on the music of ancient Mesopotamia, says that from early Sumerian to late Assyrian days, music was part and parcel of social life in Mesopotamia. ‘From the time of Ashur-naṣir-pal III (c. 883-859 B.C.) we get ample lithographic material on music and musical instruments. The British Museum bas-reliefs also illustrate the artistic interests of Ashur-bāni-pal (668-626 B.C.’). Dr. Farmer says that the ‘cordophone group of Mesopotamian instruments reveals types of the highest interest to musicologists. Perhaps the most remarkable are the harp and kithara family; the evolutionary stages of the harp are particularly fascinating.* * In the first,
found on a slab from Khafaja (c. 2700 B.C.), now at Chicago.** Similar examples (c. 2600 and 2500 B.C.) are at Philadelphia.** The second form, with a separate bow-shaped neck fixed to a horizontal sound-chest, was not unlike the Burmese saun. It is delineated on a vase form Bismaya (c. 3000 B.C.) at Stamboul, although there is an actual specimen from Ur (twenty-fifth century B.C.) at the British Museum. The instrument of the foremost player on the Bismaya vase has only seven strings whilst the Ur instrument has eleven. The former may relate to the sibitu (seven stringed harp),*** Woolley, Galpin, and Curt Sachs also admit this fact.

Regarding the heritage of the instruments, found in Mesopotamia, Ur, Sumeria, Greece and other places, Dr. Farmer says that Terpander is of opinion that the lyre had four strings until he made them seven (iii.67), which Strabo seems to confirm. ‘Whence did this inspiration come? Could it have been Babylon? If we can trust pseudo-Plutarch (De musica. iii. xviii), it would appear that the Greeks at this time were most conservative in musical matters. Boethus says that it was the seven planets which suggested the number of strings which agrees with a Mesopotamian origin.** Instruments of music found their way into Greece from the Orient in large numbers. Strabo says: ‘And those writers who have consecrated to whole
of Asia, as far as India, to Dionysus, derive the greater part of music from there'. But it is interesting to mention that the editors of *The New Oxford History of Music* fight shy of a truth when they do not admit their debt to India's contribution, as they say in the footnote that the term 'India' meant countries much nearer, vide *Cosmographia Ethici* (p. 28) with the additions by Julius Honorius (p. 7). Even the ecclesiastical historians call the Arabs 'Indians'. However, it is a fact that some of the developed musical instruments were found in the most ancient pre-historic cities like Mahenjo-daro, Harappa and Channu-daro, and the seven notes with the heptatonic scale was known to these people. Dancing was also prevalent in the Indus Valley cities. Rāi Bāhādur Dīkṣit says that besides dancing, it appears that music was cultivated among the Indus people, and it seems probable that the earliest stringed instruments and drums are to be traced to the Indus civilization.

It has been mentioned in the Śiksās and the Prātiśākhyaṇa that the evolution of the seven notes were completed in the early Vedic time. The seven stringed lute or *Veenā*, excavated from the mounds of Mohenja-daro is no doubt a genuine evidence and landmark, in tracing out the culture of the so-called pre-historic Indus cities, which was perhaps uninterruptedly connected with the Vedic culture. We are glad
to know that some of the modern archaeologists and historians have found out some similarities of culture and civilization between the antique Indus Valley cities and the Vedic society.

But it is difficult to know the definite forms of music of the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa peoples, and some of the features and characteristics of their music can be guessed only through the light of the Vedic music, the form and culture of which extended down to 600-500 B.C.

The expert singers and chanters of the Vedic age knew fully well the specific laws and method of application of the three registers: bass, medium and high i.e., *manda*, *madhya* and *tāra*. The three ancient register notes or *sthanasvaras*, raised, not-raised and balancing circumflex i.e. *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* came to be used as three kinds of pitches of speaking as well as singing voices. The rhythm and tempo were used in accordance with different types of feet of the Vedic metres, *gāyatrī*, *jagati*, *anuṣṭupa*, etc. The time-measure or *tāla* was observed in hymnal songs and different types of *sāmagāna* in two different ways, with beat and without beat i.e. *sa-sabda* and *nis-sābda*. The *sa-sabda* time measure was kept with the clapping of hands and the *nis-sābda* one by wavering of the hands or different limbs of the body. From these two fundamental time-measures or time-observing processes there evolved various kinds of time-
measures in the gāndharva or mārga type of music, in the classical period.

600-400 B.C. is an epoch-making period and it can be said to be an age of renaissance. At the advent of the classical period there evolved a new type of music, known as gāndharva. It was constructed out of the materials and principles of the Vedic music, sāmagana. Bharata of the second century A.D. has traced the traditional link between the music, vaidika and laukika i.e., sāmagāna and classical gāndharva, in connection with the compilation of his Nātyaśāstra. Music was an indispensable adjunct of ancient Sanskrit plays. The gāndharva type of music was considered as sacred and celestial like the Vedic music and so it was known as ‘mārga’. The term ‘mārga’ suggests the idea of searching (‘ṛg—anveśane’) and collecting, i.e., mārga connotes the idea that most of the materials of the Vedic music were searched for and collected (saṃgrhīta) and then applied to the classical gāndharva type of music. The practice of the Vedic music became gradually obsolete, as it did not suit the taste of the progressive people of the classical society.

In the Sangīta-Darpana, the ‘highway’ music is called as ‘mārga’, because it was followed by Śiva or Druhina and practised (prayuktam) by Bharata. In Dhanañja’s Daśarūpa (I.15,) dancing has been called as ‘mārga’, as it displayed the meaning of words by means of gestures. In the Šatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (III.2.4), sacred music
has been mentioned as distinct from profane music, in connection with the seduction of Vāk 'who is won over from the Gandharvas by the Devas'. Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy says: "Now the word mārga, rendered above by 'highway' derives from mṛg, to chase or hunt, especially by tracking. In the Rgveda it is familiar that what one hunts and tracks by its spoor is always the deity, the hidden light, the occulted Sun or Agni, who must be found, and is sometimes referred to as lurking in his lair. This is so well known that a very few citations will suffice. In Ṛv. VIII.2.6 men are said to pursue (mṛgayante) Indra, as one pursues a wild beast (mṛgam na), with offerings of milk and kine (which may be compared to bait); in Ṛv. VII.87.6, Varuṇa is compared to a 'fierce beast' (mṛgas tuwisman); in Ṛv.X.46.2 the Bhṛgus, eager seekers after Agni, track him by his spoor (padaiḥ) like some lost beast (paśun na naṣṭam). Mārga is then the creature's 'runway', the 'track to be followed' (padaviya) by the vestigium pedis. One sees thus clearly what values are implied in the expression mārga, 'Way', and how inevitably that which is mārga is likewise vimukti-da, since it is precisely by the finding of the Hidden Light that liberation is effected'.

Further he mentions: "Deśi, on the other hand, deriving from diś, to 'indicate', and hence diś, 'region' or 'quarter', is 'local'; cf. desam nivis, to 'settle' in a given locality, desa vyavahāra or
deśācāra, 'local custom', 'way of the world', and deśya, 'native'. * * loka, 'world', is etymologically Latin locus, a place defined by given conditions; the laukika, 'mundane' is literally 'local'; * * From the celestial or solar point of view, deśī is thus mundane, human and devious, as distinct from super-mundane, divine and direct, * * . We think it has now been made sufficiently clear that the distinction of mārga from deśī is not necessarily a distinction of aristocratic and cultivated from folk and primitive art, but one of sacred and traditional from profane and sentimental art''.

In the beginning of the classical period, there evolved the new jāti type of music, which was mainly connected with the performance of drama, and so it was known as the stage-song or nātyagīti i.e., a type of melodic song applicable to drama. It is said that two great authors, Brahmā or Brahmābharata and Sadāśīva or Sadāśivabharata flourished between 600 and 500 B.C. and they wrote or compiled two new types of dramas, Brahmābharatam and Sadāśivabharatam, in which some chapters were devoted to music. Bharata of the second century A.D. follows them and collects most of the materials from their dramas, and so his Nātyaśāstra is known by the name samgraha-grantha or 'collection'.

3. Abhinavagupta says : '**एतेन सदाशिवमथमथमतमिदविवेच्येन**'
The newly evolved jātirāga songs were known as the pure parent type of music of the beginning of the classical age, and they were named after the initial letters of the seven laukika or deśi notes, śadja, ṭsabdha, gāndhāra, etc. They were possessed of ten characteristics like sonant (vādi or aṁśa), consonant (samvādi), assonant (anuvādi), melodic movements or varṇas, spanning of the scale or mūrcchanā, notes like initial (graha) and final (nyāsa), etc. The jātis were both melodies and songs themselves, like the rāgagītis, as mentioned by Mataṅga of the fifth-seventh century, but the jātis were the source or forerunners of both the grāmarāgas and the rāgagītis. The jāti type of melodies had their full play in the ancient scales or grāmas like śadja, gāndhāra and madhyāma, with three registers or sthānas and successions of notes, in their ascending and descending orders. They were impregnated with eight emotional sentiments and moods. Different musical instruments like lute or Veenā, flute or Veṇu, cymbal and different types of drum followed them. In the Rāmāyana (400 B.C.) we find the practice of pure seven jātirāgāgānas. The wandering Bards, Kuṣa and Lava, were efficient in both Vedic and Classical types of music, and they were trained by their Master Vālmiki.

Between 400 and 200 B.C. there evolved another new type of melodic song, grāmarāga. It has already been said that the grāmarāga songs
were constructed out of the *jātirāgas* of different *grāmas*. The *grāmas* evolved out of the cluster or succession of notes. From the *Nāradīśikṣā* of the first century A.D. we know that seven kinds of scales evolved and gave rise to seven types of melodies like *grāmarāgas*. The seven types of scales and melodies are: *śādava, pāncama, śadja-grāma, madhyamagrāma, sādhārita, kaiśika* and *kaiśikamadhyama*. The existence of these seven ancient scales are fully supported by the Kudumiamalai Cave-Inscription, installed by the Pallava King Mahendravarman, in the early Chāluksyan period, seventh century A.D. In *Mahābhārata* (300 B.C.) and *Harivaṁśa* (200 B.C.) we find the practice of the six *grāmarāgas*: ‘śad-grāmarāgādi samādhīyuktam’. These *grāmarāgas* had their full play even in the third *gāndhāragrāma*: ‘ā-gāndhāra-grāmarāgam’, which was rendered obsolete in the Christian era. The *prabandha* type of classical *Brahmagītis* and *Kapālagītis* also evolved at that time, the full descriptions of which are mentioned in Śārṅgadeva’s encyclopaedic work *Saṅgīta-Ratnakara* of the early thirteenth century. These new types of *Brahmagītis* were *aparāntaka, ullopya, sarovindu, uttara, ṛk, gāthā, pānik*, etc. It is said that they were devised by Brahmbhārata, the first propagator of the *gāndharva* music. Śārṅgadeva says that the *Brahmagītis* were practised with *jāti* or *grāma rāgas* of different scales, registers, rhythms and tempo.

In the beginning of the Christian era, we
come across the Śīkṣā literature, which dealt mainly with metres and tunes of the Vedic stanzas (ṛcś). Some of the Śīkṣās are very important for the classical music also. The Nāradīśīkṣā describes both vaidika and laukika music. It deals with seven kinds of melodies and scales, which have been mentioned before. Besides the seven melodies or grāmarāgas, we find that there evolved five microtones, which served the basic notes of the tonal forms of the gāndharva music, and it has been said before that they were: diptā, āyatā, mṛdu, madhyā and karuṇā. The names of the so-called microtones were given, according to their respective inherent sentiments and moods; as for example, the microtone diptā signifies shining, glowing or heroic mood, which means the sentiment vīra; āyatā signifies breadth, which means śānta; mṛdu signifies softness or slackness, which means jugupsā or vibhatsa; madhyā signifies intermediate or balancing, which means hāsya, and karuṇā signifies compassion, which means karuṇa. In fact, all the eight aesthetic sentiments, as described by Bharata, were the inherent qualities of the microtones, and from these, evolved the latter twenty-two microtones, chandovatī, etc. The microtones are useful for determining the correct intonation of the tones, their bases or grounds and consequently the grāmas or scales. They are very significant and meaningful, because they determine the emotive nature of the melodies or rāgas.
During the time of Bharata (second century A.D.), though the gāndharva type of music played an important rôle in the domain of Indian music, yet a tendency of rectifying or formalizing the tribal and regional tunes was found among the progressive communities of people. Bharata devised eleven mixed or samkīrṇa jāṭirāgas and jāṭirāga-gītis, with all the characteristics and angas, and, therefore, in his time, eighteen types of jāṭirāgas and gītis were in practice. The four types of regional but classical songs, māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, sambhābitā and prthulā also evolved and they were sung along with the jātis and sacred dhruvāgītis. Some of the hymnal dhruvāgītis, which were sung in praise of the gods, were known as the ‘samkīrṇa’, with the name of which we are familiar during the time of Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal, in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries A.D.

Bharata developed twenty-two śrūtis or audible subtle notes, based upon the genus-species or janya-janaka principle and built the whole system upon the basis of the so-called five microtones, as described by Nārada of the Śikṣā. Bharata discovered the śrūtis, by the help of two same-sized Veenās, shiftable and fixed i.e., cala and acala. The Vedic musical instruments, kāṣyapī or kacchāpi, kṣauṇī, kinnari, audumvari, ghoṣakā, vāna or the latter evolved kātyāyanī with hundred strings, picchorā or piccholā, etc. were developed or moulded into new forms. Some
of them were replaced by newly devised Veenās like Dāravi, Gātra, Citrā, Vipañci, etc. The practice of flute or pipe (Venu) survived with its old traditional glory throughout the ages. The Vedic drum was modified to some extent and out of it, the puśkara or mṛdaṅga type of drum evolved, which accompanied the gānas, jātirāga, grāmarāga, dhruvā, etc. Different kinds of time-measures like samā, srotyogatā, and gopucchā evolved with different units or kalās like citrā, vārtika, and daksinā. Other kinds of jātis like viṣama, mṛdaṅga, pluta also came into being. The jātis used to keep pace with the musical movements.

Like dramatic play and different types of prabandha-gītis, classical dances with different hand-poses and gestures and postures evolved as part and parcel of the dramatic music. Bharata used two terminologies, nṛttara and nṛtya for dance, of which the former signified the dance devoid of emotional sentiments (rasa) and moods (bhāva) and was based on sheer physical gestures and movements, supported by rhythm and tempo (tāla and laya), while the latter conveyed both sentiment and mood. This distinction and their significance have been made clear by Dhanika, Dhananājaya and Abhinavagupta. During the time of Abhinavagupta, at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century A.D., there evolved seven types of dance or nṛttara, which were accompanied by gīta and vādyā.
EVOLUTION OF INDIAN MUSIC

The seven types of nāṭtā were: śuddha, gītādi-abhinayonmukha, gāna-vādyā-tālānusāri, uddhānta, miśraṇa, miśranoddhānta and miśra-miśraṇa. From the uddhanta-nāṭta, the tāṇḍava type and from the sukuṇāra-nāṭta, the lāṣya type of dances evolved. Again from tāṇḍava and lāṣya, different kinds of classical dances evolved with their specific movements of the body and hand-poses.

After Bharata, Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Durgāśakti, Dattila, Śārdula, Mataṅga and other musicologists formulated many new types of melodies. Especially in the fourth-seventh century, there was a new revival in Indian music, with the evolution of numerous sophisticated regional and tribal tunes. Some of the foreign non-Aryan tunes like śaka, śakatilaka, śaka-miśrita, turuṣka, turuṣka-toṭi, turuṣka-gauḍa, pulindikā etc. were included into the Aryan stock. The śakarāga was the national tune of the Scythians. Yāṣṭika and Mataṅga have discussed about five kinds of regional type of gītis and they were: śuddhā, bhinnā or bhinnakā, vesarā, gauḍa and sādhārita. These types of rāgagītis were known by their respective tunes or rāgas.

Two new and novel ideas evolved during Mataṅga’s time and they were the philosophical concept of the theory of musical sound and the śāstric and scientific definition of the melody. Though melody type or rāga was in practice from the pre-Christian era, yet Mataṅga for the first time determined its specific meaning
and definition, in the fifth-seventh century A.D. He mentioned seventy-three types of subordinate melodies or bhāṣā-rāgas, and they were mostly regional and aboriginal in nature.

During the times of Kohala, Yāṣṭiṣṭika, and Mataṅga, the Gupta Rulers were in full power. It is said that the poet Kālidāsa flourished then, though there is a dispute among the historians regarding his date. Kālidāsa has given the mūrcchanās a very high place and during his time, the mūrcchanās of the gāndhāra-grāma, survived among the communities of Gandharva, Yakṣa and Kinnara. The maṅgala-prābandha-gāṇas were also in practice in his time, as they were in the pre-Christian era, but the special feature of the sacred maṅgalagīti of his time was that it was sung with one traditional kaiśikī and one regional botta rāgas. The tune or rāga botta evolved in the land of the Himalāyan Bhutiās i.e. the Bhotadeśas like Tibet, Bhutān, etc. From this it is understood that there was cultural and commercial link between India and Bhotadeśa. Many of the dramatic music and dances evolved during the time of Kālidāsa and they were gītīs like dvīpadikā, jambhalikā, khaṇḍadhārā, etc., and dances like khuraka, khaṇḍaka valantikā, and galitakā, etc.

In the ninth-eleventh century, during the time of the Jaina musicologist Pārśadeva, two kinds of ālapī, rāgālapī and rūpakālapī, evolved which formed the basic ground of the mani-
festation of the tonal forms of the rāgas. The tunes of the aboriginal Himalāyan tribe, Bhiravā—Bhairava and Bhairavī were introduced into the Aryan stock and they were afterwards recognized as the prominent melodies in the classical type of music. Besides them, variants of tunes or melodies of varāti, toḍi, gauta, gurjari, etc. and those of śrī and krī stocks, evolved to enrich the treasure of Indian classical music.

In the early thirteenth century, the South Indian musicologist Śāraṅgadeva formulated twelve kinds of displaced or chromatic notes, in addition to the pure seven notes. Before him, only two displaced or vikṛta notes, antara-gāndhāra and kākali-niṣāda, were current in the system of Indian music. During his time we notice that the five limbs (āṅgas) of the Vedic music, praśīva, udgītha, pratihāra, upadrava and nīdhāna were used with their new names, udgrāha, anudgrāha, sambandha, dhruvaka and ābhoga, as the music-parts or dhātus of the prabandha-gītis. But their names and forms were again changed to some extent, towards the sixteenth-seventeenth century A.D.

Besides them, we find a systematic order in the forms and divisions of the classical rāgas and gītis. As regards the evolution of classical types of melodies, we come to know from Mataṅga’s Brhaddeśī that the subordinate bhāṣā type of melodies evolved from the ancient parent scales or gramas, the vibhāṣā-rāgas from the bhāṣā
ones and the antarabhāṣā-rāgas from the vibhāṣā ones. Śārāṅgdeva brought a more perfect order in the divisions of the rāgas and the prabandha-gītis. The six kinds of limbs or aṅgas of the prabandha-gītis evolved at this time and they are: svara, viruda, pada, tena, pāta and tāla. These limbs or aṅgas really determined the nature and characteristics of the gītis. Gradually the five kinds of jātis evolved to specifically classify and determine the musical compositions of the gītis, and they were: medini, anandī, dipani, bhāvanī and tārāvalī (vide SR. canto IV.19.) The musical compositions were mainly divided into two classes, ordered or niriyukta and without order or aniriyukta. The three divisions of the prabandha type of music evolved and they were of three classes, sūda, āli and viprakirṇa. From these three classes, \(7 + 24 + 34 = 65\) types of new prabandha-gītis evolved. From these, many other subordinate types of prabandha-gītis came into being. All these classical prabandhas were included under three heads, śuddha, chāyālagā and samkīrṇa or kṣudra. The above-mentioned dhruvaka type of the prabandha-gīti may be the forerunner of the present dhruvapada type of music. This type was revived by Rāja Mān of Gwalior, Nāyaka Gopāl, Bāiju Bāorā and other eminent artists and lovers of music. The kṣudra-gīti might have been evolved from the dhruvaka-prabandha and from the kṣudra-gīti evolved citrapadā, citrakalā, the present types of modified dhruvapada and
pāṅchāli. Regarding the evolution of these types, there are differences of opinion among the scholars. Ghanasyāma-Narahari of the early eighteenth century mentions the types of the pāṅcāli-gitis in his Saṅgītasāra-saṅgraha. The contribution of Bengal, in the domain of melodies, was also immense.

Besides the rāgas, various types of time-measures or tālas evolved at this time, with different time-units or mātrās like hrasva, dīrgha and pluta, different features like kalā, mārga, piṇḍa, aṅga, graha and different jātis like caturasra, tisra, miśra, khaṇḍa and samkīrṇa. Besides various types of lute, flute and drum, a new type of lute or Veenā was devised by Śāraṅgadeva himself and it was known as the Nīśaṅka-Veenā.

About the close of the thirteenth century, Āmir Khasrau, the Persian Poet and court-musician of Sultān Ālā-ud-din devised some new types of melody and musical instruments. He introduced some Persian scales and melodies and some of the Qāwāli type of regional songs, in Indian classical stock.

In the sixteenth-seventeenth century, Vṛndāvana and Mathurā became new seats of culture of Indian classical music. Goswāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāj, Advaitadāsa Goswāmī, Kṛṣṇadāsa of Gīta-Prakāśa, Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī and other Vaiṣṇava savants revived a new style and form of the prabandha dhrupadā music. Emperor Akbar helped much to enrich the culture of the
dhruvapada. Mian Tansen was a great torch-bearer of the traditional as well as newly moulded form and technique of the dhruvapada type, which he received from his saint teacher Swâmi Haridâsa. He introduced the Senî style of music during Akbar's time. Some are of opinion that the Senî style of dhruvapada evolved after his death, through his worthy descendants. The contribution of religio-devotional type of music, bhajana of Mirâ Bâi, Suradâsa, Kâvîra and others were made at this time. A new type of prabandha music, Hori-Dhâmâra also evolved in connection with the sacred Holi festival of Vrândâvana.

Gradually the kheyâl type of music evolved with a new style and embellishment, by the side of the dhruvapada, to suit the taste of the progressive society. It was more imaginative and decorative, but light in its form than the dhruvapada. It was first introduced by Sultân Hussan Shirque of Jaunpur and then developed by Sadâraṅg, Adâraṅg and others. Next thumri, with its three styles—Lucknow, Banaras and Punjabi—evolved to enrich Indian music and it had an intense aesthetic appeal. Gradually dâdrâ, sâdrâ, tappâ, târâṅâ, gazal and such other light but decorative types of music came into being.

As regards the evolution of basic scales or melas, we find that from the beginning of the classical age (600 B.C.) the grāmas played an important rôle in the basic scales. Afterwards
the mūrcchanās that evolved from the grāmas, played the function of those grāmas, to determine the specific forms or structures of the rāgas. In the fourteenth-sixteenth century, fifteen parent scales or melas evolved through Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya, the renowned Vedāntist of the Śaṅkara school. In 1550, twenty basic scales evolved as the source of a host of melodies in the time of Puṇḍarika-Viṭṭhala. Puṇḍarika was contemporary to Emperor Akbar. It should be reminded that new nomenclatures of the scale ‘mela’ or ‘ṭhāṭa’ came into being, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) was credited with coining the term ‘mela’ and ‘ṭhāṭa’. We find in his Rāgabivodha the lines: ‘milanti vargī-bhavantī rāgā vatreṭi tadasrayāḥ svaramasthāna-viśeṣā melāḥ; ‘ṭhāṭa’ iti bhāṣāyāṃ’. Before him, Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya, Puṇḍarika-Viṭṭhala and other musicologists devised and divided the melodies (rāgas), according to the genus-species or janya-janaka scheme. Somanāth devised twenty-three parent scales. All the musicologists of that time determined a standard or basic scale (suddha-ṭhāṭa), for determining the nature of the structure of the rāgas. During the time of Paṇḍit Locana-Kavi, Paṇḍit Ahobala, Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya, different numbers of scales evolved as the fountainhead of numerous rāgas.
In 1620 A.D., during Venkatamakhi's time, seventy-two basic scales or melakartās evolved in the South Indian system of music, and only nineteen out of them were current in his life-time.

During Kavi Locana's time (middle of the sixteenth-seventeenth century), we find that twelve scales or saṅsthānas (as he named the scale) were sufficient to determine the forms of the rāgas. Paṇḍit Viṣṇu-nārāyaṇa Bhāṭkhaṇḍe devised ten parent scales and they have been accepted in the present North-Indian Hindusthāni system of music.

As in North India, so we find the evolution of different types of music in South India. Types of music like kṛti, padam, varṇam, rāgamālikā, jāvāli, pallavi, etc. evolved according to the creative taste of the South Indian society. Different art music like saṅcari-gīti, lakṣaṇa-gīti, rāgānga-rāga-lakṣmaṇa-gīti, jātisvara, svarajāti and other different types of kirtana like divyanāma, utsava-sampadāya, mānasapūjā, Vedānta, etc. and nāmāvalī type of music evolved. Besides them, various types of folk music like lāvanī, kāvāḍicīudu, tappan and āmāni, etc. are also worth-mentioning in this connection.

Different types of classical and folk music evolved in different times, in Bengal. The caryā and vajra gītis of the Mahāyāni Buddhists evolved in the eleventh-twelveth century A.D. as religio-devotional songs and they were sung with classical melodies like rāmakiri, gurjari, bhairavi,
bhairava, vasanta, hindola, mallāri, etc. The classical tālas were used in them. The prabandha-gītis of Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda were remarkable contribution to Indian music. The rāgas, used in the padagītis of Gitagovinda, can correctly be presented even in these days, by changing the tonal arrangements of mukhārī (similar to the present form of kāphī) to the present standard scale, vilāvala. Treatises of the 16th-17th century and especially of Paṇḍit Hṛdaya-Nārāyaṇa’s Hṛdayakautuka are very helpful in this respect. As for example, gurjari-rāga was in the gaurī scale, during the time of Jayadeva (twelfth century A.D.), but it is now in the bhairava scale, with ṛṣabha and dhaivata as flat or chromatic (komala) notes. It should be remembered that in the nineteenth century radical changes overtook scale, melody and note.

In the fourteenth-fifteenth century A.D., the Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana evolved out of the remains of caryā, gitagovinda, mangalagīti, pāñcālī, etc. and it was enriched in the hands of Vaḍu Caṇḍidāsa of Nānnura, Vidyāpati, Umāpati-dhar, Umāpatijhā and others. The nāma-kīrtana, evolved in the fifteenth century, was devised by Śrī Caitanya. During this period, padāvalis, composed of vrajabuli, were developed by a host of Vaiṣṇava savants, like Rāmānanda Rāy, Yaśorāja Khān, Murārīgupta, Naraharidāsa, Vāsudev Ghose, Mādhava Ghose, Rāmānanda Basu, Vaṇśivadana-dāsa, Nayanānanda, Valarāma-dāsa, Śivānanda Cakravurty and others. In
the beginning of the sixteenth century, Thākur Narottama-dāsa devised a new type of classical kirtana, which was known as the *rasa* or *lilā-kirtana*. It was designed after the form of the dhrupadā prabandha, in slow tempo (*vilamvita-laya*). The Vaiṣṇava conference of Khetari is memorable in this connection. The gouracandrikā of the *lilā-kirtana* evolved at this time. In the sixteenth-seventeenth century, there evolved different schools of *padāvalī-kirtana*: manoharasāhi, rānīhāti or reṇeti, mandārini, jhādkhandi, etc. The classical type of *lilā-kirtana*, devised by Thākur Narottama, was included in the gaṇerhāti or garānṇhāti school, as it evolved from the Garāṇhāti division. Different patterns of time-measures or *tālas* also evolved to suit the types of kirtana.

Besides kirtana, different types of classic-folk and folk songs evolved and they were: *yātrā, kavigāna, jhumura, yoga* and *bāul gītis, bhātivālī, jāri, sāri, manipuri-kirtana*, etc. The socio-mystic songs of Kaviguru Rabindranāth, Dwijendralāl, Rajanikānta, Atulprasad and Kāzi Nazrul are the treasures of Indian music. The different types of music of Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Himācala-Pradesha, Kabul, Kāndāhāra and those of the Greater India have also added to the stock of Indian music. In the early twentieth century, the modern type of music evolved from the mixture of different tunes, classical and folk, getting free scope in the hands of the
creative artists of modern India. New types of music will continue to be evolved in future, as man's intuition and creative power grow or change. The music of India will move forward with its new and novel forms and techniques, as progression and change form the stuff of the society.
CHAPTER FOUR

EVOLUTION OF RĀGA

The story of the evolution of the rāgas is generally connected with a mythico-religious legend, where a divine couple, Śiva and Pārvatī or Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī plays an important rôle. But this legend had its origin in the latter period, when the genus-species (sāmānya-viśeṣa) or cause-effect (kārya-kāraṇa) principle came into being, in the domain of Indian music. This ideational principle was more materialized when the male-female scheme of the rāgas was adopted during the sixteenth-seventeenth century. The mediaeval authors of music did not overlook the scientific and psychological principles behind the evolution of the rāgas. At that time they adopted, in their process, the mythico-religious idea for spiritualizing the sphere of Indian music. We find the influence of two main religious schools, Śaiva and Vaiśṇava, originated from Śiva and Viṣṇu—one presiding deity of the non-Aryans and the other, the god of the Aryans. But this mythico-religious element was quite unknown in Indian music, in the beginning of the Christian era. In the fifth-seventh century A.D., we find the evolution of philosophical ideas in Indian music, which was connected with the evolution of microtones (bruti) and
tones (svara) from the causal sound or nāda. We find this idea clearly in Mataṅga’s Brhaddeśi when he says,

Idānīṃ sampravakṣyāmi nāda-lakṣmaṇa-muttamaṃ
Na nādena vinā gītaṃ na nādena vinā svarāḥ // etc.¹

Some are of opinion that the post-Bharata musicologists, like Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Mataṅga and others got this philosophical idea from the great Epic, Mahābhārata (300 B.C.), which states, Tatraika-guṇa ākāsāḥ śabda ityeva sa smṛtaḥ /

* * * *

Ṣadjarṣbhāḥ gāndhāro madhyamaḥ-paṇcama smṛtaḥ //

Ataḥ paraṁ tu vijnaye y niśādo dhaivatastathā //

* * * *

Evaṃ vahuvidho jñeyah śabda ākaśasambhavaḥ /
Ākāśamuttamaṃ bhūtam ahamkārastatah paraḥ /
Ahamkārāt para buddhiḥ buddheratmā tatah paraḥ //²

1. Pradānīm samśayaśāṃ nād-sadāḥ saṃsūryaṃ.
N nādeśī bīgaṃ gītaṃ n nādeśī bīgaṃ śad: //

   —Bhrāthī Bhrā

2. Tavyā gurū Prākām; maṇḍ pratiṣṭat s śuṣṭ: //
Tavyā maṇḍās pravāsāḥ bikāraṇī prakṣam gūḍhāḥ //
Vakṣaṃ: gāthārāś śāmaṃ: paham śuṣṭ: //
Prat: pur. tu vijñāno vijñāvādī devatatadā //
Dvāparyādvarṣuḥ tāçaḥ: pārtiśānādān //
Evān vijñāvādāḥ bhṛ: Prākā Prākāṃ: sūrya: //
That is, sound is the product of the ākāśa i.e., ether or wind. The ether is known as the fine matter, but the ego is finer than the ether. Again buddhi or shining intelligence is finer than the ego, and, in the final analysis, it has been seen that Ātman or the immortal soul is finer than the intelligence. The contention of the Mahābhārata is that the causal sound or nāda is consequently the deathless Ātman, and all the gross phenomena evolved from it.

Mataṅga also describes about the causal sound or nāda, from which music, with all its manifestations evolved. He says that the nāda as the determinate (sagūṇa) Brahman, shines as Brahmā, the creator, Viśṇu, the preserver and Maheśvara, the destroyer.

At any rate the rāgas evolved through the process of gradual evolution. As for example, from the pure type of the jatirāgas, the mixed jatirāgas evolved; from both these types of the jatirāgas, the grāmarāgas evolved and from the grāmarāgas evolved the formalized deśī rāgas.

In the beginning of the Classical Age (600-500 B.C.) and at least during the age of the Rāmāyaṇa (400 B.C.), we find that the rāgas (jatirāgas) had their seats or bases in the grāmas, śadja, madhyama and gāndhāra. The
grāmas or the cluster of different sets of seven notes were recognized at that time as the basic scales. The spanning of the notes or mūrcchanās were also prevalent in the time of the Rāmāyana, and we get the reference to them as ‘sthāna-mūrcchana-kovida’³, etc. In the Gupta period (320-600 A.D.), we find that poet Kālidāsa (100 B.C.—400/450 A.D.) also mentions the grāmas and mūrcchanās: ‘mūrcchanāṃ vismaranti’⁴ or ‘mūrcchanā-parighāta kaiśikaiḥ⁵, etc. Mallināth, the commentator, says about the ślokas as ‘utsaṅge vā malina-vasane * * mūrcchanāṃ vismaranti’⁶. He mentions:

Śaḍja-madhyama-nāmānau grāmau gāyanti
mānavāḥ
Na tu gāndhāra-nāmānāṃ sa labhyo deva-
yonibhiḥ //⁷

From the context of the ślokas it is understood that the gāndhāra-grāma was only practised by the Gandharvas and Kinnaras, the semi-divine music-loving people of the north-western region of India, and the three grāmas with their constituent twenty-one (7 × 3 = 21) mūrcchanās

3. स्थान-मूर्चनकोविदी।
4. मूर्चनाओं विन्दृकली।
5. मूर्चना-परिवर्त्तित कैविमित्र।
6. उत्सागे वा मलिनवसने * * मूर्चनाओं विन्दृकली (—स्वरमाऍ ४१)।
7. गङ्ग -मध्यमनामानी यामी गायलि मानवमः।
   न तु सामान्यानामां स लभ्य दीविनिमित्।।
—Vide also Prajñānānanda: Saṅgīta O Saṅskṛti, (Beng.); Vol. II, pp. 400-401.
were prevalent during the time of Kālidāsa. Gradually the grāmas were replaced by mūrceanās, which were prevalent long before Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.). Afterwards the mūrceanās were again replaced by melas or melakartās, during the time of the Pañḍit Somanāth, in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

It may be asked whether the jātis were the rāgas (melody-types) by themselves or not. But what is a ‘rāga’? Bharata (second century A.D.) has not given any definition of a rāga, though he mentions the word ‘rāga’ at least five times, in his Nātyaśāstra. We get a clear definition of it in Mataṅga’s Brhadādēsi, in the fifth-seventh century A.D. He says that the sound, which tinges i.e., attracts and makes an impression upon the mind of the living beings, is known as ‘rāga’: ‘rānjako janacittānām sa ca rāga udāhṛtaḥ.’ It has already been said that according to Kallināth, a giti is called a rāga, when it is possessed of ten specific characteristics: ‘daśa-lakṣaṇa-lakṣitam gītāṃ rāga-sabdenābhhidhiyate’. The ten characteristics or essentials (daśa-lakṣaṇas) are described by Bharata in his Nātyaśāstra as,

Grahāṁśau tāra-mandrau ca nyāsopanyāsa eva ca/Alpatvam ca vahutvam ca sādavaudāvite tathā //

The time of Bharata was undoubtedly an epoch-making one, as some fundamental laws
and systems of Indian music were made with a fresh outlook, for better or fuller realization of music. He adopted ten essentials which were the notes, initial, sonant, higher, lower, closing or concluding, medial, rare, abundant, hexatonic and pentatonic. Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) also followed the scheme of ten essentials. Some maintained different views, as we know from Śāraṅgadeva’s statement: ‘kāpītyevasamāhustratodasa’,9 adding three more, namely samnyāsa, vinyāsa and antaramārga. But Kallināth said: ‘yadyapi Bharata-Mataṅgādibhiḥ samnyāsa-vinyāsasayor vidāryāśrītatvād apanyāse’ntarbhāvenāntaramārgasya api amśādi-avayavānām manyo * * prthaguddāso nāpeksita, iti daśakām jāti-lakṣaṇamītityuktam’.10 Kallināth’s contention was that as Bharata, Mataṅga and other musicologists included samnyāsa and vinyāsa in the category of apanyāsa, and atantaramārga in that of amśa, so they were not regarded as separate essentials, and, therefore, ten essentials were accepted by all.

The essentials are the determining characteristics of the rāgas. Now, what do we mean by graha and amśa? The word graha connotes the idea of the initial note, from where the manifestation of a rāga begins, or wherefrom the song or the part of the song takes its start:

9. काशीतात्तत्त्वाचार्योदय

10. तथा भरत-मातांसदित्वम: संवादविवेकोपिदियाविदितात्त्वम: भयविषयविवाहविवाहविवाहविवाहविवाहहिं प्रमाणं श्री सामस्यायानम् * * प्रदेसु भी सामस्याय, प्रति दशकं जातिक्षेत्रायितुः
‘yat pravṛttam bhaved gānam’,\textsuperscript{11} whereas \textit{aṁśa} denotes the dominant or sonant, where a \textit{rāga} takes on its fuller manifestation and from where it begins: ‘tatra aṁśo nāma * *, yasmin vasati rāgastu yasmāiccaiva pravartate’.\textsuperscript{12} It should be remembered that Bharata took \textit{graha} and \textit{aṁśa}, in the same sense, which is evident from his definition of both \textit{graha} and \textit{aṁśa}:

Grahastu sarva-jātināmamāṁsa eva hi kīrtitaḥ /
Yat pravṛttam bhaved-gānam soṁśo graha-vikalpitaḥ //\textsuperscript{13}

It is also proved by the definition of the sonant itself: ‘yasmin vasti rāgastu’=\textit{aṁśa}, and ‘yasmāt caiva pravartate’=\textit{graha}.\textsuperscript{14}

During the time of Mataṅga of the \textit{Bṛhaddeśi}, we find some changes in the social environment as well as in the taste and temperament of the people. Mataṅga dealt with the problems of \textit{graha} and \textit{aṁśa}, in a very ingenious way. He said that the starting note of the \textit{jātirāga} is the initial or \textit{graha}: ‘tatrādau jātyādi-prayogo grhyte yena asau grahaḥ’\textsuperscript{15}, but it is not prominent like \textit{aṁśa}: ‘graha hi apradhaṇabhutaḥ’, whereas the sonant, being universal and cause of the manifestation

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{yat} pravṛttam bhaved gānam
\textsuperscript{12} \textit{tatra} aṁśo nāma * *, yasmin vasati rāgastu yasmāiccaiva pravartate
\textsuperscript{13} Grahastu sarva-jātināmamāṁsa eva hi kīrtitaḥ / Yat pravṛttam bhaved-gānam soṁśo graha-vikalpitaḥ //
\textsuperscript{14} It is also proved by the definition of the sonant itself: ‘yasmin vasti rāgastu’=aṁśa, and ‘yasmāt caiva pravartate’=graha.
\textsuperscript{15} During the time of Mataṅga of the \textit{Bṛhaddeśi}, we find some changes in the social environment as well as in the taste and temperament of the people. Mataṅga dealt with the problems of graha and aṁśa, in a very ingenious way. He said that the starting note of the jātirāga is the initial or graha: ‘tatrādau jātyādi-prayogo grhyte yena asau grahaḥ’, but it is not prominent like aṁśa: ‘graha hi apradhaṇabhutaḥ’, whereas the sonant, being universal and cause of the manifestation
of rāga, is prominent: ‘rāga-janakatvād vyāpakatvāc ca amśasya eva prādhānyam’. Further, Mātaṅga said that though the ancient authorities like Bharata and others considered both the initial and prominent notes as essential for the jātirāgas, yet they were interpreted in relation to dominant and subordinate i.e. saṁvādi and anuvādi notes: ‘yadyapi sarva-jātinām grahomśaśca pradhānibhūta ityutsarga-siddham, tathāpi saṁvādi-anuvādi-vidhīna codyate’. Gradually the amśa became familiar with the new name of vādi, which means that which says about or manifests the rāga: ‘vadanāt rāgajanakatvād vā vādi’. The new nomenclature of the dominant note perhaps evolved during Mātaṅga’s time, in the fifth-seventh century A.D., and both the terminologies, amśa and vādi were current in Śāraṅgadeva’s time, in the early thirteenth century A.D. Kallināth said that the word vādi conveyed the same idea of creating pleasing sensations, as the word amśa did: ‘sa vādi yogyatā-vaśāt amśah syāt, rakti-vyañjakatvāt’. But, yet, there was a difference between amśa and vādi, though Bharata used them in the same sense. He said ‘nanu amśo graha iti Bharataḥadeśena

16. प्रागसर्गकलाभुस्मान्तरायकालां च म य एव प्राधान्यम्।
17. यवत्ति च वर्जातीलां च चर्चोऽय च धानानीस्तु च प्रत्यासस्ति ज्ञवाच्यं, तथापि संवादिः-संवादिः-
विभिन्ना च च च।
18. नवत्ति रागसर्गकलाभु च च च।
19. न वादी विभिन्नतात्वात् चं च: स्म: स्म: रक्ति-व्याघ्रकलाभुः।
sarvesu api aśīsa-dharmesu grahasya prāptam, na kevalam vāditvameva dharmah, api tu vāditvādi-
catuṣṭayamapīti tayorbheda iti. Simhabhupāla supported this view of Kallināth.

Again we find a peculiarity in the application of both the initial and dominant notes, in the jātirāga, as Bharata considered them as more than one. As for example, the jātirāga, śādjī, was possessed of three initial notes and three dominant notes, śadja, madhyama and dhaivata. Such was also the case with other jātirāgas, both pure and mixed. The number of the initial and dominant notes might also be considered as more than three, and according to Bharata the total number of the dominant notes, as used in the ancient śadjagrāma and madhyamagrāma, were 63: ‘dvai grāmakīnām jātīnām sarvāsāmapi * * aśīsa-stri-śaṣṭhirvijñeyah.’ That was the case with graha: ‘caiva tathā grahā.’

We know from the cultural histories of the ancient nations of the world that some of them, in the Near East and the West, adopted the scheme of the initial, final and dominant notes, in their systems of music, but it should be noticed that they rarely considered the same note as both initial and dominant, as Bharata did, and

20. सर्वेश अशीस-धर्मेश ग्रहश्या प्राप्तमं, न केवलम् वादित्वमेव धर्मः, अपि तु वादित्वाति-कतुष्टयमपि तयोर्भेदा इति।
21. स्रद्ध श्राढ्या जातीया सर्वाईमपि * * अशीस-ष्री-शाष्ठिरविज्ञेयां।
22. कैवतः तथा ग्रहः।
there lies the fundamental difference between the system of Bharata and those of the foreign nations. Besides, there were also other differences between the ancient system of Indian music and those of the Near East and the West.

We have already said that Bharata’s scheme of graha of the rāga was modified in the latter musicology, to some extent. Śāraṅgadeva did not admit Bharata’s doctrine: ‘tatra yah svaraḿśaḥ sa eva grahaḥ’.\(^\text{23}\) He rather modified the scheme or system and said: ‘tatra amśa-grahayoranyataroktau ubhaya-grahaḥ’\(^\text{24}\) (SR. 1. 7. 31). Kallināth made it explicit, when he said: ‘yatra kvacit amśa eva ucyate—na grahaḥ, yatra ca graha eva ucyate—na tu amśaḥ’.\(^\text{25}\) So we find that the scheme of the essentials were modified from time to time, to suit the system of music, according to the taste and temperament of the changing society.

Regarding (3) nyāsa or concluding note, Bharata said: ‘nyāso hi aṅga-samāptau’.\(^\text{26}\) The aṅga means ‘part’ or portion of the song or musical composition. That is, where the manifestation of a rāga or an ālāpa ends, it is called nyāsa. (4) The apanyāsa means the medial stop. Mataṅga said: ‘yatra samāptamiva gītāṁ prati-

\(^{23}\) तत्र यः स्वरांम्श: स एव ग्रहः।

\(^{24}\) तत्र अंगा-ग्रहयोरन्यातरोक्ता उभयां-ग्रहः।

\(^{25}\) यत्र क्रृति अंग: एव उच्यते—न ग्रहे, यत्र अंग: एव उच्यते—न तु अंगः।

\(^{26}\) नायी हि छविस्मातः।
bhäsate so'panyāsaḥ'.

The apanyāsa appears in the vidāri or compositions of the songs. It forms generally the former part of the melody or song: 'aṅgamadhye apanyāsa eva syāt'.

(5) The samnyāsa means a note which is not antagonistic to the sonant, and remains in the part of the composition of the song. (6) The vinyāsa note functions like the samnyāsa, but it remains in the latter part of the song. (7) The alpatva means rarity i.e., rare use of the note in the rāga. It is of two kinds, anabhyaśa and laṅghana. In anabhyaśa-alpatva, notes are dropped other than the sonance, and when the note rarely touches the composition of the rāga, it is called laṅghana-alpatva: 'śvarānāṁ laṅghanāt anabhyaśocc ca sakṛducca-raṇañāṁ'.

(8) The vahutva means abundance of the notes, in the rāga. (9) The antaramārga generally avoids nyāsa, apanyāsa, vinyāsa, samnyāsa, graha and amśa, and from time to time incorporates the dual functions of the alpatva, mentioned above, in consonance with amśa, etc. (10) The tāra is the note of the higher octave (saptaka), and (11) the mandra, of the lower octave. (12) The śādavatva and (13) the audavatva i.e., hexatonic and pentatonic forms of the rāgas are constituted out of six and five notes respectively. These last two essentials constitute the patterns of the

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27. यह समालबर्ष नीति प्रतिबादन्ति सीमास्वाभाषः।
28. तद्भवाये अपयासाय एव यान।
29. स्वराणां लाङ्घनान्तः अनपयासात्यं शकृदुक्कारणम्।
rāgas. Śāraṅgadeva also adopted the scheme of ten essentials in ālāpa and ālāpti, for the manifestations (avirbhāva) of the rāgas.

Now, it is clear that the ten essentials, as devised or adopted by Bharata, in the second century A.D., or the thirteen essentials, as adopted by some post-Bharata musicologists, were the determining characteristics of the jāti-rāgas, grāmarāgas, and bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, antarabhāṣā, and all kinds of āṅga and formalized desī rāgas. But after thirteenth-fourteenth century, they were not recognized as essential, and in the nineteenth-twentieth century, when there came a great change in the domain of North Indian classical music, the ten essentials have been, truly speaking, limited only to the theoretical knowledge of music.

Bharata also adopted the scheme of cycle of the fifth and cycle of the fourth, for the determination of the rāgas. The same process is found in the Pythagorean system of music, that evolved in about 582—507 B.C. Pythagoras constructed his diatonic scale, with the help of the series of fifths = F + C + G + D + A + E + B. Edward Macdowell says in his Critical and Historical Essays (1912) : 'It was said of Pythagoras that he had studied twelve years with the Magi in the temples of Babylon; had lived among the Druids of Gaul and the Indian Brahmins; had gone among the priests of Egypt, witnessed their most secret temple rites'. In
ancient Greece there were in use over fifteen different modes (scales), each one common to the part of the country, in which it originated. At the time of Pythagoras there were seven modes in general, and each mode or scale was composed of two sets of 4 notes \(=4+4=8\). Theodore M. Finney is of opinion that Pythagoras found the tone relationships of the octave, the fifth and the fourth, correspond to the numerical relationships \(2:1, 3:2, 4:2\). He supposed that these three simple ratios were the basis of a principle which could be extended to define the intervals of the third, the sixth, and the second. Now cycle of the fifth and cycle of the fourth, as observed by Pythagoras (about 582-591 B.C.), were exactly the same as the \(s\acute{a}d\acute{a}-p\acute{a}\acute{n}cama\) and \(s\acute{a}d\acute{a}-m\acute{a}d\acute{h}yama\) bh\(\ddot{a}\)\(v\)\(\grave{a}\)s, adopted by Bharata of the \(N\acute{a}t\acute{y}a\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{a}stra\), in the second century A.D. Some are of opinion that Bharata borrowed the scheme of cycles of the fifth and the fourth, together with that of the essentials (\(d\acute{a}s\acute{a}-laks\acute{n}\acute{a}nas\)),\(^{30}\) from the Greek system,

\(^{30}\) The \(d\acute{a}s\acute{a}-laks\acute{n}\acute{a}nas\) are the ten essentials that qualify and determine the real nature of the \(r\acute{a}g\acute{a}s\). The 'laks\acute{n}\acute{a}na' connotes the idea of a name or a thing. The derivative meaning of laks\acute{n}\acute{a}na is '\(laks\acute{n}\acute{a}na\) नूतन चर्चा द्वारा' or 'लक्षणि भौतिकमित्र धातिलक्षणम्'. That is, that which enlightens, is laks\acute{n}\acute{a}na. The Indian logic defines it as \(\text{स्तरित्व-चर्चामपकस्य व्यवहार-मूलीकक्षि}\). The laks\acute{n}\acute{a}na, therefore, falls into the category that differentiates a thing at first, and then makes it known for our practical purpose. Bopadeva defines it as an
modified by Pythagoras. But it seems to be an assumptive view, as similar ideas might simultaneously evolve in two or more civilized countries. There is no genuine proof that one has been fashioned on the ideal or out of the materials of the other. Again from the history of the world it is known that there were many interchanges of ideas and cultures between different civilized countries of the East and the West. The fact of one country being benefited by the other, in the fields of art, science and culture, does not prove blind imitation of the one by the other. Regarding the antiquity of Indian music, Swāmī Abhedānanda says: ‘The dawn of Aryan civilization broke for the first time on the horizon, not of Greece or Rome, not of Arabia or Persia, but of India, which may be called the motherland of metaphysics, philosophy, logic, astronomy, science, art, music and medicine, as well as of truly ethical science and religion. * * The Hindus first developed the science of music from the

‘abhijnānam’ or a kind of knowledge that manifests an object. Therefore lakṣaṇa is known as a determining principle that constitutes an inherent and indispensable part of an object. It assumes the aspects of both qualitative relation and quality itself, that make an object known what really it is, and this is the psychological value and logical concept of a lakṣaṇa of a thing or an object. Bharata describes ten lakṣaṇas, in his Nātyaśāstra to determine the jātis as the rāgas, that please and soothe the hearts of men and animals.
chanting of the Vedic hymns. The Sāma Veda was especially meant for music. And the scale with seven notes and three octaves was known in India centuries before the Greeks had it. Probably the Greeks learnt it from the Hindus. It will be interesting to you to know that Wagner was indebted to the Hindu science of music, especially for his principal idea of the ‘leading motive’; and this is perhaps the reason why it is difficult for many Western people to understand Wagner’s music. He became familiar with Eastern music through Latin translations, and his conversation on this subject with Schopenhauer is probably already familiar to you’.\textsuperscript{31}

Nārada of the Śikṣā (first century A.D.) mentions ten determining qualities (daśa-guṇas) of the gītis and not of the rāgas. Śāraṅgadeva also describes these ten qualities in his Saṅgīta-Ratnākara (vide SR. 4. 373-378), and he specially lays stress upon the qualities, mādhuryaṁ or madhuraṁ (sweetness) and lāvanya (lustre), which intensify the power of the gītis or rāgas that please and soothe the minds of the people: ‘mādhuraṁ dhūrya-lāvanya-pūrṇaṁ jana-manoharam.’\textsuperscript{32} Now, it should be mentioned in this connection that Mataṅga expounds seven types of songs or gītis in terms of the melodies

\textsuperscript{31} Vide Swāmi Abhedānanda: India and Her People (1940), pp. 216, 221.

\textsuperscript{32} सधुर धूर्य-लवणा-पूर्ण जन-मनोहर सम्.

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or rāgas, and they were: śuddhā, bhinnā or bhinnakā, gauḍī, rāga, sādhāraṇī, bhāṣā and vibhāṣā. At that time (fifth-seventh century) it was the custom to describe the rāgas in terms of the gītis and vice versa. And though Nārada determines ten qualities of the gītis and not of the clearly defined rāgas, yet it should be understood that the qualities are meant for the rāgas also. Now, all these ten qualities, together with the ten characteristics (daśa-lakṣaṇa) determine the intrinsic nature of a rāga.

Did these qualities and characteristics exist in the jātis, as described in the Rāmāyaṇa? Vālmīki says:

Pāṭhye geye ca madhurāṃ pramāṇai stribhi-ranvitam
Jātibhiḥ saptabhiryuktaṃ tantri-laya-sama-nvitaṃ //
Rasiaḥ śṛṅgāra-karuṇa-hāsyā-raudra-bhayānakaiḥ /
Vīrādibhir rasairyuktaṃ kāvyametadgāyatām //
Tau tu gāndharva-tattvajñāu sthāna-mūrcchana-kovidau /
Bhrātarau svara-sampannau gāndharvāviva
rūpiṇau //33
Both the commentaries Śiromaṇi and Govinda state that the seven jātis were pure (ṣuddha) in their types. They also quote the citation of the great authority, Śāndilya who says:

Sarva-gīta-samādhāro jātirityabhidhiyate
Shaḍjī cavatha naiśādī dhaivati pañcamī tathā
Māḍhyamī caiva gāndhārī saptami tvārśabhi
matā

That is, pure type of seven jātis, as described by Vālmiki, were šaḍjī, ārśabhi, gāndhārī, māḍhyamī, pañcamī, dhaivati and naiśādī. They had their full play in the three octaves, bass, medium and high. They were possessed of mūrcchanās, three registers, rhythm and tempo, and eight emotional sentiments and moods. Regarding ‘pāthya’, Abhinavagupta says in his commentary Abhinavabhārati that when the composition (sāhitya) is possessed of six alamkāras, like seven deśi (laukika) notes, three octaves, four varṇas, two kinds of kāku, sākāmkṣā (with motive) and nirākāmkṣā (without motive), eight aesthetic sentiments, and high and low intonations, it is called ‘pāthya’, or ‘geya’: ‘svara-sthāna-varṇa-kākkalāmakā-ṛāṅgāni śat atrālamkāra-śabdena vivāksitāni, etairhi

34. śaṅgīte śvāchāri jātirityabhidhiyate ।
    pāḍ ‘jo chaiva māyādehi chaiv’ī pṛthvī tadā ।
    māyāmī chaiva māyāro śvāchāro lārāṃbhī maṇa ॥

35. Regarding ‘pāthya’, the commentator states: ‘तेन पाठे गाने
    बेलवः’, i.e., pāṭha means gāṇa or song.
bhūṣitaṁ kāvya-pāṭhyamucyte'. To determine the etymological significance of the word ‘pāṭhya’, he says: ‘svaṁ yadṛkti-pradhānata-maṅunān- 

namayā tattvāgenocca-nīca-madhya-māḥ sārṣita-
mātram pāṭhopayogī darśitaṁ. Yadi hi svāragata 

raṅi’, etc. From this it is understood that 

when the combination of notes, underlying the jātis or pāṭhyas, contains the propensity of creating pleasing and soothing sensations in the minds of living beings, it is known as a ‘rāga’. 

There remain the vibrating waves of the sweet sounds (anuraṇana vṛtti or śakti), in the rāga. The Rāmāyaṇa describes the intrinsic nature and power of the jātis:

Tāu cāpi madhurām raktām sva-cittāyata-

niśvānam //

Tantri-laya-vadatyarthan viṣrutārthamagāyatām/ 

Hlādayat sarva-gātrāni manāmsi hṛdayāni ca / 

Śrotāśraya-sukhām geyam tadubhau jana-

saṁsadi //

36. (क) सर्वसांख्यवश्चार्यकारान्तिकारान्तिका 

धर्मं धर्मार्यकारामध्येन विभविताम, एतार्थि 

भूषित स्त्रीय-पादभुपति । 

(क) भेत्त एवात पादभुपणिति बुद्धि: उपकारका, 

वदुपस्तं काश्च पाथ्य् 

भवतीय:।। यदि फिक्लर्गाताति: पाथ्ये प्राप्तम् 

नावलभेत् तदा मानवतिकाणी 

क्षत, न पाद। पूर्वालकामकारकान्ान्तिके 

सेतु ग्राहं च न, न्युनपर्ष्वले द्विप 

मानवतिकाणात्, यात्राविद्विद्यो: विश्वर्ष्वले द्विप 

मानवतिकाणिन्य तथाविद्विद्यो: ।।।। 

37. (क) सर्वसांख्यम् श्रवणकारास्त्रमद्वत्स्य 

वत्ससांख्यवश्चार्यकारान्तिकारान्तिका 

पाथ्योपयोगीति दुःश्चिमस्। यदि फिक्लर्गात 

राति:।।।।

(ह) श्रवणकारामद्वत्स्यमवमस्। 

38. ती चापि सत्ते रति स्ववच्चावतिनिं क्षतम्। 

सांख्यकारान्तिकारान्तिका 

वश्चार्यकारान्तिका।

Regarding the last śloka of the first canto of the fourth chapter: ‘hlādayat sarva-gātrāṇī manāṃśi ṛdayāṇī ca’, the commentary Śiromāni states: ‘śrotrāśrayaṁ-sukham śrotram karna-saṅkuli āśrayo yasya tacchrotrāśrayaṁ śrotrendriyaṁ tasya sukham yasmāt tat. Sarva-gātrāṇī nikhilāvayāvān manāṃśi ṛdayāṇī * * hlādayat geyam gaṇam’, etc.41 The commentary Bhuṣaṇa also admits: * * hlādayat sukhayat śrotrāśrayaṁ-sukham śrotram karna-saṅkuli tadāśrayaṁ śrotrendriyaṁ tat sukham * * geyam gaṇam * *.42 From these statements it appears that the jātis, as mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, were no other than the rāgas. Some are of opinion that the pleasing and soothing capacities are not the only qualities for determining the

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39. रच्यते वेश य: कृतिन्।
40. (क) रथकी अन्वितमाना।
(ख) रथनाभायते रामः।
41. श्रीवामस्य सुखं श्रीवं गर्भसुलिन्यं भायिष्यं तथा तत्र विद्यं तथा सूक्ष्म स्वास्त तत्त्।
शवात्मानि शिखलावयवाम सन्निः ह्यदयानि * * श्राद्यतः नीवं गानम।
—विरोमचिन्तिकाः
42. श्राद्यः सुखतुः श्रीवामस्य सूक्ष्मं श्रीवं कार्यसुलिन्यं सदायं श्रीवं निद्रं तत्त् सूक्ष्म * *
श्रयं गानम।
—भृगवठीकाः
nature of the rāgas, but ten characteristics like initial (graha) and final (nyāsa), etc. notes are also necessary, together with the harmonic relations or consonance (svara-samvāda) between the notes, first and fourth (śadja and madhyama), and first and fifth (śadja and pañcama). But the ten characteristics (daśa-lakṣaṇa) of a rāga, as devised or discoursed by Bharata, are of later origin (second century A.D.). Previously i.e. before the Christian era, the nature of melodies were known or determined by the ten qualities (daśa-guṇas), as described by Nārada of the Śiksā. They were known as pleasing and soothing propensities. Kallināth admits that as the grāmarāgas are possessed of tinging i.e. pleasing quality, they are known as rāgas: ‘tāsāmapi raṇjanāt rāgatvam ca voddhavyam’. The notes of the rāgas are also composed of some pitches, having pleasing sweet vibrations (anuraṇana), and each note is possessed of some aesthetic sentiments that bring life to the rāgas. As for example, śadja induces the heroic (veera), furious (raudra) and amazing (adbhuta) emotions, ṭṣabha has an appeal to the emotion of fearfulness (bhayānaka), gāndhāra appeals to the sense of pathos or karuṇa, madhyama and pañcama appeal to the sentiments of the basic creative impulse

43. Śāraṅgadeva also describes these ten qualities of the rāga, in his Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, IV. 373—378.
44. तासामपि रक्षनात् रामलं ष वोद्धव्यम्।
(śṛṅgāra) or the humorous (hāsyā), etc. Nārada describes five kinds of subtle notes, which form the genus of the latter evolved twenty-two microtones (śrūtis), as described by Bharata of the Nāṭyaśāstra. The genus-species scheme was the source of the living emotions of the rāgas.

Indian music possesses a spirit of its own. It is synthetic and contemplative, and so its tendency is inwarding and concentrating. The microtones are the basic constituents of the seven tones, and Dattila calls them avadhāna or rapt attention, to be used in the gāndharva-gāna. The microtones are saturated with emotional sentiments (rasas), and though they create different moods in different settings of notes, yet they are balanced in a concentrated peaceful state that brings the divergent modifications of the mind to meditation, leading to the attainment of Godconsciousness. The rāgas are, in truth, the different settings of living emotions that work as means to an end. The permanent or sthāyi varṇas of the rāgas and the alamkāras, like prasannādi, prasannānta, etc. create prasāda or balance of mind, which promises the sincere artists and lovers of music permanent peace and tranquil happiness even in this earth, full of sorrows and tears.

Now, from this viewpoint it will not be an unreasonable hypothesis that both the pre-historic and Vedic music were possessed of qualities, like madhura, rakta, prasanna, etc. and aesthetic sentiments, which used to create
pleasing and inspiring sensations in the mind of living beings. The tunes of the seven-stringed lute or Veenā, and crude flute, discovered from the mounds of the pre-historic Indus Valley cities, had in them the charming power and pleasing quality. The flutes, lutes and drums used to accompany the vocal music which was much more developed than the ancient primitive music of the savage nations. In the Vedic time, music was cultured with seven notes and different combinations of them used to create some tonal designs or forms, which might have been known as melodies. The Vedic music had also its own grammar, which was divided into Śikṣā and Prāti-śākhya. It observed the rules and prescribed methods, for singing and chanting the sāmagānas, and for that purpose it used different metres, registers, rhythm and tempo, and different emotional sentiments. So it can be assumed that though the pre-historic and Vedic music were not possessed of the sonant-consonant (vādi-samvādi) relation and the scheme of ten determining characteristics (daśa-lakṣaṇa) that evolved in later time, yet they were not devoid of some pleasing melodic patterns. Let us, therefore, leave this very controversial matter to the future historians of music.

This much is quite certain that there were melody-types or rāgas in the age of the Rāmāyaṇa (400 B.C.), in the form of the jātis. They were
known as the basic rāgas. In the Mahābhārata and Khila-Harivamśa, we find the descriptions of the grāmarāgas, which evolved from the jātis or jātirāgas: 'jāti-sambhūtatvat grāmarāgāni'. Perhaps there were six main grāmarāgas ('ṣadgrāmarāgādīsamādhi-yuktām') and they were fully played in the grāmas, ṣāḍja, madhyama and gāndhāra ('ā-gāndhāra-grāma-rāgam gāṅgāvataranam tathā'). A reference to Brahmā or Brahmābhārata, the first promulgator of classical gandharva type of music, can be traced in Bharata's Nātyaśāstra and Mataṅga's Brhaddeśī. Brahmacārya says that there were only five grāmarāgas, used as stage-songs (nātyagītis), and they were: sadjagrāma, madhyamagrāma, sādhārīta, kaiśika-madhyama and kaiśika. The time of Brahmābhārata is ascribed to 600-500 B.C. During the time of Mahābhārata-Harivamśa (300-200 B.C.) the grāmarāga, śādava probably evolved and was added to the group of the five grāmarāgas. In the Nāradīśikṣā, we find again the seven grāmarāgas, which were current even in the seventh-ninth century A.D., as is evidenced by the Kuḍimiyāmalai Cave Inscription of South India.

45. Vide NS. (Kāshi ed.), 32.453-454.
46. Vide Brhaddeśī (Travancore ed.), p. 87.
47. सुंग्रहितं तथा गर्भं मूषं कैशिकमध्यमः .
    कैशिकाय तथा कायं गर्भं निभावो बुधः .
    सत्यमहामयययं राजभविजयितमः .

This śloka has been quoted by Mataṅga in his Brhaddeśī, in a different way, and Mataṅga mentions the name of Brahmā, as its compiler.
Dr. KrishnaSvami Aiyangar also admits it in his *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* (1942). He says: ‘Mahendra seems to have been a patron of music as well, and a short musical treatise referable to his time is inscribed on the face of the great Śiva Temple at Kuḍimiyāmalai in the Pudukkottai state so that Mahendra in particular was a patron of art as well as of religion’. Kuḍimiyāmalai literally means the hill of Him who has the Śikhā. It is the Śikhānāthasvāmī temple near the Melaikkovil. ‘This huge inscription’, says R. Sathyanārāyaṇa, ‘is engraved on a rock on the slope of the hill behind the Śikhānāthasvāmī temple. The end-signs and some of the last letters of the lines of the final sections of the inscription are obscured by the rock-cut *manḍapam* in front of the Melaikkovil, but otherwise the writing in the *pallvagrantha* characters, containing all the headings and the colophon in *samskṛta* except a line in *tāmil* at the end. It contains quadruple groupings of musical notes pertaining to the seven archaic *suddhagrāmarāgas—*madhyamagrāma, *ṣadja-grāma, sādhārita, pañcama, kaiśika-madhyama and kaiśika* in vogue in ancient India. * * Unfortunately, a similar inscription at Tirumayyam near Padukkottai was erased in greater part at a later period and is now almost in an undecipherable condition. * * The inscription is believed to have been composed in the seventh century A.D. on the strength of scriptural and
other evidence. Its author is generally believed to be Mahenrda Vikrama Varman I of the Pallavas. Though the inscription was discovered as early as in 1904 and edited by P. R. Bhandarkar in 1914 with commentary with the help of an estampage supplied by the late Rāo Shāheeb H. Krṣṇa Śāstrī, only an occasional or a causal study of the inscription has been made till now.'

R. Sathyanārāyaṇa of Mysore Brothers further says: 'The inscription of the seven grāmarāgas is divided into seven sections, each subdivided into a number of ākṣiptikās. Each ākṣiptikā is in a horizontal line, the notes being arranged in quadruple groupings. Each ākṣiptikā concludes with an end-sign. Fifteen of these are lost. * * The total usage of musical notes in the inscription is 2432. But of these 54 are not available. However 19 out of these missing notes may be guessed as follows: sa-3, ri-2, ga (antāragāndhāra)-2, ma-4, pa-3, dha-3 and ka (kaiśika-niṣāda)-2. The frequency of usage of the musical notes in the inscription is in the following order:

I. Śaḍja—sa, se, su, si.
II. Madhyama—mu, mi, me, ma.
III. Dhaivata—dhe, dhu, dhi, dha.
IV. Rṣabha—ra, ru, ri, re.
V. Pañcama—pu, pe, pi, pa.
VI. Niṣāda—ne, na (nu, ni).
VII. Gāndhāra—gi, ga, ge, gu.
VIII. Antara (gāndhāra)—u, a, e,—
IX. Kākali (niṣāda)—ke, ku, ka,—'48

The names of the seven notes, used in the inscription, are: ṣadja, ṭṣabha gāndhāra, madhyama, pāṅchama, dhaivata, niṣāda and two vikṛta notes, antara-gāndhāra and kākali-niṣāda.

It should be remembered that though we find the seven grāmaragās, in the Nāradīśikṣā, yet they were, in truth, six in number. Bhattachārjyākara, the commentator is of opinion that the grāma-rāgas, kaiśika and kaiśika-madhya, as described by the N. Śikṣā, are, in reality, one and the same rāga, but, because of different adjustment of notes, madhyama and pāṅcama, they appear as different. As for example, when in the grāmarāga, kaiśika, the fourth note, madhyama is used as a final note (nyāsa-svara), it is known as kaiśika-madhya, and when pāṅcama is used as the dominant or sonant and niṣāda as kākali, it is called kaiśika.49 Besides this the tonal arrangements of both the grāmarāgas or

49. (क) कैशिकं भाषितम तु कहरे: सर: सम्भ:।

श्चाल तु मध्यमे बालस्वलं कैशिकस्थवः॥

काकलिमः शत्ये यश प्राधान्य पञ्चमस्य तु।

काकलिम्: कैशिकं प्राध मध्यमयामस्मभवस्॥

(ख) Bhattachārjyākara says:

पुरातनकैशिकं यदा सर: सरवैभवते गीते मध्यमदुपमस्य तदन्तः च मज्इते तत्स्य तथा कैशिकस्थवः गामराणी प्रधानीति मध्यमयामादुपमस्य काकलिमौरः

खस्तिम् निर्पाधिः प्रधानी पञ्चमस्य प्रधानाः पुनःपुनः वरारां श्रीपर्वं सराराष्ट्राः सामान्यं न वतीते। तदा मध्यमयामस्मभवं कैशिकं काकलिमभिराः।
Rāgas are the same, and they both have evolved from madhyama-grāma, the ancient basic scale. So, if we consider the grāmarāgas, kaiśika and kaiśika-madhyaṇa as one and the same, the number seven, as mentioned in the Nāradīśikṣā, becomes consistent with those six grāmarāgas (‘sādgrāmarāgaḍī’), as mentioned in the Harivaṃśa. Besides this, as the sādhārita is known as śadja-sādhāraṇa and the kaiśika as ‘madhyama-sādhāraṇa, so we may consider the kaiśika as kaiśika-madhyaṇa. But it should be remembered that even during the time of Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa, jātis or jātirāgas were practised with the brahmagītīs and kapālagītīs, devised by the greatest playwright and musicologist, Brahma or Brahmābhārata of the pre-Christian era.

The nature and forms of the jātirāgas have been discussed elaborately by Muni Bharata, in a new and novel way. During his time, the seven jātirāgas were developed into eighteen. With the mixture of seven pure (śuddha) jātirāgas, he designs eleven more. He calls them mixed i.e. vikṛta or saṃkīraṇa jātirāgas. In the last chapter of the Nātyaśāstra, he mentions some grāmaragās. He designates the jātis as ‘rāgas’ and the evidence of it is found at least five times, in different chapters of the Nātyaśāstra. He says:

(a) ‘jātirāgam śrutiścaiva’ (kāśi ed. 28.55);

(b)
'yasmin vasanti rāgāstu' (28.72); 51 (c) ‘karṇava jātigāne prayatnataḥ' (29.4); 52 (d) ‘karunē tu rase kārī jātigāne' (29.6); 53 (e) ‘adbhute tu rase kārīya jātigāne' (29.9); 54 etc. The jātigāna means the jatirāga-gāna. The term ‘gāna’ or ‘gīti’ is used here for ‘rāga’. The jātis or jatirāgas were sung with eight emotional sentiments, four varṇas, different music-parts (dhatus), rhythm and tempo (tala and laya.) They were determined by ten characteristics, like initial (graḥa), sonant (aṁśa or vādī) notes: ‘evametat yathā-jāti dasakam jātīlayaṇam’. 55

After Bharata, Kohala, Yāṣṭik, Durgāsakti and others expound the nature and forms of different formalized deśī-rāgas. Maṭanga follows Bharata, in many respects. He calls the jātis as rāgas, when he determines the sonant, consonant and dissonant (notes) of them. He says:

(a) ‘* * asmin sthāne kriyamānah sadja jatirāgāhā na bhavet’.

(b) ‘evam ṛṣabhda-dhaiwatayoh sthāne dhaiwatṛṣa-bhau jatirāga-vināśakaraṁ na bhavataḥ’.

(c) ‘* * svarūpaṁ bhajan jatirāgāhā na bhavati’

etc. 56

51. śabdasu vamsati rāgasā (24/2)
52. kārṇaśa jātīmānā prabhā (24/4)
53. kārṇaṁ tṝ g ārya jātīmāna (24/6)
54. bhūte tṝ g ārya jātīmāna (24/8)
55. evam etas te gāna jāti dasākam jātālayaṇam. —matrām
56. (a) śabdasu gāna kriyamānaḥ pāḍaṁ jātīrāgaṁ na bhaveta.
    (b) evam dhaiwatṛṣa-bhau jatirāga-vināśakaraṁ na bhavataḥ.
    (c) * * svarūpaṁ bhajan jatirāgāhā na bhavati.
From these it is clear that the jātis are no other than the basic melody-types or rāgas, and they are fully possessed of ten determining characteristics (daśa-lakṣaṇas) and ten pleasing qualities, (dea-guṇas), like madhura, rakta, prasanna, etc.

The jātirāga, says Śāraṅgadeva, evolved from the materials of the Vedic music, the sāmans and it was sacred like the Vedic music: *tathā sāna-samudbhūta jātayo veda-sammatah*.

Śāraṅgadeva says that the gāndharva or mārga type of jātirāgagāna was sacred like the Vedic music, as it purified the sins and demerits, originating from even the killing of the Brāhmaṇs: *āpi brahma-hananaṁ*. The ancient musicologists say that the music, which was searched for, collected and designed in a new pattern, according to new method, was known as ‘mārga’ (*mrg*-anevaśane), and it was also called as ‘gāndharva’, because it was very favourite to the semi-divine Gandharvas.

Nārada defines the word ‘gāndharva’ as,

Getigeyam viduḥ prājñā dheti kāru-pravādanam/
Veti vādyasya samjñeyam gāndharvasya
virocanam //

Bhattaśobhākara clarifies it, when he comments on the śloka: *ga-sabdena gānam lakṣayate, dhakāreṇa va-kāreṇa vaiṇikasya pravādanam, cāturyena hastāṅguli-dhāranam pravādana-padena kathite va-

57. तथा साम-समुद्भुत जातियों वेदसम्बन्ध:। —सन्तीत-स्रवाकर

58. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैष्णव बिदु: प्रा. वैṣ
kārena vādanāṁ lakṣitām. That is, by the word ‘ga’ song is meant, by ‘dha’, the practice of flute or pipe, by ‘va’, placing the fingers on the holes of the flute (venu), and the word ‘va’ signifies the practice of musical instruments. Therefore gāndharva means the music and its process of singing, accompanied with flute. Bharata also defines the word ‘gāndharva’ in the same sense, though he interprets it in a different way. He says that the combination of svara, tāla and pada gave rise to the gāndharva type of music: ‘gāndharvamiti vijñeyam svara-tāla-padāśrayam’. These three constituents, svara, tāla, and pada were composed of many other constituents like:

(a) svara—notes, microtones, grāmas, mūrcchānās, registers, eighteen jātis, varṇas, etc.
(b) tāla—āvāpa, niskṛma, śamyā, etc.
(c) pada—vyanjana, sandhi, vibhakti, etc.

It should be remembered that the jātis, or jātirāgas played an important rôle in the gāndharva type of music. The gāndharva was also enriched with the gītis, like dhruvā, bhrahma, kapāla, kambala, māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, prithulā and sambhāvītā. Mataṅga says,

59. g-śādhe n gānaṁ labyatyante, d-kāriṇa v-kāriṇa śamākṣey pravādaṁ, chaśāyin śraddha śāstraś ca pravāda-pravāna kāryāt v-kāriṇa vādān śaśāhitas.
—bhāṣāpārā (śāstrasamāna, 80-410)

60. gānāṃte maces niśkrah śa-śāl-śraddhaṃ.
—gānāṣāhāra
Rāga-mārgasya yad-rūpam yannoktaṁ
Bharatādibhiḥ
Nirūpyate tadasmābhirlaksya-lakṣaṇa-
samyutaṁ

The portion ‘yannoktam bharatādibhiḥ’ does not mean that Bharata and his followers, Kohala, Yāṣṭīka and others did never mention ‘rāga’, but it means that they mentioned and used it in their system of music and fully knew its significance, only they did not define the word ‘rāga’. Mataṅga interprets the seven rāgas, in terms of seven types of songs or gītis, and they are: buddhā, vinnā or vinnakā, gauḍī or gauḍikā, rāga, sādhāraṇī, bhāṣā and vibhāṣā. There are differences of opinion among the ancient musicologists like Yaṣṭīka, Bharata, Śārdula, Durgāsakti and others, regarding the numbers and names of the gītis, and Mataṅga mentions them in his Brhaddeśī: ‘saptā-gityo mayā proktā idānim bheda ucyate’.

Mataṅga determines the characteristics of the rāga (‘idānim sampra-vaksyāmi rāga-lakṣaṇa-muttamam’) and says that the seven rāgagītis differ in their manifestations and aesthetic values, due to different uses of microtones and tones. As for example,

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61. रागमांश्य यदृपप्य यन्नोक्तम्भरतादिभिः।

62. सन्गीती मया प्रोक्ता इदानिम भेद चच्चते। —हस्ताक्षरी
‘Mandrā mandraśca tāraśca ṛjubhīrītaiḥ samaiḥ
tatah  
Svaraiśca śrutibhiḥ pūrṇa cokṣā gīti-rūdāhṛta ///63

Again he mentions about the rāgas, evolved out of these rāgagītis, bhinnā, etc. He says that five rāgas evolved from the bhinnā, three from the gaudī, eight from the rāga, seven from the sādarani, sixteen from the bhāṣā, and twelve from the vibhāṣā.64 That is, the numbers of the rāgas evolved were \(5 + 3 + 8 + 7 + 16 + 12 = 51\). The following rāgas evolved from the rāgagītis.

I. Bhinnā—śādava, pāncama, kaiśika-madhyama, sādhārita and kaiśika = 5

II. Gaudī—bhinnā-śadja, bhinnā-kaiśika-madhyama and bhinnā-pāncama = 3

III. Rāga—ṭhaku or takka, sauvi, mālava-pāncama, śādava, botta, hindolaka or hindola, ṭhakka-kaiśika, and mālava-kaiśika = 8

IV. Sādhāraṇi—śaka, kakubha hārmāṇa-pāncama, rūpa-sādhārita, gāndhāra-pāncama, and ṭadja-kaiśika = 7

Mataṅga does not mention the bhāṣā-rāgās, evolved out of the three other rāgagītis. Śāraṅgadeva

63. मन्द्रा मन्द्री तारे च जुबिल्लितः च चिम्।
वर्षु श्रुतिभि पूर्ण चोष्ठ गोतिकद्रा च।।
—उष्ट्वेशी

64. पव चोष्ठः समाध्यातन्त्रभाषा भिःक्षा।
भीसादरातु कविता रागाभाषी प्रकृतिः।।
सत सापार्यः मृद्गा भाषायेवत चोष्ठः।।
हादशेव विभाषा स्नानमार्गी च निवृद्धन्ते।।
—उष्ट्वेशी (विविधस्ंसे), ५० ५४
(early thirteenth century) differs from him and says that grāmarāgas are of five kinds and they are accompanied with five gītis. As the gītis are sung with the help of the grāmarāgas, they are known as the 'rāgagītis'. The five rāgagītis are: suddhā, bhinnā gauḍī, vesaṇā and sādhāraṇī, and thirty grāmarāgas evolved from these five gītis. Simhabhupāla also admits it, and he says: 'militā grāmarāgāstrīmśat'.

Bharata formulates in his Nātyaśāstra four varṇas and different alaṃkāras, for the fuller manifestation of the gītis, and consequently of the rāgas. Mataṅga, Pārisvadeva, Śaraṇgadeva and other musicologists have adopted the scheme and method of Bharata, with some difference in their interpretations and meanings. The four varṇas are: ārohi, avarohi, sthāyī and saṅcārī, and alaṃkāras, like prasannādi, prasannānta, etc. were added to them. Bharata says that the varṇas are constructed out of the notes, which are saturated with emotional sentiments, and they are meant for the songs (gītayojaka). The ārohi and avarohi varṇas are so called because their component notes have movements, upward and downward respectively. When the notes remain constant and unchanging ('sthirāḥ svarāḥ samā yatra')65, they are called 'sthāyī', and when they move, they are known as 'saṅcārī'.

These four varṇas appear in three different registers (sthānas), bass, medium and high (manda, madhya and tāra), and their intonations and volumes of

65. ब्रह्मचारिणी: स्मरन्ति: स्मास्य यथा.
sounds manifest according to those registers (‘tristhāna-guṇa-gocara’). The sthāyī-varṇa is a symbol of peace and balance, and the alaṃkāras like prasannādi, prasannāntas, prasannādyanta, prasannamadya, krama, recita, prastāra and prasāda are included in it. The word ‘prasāda’ means ‘balance of the mind’, which originates from the basic sentiment, śṛṅgāra. The word śṛṅgāra is generally mistranslated as a sex urge, but it really conveys the idea of primal creative impulse or will, which is philosophically known as the Cosmic Will or Prakṛti. In Tantra literature it is known as Kāmakalā or Kundalinī, the coiling or unmanifested causal energy. The sthāyī varṇas are mostly used in the Vedic songs like stotra, gāthā, and gānas like aranyegeya, grāmegeya, etc. with stobhas or stobhāksaras, and in the classical type of dhruwapada prabandha gitis. The sthāyī-varṇas of the Vedic music, together with stobhas used to create a majestic and peaceful atmosphere.

Now, what does the alaṃkāra, prasannādi of the sthāyī-varṇa mean? Bharata says that the alaṃkāra, prasannādi is that which makes the notes gradually shining: ‘kramaśa diptito yah syāt’. The words ‘kramaśa diptitah’ convey the idea of degrees of intensity in the act of shining, and these degrees are the gradations of sound volumes or sound waves, from lesser to higher pitch. The

66. विख्यातगुणगोचर

67. कमथी दीपितो य: खात्
tonic, sadja is the navel or primal tone of every kind of alamkāras, and it helps gradually to manifest the other consecutive six notes, ṛṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, pañcama, dhaivata and niṣāda, in the first alamkāra, prasannādi. In this process, the number of vibrations of the tonal sounds grows more and more greater and higher, so that the pitch-value of the note, ṛṣabha is higher than that of the note sadja, and the pitch-value of gāndhāra is higher than that of ṛṣabha, and so on. This process is also found in the Taittiriya-Prātiṣākhya, where the evolution of the Vedic notes, krūṣṭa, prathama, dvitiya, etc. are explained. In the 13th aphorism of the Prātiṣākhya, it is said: ‘**tesāṁ dīptijñopalabdhiḥ**'.

The commentator Somācārya makes it explicit when he says: ‘tesāṁ khalu sapta-yamānām uttarottara-dīptijā pūrva-pūrvopalabdhiḥ syāt’, etc. Prof. W. D. Whitney explains it in a different way and he says that the word ‘dīpti' indicates ‘the source of light'. But Prof. Whitney, we think, fails to appreciate the true significance of the word dīpti, because dīpti really signifies the idea of light which means realization of the status of the notes. To make it clear it can be said that the second note is realized, with its pitch-value or intensity from the first one, the third from the second, the fourth from the

68. तेषां दीप्तिः व्यासकण्ठिः।
69. तेषां खण्डु संय समानं अन्यर्विता दीप्तिः सुप्तिः पुर्विपविः। क्षात्।
third, and so on. Such is also the case with the notes of the formalized regional classical (deśī) music.

The note, śadja bears the significance of giving birth (i.e. making shining) to other six notes: 'sat jāyate yasmāt'. It should be remembered that the seven notes manifest in the prasannādi alamkāra and are uttered or intoned connectedly, and not separately, e.g. sa ri ga ma pa dha ni, and when they manifest separately ('vyastoccāritā'),⁷⁰ they form the alamkāra, prasannānta. Bharata also mentions about the application of different microtones (śrutis) in different alamkāras of the sthāyi-varṇa, and his explanation or elucidation of the alamkāras are very lucid and convincing (vide the Nātyašāstra, Kāvyamālā ed. chap. 29th, 17-86).

In the Brhaddeśī, Matalaṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) follows Bharata, though his method of interpretation of the terms are different, to some extent. He says that the word 'varṇa' connotes the idea of song ('varṇa-sabdena gānamabhidhiyate'),⁷¹ whereas Bharata says that the varṇas are meant for the songs: 'ete varṇāstuk * * gīta-yojakah'.⁷²

Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century) follows Muni Bharata, but his ways of interpretation of the varṇas and alamkāras in the Śaṅgīta-

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⁷⁰ स्यांगितात्।
⁷¹ नन्तमनि गानसन्धियते।
⁷² एते बर्णान् * * नीतिविज्ञक।
Ratnākara are different. He rather makes a new approach in defining and elucidating the vārnas and alamkāras. He defines varna as ‘gāna-kriyā’ (vide Saṅgita-Ratnākara, 1.6.1). Now, what is the ‘gāna-kriyā’? Kallināth says that the word gāna-kriyā conveys the idea of description or elaboration of the notes or stanzas: ‘svarapadāde varnanād-vistāra-kāraṇāt’, 73 as for example, sa-sa-sa, ri-ri-ri, etc. Simhabhupāla describes varna as the method of helping the intonation of the notes: ‘gāna-kriyā gāna-karaṇāṃ, uccāraṇām īti yāvat’. 74 The varnas are of four kinds, and the sthāyī-varna, says Śāraṅgadeva, is used with some definite pause: ‘sthitvā sthitvā prayogah syāt’ 75. Simhabhupāla explains that sthāyī-varna is the lengthening of pronunciation or intonation: ‘vilamvya vilamvya * * uccāraṇaṃ’. 76 But Bharata does not admit any of these definitions, as, according to him, the notes of the sthāyī-varna are used without any change or delay. He says: ‘sthirāḥ svarāḥ samā yatra’, i.e., the notes will be intonated or uttered slowly and in the same process. Śāraṅgadeva says that the utility or importance of the varnas is for definite intonation and elaborate manifestation of the songs (gītis), and the alamkāras are the combinations of the varnas

73. स्वर-पदादे वर्णानाद विलम्बकरर्थात्।
74. सामिक्षया गानकर्ष भवार्ष प्रति यावत्।
75. विलम्बा विलम्बा प्रयोगः खाल्।
76. विलम्बा विलम्बा * * उच्चारणम्।
(varṇa-sandharva). Bharata does not agree with Śāraṅgadeva in this matter. He says that the alamkāras are helpful and cling to the varṇas (varṇa-samśrayaḥ). Simhabhupāla makes the contentions of Bharata and Śāraṅgadeva more explicit when he says that the gītis are pleasant to the musicians and listeners for the varṇas and alamkāras:

"* gītī-gātṛ-ṣotṛṇāṃ sukhāvahā bhavatītī."77 Śāraṅgadeva defines the alamkāra, prasannādi as the combination of two bass notes, and one high note, e.g. ṣa ṣa sā. That is, two bass notes will be intoned first and then a high note is sounded separately. But this definition of prasannādi of Śāraṅgadeva is different from that of Bharata of the Nātyaśāstra. Such is also the case with other alamkāras.

The noted South Indian musicologist Veṅkatamakhi also deals with the problem of alamkāra in his Caturdaṇḍiprakāsikā. He says that according to Śāraṅgadeva, alamkāras are 63 in number: 'te ca triṣaṣṭi-ruditāḥ śāraṅgadevena-
sūrīnā'.78 At the end of the varṇālamkāra chapter, Śāraṅgadeva admits it: 'iti prasiddha-alamkāra-
stri-ṣaṣṭi-ruditā mayā'.79 But Veṅkatamahki has neither followed Bharata nor Śāraṅgadeva in respect of the alamkāras. He defines the alamkāras like jhompta, dhruva, maṇṭha, rūpaka, jhampa, tripūta,
etc. which are rectifier i.e. helpful to the notes of the gitis. Veṅkatamakhi’s jhompta (alāṁkāra) is similar to ārohī and avarohī varṇas combined.

Now, we find that though the three outstanding musicologists, Bharata, Śāraṅgadeva and Veṅkatamakhi differ from one another, regarding the varṇas and alāṁkāras, yet they admit the importance of them, for definite and clear manifestation of the notes (svāras) and the songs (gitis). The music of India is enriched with their precious contributions, and they will remain as the guiding stars to the lovers of music and musicology of not only of India, but also of all the civilized nations of the world.

The grāmarāgas evolved from the two ancient basic scales (grāmas), ṣadja and madhyama. From the fifty-one (according to Matalā) or thirty (according to Śāraṅgadeva) grāmarāgas, various subordinate (bhāṣā) rāgas evolved. From bhāṣā, evolved vibhāṣā or vibhāṣikā rāgas, and from vibhāṣā, antarabhāṣā rāgas came into being. Mataṅga says,

Grāmaragodbhavā bhāṣā bhāṣābhīṣca

Vibhāṣābhīṣca saṁjñāstathā cāntara-
bhāṣikāh

The bhāṣā-rāgas are so called, because they evolved from the grāmarāgas. These bhāṣā or subordinate rāgas are divided into four classes,
mūla (main), samkrita (mixed), desaja (evolved from the regional tunes), and chāyamātraśrayā (evolved as parts). Again these rāgas are classified into rāgānga, bhāṣāṅga, kriyāṅga and upānga. Kallināth defines all these anga-rāgas in the second part of the rāga chapter of the Sangīta-Ratnākara. He says that the rāgas, evolved out of the main rāgas, are known as rāgānga: ‘grāmoktānāṁ tu rāgāṇāṁ chāyamātram bhavediti * * rāgāṅgastena hetunā’. 81 The bhāṣāṅga rāga are the upshoot of of the bhāṣā-rāgas, etc. All these anga-rāgas are known as formalized desī, because they have been adopted from different aboriginal tunes of different parts of India. In fact, the folk songs are the basic ones and from them art music developed in the gradual process. Kallināth says: ‘rāgāṅgādi-catuṣṭayam desī-rāgatayā proktamiti’, 82 i.e. the rāgas are known as regional, because they are sung at the free will of the people in general and no śāstric rules can be imposed upon them: ‘deśitvam nāma kāmācāra-pravartivaṁ’. 83

Veṅkatamakhī (1620 A.D.) is of opinion that Bharata and others admit ten grāmarāgas, among which six are of mārga type and four are of desī or regional type. He states,

81. यानीकां तु रामाध्यं कायामादनं भवितिः ।
   रागांक न देतु न ।

82. रामाध्यदं प्रतत्वं इद्धोरतात्यं प्रतिपतिः ।

83. इवीले नाम कामाचारप्रवर्तितम् ।
Rāgāstāvaddasāvidhā bharatādyai-rudiritāḥ /
Grāmarāgāscoparāgā-rāgā-bhāṣā-vibhāṣikāḥ //
Tathaivāntaratrabhāṣākhyā rāgāṅgākhyāstataḥ
param /
Bhāṣāṅgāni kriyāṅgāni hyupāṅgāniti ca kramāt //
Dasasvetuṣu rāgeṣu grāmarāgādayāḥ punah /
Rāgāstvantarabhāṣāntā mārga-rāgā bhavanti
ṣaṭ //
Tato gandharvalokena prayojyāste vyavas-
thitāḥ /
Tasmād-rāgāṅga-bhāṣāṅga-kriyāṅgopāṅga
samjñīnītā /
Rāgāscatvāra evaite desīrāgāḥ prakīrtitāḥ //

The contention of Veṅkatamakhi is that the mārga type of the grāmarāgas were exclusively
practised by the semi-divine Gandharvas, whereas
the desīrāgas by the people in general. But
from history we know that the grāmarāgas were
widely cultured by men and women in the times

84.  रामाखास्मविभा भरताये सदिरित:।
आरामास्त्विनस्वा रागा-भाषा-विभाविका ॥
तथेवानरभाष्या रागांगाराजात: परस्।
भाषांगानि कियांगानि क्षापांगानीति च भ्रात:।
दशशी तियु रामेशु रामारामाद्य: पुनः।
रामाखास्मविभा भरतांगा भवति चत:।
तती गाम्बंत्वोनि प्रमोदवाचे व्यवस्ध्वत:।
तथारागांग-भाषां-भाषां-कियांगांगांप्रेषित:॥
रामाखास्त्र एवेति देशीरामा: प्रकीरित:।

—चन्द्रधारखानिका ( माराज सं ), ५: ५५
of \textit{Rāmāyaṇa}, \textit{Mahābhārata} and \textit{Harivamsa} (400 B.C. —200 B.C.). Nārada also mentions seven kinds of grāmarāgās in his ‘\textit{Śīkṣā}'. So, when Veṅkata-makhi says: ‘\textit{tato gandharva-lokena prayojyaste}', it means that the six mārga grāmarāgās were the gāndharva type of music, and they gradually became extinct in the human society. Such was the case of the gāndhāra-grāma. The word ‘gandharva-loka' signifies the region of the semi-divine Gandharvas. It was believed that the gāndharva type of music was very favourite to the Gandharvas, and Bharata admits it in his \textit{Nātyaśāstra}. It is probable that when gāndharva type of music gradually fell into oblivion from the human community, its practice was limited only to the Gandharvas. Further Veṅkata-mukhi’s statement: ‘\textit{rāgāstvantarabhāsaṁtā mārgarāgā bhavanti sat}' is also supported by Kallināth, when he says: ‘gāndharvamī mārgaḥ * * svaraga-

Śāraṅgadeva says,

\textit{नत्यां सिद्धां हिन्दु मीलतनाम महत्त्वः}

\textit{चतुḥस्त्राथिः सूते मछौन स्मृतिकरणायथैः}

That is, the rāgas are 264 in number: (a) grāmarāga 30 + uparāga 8 + rāga 20 + bhāṣārāga 96 + vibhāṣārāga 20 + antara-bhāsa-rāga 4 + rāgāṅga 21 + bhāṣaṅga 20 + kriyāṅga 15 + upāṅga 30 = 264.

We have already said that the pure type of the jātirāgas are the caste or basic melodies. They evolved probably in the beginning of the classical period (600—500 B.C.). They were gradually developed, and in Bharata's Nātyaśāstra we find eleven more mixed jātirāgas and their number became eighteen \((7 + 11 = 18)\). From them, as has already been said, there evolved six grāmarāgas, which again gave rise to various uparāgas. From the uparāgas, different bhāśā-rāgas, from the bhāṣās, the vibhāṣās and from the vibhāṣās, different antarabhāṣā rāgas evolved through the process of gradual progression.

Again, a neo-creative urge, among the progressive community of people, gave birth to different types of formalized regional or folk tunes, in the form of śāstric classical melodies. The post-Bharata playwrights, musicologists and musicians had broad vision and so they enriched the treasures of Aryan music, by adopting various non-Aryan and even some foreign tunes. The desī class of music, like rāgāṅga, bhāsāṅga, kriyāṅga and upāṅga evolved side by side with the bhāṣā, vibhāṣā and antarabhāṣā rāgas to suit the taste of the progressive society. A chart is given below showing the distinction of these rāgas from the jātis and formalized desī rāgas.

85. माहेरे मामे: • • स्वरसंतरामविपिकसी नायकाधर्मादिवादं यदुक्त मान्यं स्वरसंतरामविपिकाः।
**EVOLUTION OF RĀGA**

**CHART I**

The rāgas that evolved and were current from 600 B.C. to the second-third century A.D.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>Grāmas</th>
<th>Pure &amp; Mixed</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Jātirāgas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Śadja</td>
<td>Pure</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Śadji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ṭrṣabhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Madhyama</td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Gāndhārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Madhyamā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Pañcamī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Śadja</td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dhaivāti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>Sādjī + Gāndhārī</td>
<td>Naisādī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sādjī + Gāndhārī + Dhaivāti</td>
<td>Sadja-kāśiiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sādjī + Madhyamā</td>
<td>Ṭaṇḍirāmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Madhyama</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gāndhārī + Dhaivāti + Madhyamā</td>
<td>Sadja-madhyamā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gāndhārī + Naisādī + Pañcamī + Madhyamā</td>
<td>Gandhārīdīcyāvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sādjī + Gāndhārī + Madhyamā + Pañcamī + Naisādī</td>
<td>Raktaṅgandhārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gāndhārī + Dhaivāti + Pañcamī + Madhyamā</td>
<td>Kāśiiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Naisādī + Ṭrṣabhi + Pañcamī</td>
<td>Madhyamovī-cyāvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gāndhārī + Pañcamī</td>
<td>Karmāravī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gāndhārī + Ṭrṣabhi</td>
<td>Gandhārā- Pañcamī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gāndhārī + Pañcamī + Ārṣabhi</td>
<td>Āndhri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gāndhārī + Pañcamī + Ārṣabhi</td>
<td>Nandarayantī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now, it may be asked what were the forms and manifestations of the seven śuddha-jātis or pure type of jātirāgas, that were current from the time of Rāmāyaṇa (400 B.C.) down to that of Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra (second century A.D.). If we critically study Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra, Mataṅga’s Bhaddeśī and Śāraṅgadeva’s Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, we get an idea of them. Bharata says that śadji used to be presented in
three forms, heptatonic ( sampūrṇa ), hexatonic (śādava) and pentatonic (auḍava). That is, when ṛṣabhā and nīśāda were dropped, it manifested as the pentatonic jātirāga, and when only nīśāda was dropped, it was known as hexatonic. Both the first and the sixth notes were used as sonants (aṁśa or vādī). There were harmonic relations between the first and the third, and the first and the sixth notes. Three kinds of units (kalā) were used in jātiragas it and they are ekakala, dvikala and cauṣṭkala.

I. The śādjī was used with the stage songs (nātya-gītis), māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, sambhāvitā and prithulā, according to the numbers or units (kalā) used in it. In the first act of the dramatic play, the jātirāga śādjī was used with the dhruvā-gīti, naiśkrāmakī. Sāraṅgadeva has given the notations of the jātirāga, śādjī with the composition (sāhitya) of the prabandha type of brahmagīti, which is believed to be composed by Brahmabharata of the 600-500 B.C. The notations are,

sa sa sa pa ni-dha pa dha-ni
taṁ o bha va la lā o o ta o
ta ri ga-ma ga ga sa ri-ga dha-sa dha
na ya o nāṁ o vu jā o o o dhi
ri-ga sa ri ga sa sa sa sa sa
kaṁ o o o o o o o o, etc.86

86. ध्रुव-वाहन-नायकास्य साहित्यः।
नायक-सत्य-कलिस्म-समुद्रवन्॥
II. The ṛṣabhī used to be presented as heptatonic, hexatonic and pentatonic. When tonic, śadja was left out, it was known as hexatonic, and when tonic and the fifth were dropped, it was manifested as pentatonic. The notes, ṛṣabha, dhaivata and niṣāda were used as sonants. The rhythm like caccatputa, with eight units (kalā), accompanied it. It was generally used in the dramatic song, naiśkrāmikī (dhruvāgiti).

III. The gāndhārī used to be manifested sometimes with seven notes, sometimes with six, when ṛṣabha was dropped, and sometimes with five notes, when ṛṣabha and dhaivata were left out. It used to be played upto the notes, ṛṣabha and dhaivata of both the registers, bass and high. It manifested with sixteen units or kalā and the rhythm, caccatputa. It was used in the dramatic song, prāveśika or prāveśikī (dhruvā).

IV. The madhyama-jātirāga used to be manifested in three tonal forms, heptatonic, hexatonic and pentatonic. When the note, gāndhāra was dropped, it was known as hexatonic, and when both gāndhāra and niṣāda were left out, it was called pentatonic. The five notes, śadja, ṛṣabha, madhyama, pañcama and dhaivata were used as sonant (aṁśa) alternately. The notes, śadja and madhyama were used profusely, while lesser number of gāndhāra was used. Eight units (kalās or mātrās) and rhythm like caccatputa were added to it.

V. The pañcamī used to be manifested with its
sonants, ṭṣabhā and pāncama. The final (nyāsa) note was pāncama. The notes, ṣadja, madhyama and gāndhāra were used sparingly. There was a harmonic relation between ṭṣabhā and gāndhāra. Eight kinds of units (kalā), together with the rhythm caccatputa, were used in it.

VI. The dhāvati was sung as a hexatonic jātirāga, when the fifth note was dropped, and as pentatonic, when both the notes ṣadja and pāncama were dropped. It was determined by the ṭṣabhā-mūrcchanā and was used with the dramatic song (dhruvāgīti), prāveśiki.

VII. The naiśādī had its sonants, ṭṣabhā, gāndhāra and niśāda. Ṣadja, madhyama and pāncama were used in greater number. It used to be manifested as hexatonic, when pāncama was dropped, and as pentatonic, when ṣadja and pāncama were left out. It was used with the dramatic song, naiśkrāmiki. The rhythm like caccatputa, with sixteen units (kalā) was used in it.

Mataṅga fully deals with the forms and characteristics of the seven pure jātirāgas in his Bhaddesi (Trivandrum ed., 1930, pp. 70-73). Śāraṅgadeva also describes about them fully in his Saṅgīta-Ratnākara. The jātirāgas were exclusively meant for the dramatic purpose. Their forms might have been more developed during the times of Bharata and Mataṅga, but they were traditionally cultured from the times of Rāmāyaṇa (400 B.C.) and Mahābhārata (300 B.C.).

It has already been said that the grāmarāgas
evolved from the jātirāgas. The references of them are found in the Mahābhārata, Harivamśa and Nāradīśikṣā, and other books. Nārada describes, in short, their tonal forms and characteristics in his Śikṣā, but their detailed descriptions are found in Śāraṅgadeva’s Saṅgīta-Ratnākara. Regarding the grāmarāgas, Nārada says in the Śikṣā:

I. Ṛṣabhottithaḥ  śadjahato dhaivata-sahitaśca
   pañcamo yatra /
   Nipatati madhyama-rāge tannisādam  śaḍavaṃ
dvidyāt  //87

That is, when the grāmarāga is sung with the five notes, Ṛṣabha,  śadja, dhaivata, pañcama and niṣāda in the medium basic scale (madhyama-grāma), it is known as the śaḍava.

II. Yadi pañcamo viramate gāndhāraścāntara-
   svaro bhavati /
   Ṛṣabho niṣāda-sahitastam  pañcamamidrṣaṃ
dvidyāt  //88

When pañcama rests on madhyama, the grāmarāga, pañcama is evolved with the notes, gāndhāra, Ṛṣabha and niṣāda.

87.  ऋषभोभिचित्रः यद्य भजयो देवतसहितं पञ्चमी यत् ।
    निपतितं मध्यामो तन्निसदं स्वराभं विद्यात् ॥

88.  यदि पञ्चमी विश्रस्ते मादारामारकिरी भवति ।
    ऋषभो निसदंसहितं पञ्चमोद्वयं विद्यात् ॥
III. Gāndhārasyādhipatyena niśādasya

gatāgataiḥ

Dhaivatasya ca daurvalyāṇān madhyama-
grāma-muchyate ///89

When gāndhāra is used profusely, niśāda is used repeatedly, dhaivata becomes weak i.e. dhaivata is used, sparingly and the notes, sadja and ṭsahha are used, the grāmarāga that evolves, is known as the madhyama.

IV. Iṣatsprṣto niśādasyastu gāadhārascādhiko

bhavet /

Dhaivataḥ kampito yatra śaḍjagrāmaṃ tu

nirdīṣet ///90

When śaḍja is used, niśāda is sparingly used, gāndhāra is used in a greater number, dhaivata used to vibrate, and when it touches the other notes, the tonal form that evolves out of them, is called the śaḍjagrāma. It is presented at the free will of the artists.

V. Antaraḥ svara-samyuktā kākalir-yatra

dṛṣyate /

Tam tu śadhāritam vidyāt-paṅcamastham

tu kaiśikam ///91

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89. गामारश्चधिपतिभाष मिषादस्य मतातः।

dhaivatasya ca daurvalyāṇān madhyama-muchyate II

90. द्रूपस्त्रूर्तो हिन्दुद्वतु गामारश्चधिपतिभाष भवेत्।

śaḍjaḥ: kampito yasam yad gṛyaṃ tu nirdīṣet II

91. भवन्तः खंसंगुणां कालकृत्यं हस्तात्।

tu tu śaḍhāritam vidvānta paṅcamas tu vṛṣṇikam II
When niṣāda appears as kaiśika, composed of two microtones of its own plus two microtones of the note,  śadja, and gāndhāra appears with four microtonal units (two of its own plus two of the note, madhyama), and madhyama appears as madhyama-sādhāraṇa, it is called the sādhārita.

VI. Kaiśikaṁ bhāvayitvā tu svaraiḥ sarvaiḥ samantataḥ / 
Yasmāt tu madhyame nyāsastasmāt kaiśika-madhyamaḥ //

When all the notes of the kaiśika-grāmarāga are used and madhyama is used as the final note, the grāmarāga is known as the kaiśika-madhyama.

VII. Kākalir-duṣṭyate yatra prādhānyaṁ pañcamasya tu / 
Kaśyapaḥ kaiśikaṁ prāha madhyama-grāma-sambhavaṁ //

Nārada says that when kākali-niṣāda is used and pañcama is not prominent, the grāmarāga, kaiśika evolves from the medium basic scale. These grāmarāgas are similar in forms to those of the rāgas, depicted in the Kuḍimiyāmalai inscription.

In the early thirteenth century we find many changes in the tonal forms and manifesta-

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92. कैशिकं भाविता तु स्वरः सर्वसंमतत्। यस्मात् तु मध्यमं न्यासस्तासम् कैशिकसंहः।
93. काकलितं मर्त्य मध्यमं प्राप्तयत्। काौयः कैशिकं प्राप्त मध्यमासमन्धवम्।
tions of the grāmarāgas. Then the gāndharva type of music was absolutely replaced by the classical desī one. Many other modified forms of the new grāmarāgas evolved at that time. Śāraṅgadeva gives detailed descriptions of the grāmarāgas, sadjagrāma, suddha-kaiśika, bhīnna-kaiśika-madhyama, bhīnнатāna, bhīnna-kaiśika, etc. Regarding the sadjagraṇa he says that it was composed of seven notes, its final (nyāsa) note was madhyama, and sadja was upanyāsa, and in descent (avarohane) prassānanta-mūrechanā was used. The form of the mūrechanā was ‘sā- ni-dha-pa-ma-ga-ri-sa.’ The sadja-mūrechanā also enriched the grāmarāga. The kākali-niśada and antara-gāndhāra were used, and it was impregnated with the aesthetic sentiments, veera, raudra and abhuta. It evolved from the sadjagrāma and was sung during the rainy season, in the first part of the day. This description of the sadjagrāma-grāmarāga is different from that of the Nārādīśiksā. Thus we find that when the formalization of the regional tunes was in process, the forms of the grāmarāgas were changed to some extent, and the pure types of them were gradually replaced by the mixed and new ones.

We have already mentioned the grāmarāgas, that evolved from the gītis or rāgagītis, as depicted in Mataṅga’s Bṛhaddeśī. Now let us enumerate the grāmarāgas and the formalized desī-rāgas, as described by Śāraṅgadeva in the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara.
**Chart II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rāgagiti</th>
<th>Latter form of Grāmarāgas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Sādhāraṇi</td>
<td>rūpa-sādhārita, saka, bhaṃgāṇa-paṇcama, nartta, gāndhāra-paṇcama, śaṭja-kaiśika, and kakubha.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chart III**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial Nos.</th>
<th>Rāgas</th>
<th>Number of Rāgas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Rāga</td>
<td>Twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Rāgaṇāṇi, current in ancient times.</td>
<td>Eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Bhāṣaṅgāṇi</td>
<td>Eleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Kriyāṅgāṇi</td>
<td>Twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Rāgaṅgāṇi</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Upāṅgāṇi, current in modern times.</td>
<td>Thirteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Bhāṣaṅgāṇi (modern)</td>
<td>Nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Upāṅgāṇi (modern)</td>
<td>Twenty-seven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Chart IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Description of Rāgas</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Grāma-rāga</td>
<td>Thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Upa-rāga</td>
<td>Eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Rāga</td>
<td>Twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Rāgāṅgāni, current in ancient times.</td>
<td>Eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Bhāṣāṅgāni (do)</td>
<td>Eleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Kriyāṅgāni (do)</td>
<td>Twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Upāṅgāni (do)</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Bhāṣā-rāga (do)</td>
<td>Ninety-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Bibhāṣā-rāga (do)</td>
<td>Twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Antara-bhāṣā (do)</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Rāgas, current in modern times.</td>
<td>Thirteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Bhāṣāṅgāni (do)</td>
<td>Nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Kriyāṅgāni (do)</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Upāṅgāni (do)</td>
<td>Twenty-seven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That is, from the six or seven basic grāmarāgas, ṣadja-grāma, madhyamagrāma, (sūdha)-kaiśika, sūdha-paṅcama, (sūdha)-kaiśika-madhyama (sūdha)-sādhārita, and (sūdha)-sāḍava, and also from other (twenty-three) grāmarāgas, that evolved from the rāgagītis, bhinnā, gāuḍī, vasarā and sādhārāṇī, fifteen bhāṣā-rāgas (=bhāṣā, vibhāṣā and antarabhāṣā), sawīra, kakubha, ṭhakka, paṅcama, bhinnā-paṅcama, ṭhakka-kaiśika, hindola, botta, mālavaiśika, gāndhāra-paṅcama, bhinnā-ṣadja vesarā-sāḍava, mālavai-paṅcama, bhinnā-tāna and paṅcama-sāḍava evolved. Again from these different types of bhāṣā-rāgas, other

94. It has already been mentioned that when kaiśika and kaiśika-madhyama are considered as one and the same rāga i.e. grāmarāga, the numbers of the basic grāmarāgas are six.
bhāṣā-upa-rāgas, like sauvirī, vegamadhyama, sādhārīta, gāndhārī, etc. (hundred and forty-seven) evolved. Besides them, different deśī-rāgas and upa-rāgas evolved as rāgāṅga, bhāṣāṅga, kriyāṅga and upāṅga. The anga-rāgas were saṅkarābharaṇa, ghantarava, dīpaka, chāyā, etc. (thirty-four bhāṣā or subordinate rāgas). It should be noted that different kinds of rāgas of the ‘kr’ stock also evolved as the kriyāṅga-rāgas, and they were twelve in number and sometimes more than that. The bhāṣā-rāgas were known as ‘ancient ones’ (pūrva-prasiddha). There evolved again forty-nine modern types of rāgas, and they were: madhyamādi, mālavaśrī, todi, bāṅgāla, bhairava, varāti, gurjari, gauda, kolāhala, vasanta, dhānaśi, deśī, deśākhya, dombakri (afterwards vāgeśri), prathama-mañjari, śuddha-varātikā āśāvari, ādi-kāmoda, nāgadhvani, velāvali, natta, karṇāta-bāṅgāla and others.

Śaraṅgadeva estimates the total number of the rāgas (grāmarāgas and all kinds of bhāṣā-rāgas) as 264,\(^95\) and they are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grāmarāgas</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>Bhāṣāṅgas</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upa-rāgas</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kriyāṅgas</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāgas</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Upāṅgas</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṣā-rāgas</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>Rāgāṅgas (modern)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibhāṣā-rāgas</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Bhāṣṅgas</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antarabhāṣas</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kriyāṅgas</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāgāṅgas (ancient)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Upāṅgas</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 264

\(^{95}\) They have been mentioned before.
In the *Sāngītasāra* by the philosopher-musician, Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya (fifteenth century A.D.), we come accross the genus-species (*janya-janaka*) scheme, for the first time in the domain of Indian music. Vidyāraṇya classifies 15 basic and 50 subordinate rāgas. It seems that following the method of Vidyāraṇya, Kṛṣṇadāsa in the *Gītaprakāśa*, Paṇḍit Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala in the *Sadrāga-candrodya*, Rāmāmatya in the *Svaremelakalā-nidhi*, Somanāth in the *Rāga-vivodha*, Govinda-Dikṣita in the *Sāngītasudhā*, Veṅkatamakhī in the *Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā*, Tuljā in the *Sāngīta-sārāmṛta*, Lochana-kavi in the *Rāgataranginī*, Nārada (IV) in the *Rāganirūpaṇa*, Ahobala in the *Sāngīta-pārijāta*, Śrīnivāsa in the *Rāgatattvavibodha*, Hṛdaya-Nārāyaṇa in the *Hṛdayakautuka*, Rājā Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva in the *Sāngīta-nārāyaṇa*, Kavi Nārāyaṇa in the *Sāngīta-saraṇi*, Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa in the *Sāngīta-sūryodaya*, Gopīnāth in the *Kavicintāmani* have classified and discussed various main and subordinate rāgas, in different periods. Some of them were original in their methods and interpretations, and some were only the compilers. So some differences of opinion in the methods and divisions of the rāgas were inevitable. Generally we come across different views, regarding the names and classifications of the rāgas, and those views are ascribed to the authorities of the ancient authors like Brahmā, Śiva or Sadāśiva, Bharata, Mataṅga, Kohala, Nārada, Someśvara,
Kallināth and others. But it is very difficult to correctly ascertain their genuine authorship and views. As for example, Brahmā who was no other than Brahmābharata of the early sixth-fifth century B.C., was purely the expounder of the gāndharva or mārga type of classical music. But we erroneously ascribe to him the authorship of the rāga-rāginī scheme.

From the historical records, we know that the rāga-rāginī scheme or the male-female principle did not come into being till the sixteenth-seventeenth century A.D. So, when we interpret the views (mata) of Brahmā, regarding the classification or enumeration of the rāgas, we do injustice to the ancient authority, Brahmābharata. Similar injustice is done when we interpret the views ascribed to Śiva (śivamatam), Bharata (bharatamatam), and others. Because Śiva was no other than Sadāśivabhārata, who flourished after Brahmābharata, probably in the 600-500 B.C. and so it will be unwise to ascribe to him the authorship of the male-female scheme of the deśi-rāgas. Bharata, the compiler of the Nātyaśāstra, flourished in the second century A.D. During his time, rāgas were in the form of jatis, and so the rāga-rāginī scheme or division was quite unknown in his time. It is a historical fact, that ‘Bharata’ was a common title like Indra, Brahmā, Vyāsa, Prājapati, etc., and we know that the ancient playwrights and musicologists like Brahmā, Śiva, Mātanga
and others were known as Brahmā-bharata, Sadāśiva-bharata, Muni-Bharata, Mataṅga-bharata, Kohala-bharata, etc. Therefore it is probable that the words Brahmā-matam, Śiva-matam, Bharata-matam, etc. were coined by some authors in the latter periods, to ascribe some authenticity to their newly divided scheme of divisions of the rāgas, otherwise no genuine historical evidence is yet available regarding them. The views of Someśvara of the Abhilāsārtha-cintāmani, and Kallināth, the commentator may be considered as historical. Regarding the views of Nārada, there is also much controversy, because there flourished different Nāradas in different periods, as the authors of music, and so it is possible that they interpreted their views in different ways. But it should be remembered that if by quoting the Nārada-matam we ascribe the authorship of the rāga-rāginī division to Nārada of the Śikṣā of the first century A.D., it will be ridiculous and unhistorical, as the jātirāgas and grāmarāgas of the gāndharva type of music were only prevalent, and neither the formalized regional or deśi-rāgās nor any male-female scheme of the rāgas did come into being at that time.

Now, let us describe in short how the rāgas of the present northern system of classical music evolved from the melas (basic scales).

The mūrcchanās are the fountainhead of the rāgas. The rāgas, we know, came into being through the process of gradual evolution: ‘mūrc-
chanodbhuta-rūgānām prasphutam śāstra-sammatam'.

Now, what is a mūrechanā? A mūrechanā is the combination of seven notes, with their ascent and descent: 'kramāt svarānām saptaṇām ārohacāva-rohanam'. There was a time when rāgas were known by their respective mūrechanās, and so the mūrechanās used to play an important rôle in the domain of Indian classical music, from the beginning of the Christian era up to the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. By different adjustments of different mūrechanās, numerous rāgas evolved, and those adjustments, says Paṇḍit V.N. Bhāṭkhaṇḍe, can be classified into nine orders. They are,

I. Ascending with 7 and descending with 7 notes,
II. "    7    "    6    
III. "    7    "    5    
IV. "    6    "    7    
V. "    6    "    6    
VI. "    6    "    5    
VII. "    5    "    7    
VIII. "    5    "    6    
IX. "    5    "    5    

The rāgas originate from 1 = 1 kind
    2 = 6 kinds
    3 = 15 
    4 = 6 
    5 = 36 
    6 = 9 
    7 = 15 
    8 = 9 
    9 = 225 

Total: =322 rāgas
Paṇḍit Mahāvaidyā-Nātha Śivan finds out a formulative process of the evolution of the South Indian 72 melakartās or melas. He says in his The Mahā-Rāga-Mālikā (1937) that by the combination and permutation of 16 notes, sa; ra, ri, ru; ga, gi, gu; ma, mi; pa; dha, dhi, dhu, na, ni and nu, Veṅkatamakhī describes 72 melakartās. Any kind of crooked order or vakragati is not used in his 72 melakartās. So there are only 6 possible combinations of two varying notes in the pūrvāṅga, ‘ri and ga’, and 6 combinations of ‘dha and ni’ in the uttarāṅga. Any one of the 6 combinations of ‘ri and ga’ in the pūrvāṅga might be combined with any one of the 6 combinations of ‘dha and ni’ in the uttarāṅga. We get, therefore, $6 \times 6 = 36$ variations of the melakartās in the suddha-madhyama set. Similarly, another set of 36 melakartās are found with the prati-madhyama, total number of which is 72 melakartās.

R. Śrīnivāsan is of opinion: “A rāga is a succession of notes, the notes being chosen and combined in certain definite ways. In the first place, we have what are called the melakartās—the major types—in which all the seven notes of a scale occur in their natural order, both in the ascending and the descending scales. They are seventy-two in number and are generally divided into two groups of thirty-six each, according to whether they have the suddha-madhyama or prati-madhyama-F or F-sharp. It is not difficult to see how seventy-two rāgas are
possible. We must have ‘sa’ to start with, then we must have a ‘ri’, a ‘ga’, a ‘ma’, then a ‘pa’ and then a ‘dha’ and a ‘ni’. For ‘ma’ we get thirty-six ways of combining these; and so we get seventy-two on the whole. If we took the fifty-three śruti each (as R. H. M. Bosanquet admitted) and worked up the rāgas on the above mentioned principle, we should get 396,900 major or melakartā-rāgas; on the other hand, the twenty-two śruti-scale would give 1,024. But at present only about twenty to twenty-five of these seventy-two melakartās are used”.

Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhaṇḍe devises 10 melas to determine the rāgas of the North Indian system of music. Paṇḍit Lochanakavi (1560 A.D.) devises also 12 samāsthānas or melas for the determination of all kinds of rāgas before him, but Bhātkhaṇḍeji makes his system of division of the melas more simple. Let us illustrate those 10 melas, having its standard scale (sūḍāha-mela) as vilāvala, compared to 10 corresponding melakartās of the South Indian system of music:

96. It is said that only 19 out of 72 melakartās were current in Veṅkatamakhi’s time.

97 Indian Art and Art-Crafts (Madras, 1923) pp. 16-17.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Hindusthani</th>
<th>Karnatic</th>
<th>10 melas of the Hindusthani system</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kalyana</td>
<td>Kalyani</td>
<td>Sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Vilavala</td>
<td>Saṅkarabharaṇam</td>
<td>sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bhairava</td>
<td>Māyāmālavagula</td>
<td>sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Pūrvi</td>
<td>Kāmavardhanī</td>
<td>sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Āśāvari</td>
<td>Natabhairavi</td>
<td>sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Bhairavi</td>
<td>Toḍi or Hanumantoḍi</td>
<td>sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Toḍi</td>
<td>Varālī</td>
<td>sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *melas*, *melakartas* or *thātas* are the basic *rāgas*, and the other *rāgas* evolve upon those bases. The *rāgas* are the soul or life-force (*prāṇa*) of Indian Music and so they should be studied with a historical perspective and from the psychological standpoint.

98. The *italics* indicate the flat (*komala*) notes.

99. The word ‘thāta’ was adopted in the early seventeenth century A.D. It is said that the word thāta is a Indo-Persian product.
RAGA VASANTA

(Yodhapur Collection, early 18th century A.D.)
Chapter Five

Development of Rāga Vasanta

Let us take an illustration of the rāga vasanta and its development, by which we shall be able to know the nature of the form and development of all kinds of rāgas, that evolved gradually to enrich the treasure of Indian Music.

Vasanta is an ancient rāga. It evolved perhaps between the time of Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) and that of Pārśādeva (seventh or ninth-eleventh century A.D.). Mataṅga discusses about the rāgas, hindola, mālavakuśika, (not mallakauśika), kakubha, saindhavī, etc. in his Brhaddeśī, but why he remains silent about the rāga vasanta, is not known. Mataṅga mainly follows his predecessors, Kaśyapa, Kohala, Vāṣṭika, Tumburu and others (third-fifth century A.D.), and as they have not discussed the rāga vasanta, so Mataṅga also remains silent. Pārśādeva describes vasanta, along with the rāgas, bhairava, bhairavī, hindola, madhyamādi, chāyānata, mallāra, etc. Perhaps the rāgas, bhairava and bhairavī evolved in or sometime before the ninth-eleventh century A.D. Pārśādeva classifies vasanta in the rāgāṅga group and considers it as subordinate (aṅga) rāga of the mārga-hindola. From this we come to know that
vasanta evolved from the mārga-hindola: ‘mārga-hindola-rāgāṅgam’, etc. Pārśadeva says that vasanta is a pentatonic (auḍava) rāga, as the notes ṛṣabhā and ḍhaivata are absent from it. Its sonant, initial and final notes are tonic (ṣadja). It makes itself manifest in the space extended from the madhyama note of the high octave to ṣadja of the middle one. The first and fifth notes generally vibrate (kampita). Its dominant aesthetic sentiment is of the nature of the primal creative urge or śṛṅgāra (‘śṛṅgare vinīyujyate’), and it brings detachment from all desires (‘nirveda’).

Nārada of the Saṅgita-makaranda (fifteenth-sixteenth century) includes vasanta in the list of the masculine rāgas (‘puruṣah smritah’). He says that it is also known as ‘śuddha-vasanta’ or pure type of vasanta (‘vasantaṃ śuddha-sañjñāśca’). Māmatācārya considers vasanta as the root or parent rāga (janaka-rāga), and bhairava, revagupta, taṅka, etc. evolved from it. Someśvara also admits this view. But in the early thirteenth century A.D. Śāraṅgadeva describes vasanta in a different way. He says that vasanta evolved from hindola, which had its origin even before the time of Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century). Śāraṅgadeva designates vasanta as deśi-hindola, as both the rāgas, hindola and vasanta are sung on the occasion of the sacred spring or holi festival (vasantotsave). The difference between vasanta and hindola lies in the fact that vasanta
is heptatonic, whereas hindola is pentatonic in form, devoid of the notes, rṣabha and dhaivata.

Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) calls vasanta as sūdha-vasanta, in the Savaramelakalānidhi. He differs from Śāraṅgadeva regarding the form of the rāga vasanta, as vasanta is hexa-heptatonic (sādava-sampūrṇa) in form, the fifth note, pāṇcama being absent in the ascent. In the Rāgasāgara, ascribed to Nārada-Dattila, vasanta is described as a male (puruṣa) rāga. It is sober and at the same time majestic in its nature.

In the Rāgāṅava, as quoted in the Śāraṅgadara-paddhati, vasanta has been described as the fourth subordinate (bhāsā) rāga to bhairava. Puṇḍarika-Vīṭṭhala supports the view of Pārsadeva and says in the Rāgamālā that vasanta is known as one of the sons (subordinate rāga) of hindola, being evolved from it. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) holds a different view, because he takes vasanta as a parent rāga (janaka-rāga), and hindola to have evolved from it. But, from the historical viewpoint, Somanāth’s estimation seems untenable, as the origin of hindola is prior to vasanta, which is proved by Mataṅga’s Bṛhaddeśī. Paṇḍit Dāmodara describes vasanta as heptatonic, having sonant (vādī), initial (graha) and final (nyāsa) notes as tonic (sādja). There are differences of opinion regarding the structure of vasanta. Its tonal form, as current in the present Hindusthāṇī and Carnāṭīc systems of music, appears different in many
respects from the ancient one. Besides, the traditional form of śuddha vasanta, as used in the present system of music, is also different in different schools of music. As for example, in almost all the dhruvapadas and padāvali-kirtanas in Bengal, vasanta i.e. śuddha-vasanta is used with its penta-hexatonic (auḍava-śāḍava) form, as sharp (śuddha) dhaivata, and sharp and displaced madhyama, and paṅcama are dropped (varjita). From this it is understood that vasanta, as used in the present Hindusthāni system of music, with its displaced (komala) dhaiyata and paṅcama, can be called as paraja-vasanta.

In the South Indian system of music, we generally find three types of vasanta and they are: vasanta, śuddha-vasanta and rāga-vasanta, which differ from one another, in their tonal forms. Besides them, there are other variants of vasanta, which originate from the mixture of different rāgas. They are: kala-vasanta, kalyāna-vasanta, gopī or gopikā-vasanta, bhoga-vasanta, vasanta-bhairavi, vasanta-mukhāri, vasanta-vaḍāri, vīra-vasanta, vāhāra-vasanta or vasanta-vāhāra, hindola-vasanta, etc. It is interesting to note that all these variants imbibe the spirit and atmosphere of the rāga vasanta.

We get a heptatonic (saṃpūrṇa) form of vasanta, with sharp (śuddha) dhaivata, and paṅcama, which, it is said, came down from the Kheyāliā and Veenkāra lines of Miān Tānsen. Again we get an old type of vasanta, possessed of
penta-heptatonic (auḍava-saṁpūrṇa) form. Its tonal arrangements are: ‘sa ga ma dha ni, sa ni dha ma ga, ma dha ni sa, ni dha, pa ma ga re, sa’. In the Senī School of music, we find a form of vasanta with pañcama: ‘sa ga ma-dha ni-dha-sa,- ni-re ni-dha-pa ma ga, ma-ga-ri-sa, sa-ma ma-ga, ma-dha-ni-sa’, etc. Besides, we come across another type of vasanta, devoid of pañcama, and all other notes are sharp or suddha. Its tonal structure consists of the notes, in both the ascent and the descent: ‘sa ga ma dha ni—sa ni dha ma ga ri/ sa’. Saṅgīta-Nāyaka Gopeśwara Banerjee says that Miaṅ Tānsen and his followers composed this type of the rāga, but we do not know whether it is historically true or not. This type of vasanta is composed of sharp of suddha-madhyama and displaced (komala) niśāda, but the note, pañcama is dropped. The tonal arrangement of this type is: ‘sa ga ma dha ni—sa ni dha ma ga, ma ga ri/ sa’.

Paṇḍit Sudarśanācārya says in the Saṅgīta-sudarśaṇa that the displaced ṛṣabha, sharp gāṇḍhāra, dhaivata and niśāda, and both the sharp and displaced madhyamas are the special features of the rāga vasanta. In the ascent (ārohane), ṛṣabha and pañcama are generally dropped, and in the descent (avarohive), ṛṣabha is used in lesser number. Therefore the tonal arrangement of vasanta is: ‘ni sa ga ma dha ma-ma-ma, ga ga ri/
sa ni dha pa-ma dha-ni sa / ma-ma ga, ma-ma-ga
sa sa-ni sa ri-sa ni-dha sa, ma-ga-ri sa / sa ma dha
ni dha pa ma dha-ma ga-ri sa / sa ga ma dha sa
dha-ni sa ga-ri sa, sa ni dha pa ma dha ma ga ri
sa', etc. Sudarśanācārya says that this type of
vasanta is adopted by the Dhrupadists, whereas
the Kheyaists use a different type. Rādhāmohan
Sen describes it in the Śaṅgita-taraṅga in a different
way. He says that vasanta, with a displaced
daiva and riṣabha, together with pāncama, is
known as paraja-vasanta. This view of Rādhā-
mohan Sen is accepted especially in the Bengal
School of music. Again there are differences of
opinion, regarding the male-female principle of
the rāga vasanta. Some hold that vasanta is a rāga,
and not rāgini, while vāsantī or vāsantikā is recog-
nized as rāgini. Śāraṅgadeva includes vasanta
in the category of rāgāṅga. Perhaps, in the end
of the nineteenth or in the beginning of the
twentieth century, we get various types of
vasanta, evolved out of the basic scales, vilāvala,
pūrvī āśāvari, mārowā and bhairavī, which are
equivalent to the South Indian basic scales,
saṅkarā-bharaṇa, māyāmalavagaula, kāmavardhanī,
nata-bhairavī, gamakakriyā and hanumāna-toḍi. From
the basic scale, pūrvī, two types of vasanta
evolved. In the above mentioned seven types
of vasanta, we notice that the notes, riṣabha,
gāndhārva, madhyama, daiva and niṣāda have
been used as both sharp and chromatic, i.e.
bruddha and komala. Besides them, we find
different settings of notes in *vasanta* in the South Indian system, and they are,

( *Italics indicate flat notes*)

(1) *Rāga-vasanta*—sa *re* ma pa *ni dha* sa—sa *ni dha* ma pa ma, ma ga *re* sa.

(2) *Vasanta*—sa ga ma *dha* ni sa—sa *ni dha* ma ga *ri* sa.

(3) *Śuddha-vasanta*—sa *ri* ga ma pa *ni sa*—sa *dha ni* pa ni ga *ri* sa.

Besides these three types, there are different types of *vasanta*, which are known as: *kanaka-vasanta*, *kala-vasanta*, *kalyāna-vasanta*, *gopikā-vasanta*, *bhoga-vasanta*, *vasanta-bhairavi*, *vasanta-mukhāri*, *vasanta-varāli*, *vīra-vasanta*, *hindola-vasanta*, *gambhirā-vasanta*, *vasanta-velāvali*, *vasanta-bhairava*, *tīvra-vasanta*, *vasanta-candrikā*, *lalita-vasanta*, *vasanta-paṇcama*, *māyūra-vasanta*, *śādava-vasanta*, *vasanta-kumārī* or *kumārī-vasanta*, *komala-vasanta*, *māru-vasanta*, etc. The tonal structures of some of them are:

(1) *Kanaka-vasanta*—sa ga ma pa *ni dha* sa—sa *ni dha* pa ma ga *ri* sa (=hexa-heptatonic or *śādava-sampūrṇa*). *Rṣabhā* is sharp (*śuddha*), and *rṣabhā* is left in the descent (*avarohāne*).

(2) *Kala-vasanta*—sa ga ma pa *dha* ni (dha) sa—sa *ni* (dha) pa ma ga sa (*niśāda* is used as sharp, and it is composed of four microtones, and is known as *tīvra-dhaivata*).
(3) Kalyāna-vasanta—sa ga ma dha ni sa—sa ni dha pa ma ga ri sa (penta-hexatonic).

(4) Gopikā-vasanta—sa ma pa ni dha ni dha sa—sa ni dha pa ma ga sa (penta-hexatonic).

(5) Bhoga-vasanta—sa ri ga ma dha ni sa—sa ni dha ma ga ri sa (hexa-hexatonic).

(6) Vasanta-bhairavi—sa ri ga ma dha ni sa—sa ni dha ma pa ma ga ri sa (hexa-heptatonic).

(7) Vasanta-mukhāri—sa ma ga ma pa dha ni sa—sa ni dha pa ma ga ri sa (hexa-heptatonic).

(8) Vasanta-varāli—sa ri ma pa dha ni—ni dha pa ga ri sa ni (hexa-heptatonic).

(9) Vira-vasanta—sa ga ri ma pa sa—sa ni (dhā =) ni pa ma ga ri sa (penta-hexatonic).

(10) Hindola-vasanta—sa ga ma pa dha ni dha sa—sa ni dha pa ma ga dha ma ga sa (ṛṣabha is left; hexa-hexatonic).

Besides, we find the following new variants of vasanta:

I. Gambhīra-vasanta—ri, ma, ma, dha, dha.

II. Tīrā-vasanta—ri, ga, ma, dha, ni.

III. Vasanta-velāvali—with all the sharp (sūddha) notes.

It has already been said that the rāga pañcama possesses the same specific character of vasanta, which creates the environment and
spirit of the spring. In the Hindusthānī system of music, pañcama is different from dipaka. Experts differ in their opinion, regarding the form and manifestation of dipaka and pañcama. As regards pañcama, Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 A.D.) says: ‘pañcama ri-pa-hīnāḥ syāt’, i.e., the rāga pañcama is pentatonic (audava) in form, as the notes, rśabha and pañcama are dropped in it. It is interesting to note that the fifth note, pañcama is absent from the rāga pañcama. Some are of opinion that dipaka and pañcama are one and the same rāga, as the ancient form of dipaka was afterwards transformed into pañcama. But in truth, there is no genuine proof in support of this view. In the Viṣṇupur School of music, we get two types of dipaka: one with pañcama and the other without it. As for example,
(a) Dipaka, with the note, pañcama—
// ma dha dha ni dha sa, ni dha ma, ma, ma pa ga, ri sa, ni sa / sa ma, ma, ma, pa, ga, ma dha ni dha ni sa, sa ri ni, dha ni dha ma, pa-ga, ma pa ga, ri sa / etc.
(b) Dipaka without pañcama—
// ma dha dha, ni ni dha ma, ma ga, ma dha ni dha, ma ga, ri sa / ma ma, ma ga, ma dha ni sa, ri sa ni dha, ma ma ga, ri sa / etc.

Paṇḍit Sudarśanācārya describes pañcama as a rāga of the morning. He says that the rāga pañcama is conceived as an issue (son) of the
rāga, hindola-saindhavi, with displaced (komala) ōṣabhā and dhāivata, sharp (sūdda) gāndhāra, madhyama and niśāda.

The tonal structure of the rāga paṅcama is—

sa ni, ri sa, sa ni ri ni dha, pa ma ga, ga ma dha ni, ri ni dha ma ga, ri sa / ri sa, dha ma ga-ri sa, ri-ri re sa, ma dha, pa ma dha, ma ga ri sa / etc.

Paṇḍit Viṣṇunārāyaṇa Bhāṭkhāṇḍe recognizes both the rāgas, paṅcama and dīpaka, in his Kramika-pustakamālikā (vide Vol. V, pages 407-408 and Vol. VI, pages 40-41). He describes the rāga paṅcama in two different ways, and they are:

(a) The hexatonic (sādava) form—ma-dha-sa, ni-dha, ma-dha, ma-ga, re-sa, sa-ma, ga, ma-dha, ni-dha, ni-ma-dha....

(b) The heptatonic (saṁpurṇa) form—ga, ma-ga, ri-sa, ma, ma, ma-ga pa, ma-dha-ma-ma, dha-ma-ga, ma-dha-sa, sa ri-sa, ri-ni-dha, ma-dha-ma-ga-ga, ri-ga, ma-ga-ri-sa (with two madhyamas).

These two types of paṅcama have evolved from the mārowā scale, and they are known as the rāga for the night. Paṇḍit V. N. Bhāṭkhāṇḍe says that the rāga dīpaka has been evolved from the scale pūrvi. Some are of opinion that Dīpaka has been evolved from the scale kalyāṇa or vilāvala. It is hepta-heptatonic (saṁpurṇa-saṁpurṇa) in form and is recognized as the rāga of the
evening. The tonal form of it is: sa, pa, ga-
\[\text{pa-ga-ri-sa, sa-ga-pa, ma-dha-pa, ga-ma-dha pa-sa, ni-sa-re-sa, pa, ga-pa-ga-ri-sa (r\text{̄}ṣahha, dhaivata and madhyama are displaced). In the South Indian system, the tonal forms of pāṅcama and dipaka are different from one another. As for example,}
\[(a) \text{Pāṅcama—sa ri dha dha pa ni sa—sa ni dha ma ma ga ri sa (dhaivata and r\text{̄}ṣabha are sharp, displaced niśāda, and penta-hexatonic in form).}
\[(b) \text{Dipaka—sa ga ma pa dha pa sa—sa ni dha ni pa ma ga ri sa (dhaivata and r\text{̄}ṣabha are displaced, and penta-hexatonic in form).}
\]Besides these two forms, there are variants of pāṅcamas, in the Karnāṭic system, and they are: kokila-pāṅcama, divya-pāṅcama, pūrna-pāṅcama, bhinna-paṅcama, bhupāla-paṅcama, lalita-paṅcama, nāga-paṅcama, śrī-paṅcama, kāmoda-paṅcama, āmrapaṅcama, nata-paṅcāma, dhaivata-paṅcama, karma-paṅcama, etc. These variants evolve from the compound form of two or more rāgas. In the fifth-seventh century A.D., we find different types of rāgas, like varāti, toḍi, gauḍī, etc. In the latter period, different types of bhairava, kedāra, gaurī, kāmoda, bāhāra, behāga, kānṇāḍā, śāraṅga, mallāra, nata were devised by the creative genius of the progressive society. In the South Indian
system too, we notice various forms of the above rāgas.

Besides the tonal forms and different music materials, aesthetic sentiments and feelings play an important rôle in Indian music. The emotional sentiments like serene calmness (śānta), compassion (karuṇa) and primal creative urge (śṛṅgāra) are predominant in the rāga vasanta. The sentiment of calmness (sama) brings a change in the corporal body (tanu-vyābhicāra), which is known as awe and delight. Detachment from worldly pleasures (nirveda or vairāgya) also generates from this serene sentiment. Tears well from the eyes, as a result of love and devotion. It brings mental equilibrium and control over the senses. The sentiment like compassion makes the heart soft and sympathetic. It brings also tears in the eyes and causes sorrow, which enlightens the mind, instead of making it stupid and morbid. The prime sentiment, creative urge or śṛṅgāra is not an ordinary juvenile excitement or sexual passion, as it is generally believed, but it is a creative energy, that brings new life and inspiration. The subordinate mood (anubhāva) and its effect on the body (tanu-vyābhicāra) are known as the tranquil happiness and desire for celestial bliss. These are the aesthetic sentiments and moods of not only of the rāga vasanta, but also of the rāgas, hindola, pañcama and vāhāra, etc. Some are of opinion that vāhāra is a melody (rāga) of the sexual urge, and so it has been
recognized as a rāga of the spring or holi festival. But this view is untenable. It may be a fact that the rāga vāhāra evolved in the later period, and it is closely connected with the holi festival. But it is true that the prime emotional sentiment, śṛṅgāra, which predominates in the rāga vāhāra, makes it transcending and divine. The Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava savants and the Ālaṁkārikas recognize śṛṅgāra as the sentiment prā excellence (ādi-rasa). Some are of opinion that vāhāra was very favourite with the mystic musician, Swāmī Haridāsa of Vṛndāvana, and he introduced it in the system of classical music, as a special rāga for the sacred holi festival. But it should be investigated whether it is historically correct.

Now, let us see how rāga vasanta evolved with a novel and concrete idea in the domain of Indian music. Paṇḍit Dāmodara describes vasanta as,

\[ \text{शिखरिण्द्रवहोऽचयवचन्या चुहा} \]
\[ \text{कर्णावतंसीकुतंशोभनाशी} \]
\[ \text{इन्द्रीवरद्यामतंसुरिंत्तासी} \]
\[ \text{वस्तिनिका स्वाद्विमण्ड्डली} \]

Vasanta is described here as a male rāga. He is

1. (a) Alternative reading 'वषरुषा'

(b) A slight alternative description:
\[ \text{शिखरिण्द्रवहोऽचयवचन्योहा} \]
\[ \text{कर्णावतंसीकुतंशोभनाशी} \]
\[ \text{इन्द्रीवरद्यामतंसुरिंत्तासी} \]
\[ \text{वस्तिनिका स्वाद्विमण्ड्डलुक्ती} \]
absorbed in the divine contemplation of Lord Kṛṣṇa, and is dressed himself as Kṛṣṇa. In the top of his turban, the peacock feather is attached. He made his earing of mango-leaves. His body is shining like a blue lotus. He is luxurious, and yet at the same time a true worshipper of divine beauty. The shining glow of his body looks like a swarm of dark-blue bees. The mango-leaves and blooming flowers attract the bees, mad for honey, and the green grasses and flowery creepers are the symbols of Nature. Lord Kṛṣṇa is the hero (nāyaka) of the vernal spring, and the rāga vasanta represents the beatific gradeur of the spring.

Gradually vasanta was conceived as an emobodiment or the representation of Kṛṣṇa. Paṇḍit Lochana-kavi (1650 A.D.) quotes a piece from Tumbura-nātaka, relating to the time of the singing of the rāga vasanta as,

श्रीपञ्चमी समारथ्य यावतस्प्याच्छयणं हरे: ।
ताबदू वसन्तरागस्य गानमुक्तं मनीषिमि: ॥

That is, the rāga vasanta is sung from the Śrī-pancamī, in the month of Māgha (November-December) to the time, when Śrī Hari (Lord Kṛṣṇa) goes to take rest. Paṇḍit Subhaṅkara of the Saṅgīta-dāmodara (16th century A.D.) and Ghanśyāma-Narahari of the Saṅgītasarasāmṛagraha (early 18th century A.D.) have referred to these lines, in favour of the specified time of the rāga
vasanta. Somanāth (1909 A.D.) describes about vasanta as.

केदारकिंतुः पण प्रवेषिताम्राङ्कः पिक्षय भूषे।
अरुणवसनी वसान्तो गौर-सुवेषा रसालगतः।

That is, the rāga vasanta has decorated his hairs with the palāśa flowers. The cuckoo, the messenger of the spring, is singing. Vasanta is also appareled in an orange-red cloth, and the Nature around is glittering with golden bright hue. Prof. O. C. Gaṅgoly says that some of the rāgas have been named after some seasons, and sacred festivals of gods and goddesses. As for example, the rāgas like megha, vasanta, hindola, śrī, etc. are connected with the spring or holi festival. The rāga hindola previously used to be sung, in connection with the spring festival, Saturnalia. Afterwards it was recognized as the rāga of the holi festival. The characteristics of vasanta and hindola can also be applied to the rāga madhumādhavi. The word ‘madhu’ indicates the spring season, and consequently madhumādhavi is known as the rāga of the spring. But it seems that it was originally the rāga of the rainy season, sung in the month of Vaiśākha (kūla-vaiśākha). In ancient pictures of the rāga madhumādhavi, the scenes of the dust storm of the month of Vaiśākha, lightning and dances of the peacocks are depicted. In the manuscript of Nārada-Dattila’s Rāgasāgara, preserved in the Madras Manuscript
Library, we find the name of the rāga ‘madhumāvatī, which may be the real name of madhumādhavī. As the rāga was connected with the worship of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, it was known as madhumādhavī. Another rāga prathama-mañjari has also connection with the spring season. The name of prathama-mañjari was afterwards changed into patamañjari (patṭh-mañjari). The rāga cyūta-mañjari is also connected with the spring or rainy season. The name ‘cyūta-mañjari’ signifies the new leaves or blossoms of the mango-tree, (‘cyūta’ means ‘mango’ and ‘manjari’ signifies new leaves or blossom). It evolved from the rāga hindola. Another rāga āmrapaṇcamī is connected with the summer season. So it is found that some of the beautiful rāgas have been named after some seasons and sacred festivals.

The rāga vasanta evolved out of the conceptions of some emotional sentiments and environments. The tonal arrangement of vasanta creates an atmosphere of the vernal season, and so the intuitive artists and musicologists connect this rāga with the vernal season, spring.

The spring is an intermediary season between the winter and the summer, and so it brings a balance between those two extreme seasons. The mystic poets symbolize the winter with death and the spring with life. They say that the spring comes after the winter, which means that death is overcome by life, as if
the dream is replaced by the waking state, or the shadow of darkness is removed by the shining light. After the winter season, the spring appears with a newness of life, and it animates and elevates the body and mind of all living beings. The whole Nature looks barren and shattered during the cold winter season. With the advent of spring, new golden leaves come out of the branches of the trees. The barren earth is again bedecked with green grasses and flowers. The gloomy atmosphere and dull appearance of the universe is rejuvenated with new life. The people are then inspired with new hope and vigour.

In the West, the spring is considered as the symbol of revivification or rejuvenation. In this season, the Anglo-Saxon races perform a festival, in commemoration of the goddess Estore or Istārā, Freyja, and others. The worship of Estore, or Istār, or Istārā is observed in the spring, in the month of March or April (Bengali Falguna or Caitra). For this reason, Easter is known as the spring festival (vasantotsava). The Vāsantipūjā and the autumnal Durgāpūjā of India, and Christmas and Easter Festivals of the Christian countries have the same significance. The Christmas and Easter festivals are considered by the Christians as Church-festivals, and are observed in the memory of Christ's resurrection. All the Christians observe the day of Christ's death on the 25th December. They consider the 27th December
as the day of Christ's resurrection. Dr. Frazer is of opinion that all the Messengers like Jesus the Christ, and gods and goddesses like Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Horas and the Asiatic goddesses, Durgā, Vāsantī, Annapūrṇā and Jagaddhātrī are no other than the solar deities. They represent also the corn-goddesses or vegetable-spirits. The Hindu belief differs from that of Dr. Frazer. The latter deals with this matter elaborately in the Golden Bough. Struss, Robertson, Conybear, Drews and other Western savants are of opinion that the Church festivals, which are observed in commemoration of death, crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, originated from the conception of death and rejuvination of the Nature. They reject even the historical personage of Jesus the Christ, and call it a sun-myth. Indian scholars have not altogether rejected this view, as they opine that the Vāsantīpūjā, Durgāpūjā, Dola-yātrā or Holi festivals represent the Nature-worship, and they have originated from the worship of Mitra or Mithra i.e. sun-worship, and, consequently, from the sun-myth. The sun is known as Mitra or the universal friend of the universe. The Itupūjā is also the sun-worship, as the word 'Itu' has been derived from Mitu > Mitā > Mitra, which is no other than the sun, the eternal friend. Vaiṣṇavas observe holi festival, which is known as the āvirotsava. The 'āvira' is red in colour, and it represents the vermilion hue of the dawn or rising
sun. The āvirotsava or holi festival is observed in the sacred memory of Lord Kṛṣṇa, in the spring season. Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the divine incarnation of Viṣṇu, who is no other than the sun. So the holi festival is a solar festival, which is observed in the memory of the sun, in the spring season.¹

1. Regarding the worship of Mitra or Mithra, J. M. Robertson says that it is no other than the worship of the sun. From Herodotus’ (1.131) writing in the fifth century B.C., we learn that in some way the god Mithra was identified with a goddess. Mithra later figures for us in the strange symbolic figure of the lion-headed serpentine god, but above all in that of the slayer of the bull. It has been variously decided that the bull, slain by Mithra, is the symbol of the earth, the symbol of the moon, the bull of the Zodiac, and the cosmogonic bull of the Magian system. It is perfectly intelligible and probable that Mithra, slaying the bull, should have meant the rays of the sun, penetrating the earth, and so creating life for mundane creatures, as the dog feeds on the blood of the slain bull. There can be no reasonable doubt that these successive religious representations of the slaying of the lion and the slaying of the bull rest on a Zodiacal system of sacred symbolism, which the slaying of a given animal means either the passing of the sun into a particular sign of the Zodiac at a particular season of the year, or the slaying of the animal represented as a special sacrifice. Again, if it be right to decide that the slaying of the bull originally pointed to the sun’s entering the sign of the bull, at the vernal equinox, then this symbol dates back, probably, more than 3,000 years before the Christian era; while the symbol of the slaying of the lion would signify the sun’s entrance into Leo at Midsummer, in the same period. In fact, the
The rāga vasanta invokes the spirit of the vernal season of the solar origin, and so it is recognized as the best rāga, from the aesthetic viewpoint and that of philosophy. Let us illustrate some of the songs that create an atmosphere of the spring and newness of life. These are:

(क) सुमाग वसन्त नवठ-छता, पल्लव लाभि
दुम सुमन सुखदायी।
शोतल पचन सुनग्न सबिर चाह लागे
मधवन भरलाभि॥

(ख) उड़त बुन्दन नव अबीर वहु
कुमकुम बेलत, वसन्त चन-छाल
गिरिवर-चारण।

image of the slaying of the bull came to be associated specially with the idea of sacrifice and purification—purification by the blood of bulls and rams. The resurrection and eternal life were secured by drenching or sprinkling with the actual blood of a sacrificial bull or ram.

Further he says that the rising sun would be daily hailed with joy, as among the Jewish Essenes, and sun-worshippers everywhere. The Christmas is a solar festival of unknown antiquity. Easter is also a solar festival. We learn from Tertullian that Osiris, in the mysteries, was buried and came to life again. The Mithraic Christians actually continued to celebrate Christmas day as the birthday of the sun, despite the censures of the Pope. Christmas was an Osirian and Adonisian festival also. The celebrations in memories of Apollo, Hercules, Demeter and Pessidon use to bear the same significance. Dr. Frazer discusses it in Garden of Adonis, and Swāmi Abhedānanda, in his Christ and Christmas.
The symbolic language and idea of the songs inspire the mind of all, and bring unto them a materialised vision of the blossoming of the trees and creepers, cool breeze, scented and coloured wreaths of flowers, and sweet songs of the cuckoo, together with the vermilion hue of the āvira in the holi festival of the spring. Besides dhruvapadas, there are dhāmāra type of songs, which create a rhythmic and rousing atmosphere of the dynamic Nature. They are:

(क) होरि बेलन आये नन्ददुलार (ढीपक) ;
(ख) बेलन होरि भर काङ्कुन पिव्वकारी  
श्यामरो—री (परज) ;
(ग) बेलन ऐसी होरि भाद श्रीजनारी  
मद माती निरलि श्यामलप्परे (छायानट)।

The songs in the rāgas, dīpaka, paraja, chāyānata, etc. describe the divine sportive play of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and create a celestial vision. The psychological effect of the rāga vasanta and its variants are amazing and divine. The development of vasanta begins mostly from the high tonic (tāra-ṣaḍja) of the middle octave,
and the manifestations of the displaced ṛṣabha, both the madhyama and sharp gāndhāra create a rhythmic movement in the minds of both the artists and listeners. During the time of the ascent, the rāga vasanta rises from the tonic to the fourth note (madhyama), producing a curve but blending tune, naturally known as gamaka, which creates a balanced and peaceful emotional sentiment and mood. The entire manifestation of the tonal form of the rāga vasanta creates a mental picture of the spring.

In Bengal, the rāga vasanta is profusely used in padāvali-kirtana, on the occasions of holi, jhulana, rāsālīlā of Lord Kṛṣṇa. It is also a favourite rāga, in most of the folk songs of different parts of India. In padāvali-kirtana, different types of vasanta are used, and they are: gauri-vasanta, vasanta-vāhāra, māyūra-vasanta, īśī-bhupāli-vasanta, mālaī or malaśrī-vasanta, kāmoda-vasanta behāga-vasanta, suhāi vasanta, vasanta-dhāni or vasanta-dhāneśrī, vasanta-jayajayanti gurjarī-vasanta, sohini-vasanta, kalyāna-vasanta, etc. The mystic Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal consider the spring as an important season. In most of their devotional compositions, they have described the spring as a symbol of new life and new inspiration, and their aim and object are to transcend the transient beauty and grandeur of the phenomenal world, and to dive deep into the ocean of eternal peace and tranquility. There is a beautiful poem of the mystic poet Vidyāpati,
that invokes the spirit and atmosphere of the spring, together with the spirit of the rāga vasanta:

नव ब्रुंदावन नव नव तहसण

नव नव विक्रमित फुल ।

नजोर पसून नजोर मध्यानिनि

मातुल नव दलिलुङ ॥

The ever-new Vṛndāvana, the trees and creepers, with new full-blown flowers, the vernal season, the new cooling malaya-breeze (the breeze that flows from the south), and the new-inspired bees created the living environment of the spring. The noted indologist, Kānnoomal has given aesthetic references of the rāga vasanta, together with dipaka, madhumādhavi, etc., from a Sanskrit manuscript, Sangeetmālā, in the Rūpaṃ (July, 1922). He describes vasanta as a nāyikā (a rāginī), and says that she is of a lovely dark appearance, as the sweet smell comes out of her lotus-like mouth and a swarm of black bees gather about her face, and make a humming sound. She has the beauty and luster of the person of cupid and youth that captivates young men. Her breasts are hard, and she holds buds of mango plants, in her lotus-like hands. The rāginī is sung in kharaj (=tonic—ṣadja) svara, in spring, in the second part of the day. The rhetorical interpretation of the rāga (or rāginī) vasanta is that she is a nāyikā i.e. a young passionate
woman, who is well skilled in all the arts of her lover. Her lover is dhīrodātta, and the sentiment is vipralambha śṛṅgāra.

The rāga vasanta is a symbol of the transcendental light that reigns supreme with its own undying luminosity and glory. It dances like Natarāja on the breast of the Apsmāra that represents death or winter season. The winter season symbolizes death, and the spring, life. Therefore the rāga vasanta conquers death and brings immortal life unto mortal man.
CHAPTER SIX

EVOLUTION OF MUSIC-PARTS OR DHĀTUS

'Music-part' is known as a unit or a division of songs (prabandha-gītis). It is known by different names, like dhātu, amśa, kali, tuka, bhāga, etc. The prabandha type of songs are known by their harmonious combination of words (sāhitya) and tunes (rāgas), together with metres, rhythms and tempi. It is systematically composed, according to śāstric rules and injunctions of the 'highway' i.e. classical type of music. Śāraṅgadeva says: 'prakṛṣṭo yasya bandhaḥ syāt sa prabandho nigadyate'.¹ The present classical music of both Northern and Southern systems, are known as the nibaddha prabandha gītis. Śāraṅgadeva says that the prabandha type of music is divided into three classes²: sūḍa, mārgasaṭa, ṛā or ṛā-samśrīta and viprakirṇa. They are again of two types, pure (sūḍdha) and mixed (miśrīta). The prabandhas are of different forms, with different names. The classical prabandha type of music is possessed of five caste-forms or jātis, and they are: medini, nandinī, dipani, pāvanī and tārāvalī. These are known as jātis because of their particular form and definite

¹. प्रकृष्टो यस्य ज्यात: साहित्य प्रबंधी निगयते।
². प्रबंधास्मिज्ञातोऽः।
character. Bharata describes jātis, in connection with the classical dhruvā type of dramatic songs (nātyagīti). Bharata says in the Nātyaśāstra that jātis evolved from vṛttas, and vṛttas are spun out of different numbers of letters: ‘jātayo vṛtta-sambhavāḥ’ (NS. 32.286).³ Again each jāti consists of three vṛttas and they are: guru-prāya, laghu-prāya and guru-laghu-akṣara-prāya:

Sarvāsāmeva jātīnām trividam vṛttā-misye \ | 
Guruprāyaṁ laghuprāyaṁ guru-laghvaksaram tat'ha || (NS. 32.39)⁴

The jātis are connected with the dramatic songs, dhruvās. The Vedic metres are the life-force (prāṇa), or indispensable parts (āṅga) of the jātis. Kātyāyana says in his Sarvanukramaṇī (middle of the fourth century B.C.): ‘atha chandāṃśe-gāyatruṇṭanuṣṭāv-vṛhati-pankti-triṣṭuva-jagatyatijagati-
sakkaryatīsakkaryastyaṣṭi-dhṛtyatidhṛtaḥ.’⁵ That is, chandas are: gāyatrī, uṣṇka, anuṣṭupa, vṛhati, paṇkti, triṣṭuva, jagatī, atijagati, śakari, atisakkarī, aṣṭi, atyaṣṭi, dhṛti, atidhṛti, etc. Śadguruṣiṣya wrote his commentary, Vedārthadīpikā, in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. He elaborately des-

³. Jātīyā hṛt-saṃbhavaḥ. —Nāṭyaśāstra ९२१५४
⁴. Sarvāsāmeva jātīnām trividam vṛttā-misye \ | 
Guruprāyaṁ laghuprāyaṁ guru-laghvaksaram tat'ha || (NS. 32.39)
⁵. Śadguruṣiṣya wrote his commentary, Vedārthadīpikā, in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. He elaborately des-
cribes these metres, together with kṛti, prakṛti, ākṛti, saṁkṛti, abhikṛti and utkṛti. These metres were used in the jātis. The jātis are: ayukta, pratiṣṭhā, madhya-gāyatrī, capalā, udgāta, dhṛti, etc.

The nibaddha prabandha gītis had their origin in the post-Vedic classical padas or padagānas, which have been elaborately dealt with by Bharata in the Nātyaśāstra. Now, what are the padas? Bharata says that what is composed of letters, is known as ‘pada’: ‘yat kīncidakṣara-kṛtam tat-sarvam pada-samjñitam’. The pādas make the gāndharva type of music manifest, and they are known as vastu: ‘padam tasya bhaved-vastu svara-tālānubhāvakam’.

The padas are divided into two classes, nibaddha and anibaddha. They were again classified into two, satāla (with time-measures) and atāla (without time-measures). The nibaddha type of prabandha, with time-measures (satālā) is known as ālapti or ālāpa, and anibaddha type of prabandha, without time-measures (atālā) is called sārthaka i.e. meaningful or significant gānas, composed of letters, metres and jāti. But both the types of prabandha gītis are possessed

7. यन् ज्ञिषिद्धर्षकिः पतिसेव भद्रसिंह्यतम्।
   —नाय्यमाण १२१२९।
8. पदं तथा भवेतृ वत्स खर-तालानुमानकम्।
of different parts or limbs (āṅgas or dhātus), like svara, viruda, pada, tenaka, pāta and tāla. Though all these parts or limbs convey different meanings, yet they make the prabandha type of songs significant.

But, how the music-parts or dhātus came into being? In Vedic period, the sāmagānas were sung with five bhaktis, and they were: himkāra, udgītha, prastāva, pratihāra and nidhāna. Sometimes two more bhaktis, praṇava and upadrava were added. The bhaktis were also known as vibhaktis or vidhās. Besides the sāmans, there were śastras (शास्त्र) which were sung in tune. The rks or stanzas of the śastras were known as āhāra, first rk, middle rk, last rk, and vaṣatkāra. The five parts (āṅgas) of the sāmans, himkāra udgītha, etc. corresponded to the five rks or stanzas of the śastras. Those five parts of the sāmans were generally meant for invoking the five deities, who were in the form of mantras. The sāmans were sung (or chanted) sometimes by prastotā, udgātā and pratihāra, and sometimes by four Brāhmins, including the presiding Brāhmin, brahmā, who was possessed of knowledge in the four Vedas. Śāraṅgadeva says that the five āṅgas of the Vedic sāmagana, prastāva, udgītha, pratihāra, upadrava and nidhāna were afterwards transformed into five dhātus of the post-Vedic classical type of gānas, and they were udgrāha, anudgrāha, sambandha, dhruvaka and ābhoga. Again the first part, himkāra together with praṇava or
omkāra were used in the classical type of music, as the supplement to the time-unit or kalā. Śāraṅgadeva says,

Brahmañā ca purā gītāṃ prastāvodgīthakau

pratihāropadravau ca nidhānaṃ pañcamam

Tato himkāraḥ oṃkāra saptāṅgāniti tatra tu /

udgrāhaḥ syadanudgrāhaḥ samvandho dhruvakastathā //

Abhogascetī pañcāṇāmādyānāmabhidhāḥ

krāmāt /

Himkāroṃkārayostatra kalā-pūrakata matā //

Śāraṅgadeva quotes Brahmaca, the first and foremost musicologist of the pre-Christian era. Perhaps he was the author of the Brahmacaritam, and flourished in the 600-500 B.C. It is said that Bharata i.e. Brahmaca or Brahmabhāratam introduced five dhātus or music-parts, in the classical gāndharva type of music, as five aṅgas were current in the Vedic music, with some changed names. As for example,

9. ॥ ॥

pṛitṛti prādṛś inān pashm māt ॥

tattī hi kar; śīśār samāvānti tativ tu ॥

chudava: śādudaya: sm bhū vyakrata ॥

bhāmabhāvāti pashānārayānāmāmānī prakārata ॥

hi kārīkārīkāryeṣvar kalaṣārṇakata mā ॥
prasthāva, udgītha, pratihāra, upadrava, nīdhāna
udgrāha, melāpaka, dhruvaka, antara, ābhoga

It should be remembered that the dhātus like udgrāha or udgrāhaka, etc. are the music-parts of the post-Vedic prabandha type of songs (gītis). The dhātu, dhrūva or dhruvaka is used as the intermediary part (aṃśa) between the parts, melāpaka and ābhoga, and antara occurs in between the parts dhrūva and ābhoga. Antara is sometimes omitted. Śāraṅgadeva describes those music-parts, in the prabandha chapter of the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara. He says,

Prabandhāvayavo dhātuḥsa caturdhāḥ nirūpitaḥ | Udgrāhaḥ prathamastatra tato melāpaka-

Aḥogaścetī teśāṃ ca kramāllakṣmābhidadehmahe | Udgrāhaḥ prathamo bhāgastato melāpakah

smṛtaḥ //

Dhruvatvāccha dhruvah paścadābhogastvantimo mataḥ //

Dhruvābhogāntare jāto dhāturanyo'ntarā-
bhidhah //

10. Śāraṅgadeva does not recognise antarā as a separate dhātu.

11. प्रवर्तकश्वेता: च चतुष्को निधिपति: ||
चद्रवाक: प्रवर्तकश्वेता मेलापकाः पुंश: ||
मास्ताविष्टाद्वितिया च क्रमाध्यास्मिन्ति ||
चद्रवाक: प्रवर्तकश्वेता मेलापकाः प्रवर्तक: स्त्री: ||
च वल्लभ: च ्व: पश्चादाधीनमानिवर्तिनं सति: ||
प्रवल्लभार्ती धातुरण्यो'तराधिक प्रवल्लभार्ती: ||

—खृष्टि-रामद्वारा ११५-५
Simhabhupâla, the commentator says: 'sa catur-prakâraḥ udgrâhakaḥ melâpakaḥ, âbhogaḥ, antaraśceti. * *Prabandhasya prathamam bhâga udgrâha ityucyate. Dvitiyo bhâga melâpakaḥ. Tertiyo bhâga dhruwâḥ. * *Udgrâhântaramâbhogântaram ca gânâdanîmo bhâga âbhogaḥ. **Dhruvasya âbhogasya ca madhye'ntarâkhyâḥ pañcama dhâturasti. **Antarâkhyo dhâtur-na catvâra eva dhâtavah'. 12 Again the names of the music-parts (dhâtu) were probably changed into sthâvî, antarâ, sañcâri and âbhoga, at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century A.D.

A râga, constructed out of the succession and patterned combination of seven notes, manifests and develops itself in the music-part, sthâyi. 13 It is called sthâyi, because a râga rests on it, and makes itself manifest, there for the first time (sthitâtvât sthâyî). Some are of opinion that a râga first takes its base (seat) in the music-part, sthâyi, and then moves gradually towards the fifth and sixth notes, pañcama and niśâda of the middle octave, comes in contact with other notes, and touches the tonic (sadja) of the higher octave, and rests on the sonant (vâdī-svara). Again, when the

12. 8 Chitra, kâr. 1 Chitrâsak.; mîlâyak.; ñâmîga.; ñantarî. 1 * * Prabhâsh prabhî bhâga Chitrâsak.; prâtlâyâ; 1 vârtîbhî bhâga mîlâyak.; vârtîbhî bhâga prabhî. 1 * * Chitrâsakânamauramîgânamâr; gânâdanâbhî bhâga; ñâmîga.; * * Kâva ñâmîgâsa sañcâri; prabhî; Mûra; 1 * * Sthâyasî dhâtuvât; kâr. eva dhâtuvâ.

*13. Sthâyi is sometimes pronounced as ã-sthâyi. In Sanskrit and Hindi it is pronounced as ã-sthâyi. It will correctly be pronounced as 'sthâyî', and not ã-sthâyî.
rāga develops itself in the second music-part, antara or antarā (i.e. the music-part that rests between sthāyī and saṅcari), it generally starts from the third note, gāndhāra (sometimes from the fourth or fifth, madhyama or paṅcama) of the middle octave, and moves towards the high octave (tārā-saptaka). It moves sometimes up to rṣabha, or gāndhāra, or madhyama, and fully manifests there, and then comes down to the tonic (ṣadja) of the middle octave. In the South Indian system, sthāyī is known as pallavi, and antara as anupallavi. The word ‘pallavi’ connotes the idea of seed or offspring. Antara is called anupallavi, because it comes after (anu) pallavi. So the word pallavi indicates the beginning of the song, or the first stage, whereas anu-pallavi conveys the idea of sprout, or the second stage. Fox-Strangways calls pallavi as ‘germ’, ‘sprout—first subject’ or ‘at home’, and anupallavi as ‘after-germ—second, subject’, or ‘interval, change of voice of register’, etc.

The music-part, sthāyī or pallavi creates or makes manifest the rāga, and antara or anupallavi sustains it. Sometimes it is said that the notes of the first music-part, sthāyī are sustained in the middle octave, and then continue to move towards the high octave. The notes of the second music-part (antara or antarā) help the notes of the first music-part (sthāyī) to gradually play in the high octave. In the chapter of varṇa (varṇa-prakārṇa), the first varṇa is known as sthāyī, which
helps to make manifest the song (gīta): ‘yat gītam varṇābhivyakti-kṛt’.\(^{14}\) It seems similar to udgrāhaka or udgrāha, the first part (dhātu) of the prabandha music, to some extent.

It is said that the dissonant (samvāḍi) notes are profusely used in the second music-part, antara or antarā. But from the viewpoint of the elaboration of the notes (svara-vistāra), this process is more adopted in sthāyi than antarā, because it is very difficult to elaborate the notes, from the middle octave to the high one.

The fourth music-part ābhoga is considered as the complement to the third one, saṅcāri (‘abhogah paripūrnatā’), or to both sthāyi and antarā. In some dhruvapada type of songs, we find only two music-parts, sthāyi and antarā, and in that case antarā appears as the complement to sthāyi. But when a song is composed of four parts, sthāyi, antarā saṅcāri and ābhoga, we consider saṅcāri as both counterpart of and complement to sthāyi, and ābhoga as those of antarā. In fact, saṅcāri and ābhoga are repetitions of sthāyi and antarā. The musicologists say: ‘antarāḥ samīpavartī’, i.e., antarā is the sustainer of and complement to sthāyi.

It is interesting to note that the word ‘antarā’ or ‘antarā’ is almost absent in the pre-Ratnākara works. Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 century A.D.)

\(^{14}\) यत् नीति वर्णाभिव्यक्तिः
says, in connection with the division of the \textit{nibaddha gītis}, in his \textit{Saṅgīta-pārijāta}.

\begin{verse}
Ādyā udgrāhako jñeno melāpaka-staduttaraḥ / Tṛtiyo dhruva-sanjñāḥ syādantaraḥ
\hspace{1cm} syāccaturthakaḥ /
Ābhogaḥ pañcamabhāgāḥ . . . . . . \textsuperscript{15}
\end{verse}

A \textit{nibaddha gīti} is divided into five parts, and they are: \textit{udgrāhaka}, \textit{melāpaka}, \textit{dhruva}, \textit{antara} and \textit{ābhoga}. The \textit{udgrāhaka} is the first part, the second part is \textit{melāpaka}, the third part is \textit{dhruva}, the fourth part one is \textit{antara}, and the fifth part is \textit{ābhoga}. \textit{Antara} and \textit{antarā} are one and the same. Paṇḍit Ahobala divides the music-parts into five, following the method of the ancient musicologists.\textsuperscript{16} From this it is understood that the five divisions existed before Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 A.D.), and by \textit{pūrvasūribhiḥ}, he means Śāraṅgadeva and others. It has already been said that though Śāraṅgadeva admits in the \textit{Saṅgīta-Ratnākara} : \textit{prabandhāvayo dhātu sa caturdhā nirūpitaḥ}, yet he recognizes \textit{antara} as \textit{dhatu}, in between the parts, \textit{dhruva} and \textit{ābhoga} : \textit{dhruvābhogāntare jāto dhāturaṇyo'ntarābhidhāḥ} (4.9). Kallināth says : \textit{dhruvābhogāntare dhruvābhogayor-}
madhye jāta utpanno nirmita ityarthah'. Śāraṅgadeva further admits that the music-part, antara or antarā is used in the sālagasūḍa-prabandha and rūpaka-prabandha: 'sa tu sālagasūḍastha rūpakesveva dṛṣyate'.

Kallināth further comments: 'atra dṛṣyata iti dṛṣi-grāhaṇena dhruvādiśvāpi yatra ciraṇtana-prayogādantaro dṛṣṭānta-tattraiva kāryo nānytreti niyamāntara-syāpi sūcitatvānmanṭhādiṣu darśanāttatraiva kārya'.

He means to say that though dhruva functions as antara from very ancient times, yet it is used separately in the prabandha like maṇṭh, etc. In fact, the music-part dhruva has been divided into two, dhruva and antara or antarā, and antara is used alternately (vikalpe). The seven types of vhinnā, etc. rāgagītis, and ṛk, pānikā, etc. brahmagītis were also divided into four parts, instead of five. The commentator Simhahbupāla says: 'Prabandhasya prathamo bhāga udgrāha ityucyate. Dvitīya-bhāgo melāpakaḥ. Tṛtiyo bhāgo dhruvaḥ. Tasya-dhruva-śabdasya vyut-pattistu dhruvatvānmiścalatvāditi. Udvraṇāntaramābhogānantaram ca gāṇādantaṁ bhāgo āhhoḍh, * *dhruvasya ābhogasya ca madye’nantarākhyāḥ pañcamo dhāturastī. Tat-kathāṁ pañcadheti notkamata āha—sa tviti. Antarākhyo dhāturaṇa sarvatra prabandheṣu.

17. स तृ सालगसूढा-रपके शे हृदयति ।

—स्मृति-स्मितिज्ञ ६४५

18. भव हृदयत वृत द्रुपो-धृष्टि तु वाक्यविद्धि तद्र चिराज्ञायीयोगादनासी इत्यादि तत्र व ज्ञायें नान्त्यति नियमान्तश्चन्ति सूचितसाधारादिगु दर्शनालोकव कायं ।
Kim tu sālagasūḍa-prabandheśveva. Tatasca sarvesu prabandheśu. Catvāra eva dhātavaḥ.¹⁹

So we find that the music-part, antara or antarā is used in the sālaga-sūḍa-prabandha-gītis in the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, otherwise the four parts, udgrāha, melāpaka, dhruva and ābhoga have been accepted in the system of ancient classical gāndharva and deśī types of music. The part, antara is also known as ‘uppantara’. In truth, antara was not used generally by the ancient artists and musicologists, as dhruva functioned for it. Kallināth says: ‘sakṛd-virati-rudgrāho’ntaraḥ tū aksara-nirmitaḥ’.²⁰ Kallināth comments further on the śloka 4.8 of the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara: ‘anena gānakāle dhruvasyādavṛttisu kṛtāsu.’²¹ It is also evident from the following lines of Śāraṅgadeva:

Dhruva-statastatra pūrvameka-dhātupadadvayaṃ //

Bhinna-dhātu tṛṭiyam syādābhogastadānantaram //

Geyo vāggeyakāreṇa svābhidhāna-vibhūṣitaḥ //²²

¹⁹ प्रवन्ध प्रत्येक भाग उद्धार ब्रजाचलितः च तत्त्व भागी स्मृतापः। तत्त्वीयो भागः प्रवन्धः।
²⁰ तत्त्व ब्रजम् ब्रजाचलिता भवनाभिं जनातिता।
²¹ उद्धारणानन्ध काढ़े द्राक्षराम्।
²² प्रवन्ध प्रत्येक भागवतः। तत्त्वीयो भागः प्रवन्धः।
Simhabhupāla says that instead of four, three music-parts were also used in a prabandha-gīti. Some other music-parts were also mentioned in the Saṅgīta-Raṭnakara. But usually, says Kallināth four music-parts were accepted, as antara was used exclusively in the maṇṭhā class of the gītis: 'yatra cirantana-prayogādantaro dyastaḥ'.

Paṇḍit Dāmodara also follows the method of Śāraṅgadeva. He says in his Saṅgīta-darpana:

Dhātuḥ prabandhāvayavaḥ sa-codgrāhādi
bhedataḥ /
Caturdhā kathito bhāgastvādyo udgrāhah-
samjñakaḥ //
Ādāvudgrhyate-gītām yenodgrāha-stadā bhavet /
Melāpako dvitiyastūḍgrāha-dhruvaka-melanāt //
Dhruvatvād-dhruva-sanjñastu tṛṭīya bhāga
ucyate /
Ābhogastvantimo bhāgo gīta-pūrṇatva-
sucakaḥ //
Dhruvābhogāntare kaiścit dhāturuktontara-
bhidhaḥ /24
Panḍit Dāmodara regards udgrāha as the first part ('ārambhaka'), and ābhoga as the last one, and antarā as an intermediary part between dhruva and ābhoga of the prabandha type songs. He therefore recognizes only four music-parts, udgrāha, melāpaka, dhruva and ābhoga.

Panḍit Śrīnivāsa (early eighteenth century) admits four music-parts or limbs in his Rāgatattvavibodha. Śrīnivāsa says,

Ādāvudgrāhyate yena sa tānodgrāha-saṇṭijñakaih /
Ādyantayoścaniyamastāne yatra prajāyate //
Sthāyitanaḥ sa vijñeyo lakṣya-lakṣṇakovidaih /
Saṇcāri tu sa vijñeyaih sthāpyāroha-vimīśritaḥ //
Yatra rāgasya viśrānti samāptidyotako hi saḥ //\(^{25}\)

According to Śrīnivāsa music-parts are four in number, and they are udgrāha, sthāyī, saṇcāri, and dyotaka. He flourished between Ahobala and Bhāvabhātta, the author of Anupasaṅgītavilāsa. It is interesting to note that Śrīnivāsa is a staunch follower of Ahobala and he borrows many materials from Ahobala’s Saṅgīta-pārijāta.\(^{26}\)

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25. श्वादायद्ये देवस तानोद्याहसेषालव: ।
श्वादायद्ये देवस तानोद्याहसेषालव: ॥
श्यायीतार: म विच्छि व: लक्ष्य-लक्ष्यनविन्दैः ।
मधारो तु स विच्छि व: श्यायारोपितविनिमित: ॥
यव रावणा विनिमित्वम सामावितोतकी गि व: ।

26. Unfortunately the complete printed book is not yet available. But it is sure that Panḍit Ahobala wrote the Pārijāta, dealing with all the topics on svara, rāga, prabandha, vādyā, nātya and nṛtya.
Again Bhāvabhāṭṭa is a follower of Śrīnīvāsa, and he incorporates many materials in his Anupasaṅgītavīlāsa, from Śrīnīvāsa’s Rāgatattvavibodha, but he differs from Śrīnīvāsa in his views, regarding the names and numbers of the music-parts. Śrīnīvāsa does not recognize antara or antarā as a part. He rather combines the chapters on varṇa (varṇālamkāra) and rāga (prabandha) together, and accepts sthāyī as the second part, which seems quite different to the divisions, made by other musicologists.

Now, let us see how the music-part (dharma) antara or antarā was recognized as an indispensable part or limb of the nibaddha gītis. It was also used as an alternative to dhruva, even during Dāmodara’s time (1625 A.D.). He says that ‘some dhatu like antara is also referred’ to: ‘kaścid dharma ṛuktah’.

It has already been said that Kallināth admits the alternative (vikalpa) use of antara, as he admits: ‘anena gāna-kāle dhruvasyaśvāttisu kṛtāsu, i.e. when antarā is used, dhruva remains absent. But this practice has not been accepted by most of the post-Śāraṅgadāva authors, and some have rather omitted antarā instead of dhruva.

Veṅkatamakhīn also admits the four music-parts, or limbs in his Caturdāṇḍiprakāśikā (1620 A.D.) like his predecessors. He says,

27. काष्ठवात्रसः ।
28. खण्डन गानकाले ध्रुवस्यावत्तिः क्रताः ।
Dhāturnāma prabandhasyāvayavah sa
caturvidhaḥ /
Udgrāhaḥ prathamastatra tato melāpaka-
dhruvau ///
Ābhogaścetvathaitesāṃ * * * * 1/2

The part, ābhoga completes the prabandha-gīti:
‘prabandhasya yadābhogam paripūrtim karoti tat’.30 He
also mentions about the part, antarā in between
dhruva and ābhoga: ‘dhruvābhogāntare jāto yatastanānt-
tarābhhidhāḥ’.31 He says that antarā may be
recognized as the fifth music-part, if necessary.

So it seems that the division of the gītis,
sthāyi, antarā, saṅcārī and ābhoga are the products
of the nineteenth century. Sir S. M. Tagore
has mentioned these particular names of the
music-parts in his article, Hindu Music, published
in the journal Hindu Patriot, in 1874. Sir
William Jones also admits these names in his
monograph: On the Musical Modes of Hindoos,
published in 1784. Captain Willard also recog-
nizes them. Rādhā Mohan Sen mentions these
names in his Saṅgīta-taraṅga, published in 1818.
He calls dhātu as toka i.e. tuka, or aṁśa, or
bhāga. He says,

29. धातुनाम प्रतन्सतावयवः स चतुर्वचः ।
छद्राण्णः प्रयम्यस्वत ततो मैलायकः-भवः ॥
पाभोगः त्यव तेषां * * 1

30. प्रबंधय यदाभोगं परिपूर्तिः करोतिः ततः ।

31. प्राभोगणां जरो त्यस्य मान्यताभिधः ।
Toker viśeṣa nāma śuna mahāśaya //
Prathama toker nāma ūrdhagraha vale /
Athavā asthāi nāma—kahena sakale //
Dvitiya toker nāma milā-kuka māni /
ṛtiya toker nāma āntara vākhāni //
Caturthete bhāga āra pañcame ābhoga /
Bhogere ābhoga vale, ābhogere bhoga //
Cāri-toka dhru vapada kahilāma yāya /
Milākuka nāme toka nāhika tahāya //
Asthāyi utthive tāra-kharaja upare /
Dharive antarā pare rikhābher ghare //
Gandhāre dharive bhoga—ābhoga madhyame /
Cāri toka dhru vapada erupa niyame //

He describes the special name of toka i.e. tuka or music-part. A dhru vapada is consisted of four music-parts, and the first among them is ūrdhagraha (?) i.e. udgrāha. Or this part or limb is known to
all as a-sthāyī: i.e. sthāyī. The second one is considered as milākuka, i.e. melāpaka, the third one is known as antarā, the fourth one as bhoga, and the fifth one as ābhoga. But, in truth, bhoga is known as ābhoga, and vice-versa. They are the tokas i.e. tukas or parts of the dhruvapada music. Milākuka or melāpaka is now out of practice. The notes of a-sthāyī begin from kharaja i.e. śadja, and that of antara from rikhābha i.e. ṛṣabhā. The notes of the part bhoga rise from gāndhāra, and that of ābhoga from madhyama.

The Saṅgīta-taraṅga of Rādhā Mohan Sen is an authentic Bengali book on music. Probably for want of proper knowledge in Sanskrit, some of the technical names of the music materials have been mutilated. But the reason for the adoption of new names, a-sthāyī or āsthāyī, bhoga, etc. has not been given by him. The radical musicians and musicologists of the twentieth century have newly reformed the arrangement of microtones or śrutis, rāgas, parent scales or melas, tonal forms or svararūpas, sonant (vādi), tānas, dhātus, etc. in the North Indian systems of music, but whether their reformation is truly scientific or not should probably be investigated. Again we do not know why udgrāha and melāpaka were replaced by sthāyī and antarā. If we investigate into the matter from

33. It has already been said that the correct name is sthāyī.
historical standpoint we find that \textit{udgrāha} is the first music-part or limb of the \textit{prabandha} chapter, from where the song begins, and \textit{sthāyī} is the first part of the \textit{vārṇa} chapter, where the song takes its stand and begins to manifest. So the status and significance of both the parts of two different chapters are almost the same. Pañcīt Viṣṇunārāyaṇa Bhāṭkhāṇḍe adopts the present modified system of the music-parts, and says:

प्रबंधके मित्र मित्र भाग अथवा अथवाच रहते थे जिसे धातु कहते थे। इन धातुओंके नाम रज्जकर्मे इस प्रकार दिये है—उद्धवाह, मेलापक, ध्रुव, अन्तरा और आभोग। आज काल प्रवन्धों का गायन कहीं दिखाई नहीं देता। अतः इन प्राचीन धातुओं को वर्ण

cरनेते हमें कोई प्रयोजन नहीं है। जिया प्रकार हमारे आधुनिक
gतोमें व्यायी, अन्तरा, संबारी और आभोग इत्यादि धातु
sमकाना चाहिये।

That is, the different parts of the \textit{prabandha-gāṇa} are known as \textit{dhātus}. In \textit{Ratnākara}, they are called \textit{udgrāha}, \textit{melāpaka}, \textit{dhruva}, \textit{antarā} and \textit{ābhoga}. Śāraṅgadeva also mentions that there was a type of music, known as \textit{dhruva} containing four music-parts. This \textit{dhruva} may be recognized as the forerunner of the modern \textit{dhruvapada} type of music(?). It was included in the \textit{sālaga} type of \textit{prabandha} music. The first part was known as \textit{udgrāha}, similar to the part, \textit{sthāyī} of the modern times. The second part of this \textit{dhruva} music was sung higher than the first part, as Simhabhupāla says: \textit{kiṃci-}
duccaṁ khaṇḍaṁ antarākhyāṁ kartavyaṁ'. From the commentary of Simḥabhupāla it is understood that the name of the second part was antara. But it seems, that was not correct, as the name of the second part was melāpaka, even during Simḥabhupāla’s time 1330 A.D). Antara was the fourth part that occurred between dhruva and ābhoga. However, the third part of the dhruva type of prabandha music was sung as the first one, and the fourth part, as the second one. Nowadays the practice of śāstric prabandha type of gītis is almost obsolete, and so ancient dhātus like udgrāha, etc. have no utility. In the modern system of music, the four dhātus: sthāyi, antara, saṅcārī and ābhoga are used. But Paṇḍitji remains silent about the reason and history behind the radical change that took place in the field of the limbs or dhātus. It is probable that there was a great interchange between the two chapters, varṇa and prabandha, as has been said before. The varna chapter possesses the four parts, sthāyi, saṅcārī, ārohī and avarohī, and the prabandha chapter consists mainly of four parts, udgrāha, melāpaka, dhruva and ābhoga. It has already been said that Paṇḍit Śrīnivāsa, of the early eighteenth century, adopted, in his system some modified music-parts like udgrāha, sthāyi, saṅcārī and dyotaka. So it seems that the music-society of the early twentieth century had a tendency to adopt a new process, regarding the music-parts, and so they adopted
sthāyi and sañcāri from the varṇa chapter, and antarā and ābhoga from the prabandha one, to complete their system. But there poses a question whether the new adoption is based upon a logical ground.

It is quite true that the radicalists have given some new significance to their new devised music-parts. They say that sthāyi means the first part, which helps to manifest the music. In the varṇa chapter, Mataṅga says: ‘varṇabhivyaktir yatra pade sa varṇa sthāityucyate’, 34 i.e. the varṇa, that manifests the song, is called sthāyi. Antarā suggests the part that lies after the first part, sthāyi. Therefore the word antarā signifies the idea of ‘next to sthāyi’. But in the prabandha chapter it has been defined as the part that originates in between (antare) the parts, dhrūva and ābhoga: ‘dhruvabhogāntare jāto dhaturanyon-tarābhidhah’. 35 Perhaps the radicalists had adopted at first the word antarā that lies between the parts, third and fourth and then explained it as the part next to the first part, sthāyi. The word sañcāri means the movement of the notes which manifest the melody or song. In the varṇa chapter, says Mataṅga it signifies the meaning, ‘yatra gite sañcaranti svarāh paraspara-mantarasahe tā ekaikāsa vā sañcāri varṇa ucyate’. 36 The part, ābhoga

34. यदृ गीतं वर्णाभिव्यक्तिकल्ल यद पदं स वर्ण: खारीतावधने।
35. भुगभोगाली जाती धातुराभोगानतामभिः।
—बालकर ५४५
36. यद्गीतं सहरतमं स्वरं; परस्परसमस्हितं एकाकाषो वा सदारी वर्णं उच्यते।
means that which completes the manifestation of the melody, and consequently of the song: ‘ābhogaḥ pariṣṭuṇata’. Kallināth says ‘antimo dhātuḥ prabandhasya pariṣṭuṇahetūdābhoga iti’. The radicalists also adopted this part with the same meaning.

37. भाभोग: परिपूर्णता।
38. भारसी धातु: प्रवचन परिपूर्णार्थतादाभोग द्रति कारणि कार्यायप्पाय छः।
Chapter Seven
Development of Classical Music and Musical Literature of Bengal

I

Bengal has produced thousands of personalities in all the spheres of activities, social, political, historical, literary, musical and aesthetic. Thousands of music lovers, artists, composers and authors were born on the soil of Bengal, who lived in music, breathed the air and atmosphere of music, and enriched the golden treasure of Indian music. The geographical boundary of ancient Bengal was not so limited, as we find today, but it included Girivaraja (Behar), Kaliṅga (Utkal or Orissa) and Kāmarūpa (Assam). The classical music or art song was extensively cultured throughout the vast area of Bengal, making it compatible with innumerable types of regional music or folk songs that animated and elevated the daily lives of the plain living rural people.

State patronage was always behind the healthy culture of music. The rich zeminder classes also lent a helping hand to preserve and develop it. In the Gupta period (320-600 A.D.) there had been an upsurge of musical culture. Samudragupta was a great patron of this cultural efflorescence, as evidenced by his
lyrist type of copper coin. Candragupta II Vikramāditya (380-423 A.D.) was reputed to have been an adept and he composed many metrical works of great value. The Pāla and Sena Rulers also followed the ideals of the Gupta Emperors. In the recent archaeological discoveries at Maināmatī and Lāmāi Hills, interesting objects like Kinnaras, horse-headed Tumburu, semi-divine Gandharvas with damaru, ghāḍā (pitcher), flute and drums of different sizes have been found. Many figures of musicians and typical musical instruments like cymbal, gong, trumpet, lyre, mṛđaṅga and veenā have been excavated from the mounds of Pāhārpur. All of them undoubtedly prove that the people of Bengal under Pāla and Sena rules, could boast of a healthy culture of music with keen artistic sense and beauty. Bengal is regarded as the ‘Land of Music’ for more than a thousand years. Leaving aside the music culture of Bengal, during the rules of the Gupta and Pāla dynasties, we find genuine evidence of the culture of classical type of music i.e. rāga-saṅgīta in the tenth-eleventh century A.D., when the Buddhist monks and Yogīs composed the caryāgītis and vajragītis on occasions of religious celebrations and secret functions of maṇḍala-cakra. Those gītis were the precious treasure of Bengal (nadīmātrkā bāṅgālā), and they were written in avahatta language, making them compatible with the temperament
and sentiment of the classical rāgas like rāmakṛi, bhairavi, kāmoda, mallāri, mālasī or mālasṛi, patamañjari, deśākha, varāḍi devakṛi, dhāṇasī or dhānaśṛi, vaṅgāl, śāvari or śāveri or srāberi, gauḍa, mālasī-gauḍa, etc. The gītis were accompanied by veena, ektāra veṇu and mṛdaṅga. Different intricate tālas like indratāla, etc. were used in those gītis. Different number of lines of the caryā and vajra gītis were systematized with two, three or four dhātus or music-parts, and the second or the fourth dhātu formed the bhanītā. The Buddhist caryā and vajra gītis of Bengal were recognized as the nibaddha prabandha gītis.

After Vallālasena, Lākṣmaṇasena, his son and general, were devoted to music and Sanskrit learning. The book Sadukti-karṇāmṛta of Śridhara-dāsa relates that like Umāpatidhara, Govardhana, Śaraṇa and Dhoysi, Jayadeva of the Gitagovinda was also a court-poet of Rājā Lākṣmaṇasena. It is said that Lākṣmaṇasena was very fond of nātagīti, and there was special arrangements for performances of nātagīti every evening in his royal court. Both Jayadeva and his devoted consort Nāṭī Padmāvatī were experts in music and dance. In the book Sekāsubhodaya of Nata-Gaṅgo or Gaṅgoka, we find that Vuḍhanamiśra and his wife Vidyutprabhā were also the court-Nata and Nāṭī of Rājā Lākṣmaṇasena. At that time the devadāsis or dancing girls were engaged in every temples of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Kārtikeya. In Dhoysi’s Pavanadūtam, we find
the mention of these *devadāsis* or temple-dancing girls. In Rūparāma’s *Dharmamaṅgala*, we get references of *natinṛtvas* in the temples of Bengal. Gauḍa, Dvārbhāṅgā, Mithilā, Kāmarūpa, and Kaliṅga were the popular seats of culture of classical dance and music. Nepāl and Kāśmere had received the impetus and inspiration of music and dance from Bengal. Music also travelled from Nepāl and Kāśmere to Khāṣgar, Bhutān, Kuchi, Khotān, China, Japan and Korea, through the medium of the Buddhist religious missionaries, and traders. There was a direct route from Magadh to Tibet *via* Kāśmere.

In the early twelfth century A.D., Thākur Jayadeva composed his *Gītagovinda-gītis*. The current *rāgas* and *tālas* were incorporated in his *padagītis*. The *tālas* were *maṇṭha, yati, rūpaka, pratimaṇṭha* and *ekatāli*, and their forms or rhythmic patterns can easily be deciphered. The arrangements of the microtones, in relation to seven notes, were made according to the system, adopted by the *Nātyaśāstra* of Bharata (second century A.D.). The standard pure scale (*śuddha-mela*) was perhaps similar to *kāphi-mela* of the present Hisdusthānī system of music, and *mukhāri* of Vidyāraṇya’s system. They were known as the systematized *prabandha* type of music, as they strictly followed different classical *rāgas*, *tālas*, music-parts or *dhātus*, emotional sentiments and moods (*rasa* and *bhāva*).
It is possible to determine or discover the real forms of the rāgas, current in Jayadeva's time (12th century A.D.), by comparing them with the melody-types (rāgas), as depicted in Kavi-Locana's Rāgataranginī, and Hṛdayanārāyaṇa's Hṛdayakautuka. Jayadeva probably followed the modes of singing (gāyana-saili) of the caryā and vajra gītas. It is said that the songs of Gitagovinda were presented everyday in the temple of Jagannāth at Puri by temple-dancing girls or devadāsīs and Brāhmiṇs. They are still there in some of the South Indian temples in the form of classical kīrtana.

If we survey the culture of music during the time of Gupta, Pāla and Sena dynasties, we find that the rāgagītis were current almost everywhere in Bengal. The śāstric rules and injunctions of Bharata of the Nātyaśāstra, Dattila, Kohala, Yāśṭika Śāṅḍilya, Nandikeśvara, Matarīga of Bhaddeśī (second-seventh century) were predominant in the domain of classical music. The classical types of music and dance, that have been depicted in the mythico-historical Purāṇas like Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu, Agni, Viṣṇudharmottara and other classical Sanskrit dramas, were also cultured in Bengal, and so the music culture of Bengal was in full accord with the rules and practices of the Indian system of music. Many regional types of music like dohā, cāṅcara, cchappāya, jhumrā, pañcāli, etc. were also current in different parts of Bengal.
The maṅgalagītis were very favourite to the people of Bengal. The reference to 'gītamaṅgala' is found in the great epics like Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, and classical dramas of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Bhāravi and others. The maṅgalagītis perhaps evolved out of the gītamaṅgala of the epics and the Sanskrit dramas. They were later on connected with many ballads and rural stories.

Beginning from the thirteenth to eighteenth century, i.e., from Viprādāsa's Manasāvijaya or Manasā-maṅgala to Bhāratacandra's Annadā-maṅgala, Bengal produced different kinds of maṅgalagītis. In the Sanskrit Pūraṇas and Bengali Maṅgala-kāvyas, we find the influence of gods and goddesses upon mortal men. But in the Manasā-maṅgala, we find it reversed, as Devi Manasā was always ignored by Cānd-Sadāgara. Bengal preserved the culture of different types of kṛṣṇa-kīrtana, kālī-kīrtana, and prabandhas like dvīpadikā, śṭapadi, pāncālikā, jambhalikā, kīrtigāna or padāvali-kīrtana, etc. Śaraṅgadeva describes in the fourth chapter of the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, the classical forms and characteristics of the gītis or gānas like maṅgala (4.303), maṅgalacāra (4.297), dhavala (4.302), caryā (4.293), carcarī (4.290), karaṇa or kīrți or kīrtilaharī (4.23), etc. In the fourteenth-fifteenth century, Vāḍu Chaṇḍidāsa of Bīrbhum, Vidyāpati, Umapātīda and many other mystic Vaiśnavā poets composed padagītis in avahattṭha-bengali-maithili language. They
were sung with different rāgas and tālas, together with emotional sentiments and moods. Those padagītis fully imbibed the atmosphere and spirit of classical type of music. They were possessed of different music-parts (dhātus), metres (chandas), and three registers (sthānas). The provinces of Nepāl and Trihuta were adjacent to Greater Bengal, and were influenced by the classical padagītis of Bengal.

The fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. was an epoch-making period. Śrī Caitanya of Navadwīp (1485-1533 A.D.) brought about a renaissance in the domain of music in Bengal. He promulgated the nāma-kirtana, following the current types of caryā and gītagovinda. He sung kirtana within closed doors in Śrīvāsa’s house at Navadwīp (Śrīvāsa-āṅginā) for the first time. The learned musicians Svarūpa-Dāmodara, Rāy Rāmānanda, Murāri-Gupta, and other Vaiṣṇava savants always accompanied him. Svarūpa-Dāmodara was an expert in both the arts of playing mṛdanga and classical music. From Kṛṣṇadāsa’s Gitāprakāśa (16th century A.D.) and Kavi-Nārāyaṇa’s Saṅgītasaraṇi (16th-17th century A.D.), we come to know that Rāy Rāmānanda was well versed in the science and grammar of classical music. Rāy Rāmānanda was the court-poet of Pratāprudra-Dev of Gajapati dynasty of Orissā, and both of them were devoted disciples of Śrī Caitanya.

The nāma-kirtana was composed of different
names of Hari, the Lord of the universe: 'harernāma harernāma', etc., but it was sung with pure classical rāgas and tālas. It has already been said that Śāraṅgadeva describes elaborately the karaṇa-prabandhas, in the early thirteenth century, in connection with niryukta and aniryukta, and eight kinds sūda-prabandha-gītis (vide SR.4.21-32). Śrī Caitanaya's introduction of the nāma-kirtana or kirtana was supported by Swarūpa-Dāmodara and Rāy Rāmānanda, who were well versed in śāstric classical music.

After Śrī Caitanya, the Vaiśnava savants like Thākur Narottama or Narottama-dāsa Ācārya Śrīnivāsa and Śyāmānanda or Duki Kṛṣṇadāsa (1583 A.D.) brought about a new revival of the padakirtana in Bengal. Swāmī Haridāsa lived at this time (end of the sixteenth and beginning of seventeenth century A.D., during the reign of the Moghul Emperors Ākbar and Jehāṅgir) at Vṛndāvana. Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī38 was a devout Vaiṣṇava saint and founder of Haridāsi or Sakhi sect at Vṛndāvana. From F.S. Growse's Archaeological Account of Mathurā (1883), we know that Swāmī Haridāsa

38. Some are inclined to call Swāmī Haridāsa as Haridāsa Dāgur, but Haridāsa Dāgur was quite a different man from Swāmī Haridāsa of Vṛndāvana. Again there is no genuine proof that Swāmī Haridāsa, the music-teacher of Miān Tānsen, was a musician of the dāgarvāni or dāgurvāni school.
composed many *sakhis*, *cambolas*, *siddhāntapadas*, and *dhruwapada* type of songs in Vṛjabulī language. Many other composers and musicians like Priyādāsa, Dhruvadāsa, Dāmodara-Swāmī, Dayāldāsa, Viṭṭhal-Vipul, Bihārīdāsa, and Rasikadāsa were famous in Mathurā and Vṛṇḍāvana at that time. Some of them were contemporary to and many lived immediately after Śrī Haridāsa Swāmī or Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī. It is said that Thākur Narottama, Ācārya Śrīnivāsa and Śyāmānanda went to Vṛṇḍāvana, and Narottama took systematic lessons in *dhruwapada prabandha-gītis* from some noted Vaiṣṇava savants, for a long time. They came back to Bengal, finishing their studies in different *śāstras* and classical music. They brought with them a huge collection of Sanskrit manuscripts on different subjects, and it is most probable that there were some music manuscripts with them. But unfortunately the manuscripts were looted on the way to Gaudā by the men of Rājā Veerhāmbīra (1538-1572) of Vāṇa-Viṣṇupur, Bāṅkurā. Some are of opinion that this fact is not historically correct, though it has been mentioned in the Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadasa’s *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. Rājā Veerhāmbīra, it is said, was subsequently converted to Vaiṣṇavism. The descendants of Veerhāmbīra made Viṣṇupur the seat of culture of classical music, in Bengal.

After coming back from Vṛṇḍāvana, the three scholar saints Narottama, Śrīnivāsa and
Śyāmānanda realized the greatness of nāma-kirtana, introduced by Śrī Caitanya. Narottama (sixteenth century A.D.) ushered the type of kirtana, in the design of dhruvapada prabandha-gīti. Govindadāsa Cakravurty (1583 A.D.), Rāy Basanta (1583 A.D.), Dvija Gaṅgāram, and others were also well versed in classical music. They represented the padāvali-kirtana (kirtigāna or kirtigāthā-gāna) with ālāpa and rāgas, showing the intricate playing of the microtones (śrutis), tones (svaras), ancient scales (grāmas), ascending of the seven notes (mūrechanās), time-measures (tālas), etc. Ācārya Narahari Cakravurty or Ghanaśyāmadāsa II gave a description of them, in the ninth chapter of his Bhaktivinākara:

(क) चार चार प्रणोदित्य सवार चरणे |
   आलापे अभूत राग प्रकटकरणे ∥
   रागिणी सहित राग मूर्तिमंत कैला ∥
   श्रुति-स्वर-प्राम-मूच्छिनान्ति प्रकाशिता ∥
   *    *    *    *

  नरोचम गणसह तारि प्रणमय |
  निन्दु-गीतेर परिपाटि प्रचार ∥

(ख) प्रस्तु-परिकरण गुणेऽर आलत्य |
  गीत-नृत्य-वाद्य विशारदं भतिष्मय ∥
  *    *    *    *
  गायक-संगते देह आलाप-वर्ण-रोटे |
  आलापये नाना भूति—उपमा कि दृष्टे ∥
That is, (a) ‘they (singers) began to manifest the melody or rāga with ālāpa, repeatedly bowing down to all. The rāgas with rāginiś, together with microtones, notes, scales and mūrcchanās were vividly manifested. **Narottama and his attendants began to propagate the nibaddha type of kirtana, in a very accomplished way. (b) The Master (Śrī Caitanya) and his followers were endowed with many qualities. They were efficient in nṛtya, gīta and vādyā (dancing, singing and drumming). **The singers began to represent ālāpa in various ways, according to its śāstric rules, and they were unparalleled. In this way they fully manifested the rāgas, together with microtones, notes, scale, mūrcchanās, and rhythm, etc. They used gamaka (curving of the tune) and different rhythms in different prabandha type of songs. It was so beautiful and accomplished that even the Gandharvas were no match to them’. From this it is evident that kirtana or kirtana-prabandha-gīti was classical in its type.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the trend of thought, in some quarters, is to consider padāvali-kīrtana as folk song or devotional bhajan, as distinct from classical type of music. This under-estimation occurs, in our opinion, for want of true perspective of the history of kīrtana of Bengal. It has already been said that kīrtana i.e. padāvali-kīrtana of Bengal is a pure type of śūḍa-prabandha-gāṇa of the post-Bharata classical desī music. Even the derivated and diminutive form of ḍhapa-kīrtana, devised and introduced by Madhusūdan Kinnar or Madhu-Kān, owes its origin directly to classical prabandha-gāṇa. So all kinds of controversy regarding the purity and aristocracy of padāvali-kīrtana of Bengal, are therefore baseless.

After Thākur Narottama, many of the learned Vaiṣṇava savants enriched the treasures of the padagītis and padavāli-kīrtana. The name of Ghanaśyāma-Narahari is worth mentioning in this connection. Narahari lived in the early eighteenth century A.D. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries the classical music was cultured profusely all over Greater Bengal, and we get its genuine proof from the book Gitāprakāśa of Orissā. It is believed that Gitāprakāśa was composed by (Swāmī) Krṣṇadāsa, probably in the first half of the sixteenth century, i.e. during the time of Rāy Rāmānanda and Pratāprudra-Dev or Pratāprudra-Gajapati (1504-1582 A.D.). Harinārāyaṇa Sūri, Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-Deva,
and poet Nārāyaṇa were mostly indebted to this book Gitaprakāśa. Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-Deva of Khemundi (a place in Southern Orissa) composed Sangita-nārāyaṇa, and it was written, says K. C. Pattanaik, in the seventeenth century A.D. From the family chronology (krusināmā) of the Khemundi Rāj family, it is known that Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-Deva belonged to it. Many other books on music were written at this time, and Gitaprakāśa was certainly an inspiration to them. Narahari's musical chapter in the Bhaktiratnakara, and his Sangitasāra-sāngraha also prove the trend of classical music in the eighteenth century. Narahari learned dhruvapada from the noted Hindu and Muslim Ustāds of that time. Bhāratacandra Roy (probably 1703 A.D.), Kavirānjana Rāmprasād Sen (probably 1720-1730 A.D.) of Hālisahara, Ayodhya Goswāin or Āju Goswāin (contemporary to Rāmprasād Sen), Rāmanidhi Gupta or Nidhu Bābu (probably 1741-1742 A.D.), and others were regarded as noted composers and musicians of that time. Different nibaddha-kāvya-gītis, and specially pāncāli and other āli-prabandha-gītis, with different intricate tālas, and ālāpas were practised. They were mostly composed in French-Sanskrit mixed Bengali. It is said that Rāmprasād Sen also cultured dhruvapada and classico-Bengali songs. The kheyāl type of music was not so current at that time in Bengal. Rāmprasād was a lover of traditional classical music, and his songs were
appreciated by all classes of people, including the classicalists.

Next to Rāmprasād Sen, Rāmanidhi Gupta (1741-1742—1838-1839 A.D.)\(^{40}\) created a new and novel type of *tappā*. In his early age he learned classic-Bengali songs from some native *Ustāds*. At the age of 35 he went to Chāprā district with a service, and there he mastered pure type of *tappā* from some Muslim *Ustāds*. In his ripe age he came back to Calcutta, and composed hundreds of Bengali classical *tappās*, which were new and novel in form, and unique in presentation. He created a new sensation and zeal amongst the lovers of classical music of Bengal, at that time.

The history of the culture of classical music in Bengal became glorified with the advent of the Muslim *Ustāds* from Delhi and Āgrā, who began to settle in Bengal, during 1759 to 1806 A.D., when Moghul Emperor Shāh Ālam II (formerly Āli Gauhar) was on the throne of Delhi. Shāh Ālam was a man of weak personality, and when on the 12th August, 1765, he granted by a *firmān* the *Diwāni* of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā to the East India Company, he became the titular Moghul Emperor living under the protection of the British. It was, therefore, impossible for him to carry on the musical legacy of his glorious predecessors. The noted

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\(^{40}\) Some ascribe the date 1741-1834 A.D.
musicians, who belonged mostly to the Tānsen school (gharānā), began to leave Delhi, and sought refuge in different Durbārs of Muslim Nawābs and Hindu kings and zemindārs of Oudh, Betiyā, Rewā and other places. It is said that some of the descendants of Tānsen went eastward, and the Senī Ustāds, belonging to Tānsen’s disciple line, went to different parts of Rājputanā. The British Rāj was not interested in preserving the traditional art and culture of Indian music, and so they were indifferent to patronizing the musicians. Many of the Ustāds took shelter in the Durbār of the king of Banaras, and some of them came to Bengal, and settled in Kṛṣṇanagar, Viṣṇupur, Murśidābād and other places. In the seventeenth-eighteenth century A.D., Bāhādur Khān of the Senī school was invited by Rājā Raghunāth Singh II (1752-1784) of Viṣṇupur (Bāṅkurā), and was appointed as his court-musician. The Pākhawāj player Peer Bux came with him, and was appointed in the Durbār. Gadādhara Cakravurty, Rāmaśaṅkar Bhattācārya, Nitāi Nājir, and Vṛndāvan Nājir were the first disciples of Ustād Bāhādur Khān. All of them mastered dhruwapada of the Senī school of Delhi. After Bāhādur Khān, his favourite student Gadādhara Cakravurty, and afterwards Rāmaśaṅkara Bhattācārya became teachers, and Viṣṇupur was regarded as the second Delhi in Bengal. Śyāmācānd Goswāmī, Anantālāl
Cakravurty, Dwārikānāth, Kriṣṇanāth and Vrijamādhava were the students of Gadādhar Cakravurty. Kṣetramohan Goswāmī, Jadu Bhatta, Keśavlāl Cakravurty, Rāmakeśav, Dinabandhu and Anantalāl Banerji, the father of Saṅgitācārya Gopeśwara Banerji, were the students of Rāmasaṅkar Bhattācārya. All of them cultured the Senī style of dhruwapada. But gradually that style was replaced by the style of Sadāraṅga⁴¹ of Tānsen School. But most of the musicians of Viṣṇupur learned dhruwapada from the Ustāds of Gwālior, Rewā, Betiyā, and other places of Rajputanā and Bihār. Bengal was then regarded as a seat of culture of classical music.

During the early nineteenth century, Cinsurā, in the Hooghly district, was noted for its culture of classical music. Ustād Mān Khān came to Cinsurā in 1806, and Rāmcandra Seal took lessons on dhruwapada from him. He was an

⁴¹. Sadāraṅga’s real name was Niyāmat Khān, and ‘sadāraṅga’ was the title, conferred upon him by Muhammed Shāh. Niyāmat Khān belonged to the Tānasen line, and was an expert in both dhruwapada and veenā playing. Whatever may be the story, current about him, he composed many classical vilambita kheyl type of songs, on the pattern of the dhruwapada. He was really the man who made the kheyl type of music of India rich, aristocratic and popular. Āmir Khusrau and Sultān Hussain Sharki of Jaunpur created an impetus in the kheyl type of songs before Sadāraṅga or Niyāmat Khān.
expert in both dhruvapada and kheyāl, and so he taught his disciple Rāmacandra both the types of music. Rāmcandra Seal was the Dewān of Messrs Palmer & Co., and so he had to go to Mursidabād, from time to time. Mursidabād was then one of the seats of culture of classical music. Báde Miān, Has-su-Khān, Hardu-Khān, Hīrā and Bul-bul were the famous musicians of that time. Rāmacandra used to invite them to Cinsurā, and thus he created an inspiration among the people of that place. He was acquainted with Kṛṣṇānanda Vedavyāsa, the well-known compiler of Rāga-kalpadruma. Mahārāja Bhāratcandra of Kṛṣṇanagar used to invite Rāmacandra to his Durbār. Mahārāja himself was very fond of classical music, and many Muslim Ustāds were often invited in his Kṛṣṇanagar Durbār. Gopāl Candra Pāṭhak, Parāṇa Mukherjee and Jaladhara Mukherji were the students of Rāmacandra. Rāmkṛṣṇa Pāl, who mastered the khāṇḍārvāṇi dhruvada, and musicians like Rāmakānai Mukherji and Gaṅgā Nārāyaṇa Chatterji were contemporaneous to Rāmcandra Seal.

It is said that kheyāl (Hindusthāṇī) was first introduced in Bengal, in the early nineteenth century. Kānāilāl Cakravurtī and Mādhavlāl Cakravurti of Viṣṇupur, (Bāṅkurā) first learned kheyāl from Mohammed Khān of Sadāraṅga’s disciple line, and they introduced this style in Viṣṇupur. Rājā Madan Mohan Singh was then
the ruler of Viṣṇupur, and he encouraged them in the introduction of kheyl, together with dhruvapada. But there is a difference of opinion regarding the first introduction of kheyl, in the soil of Bengal.

In the middle of the nineteenth century A.D., Calcutta became one of the chief centres of the culture of classical music. Mahārājā Jatindra Mohan Tagore and Mahārājā Sir Sourindra Mohan Tagore of Jorāsāṅko (Calcutta) were great patrons of classical music. Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī was appointed as a teacher of music in their palace. Peer Bux, the pakhoyāji of Viṣṇupur also lived sometimes in Calcutta, and made some students. All the top-ranking Muslim and Hindu Ustāds of that time were invited to the Tagore castle. The names of Maulā-Bux of Barodā, Hanumān Dāṣjī and Kānāilāl Dherī of Gayā may be mentioned among those, who were invited. Maulā-Bux became the family teacher of the Tagores. Śrīmatī Pratīvā Devī, the wife of Āshutoṣa Coudhury and others became his students. Ustād Hanumān Dāṣjī was an expert in both theory and practice of music, and he was very favourite to Sir S. M. Tagore. The name of his worthy son, Šonijjī is worth mentioning in this connection. Šonijjī was noted for the colourful playing of the Hārmonium.

Sir S. M. Tagore established the Saṅgītā-
samāja, in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, with the
the co-operation of some zamindars of Bengal, namely, Mahārāja of Nātore, Āshutos Coudhury, Manmatha Mitra, poet Rabindranāth Tagore, and others. They provided many Muslim Ustāds in their Samāj. Time to time jalsās (music functions) were arranged for giving scope and opportunity to the students and public at large. Sir S. M. Tagore wrote many valuable books on music, with the help of Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī, and others. Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī also wrote two noted books: Saṅgītasāra and Yantra-kṣetra-dīpikā.

At that time, Bengal had produced many talented Ustāds of classical music. The renowned Jadu Bhatta of Viṣṇupur mastered dhruwapada of Senī school, in his early age, from Gadādhara Cakravurty. In the opinion of Rabindranāth Tagore, the renowned Jadu Bhatta’s dhruwapada was purely of khāndārvānī style. Afterwards he went to the Durbār of Veercandra Mānikya Bāhādur of Tipperā, and there he learned veṇā and rabāb from Ustād Kāsem Āli Khān, a descendant of Miān Tānsen. He also mastered surabāhār and pākhawāj. Jadu Bhatta came back to Calcutta, and was sometimes a music teacher in the Tagore family.

Among other musicians of Viṣṇupur, Anantalāl Banerji, Keśavelāl Cakravurty, Rāmkeśav and Dinabandhu Goswāmī were the students of Rāmaśaṅkara Bhattācārya. Rāmaśaṅkara’s son Rāmkeśava was engaged as the
music teacher in the house of Chātu Bābu and Lātu Bābu, the renowned zeminders of Calcutta. Dinabandhu was an expert in dhruwapada, kheyāl and thumri. His son Gaṅgānārāin Goswāmī was a finished musician, and he took service in the palace of the Mahārājā of Mymensingh.

Rādhikā Prasād Goswāmī first learned dhruwapada from Anantalāl Banerjī, and then he went to the Durbār of Mahārājā Ānanda Kiśore of Betiā. Mahārājā Ānanda Kiśore was a passionate lover of classical music. He mastered dhruwapada from Muslim Ustāds, and composed many songs of great aesthetic and poetical value. The name of Naval Kiśore should be mentioned in this connection. Mahārājā Ānanda Kiśore had a number of noted students, and among them were: Śivanārāyaṇa Miśra, Guruprāsad Miśra and others. Rādhikā Prasād Goswāmī also learned dhruwapada and kheyāl from them. Rādhikā Prasād’s father Jagatcānd Goswāmī was a renowned mṛdaṅga player.

The name of Aghore Nath Cakravurt of Harinābhi (24 parganās) and Vāmā Caran Banerjī of Behālā are worth mentioning. Aghore Nath Cakravurt learned dhruwapada from Ustād Āli-Bux and Ustād Daulat Khān of Punjab. He also mastered kheyāl and classicom Bāngali songs.

Ustād Rasūl-Bux first came as a Durbār musician at the Kṛṣṇagar Rājbātī. Afterwards
he was appointed as a music teacher in the house of Rāmadās Goswāmī, zemindar of Serāmpore, Hooghly. Rāmadās Goswāmī learned dhrwapada first from Rasūl-Bux, and then from Ustād Ūjīr-Khān and Yu-suf-Khān. Harinārāyāṇa Mukherji of Banaras and Nemāi Charan Ghosāl of Serāmpore were the students of Rāmadās Goswāmī. Harinārāyāṇa Mukherji afterwards learned dhrwapadas from other Hindu and Muslim Ustādas of that time.

Besides Calcutta, Mymensingh was a seat of culture of classical music. Mahārāja Sūryakānta Ācārya, zemindar of Mymensingh, used to invite all the noted Muslim Ustāds, who happened to come to Calcutta. He was a lover and patron of classical music. After him, the name of Jagat Kišore Ācārya of Muktāgāchā is worth mentioning. He also preserved the traditional culture of classical music in the Mymensingh District.

The name of Harendra Kisore Roycoudhury of Rāmgopālpur should be mentioned in this connection. He was a noted tabal player. He mastered tabal first from Prasanna Kumār Banik of Dacca, and then from Maulavi-Rām of Banaras. Assām-Gouripore was a seat of culture of classical music, during the time of zemindar, Prabhāt Chandra Baruā. Dacca was also a chief centre, and the name of Banik and Basāk families are specially worth mentioning in this connection. Bhagavān Dās was a great
setārī of Dacca. During the Jhulan festival, renowned Hindu and Muslim Ustāds were invited to Dacca every year, and used to give demonstrations of classical music in different temples. The Nawāb of Dacca was a patron of classical music.

Bābu Sāradā Prasanna Mukherji, zeminder of Gobardāṅgā was a lover of classical music. Gopāl Candra Pāṭhak of Cinsurā used to visit him. The celebrated tabal players Tārāprasād Roy and Golām Ābbās were engaged in the Gobardāṅgā Rājbāti. Sāradā Prasanna Mukherji used to invite many Ustāds to Gobardāṅgā house, and created an atmosphere for the culture of highway music. Girijā Bābu of that place was a famous player of surbāhār.

Jayakṛṣṇa Mukherji, zemindar of Uttarpārā was a patron of classical music. Lālgolā was another notable centre. Under the patronage of Rājā Rāo Jagadindra Nārāyaṇ Rāy-Bāhādur, many musicians had opportunity of getting training in classical music. The encyclopaedic work Rāgakalpadruma by Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsa was published under his patronage. Kṛṣṇānandaji got the inspiration of compiling this voluminous book, from the compilation of the monumental Bengali dictionary Šabdakalpadruma, under the patronage and inspiration of Rājā Rādhākānta Dev-Bāhādur of Sovābāzār, Calcutta.

Nātore Rāj palace was a centre of culture of classical music. Mahārājā Jagadindra Nath
Roy of Nātore was a famous Pākhawāj player, and he invited from time to time, many of the Muslim and Hindu Ustāds in his Nātore palace. His worthy descendants have also preserved their family tradition. Mahārājā Jogindra Nāth Roy and his worthy sons are also the lovers of music.

Āgartalā was a seat of culture of music. Rājā Beer-Vikram Bāhādur was very devoted to classical music. Ustād Enāyet Khān, Ustād Ālāuddin Khān, Ājim-Bux (Tabaliā), Śyām Pānḍe, Mazid Khān and other Ustāds used to visit Āgartalā from time to time, and created an interest for classical music among the inhabitants there.

The name of Comillā (Tipperāh) may also be noted in this connection. In 1919, Harihar Roy established a Sangīta-Vidyāpith at Comillā. Comillā is also famous for its flute. The names of Birendra Nārāyaṇa and Gopendra Nārāyaṇa can be mentioned, who are experts in reproducing classical rāgas through flute. The name of the famous flute player Pānnālāl Ghosh can also be mentioned in this connection.

Now let us give a short sketch of trends of classical music in Bengal in the twentieth century. Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore and Sir Sourindra Mohan Tagore had already opened the fountainhead of classical music in Calcutta, and Mahārṣi Devendra Nāth Tagore, Hemendranāth, Somendranāth, Jyotirindranāth, Satyendranāth,
Dvijendranāth, Rabindranāth, Dinendranāth and others kept that fountain flowing in its pristine glory. Viṣṇu Cakravorty, Ramāpati Banerji, Rāj Candra Roy of Sāntipur, including Jadu Bhatta and others were the music teachers of the Tagores. The Tagore house was mostly influenced by the musicians of Viṣṇupur. The Muslim Ustāds of the Seni school had already settled in different parts of Bengal. From the beginning of the twentieth century upto 1945, we find that various schools and institutions of Hindusthāni classical music were established in different parts of Bengal. Besides the classical type of music, Bengal produced different types of classico-folk and folk music. The names of bāul, bhātīyāli, jāri, sāri, gambhirā, kavi-gāna, half-ākhādāi, tarjā, etc. are worth recording.

The music consciousness of Bengal is becoming more and more sensitive and constructive. Research works in the field of theory and history of music are developing day by day. Books on music and musical instruments with critical notes and notations are coming out in numbers. The future prospect of Bengal in musical sphere is undoubtedly bright and glorious.

II

Now let us draw an outline of the picture of music literature of Bengal, along with some of the important non-musical books, which furnish us
with music materials. We shall divide our subject of survey into two groups 'A' and 'B', of which 'A' will represent the first-hand music literature, and 'B' the non-musical books, supplying materials of music. It is needless to mention that by music literature of Bengal we mean to say the music literature of undivided Greater Bengal, which was the glory of Indian dominian.

A

The first-hand music literature of Bengal

1. Nāṭhagītis: They were written by Gorakṣanāth, Couraṅgīnāth, Mīnanāth and others. They were written mostly during the rule of the Pāla Dynasty from eighth-nineth century A.D. All the gītis are in avahatt ha-dohā form, and can be regarded as the prabandha-gānas like later caryāgītis. The following Bengali literature of the nāṭhagītis are available. MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī says about the Nāthism: "But there were other forms of religions which the Buddhist community absorbed within itself. One of these is the Nātha-mārga or Nāthism. ** Thus the Nāthism of Matsyendra arose outside Buddhism, but it was at last absorbed into it. On the other hand, Ramana Vajra was a Buddhist of the Vajrayāna school, but when he became a Nātha, he became
Gorakṣanāth, and was regarded as a heretic by Buddhists, so Gorakṣa’s Nāthīṣm was originally within Buddhism, but it was not incorporated into it”. It is evident that the songs of the Nātha-Yogīs (nātha-gītis) were no other than the gāthās or gānas of the Buddhists, though the religious and spiritual practices of the Nātha Yogīs were different from the Vajrayānī Buddhists, to some extent.

(a) Māṇikcandrer Gāna—Collected by Sir George A. Grierson (vide Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1874).

(b) Minacetana—Written by Śyāmadāś Sen.

(c) Govindacandra-Gita—Written by Durlav Mullick.

(d) Gorakṣavijaya—Written by Fayzullāḥ.

(e) Maināmatir Gāna or Gopicandrer Pāṅcālī—Written by Bhavānī Dās.

(f) Gopicandrer Gāna—Written by Viśveswara Bhattācārya.

(g) Gopicandrer Sanyāsa—Written by Sukkur Mohammed, Dacca, 1332 B.S.

2. CARYĀPADAS—Written by Śavari-pā, Kāṇu-pā, Hāḍi-pā, Lui-pā, Virū-pā, Saraha and others. Eighty-four Sahajiyā or Vajrayānī Buddhist Ācāryas composed and collected the padas or gānas, during 950-1200 A.D. The actual language of the caryā and vajra padas was gauḍa-vāṅga or sāurasenī-apabhramśa. They were collected and published in book
forms, namely: (a) Baudhā-gāna-O-Dohā by MM. Haraprasād Śāstṛī (published by the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta); (2) Cāryāpāda by Prof. Manindranāth Basu (published by the University of Calcutta); (c) Cāryāpāda (Eng.), edited by Dr. P. C. Bāgchī (published by the Calcutta University); (d) Cāryāpāda, edited by Dr. Sukumār Sen; (e) Cāryāpāda, edited by Dr. Śaśibhūṣan Dāsgupta; (f) Vāṅga-Sāhityer-Kathā by Dr. H. Sahidullāh, etc.

Nearly six hundred years before the advent of Śrī Caitanya (1485-1533 A.D.), the Baudhā Siddhācāryas used to compose the paddas (gānas), and sang them with various classical rāgas, tālas and dhātus. The names of the rāgas were: patamaṇjari, gabdā, aru (māru ?), guṇjari (gurjari ?), devakri, deśakha (devaśakha), bhairavī, kāmoda, dhānaśī (dhānaśri), rāmakri, varāḍi, śivari (sāvarī or śrāverī), mallari, mālasī (mālaśri), malādī (?), kahṅ-guṇjari (kāṅ-gurjari ?), vaṅgāla or vāṅgāla, etc.

The Baudhā Sanyāsins composed many gāthās, and their compositions (sāhitya) were known as the gāthā-bhāṣā. Some are of opinion that the language of the cāryā and vajra gītis were mixed Sanskrit. Some differ from it. In the Dākārṇava, we get the names of the seventy-six Siddhācāryas, out of eighty-four. They were known as the Siddhās of Tibet. They were, in truth, Baudhā Sahajiyās, and they came from different parts of India, irrespective of caste and creed. It is
said that the nātha-dharma was a part of Buddhist religion. It has already been said that Nāṭhā-cāryas composed many padas, i.e. gānas with different rāgas and tālas.

The word ‘cāryā’ connotes the idea of behaviour (ācarana). The words tapa-cāryā, nata-cāryā, etc. evolved from it. The male and female Buddhist mendicants composed the cāryā and vajra gītis, as part and parcel of their religious and spiritual practices. In the Vedic period, we come across the gāthā-nārāśaṁśis, which were similarly sung by the side of the sacrificial altars. In different religious functions, the cāryā and vajra gāthās were sung. They were mainly sung in the Tāntric, maṇḍala-cakra of the Buddhist monks, of the Vajrayāni sect. It is said that the maṇḍala-cakra was similar to the yogini-cakra of the Hindu or Brāhmanya Tantra. In the maṇḍala-cakra, Vajradhara-Heruka was entertained by the cāryā and vajra gītis, though cāryā was different from vajra gīti, to some extent, in their forms and applications. The cāryā was generally composed of four (complete) parts (dhātus), and the word ‘dhruva-pada’ was mentioned in either the third or fourth part. Sometimes it was mentioned in the second part.

The object of the cāryā and vajra gītis was to attain the ‘mahāsukha’ (greatest happiness and bliss), in the state of Sahaja. Advayavajra and Munidatta say in their commentaries that, as the language of the cāryā and vajra gītis used
to connote double meaning, it was known as the *sandhyā-bhāṣā*, or *sandhyā-sāṅketa*, or *sandhyā-vacana*, which means the mystic and code language. As for example, the commentators say: (a) यथा वालि: सन्त्याभाष्मजन्दुरुमरणपचनादिनिरोधमाधयः कल्पितः; (b) वाहणीति सन्त्याचारनेन * * *; (c) दुलि सन्त्याके बोद्रश्यम्। Siddha Dārika mentions the musical instruments like *veenā* and *venu*:

फोईरे बंधा बाजिरे बीणा
अनह साईं तिहुआन आँ लीना।

From this, it is evident that *veenā*, *venu* and *mṛdanga* accompanied the *caryā* and *vajra gītīs* of the Buddhist Siddhācāryas.

Śāraṅgadeva and Veṅkatamakhi are of opinion that *caryā* and *rāhaḍī* types were included in the category of the *vīprakīrṇa prabandha-gīti*, and its *jāti* was *tārāvalī*. Kallināth elaborately deals with the structure and application of the *caryā-prabandha-gāṇa*, in his commentary *Kālānīdhī*, on the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Now, the correct forms of the *rāgas*, that were used in the *caryā* and *vajra gītīs*, can be determined by the melodic patterns or the forms of the *rāgas*, that are depicted in the *Rāgaratnaṅgini* by Locana-Kavi, the *Saṅgīta-pārijāta* by Paṇḍit Ahobala, and the *Hṛdayakautuka* by Hṛdayanārāyaṇa-deva of the 16th-17th century A.D.. It should be remembered that the standard scale, that was current during tenth-twelfth century A.D., has now been altogether changed.
3. **DOHĀKOṢA**: Written by Ācārya Sarha. Three Dohākosas are available, and they were composed in 1100-1150 A.D., in different metres like prākṛt-avahatīṭha, coupadi, paddhadi, etc. They were sung in pure classical rāgas (vide Baudhā-gāna O Dohā, by MM. H.P. Śāstri).

4. **DAŚĀVATĀRA-CARITA**: Written by Kṣemendra. He probably flourished before 1200 A.D. Kavi Jayadeva was much influenced by this book.

5. **GĪTAGOVINDA**: Written by Thākur Jayadeva of Kenduvilva, Bīrbhum. It was composed in the early 1200 A.D. Pūjāri Goswāmī, Rāṇā Kumbha, Śaṅkara-Miśra, Cērūkuri Lakṣminīdhara, Probodānanda Sarasvatī (published by Haridāsa Dās), and others wrote commentaries on it, and have thrown light on the music portion. Besides, we find the mention of the following commentaries: Anupodaya by Anup Sīṅgha, Gaṅgā by Kṛṣṇadatta, Gitagovinda-tilokottamā by Hṛdayābharaṇa, Gitagovinda-prabodha by Rāmakānta, Mādhurī by Raṅganāth, Tattvadīpikā by Rāma Roy, Dipikā by Gopāla, Padadyotanikā by Nārāyaṇa-bhatta, Pada-bhāvārtha-candrikā by Śrīkānta-Miśra, Padābhininamañjarī by Vāsudeva Vācasundara, Prakāśakaumudi by Kavirāja Candidāsa, Bhava-bhāvinī by Udayanācārya, Ratnamālā by Kamalākara, Rasa-kadamva-kollolī by

The names of the twelve rāgas are: mālava-gauḍa, gurjārī, vasanta, rāmakrī or rāmakirī, karṇāta, deṣākha, deśa-varāḍī, goṇḍakirī, mālava, bhairavī, vibhāsa, and varāḍī, and the names of the five tālas are; rūpaka, nissāra, yati, ekatālī and aṣṭatālā. Prabodhānanda Sarasvati cites in his commentary, two new tālas, maṇṭha and prati-maṇṭha, but has not mentioned about the nissāra tāla. In some of the editions of the *Gitagovinda*, the rāga, karṇāta has been replaced by kedāra.
Now, let us see how the rāgas, current during the time of Jayadeva (early 1200 A.D.), can be deciphered for their use, in the present time.

We know that the basic standard scale (suddha-ṭhāta) of the ancient time was quite different from that of the present Hindusthāni system. According to Mādhava-Vidyāraṇyā (14th-15th century A.D.), the basic rāgas were 15, but Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) accepts 20 basic scales. Both of them take mukhārī as the standard scale (suddha ṭhāta) : 'सन्नेज रागमेलेष्यु मुखारिमेल आदिम'। The melodic form of the mukhārī was : 'sa ri ga ma pa dha ni', which coincides with modern kāphī, to some extent. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) says : 'मुखारीति मुखमूच्छति प्रामाणीति'। The word 'mukha' means prime, and therefore, mukhārī connotes the idea of prime rāga. But, according to Locana-kavi (17th century A.D.), the standard scale bhairavī is possessed of all the sharp notes : 'शुद्रा: सतत्सरारा: रम्या वाद्यिया: प्रयत्नः', and it corresponds to : 'sa ri ga ma pa dha ni / sa' of the present Hindusthāni system of music. According to Locanakavi, the melodic forms of the basic rāgas are :

1. Bhairavī = sa, ri, ga (flat), ma, pa, dha, ni (flat).
2. Toḍī = sa, ri (flat), ga (flat), ma, pa, dha (flat), ni (flat).
3. Gaurī = sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat), ni.
4. Kārṇāta = sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni (flat).
5. Kedāra = sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
11. *Mukhārī* = sa, ri, ma (*flat*), ma, pa, dha (*flat*), ni (*flat*).
12. *Dīpaka* = no definition has been given by Locana.

Regarding *gaurī*, Paṇḍit Ahobala says that the *rāga* is possessed of ri and dha (*flat*), and ga and ni (*sharp*); it is penta-heptatonic, and the melodic form of it is like that of the *Taraṅginī* of Locana. The ancient form of the *gaurī* coincides with that of the present form of *bhairavī* (North), and *māyāmalavagaula* (South). Regarding the *rāga*, *gūṇḍakrī*, or *gūṇakrī*, or *gūṇakirī*, Paṇḍit Ahobala says that it is possessed of ri and dha (*flat*), with ga and ni (*dropped*), and, therefore, it is penta-pentatonic. Sometimes *gūṇakrī* is known as hexatonic. Regarding the *rāga*, *rāmakrī*, or *rāmakirī*, or *rāmakelī*, Ahobala says that it is possessed of ri (*flat*), ga (*sharp*), ma (*more sharp or *tīrtra*), dha (*flat*), and ni (*sharp*), and ma and ni are dropped in the ascent.

Regarding the *rāga*, *dhanyāśikā*, *dhānaśrī*, or *dhānasi*, Paṇḍit Somanāth says that the *rāga* is penta-heptatonic, and is possessed of ga (*flat*), ma (*tīrtra*), and ni (*flat*), and, therefore, its
melodic form is sa, ri ga (flat), ma (tiwra), pa, (dha), ni (flat)/sa. Locana also accepts this form, and it is included in the dhānasrī-mela. According to Somanāth it is included in the ūrāga-mēla, and its ri and dha are left out in the ascent. Regarding the rāga, āsāvari, Paṇḍit Ahobala says that it is pentatonic in the ascent (ga being dropped), and heptatonic in the descent. The melodic form of the āsāvari is therefore: sa, ri, ma, pa, dha (flat)/sa—sa, ni (flat), dha (flat), pa, ma, ga (flat), ri/sa. The rāga, sāverī (also srāverī), says Ahobala, is included in the bhairavi-mēla, and, therefore, its melodic form is: sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat) sa—sa, ni, dha (flat), pa ma, ga, ri (flat)/sa. Regarding the rāga, bhupāli (or bhupāla), Ahobala says that it is the rāga of the morning, its ascent and descent are: sa, ri (flat) ga, pa, dha (flat), sa—sa dha (flat), pa, ga, ri (flat), sa. Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya differs from Paṇḍit Ahobala and says that the ascent and the descent of the bhupāli is: sa, ri, ga (flat), pa, dha (flat)—sa dha (flat), pa, ga (flat). ri/sa. Regarding the rāga, gurjari, Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala says that it is included in the mālava-gauḍa-mēla, which coincides with the rāga, bhairavi of the modern system, and, therefore, its melodic form is: sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat), ni—sa, ni, dha,
(flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat) / sa. Paṇḍit Somanāth is of the same opinion. Locana-kavi includes the gurjari in the gaurī-mela, and its melodic form is like that of the modern bhairavi-ṭhāṭa.

Paṇḍit Ahobala describes mallāra in two different ways: one, mallāra (ga and ni dropped), and the other, mallārī of the gaurī-mela. The modern form of the mallārī is, therefore, sa, ri (flat), ma, pa, dha (flat)—sa (of the high octave), dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat) / sa. Again the ancient melodic form of nata or nāṭa or natta, according to Rāmāmatya, Puṇḍarika and Somanāth, is: sa, ri (=ga, possessed of three microtonal units=ga-flat), ma (laghu=ga-sharp), ma (ṣuddha), pa, ni, sa (of the high octave and laghu), which corresponds to the present Hindusthānī form: sa, ga (flat), ga (sharp), ma, pa, ni (flat) and sa (of the high octave).

Let me mention the learned article on Gitagovinde Gita (Beng.) by my scholarly friend, Śrī Suresh Chandra Chakravurty, Saṅgītaśāstrī, to make the matter clear. He is also of opinion that the melodic forms of the rāgas have considerably been changed, and they should be carefully represented according to the forms, current in the present Hindusthānī system of music. He investigates into rāgas as follows:

1. Gurjari: According to Locana or Hṛdayanārāyaṇa, it is included in the gaurī-samsthāna, that coincides with the modern Bhairava-ṭhāṭa, possessed of ṛṣabha and dhaivata
flat. Hṛdanārāyaṇa represents the melodic form of the rāga, gurjārī, in his Hṛdaya-kautuka, as sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa/sa, dha (flat), pa, ga, re (flat)/sa.

2. Deśa-varāḍī: Locana and Hṛdayanārāyaṇa have not mentioned about this rāga. We think that varāḍī and varāṭī are one and the same rāga. Mataṅga (5th-7th century) and Pārvavadeva (9th-11th century) have described different types of the varāṭī in their works. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) has given the melodic form of the suddha-varāṭī as: sa, re (flat), ga (flat), ma (tīrā), pa, dha (flat), ni. But the melodic form of the deśa-varāḍī or deśa-varāṭī is different from that of the suddha-varāṭī, to some extent.

3. Vasanta: Locana includes this rāga in the grurī-saṃsthāna. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa gives the melodic form of the vasanta as: sa, ma, sa, ni, sa/ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat) / sa.

4. Rāmakrī or Rāmakuṛī: It is included in the bhairava-saṃsthāna, and Hṛdayanārāyaṇa represents the melodic form of this rāga as: sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa/ni, dha (flat), pa, ga, ma, ga, ri (flat), / sa.

5. Mālava-gauda: It is included in the bhairava-saṃsthāna. Mālava-gauda and mālava-gaula are the same rāga.

6. Karnāṭa: According to Locana ‘ni’ is flat and all other notes are sharp. It coincides
with the modern rāga khāmbāj. Ḥṛdayanārāyaṇa represents the melodic form of this rāga as: sa, ga, ma, ma, ga, re, sa/ni, sa, ri, sa; ri, ga, ri, sa/sa, sa, sa, sa, ri, sa, ni, sa, sa, sa, re, sa/ni (flat), dha, pa, ma, ma, ma, pa, ma, pa, dha, ni (flat) sa; dha, ni (flat), pa, ma, ma, ga, ri / sa.

7. Desakha: It is the rāga of the megha-saṃsthāna, and it appeared before as the modern form of the vrndāvanī-sārānga, though the note gāndhāra is used in it. In the Ḥṛdayakautuka, it has been depicted as: sa, ri, ma, pa, ma, sa / ni (flat) pa ma/pa, ri, ga, ma, ri / sa.

8. Gondakri or gondakiri: It is the rāga of the gaurī-saṃsthāna. In the Kautuka, it has been depicted as: sa, ri (flat); ri (flat), ma; ma, pa; pa, sa, sa, sa, ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ma, ri (flat), sa, sa; ri (flat), ma, ri (flat), sa. If the note, niśāda is left out, the form of the rāga appears as the modern gunakiri.

9. Mālava: It is included in the gaurī-saṃsthāna, which coincides with the modern bhairava. In the Kautuka, it has been depicted as: sa, ga, ma, dha (flat), pa, sa/ri (flat), sa, ni, dha (flat), pa/sa, ma, ga ri (flat), sa, ni / sa.

10. Bhairavi: It is included in the bhairavi-saṃsthāna, that coincides with the modern form of the kāphi rāga or thāta, to some extent.

11. Varāḍi: It has not been mentioned in
the Rāgatarangini. In the Saṅgita-pārijāta, there are various types of varāḍī (we have already said that varāḍī and varāṭi are the same rāga).

12. Vibhāsa: It is included in the bhairava-samsthāna. In the Hṛdayakautuka, it has been depicted as: pa, dha (flat), ni, sa/ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat), sa. In the Hṛdaya-prakāśa, it is mentioned as: sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa/dha (flat), pa, ga, ri (flat), ga, ri (flat), sa.

13. Kedāra: Its melodic form is similar to that of the modern vilāvala, possessed of all the sharp notes.

In this way, all the forms of the rāgas, used in the caryā, vajra and gitagovinda-padagāna, can be determined, and it is not an impossible task.

Regarding the tālas, given in the Gitagovinda, the commentators of the later period define them as follows,

1. Rūpaka: (a) Pujārī Goswāmī defines it as: 
   चिरामालं तृत्यं रूपक: याहिलक्षण इति।
   (b) Prabodananda Sarasvatī defines it as: रूपके स्याहुद्वृत्य यथा।

2. Yati: (a) Pujārī Goswāmī defines it as: 
   लघुदर्पदं दूतपदं यति स्यान बिपुरान्तर इति।
(b) Prabodhānanda defines it as: लघु तुन्तौ तालमेव तिः। Šāraṅgadeva mentions about the yatilagna-ṭāla which is composed of एको तुन्तौ, एको लघुमेव।

3. Ekatālī : (a) Pūjārī Gowāmi defines it as: 'तुन्तौकं भवेदयत्र यैव तालाभीति संक्षिता'। (b) Prabodhānanda defines it as:

एकताली बिधा प्रोक्ता गीतदासविशारदश।।
रामचन्द्रका तदहिविपुलेऽत्थ लक्षणम्॥
इतमेकं भवेदयत्र तालोपयं खण्डसंहित:।
रामनेनैकताली तु कोंते दीवोजस्म:॥
गुद्वत्यं भवेदयत्र तालो लक्षितसंहितः।
चन्द्रका चैकताली स्यालेन सौंभावितः॥
कोकिन्यमेयताले व तु ताल ब्रह्मदाहातम्।
विपुल्यो बैकताली स्यालेन गीतहस्तम्भता॥

Pabodhānanda divides ekatālī into three, khaṇḍa, lalīta, and kokilapriyā. Šāraṅgadeva defines ekatālī as तुन्तौकं लघुकं तालाभी।

4. Nihsāra : Pūjārī Goswāmi defines it as: तुन्तौकं यस्तुम्भन्ति निःसारं स्थापित:।

5. Aṣṭatālī : (a) Pūjārī Goswāmi defines it as: लघुर्दौ तो लघुदौकं तिः। (b) Prabodhānanda defines it as: लघुर्दौ तो लघुर्दौ तालाभीति प्रकृतित।
Besides them, Prabodhānanda also describes the tālas, manṭha and pratimaṇṭha. He says,

(a) गुरुत्रप्रदय यत्र भूलताला स कथयते।
   मक्कलो माणपथिः स ये रसे चाहुतसंहितः।

(b) The pratimaṇṭha is of four kinds, saṃnipāta, kanduka, suṇaṅga, and khaṇḍa.

(a) Saṃnipāta = गुरुरेको मवेद यत्र।
(b) Kanduka = लघुद् य विरामाल्लम्।
(c) Suṇaṅga = विरामाल्लहुतबन्धं गुरुहै कस्ततः परम।
(d) Khaṇḍa = गुतमेकं मबेदयत स तालो खंडसंहितः।

Śaṅgaṅgadeva describes both manṭha and pratimaṇṭha, in his Saṅgīta-Ratnākra (Ch.V).

Rāṇā Kumbha or Kumbhakarṇa of Mewār (Medapāta) wrote the commentary, Rasikapriyā in 1433-1468 A.D., on the Gitagobinda. The name of the commentary, Rasikapriyā is also known as the Saṅgīta-mīmāṁsa. He mentioned in his commentary the name of King Hammīra, the grand-father of his grand-father, who wrote the Saṅgaṅita-śrīgarāhāra in 1283-1364 A.D. It is interesting to note that Rāṇā Kumbha mentioned the names of the rāgās and the tālas, which are quite different from those, mentioned by Thākur Jayadeva, in his Gitagovinda. It is probable that he mentioned the rāgās and the tālas which were used in the padagāṇas of the Gitagovinda, during his time. But they are not consistent with those of the Gitagovinda. As for example,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rāga</th>
<th>Tāla</th>
<th>Rāga</th>
<th>Tāla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mālava-gauḍa</td>
<td>rūpakā</td>
<td>mālava</td>
<td>ādi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurjari</td>
<td>niḥsāra</td>
<td>lalita</td>
<td>ādi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vasanta</td>
<td>yati</td>
<td>lalita</td>
<td>jhampā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurjari</td>
<td>yati</td>
<td>bhairava</td>
<td>yati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurjari</td>
<td>yati</td>
<td>gaṇḍakṛti</td>
<td>pratimaṇṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karnāta</td>
<td>ekaṭāli</td>
<td>mālaśrī</td>
<td>niḥsāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deśa-varāḍi</td>
<td>rūpakā</td>
<td>kedāra</td>
<td>niḥsāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guṇakari</td>
<td>rūpakā</td>
<td>mālavagauḍa</td>
<td>adda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mālava</td>
<td>yati</td>
<td>sthānagauḍa</td>
<td>yati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhairavi</td>
<td>yati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deśa-varāḍi</td>
<td>aṣṭaṭāli</td>
<td></td>
<td>megha-rāga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Instead of definite rāgas and tālas, 18 rāgas from the Sangitarāja have been mentioned, and they are: madhyāmādi, lalita, vasanta, varāṭikā, etc. It is not definite whether he meant to use all these rāgas separately.

Again, in the eleventh sarga (chapt.), 20th prabhanda, he mentioned some tālas, and in the same sarga, 21st prabhanda, 17 rāgas and many classical tālas, including the tālas of the padāvalī-kirtana like triputa, vijayānanda, jāyaśrī, karpata-vangāla, marutakṛti, etc. Now, it is a matter of controversy whether Rāṇā Kumbha, the authority on music, dance and drama, of the 15th century A.D., deviated in his method of interpretation of the rāgas and tālas, from the traditional line of the Gitagovinda. It seems to be a deviation.
6. **VARNA-RATNĀKARA**: In the introduction to the book *Varna-ratnākara*, Dr. S. K. Chatterji says: ‘The *Varna-ratnākara* is the oldest work in the Maithili language of North Bihar so far known, and it goes back to the 1st half, perhaps to the 1st quarter, of the fourteenth century. * * * and we know from it that the MS. was written in the year 388 of the La Sain era which is still current in Mithilā: this corresponds to 1507 A.C., the La Sain having commenced from 1119 A.C’.

The book was written by Jyotirīśvara-Kavi-śekharācārya or Jyotiśvara Thākkura. His father’s name was Dhireśvara and that of grandfather, Rāmeśvara. He wrote two other books, *Dhūrtta-samāgama* and *Paṇca-sāyaka*. He was a high court official, a Vedic priest and a scholar of philosophy also. He was also a votary of Śiva, and an expert musician besides. He was in the court of a King of the Karṇāta dynasty, who defeated a Muhammadan invader (Suratrāna—Sultān). The name of the king was Harasimhadeva or Harisimhadeva. Dr. S. K. Chatterji says that from Vidyāpati’s *Puruṣa-parīksā*, ‘we get in the section under the rubric अध गीतविद्याकथा, in Chapter III of the book, there is given a story of a singer from Mithilā (Tīrabhukti) called Kalānidhi, who went to the court of King Udayasimhā of Gorakṣa-nagara, * * * . The story gives a good sidelight into the
accomplishments of Harisimha: that music and singing were well patronised in his court we can easily infer from the fact of Jyotirishvara taking pains to vaunt his accomplishment in it in the Pañcā-sāyaka and the Dhūrtha-saṅgāma, and from the elaborate accounts of the musicians and singers with their cortéges which we find in the V.R.'

The sixth kallola of the Varna-ratnakara has dealt with the gentle arts of poetry, music, musical instruments, and dancing. Dr. Chatterji says: 'The Vidyāvanta, a professional singer and music-master, a person who is commonly known as a Kalāvanta or Kālawat at the present day, is described, and his state and his training are scarcely inferior to that of the more exalted Bhāta. In this connection the names of the rāgas, of the śrutis, as well as the 7 kinds of gāyana-doṣa or defects of singers, and the 14 kinds of gita-doṣa, or defects in singing are mentioned'. In the pages 47-48 of the VR., are described seven notes, śadja, etc. four music parts or dhātus of the varṇa, eighteen jātirāgas, names of the microtones or śrutis of the grāmas (scales), grāmarāgas, rāgāngas, upāngas, and deśī rāgas like madhyamādi, mālava, mallāra, mallārī, megha, mānasi (mālasi=mālāsri ?) mutuki, deśi, dīpaka, desākṣi, devakari, vasanta, vaṅgāla, vayarāvanī, valāra, varāli, kāmoda, kāṇāta, kaṇṭhaddha-bhairava, bhairavi, patamaṅjarī, trāṇa, guṇāgara, gunagarī, gāndhāra, guṇjari, narita, pāncama, hindola, ramakari, andhāri, nāta, coṇasāra, śrī,
savarī, saikarabharaṇa, etc. These rāgas can be presented, by changing the ancient standard scale into the present one (vilāvāla). After music, comes dancing, and there are three sections, describing or enumerating the various kinds of dancing: nṛtta-varṇana, pātra-nṛtta-varṇana, and prerana-nṛtta-varṇana. The 10 qualifications of the drum-player (mūraji) are mentioned, also the 12 kinds of drum-music (mūraja-vādyā), the time-beats (tāla), 10 rasas, 30 vybhicāri-bhāvas or opposed sentiment, and so forth.

The book has been edited by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M.A.,D.Lit.,F.R.A.S.B., and Bābuā Misra, Jyotīṣa-tīrtha, Jyotiṣācārya, and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, in 1940.

7. RĀGATARĀNGINI: Written by Kavi-Locana Paṇḍit. This book was written in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D. Locana mentions in his Taraṅgini that the writing of the book was finished in 1082 of the Śaka era (bhujavasu-daśamitra-śaka), corresponds to roughly 1160 A.D. But this is not correct. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa also utilized Locana’s Taraṅgini, when he wrote his Hṛdayaprakāśa and Hṛdayakautuka, the time of which is assigned to 1660 A.D. Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhande fixes the date of the Taraṅgini somewhere before Hṛdayanārāyaṇa. He mentions that a genuine manuscript of the Rāgatarāṅgini had been found in Bombay,
and it was quite different from the book published from Dvārbhāṅgā (Dvāra-Vaṅga). The Rāgatarangini admits 12 samsthānas or melas, and they are: bhairavi, toḍi, gauri, karṇāta, kedāra, iman, sāraṅga, megha, dhānasrī, pūrvi, mukhārī (it is different from the mukhārī of Vidyārāṇya, of the 14th-15th century), and dīpaka. Its standard pure scale is similar to the kāpī-mela of the modern Hindusthānī system, to some extent.

8. RĀGA-SAṆGĪTA-SAMGRAHA: Written by Locana Paṇḍit. This encyclopaedic book on music was compiled after Rāgatarangini. But it is not available. This work seems to be a great collection of different systems of music of India. Locana mentions: 'etesāṁ prapañcāstuv matkṛta-rāga-saṁhhīta-saṁgraha'nveśavyah.'

9. SAṆGĪTA-DĀMODARA: Written by Śubhaṅkara of Bengal. Śubhaṅkara flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. There is a great controversy about his birth-place. Many are of opinion that he was born and brought up in Mithilā, and many say that he came from Jessore. It is said that he was a devout Vaiṣṇava, and was the follower of Śrī Caṅtanya. Dr. Monomohana Ghose describes of another Dāmodara, and he says that Govindadāsa was born in the village of Śrīkhanḍa, in the district of Burdwan, probably in the sixteenth century A.D. His
father Ciraṇjīva Sarmā was also a devotee of Śrī Caitanya. He married the daughter of Dāmodara Sen, the author of the Saṅgīta-dāmodara, and leaving Hooghly went to Śrīkhanḍa and lived there (vide Vāngalā Sāhitya [1955] p. 108). Some years ago, Paṇḍit Cintāharana Cakravurty wrote an article on Śubhaṅkara and Saṅgīta-dāmodara in the monthly journal, Pravāsi (Beng.), edited by the reputed journalist Rāmānanda Chatterjee (Calcutta), and he said that the author of the Dāmodara was Śubhaṅkara, a Vaiṣṇava devotee and scholar. Five MSS. of this book have been collected in four different libraries: one in the India Office Library, London, another in Kṛṣṇanagar Library, the third in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, and the fourth (incomplete), and the fifth (complete) both in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Alain Daniélou (Śiva-Śaraṇa) has procured a correct MS. from Paris, and he is editing it for publication. He says that the MS. contains five chapters with 1934 ślokas. The Government of West Bengal has published it from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

It is said that one Saṅgīta-dāmodara was published (in Bengali) from Bengal, but it was mainly a book on dance and drama. Rāmdāsa Sen of Baharāmpur (Murṣidāvāda) mentioned in his book: Aitihāsika-Rahasya, Vol. I, that
he procured a copy of the Saṅgīta-dāmodara but unfortunately it happened to be a book on Alāmkāra. It is said that a MS. of the Dāmodara has been procured from Nepāl, but it has not yet been published.

One Ģubhaṅkara wrote a book on music, and he named it after the name of his youngest son, Dāmodara. Some are of opinian that there were four Dāmodaras, and all were the inhabitants of Bengal. However references to this book are found in many of of the later music treatises. Sir William Jones was of opinion that the Saṅgīta-dāmodara was an important book of the Bengal school. Copious references of the Saṅgīta-dāmodara are found in the Šabdakalpadruma, a voluminous Bengali encyclopaedia, published under the patronage of Rājā Rādhākānta Dev-Bāhādur of Šobhābāzār, Calcutta, and from this it is evident that it was once profusely used by the Paṅḍits and musicians of Bengal.

10. HaśtaMaKTĀVALĪ: It was written or compiled by Ģubhaṅkara. Two MSS. of this book have been found: one in Bengali character, from the Nepāl Durbār Library (vide MM. H. P. Śāstrī: Catalogue in the Durbār Library of Nepāl, 1905, pp. 270 ff.), and the other in Āssāmī language, from Auniati-satrap, Assām. One Ghanaśyāma (?) wrote a commentary on this book. A manuscript in Newāri script has
also been found in the Durbar Library, Nepāl.

Hastamuktāvali is a book on nātya. It is said that it was composed in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D., before Šubhaṅkara wrote the Saṅgīta-dāmodara. It has recently been published from the Music Academy of Madras, edited by Dr. Maheśwar Neog of Gauhāṭi College, Āssām. Dr. Maheśwar Neog is of opinion that the author of the Saṅgīta-dāmodara is quite different from the author of the Hastamuktāvali. But most of the scholars hold that the authors of both the books is one and the same.

11. GĪTA-PRAKĀŚA: The manuscript has been found in Odissi language. The author of this monumental book is the renowned Vaiṣṇava Kṛṣṇadāsa. In the preface of the Siddhānta-ratnākara (published from Śrī Nimvārka Sodha-maṇḍala, Vṛndāvana, and edited by Visveśvararśarana, 1956), Govinda Śarmā says: स्वामिजी ओऱर कृष्णदास का नाम साथ-साथ भाषा है। कृष्णदास का धेरान्त中级 छठो धास पास हुआ है।

That is, Kṛṣṇadāsa died in 1632 A.D. Most probably Kṛṣṇadāsa is the author of Gīta-prakāśa. The Gītaprakāśa was composed between the times of Rudra Gajapati and Śrī Caitanya and Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva, the author of the Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa, in the sixteenth-eighteenth century A.D. This authentic book was a source of inspiration to many of
the books like Sangita-narayana, Sangita-sarani, Sangita-kamoda, Sangita-damodara, etc., and once it was used as a reference book in Greater Bengal. The author of this book, Krsnadasa informs us about Ramana Kaviraja, in connection with Kudra-gita-prabandha in gunakiri-raga, called citrapada ('उद्राहरण यथा गीतप्रकाशी गुणकरिरागेण'). Krsnadasa says: 'जयतु हद्गजेशुखुति रा० ानल्द कविराय कविलील' Dr. Raghaven says that this Rudra is Vira Rudra Gajapati, the Utkal King, contemporary to the famous Krsnadeva Raya, whom the latter defeated and whose daughter the latter married. Ramana Ray was a mystic poet. He was once the political officer or local governor at Vidyaganagara, on the Godavari river, under the Gajapati King Prataparudra. Ramana's father was Bhavananda. From the Gitapakasa we know that Ramana Ray was well-versed in the classical music.

It is mentioned in the Madras MS. Trien, Catalogue 1919-20 to 1921-22, R. 3176d that the Gita-prakasa is divided into 15 chapters, and they are: (1) prabandha-lakshanam, (2) cayalaganirupanam, (3) rupaka-bhedanirupanam, (4) tala-kalavicara, (5) kandva-vicara, (6) kudragita-prakaranam, (7) gita-guna-vicara, (8) dosa-nirupanam, (9) nrtta-lakshanam, (10) vadya-lakshanam, (11) raga-vicara, (12) sadava-nirupanam, (13) gita-prashamsa, (14) nayika-lakshanam, (15) nada-vicara (vide Journal of the Music Academy, Madras, Vol. IV, 1933, p. 57). The complete MS, is available
in the Madras MSS. Library. Kavicandra Kâli Candra Pattanâik of Cuttack also possesses two MSS. of it, together with the MSS. of Saṅgīta-saraṇī, Saṅgīta-kāmoda and Nātyamonoramā, all written by Oriyā authors. These have also been mentioned in the Anjar Cat. Vol. II.

12. SAṅGITA-SARAṆI: It was written by Kavi-Nārāyaṇa, who was greatly indebted to Kṛṣṇadāsa of the Gitaprakāśa. It is said that Kṛṣṇadāsa was the music-teacher of Swāmī Haridāsa at Vṛndāvana. Some are of opinion that Kavirāj Kṛṣṇadāsa Goswāmī, the author of Caitanyacaritāmṛta was the teacher of Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī. But it seems that the former opinion is correct, for many reasons.

It is said that Kavi-Nārāyaṇa was the son of Puruṣottama-Miśra, the spiritual teacher of King Narāyaṇa-deva. Dr. Sukumar Sen says in his A History of Brajabuli (p. 263) that Puruṣottama-Miśra was mostly known by the name Premadāsa or Premānanda-dāsa (1712 A.D.). Dr. Sen states: 'The poet's real name was Puruṣottama-Miśra, and he obtained the title 'siddhānta-vāgīśa'. Dr. Rāghavan is of opinion that 'the King (Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva) had, in his court, many poets and scholars, one of whom was his guru, Puruṣottama-Miśra, who had the title of Kavi-Ratna' (—JMA, 1933, p. 75). But it seems that Puruṣottama hold both the titles, 'siddhānta-vāgīśa' and 'kavi-ratna'. Regard-
ing this title, kaviratna, we know from the introductory verses of the Saṅgīta-saraṇī:

नारायणाणव्यमिश्रण कविरत्ने न यन्तः

चितायते सतां प्रये-संक्रितसरणिः स्फुटा।

It is evident that Kavi-Nārāyaṇa's real name was Nārāyaṇa-Miśra, and he got the title of 'kaviratna', like his father. Kavi-Nārāyaṇa quoted many musical compositions of his father, in his Saṅgīta-saraṇī. Puruṣottama-Miśra was also well-versed in music, which is proved by his book, Vamsīśikṣā.

It is found that many of the music materials of the Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa have been quoted in the Saṅgīta-saraṇī. Kavi Nārāyaṇa specially mentioned two varieties of prabandha-gītis, sūḍha and sūtra. Many of the prabandhas are possessed of peculiar names like balabhadravijaya, saṅkara-vihāra, kṛṣṇavilāsa, uṣābhilāsa, navanāgalalita, medinijātakalita, śrīkṛṣṇavilāsā, etc. These are known as the sūḍha-prabandha. The sūtra-prabandhas are: guṇḍicā-vijayasūtra, rāmābhhyudayasa-vijaya-sūtra, rāghavavijayasūtra, etc.

13. SAṅGĪTA-NĀRĀYANA: It was composed by Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva of Khemundi, a place in Southern Orissā, in the 17th
century A.D. Dr. Rāghavan says in his *Latter Saṅgīta-Literature* that Nārāyaṇa-deva was the king of Parlakimedi or of the Khemundi line. ‘The work opens with an account of the dynasty of King Nārāyaṇa, who belongs to the Gaṅgā dynasty. He was the son of Padmanābha’. R. D. Banerji says: ‘In the twenty-third aṅka, the Khurda territories were attached by another chief, named Nārāyaṇa-deva of Parlakimedi and and Vīra Kiśora’s Diwān was sent * *’ (vide *History of Orissa*, Vol.II, p.120). R. Sewell mentions that one Vīra-Pratāpārudra-Nārāyaṇa-deva, son of a Padmanābha lived between 1748 and 1766 A.D. (vide *Archaeological Survey of South-India*, pt.II, pt.186). Kavicandra Kāli Carāṇa Pattanāik of Cuttack wrote to me: ‘I have collected six different readings of the manuscripts, of Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa, from different parts of Orissā, and in each manuscript the name of the author is Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva of Khemundi * * . You have dated Saṅgīt-nārāyaṇa at the last quarter of the 18th century A.D. which should be 17th century A.D. I have collected this information from the family chronology (krushināmā) of the Khemundi Rāj family, to which the author of Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa belongs’ (letter Ref. No. RF (1) 246/58, dated the 10th May, 1958). The Saṅgīt-nārāyaṇa is avai-
lable in the Madras MSS. Library also (vide also Trien Cat. 1919-20 to 21-22
MS. No. R. 3234, and Cat. 1922-25, R. 4212).
The *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* contains four chapters:
(1) the first chapter contains *nāda* or causal
sound, *śruti* or microtone, *svara* or note, *grāma*
or scale, *rāga* or melody, *gīta* or song, and
*tāla* or rhythm; (2) The second chapter con-
tains *vādyā* or drumming, (3) the third one
contains *nṛtya* or dance, and (4) the fourth one,
*prabandha*. Many music materials have been
quoted in it from the *Nārada-samhitā, Paṅcamasāra-
samhitā, Saṅgīta-ratnamālā, Bṛhaddeśī, Saṅgītasāra,
Saṅgīta-darpaṇa, Saṅgīta-kalpataru, Saṅgīta-candrikā,
etc.

It is said that Nārāyaṇa-deva wrote also
the *Alaṁkāracandrikā*. The *candrikā* deals with the
topics of the *alaṁkāras*, applicable to music. These
*alaṁkāras* are 50 in number: 'इति प्रसिद्धालक्षणः
पश्चात परिकीर्तिता'। Some are of opinion that
the real author of this book is Puruṣottama-
Miśra. Dr. Rāghavan says that King Nārāyaṇa
mentioned also the names of Kṛṣṇadatta,
Vācaspati, and others.

14. **SAṅGĪTA-KAMODA**: It was written by
Gopināth Kavibhūṣaṇa. He was the son of
Vāsudeva Pātra of *Karana* family, who
was the *guru* and court-physician of King
Jagannāth-Nārāyaṇa: "करणकुलसम्बन्ध कवि
भिपवार वासुदेवपालतन्य श्रीमद गोपीनाथ कवि-भूषण-
Dr. Rāghavan says that it is a work mainly on poetics and dramaturgy, and the 24th chapter has been devoted to music.

15. SAṆΓĪTASĀRA: It is said that this book was written by Harināyaka-Sūri. His name has been mentioned in the Saṅgīta-saraṇī and Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa. Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva quoted Harināyaka-Sūri as one of the great authorities on music: ‘सुंदरीतसार-हरिनायक-रलमाल्या-णीतप्रकाश-मुखदर्शित-यमंनेच्छ’ or ‘तदुर्वहरिनायकेन’ or ‘हरिनायकक्तु धनियमादह-अलसित-रिगिर्यत् स्वात्तेरागालापनकिरिणी’ (vide Journal of the Music Academy, Madras, 1933, pp. 73-74). Dr. Rāghavan is of opinion that ‘Harināyaka has described many difficult and rare prabandhas in his work from Bharata’s treatise, and the illustrations of these are to be found in the Gitaprákāśa’.

16. KĀLANKURA-NIBANDHA: It was written in Oriyā language by one Kaviratna Kālankar. It is said that he wrote a new version (rāgamālikā) on the rāga chapter of the Saṅgīta-darpaṇa by Paṇḍit Dāmodara. Some are of opinion that when Kālankar mentioned: ‘दामोदरेण स्वप्रथमे यथोक्ता रागमालिका’; he meant by the word ‘दामोदरेण’ the book, Saṅgīta-dāmodara by Šubhaṅkara. But this does not seem correct, as he meant Paṇḍit Dāmodara or Dāmodara Miśra of the Saṅgīta-darpaṇa. King Nārāyaṇa also quoted Kālankar,
in connection with rhythm (tāla), and called him as one of his preceptors: अस्तुरु वंकिन्तिनिः। Dr. Rāghavan is of opinion that 'it is likely that this Kakairatna, contemporary and teacher of King Nārāyaṇa, is identical with the author of Kalakara-nibandha'.

17. SANGITASĀRA-SAMGRAHAMU: It is a Telegu Kāvya on music, dedicated to Śiva Akalaṅka. It was written by Tiruveṅkata Kavi, published by Music Academy of Madras. This book was probably produced in Tānjore.


19. SANGITASĀRA-SAMGRAHA: Written by Paṇḍit Narahari Cakravurtty or Ghanaśyamadāsa II. It was composed in the early 18th century A.D. It is purely a book of collection, containing all the topics on svara, rāga, tāla, vādyā, rasa, abhinaya, etc. Paṇḍit Narahari was a devout Vaiśṇava saint and a great scholar. It remained unpublished so long. Recently a correct and reliable manuscript has been procured and published from the Rāmakṛṣṇa Vedānta Math, Calcutta, critically edited with an introduction in English by the present author in 1956.
Narahari Cakravurty repeatedly mentioned the names of Saṅgītasāra by Harinārāyaṇa-Sūri (1500 A.D.), Saṅgīta-śiromaṇī, Nārada-samhītā, Saṅgīta-muktāvalī, Gīta-prakāśa, etc. in his Saṅgītsāra-saṅgraha and Bhaktiratnākara. In the Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa by King Nārāyaṇa-deva (1760 A.D.), we find the names of Gīta-prakāśa, Saṅgīta-śiromaṇī, Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa of Puruṣottam Miśra (1730-1750 A.D.), Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa by King Nārāyaṇa-deva, Saṅgītsāra by Harināyaka (Sūri), Kavīcintāmaṇī by Gopināth Kavībhūṣaṇa. The Gīta-prakāśa was written in Utkala Pradesa or Orissā.

20. SAṅGīTASĀRA-SAṄGRAHA: Collected and compiled by Rājā S.M. Tagore. It was published in 1875 by J. C. Vasu Company, Calcutta. It contains six chapters on svāra, rāga, tāla, vādya, nṛtya, nātya, etc. In the rāga chapter, Sir Ś.M. Tagore has elaborately dealt with the rāgas and raginīs, and their different dhyānas from the books like Nārada-samhītā, Saṅgīta-darpaṇa, Rāgārṇava, Saṅgītasāra, Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa, Saṅgīta-candrikā, etc.

21. SAṅGīTASĀRA-SAṄGRAHA: It is a collection of Bengali songs, of the 19th century.

22. SAṅGīT-RĀGA-KALPADRUMA: by Paṇḍit Kişṇānanda Vyāsa. It was compiled in 1843 in Bengali, Hindi and Sanskrit. It is a collection of dhruvapada, kheyal, and other traditional types of songs, together with a theoretical portion in Sanskrit, compiled from different original books on music.
23. **Sāṅgīta-Taraṅga**: by Rādhāmohan Sen. It was published twice in 1225 and 1256 B.S. It has been written in Bengali verses, and deals with the topics on *svara*, *rāga*, *tāla*, *prabandha*, etc. The chapters on *svara*, and *rāga* have specially been dealt with, throwing some new light.

24. **Sāṅgīt-Taraṅga**: compiled by Rādhāmohan Sen. It was published in 1245 B.S. It is not now available.


26. **Yantrakoṣa**: by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in 1282 B.S. Various musical instruments of the East and West have nicely been described in it. It is a unique book of musical instruments in Bengali.

27. **Sāṅgītsāra**: by Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī. It was published from Calcutta in 1286 B.S. (1879 A.D.) It is written in Bengali, and contains theory, history and many songs, with *daṇḍā-mātrika* notations.

28. **Yantrakṣetra-Dīpikā**: by Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī, published in Calcutta in 1890. Both the current and rare rāgas have been depicted with *daṇḍa-mātrika* notations, for musical instruments. It is an authentic book of reference in Bengali.

29. **Gītāgovinda**: A book on the *daṇḍa-mātrika* notations of the *padagānas* of Thākur
Jayadeva. Tho notations were made by Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī, in Āṣāḍha, 1278 B.S., The book was published from the Vaṅga-Nātyālaya, Pāthuriāghātā, Calcutta. The rāgas selected and added to the padagānas, are quite different from those, mentioned in the original Gitagovinda, and their melodic forms are of the modern types, such as, rāga-yogiya—tāla-teota, rāga-bihangaḍā—tāla-āḍā, rāga-bhimpalaśri, etc. Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī mentioned in the conclusive note that he got those notations from his master Rāmasaṅkara Bhattācārya of Viṣṇupur, Baṅkurāh, Bengal.

30 SANĪTA-RATNĀKARA: by Navin Candra Dutt of Calcutta. The book has been dedicated to Sir S.M. Tagore, as the author is indebted to the Rājā in many respects, for the collection of the materials of the book. The book is in Bengali, and contains 300 pages. It is divided into five chapters, namely svara, rāga (with daṇḍa-mātrika notations of the songs), vādyā (with some illustrations of the musical instruments), tāla, and nṛtya. An Appendix and a long Introduction have been added to the book. It is not now available.

31. RĀGAMĀLĀ: by Fazil Nachir Muhammed. The author comes from East Bengal. The book was written in 1086 B.S. Nachir Muhammed was the disciple of Peer
Muhammed, and was born in Sultānpur, Chittāgoṅ. Forty two rāgas, with their rāginīs, their characteristic features, and dhyānas have nicely been described in Bengali. It is not now available.

32. DHYĀNAMĀLĀ: by Āli Rājā or Kāmu Fakir. It was published from somewhere in East Bengal. It is not available.


34. SIX PRINCIPAL RĀGAS OF THE HINDUS: (English): by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published from Calcutta in 1877, with 8 plates.


36. MUSIC BY VARIOUS AUTHORS: (English): Compiled by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in two parts, in one volume, in 1882, from Calcutta. It contains reprints from the music books by the Western authors like Capt. N. A. Willard, Sir William Jones, Sir William Ousley, J. D. Paterson, F. Fowke, F. Gladwin, and others.

37. SEVEN PRINCIPAL MUSICAL NOTES OF THE HINDUS (With their Presiding deities):
Written by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1892, from Calcutta.

38. **HINDU MUSIC** (English) : Written by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1875, from Calcutta.


There are also other books on music by Rājā S. M. Tagore in English and Bengali.


41. **GĪTASŪTRASĀRA** : Written by Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee. It was published with a long Appendix by Himaṇṣu Šekhar Banerji, in 1341 B.S. The first volume deals with the theory and history of music, and the second volume contains the staff notation of many musical compositions.

42. **GĪTASŪTRASĀRA** (ENG.) : Translator’s explanations and notes to Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee’s ‘Gītasūtrasāra’, Vol. II, part II, by Himāṇṣu Šekhar Banerji of Berhāmpore (Bengal), published by Nirendra Nāth Banerjee, Calcutta, in September, 1941 A.D. It is an explanatory exhaustive and illuminating notes on the Gītasūtrasāra. It deals with modes and scales, natural tempered scales, *laya* or tempo, rhythm, drumming, Sanskrit
metres, musical forms, rāga, vādi samvādi, etc., rāgas in notation, merits and demerits, proper season and time for rāga, graces and ornaments, Tamburā and suggested improvements for it, svara, mela, sruti, grāma, ancient grāmas and corresponding modern notes, etc. This English note book may be called the 'Grammar and Theory of Indian Music'.

43. HĀRĀMANI: It has been edited by Prof. Muhammed Manusuruddin of Rājshāhi College, and published by the Calcutta University in 1942. It is a collection of folk songs like bāul, bhātiyāli, jāri, sāri, gāzi, etc. An illuminating Introduction has been written by Kaviguru Rabindra Nath Tagore.

44. PATUĀ-SAÑGĪTA: Many of the songs of the Patuās have been collected and edited by Gurusadayā Dutt, I.C.S. It has been published by the University of Calcutta in 1939.

45. PŪRVA-VAŃGA-GĪTIKĀ: It is a collection of the love-episods and ballads of East Bengal. Most of the ballads of East Bengal were collected by late Candra Kumar De. Afterwards they were edited by Rāi Bāhādur Dinesh Candra Sen, and was published by the Calcutta University, in several volumes. Besides, Nagendranāth De, Āshutosh Chowdhury, and others helped to collect the ballads.
46. **MAIMANSINGHA-GĪTIKĀ**: It contains the folk songs and ballads of Maimansingha and its adjacent places, in East Bengal. It has been edited by Rāi Bāhādur Dinesh Candra Sen, and published by the Calcutta University.

Besides these books, there are hundreds of other books on music, written by the personalities like Rāma Prasanna Banerji and Gopeswar Banerji of Viṣṇupur, Bāṅkurāh, Surendra Nāth Banerjee, Rabindra Nāth Tagore, Rajani Kānta Sen (Kānta-Kavi), Atul Prasād Sen, Dvijendralāl Roy, Dilip Kumer Roy, Kāzi Nazrul, and many other composers and artists.

### B

**Non-musical Books containing Musical Materials**

1. **SADUKTI-KARṆĀMRṬA**: Written by Śrīdhar Dāsa, and published in 1206 A.D.
2. **KĪRTILATĀ (KĀVYA)**: Written by Kavi Vidyāpati in 1400 A.D. It was composed in sauraseni-apabhramśa, with maithili language. The second chapter Śrīgāra-pravāha deals with gīta, vādyā and nṛtya.
3. **KṢANADĀ-GĪTA-CINTĀMAṆI**: Written by the Vaiṣṇava savant, Viśvanāth Cakravurty.
4. **KĪRTANA-GĪTA-RATNĀVALĪ**: Written by Kālidās Nāth.
5. **PADĀMRṬA-SINDHU**: It is an authentic book of the Vaiṣṇava community. It has been
written by Thākur Rādhā Mohan Sen, who was contemporary to Ghanaśyāma-Narahari (early 18th century A.D.). It contains dhyānas of some principal rāgas, which were composed according to Rānā Kumbha’s Saṅgītarāja. The later commentators of the Gītāgovinda have also followed him, in composing the dhyānas of the rāgas.


7. KĪRTANĀNANDA: Written by Gour Sunder Dāsa.

8. CANḍIDĀSA-PADĀVALĪ: Vol. I has been edited by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Paṇḍit Hare Kṛṣṇa Mukherjee, and published in 1341 B.S., with a learned Introduction.


10. MAṅGALA-KĀVYAS: These are the socio-politico-religious literature of Bengal. The Maṅgala-kavyas were written by different authors in different periods. Probably Bhārata Candra’s Annadā-maṅgal of the 18th century is the last Kāvya. These Kāvyas contain many historical materials of music. Various rāgas and musical instruments
specially of Bengal, have been described in these Kāvyas. Dr. Āshutosh Bhattācārya, M.A., Ph. D. of the Calcutta University has done creditable research work on the Maṅgala-kāvyas of Bengal. His book, Maṅgala-Kāvyer Itihās (Beng.) is a unique contribution to the domain of history and Bengali literature. His Bānglār Loka-Sāhitya is also worth mentioning.

11. KRŚṆA-KĪRTANA: It was written by Thākur Caṇḍīdāsa (Vaḍu). It has been edited by Vasanta Ranjan Roy, and published by the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta, in 1916.

12. MĀRKAṆḌEYA-PURĀṆA: The chapt. 23 contains the topics on music. The jātirāgas, grāmarāgas, together with the deśi rāgas have been described in it. It has been published from Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay (Sanskrit), and Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta (Bengali).

13. VĀYU-PURĀṆA: The chapt.s 86-87 have been devoted to the discussion on music. It has been published from Bombay, and Calcutta. From Calcutta it was edited first, by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar Bhattācārya, and secondly, by Paṇḍit Paṅcānan Tarkaratna and was published from the Vaṅgavāsī Press.

14. VIŚṆUDHARMOTTARA-PURĀṆA: The chapters 3,18,19 have been devoted to music i.e., rāgas, tālas, nṛtya, nātya, and different musical instruments, etc. It is an encyclopaedic work,
containing all the Fine Arts, and history, politics, geography, etc. It has been published from the Vaṅkatesvara Press, Bombay.

15. **VRHADDARMA-PURĀṆA**: The chapter *madhya-khaṇḍa*, No. 14 has been devoted to the discussion on music.

16. **LIṆGA-PURĀṆA**: The *uttara-bhāga*, 2-3 contains the topics on music. It was published by Jivānanda Vidyāśāgara Bhattācārya, from Calcutta, in 1885. It was also edited by Paṅcānan Tarkaratna, and was published from the Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta.

17. **AGNI-PURĀṆA**: It is also an encyclopaedic work, in which all subjects have been discussed, including *nṛtya, gīta, vādyā, nāṭya*, etc. It was edited and published by Paṇḍit Jivānanda Vidyāśāgara Bhattācārya, in 1882, from Calcutta. It has also been published by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay.

18. **AITHIHASHIKA-RAHASYA**: Written by Rāmdās Sen, and published in 1876. It contains four essays on music: (a) *Bhāratavarser Sangīta-śāstra*, (b) *Sangīta-sastrāṇugata-Nṛtya-Abhinaya*, (c) *Svara-viṣṇā*, (d) *Rāga-nirṇaya*.

19. **BHAKTI-RATNĀKARA**: Written by Ghanshyāma-Narahari Cakravurty of the early 18th century. It was first published from Baharāmpur, Murśidābād, and then from the Gauḍīya Mission, Calcutta, in 1940. The fifth chapter (*paṅcama-taraṅga*) has been devoted to the discussions on music.
20. **GīTA-CANDRODAYA**: Written by Narahari Cakravurty. It is a voluminous book, and its last two chapters have been devoted to the discussions on *tāla* and *rāga*, etc.


22. **ĀNANDA-VṛNDĀVANA-CAMPUS**: Written by Kavi-Karnāpūr. It has been published by Syāmlāl Śrī Kṛṣnaḷāl Gupta, from Bombay, in 1867. The 20th chapter has been devoted to music.

23. **GĪTĀVALĪ**: Written by Śrī Rūpa Goswāmī.

24. **SAṄGĪTA-MADHYA**: Written by Pravodhānanda Sarasvatī.

25. Other books like the *Gīta-kalpataru*, Rāgamālā, Āgama-sāṅgīta, Rāga-mārga-lahārī, and Gīta-cintāmanī are worth mentioning.

26. **ŚIVA-SAṄGĪTA or ŚIVA-SAṄKĪRTANA**: Written by Rāmeśvara. MS. No. 16, in the Cooch Behār State Library.

27. **PADĀVALĪ**: by Balarāmdās. Balarāmdās was contemporary to Śrī Caitanya (1486—1527 A.D.)

28. **BALARĀM-DāSER PADĀVALĪ**: Edited by Br. Amar Caitanya, and published by the Nava-Bhārata Publishers, Rādhā Bāzār Street, Calcutta, in 1958. Dr. Sukumer Sen has contributed an illuminating Introduction to it, and *A Short History of Padāvalī-Kīrtana*, written by Swāmī Prajñānānanda, has been
added. It is a collection of the *padas* or *padagītis* by Balarāmdās.

29. **KĀLĪ-KĪRTANA**: by Kavirañjana Rāmaprasād Sen. It was first published during his time (probably 1720-1730 A.D.) It contains 29 *kīrtanas*, of which 17 are composed with the sentiments of motherly love (*vātsalya-rasa*), 5 with the themes of *pūrvārāga*, 1 hymn, and 1 with the description of *rāsalīlā*. Rāmaprasād was born in Hālīsahar, in Hooghly district. According to Vijayarām Sen-Visārad, the author of *Tīrtha-Māṅgala*, Rāmaprasād was born in Kumeraḥāṭa. It is said that Rāmaprasād was also influenced in Vaiṣṇavism by Lakṣminārāyaṇa. But he mostly wrote the *Kālikīrtanas*.

30. **SAṅGĪTA-GOURĪŚVARA**: by Gaṅgādhara Tarkavāgīśa Bhattācārya. It was composed on the 2nd *Vaiśakha*, in 1772 Śaka Era, i.e. in 1850 A.D. It was printed in Samvāda Prabhākara press. It was written in both Sanskrit and Bengali verses. The author composed some of the songs, imitating the verses of Jayadeva, but the theme of his composition was of *Śiva-Śakti*.

It must, therefore, be admitted that Bengal made an immense contribution in the field of Indian music, both classical and folk. Thousands of composers and singers appeared in Bengal, and joined their hands, in a spirit of amity and love. Different types of music, with their novel
technique and texture, came forth. Artists and lovers of music adopted new methods and modes of classical music from outside of Bengal,—from Delhi, Āgrā, Gwālior, Punjab, Jaunpur, Banaras, Gayā, Lucknow, and other places, enriched their treasures, by inventing many new forms of music and methods of presentation, composed innumerable songs, and wrote and compiled many treatises on music, impregnated with the spirit, and religious sentiments of Bengal. Their honest attempts were successful. The remains of the past leave behind the impetus and inspiration for the present generation as well as for the future. Let, therefore, the noble culturists and pioneers of Indian music of Bengal combine in a spirit of friendship, to collect, culture and preserve the music and musical literature of Bengal, so as to prove the glorious and undying legacy of the cultural atmosphere and tradition of Greater Bengal.
Chapter Eight

Development of Padāvalī-Kīrtana of Bengal

Kīrtana is a religio-devotional type of song, which is sung with classical melody and rhythm, in praise of God, hero or superman. It is prevalent in all parts of India in some form or other. There must have occurred many changes or modifications in it, at different times, before coming into its present classical form. Some are of opinion that it might be possible that kīrtana, in its most primitive form, was very simple and crude, and it was mostly prevalent among the aboriginal tribes of India, in remote antiquity. W. G. Archer says in his informative book: The Blue Grove, the Poetry of the Urāons (1940) that he noticed a type of folk or tribal music, called 'kīrtana', among the uncivilized aboriginal Urāons, in the hilly district of Chotanāgpur. He is of opinion that kīrtanas or tribal songs of the Urāons and other primitive hilly tribes are probably the precursor or forerunner of the present developed classical type of padāvalī-kīrtana, as it is a fact that the simple folk music is the origin of the developed art music. Archer says: 'Urāon dance poems are fitted to the drum rhythms, and are sung by the boys and girls while the
dances revolve. Most of them are poems of four lines. In the dances which have a definite advance and reverse action, the first two lines are called the ‘or’ or opening movement and the third and fourth lines are known as the kīrtana or reverse'. Further he says: 'The ‘or’ takes the lines of dancers anti-clockwise on the circle. After it has been repeated three or four times there is a stop or hitch in the dance and the movement is reversed—the line moving back clockwise, while the kīrtana is sung and repeated. Where there are more than four lines in the dance poem, the fifth and sixth lines and the seventh and eighth are treated as additional kīrtanas, and after each kīrtana has been sung and repeated the dance moves back into the ‘or’ action and repeats the first two lines before it goes on to the next. A few dances do not have any obvious reverse action, and in these cases the kīrtana is sung as an addition or variation to the ‘or’—the poem being sung over and again as long as the dance lasts'. In fact, the kīrtana of the aboriginal Urāons is a kind of primitive type of dance-music. Generally this type of tribal song is possessed of four lines; and when the Urāons go forward, after singing two lines, it is known as ‘or’, and when they go backward, after singing the remaining two lines, it is known as ‘kīrtana’. So it is evident that the tribal songs of the Urāons of Chotanāgpur is a combination of ‘or’ and ‘kīrtana’,
which is quite different from the characteristics of padāvalī-kirtana of the Bengal.

While surveying the historical development of the padāvalī-kirtana of Bengal, we find that during the time of Rājā Lakṣmanā-sen (1178-1179 or 1184-1185 A.D.), the classical prabandha type of music was profusely cultured, as evidenced from Thākur Jayadeva's Gītagovinda, and other types of padagīti. From the history of Bengal we know that classical dance and music were cultured by the Gupta Rulers (third-sixth century A.D.). In the coin, we find a figure of Samudragupta, depicted as a veena-player. When the Pāla Rulers were in power (seventh-eight century A.D.), many of the rural ballads and folk songs were composed, and sung with classical tunes (ragas). During the reign of Gopīcandra and the queen Maināvatī (or Madanāvatī), śāstric dances and music were cultured in different temples and places of Bengal. Many musical remains discovered from the Lāmāi Hill, testify the fact.

The nucleus of Vaiṣṇava padas or padāvalīs is found in Hāla Satavāhana's gāhā-sattāsai (i.e. gathā-saptaśatī), in the first-fifth century A.D. Hāla describes some of the padas, composed of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa's vrajalilā. Bhatta-nārāyaṇa composed some nandī-ślokas of the drama, Veṇīsaṁhāra (seventh-eighth century A.D.), describing Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa's rāsa function, on the bank of Jamunā, and they have been acknowledged by
Ānandavardhana in his Dhvanyāloka, in the ninth century A.D. Ānandavardhana also quotes a beautiful pada or padagīti of an unknown author, who composed it with the theme of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-līlā. Dr. Śāsibhuṣaṇ Dāśgupta says that this particular pada has been quoted by Kuntaka in his Vakroktījīvita, in the tenth-eleventh century A.D. Trivikrama-Bhatta also composed some Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-padas in his Nalacampu in 915 A.D. Some of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-padas, describing vrajalilā, are found in the Kavindrasamuccaya, in the tenth century A.D., and one of the paddas have been quoted by Bhojarāja in his Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa, in the eleventh century A.D., and Hemacandra in his Kavyānusaraṇa, in the twelfth century A.D. Śrīdharadās has also mentioned that particular padagīti in his Saduktikarṇāmṛta. Besides, Bhojjala-kavi,1 Saradātanaya, Kavi Karṇapūra, Sāgaranandī, Ramaśarmā, and others have also composed padagītis, describing the divine episodes of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa’s divine vrajalilā.

Then we come across with Thākura Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda, Līlā-śuka, Thākur Vilvamaṅgala’s Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta, and Śrīdharaṇāsa’s Saduktikarṇāmṛta, in the twelveth-thirteenth century A.D. When Jayadeva composed Gitagovinda, vrajabuli was not introduced as the language of the

1. Some are of opinion that Bhojjala-kavi and Abhinavagupta are one and the same man.
padagītīs. Some say that it was first written in prākrit and was afterwards Sanskritised. Some are of opinion that the Gitagovinda was known as nātagīti, written in avahatta language. The language avahatta was an admixture of Sanskrit, Prākrit and Bengali. Some other again hold the view that the Gitagovinda was practised as group-music or pālāgāna. But that is not wholly correct, as it was composed of mātrāvṛtta metre (chanda), mixed with tripādi. Some are again inclined to call the Gitagovinda as aṣṭapādi, and the name is very common in South India. But, truly speaking, the name aṣṭapādi is not befitting the Gitagovinda, as it is not composed of only eight verses or padas, rather it consists of different groups of verses. As for example, the first chapter (sarga) consists of 49 verses, the second one of 21 verses, the third one of 16 stanzas, and the fourth one of 23 verses, etc.

Jayadeva was the court-poet of Rājā Lakṣmaṇa-sen, the worthy son of Rājā Vallāla-sen. The renowned poets like Govardhana, Dhoyi, Śarana, and others were contemporary to Jayadeva. In the padagītīs of Gitagovinda, we find the beautiful description of the divine sportive plays (līlā) of Vṛndāvana, but it seems that they were merely the reproductions of those of Mathurā, Dvārakā and other adjacent places, as described in the Śrīmadbhāgavata. Śrī Rādhā or Rādhikā has been described by Jayadeva, as one of the eight chief Gopīs of Śrī Kṛṣṇa,
and this idea was probably incorporated by him from the Bhāgavata and Purāṇas. Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta says in this connection that ‘Jayadeva’s exact source is not known. There are parallelism between the extremely sensuous treatment of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend and that of the Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa, but there is no conclusive proof that Jayadeva’s inspiration was the Kṛṣṇa-Gopi legend of the Śrīmadbhāgavata, which avoids all direct mention of Rādhā (who is also not mentioned by Līlāśuka), and describes the autumnal, not vernal, rāsalilā’. It is true that the word ‘Rādhā’ does not occur in the Bhāgavata, in the sense of divine consort of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but there occurs only the word ‘ārādhita’ i.e. ‘worshipped’. The Bhāgavata states in the 10th chapter (30.24):

Anayārādhito nūnām bhagavān hari-rīśvarah / Yanno vihāya Govindaḥ prīto yāmanaya- 
drahaḥ //

That is, ‘the Hari has certainly been worshipped by this woman, because Govinda has been pleased to bring her in the lonely place, leaving us all behind’. Sanātana Goswāmī, Viśvanāth Cakravurtty, and other Vaiṣṇava savants have interpreted the word ‘ārādhitaḥ’ as ‘most

2. वनस्पतिती मूर्ति भगवान् पारिश्रम: । यद्वी विश्वाय शोकिन्द्र: प्रीती यास्मिष्ठचर: ॥
beloved and venerable Radha'. Sanatana Goswami comments on the sloka as 'anaiva aradhitaḥ aradhya vaśikṛtaḥ na asmābhiḥ. Radhayati aradhayatīti rādheti nāmakāraṇaṅca darśitaṁ'.

Vīśvanāth Cakravarty says: 'nīnaṁ harirayaṁ. rādhāṁ itaḥ prāptaḥ'. Kaviraja Kṛṣṇadas Goswami also accepts the view of Sanatana Goswami in his Caitanyacaritāmṛta thus:

Kṛṣṇa-vāncāpūrtirūpa kare arādhane /
Ataeva rādhikā nāma purāṇe vākhāne

In the mythico-historical epics like Padma, Skandha, etc., the word 'Radha' has been mentioned with Lalitā, Viśākhā, Candrāvālī, and other female attendants (sakhīs). Dr. S. K. De is of opinion that although Radha is not mentioned in the Rāsañcādhyāya of the Śrimadbhāgavata, yet the Gopis figure prominently in the romantic legend, and their dalliance with Kṛṣṇa is described in highly emotional and

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3. चन्द्रयौव भाराधितः भाराध्य वसीकृतः न च ब्राह्मि: ।
राधवति भाराध्वर्तीति राधिति नामकारणव दर्शतम् ।

—वेष्टनीयव-टोक।

4. नून श्वरिष्यं राधितः । राधां इति: प्रम: ।

5. कुष्ठनाथापूर्विक्षप करे भाराधि: ।
भवतव राधिका नाम पुराणे बखानि ।

—চন্দ্রভ্রষ্ণলীলাঃ (শ্রদ্ধলু, ২৬ পরিঃ ৫১)
sensuous poetry. Some say that Jayadeva was influenced by the religious doctrine of Nimvärka, and so he gave Rādhā a high place in his padagītis. But this view is untenable, as we find that Jayadeva was mostly influenced by the doctrines of earlier literature like Pañcarātra, different Purāṇas, and Śrīmadbhāgavata. It is also true that the fundamental doctrine and philosophical ideas of the Gītagovinda are greatly based on the religious thoughts of the earlier Pañcarātra-samhitā. The Śrīmadbhāgavata also follows most of the ideas and ideals of the Mahābhārata, Khila-Harivamśa, and Purāṇas like Brahmanavarta, Viṣṇu, Padma, Skandha, etc. There is also a great controversy, regarding the date of the Bhāgavata, the authentic religious literature of the Vaiṣṇvas. Some are of opinion that as the Bhāgavata adopts the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu, depicted in the earlier Pañcarātra literature like Sātvata, Ahirvyadhna, Parameśvara, Jaya, Īśvara, Parama, Padma, etc., in the beginning of the Christian era, it might have been compiled not earlier than the eighth-ninth century A.D.

But it should be investigated as to how and when the popular cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa or Bhāgavatism exactly evolved in the Indian society. We gather from the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad that Devaki-putra Kṛṣṇa was the disciple of Ghora Āṅgirasa, a priest of the Sun, and worshipper of the Fire-god (Agni), who taught Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa was a Kṣatriya scholar and seer, who
flourished, according to Jain tradition, about 1000 B.C. ‘Vāsudeva’, says Dr. Rādhākamal Mukherjee, ‘seems to have been an accepted form of the Vedic god, Viṣṇu, at the close of the Vedic period. According to the Taittiriya-Āranyaka, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu are three aspects of same god. In the Mahābhārata, we find the story that Pauṇḍraka pretended to be Puruṣottama or Viṣṇu and was known under the name of Vāsudeva. ** It was the Sātvatvas, an important branch of the Yādava race, who first recognised Kṛṣṇa not merely as their tribal hero and leader (Sātvatam-varaḥ), but as the Supreme God, or the Sun whom he taught them to meditate upon. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa’s indentification with the Sun is clearly indicated in the Mahābhārata (XII. 341.41).\(^6\) Thus Kṛṣṇa came to be known as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and his worshippers were called Pañcarāstras or Bhāgavatas’.

We find again that the Sātvatvas were at first the worshippers of the Sun (sūryopāsaka), and when the Sun was deified as Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, ‘the radiant Lord of the Sky’, they began to worship Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as the representation of the radiant Sun. Pāṇini (500 B.C.) describes Vāsudeva as the son of Vasudeva of the race of the Vṛṣṇis. The Bhagavad-Gītā also states: ‘Of the Vṛṣṇis, I am Vāsudeva’. Pataṅjali

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\(^6\) Vide also Bhagavad-Gītā, XIII. 18.
(150 B.C.) mentions Vāsudeva as Bhāgavat or 'the Adorable'. Dr. R. K. Mukherjee is of opinion that the Mahābhārata repeatedly refers with respect to the Pāñcarātra or bhakti literature which deals with the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa and Puruṣa. The worship of the personal deity Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu-Puruṣa derived invaluable support from the early Vedic conception of the deity, Viṣṇu or Puruṣa. 'The later Upaniṣads from about 250 B.C. onwards preached the doctrine of Īśvara or Lord and of revelation vouchsafed to whomsoever the Lord chooses. The new theistic doctrine was preached by the Bhāgavatas or Vāsudevakas, named after Vāsudeva, who is Kṛṣṇa himself, and is later identified in an Āranyaka with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, and in the famous Besnagar inscription of the convert Heliodorus (the Greek envoy of King Antialkidas of Taxilā) with the Supreme God, Devadeva Viṣṇu. This was in the 2nd century B.C., when the cult of Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa (later considered as Kṛṣṇa's brother) was mentioned as prevalent, especially in Central India and the Deccan'.

Further Dr. Mukherjee observes that the Bhāgavata dharma and Vāsudeva cult spread from the Yamunā valley to Central India, Rājputanā and Mahārāstra, and by the 2nd century B.C. it was a popular cult throughout India, attracting foreigners also. 'In Vidiśā, the worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva and Pradymumna, associa-
ted with the *Pañcarātra* doctrine, is indicated by the inscriptions of the 2nd-1st century B.C. The celebrated inscription of Vidiśā, about 180 B.C. of the Greek convert Heliodorous mentions Vāsudeva as the God of Gods (*devadeva*), in whose honour the foreigner erected a flag staff with the image of Gaḍura on the top. The Nanāghāt cave inscription of the first century B.C. invokes both Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva among other deities; while the Ghosundi and Hathibada inscriptions mention Pārāsariputra Sarvatāta as having constructed a stone enclosure for the place of worship called Nārāyaṇa vāṭa for Bhāgavat Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. The Tusam inscription of the 4th or 5th century A.D. mentions Yasastrāta as a devotee of Bhāgavat belonging to the Brāhman *Gotama-gotra* who inherited the Yoga practice of the Ārya Sātvatās through many generations. * * According to a Syrian legend, the cult was prevalent in Syria as early as the second century B.C. reaching there by the familiar land-route of trade. The bid of Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism to become an orthodox Indian religion is clearly indicated in the second century B.C. by the assimilation of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa into the earlier Vedic gods, Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa'. Again the Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism 'was the most popular religion in the Gupta and post-Gupta epoch, and obtained converts from foreigners as well as from the Sudras and women'. Kālidāsa gave a superb
expression to the swelling tide of bhakti in Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism of this age.⁷

Again there is a great controversy regarding the first incorporation of the word ‘Rādhā’ in the Vaiṣṇva literature. Most of the scholars are of opinion that the word ‘Rādhā’ first occurred probably in Hāla Satavāhana’s Gaḥasattasai (Gāthā-saptāṣati), written in the first or second-fifth century A.D. Vānabhatta mentions about Hāla in his Harṣacarita, in the seventh century A.D. Hāla mentions only once the word ‘Rādhā’ in his Sattasai or Saptasati, in connection with Kṛṣṇa’s vrajalīlā thus:

Muhamāru-ena tam kahna gorāam
rāhi-āeṇ avaṇento /

Etāṇaṁ valaveenaṁ anṇānaṁ vi gorā-am
harasi //⁸

Here ‘rāhi-āeṇ’ stands for ‘Rādhā’. The meaning of the sloka is: ‘O Kṛṣṇa, you have


(b) ‘In the Kavyas of Kālidāsa we find not only Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa identified with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, but Kṛṣṇa is also called Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa’.—Ibid., p. 242.

⁸ सुखसाधया त व क गोर्गच्च राधी भाये” भवायणी।
एतां वलकीच्छ भवायण वि गोर्गच्छ छरसि ||
—सन्मति ११५५
removed, by blow of your mouth, the dust from the mouth of Rādhā, and thus you have stolen the glory of these beloved ladies and other women'. Now, it is proved from the lines that there was one Gopī named Rādhā, who was very favourite to Kṛṣṇa. And Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta says that the Divine couple (yugala-mūrti) inscribed in the temple-wall, discovered from Pāhāḍapur excavation, undoubtedly prove that the doctrine of Rādhā (Rādhāvāda) was prevalent even before the eighth century A.D. The mention of Rādhā is also found in Bhatanārāyaṇa's Venī-samhāra (drama) and Ānandavardhana's Dvanyāloka, in the eighth-nineth century A.D.

It is said that Śrī Caitanya and Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Goswāmīs gave Rādhā the high or prominent place in the Vaiṣṇava literature, in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D., and it is proved by a Sanskrit śloka, which explains as to how the ancient human love-lyrics were gradually transformed into divine sportive play or love-dalliance of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-līlā). The śloka runs thus:

Yaḥ kaumāraharaḥ sa eva hi varastā eva
caitrakṣapā-
ste conmīlita-mālati-surabhayaḥ prauḍhāḥ
kadambā-nilāḥ /
Sā caivāsmi tathāpi tatra surata-vyāpāra-
lilāvidhau-
revārodhasi vetasi-tarutale cetaḥ samut-
kaṇṭhate //9

That is, 'he is my husband, with whom I was
intimate before my marriage. The same caitra-
samkrānti (i.e. the last day of the month of
caitra) has appeared again, the same sweet
fragrance of the full-blown mālatī flower, together
with the breeze, are coming through the
kadamba garden; I am also present in this
place, and the sweet remembrance of that
conjugal love before my marriage, under the
shade of vetasa creeper, on the bank of the river
revā, makes me mad and impatient'. It is said
that Śrī Caitanya recited twice this śloka, before
he met Śrī Jagannātha at Puri. Kavirāja
Krṣṇdās Gosvāmī explains the inner significance
of the śloka, as recited by Śrī Caitanya, in his
Caitanyacaritāmṛta thus:

耶 कालेस करेत जगनाथ दर्दान ।
मने भावे हुशेष्टेने पाराँखि नियन ॥

कुष्ण ललाव ग्रेजे याहे – एमा अच अत्तर ॥
प्रभावे नुत्यम्ये पाडे एक श्रोक ।
सेन श्रोकर अर्थ केह नाहि कुम्भे लोक ॥

9. य: कौमारह: स एव हि वर्क: एव वेतवचपा–
श्री कौमारेश्वरीमात्रातीसुरवर्म: प्रेठा कदक्षामिना: ।
श्री वेतवच्चि त्यावि तव सुरतावपारकौमाराचिनी:–
रीवारीधिसि वेतकीतहति चेति: समुनक्षिने ॥
Further he says in the Caritāmṛta (madhyalilā, first chapter):

तथापि आमार मन हरे वृंदावन ||
बृंदावने उदय कराह आपन चरण ||
* * *
आमा तहिया पुनः लीला कर बृंदावने |
तबे आमार मनोवास्चा हयत पुरणे ||

Rūpa Goswāmī also comments on the above ślokas: 'yāḥ kaumāra-haraḥ', etc., in his Padyāvali, and says that they are the mystic talks of Rādhā with her beloved female companions (sakhī). He has also composed a similar śloka: 'priyam so'yam', etc. in this connection.

From those ślokas it is understood that the conception of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as a divine child (vāla-gopāla-mūrti), connected with the sportive play or love-dalliance of Rādhā at Vṛndāvana, instead of Mathurā, Dvārakā, and other places, originated with Śrī Caitanya and his followers. And this fact is also proved by half of the śloka, recited by Caitanya, while he fell in trance (bhāva-samādhi) at the sight of the top of the temple of Jagannāth at Puri, and the śloka is:

Prāsādāgre nivasati puraḥ smera-vaktrāravindo,
māmālokya smita-suvaḍano vāla-gopāla-
mūrtiḥ ॥

10. प्रासादग्रेन्निर्वसितिः पुरः स्मरवक्त्वारविन्दो
ममालोक्यास्मितस्वस्मीनवालागोपालमूर्तिः ॥

Dr. Sukumār Sen is of opinion that the vāla-gopāla-mūrti
It is very interesting to know as to how the simple rural love-episodes of the Bengali Ābhīra boys and girls were transformed into the divine sportive play or lilā. The Ābhīra boys used to dress themselves as nāyaka Kṛṣṇa, and the girls as their love-mates or nāyikās, which are profusely found in the ballads of East Bengal (pūrva-vānga-gītikā). Some are of opinion that there are two reasons behind it: (1) firstly, many ballads or love-songs were current among the Ābhīra community, and they were composed within the atmosphere of the simple villages. Those ballads spread all over the countries, in the form of chaḍā or lyrics. They were gradually incorporated in the mythico-historical Pūraṇas, as they were very interesting themes for the composition of literature or kāvyā, and (2) secondly Vaiśṇavism together with the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult began to spread under the influence of the Sena Kings, from eleventh-twelfth century A.D. The mystic poets composed songs or lyrics on the subject-matter, and they were much appreciated by the people of all communities. At last it so happened that no song or lyric was composed without the theme of Kṛṣṇa. Gradually religious and spiritual significances were attributed to those songs or lyrics, and

of Sṛṅg Kṛṣṇa began to be worshipped by the Vaiśṇava community after the twelfth century A.D. In the prākrit gāthā, we also find the mention of ‘चन्द्रबिब बाली दासोदरी’ etc.
Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult became the central theme of the latter Vaiṣṇava literature, and spiritual sādhanā.

In the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā school we find also the ontological principles of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as the eternal enjoyer and enjoyed (bhoktā and bhogya). The Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā school maintains the view that all men and women are physical manifestations of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. When men and women can, therefore, realise themselves as the manifestations of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā through the process of attribution (āropa), the love of any human couple becomes transformed into the divine love that is eternally flowing on between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā; when the union of a human couple thus becomes the union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the highest spiritual realisation dawns in the state of union or yogala'. The esoteric Buddhist Sahajiyā school also follows the method of this sādhanā, the only difference lies in the adoption of the principle of enjoyer and enjoyed, as the Sahajiyā Buddhism adopts prajñā and upāya, or śūnyatā and karunā, as the two primary attributes of the ultimate reality which is sahaja. That is, the Buddhist Sahajiās conceived sahaja as mahāsukha, which is 'the unity of the duality, represented by man and woman as upāya and prajñā'. This method for the realization of sahaja, says Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta, essentially consisted of sexo-yogic practice. The Vaiṣṇavas
supplied the element of love to it. The sahaja was then conceived as supreme love, which can be realized by the union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, who reside in the corporeal form of man and woman. This method of sādhanā seems to be the divinisation of human love.

It has already been said that the Vaiṣṇava movement of Bengal, in the line of the Kṛṣṇa cult or Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, grew along the traditions of the Śrīmadbhāgavata and the Purāṇas, 'and there was perhaps', says Dr. Saśibhusān Dāśgupta, 'through the life of Caitanya and some renowned Gosvāmīs, some influence also of the devotional movement of the South. The first literary record of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is to be found in the famous lyrical poem the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva. After him Caṇḍīdās and Vidyāpati (who, though a Maithili poet, was more popular in Bengal than in his native province) sang the immortal songs of the eternal love of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, and were precursors, as some scholars are disposed to think, of Śrī Caitanya, * * Vaiṣṇavite apostle like Mādhava-vendra-puri, Advaitācārya, Śrīvāsa and others, of course, flourished just before the advent of Caitanya, but the advent of Caitanya was some thing like a fruition of all their devotional penances, and it was an event which was really epoch-making in the religion and literature of Bengal. Caitanya, as he is interpreted by his followers, embodies in him the quintessence of
both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, is the realiser and the realised in the same personality'.

'Through his life and teachings Caitanya preached a doctrine of divine love, which was philosophically systematised and theologically codified by the six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana, viz., Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunāth Dās, Rahgunāth Bhatta, Gopāl Bhatta and Jīva Gosvāmī. The philosophical and theological system known as Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavism (i.e. the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal) is really the contribution of these six Gosvāmīs, who were all religious apostles, inspired by the life and teachings of Caitanya. Pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal generally flourished with the legends of Kṛṣṇa and his dalliances with the cowherd girls of Vṛndāvana and particularly with Rādhā, but in post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism, the divinity of Caitanya as the synthesis of the two aspects of the same reality as the lover and the beloved was recognized and emphasised, and as a result thereof post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇava literature laid the same stress, if not more, on the life and teachings of Caitanya as on the legends of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.'

(b) Some are of opinion that Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavism, together with the cult of the divine sportive play of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa evolved in the Gauḍadeśa, in the middle of the sixth century A.D.

But it is a fact that the ancient Bhāgavatatantra of Mathurā, founded by Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, and the Bhāgavata-
Before the advent of Śrī Caitanya, *padāvalis* were composed with the theme of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, but after Caitanya's initiation into sannyāsa (renunciation), and his recognition as the incarnation of Śrī Rādhā, the trend of composition of the *padāvalis* took a new course, with a novel outlook. The sportive play of Kṛṣṇa, and especially Rādhā's separation from Kṛṣṇa (Kṛṣṇa-viraha) began to be realised through those of Caitanya. Then the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa doctrine was interpreted through the medium of the divine activities of Caitanya, and that was the chief object of the Vaiṣṇava composers (*pada-kartās*), during Caitanya's time. The Caitanya cult came into the foreground, instead of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, just as the historical or metaphysical Buddha receded back into background, giving rise to his descending images of Maitreya and Aṃitābha. Gradually *mahajāna-padāvalis* were composed, collected, and sung in the form of *kīrtana*, and gauracandrīkā was introduced in praise of Śrī Caitanya, for the fuller realization of the divine sportive play of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (*Rādhā-Kṛṣṇalilā*). In this way, the *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tantra*, evolved in Magadha in the Gupta age, were different from the Vaiṣṇavism of the Gauḍa-Vaṅga. The Gauḍiya-Vaiṣṇavism, it it said, evolved from the admixture of the doctrines of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, as depicted in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of the Bhāgavata and the *Pañcarātra*, and Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa, as depicted in the *Purāṇa*, and Kālidāsa's *kāvyas*. 
lilā became gradually a secondary one, giving prominence to Caitanyalilā, and Sri Caitanya became familiar as Sri Gaurāṅga (incarnation of Sri Rādhā) among his devotee followers.

We find some padagītis, current among the Ālvāras of the ancient Vaiṣṇava community of South India, in the fifth-ninth century A.D. The padagītis were known as the divya-prabandha, and from the very name we know that they used to be sung with metres, melody (rāga), rhythm, and tempo. They were nearly four thousand in number. The Ālvāras used to conceive themselves as devoted woman or nāyikās of Viṣṇu, and the Lord Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa as the only nāyaka.12 J. S. M. Hooper translated many of the Tāmil hymns of the Ālvāras, and in them we find the mention of one Nāppinnāi, who was described as the beloved Gopī of Kṛṣṇa, the divine Incarnation of Viṣṇu. There is no mention of Rādhā in their hymns. It is said that Kṛṣṇa once danced the dance of kuravavai-kūttu, along with Balarāma and beloved Nāppinnāi.13

12. Perhaps the mediaeval Vaiṣṇava sādhakas of Vṛndāvana incorporated the idea from the Ālavāras, who maintained that Śri Kṛṣṇa was the only puruṣa, and all others were women, in Vṛndāvana.

After Jayadeva, many mystic poets like Vaḍu Caṇḍidāsa of Nānnura, Lilā-śuka Vilvamaṅgala Thākur of Kṛṣṇa-karnāmṛta, Umāpatidhara, the court-poet of Rājā Lakṣmanaṣena, Umāpati Ojhā of Mithilā, Vidyāpati, the court-poet of Rājā Śiva-sīṅgha flourished from twelfth to sixteenth century A. D. In the fifteenth-sixteenth century, there flourished again Rāy Rāmānanda, Yośorāja Khān, Murāri-gupta, Narahari-dās, Vāsudeva Ghose, Madhāva Ghose, Rāmānanda Basu, Raghunāth-dās, Vṛndāvana-dās, Balarāma-dās, and other scholars and mystic poets in Bengal and Orissā, and they were all the followers of the Rādhā-Krṣṇa cult. Most of them were the personal attaches and followers of Śrī Caitanya. Some of the Vaiṣṇava poets flourished at the same time in Āssām, and they were Śaṅkaradeva, Mādhavadeva, Pitambara-kavi, Nārāyaṇadeva, and others. They also composed padagītis, which were sung with classical rāgas and tālas. There was a great unity in the spheres of language, religion and culture of Bengal, Bihār, Orissā and Āssām. The avahatta language was gradually replaced by the vrajabuli, to some extent. The Vaiṣṇava poets of Āssām and Orissā were also influenced by the vrajabuli, in the composition of the padas or gānas.

Now, what do we mean by the language, vrajabuli? Does it mean the spoken language of the Vrajamaṇḍala, i.e. Mathurā, Vṛndāvana
and their adjacent places? No, it is quite different from the spoken language of the Vraja or Vrajamaṇḍala. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of opinion that the ancient composers of the padas or padagitās selected it as the language of the Vaiṣṇava padāvalī-kirtana. They called it as vṛjāvāli, and not vṛaja or vṛjabuli, and for this reason many people mistook it as an original language of the Vrajamaṇḍala. They took it also as the divine language of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Besides, they erroneously found a similarity between the spoken language of Vrajamaṇḍala and that of the padāvalī-kirtana, and specially between their intonation and grammar. But, it has been said that vṛja or vṛjabuli is absolutely different from the spoken language of Vṛndāvana and its adjacent places.

The vṛjabuli or vṛjabhāṣā was considered as the language of the padāvalī-kirtana at the end of the sixteenth century A.D. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of opinion that vṛjabuli, as the language, evolved from the language of avahatā, being much influenced by the languages, Maithili, Hindu, Rājasthānī, Bengali, Prākrit, Odissi, etc., in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. The vṛjabuli was developed under the patronage of the Rulers of Nepāl, Tirhut and Moraṅga. After the Sen Kings, and especially after Rājā Lakṣmanaṇsen, the Vaiṣṇava lyrics were greatly appreciated in Nepāl and other Himalāyan regions. Śrīnivāsa Malla, the King of Nepāl,
composed many *padagītis*, which were not inferior to those, composed in Mithilā, Bengal, and Orissā, in the fourteenth-nineteenth century A.D. The themes of those *padagītis* were in praise of the divine couple, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Before the advent of Śrī Caitanya (fifteenth century A.D.), the themes of the *Vaiṣṇava-padāvalis*, nāmagāna or nāma-gośṭha were the legends of the sportive plays or love dalliance of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, and their female companions or Gopīs, that happened at Dwārkā, Mathurā, and other adjacent places, depicted in the *Bhāgavata* and other epic literature. Again it seems that almost all the songs, including the enigmatic songs, ascribed to Caṇḍīdāsa, known as rāgātmikā-padas, and the texts were composed by the exponents of the Sahajiā cult in the post-Caitanya period, and mostly in or after the seventeenth century A.D. Now regarding the types of songs, it has already been said that before the advent of Śrī Caitanya, different types of gītis like nātagīti, śivāyana caryā, and vajra gītis, maṅgala-gāna, jhumura, pāncālī, rāmāyaṇa-gāna, bāula, etc. were current in Bengal. Different group-songs or pālāgānas were practised in Burdwan, Veerabhūma, and different corners of Rādhadeśa, in West Bengal. Those group-songs were composed with the musical sketches like goṣṭha-lilā, māthuralilā, mānabhaṅjana, rāsa, nandotsava, etc. They were similar to ancient type of
kirtana or nāmagāna. They are still surviving in West Bengal, under the name of vādāi, and they are exclusively sung by groups of singers on the occasions of janmāśtami and nandotsava celebrations of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. All these gītis were possessed of classical rāgas and tālas.

The padāvāli-kirtana of Bengal evolved out of the materials of variant types of the gītis like bāul, maṅgala, paṅcāli, etc., which were current before the advent of Śrī Caitanya. It also drew its inspiration from the Tāntric Buddhist dohās, caryā and vajra, and the mystic prabandha-gītis of the Gitagovinda. Some are of opinion that the themes of the padāvāli-kirtana were nourished by the simple ballads, composed of thousands of rural love episodes of heroes and heroines of East Bengal.

From Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century) we come to know that the maṅgala, caryā, paṅcāli, jumura, carcarī, paddhaḍī, rāhaḍī, and kirtana types of songs were possessed of classical forms or patterns. Śāraṅgadeva says in his Śaṅgīta-Ratnākara that the prabandha type of songs was mainly of two kinds, niryuktā and aniryuktā. The niryuktā type of song was possessed of metre (chanda), rhythm (tāla), tempo (laya), and melody (rāga), whereas the aniryuktā one, being free from metre, rhythm and tempo, was possessed of only melody or rāga. This has also been described by Muni Bharata (second century A.D.) in his Nātyaśāstra. The
carcarī or cāṅcara, caryā, and maṅgala types of songs were of the niryukta type of the prabandha gītis.

Besides niryukta and aniryukta types, the prabandhas were again divided in three classes, sūḍa, ālī, or ālī-saṃśraya, and viprakīrṇa. The sūḍa class of songs were further divided into eight classes, and they were: elā, karaṇa, ḍhenki, vartani, rāsa, ekaṭālī, etc. The ālī-saṃśraya type of songs were twenty-four, and viprakīrṇa-prabandhas were thirty-six, in number. The carcarī, caryā, paddhaḍī, veeraśrī, maṅgalācāra, dhaṇala, maṅgala, and others were included in the viprakīrṇa group.

The classical karaṇa-prabandha was again classified into eight types, and they were: svara, pāṭa, bandha, pada, tēna, viruda, citra and miśra. These eight karaṇas have been described by Śāraṅgadeva and his commentators, Simha-bhupāla and Kallināth. Each karaṇa type of song was possessed of some special feature. They were sometimes sung in unison, and some of the parts of the songs were sometimes repeated. The drums and dances with raised hands accompanied the songs, and they remind us the scenes of mystic Bāuls of Bengal and Sufi

Simha-bhupāla says,

14. भक्तः करणं तद्र भगाय पाटपूर्वकम् ||
बन्धादिभ यादवं च तेनादा: बिख्रादिसम् ||
यत्थात: मिश्रकरणमिति यानो • • ||
Darvises of Arabiā. This type of dance is prevalent in kīrtana, even in these days.

The eight karaṇa types of songs were further divided into three classes, and they were: maṅgalāraṁbha, ānandavardhana, and kīrtibhārī or kīrtipūrvikā-laḥari.15 The kīrtibhārī was a special type of song, that used to be sung in praise of gods, heroes, or supermen like kīrtana of Bengal, and all other countries of India. Śāraṅga-deva says about the special feature of the characteristics of the prabandha kīrtanalaharī thus:

Udgrāhasya dvitiyārdham dhruvardha-sthānagaṁ
yadi /
Itarat-pūrvavat-kīrtiharī kīrtitā tadā //16

During the presentation of the prabandha-giti, kīrtanalaharī, half of the music-part (dhatu), was sung, and in place of the other half, the second part of the music-part, udgrāha was presented with tune, and the rest was similar to the prabandha-giti, ānandavardhana. Some of the parts were repeated again and again. Sometimes the prabandha-gitis were accompanied by the clapping of hands, and beating of drums.

15. _schedra-śastra-dvāranāna kīrtipūṛvaṁ का ।

16. _ubodha-śāstra hītīyaṁ bhārdayātānaṁ badi ।

   - śūrīt-ṛvavāk ४१४२

   - śūrīt-ṛvavāk ४१४२
Like *kīrtīlāhari*, cāryā was a *prabandha* type of song. It was absolutely spiritual. It was divided into two classes, *pūrṇa* (complete) and *apūrṇa* (incomplete). They were again classified into two, *samadhrvā* and *viṣamadhrvā*. The one or two stanzas were repeated in the *samadhrvā* type of songs, and only the music-part, *dhrvā* was repeated in the *viṣamadhrvā* type. The cāryā contained generally three music-parts, *udgrāha*, *dhrvā* and *ābhoga*, and *melāpaka* was dropped.

Like cāryā, maṅgala was also a *prabandha* type of song. It was sung with the stanzas, named maṅgala, with slow tempo (*vilamvita laya*), or maṅgala metre\(^{17}\), and *kāśiki* or *botta rāga*. The maṅgala type of song was an auspicious one, and Śāraṅgadeva says: ‘*kāśiki-rāge botta-rāge vā kalyāṇa-vācikaiḥ padair-vilamvita-layena maṅgalo geyāḥ. Athavā maṅgala-nāmnā chandasā*’.\(^{18}\) The *kāśiki* or *kāśika* was a grāmarāga, and it was sung in the dramatic song (*nātya-gīti*) at the end of the play: ‘*samhāre kāśikaiḥ proktāḥ * * brahmanā samudāḥrāṇam*’.\(^{19}\) That is, Brahmā- bharata of the pre-Christian era says that the grāmarāga should be applied at the end of

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17. There is no Vedic metre called maṅgala, and it seems it was adopted sometime before or during Śāraṅgadeva.

18. कैषिकोपासी बिश्रारि वा कल्याणबागी: पद्दैवांविलायलोग मथिव्री नेब:।
चथवा मथिव्रोगा हन्नस।।—स्रीदत-रत्नकर

19. संज्ञा कैषिक: प्रोतः * * जन्मवा समुदाहारम्।।
a drama. It evolved out of the jātirāga, karmāravi. Śāraṅgadeva calls it the śuddha-kaiśika, which was different from the bhinna-kaiśika, takka-kaiśika, kaiśika-madhya, and bhinna-kaiśika-madhya, etc.

The botta or bhota i.e. bhotta-rāga was a formalised regional tune of the Himālayān Bhotadeśa (Bhutān, Tibet, etc.). Once there was a cultural link between Tibet and India, and the Indian musicologists adopted this tune from the Bhotadeśa, like śaka, tūrūṣka-toḍī, etc. The botta or bhotta rāga has been mentioned by Mātaṅga in the Brhaddeśī, and so it is probable that it was adopted in the Indian stock before the fifth-seventh century A. D. It evolved out of the jātiraga, śadja-madhya. Śāraṅgadeva says that this grāmarāga or rāga was very favourite to Śiva, the divine husband of Bhavāni or Devī Durgā: ‘utsave viniyoktavyo bhavānipati-vallabhaḥ’.²⁰

Kīrtana is also a nibaddha type of prabandha giti, and is possessed of metre, melody, rhythm, and tempo. Like kirtilahari or kirtipūrvikā-lahari, it is a special type of song that is sung in praise of God, hero or superman. The word ‘kīrṭi’ signifies reputation, praise, or greatness Paṇḍit Vācaspati clarifies it in his dictionary, Vācaspatyābhidhāna: ‘kīrṭī – kīrta+ktin. Khyāti-

²⁰. उनमें विभिन्न तालमेल भवानीपतिवल्लभः। —मकर्तरायाकर
bheda amaraḥ. Khyāṭibhedaśca dhārmikatyaḥ praśastadharmaścavāvettānañādeśiya kathana jñāna-viśayāta. Kārtiśca jīvato-mṛtasya vetyatra viśeṣo nāsti. * * 21 tatra dānādī-prabhāvā khyātiḥ kārtiḥ sauruvaśī- prabhavā khyātiḥ iva iti kocid yāsa-kārityaur-bhedamāhuh * *. Manu also explains the word ‘kirti’ as ‘prajnam yaśasca kārtiśca brahmavarcasameva ca’, 22 Therefore kirtana does not mean only the Vaiṣṇava-pada-vali-giti, in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, or Bāla-gopa-l-mūrti, but it signifies also all kinds of music that are sung in praise of them, who are superior in quality, power, learning, etc. In the Pañcarātra literature and Bhāgavata, the word ‘kirtana’ has been used as a special type of song, in praise of the glory, greatness and divine sportive plays (līlā) of Lord Kṛṣṇa. In the Śrimadbhāgavata, we find the mention of:

(a) Randhrāṇa venō-radhara-sudhāyā punayan gopa-vṛndair-vṛndārayam śvapada-ramanam prāviṣad gīta-kārtiḥ 23

(b) * *  bravanāddarśanaddhyānānāṃ ybhāvo’nu- kirtanāṃ. 24.

21. कौलिन—कौर + निन्। यात्रिस्मि ॥ यात्रिस्मिदेख चार्मिकलवादि प्रभावः । भवप्रकाश नानादिकृताय कथन शासिष्यत त। कौलिन्य जीवार्धशुलक वेदमविभी विधिः । नाशित। * * तस्मादात्रानवालया यात्रिः कौलिन्य तथा जीवार्धा-प्रभाव शासितेन श्रेणि कृष्णित हर्मकौलिन्यकृतिः। ॥ ॥ ॥

22. प्रभाय विद्याय। कौलिन्य विद्यानवथाय च। ॥

23. यथाजून्द वेदोरघुपथया। पुनयव गौपबम् न गौपबम्।

24. * *  स्वप्नाअन्तयुगल्पदानाय आवीर्यभूतात्मनाम् (भागवत १०.२२.१४ ) ॥
(c) Gāyantya uccairamumeva saṁhatā.\textsuperscript{25}

The word ‘gīta-kīrtiḥ’ signifies ‘gīta-kīrtiḥ gītā kīrtīḥ yaśaḥ yasya sa kṛṣṇa’, etc.\textsuperscript{26} Kīrtana is synonymous with gīta-kīrti. In the latter Vaiṣṇava literature, kīrtana has been defined as music, sung in raised voice, in praise of the Lord Kṛṣṇa. Gopāla-bhatta was contemporary to Śrī Caitanya. He wrote an authoritative book on the Smṛti: Haribhaktivilāsa, where it is mentioned: ‘kalau saṁkīrtya keśavam’.\textsuperscript{27} or ‘kalau taddhārikīrtanāt’.\textsuperscript{28} While commenting on it, Sanātana Gosvāmī, says: ‘saṁkīrtya samyak uccāiruccāryyeti sadyaḥ svarūpānanda-viśeśārthamuktaḥ’.\textsuperscript{29} Besides, he says that the word saṁkīrtana signifies the singing of the holy name, in praise of God or any other deity: ‘saṁkīrtanam nāmoccāraṇam gītāṁ stutiśca nāmamayī’.\textsuperscript{30} Gopāla-bhatta prescribes kīrtana as a means to spiritual sādhanā, for the Vaiṣṇavas.

In the Harivamśa (200 B.C.), we find that the songs, in praise of both Viṣṇu and Śiva, were accompanied with dances. As the sāmaga Brāhmaṇas used to sing in praise of Hari, Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, so the dancing

\textsuperscript{25} gāyantya uccairamumen saṁhatā (भागवत: १०१७७४)
\textsuperscript{26} gīta-kīrtiḥ gītā kīrtīḥ yaśaḥ yasya sa kṛṣṇa
\textsuperscript{27} kalau saṁkīrtya keśavam
\textsuperscript{28} kalau taddhārikīrtanāt
\textsuperscript{29} saṁkīrtya samyak uccāiruccāryyeti sadyaḥ svarūpānanda-viśeśārthamuktaḥ
\textsuperscript{30} saṁkīrtanam nāmoccāraṇam gītāṁ stutiśca nāmamayī
girls like Devadāsīs, Vidyādharīs and Apsarās sang the stutigānas of Śiva, with dances, hand-poses, and musical instruments. As for example we find:

(a) Udgiyamānaṁ vipraiśca sāmabhiḥ sāmagair-harim.\[^{31}\]

(b) Nṛtyanti nṛtya-kuśalā gāyanti sma ca kanyakāḥ / Vidyādharasthānyatra stuvantah śāmkaramā śīvaṁ //\[^{32}\]

Now, what do we mean by stuti or stutigāna? Sāyaṇa (14th-15th century A.D.) says in his commentary on the SāmaVEDA: ‘गुणसंकीर्तनपरः पदसमूहः स्तुतिः’. Again he divides the stuti type of songs into two, śastra and stotra, and he says: ‘अग्रगोत्र-मन्त्रसाध्या स्तुति: श्रवः’; प्रगोत्र-मन्त्रसाध्या स्तुति: स्तोत्रम्’. Further he states: ‘स्तोत्रव्यया: देवताया: स्तायवेणूणेष: संवन्ध-कौरवेन स्तौति-शांतियाणेच्छोरवः’. In fact, stuti is a kind of mantra-vākyya, in praise of the deities: ‘यदा तु गुण-हरेणाप्रमणीये - देवता - स्वरूप - प्रकाशण-पारणि मन्त्र-वाक्यानि स्तु:’. The Vedic dhūrgāna (धूर्गान) was a type of stutigāna, in which the sāmans were often repeated with three stanzas or गंस. During Śāraṅgadeva’s time (early thirteenth

\[^{31}\] चद्रगीतिमानं विग्रहे संधिभि: सामगैहरितम्।

—गदा, भविष्यपत्र १५५४

\[^{32}\] बृहस्पतिः बुधकुम्भला गायणै खा च कन्या:।

विद्वान्धरसाधानव सृष्टिः संकरं भिन्मम्॥

—सुरैम, भविष्यपत्र ५५१४
century A.D.), we find the practice of the brahma-gītis like kapāla and kambala. Kallināth says: 'pṛāk pūrvam saṅkara-stutau saṅkara-stutim visayā-kṛtya brahma-prokta-padaiḥ', etc. Śṁhabhūpāla says: 'iti brahma-proktaḥ * * kapālaṇi gāyan kalyāṇam bhajate'. The author of the Hari-
vaṁśa says: 'pūjārtham deva-devasya gāndharvaṁ nṛtyameva ca'. These stutīgānas or kirtanas were accompanied with hallīsaka dance, and chālikya type of songs. Ugrasena and Yādavas presented the dramatic play with the theme of the Rāmāyaṇa, assisted by Bhadranāta. The hallīsaka dance, chālikya songs, and other dramatic songs are mentioned in the Sṛimadbhāgavata, Nirukta, Garga-
saṁhītā, Pāṇini-sūtra, Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, different classical Sanskrit literature, Purāṇas, Paṅcatānttras, Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, etc. The hallīsaka dance and the chālikya type of songs were connected with the rāsalīlā of Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs.

Regarding hallīsaka dance, Dhāresvara Śṛi Bhojadeva says in the Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa,

एदेन के यद्य हिंदीय चतुर्थ्य हल्लिसक न तत्र |
तत्र नेता भवेदेको गीतक्षेत्र हरिपत्यां ||

Further he says that hallīsaka is a kind of rāsa (dance), accompanied with rhythm and time-

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33. प्राक्ष पूवण ग्राहकसुदृश ग्राहकसुदृश विष्ठवीलान्व सन्धारीनां प्रद: * *।
34. द्वितिया त्वारी ग्रांपि ग्राम प्रवरी कार्यो: पदेवस्त: किपाली गावन चल्लान भवते।
35. पूजाच द्वेषेष गानवाच राज्ञां नृत्यप्रांवण।}

—विद्यापरि ४४.४२
units: ‘तद्विष्ठ हलोसकमेव तालबन्धविवशेषयुक्तं रास
प्रेत्युच्यते’. Regarding rāsalīlā, we find in the
Garga-samhitā,

‘श्रीरागग्राहिणिः हिंदुरोल्न रागमेवं प्रयोक्तः प्रयोक्तः.
अघुतालबन्धविशिष्यातः समाधिरतः।।
नृत्यैर्मानविविशेषमेवहंमविभाससमितिः।।
तोषयत्ययो हरिः रायाः कटाक्षेऽवं जगोपिकाः।।’

Again we find in the Śrīmadbhāgavata:

रामकृष्णाद्यो: गोपा नन्दुतुथो युघुर्घु:।
कृष्णस्य नृत्यत: केकिसर्गु: केकिसर्वादयान।।
केपु-पाणिन्तलेः भुजः प्रशांसुसरथारः।।
गोपजातिप्रतिच्छल्लेहा गोपालकृपण:।।
इदि रूपा-रामै च नरा इव नराने नुप।।

These dances (nṛtyas) and songs (kīrtanas) were
known as the rāsakṛiḍā, jalakṛiḍā, chālikyakṛiḍā,
nṛtyakṛiḍā, nātyakṛiḍā, vamśa-nṛtya, holikā-mahotsava,
vasantotsava, etc. Paṇḍit Śāstrī Fārke says: ‘**
vādyādinā hastamita-kaśṭhadaṇḍa-dvayena vāghātā-
purahsaram manḍalākārasya nṛtyanto gāyanti’. Further
we find in the Garga-samhitā,

नृत्यत: कृष्णपुरत: श्रीकृष्ण इव मैथिलः।।
राधावेशाधरा गोपा: शतचन्द्रानन्दप्रभा।।

From this it is evident that the songs or kīrtanas,
in praise of Kṛṣṇa, were always accompanied
with classical dances. In his talk on The Kathak

36. * * वाणादिनां इश्कितकांदसस्वे वाणाः पुरं सधकाराः कृष्णाः
नान्निः।
Dance—Its Origin\textsuperscript{37}, Dr. G. D. Vyāsa says that hallisaka, nātya-rāsaka or carcarī and rāsa were placed in the category of uparūpakas. Bhāsa also mentions about hallisaka in his Bālacarita, and Śrī Harṣa mentions about carcarī in his Ratnāvalī. Carcarī is exclusively intended for the spring. In the Vṛja language, it is known as chāncara, dhāmāra and phāg, and is regularly performed during the days of holi. There are special music compositions for it in the difficult dhāmāra-tāla, and they too are named as dhāmāras. He further says: 'The keertanas make the resourceful music of Vaiśṇavism. They form an important part of the Dhruvapada school, and originally the music of the Kathak dance. * * The keertanas have attributed to Kṛṣṇa poses like Tribhangi and Giridhāri. They have described movements and Maṇḍalas like Udghata, Sancha, Uraṇa, Tirapa, Lāga and Dūt. They have mentioned gaits like Gati: Mayanda (elephant), Hamśa and Mriga Marāla and moreover, a distinctive gait, Natavara Gati, and the Kathaka dance is also known for its Natvari. As regards the Āṅgika-Abhinaya, keertanas have indicated various positions and movements of the head, neck and arms, and expressions such as Vṛija-Vilāsa, Lāsya Hāsa, and Bhrīkuti-Vilāsa. As regards hand movements, keertanas have freely

\textsuperscript{37} Vide Akāśavāni (AIR), Vol No. XXIII, No. 32, August 10, 1958, p. 12.
used the word ‘Hastaka-Bheda-Dikhāve’, which means Hasta-Abhinayas of the different types’. Here it should be mentioned that Dr. Vyāsa discusses about the ancient type of kirtana, accompanied with dances and hand-poses, that evolved in connection with the various Kṛṣṇa episodes. This type of kirtana also originated under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism, and it maintains the old tradition, different from that of the padāvali-kirtana, which evolved under the influence of the Gauḍiya-Vaiṣṇavism, probably in the sixteenth-seventeenth century A.D.

It has been said that before Śrī Caitanya introduced nāma-kirtana, namagāna or nāmagostha was prevalent in Bengal, and specially in Rāḍadeśa (i.e. in Beerbhūm, Katwā and some other portions of Burdwan). The namagāna or nāmagostha was accompanied by mrdanga (khola), cymbals (karatāla), and dancing with raised hands. It has also been mentioned that during Śrī Caitanya’s time, different types of classico-folk

38. Vṛndāvana-dāsa says,

शिखरगण वलिन कैसन संकीर्तन ।
भापमे शिखराय परसु माधवर नन्दन ॥
हरि हरि नमः कृष्ण यादवय नमः ।
मोपाल मोहिन्द राम गीतमुद्दत ॥
.दिशा शिखरायन प्रमु चालि सालि दिया ।
भापमी कौतिन करे शिखरगण लहर ॥

Narahari Sarkar, Vāsudeva Ghoṣe and other contemporary Vaiṣṇava savants have described it in their padagiti.
songs like hāf-ākhḍāí, kavi-gāna, tarjā, bāul, etc. were current in Bengal. It is said that Yavana Haridāṣa introduced ākhḍāí and kavigāna, and Swarupa-dāsa and Sanātana-dāsa helped him in this matter. Fuliā, on the bank of Betra-river in Nadiā, was the main seat of culture of these types of songs. The musicians of Śāntipur, Navadwipa, and Fuliā, in the district of Nadiā, composed the divine episodes like sakhīsaṁvāda, māna, māna-bhaṅjana, jugala-milana, māthura, etc., containing Śrī Kṛṣṇa’s divine sports (lilā) of Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā.

If we study the source of kīrṭana i.e. nāma-kīrṭana, as introduced by Śrī Caitanya, we find that it evolved out of the remains of classico-regional carīya and vajra-gītis, Gīta-govinda-gīti, Kṛṣṇa-kīrṭana, nātagīti, bāul, etc. Though it was very simple, yet it followed the śāstric rules of metre (chanda), melody (rāga), rhythm (tāla), and tempo (laya), and it was included in the nibaddha type of music. It was afterwards developed by Thākur Narottama-dāsa, in the sixteenth century A.D. Narottama-dāsa devised a new mode of kīrṭana, on the basis of nāma-kīrṭana and ancient type of nāmagāna in one side, and vilamvita (slow) type of classical dhrupada song, on the other. He mastered dhrupada, when he was at Vṛndāvana, accompanied with Śyāmānanda and Śrīnivāsa. When these three scholar Vaiṣṇavas were at Vṛndāvana, Swāmī Haridāṣa Goswāmī, the renowned master
of Miān Tānsen, was of ripe age. It is said Haridāsa was initiated in the Gaṇḍiya Vaiśṇava religion, founded by Śrī Caitanya, and being one of the noted Vaiśṇava sādhakas, he was known as Haridāsa Goswāmī, and as the founder of the Haridāsa or Sakhi sect, he was also recognized as 'Swami', the Master. Some are of opinion that though Swāmī Haridāsa was the founder of the Haridāsa or Sakhi sect, yet he was not really initiated in the Gaṇḍiya-Vaiśṇavism, and he had only great regard for the neo-Vaiśṇavism founded by Śrī Caitanya. It seems that he had no special philosophical doctrine of his own, and he adopted the Sakhi-bhāva in his spiritual sadhanā, as his beloved deity was Śrī Kuñjāvihārī. But his followers, at Vṛndāvana, recognize him as a staunch follower of the Gaṇḍiya-Vaiśṇavism. They say that Śrī Caitanya himself adopted the Rādhā-bhāva in his life, as he himself 'placed himself in the position of Rādhā and longed in all the tormenting pangs of heart for union with his beloved Kṛṣṇa'. Again it is found that the aesthetic attitude of the Vaiśṇava poets, headed by Jayadeva, Caṇḍīdasa and Vidyāpati, was Sakhi-bhāva, rather than Rādhā-bhāva. Dr. Saśibhuṣan Dāsa-gupta says: 'It is to be noted that in the religious discourses, which took place between Śrī Caitanya and Rāy Rāmānanda, the latter stressed Sakhi-bhāva as the best means for realising divine love. * * The general Vaiśṇava
view is that jīva, being the tatāstha-śakti of Kṛṣṇa, is, after all, a Prakṛti and its pride as being the Puruṣa (puruṣābhīmāna) must be removed before it can be permitted to have its proper place, in the eternal region of svarūpa-śakti, and even then only as Sakhī, rather than as Rādhā, and never as Kṛṣṇa'. Nabha-
Dāsaji's statement in the Bhaktamāla and even that of Prof. Wilson in the Religious Sects of the Hindus are not wholly historical. So it is possible that Swāmī Haridāsa or Swāmī Haridāsa Goswāmī adopted the religious attitude of Sakhī-
bhāva, following the ideal of Jayadeva, Vaḍu Caṇḍidāsa, Vidyāpati, and other latter Vaiṣṇava savants, and as he was contemporary of Jīva-
Goswāmī, Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadāsa Goswāmī, and other senior Vaiṣṇava savants of the Caitanya fold, he was undoubtedly influenced by them.

Swāmī Haridāsa was born in Ucčagrāma, in the district of Multān. It was afterwards named as Haridāspur. Some are of opinion that he was born in Hossiārpur, in the district of Āligarh. Others hold that Haridāsa's birthplace was at Rājpur, half a mile away from Vṛndāvana. But the majority of scholars admit Haridāspur, in Multān, as the birthplace of Swāmī Haridāsa. There are also much controversies regarding the date of his birth. In Kavi-Lakṣaṇa's Bhaktisindhu, we find that Haridāsa was born in 1441 samvat, i.e. on the 8th Bhādra, in 1385 A.D. According to
the Goswāmi’s of Vṛndāvana, his birth-
date is 1569 samvat. According to traditional
records Swāmi Haridāsa, was born in 1537
samvat. The archaeologist Growse says in his
Mathurā Memoirs: ‘* * on the 8th of the
dark fortnight of the month of Bhādon in the
samvat year 1441 gave birth of Haridāsa. * *
therefore on all grounds we may firmly conclude
as an established fact that he flourished at the
end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th
century A.D., in the reigns of the Emperors
Akbar and Jāhāŋgīr’. Swāmi Lalitakiśoreji is
of opinion that Haridāsa was born on the 13th
sukla-pauṣa, in 1569: ‘भाद्रें सुकळ आद्रमि भूर पर प्रगटे
श्रीहरिदास’. Swāmi Pitāmvara-devajī also says:
‘भाद्रें सुकळ आद्रमि के दिन मथे मनोरथ पूरण काम’. Nāgari-
dāsajī says,

(क) श्रीहरिदास निन्दु कुञ्जमहलमें
लोभ सहज सुहास हो।
श्रीहलितां 39 हरिदास नाम जु प्रगट
केलि दरशाइ हो।

(ख) भादुः सुकळ आद्रमि रसिकेन हिये
अम्म भर छाय यो हो।

(ग) भादुः सुकळ आद्रमि शुम दिन सु
वारिद्र घरपये जु।

39. Swāmi Haridāsa was recognized by his followers as the
divine incarnation of Lalitā-Sakhi.
It is, therefore, found that all his disciples and followers admit that Swāmī Haridāsa was born in the āṣṭami, in the month of Bhādra (August-September), in the rainy season, which also corresponds to the views of Bhaktisindhu, and Growse. Haridāsa’s date of birth and birthplace have also been discussed in Kiśorīdāsa’s Nijamata-siddhānta, Sahacāri-saraṇa’s Guruprāṇālikā, and Brahamacāri Bihāri-saraṇa’s Nimvārka-mādhuri. It is said that Swāmī Haridāsa lived for 95 years, and he left his mortal coil in 1608 A.D. But some are of opinion that he died in 1662, whereas Tānsen died in 1646 A.D. According to history, Emperor Akbar died in 1605, and Tānsen died in March (24 Rajjāv), in 1585, and Haridāsa in 1608. But if we accept the view of Kavi-Lakṣmaṇa’s Bhaktisindhu, which has been admitted by Growse, then we find that Haridāsa was born in 1441 samvat, corresponding to 1569 A.D., and died in 1569 + 95 = 1664 A.D. Again in the preface of the Siddhānta-ratnākara, edited by Viśveśvara-saraṇa (1956), Govinda Sarmā says: ‘स्वामिजी का निकुञ्ज-प्रवेश व्यासजी के लीलाप्रवेश के पूर्ब ही होगया था। इसके अनेक प्रमाण हैं। अतः स्वामिजी के निकुञ्ज-प्रवेश का समय १६३२ मानना हो ठीक होगा, १६६४ नहीं। विशेषकर इस्त लिये कि स्वामिजी और इष्कादास का नाम
In the Vṛṣa-vāṇi, we also find the mention of the following lines,

Krṣṇadāsa hṛdayās upaśya varūṇāna māṇav
jīna bhī jīvaṁ mūrtak māṇa hṛdayaṁ

From this we know that Krṣṇadāsa (Swāmī) was contemporary to Swāmī Haridāsa. Probably this Krṣṇadāsa was the author of the Gitarakāśa, and Haridāsa took lessons in music from him. Some are of opinion that Haridāsa's music-teacher, at Vṛndāvana, was Kavirāja Krṣṇadāsa Goswāmī, the author of the Caitanya-caritāmṛta. It is said that Kavirāja-Goswāmī was also a noted musician like Swarupa-Dāmodara, the personal attache of Śrī Caitanya. But there is no genuine historical evidence, whether Swāmī Haridāsa mastered dhruwapada and other classical type of music, under the guidance of Krṣṇadāsa-Kaviraja. Rather it is probable that when Krṣṇadasa, the Vaiṣṇava savant and noted author of the Gita-prakāśa was at Vṛndāvana, Swāmī Haridāsa took him as his Guru. Some are of opinion that Haridāsa's music-teacher was one Krṣṇadatta. But this view is untenable.
However, it is true that many Vaiśṇava savants of that time (fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D.) used to culture the classical type of music at Vṛndāvana. Though Gwālior school of prabandha-dhruwapada type of songs was predominant at that time all over India, yet Vṛndāvana created a new school and inspiration, to some extent. When Narottama and his scholarly colleagues, Śyāmānanda and Śrīnivāsa were living at Vṛndāvana, both Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and Śvāmī Haridāsa (Goswāmī) were alive. Narmadeśvara Caturvedi says in his article on Śvāmī Haridāsa (vide Saṅgīta, Journal, Sept. 1958) that Hita Harivarṇa, Harirāma-Vyāsa, Rūpa-Goswāmī, Prabodhānanda-Sarasvatī, and Gopāl-bhatta or Goswāmī Raghunāth-dāsa were contemporary to Śvāmī Haridāsa. There is a great controversy as to who was the music-teacher of Thākur Narottama-dāsa. Some are of opinion that he took lessons on music under Śvāmī Haridāsa, and some others hold the view that he first took training in classical music from Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja, and then from Advaitadāsa-Goswāmī, the students of Swarūpa-Dāmodara. Unfortunately there is no genuine historical proof in support of these views. But it is a fact that Narottama learned classical music, and especially dhruwapada (diminutive from ‘dhrupada’) that was traditionally handed down from Baijubāorā, Gopāla-Nāyaka, Śvāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa, Śvāmī Haridāsa, Miān Tānsen, and their contemporaries.
But by this it does not mean that the prabandha type of dhruvapada classical gītis were not current and cultured before Bāiju-bāorā and others, of the fifteenth-seventeenth century A.D. Because we find the definitions and description of different kinds of nibaddha prabandha type of gītis, during the times of Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.), Pārvadeva (ninth-eleventh century A.D.), Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.), and others.

In Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra, we come across the sixty-four classical dramatic songs (nātyagītis), called dhruvā (‘चन्द्रभिषिक धृवाणा’), which were composed of different letters (‘समवृत्तान्रणों अतोपद्या चित्मां स्तुत:’), music-parts (dhātus), aṅgas like svara, viruda, pāta, etc. They were nibaddha type of prabandha gītis, and were presented in accordance with suitable place, time and circumstances (‘देश्रों कालमयलमां च ब्राह्मण्यो येश्या धृवा कुचउर्’ NS. 32.352). The prabandha type of dramatic songs, dhruvās, jātis, brahmagītis, kaṭālagītis, māgadhī, etc. were probably the precursors or forerunners of the latter prabandha gītis.

Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) deals with the prabandha type of formalized (ṣuddhikṛta) regional (deśi) gītis, in the sixth chapter (prabandhādhyāya) of his Bṛhaddeśi (‘देशोकार-प्रबन्धोऽय’), though he mystifies the origin of the prabandhas with the name of the Lord Śiva (‘हरवत्रामिनिन्यं’). He defines and at the same time describes various kinds of the prabandhas
like ḍhenki, elā, daṇḍaka, dvipadi, caturaṅga, śarabha-lila, etc. He say,

स्थरपाटैर्निष्द्ध च मभेत्त यत्र पदाधेकम्।
मतः शरमलोकोदसौ रागतालाणकानिंचितः।

or

स्वरः पदैः प्रपाध तैत्तिकः समन्वितः।
गोयते तालयुक्ते यः स वर्णासरकः स्मृतः।

But the Bṛhaddeśī, that has been published from Trivandrum (1928), is incomplete, as we find that Mataṅga says: 'इद्वाणैं कथयिन्यामः वाचाय निर्णयो यथा', but the book ends abruptly with the prabandha chapter ('* * प्रवन्धायायः पङ्खः') and so it is not possible to trace the dhruva prabandhas in this book.

Pārvsvadeva (ninth-eleventh century A.D.) also deals with the prabandha gītis, in the fourth chapter of his Saṅgīta-samayāsāra. He describes three main classes of prabandhas, sūḍa, āli and viprakirṇa. He further mentions the dhruva prabandha, together with its varieties, matṭha (maṇṭha), pratimatṭha (pratimāṇṭha), lambaka, rāsaka, ekatāli, etc. Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) also deals elaborately with the prabandha type of gītis in the fourth chapter of his Saṅgīta-Ratnākara. Besides, he divides the prabandhas into three main heads sūḍa, āli-saṁsraya, and viprakirṇa (vide IV. 22-23), following the method of Pārvsvadeva. He also divides the

40. The correct reading तिनकैैष्।
sūḍa type of the prabandhas into two, śuddha and chāyālaga or sālaga. The chāyālaga and sālaga are one and the same (‘सालग-छायालगो-पर्यायो’). Śaraṅgadeva says that the pure type of dhruva prabandhas are of sixteen kinds (‘चतुर्दशी-मौलिक अवस्थान’), and they are: jayanta, śekhara, utsāha, madhura, nirmala, kuntala, kāmala, cāra, naṇḍana, candrasekhara, kāmoda, vijaya, kandarpa, jayamaṅgala, tilaka, and lalita. Kallināṭh says in his commentary that the seven kinds of the sālaga-sūḍa prabandhas like dhruva, manṭha, pratimānṭha, nissāra, aḍḍtāla, and akatāli are composed of three music-parts (dhātus) like udgrāha, antarā, and ābhoga, melāpaka being left out (‘प्रत्येक भावाद्य: सतापि मेलापकामामाबलिभधातव’), but the prabandhas, manṭha, etc. are possessed of six limbs (‘मण्डलबद्ध इव’).

Śaraṅgadeva says that the dhruva and other six prabandhas are known as sālaga-sūḍa (‘वचनमाणे प्रभुमार्गे वचनमाणे कृतात्तिपर्यत्’ सतामि: गीति: सालगसूढः-भिंमतः’), though they were previously called as śuddha-sūḍa (‘शुद्धसूढः न्यर्व्यक्षत्वंनोच्यते’—SR. IV. 313), and this term, śuddha-sūḍa has been used by Pārśvadeva, in his Saṅgīta-samayasāra (‘इति शुद्धसूढः’).

Regarding the characteristics of the composition of the dhruva prabandha, Śaraṅgadeva says, एक धातु हिन्दुङ्क न खस्तिणूङ्कतरं परम।
सत्यनामामक्षित्यासौ कविचुंक कक्षान्धक।।
उद्माहस्यात्कक्षान्धः च न्यासः सावकः भवेतु॥

SR. IV. 316-17.
That is, the two parts or pieces (of the dhruva prabandha) are sung as udgrāha (or udgrāhaka), the one part or piece is sung as ābhoja, and the last part of it is in the high pitch. Again the two parts of udgrāha, together with one part of antarā (= three parts) are repeated twice. The name of the composer is computed in the ābhoga-dhātu, and the song ends (nyāsa) in the first part of udgrāha. According to some, one of the parts of ābhoga is sung in the high pitch.\(^{41}\) Kallināth says that the dhruva prabandhas are included in the category (aṅga) of the tūrāvali jati (‘पते भुवतिक्षाद्वादिनिमागामियः काह: पद्तालवेद्वादिभ्रानि—स्तारावहिक्षातिमल’). The sixteen varieties of the dhruva prabandha are composed of different letters (kalās) and rhythms (tālas).

It is, therefore, most probable that the particular sālaga-sūda or sālaga-dhruva-prabandha is the precursor or forerunner of the classical dhruvapadas (or dhrupada) of the mediaeval and modern times. Baiju-bāorā, Gopāla-Nāyaka, Rājā Mān of Gwālior, Swāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa, the disciple of Rāi Rāmānanda, Swāmī Haridās, Miān Tānsen, and others undoubtedly cultured the

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41. Simhabhūpāla says: 'तेषु प्रेयः लक्ष्याः भि भि। पूवें सहस्रेष्ठर्मद्वादिपदवुक्त चः चः। ततीस्वर विषिदुं परिपुम प्रविज्ञान गतिः।'
dhruvapada that traditionally came down from the pre-Mataṅga period.

However, Thākur Narottama left Vṛndāvana in 1581-1582 A.D., accompanied by Śyāmānanda and Śrīnīvāsa. At that time Kavirāj Kṛṣṇadāsa Goswāmī left his mortal coil (in 1582 A.D.). Narottama-dāsa returned to Khetari, in the district of Rājsāhi, and introduced the developed form of rasa or lilā kirtana. He devised it on the pattern of the prabandha, dhruvapada. It was in the slow tempo (vilamvita laya), and was very majestic and colourful. Gaurāṅga-dāsa and Devidāsa accompanied Narottam with mṛdaṅga (khola), and Śrīdāsa and Gokuladāsa, with music. It is said that all of them were aged, and took training from Swarūpa-Dāmodara, the personal attache of Śrī Caitanya. Some are of opinion that they were trained under the guidance of Raghunāth-dāsa Goswāmī. The new and novel type of rasa or lilā kirtana, introduced by Narottama-dāsa, was more systematic and serene. It was mainly based on the divine emotional sentiment and mood (rasa and bhāva), and so it was known as ‘rasa-kirtana’, and as its composition or theme was based on the divine sportive plays of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, it was also called ‘lilā-kirtana’.

Thākur Narottama-dāsa was born at Khetari. Khetari was situated in the Gaḍerhāt subdivision, in the district of Rājsāhi. His father’s name was Kṛṣṇānanda-dutt, and his mother
was Nārāyanī Devī. It is said that Kṛṣṇānanda-dutt was the zemindar of Gopālapur. Narottama took initiation from Lokanāth-Goswāmī, and became a devout Vaiṣṇava. When he was young, he left his hearth and home, and went to Vṛndāvana, for the critical study of the Vaiṣṇava literature. After coming back from Vṛndāvana, he began to live at Khetari, at the request of his uncle’s son, Santosa-dutt. At that time he arranged a grand festival (mahotsava) for the Vaiṣṇavas, and thousands of the Vaiṣṇava savants assembled at Khetari, from different parts of Bengal, Behār and Orissā. Narottama introduced there his newly devised kirtana, together with gouracandrikā i.e. songs in praise of the glory and greatness of Śrī Caitanya, who was considered, by the Vaiṣṇavas of that time, as the divine incarnation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa together in one. Especially the Vaiṣṇava savants like Swarūpa-Goswāmī, Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja, Govinda-dāsa, and others developed this idea of ‘antah-kṛṣṇa’ (internally Śrī Kṛṣṇa) and ‘vahirgaura’ (externally Gaura, i.e. Caitanya), upon the lines ‘kṛṣṇa-varṇam tviṣā-kṛṣṇam’, etc. of the Bhāgavata (11.5.29). Kavirāja-Goswāmī says in his Caritāmṛta,

तत्वे हसि तारीप्रभु देखाल स्वरूप ।
रसराज महाभाव हुद एक रूप ॥

42. ज्ञावचयम् लिपणम् साध्रीपावशश-पवद्यम् ।
यव्रः संभवतम्-प्रावद्यवण्मिव ए समभवम् ॥
43. Vide वेदांचारितां शब्दबृहस्प. -
Rūpa-Goswāmī says in the Kaḍcā: ‘Rādhā-krṣṇa-
prṇayavikṛti * rādhā-bhāva-dyuti-suvalitam naumi
krṣṇa-rūpam’ ॥ ॥ However, the rasa or lilā kirtana
of Narottama-dāsa had a style (gāyana-saili) of
its own, and it was known as ‘garāṇahāti’ or
‘gaḍerahāti’, having originated in the Gaḍerhāt
pargāṇā. But this style, being difficult and slow in
tempo, was not properly appreciated by the
general mass. So different styles gradually
evolved, to suit the taste and temperament of
the people, and they were manoharasāhi, rāṇihāti
or reṇeti, mandārini, and jhāḍakhanḍī. All these
styles or schools, with different forms and
compositions, were named likewise after the
places of their origin. As for example, the
style or school of manoharasāhi was so named
as it evolved from the Manaharasāhi pargāṇā,
the style or school, rāṇihāti or reṇeti had its
origin in the Rāṇihāti pargāṇā, that of mandārini
originated in the Sarkāra-Mandārana, and that
of jhāḍakhanḍī had its origin in the district
of Midnāpore. Some are of opinion that the
schools, garāṇahāti or gaḍerahāti, rāṇihati or reṇeti,
and mandārini may be compared to those of
khāḍāravāṇī, dāgaravāṇī, lahāravāṇī, and gvaḥāravāṇī
of the dhruwapada giti, which had their origins
from different places, during the time of the
Emeror Ākbar. Some others compare those
styles or schools of kirtana with the four types

44. राधाकृष्णप्रणयविक्रमः * * राधामान-दुर्लिङ्गशिल्म्ब नीमि कृष्णप्रयमः
of classical music, *dhruvapada*, *kheyal*, *thumri*, and *tappā*. All these were merely different conceptions from different angles of vision. Otherwise, all these different styles or schools (*gharanās*) were independent from one another. The different styles of *padāvalī-kirtana* were divided by different Kirtaniyās of talent, in different times. As for example, Thākur Narottama introduced the *garāṇahāti* or *gaderahāti* style, Vipradāsa Ghose, the *manoharasāhi*, Thakur Gokulānanda, the *raṇihāti* or *reṇeti*, and Venidāsa, the *mandarini* respectively. The style or school of *jhādkhanḍi* was introduced by Kavindra Gokula. This style is now out of practice, and the special features of those four schools are also not easily recognizable at present, for want of their proper knowledge and culture and application. It is said that those styles of *kirtana* were presented with different time-units or *tālas*. As for example, 108 *tālas* were used in the *kirtana* of the *garāṇahāti* style, 25 in *manoharasāhi*, 26 in *raṇihāti* or *reṇeti*, and 9 in *mandarini*. The Manipuri style of *kirtana* of Āssām owes its debt to Thākura Narottama, as Narottama went to different places of Āssām, to propagate his new style of *kirtana*, together with the Vaiṣṇava religion. After Thākura Narottama, his worthy disciple Gaṅgā Nārāyaṇa Cakravurty also made similar tour round Assām and Manipur. The *kirtana* of Manipur is presented with the dance-dramas, having divine
plots with the sportive plays of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

It has already been said that padavali-kirtana of Bengal is the nibaddha prabandha type of classical music, as it consists of different music-parts (dhātus) and six limbs (saḍāṅgas), etc. In Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra, we find that while he mentions about the gīti ‘saṃkīrtana’, he says that it is a type of music, which should be presented with metre, rhythm, etc. He describes,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yastveśām sāttvike bhāvaḥ karma} \\
\text{saṃkīrtanam ca yat} \\
\text{Tat-kāryaṃ gāna-yoge tu pramāṇam} \\
\text{vidhi-saṃśrayam} // \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Chandah-pramāṇa-saṃyuktaṃ divyānāṃ} \\
\text{gāna-miṣyate} / \\
\text{Stutyāśrayeṇa tat-kāryaṃ karma-} \\
\text{saṃkīrtanādapi} //^{45}
\end{align*}
\]

Therefore it is evident that the auspicious (divya) gīti, dhruvā, known as saṃkīrtana, was prevalent

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45. यक्रे यो सांखिके भावः कर्म स्कृत्तं च यत्।
तत्त्वाये मानवीये तु प्रमाणे विभिन्नस्त्रयाम्॥

वन्दे प्रमाणसंपुतं दिव्यात्मां मानविनिः।
मूर्यांश्च तत् काये कर्मसंप्रसांंधापि॥

—नायार्वादनं
even in the first-second century A.D., in the form of sthuti-gāna. The dhruvās were sacred like the post-Vedic brahmagītis or ānga-gītis like ṛk, gāthā, pāṇikā, etc: ‘jayāśīrva-dyuktāni kārya-nyetañi daivatā, ṛg-gāthā-pānikā hyesāṃ voddvyaṣtu prāmaṇataḥ.’ During the time of Muni Bharata (second century A.D.), when the nibaddha prabandha type of dhruvās (dramatic or stage-songs) were sung with jatirāgas, different metres (chandas), rhythms (tālas), and tempi (lāyas) for sacred purpose, they were known as samkīrtana or kīrtana. This sacred type of music was probably revived with some new form and theme of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva, during the awakening of the Gauḍiya-Vaiṣṇavism, in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. Ghanāśyāma-Narahari, one of the great Gauḍiya-Vaiṣṇava savants and musicologists, says in his Bhaktiratnākara:

केह कहे निवद-गोतेर सजालयः ।
प्रवन्ध, वस्तु, रूपक ये प्रसिद्ध हय ॥
धातु-चातुर्घ्य आर पड़दृ इहाय ।
हड़िले प्रकाश-वद्र प्रवन्ध कहय ॥

That is, a prabandha type of song is known by its four music-parts (dhātus) and six limbs āngas), whereas a vastu type of song consists of three music-parts and five limbs, and rūpaka

46. अर्जुनाशयोक्तिः कार्योद्गतानि दैवतेः ।
अष्टग्नायापाणिका खायों बीवथोषु प्रानाश्च। ॥
—गृहस्तीशान
type is possessed of two music-parts and two limbs. Ghanāśyāma-Narahari says regarding the dhātu,
Prabandāvayavo dhātuli sa caturdhā prakīrtitaḥ /
Udgrāhaka-melāpaka-dhruvābhoga iti kramāt //

That is, a dhātu is a part of song, and it is of four kinds, udgrāhaka, melāpaka, dhruva, and ābhoga. Narahari says that the Kirtaniyās (demonstrators of the kirtana) strictly observe the rules, as laid down by the treatises like Gitaprakāśa, Saṅgīta-pārijāta, Saṅgīta-siromani, Saṅgīta-ratnamālā, Vācaspati, Saṅgīta-dāmodara, Saṅgīta-nārāyana, etc. No one did venture to violate the śāstric rules and injunctions. The classical melodies (rāgas) and rhythms (tālas) were used in kirtana, as they were strictly observed in samkirtana in Bharata's time (second century A.D.). They are strictly observed also in the present system of Vaiṣṇava padāvaka-kirtana.

Narahari-dāsa further says, regarding the prabandha type of song,

प्रवन्धे धातु पञ्च ॥
शाखे पञ्च निधार ॥

47. Prabhāśyāmy dhātu: sa caturdhā prakīrtitaḥ //

48. Narahari says about five limbs (pañca-dhātu), and again he says somewhere about four dhātus (dhātu-catuṣṭayam).
The six limbs of the *prabandha* type of a song are *svara* or notes, taken at their proper pitch, *viruda* or panegyric, *pada* or name of its object, *tenaka* or cadence of notes as a symbolic standard, *pāta* or the continuous imitation of sound, proceeding from percussion instruments and *tāla* or rhythm, expressed by beat. *Tālas* are *caccatpata*, *yat*, etc. Some musicologists are of opinion that a *prabandha* is possessed of four limbs (*aṅgas*), words, notes, rhythm, and cadence of notes. Śāraṅgadeva also says: ‘*prabando’ṅgāni ṣat, tasya svarasya virudam, *padam*, *tenakah* pāta-tālau’. From Narahari-dāsa, we come to know that *pāḍāvali-kirtana* consists of six limbs or *aṅgas* like *svara*, *viruda*, etc., as has been described before.
Again *padāvalī-kirtana* was possessed of five *jātis*, composed of different limbs. Regarding these, Narahari mentions in his *Bhaktiratnākara*:

प्रचन्धे जाति पश्चः—मेदिनी नन्दिनी ।
दीपनी पावनी तारावली कहे मुनि ॥
पद्मः मेदिनी नाम पश्चाङ्ग नन्दिनी ।
चारि अङ्ग दिपनी परे तयाङ्ग पावनी ॥
अङ्गुदय तारावली गोतिज्ञ कहे ।
इत्ये जान एकाङ्ग प्रचन्ध सिद्ध नहै ॥

Śāraṅgadeva also says regarding the *jātis* of the classical songs,

मेदिन्यथानन्दिनी धारीपनी भागनी तथा ।
तारावलीति पश्च स्यः प्रचन्धानां तु जातयः ॥

Therefore, *kirtana* belongs to *medini* type, when it is composed of five limbs (*āngas*). It is recognized as *dipani*, when it consists of four limbs; it is *pāvanī*, when possessed of three limbs; it is called *tārāvali*, when possessed of two limbs, and when *kirtana* is composed of only one limb, it is recognized as the *prabandha*. In Śāraṅgadeva’s *Sangīta-Ratnākara*, *pāvanī* is known as *bhāvanī*.

Probably the *padāvalī-kirtana* is included in the category of *tārāvali* and sama-*dhruvā* type of the *prabandha giti*, as distinct from *pāncāli* or *pāncālikā*, which is recognized as *visama-dhruvā* type of the *prabandha*. Paṇḍit Harekrṣṇa Mukherjee says in his *Padāvali-paricaya* that one of the greatest
exponent of the *padāvali-kirtana*, late Avadhūta Bandopādhyāya was of opinion that *kirtana* of Bengal was included in the *tārāvali* and *samadhruvā* type of song. The *pāncāli* type of songs are the *maṅgala-gānas* like *krṣṇamaṅgala*, *śivamaṅgala*, *caṇḍimaṅgala*, *mansāmaṅgala*, etc. The *maṅgalagītīs* of Bengal are also known as the *nibaddha* type of classical music. Śāraṅgadeva says in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*:

Vadanaṁ caccāri caryā paddhaḍi rāhaḍi tathā।
Veeraśṛi-maṅgalācāro dhavalo maṅgalastathā॥

This is, *caccāri* or *cāncara*, *caryā*, *maṅgala*, etc. were sometimes very favourite songs of Bengal. They were known as *niruyaka* type of songs, possessed of different metres, melodies, rhythms, and tempi, whereas the *aniruyka* ones were like the *ālāpa* or *ālapti*, possessed of only melody (*rāga*), and tempo (*laya*). The *kirtana*, being the *tārāvali* and *samadhruvā* type of song, can be known as similar to the *caryā*, to some extent. The only difference between the *caryā* and the *kirtana* lies in the fact that the former had some repititions of one or two stanzas, while the latter was sung, and are sung even these days, with the music-part (*dhātu*), *dhrupa*, both by the main singer

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50. वदनं चचारी चच्या पद्हशा राहा तथा।
शेषेर्मेधवालानुरी धवली मा॒गलाधा।

Pārśvadeva had discussed these *prabandhas* in his *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*, before Śāraṅgadeva.
(mūla-gāyena) and his party, in unison. In this respect, the method of singing the maṅgala-gāna seems different from the padāvali-kirtana, in some respects.

It has already been said that padāvali-kirtana is purely emotional (bhāvātmakam) in its nature, and for this reason it is known as 'rasa-kirtana'. In truth, emotional sentiments and moods (rasa and bhāva ) are the life-force of the padāvali-kirtana of Bengal. It stirs the emotional depth of the musicians as well as of the listeners. The mystic Vaiṣṇava composers (padakartās) have used sixty-four aesthetic sentiments (rasas), dividing them into two main groups, vipralambha and sambhoga. Rūpa-Goswāmi, Kavi-karnapura, and Pitāmvara-dāsa have said in their Ujjālanilamaṇi and Bhakti-rasāyaṇa, Alaṅkāra-kaustubha, and Rasamañjari that vipralambha and sambhoga are the two modifications of the basic sentiment, śṛṅgāra or divine primal creative urge'. The vipralambha is again divided into four, pūrvarāga, māna, premavicittya, and pravāsa. The sambhoga is an enjoyment of the pure union of the lover and the beloved woman. It is also divided into four types, enjoyment in a short period (saṁkṣipta-sambhoga), mixed enjoyment (saṁkīrṇa-sambhoga), accomplished enjoyment (saṁpanna-sambhoga), and ripe enjoyment (samṛddhīsambhoga). The four emotive feelings and their enjoyments are the manifestations of eight kinds of aesthetic sentiments, as described by Muni Bharata, in the Nātyaśāstra. Bharata says,
Besides nātya, Bharata says that emotional sentiments are applicable to dhruvā and jātirāga gānas: ‘dhruvā-vidhāne kartavyā jātigāne prayatnataḥ, rasam kāryamavasthām ca * *’ (NS. 29.4). These śāstric rules are also applied to the padāvali-kīrtana. It adopts eight main aesthetic sentiments, along with their eight sub-sentiments, resulting in sixty-four \((8 \times 8 = 64)\) ones. As for example,

\[(k) \text{ } \| \text{ } \text{भभिमिारिका} \| \text{ (1) ओौहाकिमिारिका, (2) तामसामिारिका, (3) वर्धामिारिका, (4) दिवामिारिका, (5) तुम्बकिमिारिका, (6) तौष्ठामिारिका, (7) व्रस्मक्षामिारिका, (8) वचस्मामिारिका} \]

\[(k) \text{ } \| \text{ } \text{वास्मक्ष} \| \text{ (1) सौधक्ष, (2) जामिक्ष, (3) रौदिक्ष, (4) मथिक्ष, (5) सुधिक्ष, (6) चंकिक्ष, (7) सुरक्ष, (8) ताह शां} \]

\[(s) \text{ } \| \text{ } \| \text{वर्तजित्त} \| \text{ (1) व्रजांति, (2) विकासा, (3) सच्छां (4) वर्षेरता, (5) सुखाकाण्डित्, (6) सुगृधा, (7) सुखरा, (8) निर्भर्क} \]

\[(s) \text{ } \| \text{ } \| \text{व्रजाल्पा} \| \text{ (1) विकासा, (2) व्रजाल्पा, (3) सच्छां, (4) वर्षेरता, (5) निर्भर्क, (6) ग्रह्य, (7) दृश्याद्र, (8) भौता} \]

\[(s) \text{ } \| \text{ } \| \text{वर्तक्षि} \| \text{ (1) वर्तक्षि, (2) वर्तक्षि, (3) सच्छां, (4) वर्षेरता, (5) निर्भर्क, (6) ग्रह्य, (7) सहाय, (8) सुमारा} \]

\[(s) \text{ } \| \text{ } \| \text{वर्तक्षि} \| \text{ (1) वर्तक्षि, (2) वर्तक्षि, (3) सच्छां, (4) वर्षेरता, (5) निर्भर्क, (6) ग्रह्य, (7) सहाय, (8) सुमारा} \]

\[(s) \text{ } \| \text{ } \| \text{मृदितम} \| \text{ (1) मृदितम, (2) मृदितम, (3) मृदितम, (4) मृदितम, (5) मृदितम, (6) मृदितम, (7) मृदितम, (8) मृदितम} \]
Again, five parts of the sub-limbs (upāṅgas) are used in the padāvali-kirtana, and they are: 
(1) kathā, dohā, āṅkhara, tuka and chūta. (1) The kathā denotes lakṣya (words or composition —sāhitya) and lakṣāṇa (theory). Besides, it signifies questions and answers (ukti and pratyukti), connecting link between one piece of song and another, and expansion of meaning of the composition or speech. (2) Dohā means stanzas (two consecutive lines of a song), tripadi

52. Śrī Rūpa-Goswāmi says in his Ujjalanilamani about these 64 rasas, in connection with the nāyika-bheda:

(क) यावामरसारस्ति कालं सन्यस्तं वामिसरसयि।
     सा आशीर्वती तामसी घानविधवायामसारसारिका॥

(ख) स्वप्नाकविशालं काण्यं समयं निन्दं वुः।
     सत्यकारंति सेषं या सा साधकविशिष्टाः॥

(ग) भनामभिवित्रमनी विश्रावतसुका तु या।
     विरङ्गीकृष्टात भक्तिविद्विमुः सा समीरिता॥

(घ) कला सत्तेतमस्याम देहार्ज्जितवच्छेः।
     यायमयानारं श्रीका विप्रलयभं मन्नीविमुः॥

(ङ) चालासमयं सया: मद्यान्नीपीभीररवनु:।
     भोगवासिरं प्रात्तारण न सा दि खिरितां॥

(च) या सहेमां पुरं प्रक्तल्लमतिः वल्लं रूपं।
     निरस्स प्रात्ताल्पति कलशाल्लिति दि सा॥

(छ) दूरदेशं मति काण्यं भवित्य प्रीतिमहस्तं का ।

(ज) ब्रह्मातासंबद्धिताः भवित्य ब्राह्मणस्त्वरतं ।
     विनिराकारार्थाति-कुमुदात्सवामार्थिकनु॥

—गौरीद्वारानीलिपि (लालिकामिद्रन्तत्र) ३१-३४
(three lines of a composition), caupadi (four lines) etc., and they are repeated by the singers.

(3) Ḍāṅkara is a unique contribution to the prdāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal. It seems similar to tāna of the Hindusthāni classical music, to some extent. Ḍāṅkara is an extempore composition.

(4) Tuka is an ornamental part of a song, which the traditionally handed down from one community of singers to another. (5) Chuta is a part of a stanza of the kīrtana, i.e. when a portion of a song is present, instead of the entire portion, it is known as chuta. Besides them, jhumurā or jhumrī is also used as an upānga of the kīrtana. It is a rule or procedure to sing a song of union (milana-gāna) between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, after finishing the entire composition. But, if in any case, it is not possible to complete the gourcandrikā or the entire theme of the kīrtana (pālā-gāna), the singer shall represent jhumurā or jhumrī for the completion of the kīrtana.

In the padāvalī-kīrtana twelve mystic tattvas are used, and they are: (a) union of the divine couple (yugala-rūpa), (b) manifestation and enjoyment (prakāśa and vilāsa), (c) enjoyment of the emotional sentiment (rasāsvādana), (d) mutual adoration (pārasparika bhajana), (e) the Lord and the devotee (Bhagavāna and Bhakta), (f) ideal of the devotee (sādhyā-vastu), (g) spiritual practice of the devotee (sādhanā), (h) pūrvarāga and anu-rāga, (i) abhisāra, (j) vāsakasajjā, (k) divine union (milana) and the tattva par
excellence, and (1) Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Besides, the intuitive perception of the divine couple, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are the central theme of the padāvalī-kirtana. And it should be remembered that this intuitive or spiritual perception of the divine couple is the realization of the inseparable relation (abheda-samvandha) between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Both are mutually realizing the infinite potency of love and bliss, and this mutual relation of love is the secret of the whole drama, enacted in the eternal land of Vṛndāvana. This realization is the aim and ideal of the padāvalī-kirtana. The philosophical idea of the kirtana also lies in it. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are here conceived as one. Śrī Kṛṣṇa, being the ultimate Being, is possessed of svarūpa-śakti, jīva-śakti or ταταστα-śakti, and māyā-śakti. The svarūpa-śakti is the consummation of the divine attributes of existence (sat), consciousness (cit), and bliss (ānanda). The potency of these three attributes acts like three powers in the nature of God, which are known as sandhanī (the power of existence), samvit (the power of consciousness) and hlādini (the power of bliss, which is of the nature of infinite love). The padāvalī-kirtana of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism aims at the divine intuition and feeling of this highest tattva. This theological and philosophical ideas of

53. Vide Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta: Obscure Religious Cults (Calcutta University, 1946), pp. 143-144.
the kirtana developed on the doctrinal foundation of the Upanisad, Pāncarātra, Purāṇa, Śrimat-bhāgavata, and Bengal Buddhism, and Sahajiyā cults.

The composition (sāhitya or pada) of the kirtana is deeply concerned with name, age, quality, beauty, grace, sweetness and lusture, and character (guna, vayasa, rūpa, lāvanya, saundarya, abhirūpatā, mādhurya, mārdava, nāma, caritra, and anubhāva), as they are the source of inspiration to the devotees. They intensify the love and devotion to Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The hero (nāyaka) of the theme of the kirtana is imagined in four different ways, and they are dhīra-lalita dhīra-sānta, dhīroddhata, and dhīrodatta. Besides, Śrī Kṛṣṇa is conceived here in different ways (rūpa-bheda).

Like the divine hero (nāyaka), the divine heroine (nāyikā) of padāvali-kirtana is also conceived in different ways. She is mainly conceived as svakiyā and parakiyā. These two are again divided into many phases, mudghā, madhyā, pragalbhā, dhīrā, adhīrā, dhīrādhīrā, dhīrā-pragalbhā, adhīrā-pragalbhā, and dhīrādhīrā-pragalbhā. Parakiyā has been recognized by the Vaiṣṇavas as the greatest love towards paraṇa-nāyaka, Kṛṣṇa. Śrī Caitanya himself maintained the paraṇa-kājā-tattva. Some of the latter Vaiṣṇavas like Jiva-Goswāmi, and others did not accept this doctrine, as they said that svakiyā par excellence is the greatest tattva. But after Jiva Goswāmi, the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas mostly established the
doctrine of parakiya, and this has afterwards been the central theme of the padavali-kirtana.

Parakiya is again divided into two, kanyā and paroḍhā. Dhanyā and other unmarried Vṛja maidens, who loved Śrī Kṛṣṇa, were kanyā, and the married women were known as paroḍhā. The paroḍhā Gopīs were again divided into three classes, sādhanaparā, devī and nityapriyā. The sādhanaparā Gopīs were divided into two, yauthikī and ayauthikī. The yauthikī Gopīs were Rādhā, Candrāvali, Viśākhā, Lalitā, Śyāmā, Padmā, Tārā, Citrā, Dhaniṣṭhā, Bhadrā, Śaivyā, Gopāli, Pālikā, and others. But Rādhā was the greatest nāyikā among all the nityapriyā Gopīs. Rādhā or Rādhikā is known as Vṛndāvanēvari. The female attendants (sakhīs) of Rādhā were divided into five classes, and they were sakhi, nityasakhī, priyasakhī, prāṇasakhī, and parama-preṣṭhā-sakhī.

Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja describes the real significances of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs, in his Caitanya-caritāmṛta (madhyalilā, 8th canto) as,

राधार स्वरूप कृष्ण-प्रेमकल्पतता ।
सखीगण हृय तीर पदृव पुप्प पाता ॥
कृष्णालोणास्ते यदि छताके सिन्धु ।
निज सेक हस्हते पदुवादर कोटी सुख हृय ॥

This is also the philosophical conceptions of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, and the Sakhīs that are adopted in the padavali-kirtana. Kubjā is conceived as the sādhāraṇi-nāyikā of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The central attention
of all the nāyikās and sakhīs was concentrated in bringing the complete union (milana) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

The love between the divine hero (nāyaka) and the divine heroine (nāyikā) manifests in different ways. Above all, the heroine, Rādhā is conceived as the greatest manifestation, or incarnation of divine love, beauty, and divinity in the padāvalī-kirtana. Śrī Jiva-Goswāmī describes Rādhā as the highest manifestation of love and devotion, in his celebrated book, Ujjalanilamāni. The conceptions of the female attendants (sakhīs) and messengers (dūti) of Rādhā are also unique and original in the kirtana.

Many of the Vaiṣṇava savants like Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja, Kavi-Karṇapura, Rādhāmohan Thākur, Ghanasyāma-Naraharidāsa, and others accepted the padāvalī-kirtana as śāstric and classical, in their books, Govindalilāmṛta, Ānanda-vīndavana-campu, Padāmṛta-sindhu, Sangitāsāra-saṅgraha, Bhaktiratnākara, Gitaśandrodhayya, etc. Rādhāmohan Thākur composed many contemplative compositions (dhyānas) of the rāgas of the padāvalī-kirtana, and he followed, in this matter, Rāṇā Kumbha's Sangitarāja, and other ancient Sanskrit treatises on music. Ghanasyāma-Narahari says in his Bhaktiratnākara, the authoritative book of the Gauḍiya-Vaiṣṇavas:

अनिष्क्र निष्क्र गीतर भेददये।
अनिष्क्र गीत गोकुलादि आलापये॥

Development of Padāvalī Kirtana of Bengal
From this, it is evident that ālāpa was used in different tempi, before the presentation of the original theme of padāvalī-kīrṭana. It is said that tumburā, rabāb, veenā, and other stringed and musical instruments accompanied kīrṭana. Jñānadāsa describes some of them in his abhisāra-pada:

आवेद्रे सखार भृद्रि भस्य हेलाहया।
पद-आघ चले धार पड़े मुरचिया॥
रावाज खमक दीण सुमिल करिया।
शुन्द्रवने प्रवेशेऽति जय जय दिया॥

Though Jñānadāsa has not described it in connection with padāvalī-kīrṭana, yet the stanzas suggest the use of musical instruments in the Vaiṣṇava gītis.

Some are of opinion that the structures of the rāgas, used in kīrṭana, seem to be pure and original than those of the modern modified ones. But, though their ancient forms are obsolete now, yet they can be recognized by those, described in Kavi-Locana’s Rāgatarangini and Hṛdaya-Nārāyaṇa’s Hṛdaya-kautuka, written in the sixteenth century A.D. As for example, gurjari was previously recognized as the rāga of the gaurī-samsthāna or gaurī-mela, the tonal structure of
which was similar to modern bhairava: 'sa ri ga ma pa dha ni'. Vasanta was known as the rāga of the gaurī-samsthāna, and its present tonal form is similar to that of bhairava. Hṛdaya-Nārāyaṇa describes vasanta as 'sa ma, sa ni sa, ni dha pa ma ga ri sa'. In this way, we can easily find out the tonal forms of all the rāgas, used in padāvalī-kirtana. These recognized forms of the rāgas were also used in Jayadeva's Gīta-govinda, and they have been discussed before. From the collections of the padāvalī-kirtana, we find the following rāgas which were mostly used in kirtana: kāmoda, śrī, dhānasī or dhānaśrī, gāndhāra or gāndhāri, toḍī, mangala, vasanta, sūhai, bhātiyāri, rāmakīri or rāmakeli, vibhāsa, mallāra, kalyāṇī, māyūra or māyuri, pāhidā or pāhādī, gaurī, patamānjari, gurjarī, tirothā-dhānaśrī, gauḍī, bhupālī, āhīri, vihāga, vihaṅgā, kedāra, bhairava, bhairavī, subhagā, vibhāsa-lalita, etc. We also find in the padāvalī the names of yathārāga or tathārāga, karuṇā or karuṇa-rāga, kau-rāga, which were mostly prevalent in Bengal. But, in fact, karuṇā or karuṇa is not a rāga, it is a kind of metre (chanda), and it has been mentioned in Locan's Rāgataraṅgini: 'yat padārdhe tu sa bhavet karuṇā-mālavā-bhidhaḥ'.

54. यत् पदार्थं तु स भवेत् करुणा-मालवाभिधं।

—रामतर्कन्ति
adopted form Trḥut or Tīrhut. It is known by various names like tirothā, tirotā, tirotiyā, or tṛhutiyā. The nepāli has been adopted from Nepāl, and Nepāl was a centre of Vrajabuli, after the Sena Kings. The rāga ‘subhaga’ has been mentioned in Śubhaṅkara’s Sangīta-dāmodara, Narahari’s Sangītasāra-saṅgraha, etc. The māyūra or māyūrī has been mentioned in the Vṛhaddharmapurāṇa, Sangīta-dāmodara, etc. Some are of opinion that yathā or tathā rāga is the diminutive form of the ancient jāti or jātirāga. But this view is untenable, as the word ‘yathā-rāga’ connotes the idea that the singers or musicologists have freedom to select any of the suitable rāgas.

The tālas, as used in padāvalī-kirtana are numerous. More than two hundred tālas were used in kīrtana. The names of some of the tālas are: yati, rūpaka, japa, vṛhatjapa, dašakuśi, chota-dašakuśi, vada-daškuśi, madhyama-dašakuśi, teota, jhampa or jhampā jayamanāgala, dutṭhuki, ādā-duṭhuki, chota-duṭhuki, dāsāpade or dānśpeđe, maṇṭhaka, prati-maṇṭhaka, kandarpa, ekatalī, vada-ekatāli, pata, madhura, ṣekhara, nanandana, dhaḍā, aṣṭha, ādi, vijayānanda, sama, candraśekhara, dhrupa, lophā, nandana, utsāha, etc. In every tāla there are paraṇa, māñana, etc.

It is said that 108 kinds of tālas were used in the gaḍerhāti school of kīrtana, and these have been mentioned in the Śrī-Padāmṛta-mādhurī, compiled by Late Navadvip Candra Vrajavāsī
and Rāi Bāhādur Khagendra Nāth Mitra. These 108 kinds of tālas are mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit treatises on music. The 108 tālas are:

Among them some of their time-units or mātrās may be mentioned as,

(1) chotadasakośi is of 7 mātrās, madhyama-daśakośi is of $7 \times 2 = 14$ mātrās, and vaḍa-daśakośi is of $7 \times 2 \times 2 = 28$ mātrās; (2) Teoti is of 7 mātrās, and (3) Teota is of $7 \times 2 = 14$ mātrās; (4) chota-lophā is of 6 mātrās, (5) lophā is of 6 mātrās, (6) vaḍa-lophā is of $6 \times 2 = 12$ mātrās; (7) doṭhuki is of 14 mātrās, and (8) chota-doṭhuki is of 14 mātrās, (9) chota-dusapyāri is of 4 mātrās, (10) dāsapyāri is of $4 \times 2 = 8$ mātrās; (11) ekatāli is of 14 mātrās; (12) Ġhāmptāla is of 10 mātrās; (13) dharā or dhādā is of 16 mātrās; (14) chota-rūpaka is of 6 mātrās; (15) vaḍa-rūpaka is of $6 \times 2 = 12$ mātrās; (16) chota-ekatāli is of 14 mātrās, and (17) ekatāli is of 14 mātrās.

In Śubaṅkara’s Sangīta-dāmodara 101 tālas have been mentioned: ‘एकाधिक शत ताले पद्मस्तुप ताला हैं’। Subhaṅkara says that 60 out of 101 tālas are prominent. Sārangadeva describes 120 deśi-tālas in the Sangīta-Ratnākara (6th chapter). Ghanaśyāma Narahari-dāsa follows Sangīta-dāmodara, and says:

तालं चब्बतपुरं-चाचपुरदरिः-प्रधानम्।
एकाधिक-शत-तालं सर्वेन प्रमाणम्॥

Now, let us illustrate some portion of a pada-kirtana, from Śri Haridāsa Kar’s Kirtana-svaralipi (Vol. I). The author of the composition (pada) is Govinda-dāsa. The tāla
used has been lophā, consisting of 6 mātrās (० ० ० / ० ० ० ०). The song, along with the notation, runs thus:

(सबी) चिकन काला गाठाय माला  

(तार) चूड़ार फुले स्रयरा बुले  

तेरछ नयने बाय ।  

कालिन्दी-कुले कि पेहनु सबी  

छाड़िया नागर कान ।  

हर मो याते मारिनु सबी  

आकुल करिल प्राण ॥ etc.

\[
\begin{align*}
(\text{गम}) & \quad \text{प पथसन}_\uparrow \text{ धप} \quad \text{पम मग}_\uparrow \text{ र ध} \quad \text{का ला}_\uparrow \quad \text{ग ला}_\uparrow \\
\text{पथसन}_\uparrow \text{ धन}_\uparrow \text{ धप}_\uparrow \quad \text{प धनस}_\uparrow \quad \text{सन}_\uparrow \text{ धन}_\uparrow \text{ पथसन}_\uparrow \\
\text{मा}_\uparrow \quad \text{ला}_\uparrow \quad \text{बा}_\uparrow \quad \text{जू}_\uparrow \quad \text{न}_\uparrow \quad \text{न}_\uparrow \quad \text{पु}_\uparrow \quad \text{र}_\uparrow \\
\text{धप}_\uparrow \quad \text{ता}_\uparrow \quad \text{ता}_\uparrow \\
\text{पा}_\uparrow \quad \text{य}_\uparrow \\
\text{स}_\uparrow \quad \text{स}_\uparrow \quad \text{र}_\uparrow \\
\text{ग}_\uparrow \quad \text{र}_\uparrow \\
\text{तार}_\uparrow \quad \text{चू}_\uparrow \quad \text{क}_\uparrow \quad \text{०}_\uparrow \quad \text{फ}_\uparrow \quad \text{स}_\uparrow \quad \text{ब}_\uparrow \quad \text{र}_\uparrow \quad \text{न}_\uparrow \quad \text{ड}_\uparrow \quad \text{०}_\uparrow \quad \text{०}_\uparrow \quad \text{०}_\uparrow \quad \text{०}_\uparrow \quad \text{०}_\uparrow
\end{align*}
\]
N.B. *Niśāda* and *madhyama* are sometimes used as flat (*komala*).
CHAPTER NINE

DEVELOPMENT OF RHYTHM AND TEMPO

There is an organized and harmonized system behind the gigantic phenomena of the universe, and everything in it, the sun, the moon, the stars, and satellites are unceasingly working through an ordered system, and with a motive behind. Everything phenomenal is ruled by the inevitable law of cause and sequence (kārya-kāraṇa-samvandha), and this law is again guided by a synthetic and universal law, which is known as the cosmic law or divine Energy. The rhythm and tempo are the inherent categories of that cosmic energy or Nature, which is called by the philosophers of India, as prakṛti, prajñā, kundalinī, kāmakalā, mahāmāyā, or the Mother Kālī. Rhythm and tempo are but one and the same organized dynamic force, that animates and regulates the sportive play of Mahākāli, who creates, sustains, and destroys everything of the changing phenomena. Poet Rabindranāth defines rhythm in some different way, when he says: 'Rhythm is not merely in some measured blending of words, but in a significant adjustment of ideas, in a music of thought produced by a subtle principle of distribution, which is not primarily logical but evidential'. 'In perfect rhythm', he further states, 'the art-form becomes
like the stars which in their seeming stillness are never still, like a motionless flame that is nothing but movement. A great picture is always speaking, but news from a newspaper, even of some tragic happening, is still-born. Some news may be a mere commonplace in the obscurity of a journal; but give it a proper rhythm and it will never cease to shine. That is art.

However, ‘rhythm’ connotes the idea of an ordered and at the same time a measured motion or development that gives an idea of a complete harmonious restriction or system, whereas ‘tempo’ connotes that of time-unit, in the sense of pace or duration of speed.

But how the conceptions of rhythm and tempo came into being? Some are of opinion that in the antique primitive days men and women used to sing and dance irregularly, clapping their hands, moving their feet, and shaking their heads or limbs of the bodies. Their irregular movements of the hands, legs and heads or limbs of the bodies were gradually regulated and balanced, with senses of restriction of pace and speed, and they at last gave rise to concrete ideas of rhythm and tempo. In Sanskrit, these are known as ‘chanda’ and ‘laya’. Both have their common origin or basic ground in space and time, which is known as the prime factor of creation i.e. projection of the world-appearance. Sammuel Alexander calls this ground as space-time, and not space and time, and space-time
is the matrix or substratum of the primal norm of the projection. It is said in the Rgveda that there was no vibration or movement in the beginning ("tadejati tannaijati" * *), and eternal calmness reigned supreme with unbroken silence. Gradually movement came in the form of rhythmic vibrations. The vibrations were organized and balanced, and the manifold creation or projection was designed in a systematic form, which may be called the 'rhythm'. The word 'tapah' of the Upanisad was no other than the heat-energy or will-power of the divine primordial Energy. Potential divine Energy or Isvara was alone before the projection of the phenomenon, and He willed to be many ('eko’ham vahu syām'), and that will is the cause of the manifestation. The world of appearance came into being in the form of rhythm. That rhythm was continuous and eternal, and the sun, moon, stars, and all other satellites of the solar system are also observing that rhythmic movement.

Now, how that rhythm came into being in the field of music? Prof. Scholes says that rhythm is not something, imposed on music. Whether there be words or not, the rhythm is inherent in music. It is not only its legs, but its life, and that life, like ours, is often subtle and complex. Rhythm also plays the rôle of life-force in literature. Rhythm pertains to the time side of music, as distinct from the pitch side, and it manifests in beats, accent,
measures or bars, grouping of notes into beats, grouping of beats into measures, grouping of measures into phrases, and so forth. Prof. Scholes is of opinion that in rhythm, the sense of accuracy and judgment is necessary to arrange and combine the notes or series of notes, with its regular and periodic time-measures or tālas. It is also necessary for rise and fall of the intervals of notes of the melody in music.

In Vedic music, rhythm was observed with the help of metres (chanda) in the composition or sāhitya. Tunes were added to the r̥c or stanzas, and the r̥c were constituted out of the letters, arranged in different metres. The r̥c-stanzas, with tunes, were the sāmagānas. Sāyaṇa says: ‘sāma-sabda-vācyasya gānasya svarūpa-mrgakṣaresu kruṣṭādibhīh saptabhiḥ’ etc.¹ In the R̥k-bhāṣyabhūmikā, three kinds of stobhas are mentioned, and they are varṇa-stobha, pada-stobha, and vākhya-stobha. Gāthās were prevalent in the Vedic period. Gāthās were the prescribed mantrams or verses: ‘vihitā mantra-viśesā gāthāh’.² Both in the stotra or gāthāgāna and sāmagāna rhythm and tempo were used to regulate the letters and tunes of the composition of music. The Brāhmaṇa literature states: ‘noccairgeyam na valavad geyamiti rathantara-dharmah. Tasmādubhaya-

1. सामाध्य-बाणक्ष-सामन्य-साधन-सरस्वतिकुटुम्बिकः: समाधिः, * * * ।
2. विहिता समाधितिः सामन्यः।
dharmā vyavatisṭhante iti'. The Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa states that the sāmans were possessed of stanzas or verses, constructed out of the metres like vrhati, jagati, gāyatrī, tristubha, etc. As these metres were balanced by tones and tunes, they were known as the sāmans.

In the Rk-prātiśākhya, syllables or varṇas are known as the sound or svara. The sound or svara has been divided into different time-units like hrasva, dirgha and pluta. The hrasva sound lasts for only one mātra or one unit of time, the dirgha, for two mātras or two units of time, and the pluta, for three mātras or three units of time. The sound or svara is also known as the letter or aksara: 'svaro'ksaramityuktaṁ'. For this reason, the authors of the Prātiśākhyaśas designate the register notes (sthāna-svaras), udatta anudatta and svarita as letters: 'udattascānudattaśca svaritaśca samkeśpataḥ svarāstrapayo veditavyāḥ'.

In the Vedic literature, these are also known as the notes. Śaunaka says in the Rk-prātiśākhya that all the musical notes, both vaidika and laukika, were represented in three different ways, bass, circumflex, and acute, i.e., manda, madhya, and tāra. Three different modes were adopted for three kinds of pronunciation, and they were slow, medium and fast, i.e.

3. नीःंभैः न वस्तुभैः निष्णिसति रणनारा धर्मः। मलाद्भयाय स्मासितं हि।
4. ग्यायोहिणो गधिकाः।
5. उदात्तश्राक्षादानं श्रवितः संबंधत: ग्यायोहिणो वैदिताः।
vilambita, madhya, and drūta. The 48th aphorism of the Rk-prātiṣākhya runs thus: ‘mātra-viśeṣaḥ pratiṣṭhaṇyaptaiḥ’. That is, in every vṛtta the number of mātra is increased. The mātra is a measuring unit, which connotes the idea of division of time or kṣaṇa-bheda. The old Sanskrit verses of musical pieces were of two kinds, varṇa-vṛtta and mātra-vṛtta, i.e., one was determined by the syllable-unit, and other by time-unit. Both these units were known as chanda and laya, i.e. rhythm and tempo.

Śaunaka deals with the topics of chanda, in connection with the correct reading of the Vedas. They were gāyatrī, uṣṇiṣa, anusṭupa, vrhati, paṅkti, triṣṭupa, and jagati. Besides them, there were other metres like atijagati, ṣakkarī, sātipuruṣa, dhṛti, atidhṛti, prakṛti, ākṛti, nikṛti, and saṁkṛti, etc. Simhabhupāla says that these metres or chandas were used in the sāmagāna and Vedic recitations. In the Rk-prātiṣākhya, we find the mention of the mātrās or measuring units of time, and they were similar to the tonalities and pitch-values of the sounds of the birds and animals: ‘cāṣastu vadayate mātrām dvimātrām vāyaśo’bravit’, etc. Sometimes the letters of the Vedic metres used to play the rôle of

6. सामान्यभाष: प्रतिःपतिः।
7. Vide the commentary ‘Sudhākara’ by Simhabhupāla.
8. चाणक्य वदति सामान्य वियालाभः पाण्ड्रविकृतः, etc.
mātrās or time-beats, and those mātrās or time-beats were accompanied by the recitation or pronunciation of the verses of the sāmans. Five kinds of accents were used in the sāman-chants, and Dr. Felber says that they were: (1) stress on accentuation; (2) the interval, its arrangement, and choice; (3) the intensity of voice; (4) enrichment through ornamentation; and (5) the mutual tone-ratio between the different musical pitches. Musical pitches were lowered or heightened or balanced as the notes in the verses used to signify. The numbers upon the words of the verses used to indicate temper and tensity of the sounds like low, medium and high. Some are of opinion that the figures upon the words of the verses were indications of the mūrcehanās or ascending-descending notes of the sāmans. Sometimes the numbers used to indicate the downward series of tones. The metrical relations of the verses or sāmans were manifested in the forms of rhythm as well as tempo.

The word 'tempo' or laya simultaneously indicates the idea of time-beats or tāla, as one is interlinked with or counterpart of the other. In fact, the tempo is realized in the continuity and different cadences or measured movements of the time-beats or tāla. Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century) says that music, both vocal and instrumental, drumming and dancing are based on time-measure or tāla: 'gītam vādyam
tathā nṛttam yatastāle pratiṣṭhitam'.

In the age of the great epics, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Harivamśa, the artists and musicologists were fully acquainted with different accents, letters, mātrās and tālas: 'kālā-mātrā-viśesajñā', etc.  The compiler of the Mahābhārata, while explaining the process of beating of the time, says: 'pañj-tāla-satālaisca sanyā-tālāih samaistathā'.

From this it is evident that time was strictly maintained with the help of palms. The word ‘tāla’ connotes the idea of measure of the specified time. Siṁhabhupāla clarifies it by saying: ‘gītādeḥ mitir-mānakṣa vidadat kurvan kālah tāla ityuchyate’. Time or kāla is the temporal unit or tāla. The time also presupposes the idea of space i.e. deśa. The greatest scientist Einstein admits the co-relation of time and space in his Theory of Relativity. He says like the English philosopher Alexander that Space-Time is the primal stuff, of which all the pehnomenal things are made, though space is three dimensional, and time is one dimensional. As time cannot be conceived without space, so kāla or tāla cannot be thought of as separate from deśa, because time is extended to the space, and space bears its existence in

9. नौते कायं तथा रूपं यत्स्तालि प्रतिष्ठितम्।
10. कलानात्तानिष्क्रियः।
11. पारिभाषिक-संस्कृत-शब्दावली: समस्तः।
12. नौतादि: नितिशारी विदद्धन्तु कुश्चन काल: ताल प्रत्यायत।
time. It has already been said that in Indian philosophy, time has been conceived as Mahākāla, who transcends all kinds of changes or movements. He assumes the aspect of changing time as Kāli, the Divine Energy. But the change has its ground upon the changelessness; the dynamic Mother Kāli dances upon the static breast of the Parama-Śiva. So the quantum of time has been conceived for the practical use of the phenomenal world: ‘mātrā-kalā-kriyā-bhūmi’, etc. Though the idealist philosophers consider time as an inherent category of the mind, yet they admit its objective manifestation. Sir Arthur Eddington says that our ‘knowledge of space-relations is indirect, like nearly all our knowledge of the external world—a matter of inference and interpretation of the impressions which reach us through our sense-organs. We have similar indirect knowledge of the time-relations, existing between the events in the world outside us; but in addition we have direct experience of the time-relations that we ourselves are traversing—a knowledge of time, not coming through external sense-organs, but taking a short cut into our consciousness. When I close my eyes and retreat into my inner mind, I feel myself enduring, I do not feel myself extensive. It is this feeling of time as affecting ourselves

13. मात्रा-कला व्रीया-भूमि
and not merely as existing in the relations of external events which is so peculiarly characteristic of it; space on the other hand is always appreciated as something external'. Further he says elsewhere that whatever 'may be time de jure, the Astronomer Royal's time is time de facto. His time permeates every corner of physics. It stands in no need of logical defence; it is in the much stronger position of a vested interest. It has been woven into the structure of the classical physical scheme' (vide The Nature of the Physical World). In music, time has been considered as real, and though it has been recognized as eternal, yet it has been divided into minute units, as kalā, kāśṭhā for practical use. The authors on music have made use of those units for the measured and well-balanced rendering of tones and tunes.

Muni Bharata (second century A.D.) deals with the problem of time-units in the Nātyaśāstra, in connection with the dramatic music (nātyagiti), gāndharva or dhruvā. He says that he, who is devoid of the sense of tāla, can neither be called a singer nor a drummer, because the art of drama is based on timing or tāla. Now, what do we mean by a tāla? Bharata says that tāla is a definite measure of time, and gāna or music rests on tāla: 'gānam tālena dhāryate? The means and materials of tāla

14. गानेन तालेन भायोते
are yati, pāṇi, and laya: ‘ānga-bhūtā hi tālasya yati-pāṇi-layāḥ smṛtāḥ’. The laya or tempo means the difference of one unit of time (kalā) from another: ‘kalā-kālāntara-krtam sa layo nāma sanjñitam’. The laya or tempo is divided into fast, medium and slow speeds, i.e. druta, madhyā, and vilamvita. The determining principle of notes and timing (svāra and tāla) is pada. The pada is composed of letters (aksaras), and it can be said to be the verse (sāhitya) of music.

The rhythm and tempo have elaborately been discussed by Bharata in the 29th chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and by Śāraṅgadeva in the 6th chapter of the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara. Bharata mentions the names of the tālas, as āvāpa, niṣkrāma, vikṣepa, praveśaka, śamyā, sannipāta, parivarta, etc. He divides the tāla into two main heads, beat without sound, and beat with sound, i.e. niśabda and sa-sabda (निषब्द and साशब्द). The tālas like āvāpa, niṣkrāma, vikṣepa, and praveśaka are known as beats without sound i.e. niśabda, while dhruva, sannipāta etc. as sa-sabda-vādyya. The tālas are strictly measured by laya or tempo. Bharata says that laya or tempo is determined by the speeds like slow, medium, and fast, i.e. vilamvita, madhyā, and druta. Or it can be said that the forms of speed in time-measure or tāla are

15. चक्रमुता च तालया धतियाः-पायी-चया: चर्ता।
16. कला-कालालंकारां स चतुः नाम संविशेषः।
known as *laya* or tempo. Simhabhupala clarifies the passage by saying: 'taiḥ mitā paricchinaḥ kālastāla ityuchyate'\(^{17}\). Sāraṅgadēva divides *tāla* into *mārga* and *deśī*. The movements or beats of the *mārga-tāla* have already been explained. He calls the beat without sound (*निष्ळास्तः*) as *kalā*, and *kalā* is divided into *tālas* like *āvāpā*, etc. The *mātrā* is also known as *kalā*. The *kalā* is of three kinds, *citra*, *vārtika*, and *dakṣiṇa*. Some admit *dhruva* as the fourth *kalā*. *Kalā*, *kāsthā*, *nimeṣa*, and other time-units are called as *tāla-kalā*. Like *vidāri* or different units of melody or tune, *yati* and *prakaraṇa* are included in the category of *tāla*. But, strictly speaking, *yati* is a kind of method of application of *laya* or tempo. It is of three kinds, *samā*, *srotogatā* and *gopucchā*. (a) The *samā-yati* possesses three units of tempo, i.e. one in the beginning, one in the middle, and the last one in the end. (b) The *srotogatā* too contains three units of tempo, the first one is slow or *vilamvita*, the middle one is medium and the last one is fast or *druta*. (c) The *gopucchā-yati* consists of three units of tempo, and in the beginning of the *gīti* or song, the tempo is fast, in the middle it is medium and in the end it is slow. Some are of opinion that in *gopucchā*, the first tempo is fast or *druta*, the middle

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\(^{17}\) में: भिन्ता प्रारंभिक: कालसाल दशूष्यते।
one is slow or *vilamvita*, and the last one is also slow or *vilamvita*.

Śāraṅgadeva says that the *śuddha jātis* or *jatirāga-gānas* like *dhruvās*, and classical regional *gītis* like *māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī*, etc. were practised with different kinds of *tālas*. These *tālas* were composed of different units of time-beats (*kalās* or *mārgas*). The *gītis* or songs were also followed by *vṛttis* and *gatis*. The presentations of those *gītis* differed with the alteration of tempo or *laya*. It has already been said that not only Śāraṅgadeva, but all the later musicologists have also divided the *tāla* into two main heads, *mārga* and *deśī*. The *mārga tālas* are *dhruva, citra, vārtika, dakṣiṇa* etc. They have mentioned another two kinds of *mārga tāla* like *caturasra* and *tryasra* (*चतुःर्स्र* and त्र्यास्र*), which are known as *caccatputa* and *cācaputa*. All these *tālas* are represented in three different modes, slow, medium and fast, i.e. *vilamvita*, *madhya*, and *druta*. They are also determined by *yatis* like *samā, srotogatā* and *gopucchā*. A *yati* is no other than a method of application of tempo or *laya*: ‘*laya-pravṛtti-niyamo yatiḥ*. The *mārga tālas* are composed of *grahas* like *sama, atīta*, and *anāgata*. The word ‘*graha*’ connotes the idea of *gati* or speed. The *grahas*, *sama*, etc. are also known as *samapāṇi, avapāṇi, and uparipāṇi*. These *grahas*

18. *सय-प्रहचि-नियमी यति*.
are determined by the tempi like utlamvita, madhya and druta.

Śāraṅgadeva and his followers are of opinion that the deśi-tālas are 120 in number: 'vimsatya-bhyādhikam śatām'. Others admit of 224, and some of 108 deśi-tālas. The deśi-tālas are ādi, dvitiyaka, tritiya, caturthaka, pāncama, darpana, ratīlīla, sinhālīla, caturmukha, catustāla, yati, tribhaṅgī, rāja-vidyādhara, śrīkirti, karaṇayati, lalitā, etc. The mode, nature and characteristics of the tālas were determined by different merus like guru-meru, druta-meru, pluta-meru, samyoga-meru, etc. Besides, the prastāras or khaṇḍa-prastaras were used for their detailed classification. The modern tālas of both Hindusthāni and Carnatic systems have evolved from the ancient śāstric tālas. The modern tālas of Hindusthāni system are: kāvālī, āddhā-kāvālī, dhimū, patatāla, samapadīyat, kārphā or chepkā, thumri, ādāṭhekā, madhyamaṇa, ekatāla, khemtā, bhartaṅga, sādrā, ādā-khemtā, khayrā, chaṭāla, ādā-chāultāla, jhāṃptāla, sūlātāla or surphaṅk, yat, dhāmāra, pesta, theorā, rūpakā, rūpakā-pancam-soyāri, phordosta, jhampaka, veerpāṇca, etc. Besides them, we find also rudratāla, brahmaṇaṇa, brahmaṇayoga, lakṣmitāla, mohanatāla, śaktitāla, gaṇḍakītāla, rāsatāla, śankaratāla, karālamāṇca, dohāhāra, khamsā, etc. Some of the rhythmical patterns of tālas can be illustrated thus,

1. Tritāla : \[4+4+4+4 = 16.\]
2. Cautāla : \[2+2+2+2+2+2 = 12.\]
\[\frac{4}{-4-4}\]
3. (a) Dhāmāra : 3 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 2 = 14.
   (b) do : 5 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 14.
       \[ = (1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5/6 + 7/8 + 9 + 10/11 + 12 + 13 + 14) \]

4. Āḍā-cautāla : 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 = 14.
5. Jhāmptāla : 2 + 3 + 2 + 3 = 10.
6. Śūlatāla : 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 = 10.
9. Tilavādā : 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 = 16,
10. Ekatāla : (a) 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 = 12.
     (b) 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 = 12.
11. Tivrā : 3 + 2 + 2 = 7.
13. Rūpaka : 3 + 2 + 2 = 7.
15. Śikharatāla : 6 + 6 + 2 + 3 = 17.
16. Mattatāla : 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 = 18.
17. Teorā : 3 + 2 + 2 = 7.
18. Paṅcamasowāri : 3 + 3 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 = 30 (with 5 strokes).
19. Brahmatāla : 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 = 28 (10 strokes).

Paṇḍit Kāśināth Appaya-Tulsī has tried to trace some similarity between the modern ṭālas and the ancient ones, in his Abhinava-ṭālamāṇḍjari. As for example, he compares āḍā-cautāla with catustāla, as described by Śāraṅgadeva in his Sāṅgīta-Ratnākara. Appaya-Tulsī says: ‘रक्ताकर इरितोलिति च यथाभिध्यक्ष्यतुस्तात्ततः’ | Śāraṅgadeva
says that *catustāla* consists of 1 *guru* + 3 *druta* = \(3\frac{1}{2}\) *mātrās*: ‘त्रुतस्तालो गुरोऽ परे त्रवो हुता: इति’.

*Catustāla* and *ādi-cautāla* may be compared with *daśa-kusī*, as used in the *padāvali-kirtana*, to some extent. Regarding *jhumrā*, Appaya-Tulsi says: ‘प्रत्ये रत्नाकरेःसौ सुमतिमिन्दितोस्त्यलत्व कोड़सः’, i.e. the ancient name of *jhumrā* is *kriḍasaṅga*. *Jhumrā* is of 14 *mātrās*, and it is also known as *teota*, Some are of opinion that *teota* has been derived from *trivata*, which is again derived from *triputa*. Regarding *dhāmāra*, Appaya-Tulsi says: ‘सोदयं चवद्धत इति स्वयं निगतित: श्रीशाङ्के देवेनाहि’, i.e. the ancient name of *dhāmarā* is *caṇḍa*. *Sāraṅgadeva* describes *caṇḍa* as: ‘द्रत्तबयं चकुदन्ति चोड़तालेन कमापिরे’, which means 00011. *Dhāmāra* is sometimes known as *vṛhat-tāla*. As regards *cautāla* or *catustāla*, Appaya Tulsi says: ‘सवारैरिति विश्वूलोतिः दशपश्च यसिसन कला:। स एव गजकाम्य इत्यमिन्दितोस्त्यलत्वं रत्नाकरेः’, i.e. the *śāastric* and ancient name of *cautāla* is *gajajhampa*. As regards *rūpaka*, Appaya-Tulsi says: ‘शास्त्रसौ धात्तसत्तुतिय इति निःशाङ्केन रत्नाकरे’, i.e. *Nissāṅka* or *Śāraṅgadeva* calls *rūpaka* as *ṭṛiṭa-tāla*, which is composed of 7 *mātrās*. But we have seen that all the estimate of Appaya-Tulsi are not acceptable, as the names and time-measures or *mātrās* of the *tālās* differ from those of the other masters.

The South Indian system of music has adopted a scheme of 35 *tālas*, which were developed by Purandaradāsa. It is said that only 35 *tālas* were determined by time-
of laghu, drutam and anudrutam. From the scheme of 35 tālas, we know that main tālas are 7 in number, and they each contain 5 constituent aṅgas or varieties, resulting $7 \times 5 = 35$ tālas. The aṅgas are anudrutam, drutam, guru, plutam and kākapadāṃ. The five aṅgas are composed of different units or kalās, which are again constituted out of the letters (akṣaras), in relation to time-units or mātrās, and they are:

(a) Anudrutam consists of 1 letter and $\frac{1}{2}$ time-unit.
(b) Drutam consists of 2 letters and $\frac{1}{2}$ time-unit.
(c) Guru consists of 8 letters and 2 time-units.
(d) Plutam consists of 12 letters and 3 time-units.
(e) Kākapadāṃ consists of 16 letters and 4 time-units.

Some admit six aṅgas, including laghu, having 4 letters and 1 time-unit or mātrā. The time-values are observed by the beats (ghāta or āghāta) and silence (kāli or phāṅk). Their values, being constant, have no variation or alteration. But the akṣarakalā of each tāla can easily be altered. The tālas are again classified under the head of different jātis like tisra, misra, khaṇḍa, saṅkīrṇa, and catusra. They can be thus illustrated,

I. Tisra-jāti consists of three time-units (mātrās). Different time-beats (tālas), having three, six, nine, twelve, and twenty-four time-units, belong to the tisra-jāti.

II. Misra-jāti is the combination of the jātis like catusra and tisra. It consists of seven time-units.
III. Khaṇḍa-jāti is consisted of five time-units, and the time-beats, with five, ten, and fifteen time-unites belong to the khaṇḍa-jāti.

IV. Saṅkīrṇa-jāti comprises of nine time-units. The time-beats, with nine, eighteen and thirty-six time-units belong to the saṅkīrṇa-jāti.

V. Catusra-jāti consists of four time-units and time-beats, with four, eight, sixteen and thirty-two time-units belong to the catusra-jāti.

There are 35 alamkāras for illustrating the 35 tālas. The nomenclature of the tālas are based on katapayādi and bhuta-saṅkhyās. The main 7 tālas of the South Indian system are dhruva, matya rūpaka, jhampa, triputa, ata, and eka. As for example,

(a) The dhruva-tāla consists of $4 + 2 + 4 + 4 = 14$ time-units (mātrās), having 4 strokes.

(b) The matya-tāla consists of $4 + 2 + 4 = 10$ time-units, having 3 strokes.

(c) The rūpaka-tāla consists of $2 + 4 = 6$ time-units, having 2 strokes.

(d) The jhampa-tāla consists of $4 + 1 + 2 = 7$ time-units, having 3 strokes.

(e) The triputa-tāla consists of $4 + 2 + 2 = 8$ time-units, having 3 strokes.

(f) The ata-tāla consists of $4 + 4 + 2 + 2 = 12$ time-units, having 4 strokes.

(g) The eka-tāla consists of 4 time-units, having only one stroke.

It should be remembered that the values of all the
time-units (mātrās) are considered as light or laghu, and the number of the units can be changed into more time-beats or tālas. All the main tālas and their varieties possess definite letter-units or aksarakalās for a circle or āvara. From the detailed list of the South Indian tālas it appears that though most of them differ in their names, yet their system of mātrā and rhythmical accent are almost similar to those of the tālas current in ancient times. Besides, nine navasandhi-tālas are still current in South India. Some are of opinion that the nine nava-sandhi-tālas were practised in the sacred rituals and ceremonies, and also before the deities of the holy shrines and temples. The champu-tāla and its varieties, and the desādī and madhyamādī tālas are also current in South India. Prof. Sāmbamoorthy is of opinion that the players of the mṛdaṅgams in the South, when accompanying the musicians, do not merely beat the svara-laghu, but ‘provides a cross-rhythmical accompaniment, based on the style movement and rhythmical construction of the pieces rendered’.

Rhythmical harmony or rhythmical construction is vital for the tāla systems of all the civilized countries of the world. The tāla system of the classical padāvali-kīrtana of Bengal is worth-mentioning in this connection. We have seen that the number of tālas, both simple and intricate, is innumerable in the padāvali-kīrtana, as the rhythmical movements, kalā and laya of the
padāvali-kīrtana are different from those of the classical Hindusthāni and Carnatic music, to some extent. In the Saṅgīta-dāmodara, Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa, Saṅgīta-ratnāvali, Saṅgītasāra--saṅgraha, and other music treatises of Bengal and Orissā, many of the tālas of classical music and padāvali-kīrtana have been discussed, along with other classical forms.¹⁹

19. Śāraṅgadeva mentions 120 deśī tālas, with their divisions of metres. He says:

श्वसिदितही दितीयवर्तीयवर्ती पार्शवक:।
परकमो निःश्रुतिवर्ती दिपम:। सिंहविक्रम:।
रत्निलवल:। सिंहवल:। कन्दलपूरविक्रम:।
रक्षीश्रुतिवर्ती प्रत्यावर्ती वालवर्तक:।
राजपुरवाड़ी राजवर्ती राजवर्तक:।
राजपुरवाड़ी रथवर्ती:। सिंहविक्रम:।
विंडमो दिपम:। श्रद्धोत्तम:। कुड़कल:।
तुरुकवील:। श्वसिदितही स्पातु सिंहगन्धन:।
विंडमो दिपम:। कक्किलविल:।
निःश्रुतिवर्ती राजविद्याधर जयस्मृत:।
भक्तिकामृदिविद्यामानी कौशलविधिशि।
माकन्द:। कौशिकवल:। श्रद्धास्तित:। प्रतितवक:।
विश्ववी कन्दलवाणी च समगन्धनमंडलक:।
दीपकोदध:। श्रुति:। विश्ववी वर्णमचिका।
भक्तिकामंडिदितही वलविद्याधरकालकनुक:।
प्रविश्ववी च कुड़कलवाणी च श्रुति:।
त्रिभवी वायववाणी वसानी लघुमिखर:।
प्रतितवकरी भाषा जगभूषयतुः खः।
मस्त:। प्रतितवकर पार्वतीलोकी रति:।
लोपकरश्वरशाक्षीय च लघुलोकी वलितविल:।
श्रोतंसन लक्षणी वर्णमानी रामववन:।
बट्टकारकारकालीका शरीरमा शबदविद्यालीका:।
साही वर्णमतिः। सिंह:। करण:। शारसखाय।
बर्तितालवर्ती गालवाणी कालिष्ठविकारिका।
Now, what is the psychological significance and value of rhythm and tempo in Indian music? What is the prime object of using the music materials like rhythm and tempo? Everything subjective is more fundamental than the objective one. Well has it been said by E. B. Havell, in connection with the beauty of Fine Art: 'Beauty, * * * * is subjective, not objective. It is not inherent in form or matter; it belongs only to spirit, and can only be apprehended by spiritual vision'. Really spirit can be appreciated by spirit. The emotive feeling and spiritual experience are absolutely personal and subjective. All rhythm and tempo are primarily the projection of one’s own personality. The objective perception of rhythm and tempo involves the whole organism, and it requires primarily five fundamental capacities. Dr. Seashore says in his *Psychology of Music* that ‘the first two of these are the sense of time and the sense of intensity, corresponding respectively to the two attributes of sound, which constitute the sensory media of rhythm. The third and fourth are auditory imagery and
motor imagery, that is, the capacity of reviving vividly in representation the auditory experience and motor attitudes respectively. The fifth is a motor impulse for rhythm, an instinctive tendency, chiefly unconscious and largely organic.

All mental life works eternally in a rhythmical process, and even objective material things of the universe observe the rhythmical law consciously or unconsciously, propelled by some unknown inscrutable power or energy. According to psychology and philosophy of music, the rhythm and tempo are not only the essential parts of music, but are also vital to our life. They create a complete balance and symmetry in the vibrations or movements of tones and tunes of music, and thus produce a resonance of them in our emotional being, and bestow upon us celestial peace and tranquility. Everything mental and material bears a spiritual significance and value. Music is the greatest of all arts, and though its inherent ingredients or parts, rhythm and tempo are apparently woven into the warp and woof of contingent phenomenal time and space, yet essentially they transcend the limits of time and space, and make themselves the best and meet vehicle, for bringing unto us the transcendental harmony and peace.
CHAPTER TEN

EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF VEENĀ

Musical instruments of India have been divided into four heads: (1) tata or stringed instruments, (2) vitata or instruments covered with skin, (3) ghana or instruments that give resonance by the concussion of two solid bodies, and (4) suṣira or wind instruments. All the instruments, not only of India, but also of all the countries of the world, can be included in these four classes or categories.

The veenā is one of the most ancient stringed instruments that India has produced. The natural tendency of men is to enjoy relaxation, in the midst their thousand toilsome and monotonous domestic duties and affairs, and they try to find out the best means of their enjoyment and solace. This tendency also prevailed among the people in the most ancient times. The primitive men were fond of artistic creations, though they were very simple and crude. They drew inspiration from the aweful beauty of Nature around them, and thus used to elevate and animate their thoughts and emotive feelings.

In the beginning of the civilization in Vedic India, men and women used to worship the sky (Varuṇa) and the sun (Mitra)
Primitive Bow-Instrument (*Dhanuryantram*) of the native musicians of South Africa.
(from Hugh Gunn's *The British Empire*)
or the sun in the blue sky (*Mitra-Varuṇa*). With the advancement of civilization and culture, the primitive men became familiar with the use of fire, and they regarded it as a diminutive form, nay, the prototype of the glowing sun, the celestial god. They used the fire for various domestic purposes. When they became familiar with the use of iron, they began to hunt the wild animals, and fight their enemies with the help of bows and arrows. Besides other implements, the bow was also used to serve the purpose of signalling the advent of the enemy or any other danger, like the blazing flames of the fire. They used to produce the reverberating grave sounds, by pulling the gut strings of the bows (*jyā-sabda* or *dhanuṣṭaṅkāra*). That sound may be regarded as the source of their inspiration, for designing and constructing the musical instruments of the primitive people. The curvature of the bow supplied the idea of the method of constructing the body of their crude *veenā* and the connecting gut strings. The primitive shape of the *veenā* was curved like the body of the bow. It was like the body of the ancient lyres and harps, to some extent. The primitive men made the strings of the *veenā*, out of the intestines of wild animals, fastened them to the two extremities of its bent body, and used to play it, by plucking the strings with fingers. It seems that in the beginning, a single gut string was used to produce a mono
sweet sound. Gradually additions and alterations were made to improve the struture of the *veena*, and to increase the number of its sounds, together with their tonal qualities. The primitive men sometimes connected two horizontal bars of bamboo or wood, fastened a gut string to the two ends of the bars, thus forming a triangle. This type resembled the ancient Georgia, Caucasus, and Finland types of lyre, to some extent.

But the *veena* of India is neither a lyre nor a harp, though we commonly translate it into English as ‘lyre’; it may be included in the Western lyre class of stringed instrument. Regarding lyre, Prof. Panum says that lyre type of stringed instrument was first found in Western Asia, in the land lying between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Then it made its way to the Nile country and to Greece, where it was quickly adopted as the national instrument, and where it reached the zenith of its artistic career. The earliest evidence of the existence of a stringed instrument of the lyre family is to be found in Homer (ninth century B.C.), who sometimes called it *phorminx*, sometimes *kitaris*, but evidently he meant the identical instrument in both the cases. 'From a philological point of view', says Prof. Panum, 'phorminx is considered to be of Hellenic, and kitaris of the Asiatic origin'. But *phorminx* alias *kitaris* has been described far more elaborately
in the Greek legend of Hermes, than the lyre in Homer. As the theme of the Homeric epic originated in Asia Minor, it is natural to presume that the lyre, mentioned by the poet, was an instrument of Asiatic origin, while the oldest literary sources mentioned only the names phorminx and kitaris. These two new terms came into fashion during the seventh century B.C.—lyre and kitara. In the bas-relief of the British Museum, representations of Assyrian horizontal Angle-Harps are found. They resemble the Egyptian bow-harp, and the frame-harp of the Middle Ages, that was used to be carried in an upright position, was plucked by the fingers from both sides.

In the 4000 B.C., we find a bow-harp—Egyptian instrument, which is similar to the bow-shaped veena of India and other Asiatic countries. In the mural-paintings at Pompeii, we come across a bow-shaped harp, which was known as the Angle-Harp, and it was similar to Indian veena. We find also stringed instruments with seven and nine strings, which were similar to citra and vipaici veena, as described by Bharata, in his Natyasastra. Dr. Oskar Seffert says in the Dictionary of Classical Antiquities (1891) that from Strabo's statement we come to know that lyre with seven strings was in practice in the time of Terpender (about 675 or 672 B.C.). He added three more strings to the original lyre of four strings, and
increased the compass of the scale from the two conjunct tetrachords of the seven-stringed lyre to a full octave, without increasing the number of the strings. This he did by adding one more string at the upper end of the scale, and taking away the next string but one (vide also Aristotle: Problems, XIX. 32). Prof. Panum says that Plutarch is of opinion that when Phynis showed his nine-string kitara in Sparta for the first time, the Ephor Ekprepes, without hesitation, cut away two of the strings, saying: 'Do not ill-treat music, I beg of you'.

We find, therefore, some transitional, i.e. evolutionary stages in the formation of the developed veenā, from the crude bow. The successive stages can generally be divided into three: (1) the bow, with a long gut string; (2) The bow-instrument, with a finished rod of bamboo or wood, and plucked cord; and (3) The instrument, with gourd, finished rod and different chords or strings. (1) The first one produced a grave sound, reverberating far and near, when pulled by the fingers, at the time of discharge of the arrows. The grave sound served as a signal for imminent danger. (2) The second one worked as an element of tension, for creating vibrations for agreeable sound. The cords were struck by a plectrum, or a piece of bamboo or wood, instead of an arrow. (3) The third one worked as an element of length for measure. The strings were attached from one end to the other, and
they produced different sounds, when pulled by the fingers, or plucked by the plectrum. Further the third one gradually underwent many changes, with more complex construction and richness in volume of the sound, emanating therefrom. In fact, the bow is the origin of all kinds of stringed instruments.

Now it will be interesting to know how the word ‘veen’ or ‘veena’ was coined for the most ancient stringed instrument of India. In the Rkveda, we do not get directly any word like veena, representing a stringed instrument. The great German indologist, Max Müller was also of the same opinion, when he said: ‘There is no authority for veena, meaning either lyre or flute in the Vedas’. But, instead of the term ‘veena’, we get the word ‘vāna’ (वान ) and ‘kṣoṇa’ (क्षोण ) in the Rkveda: ‘धर्मतो वान महेत् शुद्धानवम्बे मद्दो सीमधिय रण्यानि चकिते’ (R.K. 1.85.10); ‘चुदे व्याच्य रसातीमदत्रं महेत् क्षोणाश्वतिब्र्ह्मण कण्डाय’ (R.K. 1.118.7); ‘माता यम्न-तुषु च यस्म पूर्णामि वाणय सत्याकारिण्यः’ (R.K. 10.32.4).

Besides, a reference of the musical instrument ‘piṅga’ is also found in it, which means, says R. C. Dutt, the ‘bow-instrument’, or dhānuryantram (धनुर्यन्त्रम ), the forerunner of the violin family. In the R.K. 8.69.9, we find,

अव स्वराति गर्वरो गोधा परित वनिष्याणत।
पिङ्गा परित वनिष्याद्विद्राय वप्रोहोद्यान।

Gargara and godhā are also the musical instruments, and godhā has been described in the
latter Vedic literature as *veena* i.e. *godha-veena*,—
the *veena* with strings of gut of the *godha*:
‘गोधाव्रीणाकाशः काौण्ड्राणाकाशः पत्त्यो वाद्यति’ (कात्यायन-
शौतसुब्र १३१५०). However, the musical instrument
*vana* has also been mentioned in the Atharvaveda (10.2.27), where it is said: ‘को वाणम को
जुतो दृशै’.

Now, regarding the verse: ‘धमंतो वाण’ etc. (1.85.10), the commentator Sāyaṇa says: ‘ते
महत् वाणं शतसंख्यामिति-मिति कि बीणाविदेश्य धमते
वाद्यति’, and regarding the verse: ‘युवां ह्याहाय’
etc. (1.118.7), he says: ‘कण्याय श्लोणस्य श्रेण: शाब्द-
कारिग्रीणाकिषेष: महामहत: श्लोणस्य श्रेण: शाब्द: अय्यः
धत्तम् उपसोविज्ञानां अधिकं कुरुतम्’. Again on comment-
ing on the words: ‘वाणया सत्यांतुरिज्ञ:’ (R.K.
10.32.4), Sāyaṇa observes that ‘sapta-dhātu’
means ‘seven tones’ as procured from the
hundred strings of the *vana* (*veena*). Kātyāyana
has used this word *vana*, with a hundred
strings: ‘वाणेन शतन्तुना’, though in his time, the
*vana* was known as the modified *kātyāyana-
veena* (with hundred strings), and an instru-
ment is also prevalent even in these days
in Kāshmire in the name of ‘santur’, with
hundred helping or side strings. Kātyāyana
says that the strings of the ‘vana-veena’ were
made of the *muṇja*-grass, twisted with care.
Ācārya Karka mentions about the *vana*, when com-
menting in the verse: ‘वाणेन शतन्तुना’ (13.32):
‘वाणो महति बीणा, शतं तत्तवं यस्यासौ शतन्तु:; तेनोपालने-
करणम’.
Now, from all these references, we can conclude that vāṇa was the most ancient type of stringed instrument, and that different kinds of stringed instruments were designed after it, in later days. Again from the study of the oldest literature of the world, the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, and Sūtras, we may conclude like Mr. J. F. Rowbotham that in most ancient times, music passed mainly through three stages of development, each characterized by a separate class of instrument. The instruments of percussion or drum like dundubhi, bhūmi-dundubhi, panava, etc. supposed to be the oldest, while the instruments of wind or flute (veṇu or vamśa) come next in order of time and civilization, and stringed instruments like vāṇa, kṣoṇa, etc. (of the veena or lyre or harp class) are the latest invention of every separate race.

The word 'veena' seems to have been derived from its forerunner, vāṇa, which means 'to sound' (van—to sound or to move+ghai). Max Müller translates vāṇa as the 'human voice'. The term 'vāṇa' (वाण:) has been derived from the root 'van' (वन), which means 'sound' (ष्वन:) or 'speed' (गतिः). Paṇini says: 'वन शत्रु' (भा: ग:), or 'वन गती' (आ: ग:) +वसू (शः१२७१४ह). That is, 'वाण: शत्रु: गतिवा' क्रस्य क्रस्ति अर्थे अर्थे 'अद्विन्य-निन्दन्य मनु (पाणिनि यः१२७१४ह). The term 'veena' (वीणा:) has been derived as 'वेणि जायते स्वरोज्ञायाम' i.e 'वी गत्यादितु'—'वी'-धातु राजसान्सा इत्यादिनां (उः शः१२७१४ह) उनादिक न-प्रत्ययः। निपालने सिद्धत्वात् 'न' ध्वाने 'ण'+ध्वी-आपुः।
That is, ‘vaṇ’ (वण) धातु: (of vāṇa) conveys the idea of both ‘sound’ (शब्दः) and musical tone (खरः), and at same time ‘speed’ (गति:), and vyeti (व्येति) of veena conveys the idea of ‘sound’ (शब्दः खरवः), and from these derivations we get the term ‘sound’ (शब्दः खरवः) common to both, vāṇa and veena. Again ‘sound’ or ‘tone’ (शब्दः खरवः) involves in it the ‘speed’ or motion (गति:), as the particles of sound and those of speed or motion have their origin in the vibrations of atoms and electrons. The Taittiriya-samhitā (6.1.4.1) has stated: ‘गति या (वाक्) बीणायाम्’, and the Aitareya-äranyaka mentions regarding veena: ‘यथा होऽवेय शब्द्वतो तदुभवतो एवमसो शब्द्वती तदुभवतः’. Thus we find that both the words vāṇa and veena express the idea of ‘sound’ that pervades i.e. exerts influence upon the minds of men, and it is most probable that the term ‘veena’ has been derived from ‘vāṇa’.

In Sumer, we come across a word ‘pan’ or ‘ban’, which stood for ‘bow’ instrument, and later perhaps for ‘harp’ also. Dr. Farmer says that we do not know its later name, by which it was know in Mesopotamia, although its last descendants were Pahlavi von, and the Arabic wann. ‘At Gizeh we espy the identical bow-harp predicated in Mesopotamia as the ban or pan, but in a form much nearer its day of puberty. At this early date, when it was known in Egypt as the ben, bent, or bin, bint (cf. Coptic boini, oyoini), it had a narrow and prefectly
cylindrical crescent-shaped body with six strings* *'.

The veena with straight form, and having a single bamboo or wooden body, evolved later on, and this type required ability and intellect in playing. It is a natural law that the crude and simple type is always replaced by the developed one. In the Saṅgīta-samayasaṅra, Pārśādeva (7th-11th century A.D.) says: ‘bhajate sarva-veenānām ekatantri-pradhānataḥ’, i.e. though there are various types of veena, yet the veena with a single string (ekatantri) is the prime one. It is reasonable to think that the veena with a single string (ekatantri) is very ancient. And it has been mentioned before that this type of veena required, more developed mental preparation and skill for fretting and adjusting the sound-board. So we may say that the bow-shaped veena, with one string (ekatantri-veena), gives rise to all sorts of veena.

In the prehistoric Indus Valley civilization, we find the remains of veena, along with different drums, crude type of pipes, and a bronze dancing girl, which go back to 3500-3000 B.C. or 4000-3500 B.C. It is well known that the prehistoric Indus Valley people developed a unique culture and ascended the height of civilization, as was possible in that shadowy past, but veena originated long before the prehistoric civilization and culture. Prof. Panum, on the evidence of Egyptian mural paintings, says that the date of
the bow-shaped harp goes back to 4000-3000 B.C. But evidences available in India go to prove that veena antedated the instrument, depicted in the painting. Prof. Panum further mentions that in the 4th century B.C., Aristotle described a type of lyre, in which strings were fastened to the top and the bottom. This type reminds us of the Indian type of single stringed ekatantrī-veena, which evolved after the primitive form of the bow-shaped lute.

Marguerite Milward says in her *Artists in Unknown India* (1948) that she found among the primitive Chenchu people in the Hyderabad State musical instrument called Kinera, ‘with three gourds as sounding boards and two strings; peacock feathers stuck to the open bamboo ends’. It is a kind of veena with two strings, which is called the dvitantri. She says that the Chenchus always carry a bow and arrow in self-defence, and to shoot small birds and game for food. It may be taken for granted that though their kinera was a more developed kind of veena than the bow type one, being possessed of ten frets and three gourds, it was all the same evolved from the Bow. Miss Milward gives some illustrations of Saora Guitar (*Kullaten Rajan*), with a gourd and a wooden handle. It contains two keys and five frets, and two gut strings are attached to the keys. Again it may be of interest to note that another musical instrument (*Gogged Rajan*) exactly resembles our ekatantri-
veenā, but it contains two strings with two nuts, a sound-board, covered with skin, and a wooden bridge on the middle of the sound board. This veenā is played with a bow, and we may safely conclude that the Bow is the forerunner of the veenā, and all kinds of stringed instruments.

Henry Balfour mentions in *The Natural History of the Musical Bow* (1899) that the hunter’s bow is the source or forerunner of all stringed instruments. W. D. Hambly says in his *Tribal Dancing* (1926) that Mr. Henry Balfour has clearly demonstrated the evolution of the musical bow from the occasional adaptation of the hunter’s bow, and has collected a series of illustrations, explaining stages of development. He shows the transition to stage where the bow is only a musical instrument, and he maps out its distribution in Africa, North India, Cambodia, Borneo, Timor, New Guinea, the Solomons, the New Hebrides, Hawaii, the Marquesas, Mexico, Brazil, and Patagonia. Mr. Hambly is of opinion that a most ingenious stringed instrument is found among the Ba Thonga, ‘who attach a calabash or sound-box to the lower extremity of a bow. The performer holds the bow at the lower third of a string with a little stick, and here it may be noted that the usual method is to tap, and not stroke, the strings of the primitive musical instrument’. ‘The Bongo of East Africa make such a bow of string tightly stretched and struck by a slender strip
of split bamboo. The sounding-board is not made of a calabash, but resonance is given by placing one end of the bow to the open mouth of the performer, while one hand is left free to tap the string'. Henry Balfour gives many examples of the bow instruments of Southern and Central America, Central India, and Indonesia. The bow instruments were also used by the peoples of ancient Rome and Greece. There are some evidences of the bow, among the aboriginal Bhuiyars, in the Mirzapur hills and it is known as the darkhun, which is extensively used in ceremonial functions of the Bhuiyars. This type of the bow instrument, may be compared with the kokurai, found in South India. A kind of bow instrument, with a split bamboo comb, is used in the kurma dances of the Dravidians. In the Travancore state, the native Shanars also use a kind of bow instrument that resembles the eakatantrī-veenā, used in India in folk songs. Henry Balfour is of opinion that the musical instrument with monochord is a descendant of the archer’s weapon. In Orissā and Chotanāgpur, we find a bow instrument with monochord, which is known as the tuila, used by the Ho-Koles, resembling the gubo, of the native people of South Africa. The similar kind of bow instrument, bajah is used by the natives of Orissā, and it is fitted with a string of gut or metal wire. Prof. Balfour says that ‘these instruments, tuila
and bajah form an important intermediate link in the developmental chain of the such highly specialized instruments as the veena of India,***. The se-san-laos of Siam, the piah of Laos, and the busoi of Borneo, are also the bow instruments.

Prof. Hortense Panum is of opinion that the finger-board instruments were widely used by the civilized peoples of Western Asia: the Sumerians, Hittites, Elamites, Assyrians and Persians, and (from the time of the New Empire) also in Egypt. A. H. Layard says in his Nineveh and Remains (1850) that ‘the Assyrians, like Egyptians, probably had various musical instruments; only two kinds are represented in sculptures—a drum and a sort of triangular harp or lyre, which is held between the left arm and the side, and apparently suspended from the neck.** The instrument was struck with a plectrum, held in the right hand; the left appears to have been used either to pull the strings, or to produce notes by pressure. Like the Egyptian harp, it had no cross piece between the upright bar and the flat board or base’. Such is also the contention of Bonomi. He says in his Nineveh and Palaces that the royal minstrels played instruments with nine strings, which can be compared to the Nubian harp. But the mural painting actually represents the instrument, having only two strings. It was played with a plectrum or stick by the right hand. Some stringed instru-
ments have been excavated from the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, that were buried in 68 A.D. by volcanic eruptions of Visuvius. Most of these instruments were of the lyre and lute types.

From Egypt the slender form of the fingerboard instrument may be traced to Greece, and there it was known as the pandoura. But by 'calling comparative science' to his aid and consulting ethnology, the German musical historian, Curt Sachs ('Die Streichbogenfrage; Arch. f. Musikwissenschaft', 1918, I) finally came to the conclusion that 'bowing did not, as was hitherto supposed, indicate a later stage than the plucking method. Even if the monuments did not show any instance of the use of a bow in antiquity, he found in the fact that the most primitive stringed instruments in the world, used by the most primitive peoples of the present day, are consistently played by bowing, whereas the later types are always manipulated by plucking the strings; a proof that the question of plucking or bowing cannot be answered by chronological or technical evidence, but is a popular psychological problem.* * Among the primitive Asiatic peoples, such as the mountain and island dwellers of India, who retained their customs, it was, and is still, the bowing method that took the lead. Not until the Persians eventually came in contact with other nations that were culturally their inferiors, did
they become acquainted with the bow. In the same manner, the classical peoples of the Mediterranean appeared in history plucking the strings of their instruments, while the primitive Gothic peoples—and chief among them the Germans—introduced themselves as users of the bow. * * During the interchange of cultural ideas between the nations, which took place in the Middle Ages, the national peculiarities of the instruments were gradually levelled, so that the bowed and plucked types, in many cases, changed their mode of playing and, with the co-operation of the luthiers, their nature also. Of the later mediæval plucked instruments, therefore, some appear clearly as descendants of bowed instruments (e.g., the Spanish Vihuela, Chitarra Battente and Guitar), just as some of the instruments that by their nature were destined to be plucked, (1) the mediæval rebecc developed from the originally plucked Moorish rebāb, and the oldest types of fiddle; and (2) The German Grossgeige, still traceable in the works of Virdung and Agricola'.

But in the Vedic period, we find highly developed mechanical skill in the construction of the veena in India. As has already been said that in Rk-veda, we come across with the word 'vāna', which represents the veena with hundred strings: 'vāno

mahati veena, satam tantavo yasyasaau satatantuḥ, tenopākaraṇam. Asmin vāne maunjaasantavo vetasa vrksasa-sambandi vādanaamityarthah. In the Pañcavimśa-brāhmaṇa, it is known as the satatantri-veena, made up of wood with a gourd, covered by the skin of a red ox. Behind its neck were ten holes, in which ten strings of muṇja or durva glass were fastened. It was played with the help of a bamboo plectrum (koṇa). The commentator Sāyaṇa has mentioned the kṣouni-veena, in connection with the vana. We also find the mention of the kaṇḍa-veena, which was no other than the bamboo flute. Besides these, we find references of the picchorā or piccholā and the audumvari, made up of udumvara wood. When the Sāmaga Brāhmīns and Yajamānas used to sing the sāmagāna before the sacrificial alters, their devoted wives played the godhā and picchorā veena, along with kaṇḍa-veena, the bamboo flute. The mouth of the gourd of the godhā-veena was covered with the skin of the godhā. In connection with the Pañcavimśa-brāhmaṇa, Dr. Caland says: ‘Behind the Choristers* the wives of the Yajamānas take their seat; each of them has two instruments, a kaṇḍa-veena and a picchorā; on these they play altogether alternately, first on the kaṇḍa-veena, then on the picchorā. The kaṇḍa-veena is a flute of bamboo, the picchorā, a guitar, which is beaten by means of a plectrum, Lāty. IV. 2.5-7, Drāhy. XI. 2.6-8. The Jaim br. (cp. ‘Das Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa in Auswahl’ No. 165)
enumerates the following instruments: karkari, āḷābu, vakra, kapiśirṇī, aisi, apaghātalikā, (cp. Ap., below), veenā kāṣyapī (cp. Ath, S. IV. 37.4: āghāṭaḥ karkaryāḥ—'cymbals and lutes', Whitney). Ap. XXI. 17. 6, 19 names three instruments: apaghātalikā, tambalaveenā, and piccholā: the second is, according to R. Garbe (see his Introduction to Ap. Vol. III, page VIII) a tamil guitār. Baudh. XVI. 20: 266. 9-10; 267. 9-10 names also three instruments: āghāṭi, piccholā and karkarīkā, on which cp. the karmāntasūtra (Baudh. XXVI. 17 s.f.): Sāṅkh. XVII. 8. 12 has: 'ghāṭa-karkarir-avaghātalikāḥ kāṇḍakeenāḥ picchorā iti', read perhaps 'āghāṭārīr-avaghāta', etc.; but the following passage (sutra 15-17) is rather uncertain'. Again he mentions it in the Pañca-
vīṃśa-brāhmaṇa (Cp. Jaim. br. II. 45, 418, Kath. XXXIV. 5: 39. 10; TS. VII. 5. 9. 2).—The vāṇa is an instrument of wood, according to Sāṅkh. consisting of a kind of crate and handle (cross-bar?); it is covered with the skin of a red ox, hairs on the outside, it has ten holes at its back side, over each of which ten strings are fastened; these strings are manufactured of muṇjā or durbā grass. The strings are touched by the Udgāṭ, by means of a reed of a piece of bamboo (with its leaves), that is bent of itself (not by the hand of man): indreṇatayā

2. Regarding karkari Sāyaṇa says: 'कृष्णियया कृष्णिवंदनि कृष्णियया
नावमविधयम्: अनवधयाज्यायतम्'.
var-indrana)-iṣīkāyā, Jaim. br., and from this text the word is taken over by Laty. Drāhy.** Udgātr does not properly play on this instrument, having touched the strings** with the plectrum, he orders a Brāhmaṇ to play on it; Drāhy, XI. 1. 1-16; cp. Ap, XXI. 18.9; Sāṅkh XVII. 3. 1-11’. Dr. A. B. Keith says in his Sanskrit Drama: ‘Thus at the Mahāvrata, maidens dance round the fire as a spell to bring down rain for the crops, and to secure the prosperity of the herds. Before the marriage ceremony is completed (Sāṅkhya-grhyasūtra, I. 11.5) there is dance of matrons whose husbands are still alive,** and dancers are present who dance to the sound of lute and the flute, dance, music, and song fill the whole day of moving’. MM. Ramakṛṣṇa-kavi has also mentioned, in connection with the musical instruments, including veena, in the Vedic songs, sāmagāna: ‘** a careful examination of the Vedic rites and siksās thereupon drives one to the irresistible conclusion that the origin of Indian music lay in certain rites where the priest and the performer chant some gāthās alternately, while the wife (Yajamanī) plays on veena, and the closing of the sacrifice was enjoined with the conduct of a peculiar dance. The kind of veena, mentioned for the above purpose, is called piccholā, and in another place it is called audumvarī (धौदम्बरी), that is made of udumvara wood’.

In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (3.2.5) veena has
been described in detail. It mentions two kinds of veena: daivi and manusi. It was believed that the daivi-veena was practised by the devas or bright spirits, and the manusi, by the mortal men. The Brähmaṇa describes: 'atha khalviyam daivi-veena bhavati, tadanukṛtirasau manusi veena bhavati.\textsuperscript{3} * * lomaśena ha saṃ vīt carmanā purā veena api-dādhati', etc.\textsuperscript{4} From this we learn that both the veenas were played with the help of the fingers. The gourd was covered with skin with hair ('lomaśena carmanā apiḥitā').

In the Rāmāyaṇa (400 B.C.), Vālmiki has described the veena, vipañcī, with nine strings, the the detailed description of which is found in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (2nd century A.D.). Dr. Panum has mentioned Plutarch's remarks that when Phrynis showed the nine stringed kitārā in Sparta for the first time, the Ephor Ekpres cut

\textsuperscript{3} बच खलियं दैवीवका भवति, तदनुकृतिसति मानुसीवका भवति। यथासा: सिरं एव-मस्मुयं: सिरं, यथासा ददनकवस्मुयं गम्भरमम्। यथासा जिल्ला एवस्मुयं वादनम्, यथा भवस्मुयं एवस्मुयं चक्षु लयं। यथासा: खरा एवस्मुयं: खरा, यथासा: खरा एवस्मुयं खरा, यथा हुत्वं श्रवणं तत्र वती एवस्मी श्रवणं तत्त्वं वती, यथा हुत्वं लोमीशिन चम्फा पिडिता भवति एवस्मी लोमीशिन चम्फा पिडिता।

\textsuperscript{4} बच बच खलियं दैवीवका भवति, तदनुकृतिसति मानुसीवका भवति। यथासा: बच खलियं ददनकवस्मुयं गम्भरमम्। यथासा: बच खलियं ददनकवस्मुयं गम्भरमम्।

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4. Besides, we find the mention of

(क) निधाविवका: कालकविवश पब्रो बायद्यलिः (१०४०)

(ख) Ācārya Karaka says:

निधाविवका नह बीवा नीधाविवका, कालकविवश पब्रो बायद्यलिः, सां श्रवणं वै बीवा:।

स्वः पव्रो बायद्यलिः, तुम्भसः स्वः पव्रो चपयामवलिः।
away two of the strings. From this it is evident that the veenās, with seven and nine strings (citrā and vipāncī), travelled far to the Middle East, and even to the Western countries, during the time of Plutarch and Homer. Dr. Panum has also admitted it. He states: ‘Homer says of a new type of lyre which came from Asia Minor to Greece, where the tortoise-lyre was kitārā, while the national tortoise-lyre was given another title, the lyre’.

Again in the Rāmāyana (400 B.C.), veenā has been referred to as laya and tantrī. The veenā played a prominent part in the music performances in Royal courts and private chambers. It is said that the wandering bards, Lava and Kuśa used the ekatantri-veenā in the Rāmāyana-gāna. In the Mahābhārata and the Harivamśa, we find different types of veenās, used by the Kings, Brāhmiṇs, Yādavas, and Sāmagas.

The Buddhist Jātakas have stated different methods of veenā play. It is interesting to know that in the Jātakas we find references to the practice of the solo performances of veenā, independent of vocal music. It was developed to a high degree. The description of the citrā-veenā, with seven strings, is also found in the Guptila-jātaka.

In the Nāradī-sikṣā (first century A.D.), Nārada has described two kinds of veenā, dāravī and gātra:
Dāravi gātra-veenā ca dve veene gānajātiṣu
Sāmiki gātra-veenā tu tasyaḥ śṛṇuta lakṣaṇaṁ //
Gātra-veenā tu sā prokta yasyaṁ gyānti sāmagāḥ /

The gātra-veenā used to be played in the sāmagaṇa, before the sacrificial alter, and the dāravi, to the accompaniment of the jātirāga-gānas. The jātirāgas have been explained by Bharata, in terms of jāti, in his Nātyaśāstra. In the Rāmāyaṇā, the pure type of seven jātigānas are also mentioned, and from this it is evident that the dāravi type of veenā was prevalent in the pre-Christian era. Nārada has explained the methods of construction and the process of playing of the veenā in detail in his Śiksā. It is said that the gātra-veenā had seven strings, like the citrā type of veenā. It was the practice to place the veenā on the lap or thigh, held by one of the hands, and played with the top of the thumb, and the middle portion of the closed fingers of the other one. The strings were touched with the finger in such a way that the thumb used to remain free from the finger-bases. The Sāmagas used to play the gātra-veenā with different notes, three registers, modes and tempo, according to their knowledge as well as to the directions of their experienced teachers. At the beginning of the playing of the veenā, the players first uttered the pranava, then the vyāhṛti and sāvitrī or the gāyatṛi-mantraṁ, and finally the vrṭta. After this, the right hand, with fingers stretched,
was placed on the base of the strings. Then the strings were plucked by different parts of the fingers, top of the thumb, palm, thumb, attached to the first finger, and the fingers closed and touched with palm. These were the processes which were adopted in the production of short, medium or long length of vibrations. In the case of producing short sounds, the strings were touched softly with the topmost part (tila-pramāṇa) of the thumb and half of the upper part of the middle finger, and so on. The body of the player was not allowed to be moved except the lower portion, and that too slightly. The construction and the method of playing the gātra-veṇā were somewhat similar to the harp and lyre of the Western countries.

Bharata describes two kinds of veṇā in his Nātyaśāstra, and they are citrā and vipāṇci. The citrā type of veṇā had seven strings, whereas the vipāṇci, nine. The citrā was played by the finger, and the vipāṇci, by the plectrum (koṇa). Bharata says,

Sapta-tantrī bhaveccitrā vipāṇci navatantrikā/
Vipāṇci koṇavādyā syāt citrā cāṅguli-vādanā//

5. चन्द्री सुमयको धारीया जाताम्यामुपरिविक्तीः
भूरिसुलिंग जयाद्यानमपिमिवेत्
प्रथमः प्राक्क-प्रसुल्रैत म्याङतिलतदन्तारम्
साविकाः चापुवचमी तशी इत्सामासर्वेत्
प्राचाय चांग योः सब्बी रूपतेत् खरसंखलस
न चांग श्रीभिरघु हस्तस्व गांग श्योः खृष्टीः
These two types of veenā were used to be played as accompaniments to the gāndharva or mārga type of gītis. Bharata has also mentioned the the names of veenās like kacchāpi (kaśyapi) ghoṣakā, etc., in connection with the topics of ātodya like puṣkara, etc.

Dr. M. Kṛṣṇamācāriar says in his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature that the Yāmalatantra has also mentioned about the veenās:
Caturvidhānāṁ veenānāṁ lakṣaṇāṁ tatri-lakṣaṇāṁ/ Kinnara-svara-yantrādi-lakṣaṇāṁ mela-lakṣaṇāṁ

The Yāmalatantra has also given twelve kinds of lakṣmaṇas. Besides, the Uddīṣamahā-mantrodaya-tantra describes different kinds of veenā, and they are: tālanilaya, sallari, patana, maṇḍala, bheri-vighna, himila, thuthuka, mithakkhā, damaru, murava, aṅgulisphota, veenā, ālamani, rāvaṇahasta, udyanā, ghoṣāvati, brahmaka, etc. He says: ‘Uddīṣamahā-mantrodaya appears to have been a work devoted to the rituals of worship of Śiva, under the name of Uddīśa. As usual with such works * *, dealing elaborately with musical instruments, 16 in number in 16 separate chapters’.

7. (a) Vide Nāṭyaśāstra (kāśi ed.) 33. 15.
(b) Śaraṇgadeva mentions in the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara about eleven kinds of Veena, and they are :
    तालेदासके वर्णनी सांगीतकला नितिभिक्षा ।
    पिताकश-वैशा विपची च तत: सांगीतकोशिकाः ॥
    पालापिनी कीत्रो च विपचीकविता परा ।
    मन्द्रीविविलक्षण वाक्यमें निन्दिताः ॥
The *Veena*<span class="transliteration">ì</span>*tantra* has described:

Eka<sup>ñ</sup>ovim<sup>ś</sup>am veena<sup>khya</sup>-tantram lakṣa-<sup>ṇ</sup>pram<sup>ṇ</sup>akam

Nada-brahmA<sup>n</sup>anda-siddhir-yena siddhyati vai nṛṇam /</p></br></br>MM. Rāmakṛṣṇa-kavi says that the names of the veena have been mentioned in different Purāṇas, Āgamas, and Tantras. Ācārya Abhinavagupta has also discussed about veena in the Śri-samhitā. In some of the Yama<sup>l</sup>atantras, Pañca<sup>r</sup>ata and Śakti and Śaiva Tantras, we find descriptions of the veena. MM. Kavi says: ‘Various Purāṇas, Āgamas and Tantras are devoted for Gāndharva. *Śri*-samhitā is referred to by Abhinavagupta to treat Gāndharva at length. Regarding Tantras of Śaiva, Pañcarātra, Śakteya and Yama<sup>l</sup>a, only a portion of Uddīṣatantra is available, which has 18 chapters on 18 kinds of musical instruments and it perhaps dealt with the whole science. Yama<sup>l</sup>atantras are 32 in number and several of them of unusual size are devoted to Gāndharva. These works were once available in Banaras in the library of Kavi<sup>ñ</sup>drācārya Sarasvati and the 32nd Tantra is now extant which gives in 8000 verses, contents of all the then known works in Sanskrit.’

8. पक्षीति म वीणाभ्य-स्त्रयं कल्प-प्रमाणकम्।
    नात्वद-प्रद्यानस्य-स्त्रिपर्वेन स्थितवति य ब्रजाम्॥
Now, the four methods of playing the musical instruments and specially the veenā were developed from the dhātus like saṅghāta, samavyāya, vistāra and anuvandha. Besides these, there were four other dhātus like vistāra, karaṇa, āviddha, and vyāñjana (vide NS. 29. 81-115). The two kinds of methods of playing the veenā were of heavy or higher (guru) and light or low (laghu) standards. The vipañci-veenā was extensively used in the gādhrava type of dramatic music of the early Christian era. The term ‘dhruva’ might have been used to denote the rythmical music or the music with tempo or laya or tāla. Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) calls it the sakala-vādyā, which is different from the niśkala-vādyā. The term ‘kala’ denotes metre, mātrā or time-measure. The sakala-vādyā or playing of the veenā with time divisions was considered as important in dance and drama. Bharata lays stress on the vipañci-veenā, as it was the best medium of keeping the tempo in music.

As regards the methods of playing on the veenā, Bharata says that both the thumbs should touch the strings; the left thumb should rub (pīdana), and the right one should be placed on the palm, faced downwards. The process, by which the string was plucked by the left thumb, was called niśkotītam, that, by which it was touched by the right palm, was known as unmiṣtam, and when struck by all the fingers,
the process went by the name of repha. The thumb and the little finger of the right hand, faced downward, were to touch the lower strings. The method of touching thumb, together with the little finger, was known as puspaṁ. Ten kinds of methods of playing were prevalent in Bharata's time (second century A.D.). The processes of karana were of five kinds. Bharata says: 'iti dasavidhaṁ prajojya veneyāṁ vyāñjano dhātuḥ' (29-95), and 'pañcavidho viñeyo venevādye karana-dhātuḥ'. (29-96). Śāraṅgadeva admits of a new dhātu of the vene, which was known as nāda. It was produced by plucking or striking the strings of the vene. Perfection in the art of playing the vene has been indicated by Bharata's division of the microtones or śrutiś, through the medium of two veneś of the same size, cala and acala. Perhaps it was he, who for the first time measured the length of the strings of the vene, for determining the microtones, and thus made the position of the vene unique in the domain of Indian music.

Different types of vene of different sizes are found in the mural paintings and sculptures existing in various old cave temples and ancient Buddhist topes and stūpas in different parts of India. In Ajantā, Bhārhut, Sāñchi, Amarāvatī, Bhuvaneśvara, Nāgarjunakūnda, Mahāvallipuram, Cidāmvarām, and in different parts of Bengal, we find paintings and bas-reliefs of the veneś in stones and terracottas, most of which are of the harp-
type. The *veenās*, represented on the railings of the 
Bharhut *stūpa*, were chiselled during the second 
century A.D., and that appearing in the Ajantā 
frescoes were painted between the second to 
seventh century A.D. The bow-type *veenā*, which 
is found impressed on a type of coins of the 
Emperor Samudragupta, is a representation of the 
instrument of the fourth century A.D. The 
*veenā*, excavated from the mounds of Rupar, is 
possessed of four strings. It has been stated by 
Y.D. Sharma in his accounts of *Exploration of 
Historical Sites* (vide *Ancient India*, No. 9, 1955, 
p. 126): ‘There are terracotta figurines in Śuṅga 
and Kushāna styles * * and include a seated 
figure of a lady playing on lyre reminiscent of 
Samudragupta’s figure in likewise position on his 
coins’. The sequence of cultural periods at Rupar 
has been divided into six, extending, from *circa* 
2000-1400 B.C. to 1300-1700 A.D. The *veenā*, 
found in Rupar, dated from *circa* 200 B.C. to 
A.D. 600. The sculptural representations of the 
Gāndhāra and some of the Amarāvati types of 
*veenās* (first-second century A.D.) look somewhat 
different from their counterparts of Ajantā and 
Bharhut. They resemble the modern *saroda*, with 
three or four strings. The use of this *saroda* type 
of ancient *veenās* (*svara-veenās*) were also prevalent 
in Nāgarjunakūṇḍa in India, Tunhāng in China, 
Bāzākilk, Quízil, Turfān, Yotkān in Khotan, 
Russā, Barabodur, Champā, and other places 
of the Central, Middle, and East Asian countries.
But in Mahāvallipuram (seventh century A.D.) and in different parts of Bengal (ninth-fourteenth century A.D.), we find designs of different veṇās, having two gourds,—one at each end of the daṇḍā, and they were known as the sarasvatī-veṇā. This type of veṇā is also found in the sculptures of the Cidāmvarām temple. So it is found that the construction of the veṇā underwent various modifications, to suit the taste and temperament of the peoples of different ages.

The Sanskrit treatises like Saṅgīta-samyaśāra (ninth-eleventh century), Saṅgīta-makaranda fourteenth-sixteenth century), Saṅgīta-Ratnākara (thirteenth century) etc., have mentioned and described various types of veṇā. Pārśadeva mentions veṇās like cala, kinnāri, laghūpurvikā, vṛhat-kinnarikā, etc. He has described ten methods of playing like chanda, kāmakalā, Vasupūrvakā, gajālī, pravādāna, etc. He also deals with the methods of construction of different kinds of veṇā, along with the ekatandri-veṇā, which is considered a favourite of Śaṅkara or Śiva. He further observes that the ekatandri-veṇā or lyre with single string is an important and ancient instrument.

Nārada of Makaranda mentions the veṇās like kacchāpi, kubjikā, citrā, parivādinī, jayā, ghośāvatī, jyeṣṭhā, nakuli, mahatī, vaisnavī, brāhmī, raudrī, rāvanī, sarasvatī, kinnāri, saurandri, ghošākā, etc.

Śāraṅgadeva describes two main types of veṇā, śruti and svara. By śruti-veṇā, he means the veṇā, by which twenty-two microtones of
the two ancient scales or grāmas, śadja and madhyama, were determined. He says:

Tatra Śri Śāraṅgadevena śruti-veeṇōdita pūrā
Vakṣyate svara-veeṇātra

He describes the veenās like ekatantrī, nakula-tritantrikā, citrā, vepānci, mattokokilā, ālapāni, kinnarī, pinākī, etc. He himself devised a new type of veenā, named after him, which is known as Niśaṅka-veenā. He describes elaborately about the methods of construction and playing of different kinds of veenās (vide the ślokas 104 to 340). Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) fully describes the veenās, in the third chapter, veenā-prakarāṇam (ślokas 1-78), of his Saramelakalāṇidhi. He says that there should be a cross-bar or danda, with a gourd or tumba on the left-hand side, attached with a round piece of metal, called nābhi, and so on. He divides the veenās into three main heads and they are suddha-mela-veenā, madhya-mela-veenā and acyuta-rajendra-mela-veenā. These three types of veenā differ only in their arrangements and names of the notes, according to their respective microtones. Rāmāmatya determines all the placed (suddha) and displaced (vikṛta) notes, by means of four strings of a veenā, instead of twenty-two, adopted by Bharata. After Rāmāmatya, almost all the

10. तत्त्व चीणार्क्कंदवं भृतिभौषिणिं पुराः • • बच्चः मधन-मैथाय • •
musicologists of India dealt with the problem of veenā, as it formed the basic medium for the determination of the tones and microtones of the rāgas of Indian music. So, it can be said that all the stringed instruments (tata-yantra) of India have their origin in the veenā. The ancient kacchapi or kāśyapi is known in the modern times as the kacuā-sitār. Kacchapi is sometimes termed as the veenā of the goddess Sarasvatī. The tritantrī-veenā is somewhat similar to the kacchapi-veenā. The difference between the kacchapi and the kinnari lies in the number of their strings and structures. The former contains five to seven strings, whereas the latter only five. The kinnari was known as the kinnara, in the land of the Jews. The rabāb is also a kind of veenā, known as rudra-veenā. In Afghanisthān and Persia, the rudra-veenā is called the ‘rabāb’, and in Arabia, it is known as ‘rubāb’. The Sanskrit name of the saroda is śāradīyā-veenā, and it is played by the plectrum (koṇa), instead of finger (aṅguli). The sura-brīṅgāra is also a kind of veenā, and it is said that veenkāra Peeyār Khān constructed this instrument, out of the veenās, mahatī, kacchapi, and rudra. The sura-bāhāra is also a changed form of the kacchapi. Tumburu, tamburā or tānapurā is known as the tumbru-veenā. The nādeśwara-veenā looks like the violin, but its arrangements of the strings and frets are like those of the kacchapi. We get also the names of the veenās, bharata and
prasarani. It is said that the *bharata-veena* was fashioned out of the *veena*, *rudra* and *kacchapi*.

Different postures are adopted for playing different kinds of *veena*, but generally two of them are common, and they are vertical (*urdhava*) and horizontal (*srayana*). In ancient paintings and sculptures, oblique postures of the *veenas* are sometimes found and they have also been mentioned in the Sanskrit treatises. In South India, sacred traditions are observed in the method of playing the ascending and descending notes first, then the *svaram*, *geetam*, *varnam* and *kirtanam* are consecutively practised or played. The rhythm and tempo of the *veena* are kept by *pakhowaj* or *mrdanga*. The body of the *veena* is generally made of jackwood, rosewood or sandelwood nowadays. The frets are made of steel or bronze. A wood or ivory bridge is also attached to the sound board. Accoustical uniformity and balance are strictly observed, along with the geometrical accuracy, in the case of fretting and measuring the length of the brass or silver and steel wires, so as to produce distinct, sweet and pleasing sounds. Seven strings are common, but more than seven are also found in the modern *veena*. On the the basic principles of harmony, the fundamental frequency of the sounds is always observed in the method of playing, to produce accurate vibrations of the tones. The tonal values of the basic strings are multiplied and enriched by
harmonies of upper partials. The main intervals of just intonation in the saptakas are observed to realize the exact frequency ratios from the fundamental, and upon it depends the real temperament and spirit of the tones and tunes of the veenaas.

The musicologists (śātrakāras) divide veena into two main classes, suddha-mela and madhya-mela. They have again classified them into two, akhila-rāgamela and eka-rāgamela. The akhila-rāgamela means the veena with vajra or acala (unshifted) thāta, and all the rāgas are produced in this thāta. But in the eka-rāgamela, different rāgas are produced, and the frets are shiftable in it. In the veena, one more saptaka (Western ‘octave’) is used under the manda-saptaka (udārā), and it is known as ‘anu-manda-sthāna’. Now, if we illustrate the different sthānas (frets and wires) in the veena, we find the bases of the notes in the frets as,

**Chart**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>manda-ma</th>
<th>manda-sa</th>
<th>anu-manda-pa</th>
<th>anu-manda-sa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mṛdu-pa</td>
<td>suddha-ri</td>
<td>suddha-dha</td>
<td>The notes on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suddha-pa</td>
<td>suddha-ga</td>
<td>suddha-ni</td>
<td>the meru</td>
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<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>suddha-ga</td>
<td>kaiśika-ni</td>
<td>1 suddha-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suddha-dha</td>
<td>mṛdu-ma</td>
<td>mṛdu-sa</td>
<td>2 suddha-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suddha-ni</td>
<td>suddha-ma</td>
<td>suddha-sa</td>
<td>3 sādhāraṇa-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaiśika-ni</td>
<td>mṛdu-pa</td>
<td>suddha-ri</td>
<td>4 mṛdu-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mṛdu-sa</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It should be remembered that this chart has been prepared mostly according to the dictum of Rāgavivodha of Paṇḍit Somanāth. (1609 A.D.), The notes are changeable in different veenaś, according to the changes of their frets.

South India has preserved, even to this date, the sacred traditions of veena playing, whereas in the North it is somewhat neglected. The veena is an instrument very difficult to handle. Earnest, sincere and protracted practice like that of spiritual sādhanā is necessary to attain proficiency in it. Śāraṅgadeva says in the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara,

Darśana-sparśane cāsyā bhoga-svargāpavargade /
Punito vipra-hatyādi-pātakaiḥ patitam janaṁ //
Daṇḍa śambhu-rūmā tantrī kakubhaḥ
kamalāpatiḥ /
Indrā patrikā brahmā tumbaṁ nābhīḥ sarasvati //
Doṇako vāsukirjivā sudhāṁśuḥ-sārikā rābiḥ /
Sarva-devamaiḥ tasmad-veeṇeyam sarva-
maṅgalā / /11

11. दर्शन-स्पर्षाने भाषा भीम-श्रवणयुक्तम्।
पूर्वतं विभ्रस्तादि-पातकं: पतिं जनम्॥
दक्ष श्रवण-क्षमा तनो हकुमः कमलापति:।
द्विन्द्रा प्रविका तथा तुष्णा नामि: सरस्वती॥
कौरकी नाथकोलिंगः सुधांशुः सारिका रवि:।
स्वंदेशस्वी तथान्वितं सर्वस्मृतम्॥

साक्षर-वापाकर (वादाध्य) ॥११॥
That is, by seeing and touching the veena, one attains the sacred region and liberation. It purifies the sinner, who is even guilty of killing a Brähmin. The danda, made of wood or bamboo, is Śiva, the string is Devi Umā, the shoulder is Viṣṇu, the bridge is Lakṣmi, the gourd is Brahmā, the navel is Sarasvatī, the connecting wires are Vāsuki, the jīva is the moon, and the pegs are the sun. The veena thus represents nearly all the gods and goddesses, and is, therefore, capable of bestowing all kinds of divine blessings, benediction and auspiciousness. By practising the sacred veena, one can harmonize both the mundane and supra-mundane lives, and make himself free from delusion and bondage of all sorts for ever and ever. The practice of veena should, therefore, be revived and raised to its pristine glory, and should be looked upon as means to an end.
CHAPTER ELEVEN

IDEAL OF INDIAN MUSIC

Music is an art. It represents the divine beauty and grandeur of creation—the Art of God. The Upaniṣad says that God is the greatest Poet and Ordainer: 'kaviṁ purāṇaṁ anusāsitāram', and this gigantic universe is a poetical piece, composed by Him. The intrinsic beauty and glory of this wonderful poetical piece is expressed by music, and so it is the greatest art.

Music is a kind of balmy medicine that heals the aching hearts of men and animals, and removes the pangs of the suffering multitude. In the antique days, the primitive men and women used to sing and dance in the midst of their multifarious activities, and deep cares and anxieties. They sang and dance, because they found solace in their distress or disappointment or tedium, in them. The peoples of Vedic and classical days acquired the habit of singing and dancing, to enliven their society and culture. The tradition of ancient music passed through different levels in the ancient and mediaeval times, and the same is maintained even to this day with new initions. The peoples still find happiness and peace in it inspite of the toils, turmoils and trials of their earthly lives.

A great Western philosopher has said that
man is a storehouse of emotions or sensations, which build him, lead him, and inspire him throughout his life. A man works, being motivated by the inspiration of his will. He designs a plan of his work, before he does it outwardly. His will is the force-centre and prime-mover of anything he intends to do, nay, it is the designer of his life, personality, and character. The musicology tells us that will creates music, and music allures the mind of all living beings, and makes them divine in this earth. But there lies a difference between the will-to-work and will-to-music, as the former creates the nets of desires that bind men in the den of delusion, while the latter makes him free from the fetters of desires, which is no other than nescience. The musicology states that sound is like the physique with flesh and blood, whereas vital force or mukhya-prāṇa is the psyche or soul of music. The sound represents two-fold aspects, causal and gross: the causal, being unmanifested, is imperceptible, and the gross is perceptible, and is known as ‘music’. The gross sound comes out through the vocal chord, and enriches itself with tones, microtones, modes, melodies, rhythm and tempo, and aesthetic sentiments. It is mainly known by its richest ingredient, melody or rāga, that evolves from the combination and permutation of notes. In India, the rāga reached climax. The intuitive artists saw in their ecstatic vision the living forms of the
rāgas, and the poets composed their colourful contemplative dhyānas. Music in India is, therefore, recognised as spiritual food and divine blessing to men and women, and by its practice they attain immortality even while in their mortal frames. The human soul finds in it the goal of its seemingly unending journey, and gets tranquility and everlasting bliss.

Indian Music admits the theory of evolution, and though it underwent various changes in different periods, yet it maintains an unifying principle and basic ideal of its own. It develops some new and novel manifestations, unifies them, and makes them fit for proper appreciation by the society. Its highest function is to create aesthetic beauty, and bring through it the real peace and enjoyment in the minds of those, who listen to, and appreciate it. As a painter draws at firsts a bare outline of a portrait, and then fills it up with colours, moods, and graces, so an artist of Indian music first designs a skeletal form of a melody or rāga, by the arrangements of tones and tunes, and then enriches it with mūrcchānā, alamkāra, tāna, gamaka, meeds, etc. First there comes an outline of motif in the way of creation or manifestation of a rāga, and then follows the process of ornamentation. But mere construction and ornamentation are not the entire thing for the representation of a melodic pattern or rāga, it requires something more to infuse life in it, and
to energise it. Creation of a thing is meaningless, without proper understanding and enjoyment of its beauty and grandeur. As God the Almighty creates the universe to enjoy His own greatness and beauty, so an artist of music creates music to appreciate and enjoy the inner significance of his own creation.

Now, what do we mean by the word 'appreciation'? To appreciate a thing means to get into the very core of the thing, to commune with the thing, or to become one with the thing. As for example, when we appreciate a picture, we first get into the motif of the picture, and then into its intrinsic beauty and divine grace. So, when we appreciate music, which is the combination of words, tune, rhythm and tempo, grace and sentiment, we first hold on to the compact of music, and then get into it, loose our separate entity into it, and become one with it. And that is the meaning or significance of the appreciation of music. The process of appreciation does not know any diversion, or separation, or difference, but it creates a permanent inseparable bond that makes the singer and the listener an undivided one. The Indian Yoga psychology calls this process of appreciation, concentration and meditation. So, when we appreciate music, we first concentrate and meditate upon the compact of music, and then become one with it. So the nature of Indian music is intros-
pective. It moves gracefully upwards and downwards from a fixed point, and completes its circuit, keeping eyes to the sonant, which forms the life-force of the melodies and their manifestations. The accompanying musical instruments are tuned or tempered with the drone. It is a special feature of Indian music to make an amity with the concordant notes, and to avoid the discordant ones, using properly the sonant (amśa or vādī), the assonant (anuvādī), and the consonant (samvādī). The sonant is known as the king or ruler, the consonant, the minister and the dissonant, the enemy. Synthesis is its keynote, and it leads the intuitive artists and lovers of music towards the realisation of the transcendental beauty.

Indian music is mainly based upon melody or rāga,¹ whereas the Western music is principally founded on harmony. Melody means a succession of single sounds, the harmony is the simultaneous production of chords and different tones or sounds. T. P. Kṛṣṇa Rāo clarifies this difference in his book The Psychology of Music: 'It is the melody of Indian music alone that

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¹. It should be noted that 'melody' of the Western music is not the correct synonym of 'rāga' of the Indian music, as Indian rāga conveys more deep significance and meaning than what melody does. Indian melody is more than a means or a process, and it is an end in itself.
can express internal emotions faithfully, and it is harmony of the West that can express the external emotion. Melody primarily succeeds emotion, while harmony precedes it. Harmony lets emotion in, and melody lets it out. Melody unites or repels the hearts, while harmony unites them with nature'. We thus find a fundamental difference between the two systems of music, Indian and Western. But Indian and Western systems of music appear different not only in respects of melody and harmony, but also in many other respects. Indian music weaves a fabric of systematic and scientific evolution of notes, seminotes, melody types or rāgas, music-parts or dhatus, graces, and aesthetic emotions and moods. The nature of Indian music is to move round the drone, which is known as the primal and fundamental note. It is called foundational, because it helps to manifest and develop the notes other than it. It may be said to be a centre of unification, and all other notes are harmoniously bound up with and related to it. It is rather recognised as a synthetic force-centre that brings unity in diversity.

A little insight will show that Indian music lends to the artists ample freedom and liberty, to evolve and create new and original techniques and forms of music. Though it is true that Indian music follows some prescribed rules and injunctions for making it manifest, yet there is immense
scope for new creation. Western music, in this respect, is rigid, to some extent. In the West, the artists have no free hand to create and produce music, as they are bound to reproduce the fixed notations, given by the composers. They cannot even extemporise, when giving a demonstration of composed music. But it must be admitted freely, however, that the orchestration of their music is as rich and unique as it is beautiful, and the harmony rendered in their music is wonderful. Indian music has, on the other hand, a very broad vision. It never ignores the independent status of the artist’s creative genius, rather it is fully aware of the fact that freedom is the inner essence of man, and he has every right of freedom in his choice of beauty and colourful artistic creation. The new light of freedom and independence has dawned upon the horizon of India. In this age of renaissance, the old stereotyped things are being replaced by the new and novel ones, and new hope, spirit and aspiration are gathering upon the fading past.

The music of India has reached its climax, after passing through many changes in various ages, and yet it requires additions and alterations,—a vision of reconstruction and synthetic creation. Indian music has not only been elevated by the contribution of the Persians and the Mughal Durbārs, in the mediaeval period, but it has also been enriched and
reformed by the Aryans and non-Aryans of India, from time immemorial. Fusion of culture makes the nerves of a nation strong and vigourous, and brings about novelty of thoughts and ideas in the society. Indian music is, in this respect, very liberal in its outlook, and broad in its vision, as it embraces all the elements, indigenous and foreign, to make its form and volume perfect and rich.

This is an epoch of revival and reconstruction; this is an age of science and reason. The Indian music should now march through a new course, and take a new drive, adapting itself to the taste and temperament of the present changing dynamic society. The _prabandha_ type of the _dhruvapada giti_ is unique and divine, but its present monotonous demonstration has made it unpleasant to the masses. The artists of the _dhrupapada_ are sometimes found to take recourse to the mechanical feats of bare techniques like intricate _bātas_, etc., to the detriment of its ideal, sweetness and aesthetic beauty, and as such it is fast becoming a dead art,—an art of the past, in the present music society. It is deplorable as well as pathetic.

The classical _kheyāl_ type of songs, which is apt to create an atmosphere of wonder and grace, with its artistic composition and intricate _tānas_, has also fallen from its high pedestal, has lost its real spirit and creative impulse, along
with its prime aims and objects. Its demonstration sometimes appear to be too heavy and mechanical, and the unbalanced limitless tānas and gitkāris destroy the basic structure of rāga and its sense of proportion and intrinsic beauty. So, in presenting Indian music, earnest efforts should be made to keep its spirit and ideal before the eyes. Thumrī, tappā, and other types of song have undoubtedly won the hearts of the music-lovers, but yet sometimes they are sung monotonously, devoid of real perspective and motive. The padāvali-kirtana of Bengal, kirtana, padam, and other types of songs of South India, and bhajana and other religio-devotional songs are appreciated by the people at large, but some of the artists are devoid of the sense of creating a religious atmosphere in their songs. They mostly lack spiritual insight, and so their efforts result in failure. It is, however, not a destructive criticism of, or a challenge to the worshippers of fine arts, but is only a plea, for restoring or reviving the sublime ideal and true spirit of glorious Indian music.

Everything happens in this world with a motive behind. There is no aimless marching, or an ascidental happening anywhere, in this vast universe. Culture of music, in the same way, has an object, which must be directed towards the good and welfare of the human society at large. Men of all ages and climes
consider music as the greatest medium for artistic expression, which is not found, in the same way, in the domain of literature, sculpture, painting, and architecture. And, so, music has been called the 'universal language' that speaks not only to the ears of living beings, but also to their hearts, with an immediate emotional and spiritual appeal.

Then the question necessarily arises wherein lies the greatness of the art of music. The answer is, not merely it lies in the fascinating combination of words (sāhitya) and tunes (sura) of music, but in the proper representation of its spirit that brings out its real significance and value. The greatness of music depends upon its efficient and artistic rendering and creation, and, consequently upon the selective faculty of the intuitive artists. So the artists should be fully aware as to how to create and represent the art of music, with their minds wide open to the sense of proportion, beauty and real value of music. They should first attain proficiency in history, science, theory, psychology, and aesthetic philosophy of music, and then realize the true significance of the art. Otherwise, it will be a meaningless and aimless reproduction of tones and tunes, resulting in a blind imitation, destitute of life and motive force.

Music of any kind, of any country, should not be burdened with mere mechanical techniques and textures, but it should be of deep significance,
The artists of music should know that music is a common property, and all have a claim and right to get a share in it, to enjoy it, and to consider it as the means of solace and everlasting peace. It should be properly handled, and distributed with a keen sense of beauty, together with proportion and balance. The artists of music should again keep their minds open as to the receiving capacity and depth of appreciative sense of the listeners. They should bear in mind that music should always be made sweet and suitable to the taste of both the special and general classes of listeners. Music, classical or folk—urban or rural, must not be set apart for a selected community or chosen class of people, but its appeal should be made universal, bearing in the mind the beautiful motto that music is an universal language that speaks to all classes of listeners, irrespective of caste, creed, and denominations.

Divine beauty and solemnity lie within the core of music itself, but as they naturally remain latent and unmanifested, they shall be made potent and manifest, by efficient and intelligent handling. The vibrations of tones and tunes create impressions in men and animals, and colour the mind in the form of sensation and feeling. Artists should know how to vitalize the music and to apply it for the practical utility of the human society at large. Music should, therefore, be looked upon
as an applied art and science, and be cultured with the purpose of creating a novelty in presentation. It must not be bound up with a chain of rigid rules and restrictions, but should be made mobile, with scope for additions and alterations, when and where necessary. The taste and temperament of the modern society should not be ignored or overlooked. We should bear in mind that the reigns of Il-tut-mish, Ālā-ud-din khalji, Sultān Husain Sharqī, Muhammed Shāh, Ākbar and others are long over. The English rule too has come to an end. Renaissance has downed over the horizon of independent India, and its light has brought new hope, and new aspirations in the hearts of her people. Now the awakened soul of India should be invoked, to infuse new light and new spirit, in the body of the present system of Indian music. Barriers of narrowness of the age old petrified ideas and prejudices should be removed and rectified, and all the talents of India and abroad should put their heads together, with a spirit of amity and love, for a comparative study and proper development of music.

India's contribution to the domain of culture and civilisation is immense. Whether be it in literature, poetry, philosophy, religion, spirituality, and positive science, or in the field of sculpture, painting, and music. Though these arts differ from one another, in their modes of expression and representation, yet their intrinsic
value, abiding essence, and basic principle are one and the same, and all of them draw inspiration and aesthetic impetus from one fountain-head. Rāi Bāhādur Ramāprasād Chanda cherishes the same opinion when he says that we cannot appreciate the beauty or power of aesthetic rapture and emotion (rasa and bhāva) in anything, until art is created. It is true that a medium is necessary to express the real value and beauty of the Fine Arts. Tones and tunes have been chosen as the medium in music, words in poetry, structures of buildings in architecture, chiselled images in sculpture, and colours, lines, and drawing in painting. Through all these media, beauty of Nature is apperceived and appreciated. The beauty of Nature is the basis of all expressions of art. Besides the medium, there is an ideal in Indian art. Because a medium or means expresses the gross material skeleton, flesh and blood of art, whereas, ideal reveals its life-force or spirit.

The ideal of Indian art is to represent the idealistic and spiritualistic aspects of an object, and at the same time illumine its realistic phase. As for example, the Buddhist art of India designed the stone image of Lord Buddha in a posture of meditation, which apparently shows no great artistic ability and brilliance in its outward representation, but marvellously reveals the inward depth of spirituality, calmness, serenity, and repose, which the Greco-Roman
art fails to exhibit. The French indologist Grousset prefers to call this phase of Buddhist art as the Romāno-Buddhist art of Gāndhāra. Dr. Rādhākamal Mukherjee draws a line of distinction between the arts, Greco-Roman and Romāno-Buddhist. He says that the first is relatively static and insipid, and is marked by the emphasis on anthropomorphism and individualism, and the assimilation of symbols and motifs from the contemporary art of the Roman Orient, rather than by the Indian spirituality and idealism. Whereas the second one under the influence of Mahāyāna idealism breathes a purely Buddhist-Indian spirit although the technique is Hellenic. The Buddha and the Bodhisattva master-pieces of the second school of Gāndhāra exhibit profound Indian piety that subdues Hellenism. 'The art of Gāndhāra', estimaties Dr. Mukherjee, 'achieved its maturity by the end of the first century A.D. and continued to influence India through the schools of Mathurā, Vidiśā and Sāranāth up to the 5th century. * * The influence of the art school of North-West India and the Kābul valley, characterised by a fusion of Hellenism and Hinduism in the cosmopolitan Kushān world, penetrated to every nook and corner of India in the course of five centuries'. Such is also the case with Indian music, which is markedly distinguishable in its form, ideal and beauty, from the music of the other countries.
Though Indian music appears realistic in its presentation, yet it breathes spirituality. It brings Heaven down to the earth, and uplifts the mind of every earthly being. The history of Vedic India reminds us of the spiritual legacy of the sacred sāman chants. The adept chanters of hoary antiquity used to sing the sāmans, in praise of Agni, Varuna, Indra, Mitra, and other gods, and although they aimed at material prosperity on the surface, yet their main object was to attain spiritual illumination. Music of India has preserved that solemn tradition and ideal, all through the ages, and so the authors on music have laid the greatest emphasis upon its spiritual side. They say that practice of music is a sādhanā, which unfolds the grand mystery of human life.

Music of India, whether Northern or Southern, is, therefore, a divine art. It constitutes the object of a psycho-material principle, and creates an objective beauty of the subjective divinity, that inspires the artists to attain a vision of the transcendental beauty. In fact, the art of music makes it possible for its votaries to commune with Nature, and discloses the un-plumed deeps of its mystery. It animates human ideas, and brings perfect balance between inner tranquility and outward activity. The ideal of music is, therefore, to get the highest and yet the sweetest means to man's ultimate end. It promises to rescue the people at large, from
the dark den of delusion, and confers upon them the blessings of permanent peace and eternal happiness, even in this world of nescience.

Indian music recognizes the methods of philosophical, religious, and spiritual disciplines. It recognises both the Yoga system of Patañjali and the mystic practices of the Tantra philosophy. It says that its culture and knowledge are not meant for fleeting material and intellectual pleasures, nor does it rest content merely with an intellectual construction and reproduction, as the Western music does in many cases. Its principal objective is to dissociate the mind from the worries and anxieties and sordid selfish interests of this transient world, and to help the artists and audiences to concentrate their minds and thereby attain spiritual consciousness.

It is also to be remembered that India is the home of infinite tolerance and universal love. Inspite of innumerable battles, that caused streams of blood to flow over her holy breast, and inspite of that gory stain, she has kept shedding, as she was wont to do in the glorious past upon friend and for alike, the light of culture, peace, harmony, justice and mercy, for which the whole world is now hankering. The Music of India should follow the same path now, and create an atmosphere of serenity, spirituality, inner vision and sublime peace. India is not a land of mere dream, or imagination, or imitation, but she bears within her breast the
living inspiration for new creation. Indian music shall, therefore, march onward, singing the song of newness and novelty. It should not be looked upon as a mere exhibition of sounds and rhythms, but it should be considered as a means to an end, and be raised to the high level of 'Education', which alone can help to build the character and moral power of a nation. Then and then only the greatness and real significance of Indian music will be realised, and then and then only human society will be lifted to the Hamālayan height, undreamt of even in her glorious past.
APPENDIX

DEVELOPMENT OF NOTES AND SCALES OF VEDIC MUSIC

By 'Vedic Music' is meant the music of the Śāmeveda, or sāmagāna, that evolved out of the ṛces or stanzas or verses of the Rkveda, set to tunes. Now, what is 'sāma'? Śāyaṇa says in the commentary on the Yajurveda: 'पादश्र्ग गीति: | हाओ इत्यादिकं साम यजुवद्ये गंतम्।** पादेनार्थंनोपेता वृत्तवद्य मन्त्रा: ऋचः। गीतिरूपा मन्त्रा: सामानि।' He also describes many of the sāmas or sāmans like rathantara, vrhat, vairūpa, raivata, etc. Kātyāyana says: 'सच्चो यज्ञपि सामानि विगदा मन्त्रा: (१४५)। Ācārya Karka makes explicit the meaning of the 'sāma' or sāman, when he says: 'प्रगोतं मन्त्रवाक्य समेतमुखत।** अत: पूर्वप्रतितत्वाद्गीतिरूप सामशवद्वेनामिक-वर्गं।' In the Sāmic period, the ṛces or stanzas were sung and chanted either with three register or base notes, anudātta, svarita, and udātta. The register or base notes, anudātta, svarita, and udātta, or grave or bass, circumflex or medium, and high or acute were used as the accent-tones for the speech-music or recitation only. The sāman notes, prathama, etc. were quite distinct from them in their characteristic and tonal value. The authors of the Prātiṣākhyas say that the sāmans were the combination of vāc and prāṇa,
—speech and vital air, which have been conceived as *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* in the Indian philosophy.

In the process of evolution of both the Vedic base notes or accent tones and the sāman tones, several strata are discernible. After the evolution of the five sāman notes, prathama, dvitiya, tṛtiya, caturtha, and manda, the octave i.e. saptaka was completed with addition of the lower sixth, atisvārya, and the upper seventh, kruṣṭa. Besides the principal notes, prathama, etc., there were some optional or secondary notes, such as, jātya or independent, abhinihita or absorbed, kṣaipra or hastned, praśliṣṭa or constructed, etc. The principal notes were called the prakṛti ones, while the optional or secondary notes the vikṛti ones. The Taittiriya-prātiśākhya further prescribes seven varieties of sound-tones for the sāmagāna. They are upāṇśu or inaudible, dhvani or murmur, nimada or whisper, upamidamat or numbling, manda or soft, madhya or middle, and tāra or loud.

1. Shri K. Vāsudeva Śāstrī is of opinion that it appears extremely probable that the notes of the Śāmaveda are all prakṛti svoras but with the śrutis constituting each svara or note arranged in a descending order so that the lowest śruti of each note become the dominant śruti of that note. Considered in this light, it will be found, if we take into account the composition of prakṛti svoras that the lowest śruti of each svara is the highest one or very nearly that, of each of the notes of Kharaharapriyā or Kāśi.—*The Science of Music* (Tānjore, 1954), pp. 71-72.
The early songs were monotonous and recitative in nature, but gradually they were developed into music proper, with the development and growth of intellect and creative faculty of man in the society. Mainly three transitional phases are found in the evolution of songs of yore. They are: (a) speech, (b) speech-music or recitation, and (c) song proper. The Vedic music was a developed and systematic one, and it possessed some rhythmic process and harmonic relation between the notes. The sāmans were sung in descending order, and it may be said that it was the characteristic of the songs of the ancient nations of the world. The ancient Greek scale was also in a descending order (avarohana-gati) like F E D C B A G. The Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa states: 'क्राक्ष्याद्वहः उत्तरोत्तरं नीचा भवति।' M. S. Rāmaswāmī Āiyār advances six reasons in its favour. They are: (a) वास्मगानां प्रथमः स वेदोपनिष्ठमः खरः: etc., as advocated by Nārada in the Śiṣṭā, in the first century A.D., (b) गुप्ताद्यः उत्तरोत्तरं नीचा भवति: as advocated by the Sāmatantra, (c) तेषां द्वितीयोपलब्धिः: as stated by the Taittiriya-prātiśākhya, XXIII. 14., (d) The fact that in vocal music, the telling notes are necessarily high, (e) The fact that the sāmagāna is sung even today in a descending order, (f) The very nature of a seed is to sprout forth first, downward, and then, upward. Now, the pitches or tone-qualities of the notes of the sāmagāna were realised by their respective 'dīptik' or 'gradual lightening up', which means the gra-
dual sharpening or hightening. They are known as ‘yamas’ or regulators. Śaunaka says in the Ṛk-
prātiśākhya: ‘सत स्वरा वे यमाल्ते। The term ‘yama’
connotes the idea of ‘controlling’, ‘collecting’,
or ‘binding together’. This term was adopted
by Patañjali (150 B.C.) in his Yogasūtra (1.2.29),
for controlling the senses, in order to prepare
the ground for the attainment of perfect balance
of mind, and apprehension of the Divine
intuition by an aspirant. Śaunaka also adopts it
in the sāman songs for controlling or bringing
balance in the tunes or sweet sound-vibrations of
the sāmagāna, and as the notes control or conduct
the tunes of the sāmans, they are known as ‘yama’.

The yamas are seven in number, and all the
annotators and commentators, including Śaunaka,
Nārada, Uvata and Sāyaṇa have admitted these
seven yamas or sāman notes. The seven notes were
kruṣṭa, prathama, dvitiya, tṛtiya, caturthā, manāra and
atīsvārya. Both Gārga Gopālayajjva and Prof.
Whitney consider the tṛtiya or the third as the
medium, and the upper seventh, first, and
second notes as higher or sharper in gradation,
i.e. utkṣipta, utkṣiptatara and utkṣiptatama, or
sharp, sharper and sharpest, and the lower
fourth, fifth and sixth notes as lesser or lower
in gradation, i.e. avakṣipta, avakṣiptatara, and
avakṣiptatama, or low, lower, and lowest. This
process of gradual sharpening (dīpti) goes a
long way to prove that the singers of the Vedic
music used seven notes in their sāmagāna, though
commonly three, four or five notes were used in most of the sāmans. The Pusparstra also admits this fact, when it states,

पूज्यति सर्वा शास्त्रः पूर्व-पूर्व-पूर्व-पूर्व
प्राच्यक्त तु सर्वा भूगोदर्धी श्वरेषु तु
सामानिन पद्धु चान्यानिन सत्तु द्वे तु कौटुम्यः।

From the above lines it is evident that different recensions (śākhās) of the Vedas used different numbers of note. Specially the Kauthuma recension used seven notes in two particular gānas: 'सत्तु श्वरेषु द्वे सामानिन गीते कौथम: शाखिनाम्।

It will thus be seen that the sāmans differed from one another in their modes and forms with regard to the use of different notes, and though the audava or pentatonic form of the sāmans were mostly sung by the Vedic singers, yet śādava or hexatonic, and sampūrṇa or heptatonic forms of the sāmans were also prevalent in the Vedic society. The notes of the sāmans were surcharged with exalted emotions, sublime sentiments, and mystic moods, which used to create a supra-mundane spiritual atmosphere during singing.

Nārāyaṇa also describes the seven sāman notes. He says that they were both in descending and reverse order such as; ma ga ri sa/dha ni pa. He observes:

य: सामगार्भ प्रथम: स र्वेणांध्यम्: श्वर:।

यो द्वितीय: स गान्यारस्तीयस्त्व्रृष्म: स्मृत:।
Nārada here mentions two kinds of gānas, vaidika and laukika, in the terms of veenā and venu. The veenā (which belongs to the Western lyre class) was a very aristocratic musical stringed instrument of ancient India, having various forms, and used a supporting instrument of the Vedic music, sāmagāna, whereas venu or vamśa (flute class of musical wind instrument, made of bambao, wood or bone) was used as a supporting instrument of the folk as well as formalised laukika or deśi music. Nārada’s contention is that the notes of the veenā i.e. Vedic music were equivalent to those of the folk and formalised deśi music. Nārada has also determined five microtonal units like dīptā, āyatā, karunā, mṛdu and madyā for the notes, and they were afterwards recognised as the casual microtones or jātis of the twenty-two microtones, as devised by Muni Bharata, in the second century A.D. The notes used to manifest in three registers, and they possessed ten qualities like sukumāra, lāvanya, etc. (गानस्य नु दशविधाय गुणवृत्ति: ). Now, though Nārada determines those microtonal units, registers and ten qualities for the laukika notes, yet they might be used also in the equivalent Vedic notes.

Regarding the reverse order or vakra-gati mode of the sāman notes, some scholars differ
in their opinions. Pāṇḍit Lakṣmana Śaṅkara Bhatta-Drāvidā favours the straight descending process, instead of the crooked one or vakra-gati scale, which is ma ga ri sa/ni dha pa. But M. S. Rāmaswāmī Āiyār and others favour vakra-gati scale, which, according to them, has the confirmation of Nārada in his another statement: ‘प्रदेशिन्यः तु गात्मारः अनमलसृजनतरम्’. Rāmaswāmī Āiyār is of opinion that Nārada's intentional reversal of the order of ‘dha’ and ‘ni’ has created a new series of notes: ‘pa ma ga ri sa dha ni’, together with addition of kruṣṭa as the higher note than prathama, and the previous inversion of the pitch order of ‘dha’ and ‘ni’ has also been maintained in the new series. And it is also found in most of the available readings of the Nārāda-śikṣā of various private collections that the reversal order of the notes of the sāmans (ma ga ri sa/dha ni pa) has been maintained. But some scholars hold a different view. They say that according to the dictum of the Triratnabhāṣya: तेषां खल् सत्तममानाम् उत्तरोत्तर-दीर्घिजा पूर्व-पूर्वंपलविधः स्यात्। तत् कथम्; अतिस्वार्य-दीर्घिजा मन्द्रोपपलविधः, मन्द्रोक्षतरोपपलविधः, चतुर्यात् चतुरीयः, ततोयादिहि द्वितीयः, द्वितीयात् प्रथमः, प्रथमान्त्र क्षणं उपलभ्यते’, the inverted order ‘ma ga ri sa/dha ni pa’ should be in the regular one like ‘ma ga ri sa/ni dha pa’, as we find in the ancient Greek
scale, and this regular or uncrooked order has also been maintained throughout in the šlokas 8 to 14 of the Mānduki-śikṣā of the Artharva-veda.

Sāyaṇa has devised altogether a different order of the sāman notes, in his commentary on the Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa. He says; ‘यो निध: स कृष:; प्रथम: पश्चमो द्वितीय: मध्यम-स्तूतिय:; गान्धारक्षुध:; श्यमो मन्दः; प्रजोतिस्वार्य इति’. This arrangement of notes seems to be of latter origin. It is generally found that the songs (gānas) always have their bases in the scales, and that the Sāmavedic scale was constituted out of the arrangements of the notes in different registers like bass, medium and high, and it has already been said that it was in the downward movement (avarohana-gati). Some hold the view that there were two phases in the evolution of the Sāmavedic scale: ‘first’, says the philosopher-musicologist Thākur Jaidev Singh, ‘in which only three or four notes were used, second, in which three more notes were added. Thus the full Sāmavedic scale of seven notes was evolved’. He again adds: ‘There is a further proof in support of the above theory. An analysis of the notation of various songs of Sāmaveda clearly reveals the fact that most of the sāmans use only three to four notes, a few use five notes, very few six, and the sāmans using all the seven notes are extremely rare’. This has been supported by Nārada’s another
statement: '(द्वि) तृतीय प्रथम कुद्रान कुर्बन्त्याहृतारकाः खरान', etc.

The evolution of the scale of the sāmans is evident in the statements of both Yājñavalkya and Pāṇini, though they have related them in the terms of laukika or deśi notes of the later period. Yājñavalkya says:

उद्वृत्ति निषादगान्ध्यारो नीचाचुरूषध धैवती ।
शेषस्तु स्वरिता हैया: प्रह्य मध्यम-पक्षाम:॥

While Pāṇini states,

उद्वृत्ति निषादगान्ध्यारावानुदाते स्वरभैवती ।
स्वरित: प्रभवा होते प्रह्य-मध्यम-पक्षाम:॥

It has already been said that anudātta, svarīta and udātta, or grave, circumflex and high or acute are the base notes or accent-tones, from which seven notes of both Vedic and deśi music evolved. The svarīta or circumflex was the gliding middle, and was regarded as the tonic of the early songs, and a descent from this tonic became anudātta or grave, and an ascent from the tonic became udātta or high. Svarīta or circumflex i.e. tonic would, therefore, be the combination of the two, deep tone and high tone. Among the seven laukika or deśi tones, ṛṣabha and dhaivata (deśi) or tṛṣṇya and mandra (Vedic) evolved from the anudātta or grave accent-tone; niśāda and gāndhāra (deśi) or atsvārya and dvitiya (Vedic) from the udātta or high, and śadja, madhyama and pānchama.
(deśi), or caturtha, prathama and kruṣṭa (Vedic) from the svarita or circumflex. According to the dictum of the Rk-prātiśākhya: 'तिष्ठु मन्द्रास्त्रिः सत-सत यमः भवति', three sets of seven notes of the bass, medium and high (mandra, madhya and tāra) evolved to form the complete saptaka (octave) of both the Vedic and formalised deśi music. Thus we get the following medium or madhya-saptaka scale deśi notes.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{anudāṭṭa} & \text{svarita} & \text{udāṭṭa} \\
\text{ri, dha,} & \text{sa, ma, pa,} & \text{ni, ga} \\
2 & 6 & 1 4 5 7 3 \\
\text{grave} & \text{medium} & \text{high}
\end{array}
\]

The madhya-saptaka scale of the Vedic notes,

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{anudāṭṭa} & \text{svarita} & \text{udāṭṭa} \\
\text{tṛṭiṭya, mandra, caturtha, prathama, kruṣṭa, atśvārya, dvitiya,} & 3 5 & 4 1 7 6 2 \\
\text{grave} & \text{medium} & \text{high}
\end{array}
\]

Those, who are inclined to consider vaidika kruṣṭa corresponds laukika madhyama, prathama gandhara, etc, arrange the notes, vaidika and laukika as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{svarita—} & \text{prathama—} & \text{gra} \\
\text{udāṭṭa—} & \text{dvitiya—} & \text{ri} \\
\text{anudāṭṭa—} & \text{tṛṭiṭya—} & \text{s} \\
& \text{caturtha—} & \text{ni} \\
& \text{mandra—} & \text{gh} \\
& \text{atśvārya—} & \text{p} \\
& \text{kruṣṭa—} & \text{m}^2
\end{array}
\]

2. Shri K. Vāsudeva Śāstṛi of Tānjore says as
but if we follow Nārada’s order: ‘य: सामगानां प्रथमः सः वेणोम्यः स्वरः’ etc., we get the descending order as,

prathama—म
dvitiya—ग
tritiya—रि
caturtha—लि or लि
mandra—घि
atisvārya—नि
krūṣṭa—प

However, in every case, both the seven notes can be arranged so as to form a complete scale. The equivalent of the series of the laukika or deśi notes to those of the vaidika ones can be found from the statements of Uvata, in

regards the notes of the Sāmaveda: “The Sāma Veda is said to be constructed with the help of seven notes. They are equated in the Śikṣā of Nārada with Ma Ga Ri Sa Ni Dha and Pa. But when the Sāma Veda is chanted, we are not reminded of any secular rāga. The identification of the notes of the Sāma Veda with particular notes, naturals sharps or flats, of secular music has given rise to an amusing number of conjurees. The most plausible one is to equate them to the notes beginning from Ga of Kharaharapriyā of the South which is same thing as Kāfi of the North. But it is also plain that neither of the two rāgas are brought to our mind when we hear the Sāman chant”.—Vide The Science of Music (1954), p. 71.
connection with the 44th aphorism of the Rk-prātiśākhya:

Firstly—वै ते सत्स्वरा: पद्म-अयम्-गान्यार-मध्यम-पश्चाम-
धैवत-तिषाद: स्वरा: इति गान्यवेंद्रे समाल्लाता:।

Secondly—तथा सामसु—कुष्ण-प्रत्यम-हितो—तुतीय-चतुर्य-
मन्द्रातिस्वार्या इति ते यमा नाम वेदितव्यः।

Thus it is clear that anudātta, svarita and udātta have been regarded as the sthāna-svaras, or register, or accent tones, and the complete scale of the seven notes, both laukika and vaidika, evolved not only as the medium one (madhya-saptaka scale), but also as the bass or mandra, and high or tāra sets of saptakas or scales.

There were many modes of singing of the sāmagānas for their different renderings, and six vikāras or variations in intonation were common in them. The six vikāras were viśleśaṇa, vikarṣaṇa, abhyāsa, virāma, and stobha. As for example, to intonate the verse of the Rkveda: अत्र आवाहि बोले गुरुनारी हृद्यदत्ते। ति होता सत्विस वहिष्य, etc. five variations in intonation, with some additional letters like थो, होवा, हाव हाउ तोशि, etc., which were known as stobhas, were used. Four kinds of sāmagāna were prevalent in the Vedic period, and they were known as grāmegeya or prakṛti-gāna, aranyegeyagaṇa, uhangāna, and ūhyagāna or rahasya-gāna. The notes of the gānas (sāmagāna) were indicated by the numerals of the letters, 1, 2, 3, etc., and they were shown by the help of the fingers of the hands, to detect the correct singing or rendering
of the sāmans. The rhythm and tempo were kept by the undulation of the head and the different limbs of the body. The sāmans were generally sung before the sacrificial altars, and specially in the soma yāga, in laudation of the Vedic deities. Besides these, they were also sung during different sacred rites and functions. Well it has been said by Arnold Bake that at the actual sacrifices "a hymn is executed by three priests who sing its seven divisions alone or in chorus. The priests, to whom the singing of the Sāmaveda is allotted, are the Udgātar with his two acolytes, the Prastotar and the Pratihartar. The introductory part, the Humkāra (the singing of the syllable hum), is done by the three together. Then follow: 2, the Prastāva, or prelude, sung by the Prastotar; 3, the Udgītha, or main theme, by the Udgātar; 4, the Pratihāra, the first respon- sorium, by the Pratihartar; 5, the Upadrava, second respon sorium, again by the Udgātra; the Nidhana, or final chorus, by the three priests in unison; and finally, 7, the Pranava, the chanting of the syllable om, also in chorus, which seals the hymn like Amen".
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NOTES

A. It has been mentioned in pages 60-61 and 63 that a lute or Veena with seven strings has been excavated from a prehistoric mound in the Indus Valley, and as such it is a pointer to the prevalence of seven notes in those remote days. In support of my statement, I have quoted in the footnote, Stuart Piggot’s *Prehistoric India*. But it should be mentioned in this connection that though a crude prototype of the modern Veena has been found there, it cannot be asserted with any degree of certainty that the practice of seven notes or tones was current in the prehistoric Indian society.

For clarification, Piggot’s statement is quoted below: “There is some interesting evidence for Aryan music. Cymbals were used to accompany dancing, and in addition to this and the drum there were reed flutes or pipes, a stringed instrument of the lute class, and a harp or lyre, which is mentioned as having seven tones or notes”. ‘It refers only to an instrument of Vedic times mentioned in the Rigveda, but not to any instrument from Harappa sites’ says Sri S. R. Rao, M.A., Superintendent, Dept. of Archaeology, Excavation Branch, Nagpur. I take the opportunity to offer my sincere thanks to Shri Rao, for drawing my attention to the above fact (vide his D.O. letter No. 14/1/59-4250, dated the 4th Dec., 1959).

B. The English synonyms of the Sanskrit words *amsa* or *vadi*, *samvadi*, *anuvadi* and *vivadi* are the sonant, consonant, assonant and dissonant. But in a few places of the book, the English synonym of the the term *samvadi* has inadvertently been given as dissonant. It should be read as consonant.

C. The precise dates of Rāy Rāmānanda, Swāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa, Swāmī Haridāsa, and Tānsen have been briefly discussed
in this book, in connection with the development of padāvali-
Kirtana of Bengal, at pages, 296-300. Here I would like to
draw the attention of the readers to a statement (about these
dates), made by Śri Kālīchāraṇa Pattnāik, in the Journal of the
Music Academy, Madras Vol. XXIX, 1958, pts. I-IV, p. 8, in
connection with the Odissi Music. Śri Pattnāik has said:
"1538 A. D. may be considered as the era of Rāmānanda.
Kṛṣṇadāsa Goswāmi (1496-1572) with disciple of Rāy
Rāmānanda and Haridāsa Goswāmi (1573-1608), the eminent
musician of India, had his training in music from Kṛṣṇadāsa,
the famous musician. The celebrated Tānsen was the disciple
of Haridāsa. In 1563 A.D., he was the greatest court-
musician of the court of Akbar". In my humble opinion,
the ideas conveyed in the sentences are not sufficiently
clear, and the dates of all the music savants mentioned
therein, seem to have been estimated rather hastily, because,
if Kṛṣṇadāsa Goswāmi’s time is ascribed to 1496-1572 A.D.,
then it will not perhaps be proper to consider Haridāsa
Swāmi as the disciple of the former, as the date of the
latter has been ascribed to 1573-1608 A.D. Again, if the
celebrated Tānsen is taken to have earned the fame as
the greatest court-musician of Akbar in 1563 A.D., then
it follows that he went to Haridāsa Swāmi to take his
lessons in music, when Haridāsa was only 9 or 10 years old,
which is absolutely impossible. Again it has been mentioned
that Rāy Rāmānanda’s full name was Rāy Rāmānanda
Pattnāik, and the book Gita-Prakāśa was written by Kṛṣṇadāsa
Bāḍajana Mahāpātra. We do not know whether the titles
‘Pattnāik’ (for Rāy Rāmānanda) and ‘Bāḍajana Mahāpātra’
(For Swāmi Kṛṣṇadāsa) have any historical bearings or value.
## ERRATA

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### EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF VEEṆĀ

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RAGA BILAVALA

(Bundi Collection, early 18th century A.D.)
RAGA TODI

(Turkish Influence, Rajasthani Painting, Jaipur, 18th century A.D.)
RAGA ASAVARI
(Rajasthani, early 17th century A.D.)
RAGA KHAMBAJ

(Persian Influence, 17th-18th century A.D.)
RAGA HINDOLA
(Rajasthani, with Mughal Influence, 18th century A.D.)

RAGA KAKUBHA
(Rajasthani, with Mughal Influence, 18th century A.D.)
VEENA PLAYER

(Nagarjunakonda, 2nd-3rd century A.D.)

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Government of India, Delhi.

VEENA PLAYER

(Rupar-Sunga-Terracotta, 200 B.C.—600 A.D.)
RAGA MEGHA-MALLARA
(Rajasthani, 18th century A.D.)

A FEMALE WITH A VEENA
(Bracket-Figure, Khajuraho Central India c 1000)

By the permission of the Archaeological Dept.,
Government of India, Delhi.
Veenas of ancient Type

(Gandhara, 1st-2nd century A.D.; Nagarjunakonda, 2nd-3rd century A.D.)
Veenas of ancient Type (Gandhara) and Harp Type

Gandhara, 1st-2nd century A.D.; Barabudur, 8th century
A.D., Bharut, 200 B.C.
Veenas of the Saroda and Harp Types
(Barabudur, 8th century A.D.; Champa, 1st-2nd—13th century A.D.; Samudragupta with Veena, 4th century A.D.; Sumara, Russia, 5th-6th century A.D.)
Veenas of the Harp Type

(Barabudur, 8th century A.D.; Angkor Thom, 12th-13th century A.D.; Burma, 2nd-8th century A.D.; Cambodge, 6th-13th century A.D.)
Veenas of the Harp Type

(Amaravati, 2nd-3rd century A.D.; Qizil, 6th century A.D.)
Veena in the School of Siddhartha (Ajanta)
(Ajanta, 200 B.C.—7th century A.D.)
Veenas with one and two Gourds

(Mahavalipuram, 7th century A.D.; Bagali-Kaleswara, 14th century A.D. (Bengal); Rangpur, 9th century A.D.; Ajanta, 200 B.C.—7th century A.D.)
Veenas with one Gourd
(Polannarua, Ceylon, 7th century A.D. ; Champa, 1st-2nd—
13th century A.D.)
Veenas of modern Type
