Raga Vasanta
(Yodhapur Collection, early 18th Century A.D.)
A HISTORICAL STUDY OF INDIAN MUSIC

by

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ÂNANDADHARĀ PRAKĀSHAN
CALCUTTA :: INDIA

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FOREWORD

Some of the most significant writing in English on our music in recent times has come from the pen of Swāmī Prajñānānanda. So it is a pleasure to be asked to launch still another volume from him—perhaps his most scholarly and most searching one to date.

Swāmijī’s historical study of our music covers a wide range from the earliest historical traces of our music to the present day. At a time when most “historical” studies degenerate into a mixture of pseudo-legendary and mythology with large doses of sentimentality and platitudes, his scholarly approach is like a breath of fresh air.

He starts with the Nāradīśikṣā and the Nāṭyaśāstra and ends with Rabindra-Sangit and Rabindranāth Tagore’s own theories. And apart from detailed analysis of every text that matters, he explores practically every relevant field—ancient musical instruments, the nature of orchestra and the chorus in ancient India, the Saptā-tantrī-Veenā in the Buddhist Caves, the concept of Rāga, Aryan and non-Aryan theories, the origin and development of Dhruvapada, of the Kheyāl. He examines the close relationship that exists between Music and Dance and has some revealing things to say about acoustics, aesthetics, the psychology and philosophy of music, iconography.

There are, naturally, areas where he is completely at home and areas where he gropes a little. No one person could be the complete master of the entire situation.

Where I feel he is happiest and most authoritative is when he examines early texts and authorities in detail. Swāmijī is one of those rare beings in India who has both the requisite musicianship and the scholarship for such a task. He has the critical and discriminating eye of the scholar who does not miss any relevant point and the artiste’s appreciation of
the finer aesthetic implication of such points. His commentaries on the early texts are thus like those of a poet and a musician and illuminating in a very special way.

By the very nature of his vocation in life he is also intimately familiar with such epics as the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, not to mention the Purāṇas all of which contain material without which our knowledge of those early days of ritual and music-making would be incomplete.

There are two ways of approaching an art like Indian music. There is the cold analytical approach of the research worker like Curt Sachs or Marcel Dubois which has its value. There is also the approach of the scholar who is steeped in tradition for whom everything has a deep significance at various levels. History, as traditionally understood, enables one to place every artistic activity in the perspective of contemporary life and thought. Swāmijī belongs to the latter category, but is not unaware of the value of the former.

There is an excellent and comprehensive Bibliography. There are a number of Appendices on topics which are important but do not fall strictly within the scope of the main subject.

Altogether, the present book seems to be one of the most important contributions to the study and understanding of our music and I commend it wholeheartedly to the reader.

Saṅgeet Nāṭak Akademi.
New Delhi.
16th December, 1964.

Nārāyaṇa Menon
(Dr. V. K. Nārāyaṇa Menon)
PREFACE

Though I was nurtured in an atmosphere of music and received impetus and inspiration in the culture of music from my family tradition and afterwards learnt classical music from many reputed teachers, including my elder brother, Shri Pāńch Kari Banerjee of Praśādpur (Hooghly), yet I admit, in all humility, that I received real inspiration in music form my revered Master, Śrimat Swāmī Abhedānandaji Mahārāj, the direct disciple of Shri Rāmakrishna Paramahansa Dev and the spiritual brother of Śrimat Swāmī Vivekānanda. I came in touch with Swāmī Abhedānanda in 1924, and took initiation in Sannyāsa and joined the Rāmakrishna Order in 1927. I learnt classical music, specially dhrūvapada (dhrupad) from different teachers like Nikuṇja Bihārī Dutt (of Sibpur, Howrah), the direct disciple of Sangītaratnākara Aghore Nāth Chakravorty (of Harinābhi, 24 Parganās), Sangītānāyaka Gopeśwarā Banerjee (of Bishnupur, Bānkurā), Sangītāchārya Harinārāyaṇa Mukhopādhyāya (of Devnāthpurā, Vārāṇasi) and others for a pretty long year. I also took training from Jñānendrā Prasād Goswāmī (of Bishnupur) in dhrūvapada and kheyāl.

I consider music as a spiritual sādhanā and as a better means to rouse the real aesthetic sense and spirituality in man. My spiritual teacher, Swamī Abhedānanda used to tell me many a time that music is the best medium that leads sincere seekers after truth to Divine knowledge (Brahmajñāna). I try to follow the deep significance of his words, and I believe that practice as well as true knowledge of music lead mankind to the life divine.
I have dealt with various problems of the Nāradīśīkṣā and the Nātyaśāstra, the evolution of ancient musical instruments of India, the concept of rāga, orchestra and chorus, the classical prabandhas like dhruvapada and kheyāl or khyāl, different music-types of Bengal and their evolution, different types of dance, etc. in this book. Besides, I have striven to solve some problems of acoustic science, iconography, aesthetic-cum-psychological as well as philosophical aspects of Indian music. I have also shown that philosophy of music is mainly concerned with the theory of sound i.e. dhvani or sphiṭā, which is the basic and essential part of both Eastern and Western music. I am aware that many of the students and teachers of music are not ordinarily accustomed to take keen interest in the psychological and philosophical aspects of music, and yet it is understood that there are students and teachers, who are really serious and critical in their approach towards the culture of genuine and traditional form of music, and as such I have ventured to deal with this difficult task of discussing briefly the psychology and philosophy of music.

Further I would like to add that though many of the subjects, dealt with in the present book, were discussed before in my previous books, yet I can assure the readers that I have thrown new light upon those subjects and have discussed some new problems which were not handled in my previous works. In the last chapter of the book, I have discussed about the main problems of the prime aim and object of music, and have pointedly shown that the realization of one’s Self is the prime object of music, and by means of music it is possible for all to achieve that state which enables them to remove the nescience or ajñāna and to enjoy everlasting peace and blessedness in their mundane life.
In this historical study of music, I have maintained throughout the book that until and unless music is viewed in its historical perspective, it will be futile to solve its various problems. In connection with the ancient musical instruments of India, I have mainly dealt with the evolution of veena, venu and puṣkara in the chapter IV. It is a fact that not only the musical instruments, but also all the ingredients of music should properly be investigated with historical perspective. Well has it been said by Dr. B. C. Deva that in order to trace the history of any instrument “we have to rely upon the following: (1) References in musical texts; (2) References in the general literature on people; (3) Paintings, sculptures. These (paintings, sculptures) are not always reliable, as the depiction is often stylized and true to life. **; (4) Epigraphic references; (5) Folk-lore and mythology, often scantily dismissed, but yielding fruitful clues on careful study” (Cf. his article on the Mukhaviṇā in the Sur-Śrāger jounal, vol. 2, Octo., 1964, No. 2).

Dr. Deva is of opinion that though veṇu, the flute, is old as the Vedas, yet the mukhaviṇā family, comprising the mukhaviṇā, nāgaswara, ottu, shehnāi sundari is definitely of later origin. “Mukhaviṇā, a smaller variety of nāgaswara”, he says, “is referred to in Telugu poet Pālkurki Somanātha’s work, who lived in the 12th-13th century. Nāgaswara is referred to in Telugu poet Skandapurāṇa, Śrīnātha’s Kridābhīraman of the 14th century and Ahobala’s Saṅgeet-pārijāta (17th century). ** The shehnāi is usually taken to be an imported instrument from the Middle-East. Its Persian name is said to be surṇā, changed to sanāyi in India. The older Mongolian variety, traced to India, is also called suru-nāi. While the author of the Saṅgeetsāra
mentions an instrument, sunāri very much like a shehnāi, this perhaps the same as sundari, a diminutive shehnāi of Mahārāṣṭra” (Cf. the article, Mukhavīṇā).

In the chapter V, I have tried to prove that orchestra and chorus were in vogue in ancient India even before the beginning of the Christian era. In the 2nd century A.D., Bharata has mentioned and described about the form of Indian orchestra, named kutapā in the Nāṭyaśāstra, and after him, Abhinavagupta and Sāraṅgdeva have made them explicit. I have given genuine evidences of the orchestras which are depicted in different Cave-temples of India. As in ancient India, orchestras, constructed out of different musical instruments, were in practice to accompany dance and music, so they were in practice in different ancient countries like Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Assyria, Greece, Rome, Italy, Persia, Arabia, etc. Dr Farmer has stated in the book, A New Oxford History of Music, vol. I (1957) that the historians, musicologists and archaeologists are of opinion that 3000 years before the Christian era at least, ancient Mesopotamia had numerous musical instruments, and the Mesopotamians were the master of them. In fact, the musical instruments used to play an important role in ancient Mesopotamia. Similarly in Assyria and oldest Sumeria, musical instruments played an important part in their social life, and it is evident from the art remains, preserved in the British Museum.

Dr. Farmer has said that from the time of Ashur-nasir-pal III (c 883-859 B.C.), we get ample lithographic materials of music and musical instruments. The British Museum bas-reliefs also illustrate the artistic interests of Ashur-bāni-pal (668-626 B.C). In the book of Daniel (iii), written in the second century B.C. the orchestra of
the Chaldean King Nebuchudnezzar (604-562 B.C.) has been mentioned, and that orchestra was formed out of the combination of musical instruments like horn (*qarnā), pipe (masrōqithā), kithara (qībror), trigonal lower-chested harp (sabbeka) and upper-chested concord harp (psantīn śūnifoyūḥ). The Mesopotamian court minstrelsy, even in later Archaemenid days, “was usually conceived on a grandiose scale. With the Assyrians the position of the court minstrel was a high one, as his apparel and situation often denote. The singing girls were the later Arabian qaínāt, a term used to denote both female musicians and attendants, and the cognate Akkadian word, kināt (female attendants), had probably the other meaning also”.

Regarding the musical instruments of Mesopotamia, the historians, musicologists and archaeologists are of opinion that 3000 years before the Christian era at least, ancient Mesopotamia had numerous instruments of music, “not only of a most varied character, but of a very high and advanced degree of construction, as the harps and ketharas of Sumerian days alone eloquently testify”. In the chapter VIII of this book, I have dealt with the historical evolution of some regional and foreign melody-types or rāgas, and their incorporation into the stock of classical music, so as to enlarge and enrich the domain of Indian music. In chapter IX, I have discussed about historical evolution of the prabandha type of dhruvapada-gīti, advancing evidences from ancient Sanskrit treatises. In the same way, the evolution and problem of kheyāl or khyāl type of gīti has been approached with in the light of historical evidences. Though I am aware that there are controversies among some scholars, regarding theory of evolution as well as classical forms of both dhruvapada and kheyāl or khyāl, yet I have
dealt with them carefully, citing passages from the dependable Sanskrit treatises. I am indebted to the reputed scholars, like Thākūr Jaideva Singh and Paṇḍit S. N. Ratanjankar in this respect. I have quoted freely their rational and historical views, regarding the evolution and genuine types of dhruvapada and khyāl, from their papers, read in the Symposia of the A.I.R., New Delhi, in 1960 and 1961.

The chapter XIII has been devoted to the study of theory and problem of acoustics of music. There I have set forth the views of different Western scientists and noted musicologists both of the East and the West. Therein I have also endeavoured to prove that the vibrations of sound-units are the cause of evolution of musical tones and tunes as well as their colours. Regarding the number of colour-vibrations of tones and tunes, the reputed psychologist, Prof. Woodworth has said: “At the red end of the spectrum, the wave length of the light is 760 millionths. In between are waves of very intermediate length, appearing to the eye as orange, yellow, green and blue, with all their transitional hues. A wave-length of 600 gives yellow, one of 500 gives green, one of 470 gives blue, etc.”. Prof. Tain has also supported Prof. Woodworth, while he has said: “An increase of speed and diminution of lengths in the waves are sufficient to determine the vibrations which our sensation of colour undergoes in passing from red to violet. *** Helmholtz distinguishes these following successive colours—red, orange, golden, yellow, pure yellow, green, blue of water, cyanic blue, indigo, violet and ultraviolet”. Helmholtz’s determinations of the vibration-units of C₁, C, D, E, F, G, A, B, c, d, e, f, g, a, b, c,² c,³ c,⁴ are 32, 64, 72, 80, 85½, 90 106½, 120, 128, 144, 160, 170½, 213½, 240, 256, 512, 1024, 2048 per second.
Mr. M.A. Bjerregward has mentioned about the colours of tones of the European music in his book, *Great Mother*. The vibration-units of Indian musical tones, Sa, Re, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni/Sá are 240, 270, 300, 320, 360, 405, 480. The lengths of the wires of a *veena* from the bridge are $1, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{3}{8}, \frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{16}, \frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{16}$ and their cents have been enumerated as, $204 + 182 + 112 + 204 + 182 + 112 = 1200$. It can be mentioned in this connection that some musicologists determine the vibration-units of the Indian tones as, 256, 288, 320, 341 1/2, 384, 426, 480 per second. Questionnaires may be raised as to the definite units of vibrations of the tones, but it is a fact that the Indian method of determining the vibration-units of the tones has been adopted from the European system.

The chapter XIV of the book deals with the iconography of Indian music. There it has been shown that the melodic-types (*rāgas*) have been regarded as the *icons* or symbols of their presiding deities. Though the conception of the *icons* is not very ancient, as it evolved in the 16th-17th century A.D., yet Indian seers in the sphere of music are fully aware of the divine forms of the *rāgas* and *rāginiśs*, and they are confident that through the medium of *rāgas* and *rāginiśs*, the devout artists and sincere lovers of music attain the realization of the *sura* or *nāda-Brahman*.

In the chapter XV, I have dealt with the main problems of aesthetic-cum-psychology of music. Wherein it has been shown that unless and until the aesthetic and psychological qualities of tones and tunes are realized through the ecstatic vision of the artistes and audiences of music, appreciation of music is not possible. The dictionary meaning of 'aesthetics' is an appreciation of the Beautiful, in accordance with principles of good taste. Profs. Vivas and Krieger have
said: "Aesthetics is the name customarily given to the theoretical and systematic exploration of the questions which arise when men reflect on their interest in the beauty of nature and the products of the fine arts". In fact, the sense of beauty or appreciation of the Beautiful brings with it the idea of aesthetics.

Kant has elaborately discussed about the problem of aesthetics from different angle of vision in his *Critique of Judgement*. In the 'Critique of Aesthetical Judgement', Kant has discussed fully the analytic of the Beautiful, judgement of taste, the analytic of the Sublime, the Beautiful and the art of genius, dialectic of analytical judgement and other things. The fundamental principle underlying the procedure of *Critique of Judgement* is seen to be that of the purposiveness of nature, and nature is everywhere adapted to ends or purpose, and thus constitutes a well-ordered whole. The taste is the faculty of judging of an object and the object of satisfaction is called beautiful. In other words, it can be said that the beautiful is that which, apart from concepts, is represented us the object of a universal satisfaction. But Kant has laid stress, anyhow or other, on the intellectual satisfaction of beauty of art. But the Indian philosophers think it in a different way. They say that intellectual satisfaction only prepares the ground of spiritual satisfaction or feeling of fine arts, and it is not the be-all and end-all of the artiste life. So, until and unless the spiritual satisfaction or spiritual intuition is reached, so long work of art fails to satisfy the real purpose.

In this book, I have discussed briefly about the psychological and aesthetic problems of music mainly from the Indian viewpoint, and have shown that psychological analysis as well as aesthetic appreciation of the divine
emotional sentiments (rasas) of the musical tones (svaras) and tunes (rāgas) bring unto the artistes and the art-loving listeners the realization of the Beautiful and the Sublime of Indian music. Now the students of the Kantian philosophy are well-acquainted with an agreement and a disagreement between the two prime principles, the Beautiful and the Sublime, as according to Immanuel Kant, the Beautiful implies form and limitation, whereas the Sublime may be found in an object which is formless and unlimited, and for this reason, the Sublime is recognized as great. But, in the Upaniṣads of India, we find a beautiful epithet of the Brahman, known as satyaṁ-sivam-sundaram. There the combined attributes, truth, peace and beauty constitute the staff of the Brahman. But in the strict sense of logic, the attributed Brahman is with form and, therefore, limited. The Advaita Vedānta states that the Brahman with the attributes is determinate Brahman (saguṇa-Brahman), and so it should be taken that the Upaniṣadic epithet, satyaṁ-sivam-sundaram first points the determinate Brahman (saguṇa-Brahman) and then, simultaneously, the indeterminate Brahman (nirguṇa-Brahman). From the strict Advaita Vedāntic standpoint, both the phases of the Brahman are essentially one and the same. So, if a sincere artist gets an intuitive perception of the sublime beauty of his created art, he will realize the Beautiful, and that is the prime achievement of fine arts.

The symbols or symbolic representations are as old as the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. It has already been said that in the Upaniṣads, different kinds of symbols have been prescribed for realizing the divinity of the Brahman. In the Patañjala-darśana, Rṣi Patañjali has prescribed the Praṇava as the symbolic representation of the Brahman. Regarding
the attitude towards symbols, St. Kramrisch has said in her *Indian Sculpture* (1933): "Indian plastic sense is averse to the symbol, which is the substitute for a reality. The un-formed clamours for form, for this is the way which it shows its reality. Symbols are ready-made and block the approach of the unformed towards form. They stand in the way of creation. If in ancient Indian sculpture, of the Indus civilization and in the Mauryan age, animal or plant were represented in lieu of the corresponding divinity, they were meant to be *vāhanas*, i.e. vehicles of the divinity, and not abstracts or parts of its appearance, such as footprints or hair relics, or of its presence, such as the seat or the walk (*caṅkrama*), in the case of the Buddha. ** The sacred tree, alone amongst the symbols for the Buddha, has maintained some of these earlier qualities. ** Symbols again play a considerable part in later centuries. But then they are additional attributes to figures of deities, themselves endowed with form. Wheel, flame, lemon, lotus, etc. held in the hands by various deities, are part of their apparel, and belong to the same category as crown, scarf or armlet. Nor do they then stand for an entire reality, they support only one of its many qualities, objectified and rationalised".

Not only the Hindus, Buddhists and Roman Catholic Christians, but also all the civilized nations of the world, including the Romans, Greeks, Egyptians and Persians used and still use symbols for their chosen deities and gods, and Saviours. The ancient Egyptians used a *Tāu-Cross* or *Crux Ansātū*. The Christians use the cross, fish, serpent, rose, dove, lamb, eagle, egg, etc. as the symbols of Christ and Easter (cf. Swāmī Abhedānanda: *Necessity of Symbols*). J. M. Robertson has said that in
the Mithraic cult, the bull slain by Mithra, the Sun-god, was the symbol of the earth and moon; Mithra slaying the bull was meant the rays of the sun penetrating the earth. Besides, lamb, ram, rose, etc. were used as the symbols of Mithra, the Sun-god. In India, different trees, fruits and animals were used as the symbols of the gods. Harold Bayley has mentioned in the *Lost Language of Symbolism* (vols. I & II, 1912) different symbols of different gods of different nations. So symbols are the mediums or signs for signifying the real objects behind them, and in music, symbols of birds, beasts have been used to signify seven tones or *svaras*, and different paintings and pictures have been used to signify the *rāgas* and *rāginiśs*, which have been regarded as the *nāyakas* and *nāyikās*.

Prof. Percy C. Buck says in his *Psychology for Musicians* (1945): "For musicians it will be sufficient to realize that we develop from children, who judge by the easy recognition of melody and rhythm, into more sophisticated beings who look for the feeling embodied in the form; from the tune to which our itching feet insist on beating time, to the hidden meaning, behind the quite phrase which once may have seemed so pointless and unexciting. And one of the greatest contributions that Psychology makes to Civilization—which means the education of man in the mass—is by pointing out that all education, in any subject, must aim at grasping the inner meaning instead of confining our attention to the outward appearance". Percy Buck has dealt with different problems like reaction, habit, commonsense of technique, ideas and association, interest, attention, memory, appreciation, will, meaning of education, element
of thinking and utility of the knowledge of psychology in the field of music, and we think that these are essential things for the knowledge of the musicians and music-loving listeners.

Though I have not discussed particularly about the aesthetic qualities like emotional sentiments and moods (rasas and bhūvas) of different rāgas and rāginiśs, as enumerated by the musicologist, Hanuman, yet I have mentioned the basic principles of the aesthetic qualities of the tones and tunes of Indian music with their specific characteristic and applicability. As I have already discussed in the Appendix of my book, Rāga-O-Rūpa (Melody and Form), vol. I, the aesthetics of the six rāgas and thirty rāginis, so I have refrained from recapitulating them in this book. Lālā Kānnoo Mal, M.A. has discussed this problem elaborately in his book, Kāma-Kalā, which was published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depor, Lahore in 1931. I have followed him in my Rāga-O-Rūpa.

Now take me the privilege of quoting some portions of ‘some notes on Hindu erotics’ from his book, Kāma-kalā, where he has said: “In no other country has the feeling of Love been so minutely observed, studied, analysed, classified and elaborated into an exalted science as in India. Its whole domain has been assiduously and patiently explored, its innermost recesses have been opened up and ransacked, its most hidden secrets wrung out and displayed to the public gaze. The erotic sentiments has, in India, formed the background of illumination to all its poetical, dramatic and theoretical literature; and it is under its mild, soft and inspiring light that the most exquisite productions of Hindu literature have bloomed into their splendour. All the beauties of fine arts of India are so many,
variegated, and myriad-tint prisms to reflect the soft, subtle and gentle rays of Love's far-off radience behind them”.

Regarding the fundamental cause (ālambanā-vibhāva) of the erotic sentiment, he has said that it is the most important of all the divisions of this feeling. It is the fundamental basis on which the manifestation of the abiding feeling of love depends. Lālā Kānnoo Mal has said: “This cause consists of a man or a woman, which is as it were, the receptacle of the feeling of love. The classification of men or heroes with reference to this sentiment is four-fold; viz,

Dhīralalita ... light-hearted;
Dhīrapraśānta ... calm and tranquil-minded;
Dhīraudācāta ... exalted or noble-hearted, and
Dhīrauddhata ... vehement.

Each of them is four varieties; viz,

Dakṣiṇa ... clever, one who is kind to his sweet heart;
Dhrṣṭa ... deceitful, one shameless towards his previous love;
Satṛha ... wicked, one who hides his unfaithfulness;
Aukūla ... One faithful to only a single lady-love”.

Similarly Nāyikās or heroines have been classified from different points of view. The classifications are:

1. Classification of heroines with reference to their moods and relations with the heroes. The classification from this standpoint is eight or tentold, Prositapatikā, Abhisārikā and others.
2. Classification of heroines with reference to their
positions, such as *uttamā* (excellent), *madhyamā* (middling) and *adhamā* (bad).

3. Classification based on the moods of heroines arising from their self-conceit, haughtiness and personal beauty, such as *Premagarvītā*—one proud of her love; *Rūpagarvītā*—one proud of her beauty; *Mānini*—one addicted to affected resentment.

4. Classification based on sex physiology, such as *Padmīṇī* (the Lotus women); *Chitrāṇī* (the Variegated woman), and *Hastinī* (the Elephant woman). They are in descending order of merit”.

“The classification of heroes and heroine”, he has said, “given in the Hindu works on Dramaturgy and Erotic are considered to be artificial and fanciful by some critics, but this criticism arises more from their lack of intimate knowledge of love psychology than from its minute study. **All great dramatists and poets, irrespective of caste, colour and clime, have portrayed them in their own way...**”.

In fact, *śṛṅgāra* is the prime sentiment, and this sentiment is the cause of awakening the attitude of detachment (*nirveda*) in men. The *śṛṅgāra*, the prime sentiment is divided into *vipralambha* and *sambhoga*. The *vipralambha* is manifested as delightful enjoyment or *sambhoga*, *pūrvarāga*, *māna* and *prema-vicitya*. The first quality, *sambhoga* is again divided into two, primary (*mukhya*) and secondary (*gauna*) ones. In fact, the primary sentiments are manifested as $8 \times 8 = 64$ qualities. The Nāyaka and Nāyikās (*rāgas* and *rāginiś*) manifest themselves in the *māna* quality in eight states, and they are known as *abhisārikā*, *vāsakasajjā*, *uskāntṣhitā*, *vipralabdhā*, *kaṇḍitā*, *kalabantaritā*, *prośitabhatrīkā* and *svādīnabhatrīkā*. Bharata has beautifully described eight kinds of primary sentiments
and their different manifestations. Bharata, Kavi Kālidās, Kavi Jayadev as well as most of the Ālamkārikas have described śṛṅgārarasa as ādīrasa (prime sentiment), as has been said before. In his Ujjalanilamāνi, Rūpa Goswāmī has mentioned about different aesthetic manifestations and attitudes of the Nāyakas and Nāyikās. He has said that the Nāyakas (rāgas) are divided into four dhīralalita, dhīraśānta, dhīroddhata and dhīrodātta. Like the Nāyakas (or rāgas), the Nāyikās (rāginīs) too are manifested mainly into two, svakīyā and parakīyā. The parakīyā Nāyikās are also divided into two, kanyā and paroddhā. Again among svakīyā, parakīyā and kanyā Nāyikās (rāginīs), svakīyā one is divided into three, mūgdbā, madhyā and pragalbhā. Further the Ālamkārikas have divided madhyā and pragalbhā Nāyikās (rāginīs) into dhīrā, adhīrā and dhīrādbhīrā. These later Nāyikā rāginīs are also divided into different forms.

The ancient musicologist, Hanuman has divided the principal rāgas and rāginīs into 6\times 6 = 36, and they are, 

1. Bhairava...Madhyamādi, Bhairavi, Bāṅgālī, Barāṭi, Saindhavī.

2. Mālava-kauśika...Toḍī, Khambāvanī, Gaurī, Guṇakṛi, Kakubhā.

3. Hindola...Velāvalī, Rāmakṛi, Desākhyā, Paṭamaṭijārī, Lalitā.

4. Dipaka...Kedārī, Kānāḍā, Deśī, Kāmodī, Nāṭikā.

5. Śrī...Vāsantī (Vasanta), Mādhavī, Mālaśrī, Dhānaśrī, Āśāvarī.

6. Megha...Mallārī, Desakarī, Bhupālī, Gurjarī, Tānki.

Among these main Nāyakas and Nāyikās (rāgas and rāginīs), the six Nāyaka rāgas manifest themselves as dhīralalita, dhīraśānta, dhīroddhata and dhīrodātta, and the
thirty Nāyikā rāginīs manifest themselves in the states of abhisārikā, vāsakasajjā, utkantśhitā, vipralabdha, khaṇḍitā, kalabantharitā, prośītabhāratā and svādhina-bhāratā. Their permanent sentiments (sthāyī-rasas) like śṛṅgāra, sambhogāśṛṅgāra, vipralambha-śṛṅgāra, etc. also differ. These sentiments and their states or moods (rasas and bhāvas) are the object of feeling (anuvṛtta), and the Śādhaka-artistes as well as the audiences enjoy celestial peace and delight through them, and in this way, their minds are prepared due to the concentrated attention to the divine feeling which enables them to attain gradually the realization of the Sabda-Brahman, which is in essence the transcending Ātman.

It should be mentioned in this connection that most of the authors of music, both Hindu and Muslim, described the emotional sentiments (rasas) and moods (bhāvas), together with the nāyaka-nāyikā-bhāvas of the rāgas and rāginīs, in the Muhammedan period. Some of the Persian scholars, administrators and courtiers translated some books on music in Persian language, and some of them compiled or composed the music works independently in Persian. As for example, Fakīr Ullāḥ, who lived during the reign of the Emperors, Shāh Jāhan and Aurangzeb ‘Ālamgīr, translated the Mānkutūhal in Persian language. It is said that the work, Mānkutūhal was composed or compiled by the order of Rājā Mān Singh (1486-1517 (A. D.) of Gwālior, and the book was named after him. Fakīr Ullāḥ named the translation (of the Mānkutūhal) the Rāgadarpana. In the fifth chapter of the Rāgadarpana, Fakīr Ullāḥ described the emotional sentiments as well as aesthetic characters of the rāgas (nāyakas) and rāginīs (nāyikās), after giving the descriptions of the musical
instruments. From this it is understood that during Rājā Mān and his noted dhruvapada singers, the emotional characteristics of the rāgas were strictly observed. The Persian book, Rāgadarpana was again translated in Hindi by Hariharnivās Dvivedī of Gwālior, and was published by the Vidyāmandir, Murār, Gwālior in 1954, with detailed historical accounts, by the name of Mānsingh Aur Mānakutūhal, and it has recently been translated in Bengali by Shri Rājyeśwar Mitra of Calcutta.

Similarly Mīrzā Khān compiled the Persian work on music, Tuhphātuḥ-bind, probably in the middle of the 17th century A. D., and in the chapters, third and fourth of this book, he described the emotional sentiments (rasas) as well as the aesthetic characters (nāyaka-nayika-bhāvas) of the rāgas and rāginiṣ. This Persian book has recently been translated in Bengali by Shri Rājyeśwara Mitra and has been published (together with the Bengali translation of the Rāgadarpana) in book form by the Lekkha-Samavāya-Samiti, Calcutta-26, by the name of 'Mugbal Bhārater Sangeet-cintā'. Rādhā Mohan Sen of Bengal mentioned also the name of Tuhphātuḥ-bind in his Bengali book on music, Sangeet-taranga (cf. pp. 130-132).

Hākim Mohammad Karam Imām, a Courtier of Wājīd-Ālī Shāh of Lucknow also touched slightly the aesthetic sentiments of the rāgas and rāginiṣ in his Persian book, Ma’adnul Moosique, written in 1856. Some portions of this book, Ma’adnul Moosique have been translated in English by Govind Vidyārthī and were published in the Sangeet Nāṭak Bulletins of October, 1956 and April, 1960.

Let me further mention, in this connection, about the informative book, History of Indo-Pāk Music (Decca, 1962).
by Dr. Abdul Hālim, the Professor and Head of the Department of History in the Deccan University. The learned author has efficiently discussed about various historical materials of music, including most of the fragments of the Persian books: (1) Rāg-darpan of Faqirullāh and (2) Mauj-i-Musiqi of Muhammed Lāl Khān Barī. His discussion on the Origin and Evolution of Khiyāl in Pāk-India (pp. 66-75) is informative. Dr. Hālim is of opinion: Khiyāl is created with the Perso-Arab Music which the Umayyad and Abdasid Caliphate developed during the early Middle Ages. *** My thesis will have proved that Khiyāl or ornate music is not really the invention of a master musician. It is the true product of Muslim culture so far as its origin is connected. It is for this very reason that whoever revived this art-form has been designated as its inventor. And it on this very account that many writers on music and practical musicians say that Āmir Khusraw of Delhi was its inventor, and others concede this place to Husain Shāh Shrqī" (pp. 62. 75). Dr. Hālim has also mentioned about the names of the celebrated musicians of the Muslim Period.

Now, regarding the realization of rasa as the prime aim of the practice of music, it can be said that though the Vaiṣṇava mystics uphold the doctrine "rase vai saḥ" i.e. 'the emotional sentiment is the ultimate reality,’ yet it should be taken that the realization of rasa (parama-rasānubbūti) in music is only the highest footstep towards the achievement of the supreme principle, Ātman and not the Self-realization (ātmānubbūti) in itself, and through the highest footstep of rasānubbūti, the ātmānubbūti is afterwards reached and attained. It is the prime aim of Indian psychology as well as of Indian philosophy to realize the
ätman or nāda-Brahman, the *summum bonum* of human life. This realization of the Ātman or nāda-Brahman can really be said to be an immediate awareness of the Absolute (pratyakṣa brahmānubhūti), and this realization can only free the music artistes and audiences from the chain of delusion or māyā. So it is a fact that the psychological aspect of music can lead the Śādhakas to the sacred temple of realization of the higher Self and thus helps them to make free from the deceitful world or *samsāra*.

In chapter XVI, I have dwelt with the sublime philosophical ideas of music, which is divine and at the same time essential to the life of the artistes. It is a fact that when the Śādhaka-artistes and the sympathetic listeners realize the real essence of the nādatattva, they dive deep into the mysterious kāmakalā or kuṇḍalinī, and come to know at last its secret. The will-to-know or urge for knowledge of the ideal of music stirs the sleeping coiled kuṇḍalinī or subconscious mind, and, consequently, gives a start for the ascend of the divine basic energy. Then gradually the awakened energy penetrates all the force-centres of the body (of the spinal cord) and finally reaches the thousand-petalled lotus of the sahasrāra, the seat of the all-consciousness Paramāśiva, and then the Śādhaka-artistes and the sincere music-listeners feel divine communion of the śivātman and the Paramātman. They then attain the fruition of the nāda-sādhanā, which enables them to cut asunder the knots of nescience and realize the transcendent Brahman. And this state can be said to be the ultimate achievement (paramā prāpti) of the practice of music.

In the *Sangītāśāstra*, it is also mentioned: "śiva-śakti- 
samāyogāt rāgaṇāṃ udbhabo bhave" or "sambhu-śakti-
samjogata, pragate satvidhi raga; paucha-paucha mukha te bhaye, chatau siba-mukha-bhaga," i.e. the rāgas evolved from the communion of Śiva and Śakti. This conception is purely a Tāntric one. Besides it, there is a Vaiṣṇava conception, and it has been explained in the chapter sixteen of this book. Now, the Tāntric interpretations of the above śloka and the dohā are that, according to the Tantraśāstra, Śiva is prāṇa (or prāṇaśakti) and Śakti is vāk (or nāda). The melodic forms or rāgas are the combinations of tones (svaras), which are no other than the sweet and soothing sound-units. The sound is known as nāda, and it appears as letters (varṇa) and sound (dhwani). The melodic forms or rāgas are, in truth, the sounds, having bodies of letters (varṇas like sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni). So when the prāṇa or prāṇaśakti vibrates (śpandate) by will-power (icchāśakti) of the artistes (Śādhatas), sounds (nādas) originate or emanate, and when those sounds are arranged in different orders or patterns, different kinds of melodic forms or rāgas evolve, and they please the minds of all the living beings. To make this idea more explicit, let me quote some lines from the book, Sādhanā for Self-realization by Śrī Śrī Pratyagātmananda Saraswatī and Sir John Woodroffe (1963). It has been said in connection with the mantra-sādhanā: "Sabda is Śakti. The Viśvaśāra-Tantra (Ch. II) says that Sabda-brahman which is Mantra (Mantramaya) exists in the body of Jīva and is the subtle aspect of the Jīva's vital Śakti. As the Praṇaśāra-Tantra states, the Brahmana or Spheroid (universe) is pervaded by Śakti as Dhwani, called Nāda, Prāṇa and the like. ** Sabda is the Guṇa of Ākāśa, but is not produced by it. It manifests in it; and Sabda-svarūpa is the Brahman. In the same way, however, as in outer space waves of sound are produced by,
movements of air (Vāyu), so in the space within the jiva's body, waves of sound are produced according to the movements of the vital air (Prāṇavāyu) and the process of inhalation and exhalation. The Sabda which first appears in Mulādhāra (See A. Avalon's Serpent Power) is, in fact, the Sakti which gives life to jiva. The jiva who inbreathes and outbreathes utters a great Mantra. ** Sakti it is who is the Cause of the sweet, indistinct and murmuring Dhvani which sounds like the humming of black bees. This sound is Parā, and then Paśyantī, which becomes subtle as Madhyamā and gross as Vaikharī. Kuṇḍalinī, who is Varṇamayī and Dhvanimayī, is the manifestation in bodies of the Paramātmā”.

In the Japaśūtraḥ (English edition, 1961), Swāmī Pratyagātmananda Saraswati has further said, in connection with Vāk and Prāṇa: “If the creative ‘formula’ be vāk, then what formulates, is prāṇa. ** Prāṇa is abstract and uncreative without vāk; and vāk is empty and dead without prāṇa. They consort and operate conjointly. They are the First Creative ‘Pair’ of which this universe and all possible universes are ‘progeny’.

“In Sanskrit, prāṇa is a masculine word and vāk feminine. ** Prāṇa instils the creative élan in the original ‘stuff’ of existence; vāk evolves this ‘stuff’ into created form. ** So prāṇa consorts with vāk when, from this union, the bindu or bija appears. Evidently vāk is not word or sound as we apprehend it. It is the matrix function, the ‘causal stress’ as we have before called it, by which the fundamental plenum of Power is evolved into general as well as special ‘origins’ or centres of functioning. Vāk is, so to say the ‘Mother’s womb’ into which prāṇa enters as the necessary flow and fund of power in order to make it evolve into multiple forms and patterns”,
Therefore, it may be said that discussions on mere skeletal forms of tonal arrangement of the melodies and their essentials, their mūrocbhas and alamkāras only throw light on the theoretical side of music, but cannot go deep into its core, and, consequently, the artistes and lovers of music fail to appreciate the real import as well as the divine essence of music. Therefore, music should be approached not only from the historical standpoint, but also from the spiritual standpoint as well.

In some of the occasions, I got privileges to meet Pañdit Jahlāl Nehru and at every occasion, I was charmed to see his great personality, cheerful appearance and sweet and loving nature. In one occasion, I presented him some books of mine and of my Master, Svāmi Abhedānanda, which he received with great interest and eagerness. Now I am taking the opportunity of dedicating this new book to his sweet and loving memory.

In conclusion, I express my deep sense of gratitude and regard to Dr. V. K. Nārayana Menon, the Secretary of the Saṅgeet Nāṭak Akādemi, New Delhi, for his learned Foreword to this book. He is a man of rare intellect and learning and is efficient in South Indian music. I feel pride to include his learned ‘Foreword’ in my book. I am indebted to Dr. B. C. Deva, for giving me some valuable suggestions about the musical instruments that are depicted in different Hindu and Buddhist Cave temples of India. I express my heartful thanks to Shri Subodh Kumar Chatterji, B.A. for going through the final copy of the manuscript of this book. I am indebted to Shri Mānoraṇjan-Mazumdar, the proprietor of the “Ānandadhārā Prakāśan” for encouraging me in writing and publishing this book. I offer my thanks to Messrs Calcutta Oriental Press.
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**CORRECTIONS:**


2. Read *The Development and Culture of the Kheyāl in Bengal* (sub-heading) instead of *The Development and Culture of Dhrityapada in Bengal* in the page 219.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A historical study of Indian music is meant to unravel the mystery of different grades of evolution of Indian music in different periods. It affords a man full scope for visioning the genuine structure, type and temperament of songs and melodies, musical instruments and dances, prevailing in different times. India has a glorious tradition of history of her achievements in the field of plastic art, painting, music, architecture, science, literaturite, poetry, philosophy and religion, bearing on each of them the stamp of distinctive trait, quality as well as of spirit. India also did not lag behind in making history of music, dating from the most ancient primitive period up to the present time. The history of Indian music is full of materials of music, and they can be classified under different heads: firstly, the treatises on music, written by different authors of different times, which can be taken as the principal materials of constructing an authentic history of Indian music. Secondly, the rock-cut temples and inscriptions, caused to be excavated and engraved by different rulers of different times, together with the sculptures, paintings, copper-plates and coins of different periods. Thirdly, the writings of foreign writers on music as well as the history of music of other nations. Fourthly, the private diaries of the musicians and the musicologists, the local traditions transmitted orally, folklores and fables of music. All these should be properly studied in their historical perspectives, should be consulted for comparative study as well as
for corroboration of facts, dates and forms of evolution of materials of music, musical instrument and dance. These landmarks are distinctive stages in the development of the art of music, and they may be divided into major and minor ones. Evolution of music emerged from the concepts of tones and tunes, along with rhythm, and the emergence of tones and tunes were possible from the minute tones or microtones and their arrangements. So the problems of tones and tunes, along with the evolution of registers and scales, perception of consonance and dissonance, emergence of the concept of the melodies (rāgas) and their classifications, evolution of mūračhana, varna, alamkāra, tāna, aṅga, ālāpa or ālapti, the manifestation of different musical phrases (sthāyas) and compositions (prabandhas), the evolution of musical instruments like drum, flute, and lute, along with the question of origin of mola, or melakarta, masculine and feminine characters of the rāgas, and the evolution of contemplative compositions (dhyāna-mālās) and pictures (rāgamūrtis) are the distinctive features in the study of history of Indian music.

In order to study the history of Indian music, it is imperative to divide the whole range of culture and civilization of India into several periods like pre-Vedic (primitive and prehistoric), Vedic, Hindu, Buddhist, Mohammedan, British and post-British, i.e. Modern. But these divisions do not appear to be adequate, as some of the periods, specially the Hindu and the Buddhist ones overlap each other, and it is, therefore, difficult to represent precisely music of those two periods. So it is better to divide the whole range of Indian history as well as the history of Indian music into three broad periods, ancient, mediaeval and modern.
In the history of India, we find that the civilized merchants or Panis really built the grand structure of culture and civilization of the prehistoric Indus Valley of the remote past. Some hold that these builders were the Aryans, nay the Vedic Aryans themselves, who were the original dwellers of India and never came from Central Asia or from any other parts outside of India. Others are of opinion that the original builders of the prehistoric Indus civilization were the Dravidians and not the Vedic Aryans. Opinions may differ, but we get ample evidence of the practice of music and dance, as obtaining in the prehistoric Indus Valley civilization. The archaeological excavations of different ancient sites in India, which are considered by experts to be continuation of the Indus civilization and culture, disclose the fact that even in that remote age of 5,000 or 4,000-2,500 B.C., the people were most civilized, artistic and cultured, and they were well-conversant with the art of playing flute and lutes (vamśi and veṇā) and different types of drums (mṛdaṅgas). But unfortunately we do not know the exact type and technique of their music and dancing, for dearth of definite system of notation and historical records.

In the Rgvedic age (3,000-2,500 B.C.), we come across proofs of political, social and religious organizations among the Aryan people. Their vast literature undoubtedly prove that they were the most advanced people of the day. They used to perform sacrifices and sacred rites, and used to sing songs with different tones on those occasions. The rules and regulations, governing the songs, are found in the Śiksās, Prātiṣakhyas and the Brāhamaṇa literature, and they also contain copious references of music of the Vedic time. Different kinds of lute (veṇā) and
drum have also been described in the Vedic literature. The veena with hundred strings (vāna) and kāsyapī or kaccabhi, piccholā, ksauṇī, etc. and primitive drums like the bhumi-dundubbi, dundubbi, etc. were used by the Vedic singers. The references are also found about dances, songs and musical instruments in the later Śūtra literature. Profs. Macdonell, Keith, Winternitz, Caland, Burnell, Jacobi, Waber, Sāstrī, Apte and others have mentioned about both vocal and instrumental music, while discussing the Vedic literature. In the classical and the post-classical periods, many new types of veena like dāravī, gātra, citrā, vipañci, raudrī, kūrmi, brāhmi, kātyāyanī, etc. and drums like pūṣkara, bhānda, paṇava, mrdaṅga, etc also evolved.

While commenting on the Grhyasūtra, Dr. Apte has made references about music that was cultured by the Vedic people. He has said: "Music or saṅgeeta of all three types (niyam, gītam ca vāditram) as well as chariot races and gambling continued to be the principal amusements of this (Śūtra) period". In the ŚāmaVEDA (1. 22. 11) and the Āśvalāyana-grhyasūtra (1. 14), we find descriptions of lute playing, dancing and singing, in connection with the simantonnayana ceremony. It is, therefore, proved that the Vedic people did systematically culture the art of music. The later Hindu society of India borrowed music from the pre-Vedic and Vedic people thus leaving behind a tradition of culture that enriched the art of music of India.

Now it may be taken for granted that Vedic music was much more developed and systematic with its fixed tones and scales, and that the pre-Vedic and Vedic music owed much to the undeveloped system of music of the most ancient primitive people. The diggings of the mounds of
the prehistoric Indus Valley cities have astounded the people of the world, by furnishing some crude types of pipe, lute (veena) and drum of different sizes, together with the bronze figurine of a nude dancing girl, which prove the practice of music in the society at least five thousand years ago. The Vedic literature also furnishes various references of Vedic music. By 'Vedic music' we mean the saṃsānca with tunes. When the गङ्गा stanzas were set to tunes and tunes, they were called the Vedic music, saṃagāna. The saṃsānca used to be sung in different forms in different Vedic recensions (śākha). The Puṣpasūtra and the Nāradiśikṣa have fully described about those recensions and different methods of singing. The Vedic tones were used in the Vedic songs, and they were prathama, dviṣṭya, triṣṭya, caturṭha, manḍra (pañcama), aitivārya (saṣṭha) and kuṭa (saptama). The tones of the Vedic music were in downward movement (avarohana-krama). Generally three, four, five and six tones were used in the saṃagāna, and seven tones were used by the followers of the Kaṭhāka recension.

The saṃsānca, as mentioned in the Vedas and the Vedic literature, were the songs, set to tunes. According to Jaimāni, the songs were but the internal efforts (abhyantara-pryatna) of the priestly class: "gītirnāma kriyābhayantara-pryatna-janita-svara-viṣeṣānām-abhivyanjikā sāma-sabdābhilāpya". Śaṭiya, the commentator, has said that the saṃsānca were the songs, constituted out of the गङ्गा stanzas and the tones like kuṭa, prathama, etc.: "sāma-sabdāvacyasya gānasāva svarupamragkasaresu kuṭādibhiś saṭtabhiś svaraiḥ aksara-vikārādibhyaśca nispādyate/kuṭaḥ prathamo dviṣṭya-triṣṭya-caturtbhāḥ pañcamaḥ saṣṭhaḥcetyete saṭtasvaraiḥ", te cavyan-tarabhedaivahabdhā bhinnaiḥ." It is said that the saṃsān
used to be sung with different modes and ways: “vahubbhiḥ prakāraīrgānātmakāḥ yat sämasvarūpam niṣṛpitam”. Sāyaṇa has also said: “sāmavede sahasraṇi gītyupāyāḥ”. The sämans were sung according to aksara-vikāra (alteration of letters) like viśleṣaṇa, vikarṣaṇa, abhyāsa and virāma. The stobhas used to play an important part in the singing. Jaiminī has said in the Mīmāṃsādāraśaṇa (1. 2. 26): “sa niyata pramāṇaḥ tci gīyate/tat-sampādanārthāḥ ya migāksara-vikāro viśleṣo viκarṣaṇamabhyāso virāmah stobha ityevamādayāyaḥ sarve sāmavede samāṇāyante”. The elongated letters like A………E…………l…………O…………U…………, etc. were known as stobha. In the present-day system of classical music, the stobhas are used with elongation of the vowels, which create vital force in the songs. To cite an example, the part of the songs: “devadeva mahādeva gaurīpati mahēśvara”, etc. when sung as “de-eva-a de-eva-a mahā-ā-de-e-va-a” etc., the elongated vowels are the stobbas. Regarding the stobha, Sāyaṇa has said: “adbhakatve satyrg-vilakṣaṇā-varṇaḥ stobhaḥ”. The stobha was divided into varṇastobha, padastobha and vākyastobha. Like the processes of mutilation and elongation of the letters in the stanzas, the method of obliteration or deletion of letters (varṇalopa or aksaralopa) in the songs were also found necessary, and so Sāyaṇa has said: “aṅgaravikāra-stobhādivat varṇalopopī kvacid gītyeturbhavati”. As for example, the word “agna āyāhi” was uttered in the singing as “oṅnāyi”. This rule used to be specially observed in the geyagyāna, veyagyāna or vegāna, yonīgāna, etc. In fact, the sämans were composed and practised in different manners.

In the Rk-prātiṣākhyā, the Vedic tones are called the ‘yama’, the root meaning of which is ‘to control’ or ‘to regulate’. So, as the tones use to control, conduct and
sustain the structure of the sāmagāna, they are known as 'yama'. The word 'yama' has been used in the Yogasūtra of Patañjali to connote the idea of control: “yama-niyama-sana-prāṇāyama”, etc. In truth, the seven tones are the fountain-head of not only of the scales and modes of the sāman singing, but also of the later evolved rāga, tāna, mūrcheñā, alamkāra, mela or melakartā, sthāya, prabandha, etc. and so they are regarded as the basis or ground of music of all times.

Some are of opinion that the tones of the Indian music are borrowed from the foreign nations like the Arabs, etc., observing the similarity of names of the tones of both the systems, Indian and Arabian. But that is not the fact. The names of the Arabic tones are: jek, du, si, tschār, peni, schesch, and heft (=saptā), and they resemble the names of the Vedic tones, prathama, dvitiya, tṛitiya, caturtha, pañcama, ṣaṣṭha, and saptama. To make it explicit, it can be shown by means of the chart in a comparative manner:

### VEDIC TONES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic tones</th>
<th>Indian tones</th>
<th>European tones</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jek</td>
<td>prathama</td>
<td>eka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>dvitiya</td>
<td>du or dui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>tṛitiya</td>
<td>tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tschār</td>
<td>caturtha</td>
<td>cār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peni</td>
<td>pañcama</td>
<td>pañca or</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pañcama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schesch</td>
<td>ṣaṣṭha</td>
<td>chaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heft</td>
<td>saptama</td>
<td>sāta</td>
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</table>
Carl Engle’s statement can be mentioned in this connection to make it more clear. He has said in his article, *On the Musical Scales of Nations*: “In the music of the Arabs, we also meet with similar intervals than our semi-tones. The notes of the Arabic scales, which are designated by the number from 1 to 7........yek, du, si, tschär, peni, schesch, heft (also, as in our own music, by the first seven letters of the alphabet, which are in the Arabic ālif, be, gim, dal, he, wan, zain) are sub-divided into seventeen one-third tones”. As for example,

Yk du si rschär peni schesch heft
C D E F G A B-flat

As regards the question of borrowing of the tones of the Indian system of music from those of the Arabian system, it may alterately be taken that the Arabs incorporated in their system the names of musical tones of the Indian system of music, as there was a close relation between India and Arabia from very ancient time by means of interchange of trade and commerce. Prof. Calmet has said that before the death of the Prophet Mohammed (632 A.D.), music was current in Arabia in a developed form. The Arabs also borrowed many things from India through the medium of trade and commerce, and not only the Arabs, but all other nations of the world were also indebted to India in many respects. Greece, Rome, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Assyria, Korea, China, Japan, Germany, Russia and other ancient civilized countries enriched themselves by borrowing ideas of art, religion and philosophy from India. From the pages of the history of the world it is evident that the Greeks specially borrowed many materials of culture, art, and civilization from India.
in ancient time. Dr. Lecy O'Leary has admitted that the Pythagorean elements can ultimately be traced to an Indian source.¹

Sir John Malcolm is of opinion that the Persians borrowed many materials of music from India. He has admitted: "They (Persians) have a gamut and notes and a different description of melody, but they cannot be said to be further advanced in this science than the Indians, from whom they are supposed to have borrowed it".² Carl Eagle has also said in connection with his discussion on the Arabic intervals that the Persians appear to have employed at an early period similar intervals of the semi-tones. "After the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, about the middle of the seventh century of our Christian era, the music of the Persians and Arabs became, so to say, amalgamated, and they are still treatises extent of early Arabian and Persian theorists, in which the system of one-third tones is exhibited. Afterwards, however, some of the Persian musicians adopted a system of twelve semi-tones in the compass of an octave, like our chromatic scale".³

Allain Denielou has also discussed on the similar problem, though in a different way. He has said: "It seems that some of the conceptions, which are the basis of Hindu theory, were known in Europe at the end of the middle ages, probably not through direct influence, but by way of Egyptian and Pythagorean traditions, transmitted to the

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Arabs and Byzantines”. Regarding the antiquity of Indian music, Swāmī Abhedānanda has said that the “Hindus first developed the science of music from the chanting of the Vedic hymns. The Śāmaveda was specially meant for music. And the scales with seven notes and three octaves were known in India centuries before the Greeks had it. Probably the Greeks learnt it from the Hindus...” Allain Daniélou has set forth many reasons in favour of the antiquity of Indian music in his Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales. He has said: (i) “The musical system of the Greeks had certainly not originated in their country... One is bound to suppose that Pythagoras brought from the East the musical system which was adopted by country-men of Hellas. ...It was foreigners coming from India, Persia and Asia Minor the Phrygians Hyagnis, his son Marsyas and Olympus, the Thracians Lions, Thamyris and Orpheus, who imparted music to Greece. We, therefore, believe until better information is obtained, that the Hellenic tonal system had its origin in India or perhaps in China; the Greek instruments were all of Asiatic origin,......” (ii) “Greek music, as it was actually played by musicians, being of modal form, is necessarily included in the definitions of ancient Hindu music,...Greek music, like Egyptian music, most probably had its roots in Hindu music, or, at least, in that universal system of modal music of which the tradition has been fully kept only by the Hindus”.

5. Vide India and Her People (1945), p. 216.
7. Ibid., pp. 159-160.
Dr. Arnold Bake's statement has also thrown light upon this problem, though in a different way. He has said: "The Greek theory dominated the development of music in the West, to such an extent that even Church music in Russia followed rules derived from it till the most recent times, and music in the West of Europe, specially ecclesiastical, was under its sway for centuries. Whereas the whole Hellenistic world had adopted it already at the beginning of the Christian era,...". Thus from all these comments we come to the conclusion that all the ancient civilized countries of the world, drew inspiration and received impetus in the art of music from India.

In the beginning of the Christian era, some new rāgas and gītis were included in the category of formalised regional (deśī) type of music which flourished side by side of the gāndharva type of music, the nucleus of which is to be found in Bharata's Nātyaśāstra, and fully delineated in Māntaṅga's Brhaddeśī of the 5th-7th century A. D.

The grāmarāgas had their origin in the jātis or jātirāgas, having their bases in the two grāmas, sādja and madhyama, ("jāti-sambhutavāt grāmarāgāni"). The gāndhāra-grāma fell out of practice at that time. Later on different kinds of mixed (miśra āṅga) rāgas evolved from the grāmarāgas. The mixture of the Aryan and the non-Aryan tunes (rāgas) commenced from the 3rd-5th century and continued up to the 12th-13th century A. D., and this admixture is evident in the works like Brhaddeśi, Saṅgīta-samayasaśāra and Saṅgīta-Ratnākara. The Turkish, Scythian and Persian tunes were also adopted in the stock of the Indian classical music, making them suitable to the taste and temperament of the changing society. The fusion took place mainly during the periods, 5th-7th and 11th-13th centuries A. D. The
rāgas were characterised by ten essentials like sonant, consonant, assonant, dissonant, etc., and there was a perfect consonance (svara-samvāda) between the notes, first and fourth and first and fifth, as was vogue in the ancient Greek music.

To give a brief account of the early form and theory of music of Greece, which were devised by Pythagoras and his devout followers, I shall take privilege to quote most of the materials from Prof. John Burnet’s *Greek-Philosophy* (Thales to Plato), where the early Pythagorean musical and medical theories have been discussed. It may be taken as certain that Pythagoras himself discovered the numerical ratios for the determination of the concordant intervals of the scale. Pythagoras was a Samian, and he migrated to Italy ‘because he disliked the rule of Palykrates’. It is said that Pythagoras flourished in 532 B.C., but as no actual dates are known, says Prof. Burnet, it is safe to say that his activity belonged mainly to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. Regarding the Pythagorean musical theory, Prof. Burnet has said that when the Greeks called certain intervals concordant, they were thinking primarily of notes, sounded in succession and not simultaneously. “In other words, the term refers to melodic progressions, and not to what we call harmonious chords. The principle is ultimately the same, indeed, but it is often of importance to remember that there was no such thing as harmony in classical Greek music, and that the word ‘harmony’ means in the Greek language, first ‘tuning,’ and then ‘scale’”.

In the time of Pythagoras, says Prof. Burnet, the lyre had seven strings, and it is not improbable that the eighth was added later as the result of his discoveries. All the strings were of equal length, and were tuned to the required
pitch by tension and relaxation. This was done entirely by ear, and the first thing was to make the two outside strings (hypatē and metē) (high and low) concordant, in the sense explained, with one another, with the middle string (mesē), and with the string just above it (tritē, later parāmesē). "The notes of these four strings were called 'stationary' and were similarly related to one another in every kind of scale; the notes of the other three (or four in the eight-stringed lyre) were 'movable', and scales were distinguished as enharmonic, chromatic and diatonic (with their varieties), according as their strings were tuned more or less closely to the same pitch by as little as what we call a quarter-tone, as much as what we call a double-tone. It is obvious that none of our scales could be played on a seven-stringed lyre, tuned to the diatonic scale, is required for them. Even in that scale, however, the Greeks did not recognise the interval we called the third as concordant."

Prof. Burnet has said that it is quite probable that Pythagoras knew the pitch of notes to depend on the rate of vibrations which communicate 'beats' or pulsations to the air. That was also familiar to his successors; but neither he nor they had any means of measuring the rate of vibrations. As, however, the rate of vibration of two similar strings is inversely proportional to their length, it was possible for him to transform the problem and attack it on that side. The lyre did not immediately suggest this; for its strings were of equal length, but a few experiments with strings of unequal length would establish the truth. Prof. Burnet says that Pythagoras doubtless used a simple aparatus

8. Vide Dr. Burnet: Greek Philosophy (Thales to Plato), p. 46.
consisting of a string which could be stopped at different intervals by a movable bridge, and in this way reduced the experiment to a simple comparison of lengths on a single string. The result was to show that the concordant intervals of the scale could be expressed by the simple numerical ratios 2: 1, 3: 2, and 4: 3, or, taking the lowest whole numbers which have these ratios to one another, that the four stationary notes of the lyre could be expressed thus:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
6 & 8 & 9 & 12 \\
\hline
Netē & Paramēsē & Mesē & Hypatē \\
Mi & Si & La & Mi
\end{array}
\]

To represent these four notes by those of the gamut in descending order, it can be shown,

Now we may explain the discovery of Pythagoras as follows:

1. "When he took a length of string double that which gave the high Mi, it gave the low Mi. That is the interval which we call the octave and the Greeks called diapason. It is expressed by the ratio 2: 1.

2. "When he took a length of string half as long again as that which gave the high Mi, it gave La. That is the interval which we call the fifth and the Greeks called diapente. It is expressed by the ratio 3: 2.

3. "When he took a length of string one-third again as long as that which gave the high Mi, it gave Si. That is the interval which we call the fourth and the Greeks called diatessaron. It is expressed by the ratio 4: 3.

4. "The compass of the octave is a fifth and a fourth \( \left( \frac{5}{6} \times \frac{6}{3} = \frac{10}{9} \right) \), and the note which is a fifth from the Netē is fourth from the Hypate, and vice versa.
(5) "The interval between the fourth and the fifth is expressed by the ratio 9:8. This is called the 'tone' or pitch par excellence (probably from its importance in attuning the two tetrachords to one another).

(6) "As there is no (numerical) mean proportional between 1 and 2, neither the octave nor the tone can be divided into equal parts".

Now these divisions remind us the division of tones by Bbarata, by means of the cala (shiftable) and acala or druva (non-shiftable) veenās.

Prof. Burnet is of opinion that there is a good reason for holding that Pythagoras did not go any further than this, and no attempt was made to determine the ratios between the 'movable' notes of the tetrachord till the days of Arcthytas and Plato. Aristoxenos tells us that the diagrams of the older musical theorists all referred to the enharmonic scale, which proceeded by what he called quarter-tones and a double-tone; but Pythagoras could not admit the possibility of quarter-tones, since the tone did not admit of equal division. "The internal notes of the tetrachord must, then, have been regarded as of the nature of the 'unlimited', and the 'limit' was represented only by the perfect concords".

Prof. Burnet has further said: "Now if we look at the four terms which we have discovered, we shall find that 8 and 9 are related to the extremes 6 and 12 as means. The term 9, which represents the note of the mesē, exceeds and is exceeded by the same number, namely 3. It is what is called the arithmetical mean. On the other hand, the term 8, which represents the note of the paramesē, exceeds and is exceeded by the same fraction of the extremes; for \[ 8 = 12 - \frac{1}{3} = 6 + \frac{5}{3} \]. This was called the subcontrary,"
or later, for obvious reasons, the harmonic mean. The geographical mean is not to be found within the compass, of a single octave".9

From the statement of Nārada’s Nāradīśikṣā of the 1st century A.D., we come to know that the microtonal units (śrūtis) were in use in both the gāndharva and formalised desi types of music. The microtonal units or microtones are the minute perceptible tones. Bharata has analysed the seven laukika tones, śadja, etc. into twenty-two minute tones (śrūtis) on the basis of the genus-species or jāti-vyakti (cause-effect) theory, as devised by Nārada.

The period covering the 5th-7th century to the 13th century A.D. can be considered as the period of renaissance in the domain of Indian music, because during this period many old and new rāgas came into being from different sources, and they enriched the treasury of Indian classical music. The rāgagītis were known by their respective rāgas during Mataṅga’s time, and many new rāgas and gītis evolved from them. The rāgas were determined by different mūrčhanās, which were again replaced by melas or thātas or melakartās in the 16th—17th century A. D. The intuitive authors and artists of music considered the rāgas as the living embodiments of divine spirit, and they made them surcharged with aesthetic or emotional sentiments and feelings (rasa and bhāva), composed the dhyāna-formulas, and painted their exquisite colourful pictures (rāgamālā), which came to be known as the visualized music. Well has it been said by Prof. O. C. Gāngoly in this connection that each rāga or melody was then dedicated to its own theme, its ethos, its presiding genus,

its devatās. And it was by the prayer of the adept musician, the singer, or the interpreter, who had to immerse in the theme and identify himself with it, that the devatās—
the spirit of the rāga was made visible (mūrtimanta) in the symphonic form,—the nādamaya rūpa, and thus they used to visualize the image of the rāga in ecstatic vision.

Different kinds of musical phrases (sthāya) and compositions (prabandha) were in use even at the beginning of the Christian era, and they have been described in Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra in connection with the classical dramatic performances. Mātāṅga, Pārśvadeva and Śāraṅgdeva have elaborated them in a systematic and scientific way in their respective works.

The history of development of classical music of South India is also interesting. In ancient times, there was no such artificial line of demarcation, dividing the music of India into Northern and Southern categories. Probably, during the 14th-16th century A.D., Mādhava-Vidyāranya (1302-1387 A.D.), Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.), and Puṇḍaraṅga Viṭṭhala (1590 A.D.) flourished, and propagated the genus-species (janya-janaka) principle of the rāgas, with mukhārī as the standard scale (śuddha-mēla). The system of the South Indian music gradually began to take new shape, and afterwards became different from that of the North Indian music. Afterwards Somanāth (1609 A.D.), Govinda Dīkṣit (1614 A.D.) and Veṅkaṭa-makhlī (1620 A.D.) flourished with a new vision. The introduction of the seventy-two melakartās by Govinda Dīkṣit and Veṅkaṭa-makhlī brought into being an altogether different mode in
the South Indian music. But it should be mentioned in this connection that in spite of the introduction of the seventy-two melakartās or śātas, only nineteen out of them were practised during Veṅkataamakhi's time. The tonal forms of most of the rāgas of the South Indian system were also different from those of the North. The various padam, kṛti or kīrtanam, varṇam, rāgamālikā, pallavi, contributed by Purandaradāsa, Kṣetrajña, Tyāgarāja, Śyāmā Sāstrī, Muthusvāmī Dīkṣitar, Svāti Tirunal and others, enriched the South Indian music.

The history of music of Bengal and Assam is equally interesting. We learn from the history of Bengal that classical music and dance were extensively cultured during the rules of the Gupta, Pāla and Sena Kings. Bengal was then known as ‘Greater Bengal,’ having within its fold the modern states of Assam, Bihār, Bengal proper (Eastern and Western), and Orissa. The classical dance and music, as expounded by Muni Bharata, in the Nāṭyaśāstra, were properly practised by the Devadāsis or temple dancing-girls in different temples of Greater Bengal. During the reign of Maurya Chandragupta, and specially during the time of the Great Emperor Aśoka, Indian music was introduced to the Central Asian countries by way of Kashmere and Tibet, by the traders and religious missionaries. The music of the countries like Kuchi, Khāṣgarh, Samarkand, and specially China were enriched by the process.

Now we find that during the 10th–11th century A.D., the classical rāgas and tālas were used in the religio-mystic songs of the Buddhist Siddhāchāryās of the Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna schools. In the early 12th century A.D., Thākur Jayadeva of Nānnur (Birbhum) composed the Gitagovinda-padasgānas, and they were used to be
sung with different classical rāgas and tālas. The rāgas of the caryāpadas and the gitagovinda were different in their structures from those of the present-day system of the North Indian Hindusthānī music. But they can be sung correctly by changing the standard scale that determines the tonal forms of the rāgas, prevailing in these days. During the 15th-16th century A.D., Śrī Chaitanya (1485-1533) composed the nāma-kirtana out of the materials of the caryā, gitagovinda-padagāna, pāncāli, kṛṣṇa-kirtana, bānu and other religio-devotional songs that were current before and in his time. The nāma-kirtana, though very simple, enriched the music of Bengal by its charming pathos. The kirtana-type of devotional song was composed, and used to be sung in praise of the Lord of the universe, superman, gods and goddesses, and heroes. It was known as the ‘kūrtigāthā-gāna’. It has been described as the prabandha-giti, having six limbs (āṅgas), in Ghanasyāma-Narahari’s Bhaktiratnākara, and the Gitacandrodaya. The six limbs of the kirtigāna or classical kirtana are: svara, viruda, pada, tenaka, tāla and pāta, and they have been elaborately discussed in Sāraṅgdeva’s Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, and Narahari’s Bhaktiratnākara. Its allied classical prabandha-gāna is the kūrti-labari-gāna which has also been described in the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara.

After Śrī Chaitanaya, Thākur Narottamadāsa (16th century A.D.) devised the lilā or rasa kirtana, which was purely classical in form. He designed it after the prabandha-gāna, dhruvāpada. The rasa-kīrtana was accompanied by tālas, which are described in Narahari’s (early 17th century A.D.) Saṅgīta-sāra-saṅgraha and Subhaṅkara’s Saṅgīta-dāmodara. In course of time, there evolved different schools of padāvali-kīrtana with different styles from different
parts of Bengal, and they were garāṇhāti, reṇeti, manoharsāhi, mandārini, śbārkaṇḍi, etc. In the beginning of the 20th century, Madhusudana Kiinnar or Madhu Kān also devised a new type of ḍhāpa-kīrtana, which was simple in its form, and classical in character. The 18th century was an epoch-making period in Bengal, as many of the stalwarts in the field of music, viz. Kavirājñān Rāmaprāsad Sen (1720 or 1730 A. D.), Rāmanidhi Gupta or Nidhu Bābu (1741-42 to 1838-39 A. D.) and others enriched Bengal by their classico-Bengali songs. Vishnupur (Bānkurā) became instrumental in infusing new spirit and inspiration into the domain of classical music in Bengal. Many of the Muslim Ustāds from Delhi and Āgrā settled in Bengal, and consequently Pāthuriāghātā (Calcutta), Muktaṅgāchā (Mymensingh), Dacca, Gauripur (Assam), Gobardāṅgū, Āgarolā, Chinsurāh, Hooghly etc. became the seats of culture of classical music in Bengal. Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore, and his brother Sir Saurindra Mohan Tagore helped much for the spread of the culture of classical music in Calcutta and its adjacent places. The bāul, bhātiyālī, jārī, sārī, gambhirā, tarjā, pāncālī, kālī-kīrtana, and other socio-religious folk songs evolved in different parts of Bengal.

Assam’s contribution to the domain of Indian music is none the less. During the latter half of the 16th century A. D., Saṅkaradeva (16th century) preached a sort of neo-Vaiṣṇavism in Assam. He and his disciple, Mādhava-deva composed bārgīta, aṅkīyā-gīta, kīrtana-ghoṣā, nāma-ghoṣā, bhātimā-gīta, payāra, etc. in different classical rāgas and tālas. These types of music of Assam may be divided into four main groups: (a) vocal, (b) instrumental, (c) dance and (d) drama or aṅkīyā-nāts. (a) The vocal music is of different kinds, and they are bārgīta (baḍagīti, the
great song), ā̄kṣiyā-gīta, jugal-patal, ghosā-kirtana, toli-austti, namaghosā and kirtana-ghosā. These are sung with different śāstric rāgas and tālas. These are entrusted to different families and groups of people, known as Gāyanas, Bāyans, Pāṭhaks, Ojāhs, Sutrādharas, Shayuha and Udīśaṁ Bhaktas or Kewaliī Bhaktas. (b) The instrumental music includes khola, mṛdanaṅga, bhortāla, maṇjarī-tāla, nāgarā, etc. Different tālas are played on khola and mṛdanaṅga. (c) Dances are of two kinds, ojāpali and gāyana-bāyana-nṛtta. (d) Dramas are of different types, and they are followed by songs or kirtanās. The different types of songs (gītis), as have been mentioned before, are still sung in different Sātras, Nāma-gharas and villages in Assam. The Manipūrī dance and kirtana are regarded as the unique contribution to the domain of Indian music. This type of dance is always followed by themes, as are depicted in the Rādhā-krṣṇa-līlā. The gestures and postures, together with costume are beautiful and graceful. The khola (mṛdanaṅga) accompanies the dance.

The history of the development of music in Orissa is also very interesting. The sculptures of the Jain Cave-temples of Udayagiri and Khāṇḍagiri, of the temples of Parasūrāma-śvara, Rājarāṇi, as also the colossal Sun-temple of Konārka bear ample evidences as to the development of classical and folk dances and music in Orissa. The Orissan dance and music, and different types of her folk song construe a fascinating chapter of Indian music. The Abhinaya-caṇḍrikā, written by Maheśvara Mahāpātra, during the 12th century A. D., has described the gestures and postures, and different kinds of hand-poses (mudrās) of the Orissan dances, which differ from those described in Nandikesvara’s Abhinayadarpaṇa and Muni Bharata’s
Nātyaśāstra. Different kinds of musical instruments of Orissan type can also be seen in different sculptures of Orissan temples like Konārka, Puri, and Bhubanesvara. Many of the treatises on Indian music were also composed in Orissa from the early 12th century up to the 18th century A.D., and of them the Gītā-prakāṣa, Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa, Saṅgīta-saraṇī, Saṅgīta-kāmoda, etc. are worth-mentioning.

The history of Indian music is, in reality, very amazing. From the primitive period right down to the present day, it has created and is also creating a glorious history of its own, and the music of the other nations of the world are much indebted to it. Its range is vast, and so it is not possible to enclose it within the narrow compass of a few printed pages, still we are aware that there is necessity for such venture, as it will unfold before the eyes of the readers a picture, however small, of the achievements of the historic and glorious India in the domain of fine art of music.
CHAPTER II

MUSIC IN THE NĀRADISĪKṢĀ AND THE NĀṬYASĀSTRA

I

The Nāradisīkṣā:

Music lay asleep, as it were, in the womb of Nature, and its awakening means its manifestation in the gross form from the unmanifested causal one. The upholders of the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta believe in the satkāryavāda, which means effect is the manifested form of cause that exists eternally. They maintain that everything comes out from that which already exists in a causal form. The theory of evolution also connotes the idea of gradual manifestation of that which already existed in a subtle or causal form, and involution implies the notion of going back to the causal state: “nāśaḥ kāraṇarlayaḥ”. From this it is evident that evolution means the manifestation of something in a gradual process. Evolution is not, therefore, an entirely new thing, but the emergence of the new form out of the ashes of the old one, with some necessary changes like additions and alterations—adjustments and re-adjustments. It has been mentioned in the Ṛgveda: “sūryacandrāmasau dhātā, yathā pūrvamakalpayat”, i.e. the first-born Lord (Hiranyagarbha-Brahma) created (projected) the phenomenal universe with its sun, moon, stars, etc. as they existed in the previous cycle. The art of music also developed from the causal state into the gross form through the medium of gradual progress, and it will go on developing until it reaches perfection.
The rāga is the norm or matrix of Indian music, and it forms the main structure of Indian music. The word ‘rāga’ occurs four times in the Nārādaśikṣā: thrice in the second section (kāṇḍa) and once in the fourth section of the first chapter (prapāṭhaśa). It may be asked as to what does the word ‘rāga’ signify. Nārada says that the grāmarāgas fully convey the idea and significance of the ‘rāga’ which means that pleases and soothes the mind of all living beings (“rañjayati iti rāgah”). Nārada has described about the svaramaṇḍala which is constituted of tāna, rāga, svara, grāma, mūrcchanā, etc. Nārada says,

Sapta-svarāśrayo grāmā mūrcchanāstekaviṁśatilī
tānā-ekonapañcāśadityetat-svaramaṇḍalāṁ

Further he says,

Tāna-rāga-svara-grāma-mūrcchanānāṁ tu lakṣmaṇaṁ
Pavitraṁ pāvanaṁ punyaṁ nāradena prakṛtitaṁ

According to Nārada, tāna, rāga, svara, grāma and mūrcchanā, that constitute the svaramaṇḍala, are sacred and purifying, because they bring permanent solace and tranquility to the minds of men and women. Some maintain that Nārada of the Siksā has used the word ‘rāga’ in the sense of a note (śvara) and not in the sense of a melody (rāga) which is formed out of the combination of notes or tones, and so he has used the particular word ‘rāgasvāra’ instead of ‘rāga’. Therefore the words in the śloka: “tāna-rāga-svara-grāma” etc. and “svara-rāga-viśeṣaṇa rāgasvāra iti smṛtah” do not seem to be very happy. As a matter of fact the grāmarāgas are named after the initial notes of the ancient grāmas like śadja, madhyama and gāndhāra. The practice of the grāmarāgas were also current in the pre-Christian era, and they are found mentioned in the Great
Epics like Rāmāyaṇa (400 B.C.), Mahābhārata (300 B.C.) and Harivaṃśa (200 B.C.)

Some hold that the Nāradīśikṣā being a book of Vedic prosody, has nothing to do with the topics of music. But they are not correct in their views, because the Nāradīśikṣā deals with the fundamental laws and principles of both the vaidika and laukika types of music with their uses of metres, tones and tunes. Nārada has also described the essentials of vocal and instrumental music, based on the three ancient basic scales or grāmas like śadja, madhyama and gāndhāra. But, truly speaking, the use of the gāndhāra-grāma became almost obsolete during Nārada’s time in the 1st century A.D. and he has admitted the fact in the NS:

Ṣadja-madhyama-gāndhārastrayogrāmāḥ prakīrtitāḥ/
Bhurlokaśyate ṣadjo bhuvarlokaśca madhyamaḥ//,
Svargāṇānyatra gāndhāro nāradasya matam yathā/.

The words ‘bhuh’, ‘bhuvah’ and ‘svaḥ’ connote the ideas of nether or human world, ether or spirit world and upper world or devaloka. Now, what do we mean by ‘devaloka’? The devaloka or upper world, in the ancient times, signified the higher level of India which meant the Gāndhāra-deśa (modern Kāndāhāra), inhabited by the semi-divine and music-loving Gandharvas. It is said that the Gāndhāra-deśa was situated on the North-West Frontier of India as it is at the present day, and it is believed that it was the ancient site where the civilization and culture of India had their dawn. For this reason it was known as the sacred region of the bright spirits or devas. And it is a fact that the Gandharvas were fully conversant with the use and application of the gāndhāra-grāma in their system of music, which was known as ‘gāndharva’. Nārada is said to be the pro-
mulgater of the gāndharva school (sampradāya), and so it is believed by some that he knew that the gāndhāra-grāma, which was suitable for the gāndharva type of music for the Gandharvas, would not be suitable for the music system of the world, as the tonal arrangement of the gāndhāra-grāma was somewhat difficult for improvisation in the practical field. But this theory or belief does not seem to be sound from the viewpoint of the strict logic, because we know that Muni Bharata has also left out the discussion of the gāndhāra-grāma from the Nātyaśāstra, in the 2nd century A.D., though he has exclusively dealt with the system of the gāndharva music. He has also admitted the fact that the gāndharva type of classical music was favourite and pleasing both to the gods and the Gandharvas. He has said:

Gāndharvamiti vijñeyam svara-tāla-padāstrayam//
Aryarthamistān devānām tatha prīti-karam punah/
Gandharvānāmidam yasmāt tasmād-gāndharvamucyate//

Thus we learn that though Muni Bharata is well-acquainted with the gāndhāra-grāma, yet he has not discussed it in connection with the gāndharva type of music.

Some scholars are of opinion that gāndhāra-grāma evolved first, hence it is the most ancient of the three grāmas. While discussing about the gāndhāra-grāma in connection with the article, Survival of the Useful in Music, which appeared in the “Journal of the Music Academy, Vo. XVII, 1946,” (pp. 80-89), Prof. P. Sāmbamoorthry has said: “Of the Shādja, Madhyama and Gāndhāra grāmas mentioned in early literature, the Gāndhāra-grāma is the earliest. It is referred to in the Mahābhārata and in some Purāṇas. It became obsolete by the time of Bharata and Dattila”. Further he has said: “In the Gā-grāma, the
pairs of notes, *sa* and *ma*, *ri* and *dha*, and *ga* and *ni* were Samvādis. The interval between *Ga* and *Ma*, between *Ma* and *Pa* and between *Ni* and *Sa* was the same, i.e. 10/9 or a *Triśruti* interval. **The Gāndhār-grāma, in course of time was ignored because its Rishabha, Gāndhāra, Dhaivata and Nishāda were re-discovered in the Mūrcchanā, Uttarāyātā of Sa-grāma and in its reduced Paṅchama 40/27 in the Madhyama-grāma. The Svaras of the Ga-grāma can even now be heard in the Vedic chants (not the Śāmagāṇa) of the Vaidikas of South India**. While discussing about the grāmas in the Expert Committee Discussion of the Music Academy Conference, Madras in 1958, another South Indian Scholar, Sri Rāmanāthan also discussed about the gāndhāra-grāma on the basis of the śruti values as given by Sāraṅgdeva in the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara. Sāraṅgdeva has shown

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Sāraṅgdeva has quoted Nārada of the Śikṣā for the values given by him. The gāndhāra-grāma has been referred to after the ṣadja and madhyama grāmas, and it is evident that with the uddha-svaras of the ṣadja-grāma as the basic scale, the notes of the gāndhāra-grāma were evaluated. Sāraṅgdeva says in the SRK: “Gāndhāra takes one śruti for ṣabha, which means that ṣabha gets reduced from its tri-śruti value to the dvi-śruti value 16/15; gāndhāra also takes one śruti from madhyama, which means that gāndhāra is raised by a śruti, i.e. its value is raised to 6/5 from 32/27, and in consequence, the original interval of 9/8 that existed between gāndhāra and madhyama now becomes a tri-śruti interval of 10/9. The dhaivata takes one śruti from paṅcama, which means that paṅcama gets reduced to the frequency of 40/27. Niṣāda takes one śruti from dhaivata, which means that dhaivata gets reduced to 8/5; niṣāda also takes one śruti from tāra-sadja, which means that the frequency of niṣāda gets increased from 16/9 to 9/5”. 
that the *sruti* value of the gāndhāra-grāma is identical with the dhaiyata-mūrcchanā of the ṣadja-grāma, and can be equated with the *vilarippailai* of the Tānil sources. So, according to Śrī Rāmanāthan, it fell into disuse owing to the difficulty of negotiating the two madhyamas.

Dr. B. Chaitanya Deva has also discussed the *sruti*-problem of the grāmas in a somewhat different manner. According to him, the oldest defined scale was of the sāman chant and it closely corresponded to the Sa-grāma. “Hence it is safe to assume”, he says, “that this grāma (sa-grāma) is the oldest of the three and the other two are later developments”. Regarding the grāmas, ṣadja and madhyama, he has further said: “It can also be noticed that Su and Ma grāmas have the most balanced pairs of tetrachords. But, in Sa-grāma, whereas Sa and Ma have both fourths and fifths, Pa, an important note, has only a fifth (sa) and no fourth. To rectify this, another scale had to be formed wherein Pa found a fourth and fifth. Since the scales were descending, Pa is lowered by a comma (it is to be noted that Ri is not raised) resulting in Ma-grāma. In this scale, though Pa has acquired a fourth” (vide Drone in Indian Music, in the Journal of the MMA, Madras). Regarding the obsolete use of the gāndhāra-grāma, he has further advanced the theory that “with both the scales combined, Ga has no fifth and Dha lacks a fourth. This drawback is amended by creating the Ga-grāma where-in the two notes find the requisite counter-parts in the other tetrachords. Now, in the Ga-grāma, the madhyama, which was shown to be a very important note in ancient music, has only one consonant. Further, the paṅcama has no consonant note at all. Sa has only one consonant. Neither are the two tetrachords balanced. These reasons might
have contributed to the gradual disappearance of this scale”.

Some scholars are of opinion that the gândhāra-grāma is still in vogue by the name of sādbhārita-grāma like the kaiśika-grāma which exists in the name of the dhaśwatagaṇa. N. K. Bose has written a thesis on Melodic Types of Hindusthān (1960), and there he has said that sādbhārita appears to have been actually called the gândhāra-grāma, when it was originally borrowed from the Gandharvas. The name was subsequently abandoned when it came to be regarded as a derivative of the śadja-grāma. This accounts for the popular notion that the gândhāra-grāma exists in heaven only and not on the earth. One of the reasons for the discontinuance of the name seems to be the inconvenience in using it, because the starting note of the scale was the antara-gândhāra and not the gándhāra”. But it should be noted in this connection that the names of the grāmas, śadja, madhyama and gândhāra do not occur by their initial letters sa, ma and ga, but they are named so by their basic mūrochhanās, which start from the notes of the said respective grāmas, e.g. in the śadja-grāma, it is the mūrochhanā, uttaramandrá which starts from sa or śadja; in the madhyama-grāma, it is the mūrochhanā, sauvarā which starts from ma or madhyama, and in the gândhāra-grāma it is the mūrochhanā, nandā which starts from ga or gândhāra. Therefore it is neither a fact that the śadja-grāma signifies singing with śadja as śruti or tonic, the madhyama-grāma signifies singing in madhyama as śruti or tonic and the gândhāra-grāma as singing with gândhāra as śruti to tonic, nor does the interpretation that śadja-grāma signify the mūrochhanās in the mandra-sthāyī or lower octave, madhyama-grāma, the mūrochhanās in the madhya-sthāyī or middle
octave, and gāndhāra-grāma, the mūrecchanās in the tāra-sthāyī or higher octave, but their names have been given from the initial letters of their mūrecchanās. So whether gāndhāra-grāma really started from the antara-gāndhāra as its initial letter or note should further be investigated with care. Now it is a fact that since all the important intervals and scales were inherent and implied in the śadja-grāma and its mūrecchanās, and since by the re-allocation of śrūtis many new scales were obtained, the madhyama-grāma and the gāndhāra-grāma became practically useless. The mūrecchanās of the madhyama-grāma and the gāndhāra-grāma were either covered directly by the mūrecchanās of the śadja-grāma, or indirectly by the resultant modes, obtained by the re-allocation of śrūtis of the tones of the mūrecchanās of the śadja-grāma. Such is also the observation of Prof. Sāmbamoorthy, while discussing on the evolution of the scales.

Nārada has said that the practice of the gāndhāra-grāma is restricted within heaven i.e. in the devaloka (and also in gandharvaloka). But in the Mahābhārata-Hariyamśa, we find mention of “ā gāndhāra-grāmarāgah”, which means that the grāmarāgas were sung upto the gāndhāra-grāma. Nānyadeva of Mithilā has also described about the gāndhāra-grāma, together with the rāgas, evolved from it, in the Sarasvatī-ḥṛdayālaṁkāra, the commentary on Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra. In the Saṅgīta-makaranda of Nārada II, the gāndhāra-grāma has been described in this way:

Rī-ma-yoh śrutirekaika gāndhārasya saṁśraya/
Dhaivata-śrutireka ca niśāda-śruti-saṁśraya/.
Gāndhāragrāma-mācaste tadā taṁ nārada muniḥ,
Pravartate svargaloke grāme’sau na mahītale/,
That is, if one śruti is taken from each of the notes of ṛṣabha and madhyama and is added to the śrutis of niṣāda, the scale or grāma so formed is called the gāndhāra-grāma by Muni Nārada (of the Śīkṣā). This scale or grāma was prevalent in heaven, and not on earth. Again Pañḍarika Viṭṭhala of the 15th-16th century A.D. has determined the structure of the gāndhāra-grāma thus:

Ga-nyoḥ sthāne ri-dhau yatra laghu-ṣaḍja payo-ni-mauḥ
Gāndhāro madhyama-sthāne ga-grāmo yāṣṭiko mataḥ

That is, where ṛṣabha and dhaivata are placed in the position of gāndhāra and niṣāda, and niṣāda and madhyama in the position of laghu-ṣaḍja and laghu-paṅcama, and gāndhāra in the position of madhyama, it is known as the gāndhāra-grāma, according to the musicologist Yāṣṭika. Now, from this determination of Pañḍit Viṭṭhala we can assume that it is difficult for the artists in general to present the scale which is consisted of ṛṣabha having two śrutis, madhyama having three śrutis, dhaivata having two śrutis and niṣāda having three śrutis, and for this reason it is probable that the use of the gāndhāra-grāma has become obsolete. On the other hand, it is quite possible that as the tonal values of ṛṣabha, gāndhāra, dhaivata and niṣāda were re-discovered in the uttarāyata-mūrcchanā of the ṣaḍja-grāma, together with its reduced paṅcama as 40'/27 in the madhyama-grāma, so-

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2 The frequencies of the notes or tones in the three grāmas with their cyclic cents are:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>DH</th>
<th>NI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sa-grāma...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10/9</td>
<td>32/27</td>
<td>4/3</td>
<td>3/2</td>
<td>5/3</td>
<td>16/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>182</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-grāma...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10/9</td>
<td>32/27</td>
<td>4/3</td>
<td>40/27</td>
<td>5/3</td>
<td>16/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>182</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga-grāma...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16/15</td>
<td>6/5</td>
<td>4/3</td>
<td>40/27</td>
<td>8/5</td>
<td>9/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>1018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the use and utility of the ġāndbāra-grāma gradually fell into disuse.

Nārada has mentioned about two kinds of veena, gātra and dāravi in connection with two types of songs (gāna); vaidika (Vedic) and laukiha (post-Vedic). He has said,

Dāravi gātra-veena ca dve veene gāna jātisu/
Sāmikī gātra-veena tu tasyāḥ śṛṇuta lakṣmaṇaṁ///
Gātra-veena tu sā proktā yaśyāṁ gāyanti sāmagāh///

There were two kinds of veena, dāravi and gātra, to accompany the vaidika sāmagāna and the laukiha gāndharva-jātirāga-gāna. The word 'gāna' here connotes the idea of the sāmagāna, and jāti signifies the idea of the jātirāga-gāna, hence Nārada says that gātra-veena was meant for the sāman-singers. The gātra-veena possessed of a gourd and a wooden stem, having five, six or seven strings. It used to be played in an inclined posture with the help of fingers of the hands, and used to be placed on the thighs of the player. Regarding the method of playing the gātra-veena, Nārada has said:

Hastau susaṃyuktau dhāryau jānubhyāṃupari śhitau/
Gurorānukṛśitāṃ kuryād yathā jānanaṃ pratibhavat///
Prāṇavaṃ prāk-prayunijita vyāhṛtostadananantaraṇaḥ/
Savitrīṃ cānuvacanam rato vṛttāntamārābhiḥ///
Prasārya cāṅgulauḥ sarvā ropayet svara-maṇḍalam/
Na cāṅgulibhirāṅgustha-maṅguṣthe-nāṅguliḥ spṛṣṭa///

From this it can be imagined how scientific and methodical was the method of playing of the veena in accompaniment with the songs.

Nārada has also described about the tānas or elaborations of the tones. There were 12 tānas in the sadja-grāma, 20
in the madhyama-grāma, and 15 in the gāndhāra-grāma. Total 47 tānas. Besides, there were 21 mūrcchanās in each grāma, and they were allotted to devas, pīts and rūsis or gandharvas. There were presiding deities of each laukika tones. Nārada has said that vaidika and laukika songs (gānas) possessed ten qualities, from which ten kinds of effects were produced (gūṇa-vṛttis), and they were raktan, pūrṇan, alāṅkṛtan, prasannan, vyaktan, vikruṭan, ślaknan, sanman, sukumāran and madhuran. He has also given the real significances of each such quality. He says that songs were significant and meaningful with these qualities, and otherwise they were out of tones and tunes.

Nārada has determined as well as defined the seven grāmarāgas like śāḍava, paṅcama, madhyamagrāma, śāḍjagrāma, kaiśika, kaiśika-madhyama, and śādhrāta, which are found clearly mentioned in the Kudumāmālai Inscription of the 7th century A.D., engraved under the orders of Rāja Mahendravarman of the Pāṇḍukottai State, South India. He has beautifully defined the term ‘gāndharvan’, and says,

Geti geyan viduḥ prājnāḥ dheti kāru-pravādanam/
Veti vādyasya saṁjñeyam gāndharvasya virocanam//

The commentator Bhaṭṭaśobhākara explains the above śloka thus: “gāndharvasya āgataṁ gāndharvan tasyāksaropalaksitārtha-pratipādanena virocanam viśeṣato rocanamuddapanaṁ bhavati ga-śabdena gānam lakṣyate, dha-kāreṇa va-kāreṇa vaiṁikasya pravādanam * *”; i. e. when songs are properly accompanied by musical instruments they are known as gāndharvan. The gāndharva type of songs was first promulgated by Druhina Brahmā or Brahmābhara, and was there after enriched by Sadāśiva or Sadāśivabhara and Muni Bharata and others.
Bharata has identified the tones of the vaidika music with those of the laukika ones, and this identification has been made by means of tonal quality and their pitch values. As for example, Nārada says,

Yah sāmagānāṁ prathamaḥ sa vēṇor-madhyaṁaḥ svaraḥ /
Yo dvitiyaḥ sa gāndhāra-stṛtiya-stṛṣabhaṁ smṛtaḥ /
Caturthāḥ ṣaḍja-ityāhulī paścamo dhaivata bhavet /
Ṣaṣṭhe niśādo vijñeyah saptamaḥ paścamahaṁ smṛtaḥ /

That is, the tone prathama and its value (in the gana) are equal to madhyama and its tonal value (in the vēṇu i.e. laukika classical type of music); the tone, dvitiya and its value are equal to gāndhāra and its value; tṛtiya and its value are equal to ṭṛṣabha and its value; caturtha and its value are equal to ṣaḍja and its value; paścama or manda and its value are equal to dhaivata and its value, and ṣaṣṭha or atisvārya and its value are equal to niśāda; and saptama or kruṣṭa and its value are equal to paścama.

The ancient musical instruments, vēṇā and the vēṇu were used for the types of music, vaidika, and laukika, or it might be possible that Vedic music used to be determined by means of vēṇā, and the laukika one, by means of vēṇu or pipe, made of bone, wood or bamboo. It may be asked as to why the lute or vēṇā was known as the symbol of the Vedic music and the pipe or vēṇu as that of the classical formalised desī and simple folk music. It is a historical fact that the pipe or vēṇu is the most ancient musical instrument, which evolved immediately after the instrument of percussion i.e. drum. In the primitive time, the drum (dandubhi or bhumi-dandubhi) and the pipe or flute (vēṇu or vamśa) were used as musical instruments supporting the simple rude music of the primitive nations.
Gradually the gut-stringed musical instrument of the rude harp-size lute or veena evolved, and in the Vedic period, it was considerably developed and used as accompaniment to the Vedic music. The Vedic music was more developed than the simple songs of the primitive as well as prehistoric times. It is also a fact that the materials of the Vedic music were taken from the folk music of the ancient times, as it came to be regarded as a symbol not only of the folk music, but also of all kinds of music other than the Vedic one. Similarly in the Vedic time, when the lute or veena evolved in such a manner so as to accompany the Vedic music, it began to be held as the symbol of the Vedic songs. In fact, musical instruments used to play important role in the music of ancient times. In the Natyaashastra, we find that the drum, puskara used to determine the pitch values of the tones of music.

As regards the origin of tones, Nārada has suggested that the musical tones evolved as if from the final vibration-units of the tones (sounds) of birds and animals, e.g. the final tonal vibrations of peacock resemble the tonal pitch and value of the note, sadja, and so it is taken by some that sadja originated from the tone or sound of the peacock. Similarly the sound or call of the bull resembles that of rṣabha; the sound of the ram or sheep resembles that of gāndhāra; the sound of the crane resembles that of madhyama; the call of the cuckoo resembles that of paṁcama; the sound of the horse resembles that of dhaivata, and the sound of the elephant resembles that of niṣāda. Perhaps some close observations were made in ancient times to find out whether tonalities or pitch-units of the musical notes resembled the sounds of the birds and animals, and this fact is delineated in the Sanskrit scriptures like Rk-
prātiśākhyā, Nāradīśikā, Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, etc. However this theory needs further testing in the light of modern science and reason.

Nārada has further dealt with in the aphorisms 5 to 12 of the fourth chapter in the Śiksā the scientific explanation of the origin of seven musical tones. His statements in the aphorisms 5 to 6 do not seem scientific, as he states therein that śadja rises (originates) from the throat (kaṇṭha), śabha from the head i.e. mouth, gāndhāra from the nostril, madhyama from the top part of the palate, pañcama from the conjunction of upper part of the palate, throat and mouth, dhaivata from the inner part of the brow (lalāṭa), and niṣāda from the conjunctions of all limbs. But, it has already been said that this explanation does not hold good, and so Nārada has said,

Nāsāṃ kaṇṭha-murasthālau-jīhvā-dantaśca saṁśrītah/
Saḍbhi saṁjāyate yasmāt tasmāt śadja iti sṁṭaḥ//

As the air passes through these six levels of nose, throat, top part of the palate, base of the palate, lip and teeth, so it is called śadja (‘saḍabhīghātāt jāyate iti śadja’). Similarly he has further said,

Vāyuḥ samutchito nāvelī kaṇṭha-sīrṇa-samāhataḥ/,
Nadaṭśabhadyaṃstāṃ tasmādṛṣṭabha-ucyate//
Vāyuḥ samutchito nābheī kaṇṭha-sīrṇa-samāhataḥ/,
Nānā gandha-vahāḥ puṇyo gāndhāraṃstena hetunā//.
Vāyuḥ samutchito nābheruro ḍṛdi samāhataḥ/,
Nābhīṃ prāpro mahānādo madhyamaṃ samaśnute//,
Vāyuḥ-samutchito nābheruro-laṛdi-kaṇṭha-sīrohaṭaḥ/
Pañcāsthānortithirāsyā sa pañcamaṃstvaṃ vidhiyate//,
Dhaivataṃ ca niṣādaṃ ca varjaitvā svaradvayaṃ,
Seśāt-pañcāsthāna-sthitātvena sarvasthānāni dhāryate//,
From the above-mentioned ślokas it is evident that air (vāyu) or friction of air in the process of conjunction with the limbs originates musical notes or tones, and this statement seems more scientific and rational. But it should be noted that ṣadja, ṣrabha, etc. are the formalised desī or laukika tones, and they are also the classical ones. The vaidika tones are different in their names and tonal values. The names of the vaidika tones are: prathama, dvitiya, tritiya, caturtha, manda (pañcama) atisvārya (saṣṭha) and kruṣṭa (saṣṭama). Nārada has mentioned that kruṣṭa originates from murdhā (head), prathama from laḻāta (forehead), madhyama from bhrvau (middle of the eyebrows), dvitiya and tritiya from karpas (ears), caturtha from kaṇṭha (vocal chord), manda from ūra (upper part of the palate) and atisvārya from the lower part of the heart. These parts are regarded as the bases of the vaidika or Vedic tones. It seems to us that those limbs are not really the bases, but only the locations, where the Sāmagas used to touch them with the help of their fingers in the time of singing. So it may be regarded as one of the processes of observing the time-units and metres of different sāman-singings.

There is another method of observing times or time-units and metres, and though Nārada has given an evidence of it, yet there is an anomaly of statement, because, while giving examples of touching the fingers in the time of singing the sāmans with the respective Vedic tones, he has also mentioned about the laukika tones in a simultaneous way. As for example, he has said,

Aṅguṣṭhaṣyottame kruṣṭohyaṅgusṭhe prathamaḥ svaraḥ,
Prādeśinyām tu gāndhāra-ṛṣabhashdanantarām;
Anānikāyāṁ ṣadjastu kaniṣṭhikāyāṁ ca dhaivataḥ,
Tasyādhatācca yonyāstu niṣādaṁ tatra vinyaset.
Nārada has also dealt with the problem of microtones, which were afterwards came to be known as jātis or causal microtones (jātisrūtis). He has enumerated the microtones as five, and they are: diptā, āyatā, karunā mṛdu and madhyā:

Dīptā-āyatā-karunām mṛdu-madhya-mayosthā
Śrutināṁ yo'viśeṣajñō na sa ācārya ucyate/.

Nārada has definitely said that a master (Ācārya) of music is he, who knows the intricate positions and problems of the microtones. Regarding their bases (sthānas) on the seven tones, he has said that diptā resides in the Vedic tones, manda, dviśiṣya and caturtha; karunā, in the tones, atisvārya, triśiṣya and kruṣṭa; and mṛdu, madhyamā or madhyā and āyatā in the tone, dviśiṣya

The names of these microtones (rūtis) are very significant, as they convey aesthetic sentiments and emotional moods (rasas and bhāivas).

As for example,

1. diptā—connotes the idea of brilliance, lusture, stimulation, etc.
2. āyatā—connotes the idea of broadness, immensity, vastness, etc.
3. karunā—connotes the idea of compassion, pity, softness, etc.
4. mṛdu—connotes the idea of timidity, softness, tenderness, humiliation etc.
5. madhyamā or madhyā—connotes the idea of medium, balance, control, etc.

Muni Bharata has devised as well as divided the twenty-two microtones (rūtis) on the basis of these five causal microtones, as expounded by Nārada, and there occur some
common names among the twenty-two microtones. As for example,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nārada</th>
<th>Bharata</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diptā</td>
<td>tīvrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āyatā</td>
<td>kumudvatī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mṛdu</td>
<td>mandā</td>
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<tr>
<td>madhyā</td>
<td>chandovatī</td>
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<tr>
<td>karuṇā</td>
<td>dayāvatī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The five causal microtones occur also in the base-tones like udātta, anudātta and svarita—high, grave and circumflex. Regarding it, Nārada has said,

Dīptāmudātte jāniyāt dīptām ca svarite viduh,
Anudātte mṛdurjñeyā gāndharvā śruti-sampadāḥ/

There is a controversy regarding the exact date of the Nāradiśikṣā by Nārada I. Some scholars ascribe the date to the 5th century A.D. and some to the 7th-9th century A.D. But most of the scholars are of opinion that it was written in the 1st century A.D., and this date has been accepted for many reasons.

The Nāradiśikṣā is a book on the science and art of the Vedic meters, phonetics, tones and tunes and the method of singing of the Vedic music, sāmagāna. It is the most important śikṣā among all others, as it deals with the problems of music, both vaidika and laukika. Again it should be remembered that the Nāradiśikṣā has, for the first time, determined the fixed scale of the sāman-singing. The Vedic tones has been called as yama, meaning that, which controls the tunes of the sāmagāna. The Rk-prātiṣākhya states: “triṣu māndrādiṣu sthāne evaikasmin saptā-saptā yamāḥ bhavanti”, i.e. three sets of tones of the Vedic music formed the complete saptaka
(European *octave*, containing eight tones, sa to sa) of both the *vaidika* and *laukika* music. So we get the seven tones from the three base-tones, *udātta*, *anudātta*, and *svarita* thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3 and 5</th>
<th>4, 1 and 7</th>
<th>6 and 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grave</td>
<td>medium</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(<em>anudātta</em>)</td>
<td>(<em>svarita</em>)</td>
<td>(<em>udātta</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly we get the seven tones of the *gāndharva* and *deśi* types of music thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ri</th>
<th>dha</th>
<th>sa</th>
<th>ma</th>
<th>pa</th>
<th>ni</th>
<th>ga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(grave)</td>
<td>(medium)</td>
<td>(high)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bass</td>
<td>circumflex</td>
<td>acute</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again from the *ślokas*: “*yaḥ sāmagānāṁ prathamāḥ sa venor madhyamāḥ svarah*”, etc., we get the following corresponding tones of both the systems of music, *vaidika* and *laukika*:

- prathama ............ madhyama (ma),
- dvitīya ............ gāndhāra (ga),
- tṛtiya ............ ṭṣabha (ri),
- caturthā ............ śaḍja (sa),
- mandra ............ dhaivata (dha) \{ or \{ ni  \\
    \{ dha \}
- atisvārya ............ niśāda (ni),
- kruṣṭa ............. pañcama (pa) \{ or \{ pa \}
Now, as the tones of the Vedic music were in downward trend: "kṛṣṭādayāḥ uttarottaram niśā bhavanti" (—the Sāmatantra), so the Vedic scale is known as: ma, ga, ri sa/dha, ni, pa (dha and ni being vakra), or as: ma ga ri sa/ni dha pa (being straight) i.e. prathama, dvitiya, tṛtya, caturtha, mandra, atisvārya and kruṣta, or prathama, dvitiya, tṛtya, caturtha, atisvārya, mandra and kruṣta. The Vedic tones had their movement towards the grave or bass—'mandra-gati'.

Again the Nāradiśikṣā narrates that there were different recensions (śākhas) of the Vedas, and the upholders of those recensions were divided accordingly into different schools or sampradāyas. The process of singing of different sāmagānas were different due to their application of different members of tone. The protagonists of some of the recensions used three or four tones in their sāman songs; some five, some six, while those, who followed the recension of the Kauthuma sect, used seven tones. But usually five tones were used in the sāman-singing (sāmagāna). The Vedic tones had their definite pitches and values, and they were extended up to three registers (sthānas), mandra, madhya and tāra,—grave, medium and high or acute. According to the Nāradiśikṣā, the svaramaṇḍala was in use in the later system of the sāmagāna. It is needless to mention that the Vedic music, sāmagāna was the source or fountain-head of all kinds of post-Vedic music. The folk music might be the source of the refined and exalted music, but the sāmagāna was the source of inspiration of all types of music.

II

The Nātyaśāstra:
During the time of Bharata, in the 2nd century A.D., the system of Indian music was very much developed. The
renaissance of music in the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B.C.) was contemporaneous with that of in Greece. Brahmana wrote his drama, Brahmatandava at that time and formulated a new type of music, known as classi-
cal gandharva. Most of the materials of the Vedic music were incorporated in the gandharva type of music. It was systematically constituted with tones, microtones, scales, mūrcchanās, tānas, etc. The science of the microtones was much developed in Bharata’s time, and he devised it with the help of two kinds of veena, acala, having fixed frets and cala, having shiftable frets. Bharata has formulated the principles as well as materials of the gandharva on the basis of those, as delineated in Brahama’s monumental work, and he has admitted the debt in the Nātyaśāstra. He has called his drama the ‘Nātyaveda’, which is known also as the Pañcamaveda or Gandharvaveda. Like Nārada, Bharata seems to have been a scion of the clan of the Gandharva. Regarding his Nātyaveda-cum-Nātyaśāstra, he has stated:

Saṃkalpya bhagavanevaś sarvān vedānānusmaram/
Nātyavedaṃ tataścakre caturvedāṅga-sambhavaṃ//
Jagrāha pāthya-nirṛtvedā śāmebhya gītameva ca/
Yajurvedādabhinayān raśanatharvanādapi//

1 The Lord Brahmana desired to compile a science of dramaturgy (Nātyaveda), and thus contemplating upon the four Vedas, he collected the materials thereupon and compiled the Nātyaśāstra. He took the plots of drama from the Rgveda, music from the Sāmaveda, the art of acting from the Yajurveda, and aesthetic qualities from the

1 Vide Nātyaśāstra (kavyamālā ed., Bombay), I. 16-17.
Atharvaveda. 'Now it is evident from these lines that the science of drama or dramaturgy, together with music, already existed in the Vedic time, and Brahmā or Brahmbharata carried on his investigations in the field of drama, dance and music in a novel way, with the help of the materials, as contained in the Vedas and Vedic music. In fact, Bharata has compiled his Nātyaśāstra, after following the footsteps of his grand predecessor, Brahmā or Brahmbharata.1

Besides the periods, ancient, mediaeval and modern, the history of Indian music can further be divided into three sub-periods, in a different way, and they are pre-jāti, jāti and post-jāti periods. The Vedic period, with its sāman songs, falls within the pre-jāti period; the jāti period ranges from the beginning of the classical period i.e. from 600-500 B.C. to approximately 5th-7th century A.D. and the post-jāti period begins nearly from the time of Mataṅga i.e. 5th-7th century A.D. and is extended upto the present time. But this division is made, according to the period of evolution of the jātis or jātirāgas. On the other hand, the previous divisions such as, ancient, mediaeval and modern are accepted by the historians.

The advents of Nārada and Bharata were in the jāti-period. Both of them were great exponents of Indian music, but their methods of treatment were different, to some extent. Nārada was an annotator of music, obtaining in the Vedic Śikṣās, and described both the types of music, vaidika and laukika. But Bharata's treatment was more elaborate, methodical and scientific. Though he borrowed

1 "Ajñāpito viditvabāṁ nātyavedaṁ pitāmabhāṁ"—Nātyaśāstra. I. 25.
most of the materials of music, dance and drama from Brahmr, the first-and foremost exponent of Indian music, yet his manner of exposition was new and novel. It has been said before that Brahmr compiled the book, Brahmabhara, and similarly Siva or Sadrsiva composed the book on drama, Sadrsivabhara. Abhinavagupta has mentioned about them in his commentary, Abhinavabharati thus: “etena sadrsiva-brahmr-bharata-traya-vivecanena brahmarna-tasrata pratipdanaya * * ”i.e. ‘let me prove the substantiability of Brahma’s view on natya, after surveying the views of Brahmr, Sadrsiva and Bharata’. From this it is understood that Brahmr, Sadrsiva and Bharata, these three authentic writers on dance, drama and music, were known to Abhinavagupta.

It has already been said that during Bharata’s time, in the 2nd century A.D., the gandharva type of music was in practice, which, in its turn, was divided into three classes, Temple, Court and Drama. The Temple music was sacred, and used to be presented on holy occasions in the temples and before ceremonial rites. The Court music was confined to the Royal Courts, and the Dramatic music was used in the dramatic performances (abbinaya). The laukika seven tones like sadja sabbha, etc. together with two displaced or flat (komala) tones, antara-gandhara and kakali-nisada were used in those three classes of music. It should be noted in this connection that during Bharata’s time, there were only two displaced or flat (vikta or komala) tones, and they were antara and kakali. Before the Christian era, we do not get any reference of any displaced tones. In the Ramayana, we find only seven pure (suddha) jatis or jati-ragas in use in all classes of songs. Even during the times of Mataanga (5th-7th century A.D.) and Parsvadeva (9th-
In the early 13th century or a little before that, we get more displaced tones, and even śadja and paṅcama were regarded as the displaced ones. Sāraṅgdeva has mentioned about twelve displaced tones: “ta eva vikṛtāvasthā dvādaśa pratipāditah”. In the 16th century, twelve displaced tones were reduced to seven (“vikṛtās caivāpi saptātivetyevaṁ sarva caturaśab”), and in the 17th century, during Veṅkaṭa-makhi’s time, we find the use of five displaced tones: “svaṁ paṅcā́iva vikṛtā”. It is probable that the increase and decrease in the numbers of the displaced tones were found necessary to fit in the structures of the rāgas in different times.

Regarding the gāndharva type of music, Bharata has said that the term ‘gāndharva’ was known by its specific materials of svāra, tāla, and pada: “gāndharvamiti vijnāyaṁ svāra-tāla-paḍāśrayaṁ” (Kāśī ed. NS. 28. 8). Now, what did the terms, svāra, tāla and pada convey? Bharata has defined ‘svāra’ as tones, grāmas, mūrochanās, registers (sthānas) like mandra, madhya and tāra (low, medium and high), two sāḍbhārṇas (intermediate displaced tones like antara-gāndhāra and kākali-niśāda), four varṇas like ārobi, avarobi, sthāyī and saṅcārī, six limbs or aṅgas, alamkāras, music parts or dhātus, etc. Similarly the term ‘tāla’ signified avāpa, niśkrāma, vikṣepa, praveśika, śāmya, yāti, prakaraṇa, gīta, avayava mārga, padabhānga, etc., and ‘pada’ signified vyānjana, varṇa, sandhi, vibbakti, ākhyāta, apasarga, nipāta, taddhita, chanda, vṛttī, jāti, etc. As the materials of the gāndharva type of music were collected (anvīśta) from the Vedas i.e. from the Vedic music, sāmagāna, it was considered as vaidika and apauruṣeya i.e. independent of man’s creation. In fact, the basic
materials of the gāndharva type of music were traditionally handed down from the most ancient times, and it was afterwards modified by the expert musico-dramatists like Brahmā, Sadāśiva in the 600-500 B.C.

Muni Bharata has also adopted the gāndharva type of music in the Nātyaśāstra, but he has further modified it in a novel way. Regarding the source of the gāndarva music, Bharata has stated: "asya yonirbhaved gānam veeṇā vamśastathaiva ca" (N.S. 28.10). The word 'gāna' signified the sacred Vedic music and the word 'vamśa' signified the formalised desī music. The lute or veeṇā was the chief musical instrument of the Vedic times, so the Vedic 'music sometimes signified the word 'veeṇā'. Again, as the pipe or flute (vamśa) of bamboo evolved in the second stage of evolution of the musical instruments and the lute or veeṇā in the third stage, and as the refined Vedic music was mainly constituted out of the materials of simple regional-cum-folk music of the primitive and prehistoric times, so the most ancient pipe or vamśa stood as the symbol of music, other than the Vedic one.

Bharata has described eighteen jātis that evolved from the two basic scales (grāmas), śadja and madhyama, current in his time (2nd century A.D.) The jātis were the rāgas (melodies), or it can be said that during the time of classical period, the rāgas were known by the term 'jāti', the causal or basic type of melodies. Bharata has divided the jātis into two classes, pure (suddha) and mixed (vikṛta) and they are: "jātayo dvibidhā suddhā vikṛtāsca, tatra suddhā śadja-grāme—śadja, ārṣabhī sadhāvati niṣādavati, gāndhāri madhyamā pāṇcamī madhyamagrāme......". These were the pure form of jātis, evolved from the two grāmas.
Besides, there were eleven mixed jātis, and they were: "śadjadicyayati, śadjakaiśiki, śadjamadhyamā, raktagāndhārī, gāndhārodyayavā, madhyamodicyayavā, gāndhārapaṇcamī, āndhri, nandayantī, karmāravī and kaiśiki". The three jātis, śadja, madhyama, and paṇcama were included in the category of suara-sādhārana, having their initial notes (svaras), sa-ma-pa as intermediate ones.

Again the seven pure jātis were named after seven tones (svaras), and the rest eleven ones were mixed, being an admixture of two or three jātis. As for example,

1. Śadjamadhyamā  ... admixture of śadji + madhyamā.
2. Śadjodicyayā  ... " śadji + gāndhārī + dhaivati.
3. Śadjakaiśiki  ... " śadji + gāndhārī.
4. Gāndhārodyayavā  ... " śadji + gāndhārī + dhaivati + madhyamā.
5. Madhyamodicyayavā  ... " gāndhārī + paṇcamī + dhaivati + madhyamā.
6. Raktagāndhārī  ... " gāndhārī + paṇcamī + madhyamā + naiśādī.
7. Āndhri  ... " gāndhārī + śadji.
8. Nandayantī  ... " gāndhārī + paṇcamī + ārṣabhi.
9. Karmāravī  ... " naiśādī + ārṣabhi + paṇcamī.
10. Gāndhārapaṇcamī  ... " gāndhārī + paṇcamī.
11. Kaiśiki  ... " dhaivati + gāndhārī + śadji + madhyamā + paṇcamī + naiśādī.

In Bharata's time, the mūrchanās used to play the role of the modern thātas or melas or melakartās, so as to determine the correct structure of the rāgas. Bharata has divided the
jātis into heptatonic (sampūrṇa), hexatonic (ṣādava) and pentatonic (audava) forms, according to their number of tones or notes. He has considered the aṁśa as the most important and prominent tone in the jātis. Regarding an aṁśa, he has said: 'tatraṁśo nāma,

Yasmin-vasati rāgastu yasmāccaiva pravartate/
Tena vai tāra-mandrānāṃ yo’tyarthamupalabhyate/
Mandraṅca tāra-viśayā paṅca-svaraparā gatiḥ //$
Aneka-svara-samyogo yo’tyarthamupalabhyate/
Anyacca valino yasya samvādi cānuvādyapi //$
Grahapanyāsa vinyāsa-vinyāsābhyaśagocarāḥ/
Parivārya sthito yastu so’ṁśoḥ syād daśa-lakṣmaṇaḥ //$

That is, a tone or note was known as an aṁśa, when it possessed of ten characteristics like:

(a) the quality of creating impression of sweetness as well as that of attracting the minds of all living beings,
(b) the capacity of creating aesthetic sentiments and moods,
(c) the power of manifesting up to five consecutive tones in a downward trend in the lower octave (saptaka),
(d) which is surrounded by other tones,
(e) the consonant and the assonant of which are prominent,
(f) which is recognised by the production of the initial tone (graha),
(g) which is recognised by the production of the final tone (nyāsa),
(h) which is recognised by the production of the apanyāsa, and
(i) which is recognised by the production of the vinyāsa.
Therefore, the term *aṁśa* bore a special significance in Bharata’s time, and as such whether *aṁśa* was equal to *vādi* or sonant in its status, should be minutely observed. But again we find that Bharata has dealt separately with the problem of the determining tones like, *vādi*, *samvādi*, *anuvādi* and *vivādi* (sonant, consonant, assonant and dissonant) in the same chapter (28th, Cf. Vārānasī ed.): “*vādi caivābha samvādi anuvādi vivādyapi*”. In this connection, he has said: “*tatra yo yatrāṁśaḥ sa tasya vādi*” i.e. somehow or other an *aṁśa* bears the similar status and value of a *vādi*, and he has been supported in this respect both by Mataṅga and Pārśvadeva.

Bharata has stated that there were 63 *aṁśas* in all in the two *grāmas*, *śadja* and *madhyama*. Mataṅga has defined *aṁśa* in a more explicit manner. According to him, an *aṁśa* is that which gives birth to a *rāga*, and is self-sufficient (*vyāpaka*): “*rāga-jañakatvāt vyāpakatvāc-camśasyaiva prādhyānāḥ*”.

(a) “*Yasminnaṁśe kryamāne rāgabhūtyaktir-bhavati so’pyaṁśah*”,
(b) “*Yasca vahu-prayogātarah so’pyaṁśah*”.
(c) “*Yo rāgasya viṣayatvenavasthitah suvarāḥ so’pyaṁśah*”.

Mataṅga has said that an *aṁśa* has a tendency of becoming a *vādi*, and though Bharata has said that an *aṁśa* is also known as a *graha*, yet there lies a difference between an *aṁśa* (sonant) and a *graha* (initial). As for example, Mataṅga has said: “*nānyevaṁ grahaṁśayoh ko bhedaḥ? ucyate; aṁśo vādyeva param, grahastu vādyādi-bheda-bhinnaścaturvidhabḥ*”.

Pārśvadeva has defined *aṁśa* in the similar

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1 Vide Bhādadeśī (Trivandrum ed.), p. 56.
way. He has said that an ānśa means the prominent tone or jīvasvāra, and so it is also known as vādī. Again it should be remembered that among the seven tones, ānśa used to possess the capacity of creating the tune, and so it is known as the jīvasvāra: "saptā-svārānāṁ madhye'pi svare yasmin surāgataḥ, sa jīvasvāra ityukte ānśo vādī ca kathyata".2

Bharata has given the full significance of the term, rāga by means of its ten essentials (dāśa-lakṣāṇas). In truth, the intrinsic nature of the rāgas of all times, ancient and mediaeval and modern, are determined by the ten essentials. It has been said before that during Bharata's time (2nd century A.D.), rāgas were known by the nomenclature of the ‘jāti', and they were also determined by ten essentials. As for example, Bharata has stated, "dāśāvidha-jātilakṣāṇaṁ."

Grahāṃśau ṭāra-mandrau ca nyāsopanyāsa eva ca/
Alpatvam ca vahutvam ca śādavaudāvite rathā// 28.70
That is, jātis or jātirāgas were determined by the ten essentials like grāha (initial), ānśa (sonant), ṭāra (acute), mandra (bass), nyāsa (final), apanyāsa, alpatva (rarity), vahutva (multiplicity), śādava (hexatonic form), and anudava (pentatonic form).3 Bharata says that these are the essentials or salient features of a jāti (jātirāga). From the beginning of the Christian era upto the present time, there took place many changes in forms, names and meanings of many materials of music, including those of essentials or rāgalakṣāṇas, yet the traditional method or process has been

2 Vide Saṅgīta-samayasaṅra (Trivándrum ed.), p. 5.
3 These have been fully discussed in my book:

Historical Development of Indian Music (Calcutta 1960).
followed throughout the ages, in respect of determination of the nature of a rāga. Even in the present system of Hindusthāni music, this method has been considered as an essential one. Paṇḍit V. N. Bhāskhaṇḍe has mentioned in his Śrimallakṣyasaṁgītaṁ (1934):

Lakṣaṇāṇī dasākāṇi lakṣyante tāvadādītaḥ/
Grahāṇaṁ sa mandratārau ca nyāsapanyāsau tathā/ ātha saṁnyasa-viniyāsau valutvaṁ cālpatva tathā/
Lakṣaṇāṇi dasāitāni rāgānāṁ munayo'vruvan/.

So, from all these evidences, it will not be irrelevant to say that the jātis, as defined and described in Bharata’s Nātyasastra, were the rāgas (causal) themselves.

In connection with the jātis, Bharata has dealt with the downward and upward movements (manda and tāra gatis), four varṇas like ārobī, avarobī, sthāyī and saṅcūri, different alaṅkāras like prasannādi, prasannānta, prasannamadhyā, etc., mūrechanās of the two grāmas like uttaramandrā, rajanī, etc., of the jātis. He has also described about the basic grāmarāgas like śadja-grāma, madhyamagrāma, śādava, paṅcama, saṁdīra, kāśika and kaisika-madhyama, which were elaborately depicted with notations in the rock-cut Kudumiāmālai Inscription, installed by the Pallava Rāja, Rāja Mahendravarman, in the 7th century A.D., at the Padukotāi State, South India. In the 32nd chapter (cf. Vārānasī ed.), he has mentioned:

Mukhe tu madhyamagrāmāḥ śadjaṁ pratimukhe śmṛtaḥ/
Śadjaṁ tathā garbhe marṣe kāśikamadhyamaṁ/
Kāśikānca tathā kārayaṁ ganaṁ nirvahane vudhāiṁ/ etc.

These basic grāmarāgas were probably practised even in the pre-Christian era, as we find the statement of
Brahmā or Brahmbharata, as quoted by Mātaṅga in the Bṛhaddeśī:

"Mukhe tu madhyamagrāmāḥ ṣaḍjaḥ pratimukhe bhavet/
Gbṛbhe sādhāritaścaiva-avamarte * * tu pañcamah//
Citrasyāśṭādaśāṅgasya tvante kaiśikamadhyamah//
Suddhānāṁ viniyogo'yaṁ brahmanā samudāḥṛtaḥ//

These ślokas are similar to those, described by Bharata in the Nātyasāstra (Vārānasi ed., 32 chapt. 453-454).

The 31st and 32nd chapters of the Nātyasāstra are very important, as they deal elaborately with the topics of vādyas and classical nātyaṅgīti like dhruvā. The 31st chapter contains at least 545 ślokas, and the 32nd one, nearly 484 ślokas. According to Bharata, tāla was known as 'ghana' and time or kāla as interlinked with tāla. The kalāpāta was known as laga, and laga was divided into three, slow (vilamvita), medium (madhya) and rapid (druta). Again kalās were considered as divided into three parts, citrā, possessing two mātrās, vārtika, possessing four mātrās, and dakṣiniṇā, possessing eight mātrās. Bharata says that tāla or time-unit used to be known by the measure of the kalā: "kalā- kāla-pramāṇena tāla ityabhidhiyato" (31. 7). The tāla was of two kinds, soundless or beatless (nśābda) and with sound or beat (saśābda). The soundless or beatless tālas were of four kinds, śamyā, tāla, dhruvā and sannipāta. Bharata has elaborately described these tālas in the Nātyaśāstra. These tālas were again divided into slow, medium and rapid tempi (layas).

Bharata has further described about vastu and vidāri, of which a vastu was the part or form of a song, whereas a vidāri was the completion of a pada and a varṇa. The
musical essentials like anśa, nyāsa, apanyāsa, etc. were also known as vastu. In fact, the dictionary meaning of a vidārī was a part or a division of a tone (svara) or a song (gāna). A vidārī was divided into samudga, ardha-samudga, and viṛta. Besides, it was further divided into mahā-vidārī, and avāntara-vidārī. In fact, the short divisions of a song or an ālāpa was known as a vidārī, and so, in that sense, the ancient divisions (dbhūtas) of a song like udgrāha, dhruva, melāpaka, etc. and also the modern dbhūtas like sthāyī, antarā, saṅcārī and ābhoga are also known as vidārī.

Like vidārī, Bharata has dealt with the definitions of yati and prakaraṇa, which were essential in connection with tāla or rhythm. A yati was no other than a method of application of a tempo (laya) of a tāla. It was of three kinds, and they were, samā, srotogata and gopucchā. Besides there were yatis like damaru, pipilikā, etc. The yatis used to differ from one another for the arrangements of different tempi (layas). The function of a prakaraṇa was to make the songs (gītis) like madraka, vardhamanaka, etc, ready for singing. There were 14 kinds of prakaraṇa-gītis, and they were madraka, aparāntaka, ullopyaka, prakarī, obenaka, rovindaka as well as uttara, chandaka, āśārita, pānika, re, gāthā and sāma. These prakaraṇa-gītis were sung in praise of Śiva in ancient times, and so they were known as the Śivastutis.

Bharata has elaborately dealt with the dhruva type of dramatic songs in the Nātyaśāstra. He has said that they were 464 in number, and were divided into sama and viṣama. The sama-dhruvās were possessed of vṛttas and akṣaras. The dhruvās had in them five categories like
The *jāti*, *stbāna*, *prakaraṇa*, *pramāṇa* and *nāma*. The *dhruvā-gītis* like *prāvesika*, *naiśkrāmika* *ākṣepitā*, *prāśādikā* and *sāntara* were used in different functions of the dramatic performances (*abhinayas*). They were also known as *prāvesikī*, *naiśkrāmikī*, *ākṣepikī*, *prāśādikī* and *sāntarā* or *antarā*.* The *prāśādikī* type of *dhruvās* used to create calmness, as it was saturated with pleasing and soothing aesthetic qualities. The *prāvesikī-dhruvās* were used when any character first appeared on the scene. The *naiśkrāmikī* ones were used when character left the stage. The *ākṣepikī* ones were at the discretion of the author of eminence in situations, not usually allowed. The *prāvesikī* ones were used for bridging the gulf between two successive situations of contrary emotional appeals. The *sāntarā* ones were used to cover the faults in the dramas or to smoothen over unexpected sudden incidents like height of anger, sorrow, forgetfulness, sleep, maden, fainting, falling down, etc. Vidwān Vāsudeva Sāstrī of Tānjore has said that “the *prāvesikī-dhruvā* has changed its name to *dharu* in Tāmil and Telugu stage. In the dance-dramas, that were revived in Telugu and Tāmil in the Vijayanagara or Carnātic Empire (called *dhruvās*), formed an integral part and were always accompanied by *nrtya*, for which dance-syllables or *jātis* were added in some cases by the author himself”.

In connection with the above-mentioned five kinds of *dhruvā*, Bharata has discussed about the significance of the *gāndharvā*, constituted out of *svara*, *tālā* and *pada*. The meanings of *svara* and *tālā* are clear. The word *pada* connotes the idea of a song or songs in a drama, as distinguished from songs not intended for the stage, called *praban-dhas*. The dramatic performance or visual representation by gestures being an invariable feature of drama, *padas* were
always accompanied by abhinaya. Vidwān Vāsudeva Śāstri says: “The characteristic of a pada is, therefore, that it is intended for nṛtya or dance with gesticulation. When nṛtya or dance with gesticulation came to be cultivated as a separate art, padas as special species of musical composition, came to take an established place in musical composition, along with prabandhas which were not intended for nṛtya. The characteristic of a pada, as distinguished from other musical compositions, is that it is full of bhāva or aesthetic and emotional appeal, and is generally intended for nṛtya, though it can also be sung without such accompaniment”.

It should be remembered that Śāstriji has explained that the padams are no other than the special type of emotional and lyrical musical compositions, which are used in the Carnātic music. This type of songs or compositions owe much to pada, as described in Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra. In fact, the fountain-head of the Carnātic padams is the pada, an indispensable constituent of the gāndharva, as mentioned in the Nātyaśāstra. Bharata has used the word pada in the sense of songs to be used in the drama or abhinaya. Bharata has said that pada forms the vastu of the gāndharva type of music, and for that reason the tones (sva)ra) and rhythm (tāla) are easily realised. The padas are constituted out of the combination of letters (aṅkāras), and when the padas are bound by rāga, tāla, yati, dhatu, aṅga, etc., they are known as the nibaddha type of songs (prabandha). Similarly the padas which were not bound by any tāla, etc. were known as the anibaddha type of songs, and they were like the alāpa or alāpti. And so they were also described as satāla or with any rhythm, and atāla, without any rhythm. Bharata has said that the nibadādha type of padas
was possessed of chanda, yati, akṣara, etc. In fact, the dhruvās were also known as padas or ancient prabandhas, accompanied by tāla, yati, laya, chanda, rasa and bhāva. The rāgas that were used in the dhruvās, were known as jātis or jātirāgas.

Bharata has described about the grāmarāgas like madhyamagrāma, sadjagrāma, sādhūrita, kaiśika, etc., and the gītis like māgadhi, ardha-māgadhi, sambhāvīta and pṛthulā were used as the parts of dhruvā-gītis. The dhruvās were applied according to suitable place and time. Both men and women took part in singing the dhruvās when they were used in the drama. Bharata says that naturally women took part in singing, because they were possessed of sweet voice and adept in the art of singing, whereas men were adept in the art of drama. Sometime both took part in singing and acting for their extra-qualities.

Bharata has also mentioned about different kinds of musical instruments. He has dealt with the veenās like citrā and vipañci. The citrā-veenā was possessed of seven strings. The citrā is the forerunner of the modern sitāra. The vipañci-veenā was possessed of nine strings. Besides, he

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1 Praveśikī tu prathama dvitiyāsepikī smṛta/,
Prāśādikī tṛṭiya ca caturthī cāntara dhruvā/,
Naiśkrāmikī ca vijñeyā pañcamī ca dhruvā vudhāih/
Etāśāṁ caiva vyākṣāṁi echaṇḍovṛttā-nidārśāṇam/.
Gāndharvāṁ yanmayā proktam svara-tāla-pādātmakaṁ/,
Padaṁ tasya bhavedvastu svara-tālānubhāvakaṁ/,
Yat kiṃcidakṣaraṃ ṭat sarvam pada-samjñitaṁ/
Nibaddhascānibaddhaṅca tat padaṁ dvibhidam smṛtaṁ/,
Atālaṅca satālaṅca dviprakāraṅca tad-bhavet/.
Satālaṅca dhruvārtheṣu nibaddham tacca vai smṛtaṁ/ etc.
has mentioned about the veenās like kacchāpi, dāravī, ghoṣakā, etc. He has also described about the drums like puṣkara, jballārī, patāha, dardura, paṇava, dbakkinī, etc. He has mentioned about different kinds of classical dances with hand-poses, which were used in the dramatic performances.
CHAPTER III
THE JĀTIS AS DESCRIBED IN BHARATA’S NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA

Controversies rage round the meaning or significance of the term ‘jāti’ as described by Bharata. Some scholars are of opinion that there is no mention of the word ‘rāga’ in Bharata’s Nāṭyaśāstra. But their views are not correct, as we find the word ‘rāga’ has explicitly been mentioned and explained at least in five places of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and they are. (1) “Jātirāgām śrutiscaiva” (Vārānasī ed. NS. 28:35), (2) “Yasmin vasati rāgastu” (21:72), (3) Rāgamārga-prayojakah” (31:39), (4) “Evamenaṁ vinā gānam nātyam rangam na gacchati” (32:350), (5) “Sālagā rāgah saṁgharṣa eva ca” 32:475).

Some are inclined to take the word ‘jāti’ to mean ‘genus’ in a collective sense, and they say that the word ‘rāga’ in the technical sense of ‘melody’ would hardly be found in the Nāṭyaśāstra, and Bharata, therefore, used the word ‘jāti’ in the sense of ‘genus’. This view was maintained mainly by Captain Day and some European exponents of Indian music. We think that Captain Day made a mistake when he stated, “And some centuries later when Saṅgīta-Ratnākara was written, the word ‘rāga’ appeared to have been substituted for jāti in the Nāṭyaśāstra”. The critical students of Indian music will find an inconsistency in Captain Day’s statement, because it is a historical fact that long before Sārāṅgdeva of the Saṅgīta Ratnākara (early 13th century), Mataṅga fully defined and discussed
about the rāga side by side with the jāti in the Brhaddeśi of the 5th-7th century A.D. Mataṅga has said:

Rāga-mārgasya yad-rūpaṁ yannoktam bharatādibhiḥ/
Nīrūpyate tadasmābhīr-lakṣya-lakṣaṇa-saṁyutam/ /
Yo'sau dhvani-viśeṣastu svaravarṇa-vibhuṣitah/
Raṅjako jana-cittānām sa ca rāga udāḥṣitaḥ/ /

That is, "as Bharata and other ancient musicologists (like Kohala and Yaśṭika) have not defined the word rāga in a definite way, let us take up the task. Now, a rāga is a kind of sound or dhvani, full of vowels, and it generates sweet vibrations that soothe the mind of all living beings". From this we must not apprehend that there was no system of rāga prevalent in the pre-Mataṅga time (i.e. before the 5th-7th century A.D.), and for which Bharata has not discussed about any rāga-feature in the Nātyaśāstra, rather it is to be taken that Bharata has already followed the tradition of depicting the rāga, as handed down from his revered predecessors like Brahmā, Sadāśiva and others. Bharata has mentioned about the rāgas in the term of jātis, and has already discussed about seven pure and eleven mixed parent rāgas (jātirāgas) in a scientific manner, with their salient features like ten essentials, varṇas, alaṃkāras, mūrechanās and different aesthetic sentiments and moods. He has also admitted the fact that the jātis were the source or fountain-head of the grāmarāgas and other kinds of rāgas: 'jātisam-bhūtatvād grāmarāgāni'. Mataṅga has stated as to why the parent rāgas like śādji, āṛṣabhī, gāndeśi, madhyamā, pañcamī, dhaivatī and nāṣādi were known as jātis. He has stated in the Brhaddeśi: "idānīm lakṣaṇamāba- śruti-graha-svārādi-samūhāj-jāyante jātayaḥ. Ato jātaya ityuḥyante. Yasmājāyate rasa-pratītir-ārabhyate ut jātayaḥ."
Athavā sakalā rāgader-janma-hetutvājajataya iti. Yadvā jataya iti jatayah. Yadbā naranām brāhmaṇatvādayo jatayaḥ", which means that the rāgas are known as jātis because they were born of microtones or śrutis, initial notes or ṣrūhas, and clusters of tones. And, for that reason, they are so called (jātis). Or as the realization of aesthetic sentiments is possible from them, they are known as jātis. Or, being the source of all rāgas, they are known as jātis. Or they are called jātis in the sense of classes, as for example, the Brāhmin, etc. forming classes of human being.

Attention may be drawn to the pure type of seven jātis, as mentioned in the Great Epic, Rāmāyaṇa of 400 B.C. Vālmiki has said that the wandering bards like Lava and Kuśa sang the rāmāyaṇa-gāna before the Royal Court of Rāmacandra, and the gānas were presented with seven jātis or jātirāgas, accompanied by mūrcchanās and tānas and with musical instruments like veena, mrdanga, etc. The tunes of the songs enchanted all of them who were present there. It is stated in the Rāmāyaṇa (canto IV):

Pāthye geye ca madhuraṃ pramāṇaistribhiranvitatām/
Jātibhiḥ saaptabhir-yuktāṃ tantri-laya-samanvitāḥ/ etc.

The portion of the ślokas: "bhādayat sarva-gātrāni manāmsi
brdayāni ca, śrōtrāśrayāṃ sukham" etc. exactly coincides with the later definition of rāga: "śrōtr-cittāṃ raṇjayati iti rāgah", given by Mataṅga in the 5th-7th century A.D. Now, from the reference of the Rāmāyaṇa, it is evident that the jātis were the parent or basic rāgas, and they were the forerunners or precursors of all the later rāgas, mārga and desī.

The Mimāṃsakas and the Vedāntists of India have recognised the jāti as universal or sāmānya, as distinct from
individual or *viśeṣa*. The universal or *sāmānyā* is considered as eternal and unchanging, whereas the individual or *viśeṣa* is involved with change, decay and death, being the product of the universal. The Greek philosopher Plato called it the *Type* or *Idea*, which is permanent. Similarly, the *jātis*, as described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, might be taken as universals and, therefore, unchanging, and all other *rāgas*, being the product as individuals, are changing. Bharata and his followers believe in the potentialities of the *jātis*, and so they have maintained that the *jātis* must be considered as universals or genus, and the later evolved *rāgas* as *vyaktis* or species. Again the *jātis* and the *vyaktis* are not altogether different from each other, being the cause and the effect, and, for that reason, the designing of the effect is possible from the knowledge of the cause, the *jātis*.

Now, on the basis of this cause-effect or genus-species theory, some say that Bharata has not written any special chapter on the *rāga-rāginīs*, as they were in vogue in his time, but has only given an elaborate scheme of the *jātis* or types, and that does not prove that there were no *rāgas* and *rāginīs* prevalent in his time. The *rāga-rāginīs* as such are individuals from the generic character, of which the conception of *jātis* can be formed, just as we form an idea of the individual from the *jāti* or type, to which they belonged. So it is not wise to conclude that during the time of Bharata, the *jātis* were only prevalent and not the *vyaktis* or individualized modes of *rāga-rāginīs*, since *jāti* and *vyakti* are correlative to each other.

But this view is also untenable, as the students of history of Indian music fully know that in the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B.C.), when the *gāndharva* type of music was designed with the materials of the *Vedic*
music, the seven jātis or jātirāgas were only prevalent in the society as the individualized modes of rāga. It has been mentioned before that in the Rāmāyanā, these seven basic jātis were described in connection with the rāmāyanā-gāna. In the classical period i.e. from 600-500 B.C. to 2nd-3rd century A.D., there were prevalent no other rāgas or rāginīs than the seven to eighteen basic rāgas in the form of jātis. The janya-janaka scheme like jātirāga-grāmarāga, viz. cause-effect principle perhaps evolved in the beginning of the Christian era. The rāga-rāginī scheme in the form of masculine-feminine principle also evolved at a more recent date, in the middle of the mediaeval period, though the nucleus of it was found in the ālāpa-ālapī scheme in the 9th-11th century, as evidenced in Pārśvadeva's Saṅgīta-samayasaśāra. But it is quite sure that during Bharata’s time, the jātis were only prevalent and played the role of the rāga.

There are prevalent some other views regarding jātis. According to some, the jātis, as depicted in the Nāṭyaśāstra, were the music-parts or notations of the dhruvās and not the rāgas in themselves. The dhruvās, according to them, were the ready-made compositions or sāhitya and saṅgīta, and they were sung during the interval between the two acts of drama and also during public or household festivals in eulogy of the deities. So the jātis were the closed forms of music and as such were the precursors of the rāgas. When music began to be considered as an art independent of sāhitya, the rāgas and rāginīs seem to have come into being. And though Bharata has mentioned the word ‘rāga’ in the term of aṃśha, it does not occur in its yogarūḍha meaning. It stands only for musical value in general, and does not occur in its technical sense, though the origin of
rāgas is in the jātis, the music-parts of the ancient closed forms. During the time of Śāraṅgdeva or even a few centuries before him, the jātis began to fall into the background, giving place to the rāgas.

But this view is not wholly correct. It is true that during the time of Śāraṅgdeva or even a few centuries before him, the jātis began to fall into the background, giving place to the more methodical system of rāgas, but yet it is true at the same time that it is Bharata who has for the first time systematised the Indian classical music in a very scientific manner. Moreover he has fully dealt with the theory of jātis, dhruvās, and other forms of music, together with dance and drama in the Nātyaśāstra. It is clear from his description of the jātis that they were not really intended to be the notations or counterparts of the dhruvās (dhruvāgānas). Bharata has devoted two long separate chapters to these two types of gānas, jāti and dhruvā, current in his time. In fact, the jātis were the rāgas as well as the gānas, as we find both the references of jātirāga and jātigāna in the Nātyaśāstra. Bharata has treated the jātis as the ancient primary rāgas and the dhruvās as the stage or dramatic songs, quite different from the Vedic Psalms that were confined to the community of the sāgniaka Sāmagas. Regarding the dhruvās, Bharata has said that they were a class of hymnal or devotional songs with different metrical settings (chanda-nibaddha), purely used for dramatic purposes (‘pūrvaranga-vidhāne tu’). He has also admitted in the chapter of the dhruvāgāna that he has previously discussed about the gāndharva-gāna, which was composed of svara, tāla and pada, and after that he has expounded the types of different dhruvās, possessed of svara, tāla and pada. The dhruvās were included in the category of
The ancient musicologist, Kohala has said,

Pañcadhā ca caturdhā ca trividāṃ ca mate mate,
Kohalasya mate khyātaṃ pañcadha vādyameva ca/
Suṣīraṃ ca ghanāṃ caiva carmabaddham tathaiva ca,
Tantrigānaṃ purā khyātaṃ pañcadhaḥ
vādyā-lakṣaṇaṃ/"

Nārada has said about the division:

Carmanā tāntrikāṃ caiva ghanāṃ ca trividham
matām/
Evaṃ tridhā nāradasya mate vādyasya lakṣaṇaṃ/

Dattila has followed Bhatata and has said,

Anaddhaṃ tatameva syād-ghanāṃ ca suṣīraṃ tathā/
Evaṃ caturvidham vādyam dattilena prakīrteṣaṃ/

Śāraṅgdeva has followed Bharata and Dattila:

“Ṭattataṃ suṣīraṃ cāvanaddhaṃ ghanamiti smṛtaṃ
caturdhā * *”.

Now, if we study the history of music of all nations of the world, we find that they possessed the musical instruments to accompany their songs or to play them separately, and it is a fact that their musical instruments were divided into two, three or four main classes. The ancient Hebrew had a variety of musical instruments. In the Bible, the musical instruments have been divided into three main groups: (1) instruments of percussion, (2) wind-instruments, and (3) stringed instruments. Mr. Wanchope Stewart is of opinion that the instruments of percussion used to keep rhythms in dances and songs, and would probably be the first in the order of development, the rhythmical element in music being the feature which makes the strongest appeal to the primitive mind. The toph, tabret or timbrel was kind of hand-drum, formed
The Mridanga-player, Konark, Puri
(11th–13th Century A.D.)
1. The Mrdanga-player, Halebid.
2. The Mrdanga-player, Halebid.
3. The Mrdanga-player, Khiching (Mayurbhanj)
4. The drums (a) of Mathura, (b) of Rajputana, (c) of Bengal
1. The drum, Sanchi
2. The drum, Bharut
3. The drum, Gandhar
4. The drum, Amaravati
of a frame of wood, with a piece of skin, stretched over it. The usual shape of it was circular. The mesiltraîm and selœlim were made of brass, and they were used mainly for religious and magical purposes.

The stringed instruments of the Hebrews were played either with the hand or with plectrum. The bow-instrument, the precursor or forerunner of the lute or Indian veneña was almost unknown to the ancient Hebrews.

The ancient Greeks and Romans also did not know the use of the bow-instruments. Their lute-type of stringed instruments used to be plucked with fingers or beaten with a small plectrum, made of bone or wood. Their stringed instruments were divided into two main classes: the older simple and the instruments with large square sounding board. The original number of strings were seven like those of the Indian citrā-veneña, as described in Bharata’s Nāṭyaśāstra. Besides the seven-stringed lyre, there was also in common use a number of different harplike instruments, with a far greater number of strings. Among other instruments, cymbals, kettle-drums and castanets were in use.

In ancient Babylon and Assyria, musical instruments were divided into three classes, percussion, wind and stringed. The instruments of percussion like drum (Sumerian āla and Semitic ālu) would seem to have been used. Mr. T. G. Pinches has said that the earlier forms of percussion were very large, and were found indeed in one relic of about 2500 B.C. The stringed instruments like harp, the earliest example of which goes to 2500 B.C., the dulcimer, the primitive form of which goes before 2500 B.C., lyre, cithara, guiter, etc. were also in use. The wind-instruments like pipe, whistle or flute, trumpet, horn, etc. were also in practice.
The early American musical instruments were divided into three main classes, percussion, wind and stringed. Mr. Brinton has mentioned at least four classes of stringed instruments of primitive type in the hands of American aborigines. The most important musical instrument of the Native Americans was the drum. H. B. Alexander has said that the drum varied in type from the Eskimo tambourine-like hoop with taut-skin, though single- and double-headed instruments, great or small, culminating in the huge snake-skin drum, whose blooming from the temple of the Aztec war-god, brought dread to the heart of the Spaniards. The tepoztli of the ancient Aztecs was the most interesting of the native drums, and "it consisted of a hollow block, in which were cut two tongues of differing thickness, whose vibrations produced tones commonly in the interval of a third, although drums have been found containing interval of a fourth, of a fifth, of a sixth, and of an octave".

Mr. Alexander has said that next to drum, the native instrument was the Indian flageolet or flute, which seemed to evolve from the bone whistle with a single vent or stop. In its developed form, it was provided with a mouth-piece and had three, four, five or six finger-holes. Again, while discussing about "Prehistoric Art" (vide Report of US. National Museum, Washington, 1896, p. 524ff), Mr. T. Wilson has written that the whistles and flutes, made of human or animal bones, have been found in the deposits of the palaeolithic and neolithic ages, the flutes being pierced with holes at regular intervals or consisting of two holes, which, when joined, would make modulated tunes. Although these discoveries seem to give priority to wind instruments, it is obvious that others—e.g., drums of wood
with skin covering—being of more perishable material, were less likely to be preserved”.

The most ancient musical instruments of India were veena, venu or vanisa and puṣkara or mṛdanga. But controversies rage round the question as to which of the musical instruments, drum, bow-instrument or flute (pipe) was the most ancient. Some are of opinion that flute or pipe was the most ancient type of musical instruments, while others maintain that drum was anterior to flute as well as bow in date. The latter view seems to be more rational and historical.

J. A. MacCulloch is also in favour of the latter view. He has said that nearly every tribe or race has musical instruments of some sort, the exceptions being found at the lowest stage of culture. “As the instances among peoples without musical instruments would seem to show, instruments of percussion—some form of drum, which is well-nigh universal—may have been invented first. Stringed instruments probably came next—the hunter’s bow, as with the Damaras, being easily convertible into a primitive form of these. Wind instruments, at least in their more elaborate forms, were probably invented last”. In the most ancient Vedic literature, we find descriptions of crude earthen and wooden drums, covered with the skins of the wild animals. In the Rgveda, Śāmaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda and also in different Brāhmaṇas, we get references of drums like bhūmi-dundubhi, dundubhi, paṇava, bhānda, karkari, etc.

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The bhūmi-dundubbi was perhaps the most ancient form of drum in India. The sound of the bhūmi-dundubbi was very grave and loud and far-reaching. It used to be carved out in earth in the form of a hollow or pit and covered with the thick skin of any wild animal. It used to be struck with one or two logs of wood, and the resulting deep resonant sound used to be heard from very distant places. During the Brāhmaṇa period, the bhūmi-dundubbi used to be struck by the tails of the animals. The sound of the bhūmi-dundubbi was often used as means of signaling some dangers or approach of the enemies. The dundubbi was sometimes shaped out of the hollow trunk of a tree, the upper part being covered with the skin of the animal. From the Brāhmaṇa literature we come to know that different kinds of beasts were offered in different sacrifices and rites. Specially in the Mahāvrata sacrifice, beasts were offered to the presiding deities, and their skins were used for making the drums like bhūmi-dundubbi and dundubbi. Well has it been said by Dr. A. B. Keith, in connection with the Vedic Mahāvrata (vide the ‘Religions of India and Iran’, vol. II): “The Mahāvrata is by no means a bloodless sacrifice. There fall to be offered either one beast to be sacrificed to Indra and Agni or eleven animals; and in either case there is an additional sacrifice of a bull to Indra or to Prajāpati, and in the former case of a goat to Prajāpati. Now the skin of the sacrificial animal was removed and used to form the drum (bhūmi-dundubbi), on which, with the tail of the victim, the priest made solemn music”. The drum, vanaspati was also made in the same way. The dundubbi was somewhat a refined form of the bhūmi-dundubbi, and it was used to be made out of mud or
The Musical Instruments of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Primitive Stock
The Dhanuryantram, the Primitive Bow-type Instrument
(from South Africa)

A Lady playing a lute (Veena) with four strings, from the Rupe Excavation, datable to 200 B.C.-600 A.D.
(By the permission of the Archaeological Dept., Govt. of India, Delhi)
log. The puṣkara, mrdaṅga, and bhānda-vādyā of the later date and the modern pākhawāj and khola are the prototypes of the ancient dundubhi.

The bow-instrument came into being perhaps after the drum. It was known as the dhanuryantra. The bow was the most important weapon of the nomadic primitive tribes. They used to live in the hills and dales, and forests and caves of the mountains. Their main food was the raw or half-roasted flesh of the hunted animals, and so they used to hunt all kinds of wild animals with the help of the bows and the arrows. They were also used as means to produce high sounds for signalling dangers like those of the bhūmi-dundubhi and dundubhi. It has already been stated in my book, *Historical Development of Indian Music* that when the primitive savage men "became familiar with the use of iron, they began to hunt the wild animals and fight their enemies with the help of the bows and the arrows. Besides, other implements, the bows of bamboo used to serve the purpose of signalling the advent of the enemy or any other danger, as used to be served by the blazing flame of the fire. They used to produce the reverberating grave sounds by pulling the gut string of the

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1 In Śaṅgdeva’s *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, we find a different description about the ancient musical instrument, dundubhi. Śaṅgdeva has said (vide Abhinavabharata-sarasasāgraha, p. 84):

Āmradrūma-samudbhūto mahāgātro mahādhvanih,
Kaṁsybhājana-sambhāragarbho valaya-varjitaḥ,
Carma-vaddhānano vaddho vaddhraigādham samantataḥ,
Dṛḍha-carmeṇa koṇena vādyo varṇena dundubhiḥ,
Megha-nirghoṣa-gambhira-ghanikārasyātra mukhyataḥ,
Mangale vijaye caiva vādyate devatālayē

Here we find the new modified form of the ancient dundubhi.
bow (jyā-sabda or dhanustoikāra). That sound might be regarded as the source of their inspiration for designing and constructing the musical instrument of the primitive people. The curvature of the bow supplied the idea of the method of constructing the body of their crude veṇā and the connecting gut string. It is interesting to note that the shape of the primitive veṇā was curved like the body of the bamboo bow. It was like the ancient lyres and harps, to some extent. The primitive men made the string of the veṇā out of the intestines of the wild animals, fastened them to the two extremes of its bent body and used to play it by plucking the string of the bow with the fingers. It seems that in the beginning, a single gut string was used to produce a mono sweet but grave sound. Gradually additions and alterations were made to improve the structure of the veṇā and to increase the number of its sound, 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 resembles the ancient Georgia, Caucasus and Finland types of lyre to some extent”.

In the third stage, evolved the flute or pipe. It is said that the sound, produced from the friction of air against the hollow part of the trunks of the trees, specially bamboo gave rise to the flute or pipe. The pipe was probably made out of the reed by making holes in it. Gradually it was fashioned out of wood and bone. The hole in the pipe was in imitation of the hollow part of the trunk of the tree. In the early stage, there was only one hole in the pipe, and gradually with the evolution of the tones, the holes were increased. Generally the pipes, in the primitive
period, possessed only two or three holes to produce two or three tones, low or high, or low, medium and high. All the songs, produced at that time, were in downward trend (avarohana-gati).

Now it can be imagined that drum being the most ancient form of musical instruments of the world, the primitive savage men used to practise their simple songs with two tones, upper and lower, in accompaniment of the drums only, to maintain rhythm and tempo in their songs and dances. They used to sing and dance as a means to break the monotony of their work-a-day life. There was certainly a starting basic tone in their songs, and most probably that basic tone used to be tempered with the tune of the drum.

In the Vedic times, the sāmans were sung to the accompaniment of different kinds of musical instruments like lute, pipe or flute, bow-instrument and drum. It has already been said that in the primitive period, the bow and pipe of reed, wood or bone had already been evolved, and were used by the primitive men. From the prehistoric mounds of the Indus Valley cities, crude form of bows or lutes, pipes and drums have been discovered, and they certainly substantiate the facts mentioned above. With the development of intellect, the skill and propensity of the Vedic people became more advanced and keen, and as such they gave shape to more developed form of lutes out of bamboo or wood for their bodies, munīja grass or intestines of animals for strings, etc. The scale of the songs of the Vedic people was extended, and it consisted of four, five, six and even seven tones. The starting tone of the songs was always in the upper or high pitch, and the songs had the tendency to flow downward, as has been said before. The
Vedic music, being more developed than the primitive and prehistoric ones, possessed three registers (sthānas), a fixed scale, rhythm and tempo. The basic tone of the Vedic songs as well as the tones or tunes of the lutes (veenaśas) and pipes (vamśas) were tempered with that of the drum or drums, and this tradition has been handed down from the primitive and prehistoric times. During the time of Bharata (2nd century A.D.), we find the method of tuning (mārjanā) with the help of three drums or puṣkāras. Bharata has fully described the ancient traditional method of tuning (mārjanā) in the Nātyaśāstra (vide the Kāvyamāla edition, chapt. XXXIV, and the Vārānasī edition, chapt. XXXIII, 92-97). Regarding the tuning process, Bharata has said,

Māyūrī hyardhla-māyūrī tathā karmāravī punah /
Tisrastu mārjanā jñeyāḥ puṣkareṣu svarāṣrayāḥ /
Gāndhāro vāmake kāryāḥ śadjo daksiṇa-puṣkare /
Urdhvage madhyamaścaiva māyūrasya svarāṣrayāḥ /
Vāmake puṣkare śadja śabho daksiṇe tathā /
Dhaiyataścordinghage kāryāḥ ardha-māyūrakāśrayāḥ /
Rśabhāḥ puṣkare vāme śadjo daksiṇa-puṣkare /
Paṇcamaścordinghage kāryaḥ karmāravyaḥ svarāṣrayāḥ /
Eteśaṃunvādī tu jācīrāga-svarāṇvītaḥ /
Āliṅge mārjanam prāpya niśādastu vidhiyate /
Māyūrī madhyame grāme'pyardhā śadja tathaiva ca /
Karmāravī caiva kartyavyā sādhāraṇa-samāṣrayāḥ /

That is, there were three kinds of mārjanā, and they were known as māyūrī, ardha-māyūrī and karmāravī. Among those methods, the māyūrī used to be tuned in the middle cleft (madhyamagrāma), the ardha-māyūrī, in the first cleft (śadja-grāma) and the karmāravī, in the third cleft (gāndhāragrāma), based on the sādhāraṇa. The term
‘sādbhāraṇa’ connotes the idea of an intermediate one between two tones. The tones, to which the pūṣkara-drums were tuned, were based on the microtones or śruti-sādbhāraṇa, and were sustained and used in the tuning process. The remaining tones of the scale were shiftable or transferable. In the process of the māyūrī-mārjanā, the tone, gāndhāra used to be tuned on the left pūṣkara (as there were three pūṣkaras, two horizontal and one leaning), the tone, sādana, on the right, pūṣkara, and the tone, pāncama, on the upper pūṣkara. In the karmāravī-mārjanā, the tone, rṣabha used to be tuned in the left pūṣkara, the sādana on the right, and the pāncama, on the upper pūṣkara. The tone, rṣabha which is the consonance or anuvādi to these three tones and is related to the rāgasvarā of the jāti (jātirāga), used in the mārjanā of the ālīṅga.

Now, from this statement we find that in the māyūrī-mārjanā, the pūṣkara-drums were tuned to the sādana, madhyama and dhaivata, and in the karmāravī-mārjanā, they were tuned to the tones, rṣabha, pāncama and niṣāda. In each of the methods of tuning (mārjanā), these three tones were considered as the primal ones of the grāmas. Some are of opinion that in the māyūrī-mārjanā of the madhyamagrāma, the positions of the microtones and the tones were exactly the same as those prevailing in the modern pure scale (śuddha-thāта), vilāvāla of the North Indian school of music and the Diatonic Major scale of Europe. The modern śuddha-thāta, vilāvāla is no other than the sādbhāraṇa-grāma, as maintained by Śāraṅgdeva of the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara fame of the early 13th century A.D. It is interesting to note that Mahākavi Kālidāsa was fully aware of the utility and importance of the tuning process of the māyūrī-mārjanā, and he mentioned about this process
in his drama, Mālavāgnimitraś: "māyūri madayanti mārjanā manāgśi", i.e. 'māyūri-mārjanā intoxicates the human mind'. From this it is evident that the tuning method of māyūri was in practice in Kālidāsa's time (150 B.C.—400 or 450 A.D.). All the post-Bharata authors also adopted these ancient methods of tuning māyūri, ardha-māyūri and karmāravi, in their systems of music.

In the rock-cut temples of different places of India, carved in different ages, we find two or three drums of small size, engraved by the side of Śiva-Naṭarāja in dancing posture. Those drums are but the replicas of ancient puṣkaras. Three drums (puṣkaras) are also to be seen carved in the Muktesvara temple of the 6th-7th century A.D., at Bhuvanesvara and three others in the cave-temple of Bādāmi in Bombay of the 6th century A.D. Some are of opinion that two of these drums represent the two parts of a large drum, which used to be played horizontally, and the third one was small like the modern tabal. The small drum, known as āliṅga used to be placed on the lap of the player. Some of the drums represented in the sculptures of the 6th-7th century A.D. were chiselled in a different way. The modern tabal and bāyāṅ were perhaps shaped in imitation of the ancient puṣkaras. Some erroneously believe that the Persian and the Arabian artists and specially Āmir Khasru, brought into use for the first time the tabal and the bāyāṅ during the time of Sultan Ālā-ud-dīn Khalji in the 14th-15th century A.D., cutting the ancient mṛdaṅga (or pākhawāj) into two halves. But this view is untenable, and is absolutely conjectural, as the sculptural evidences of the ancient rock-cut temples of India disclose the fact that two or three drums (puṣkaras) of different
sizes were used in music and dance in India long before the advent of the Persians and the Arabs as well as before the Muhammedan rule. The ancient method of tuning with the help of the puṣkaras came to be gradually replaced by the tempering of the string instruments, but exactly when and how the new method was adopted, we do not know.¹

In the beginning of the classical period (500-500 B.C.), we find the emergence of the gāṇḍharva type of music, designed by assimilating most of the materials of the Vedic music, by the Gandharva class of semi-divine people of the Gāṇḍhārādesa. Music of this period was consequently more developed than the Vedic one, having a scientific basis of its own, and was mainly known by the jātīs as its melodies. In the Rāmāyaṇa (400 B.C.), the seven pure jātīs (melodies) like śāḍja, ārṣabhī, gāṇḍhārī, madhyama, paṇcami, dhāvaiś and naiśādī have been mentioned (“jāti-bhīṣaptabhi-ruktāṁ tantrī-laya-samanvitaṁ”), and it is believed that the use of the svara-maṇḍala was also in

¹ In modern time, the method of tuning is generally worked out by the process of tempering two of the strings of the tumbru or tumbru-veena in mostly the tones, śadja and paṇcama or śadja and madhyama. The śadja being the drone or tonic, the tones, ūṣabha and gāṇḍhāra are produced from the vibrations of the śadja of the middle base (udārā), and dhāvaiśa and niśāda, from the vibrations of the śadja of the lower base (udārā), and the rest madhyama is produced from the concordant tone, paṇcama. Though there prevails different views regarding it, yet it should be remembered that the modern method of tuning is always done in the śadja-grāma, which is very ancient.
practice at that time. Regarding the svaramandala, Nārada
has said in the Śikṣā:

Sapta-svarātrayo grāmā mūrechanāstvekoviṃśatih/
Tānā-ekonapancaśadītyeta svaramandalaṁ

That is, seven tones (laukika like śadja, ṭṛabha, etc.), three
gramas, twenty-one mūrechanās, forty-nine tānas constitute
the svaramandala. From this it is understood that the
gāndharva type of music used to be practised with three
registers, different mūrechanās and tānas. Vālmiki has
informed us that the gāndharva type of songs of his time
used to be practised in accompaniment of the musical
instruments like veṇā, veṇu and myḍāṅga. The tunes of
the musical instruments, together with that of the songs
used to be tempered with the basic or standard tone of the
drums.

In the beginning of the 28th chapter of the Nātya-
śāstra (Vārāṇasi ed.), Bharata has described about the arrange-
ment of different types of musical instruments to form an
orchestra (kutapa), for the dramatic purposes. Musical
instruments like veṇā veṇu, and puṣkara (drum) were the
constituent factors of the orchestra. The musical themes of
the orchestra were based on the basic structure of the jātis,
and the tones of the musical instruments for the orchestra
used to be tempered with a basic tone. From Bharata’s
statement we learn that they used to be tempered with
the tunes of the drums (puṣkaras). Bharata has mentioned
about three kinds of orchestra, and they are: (1) “kutapa-
miti caturvidhātodya-bbāṇḍānī”, i.e. a kutapa means a
combination of four kinds of musical instruments, such as
bbāṇda, etc. (2) “caturvidhātodyān kutapan”, i.e. the
four kinds of musical instruments form an orchestra.
“kutapaḥ samaveta-gāyana-vādaka-samūha”, i.e. an orchestra that is formed by a combination of different musicians and instrumentalists.

Now, what do we mean by a bhānda-vādyā? The bhānda-vādyā was like the puṣkara or mṛdāṅga (modern pakhawāj) to some extent. The orchestra used to be generally arranged along with the musicians and instrumentalists before the beginning of the dramatic play. While discussing about the stage (raṅga-maṇica), Bharata has mentioned about the preliminaries of a play, and dance, playing of orchestra and recitals were the parts of the preliminaries. Regarding the preliminaries, Bharata has said in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

Asyāṅgāṇi tu kāryāṇi yathāvadānuṣṭṛūṣvaḥ/
Tantrī-bhānda-samāyogaiḥ pāṭhyā-yogakṛṣṭaṁ stathā/
Pratyāharo vataraṇam tathā hīyāmbha eva ca/
Āśrāvaṇa vakraṇaṁ stathā ca parīghatānā/
Saṅghoṭānaṁ tataḥ kāryā mārgāsāritameva ca,
Jyeṣṭhāmadhiya-kaniṣṭhā ca tathaivaśārita kriyā/
Eśāni tu vahigṛhitānyantāryavaniṁkāgataṁ/
Prayoktṛbhiḥ prayojyāṇi tantrī-bhānda-kṛtāni tu/
—Nāṭyaśāstra, V. 8.1

That is, the different parts of the preliminaries are to be performed in due order “with the playing of drums and stringed instruments as well as with recitatives (pāṭhya) are as follows: pratyāhāra, avataraṇā, ārambha, vakrapāni, parīghatāna, saṅghoṭāna, mārgaśārita and āśārita of the long, medium and the short types. These songs outside (the performance of a play) are to be sung by persons behind the curtain to the accompaniment of drums and stringed instruments”. 
Then the curtain (yavanikā) of the stage used to be removed, and after the removal of the curtain, dances and recitals were to be performed with the playing of all musical instruments, which were known as kutapa. Bharata has said regarding them,

Tataśca sarvakutapairyuktanyanyāni kārayet,
Vighātya vai yavanikāṃ nṛtya-pāṭhya-kṛtāni ca///
Gītāṇāṃ madrakādinnāṃ yojyamekaṃ tu gītakaṃ’///
Vardhamānamathāpiha tāṇḍavam yatra yuṣyate///
Tascotthāpanaṃ kāryaṃ parivartakameva ca/
Nāndi śuṣkāpakṣṭā ca raṅga-dvāram tathaiva ca///
Cāri caiva tataḥ kātyā mahācāri tathaiva ca/,
Trikāṃ prarocanā cāpi pūrvarāṇge bhavanti hi///


That is, after removing the curtain, some songs of the mardaka class was to be sung along with the playing of musical instruments, or one of the vardhamānaka class along with the class dance used to be applied. Then should take place one after another, utthāpana, parivartana (walking round), nāndi (benediction), śuṣkāpakṣta, raṅga-dvāra, cāri, mahācāri, etc.

Bharata has further described the order of the characteristics of all the preliminaries, which were known as pratyāhāra, etc., as have been said before. From the śloka 17 to 30, he has defined all the characteristics of the preliminaries. He has said, "(1) arranging of the musical instruments (kutapa-vinyāsa) was called the pratyāhāra; (2) the seating of singers was called the avataraṇa or coming down; (3) the commencement of vocal exercise for singing (parigita) was called the ārambha or beginning; (4) adjusting the musical instruments for playing them in due manner was
called the ārāvanā; (5) rehearsing or dividing the different styles (vr̥tti) of playing musical instruments was called the vakrapāṇi; (6) the strings of instruments were adjusted duly during the parīghaṭṭanā; (7) the saṁghaṭṭanā was meant for rehearsing the use of different hand-poses for indicating the time-beats or tāla; (8) the playing together (in harmony with one another) of drums and stringed instruments was called the mārgāsārita; (9) the āsārita was meant for practising the beat of time-fractions (kalāpāta); (10) the application of songs (gītavidhi) was for singing the glory of gods; (11) the utṭhāpana was considered by some to be the beginning of the performance; (12) the parivartana was so styled because in it, the guardian deities of different worlds were praised by the director, walking all over the stage; (13) the nāndi or benediction was so called because it included (as well as invoked) the blessing of gods, Brāhmaṇas and kings; (14) when an avakṣṭa-dhruva was composed with meaningless sounds it was called śuśkāvakṛṣṭā and it indicated the verses got the jaṛṣa; (15) the raṅgadvāra was so called, because from this part commenced the performance which included words and gestures; (16) the cārī was so called because it consisted of movements depicting the erotic sentiment and (17) in the mahācārī, occurred movements delineating the furious sentiment”.¹

Now, regarding the kutapa-vinyāsa or arrangement of the musical instruments in the stage, Bharata has said in the Nāṭyaśāstra: “etesāṃ prayogamidānāṁ vyaksyāmi/
tatropaviṣṭaḥ prāṅgukho range kutapa-viniveśaṣaḥ kartavyah/tatra pūrvoktayor-nepathyagahadvārayor-madhye kutapa-vinyāsaḥ/svaraṅgābbhimukamārdangika-pañavika-
dārdarikeṣu gāyaka-gāyikā-vainikā-vainika-sabiteṣu āśithil-
layata-tantrividbāstaniteṣu ātodyeṣu yathā-grāmarāga-mūr-
cchandāmārjanānulipteṣu mṛdangaṣe dhāraya ∗∗ ∗ (vide NS. 
Vārāṇasī ed., chapt. XXXIII, 206); which means "the mārdangika (drummers) facing the east between the two 
doors of the green room, the pañavika to his left, the 
gāyakas to the south of the raṅgapīṭhā, facing the north, 
gāyikās to his front on the north facing the south, vainika 
to their left and two vainikās to their right". In all the 
three types of theatre, players of musical instruments 
occupy a place in the raṅgaśirṣa between the two doors.

Abhinavagupta has also described the method of 
arrangement of the orchestra (kutapa) in his commentary, 
Abhinavabhāratī, while commenting upon the śloka: 
"kutapasya tu vinyāsaḥ," etc. (V. 17). He has said: 
"nepathyaghradvārayormadhye pūrvābbhimukho mārdangī-
kaḥ/tasya pānavikau vāmatah/ raṅgapīṭhasya daksṇatah 
uttarābbhimukho gāyanah/ asyāgre uttarato daksṇābbhi-
mukbasthitā gāyikāḥ/asya vāme vainikāḥ/anyatra vainā-
dvāra (dhāra)-kāvityevaṁ kutah pāti kuṁ taptamī śabdam-
veṣeṣapālakasya nātyabhūmikojvalatādbhāyinaśca vargasya yo 
vicitro nyāsaḥ sa viprakirṇānāmevaṭā dhaukanāṭmaṣ pratyā-
hāra".2

A female dancer (nartaki) was also associated with the 
arangement of the orchestra, and she or they used to 
dance to the cadence of the drums. When Bharata has

2 These have also been discussed in the Chapter IV.
mentioned about four kinds of orchestra (\textit{kutapa}), he means to say about four kinds of musical instruments like \textit{tata}, \textit{avannaddha}, \textit{ghana} and \textit{suśira} as constituting the orchestra. Śrāvaṅgdeva has divided the orchestra into three main heads, according to the merits of the instrumentalists. Śrīvabhūpāla has said, that the combination of three kinds of \textit{kutapa} formed the cluster or \textit{vṛnda}. The \textit{vṛnda} or \textit{samūha} (combination of the instruments) was again of two kinds, \textit{kutapa} and \textit{kolāhala}. The last one was noisy something and was meant only for some specific function and action of the play. Śrāvaṅgdeva has given a detailed description about these orchestras. By the \textit{kolāhala-vṛnda}, he means to say the orchestra, in which a number of musicians and instrumentalists conglomerated and was superior to the \textit{uttama-vṛnda}.

We thus find that the practice of orchestra was prevalent in India even before the Christian era. Coordination of different kinds of musical instruments was strictly observed along with the compact body of sounds in ancient India. Even in the \textit{Aitareya-brāhmaṇa} and the Vedic \textit{Prātiśākhya}, we find references to the \textit{samūha-gīta} and \textit{gana-gīti}, which were no other than the combination or unison of musical sounds or voices, accompanied by different musical instruments like \textit{veena}, \textit{veṇu} and \textit{ṁṛdaṅga}. The most ancient musical instruments like \textit{veena}, \textit{veṇu}, and \textit{ṁṛdaṅga} used to play an important part in music, dance and drama not only in ancient period, but also in the mediaeval period, and is continuing as such in the modern period, and they are regarded as the forbearers of all kinds of musical instruments of India of later date.

The orchestra, as used in ancient times, will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.
Now, from the ancient method of tuning or mārjanā of the puṣkaras, the method of smearing (pralepana) of casts (gāva) on leathers of both sides of the drums (puṣkara, bhāṇḍavādyā or pākhawāļ) also evolved. In fact, the method of smearing or pralepana (of mud, specially ‘black mud’ or śyāmā-mṛttiṇa, mixed with barley-paste or yavacūrṇa), was in practice in ancient time, for ascertaining the just tones or tunes of the puṣkara-drums, and Bharata has described this process of smearing or daubing in the Nātyaśāstra (vide chapter XXXIII). Bharata has said,

Mṛttiṇā lepane hyeśāṁ yathākāryantu mārjanaṁ//
Nadiṅkūlapradeśasthā śyāmā sā mṛttiṇā bhavet//
Toyāpaśaraṇāśīkṣṇā tayā kāryantu mārjanaṁ//

* * * * *

Tatra godhūmacūrṇaṁ vā yavacūrṇaṁ ca dāpayed/
Yava-gopucchacūrṇaṁ tu kadācidūpabhujuvate//
Ekastasya ca dośaḥ syādekasvarakaro bhaved,/
Evaṁ tu mājānayogāt śyamā svarakarī bhavet.//

—Nātyaśāstra (Vārānasi ed.) XXXIII. 103-107.

Bharata has said that for the purpose of smearing of the cast on leathers in both sides of the puṣkara-drums, the black mud was necessary. The water in the mud used to be given up. Sometimes wheat (godhūma) or barley paste (yavacūrṇa), or dust, produced by the legs of the cows, were mixed with the black mud, and then it used to be smeared on the leathers for producing the just tones or tunes (sounds) in the puṣkara-drums. It seems that from this ancient process of smearing or daubing of the black
mud, mixed with wheat or barley paste was traditionally followed by the drummers, and when the bāyān and tabal were introduced in imitation of the pūṣkara or mṛdāṅga in the beginning of the Muhammedan period, that ancient process of smearing or daubing of black cast or paste was adopted.¹

¹ Vide writer’s Bhāratiya Saṅgīter Itihāsa (or Saṅgīta O Sanskriti), vol. II, pp. 308, 310.
CHAPTER V

ORCHESTRA AND CHORUS IN ANCIENT INDIA

It is generally believed that orchestra as well as chorus are of recent origin, and are introduced in India during the British regime. But this belief seems to be incorrect, as the Sanskrit treatises on drama and music bear eloquent testimony to the fact that vṛṇḍā-vādyā (or saṃveta-yantra-vāda-na) or orchestra and vṛṇḍā-gāna(saṃveta-saṁgīta) or chorus were current in India even before the dawn of the Christian era. We find full description of the Mahāvrata ceremony in the Śrautasūtras, where it has been described that the wives of the priests used to sing songs in chorus to obtain offsprings. The hotṛ priests used to mount a swing and was swung to and fro in order to bring heavenly feelings, and unmarried girls used to dance around the sacrificial fire with water pitchers, the contents of which they emptied.¹ From this it becomes evident that the wives of the priests and the young unmarried girls used to sing songs in unison, accompanied by dance. Now the songs of the wives of the priests and the maidens in same pitches and tunes might have known as chorus (saṁba-saṁgīta) in ancient days. Again, we find references in the Vedic literature that lute (veena) and drum (puśkara) and other musical instruments used to keep rhythm of dances and songs of the dancers and the singers, and those combined musical

¹ Vide J. Gonda: Ascetics and Courtesans (in the ‘Brahma-
vidyā,’ the Adyar Bulletin, vol. XXV, pts. i-4, pp. 78-79. Cf. also
Dr. A. B. Keith: Saṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka (London, 1908), p. VIII.
instruments were known as musical concerts or simple orchestras.

Puṣparṣi, the author of the Puṣpasūtra or Śāma-prāti-
sākhyā, has mentioned about ganagīti, where he has said: 
“anyatara ganagītibhyah pratisotriyam * *”, but this refer-
ence about the ganagīti does not mean the real group-
singing or chorus. In the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and 
Harivamśa, we often come across references about the 
group-singing of the Brāhmaṇs and the wandering minstrels 
on the occasion of coronation, wedding, funeral ceremony 
and other sacred sacrificial functions and rites, and they 
may be regarded as the group-songs or chorus. Though 
different musical instruments were used in different 
 auspicious occasions and in wars and funeral ceremonies, 
 they cannot be considered as orchestra proper. Yet the 
practice of orchestra (samūha-yantra-vādya) was in vogue 
before the Christian era, as we find mention of proper 
forms of different kinds of orchestra in Bharata’s Nāṭya-
śāstra, composed in the 2nd century A.D. Though contro-
versy rages round the exact date of compilation of Bharata’s 
Nāṭyaśāstra, yet most of the scholars have given their 
considerate opinion that it was composed or compiled 
during the period, mentioned above. Thus, as we find 
mension of kutapa (vrndavādya) in the 2nd century A.D., 
we may take it for granted that it evolved and was 
in practice before the compilation of the Nāṭyaśāstra of 
Bharata. Bharata, on his part, has also admitted that he 
compiled his Nāṭyaśāstra from the materials of the Nāṭya-
veda, composed by his predecessor, Brahmā or Brahmā-
bharata: “nāṭyaśāstraṁ praṇakṣyāmi brahmaṇā yadudā-
hṛtam” (NS. I. 1), and as such Bharata has termed his 
Nāṭyaśāstra as the samgraha-grantha, or ‘book of compila-
tion’. It is said that Brahmā or Brahmābharata composed the Nātyaveda out of the materials of the Vedic music, sāmagāna, in the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B.C.). Bharata has said,

Srūyatāṃ nātyavedasya sambhavo brahma-nirmitaṃ //

Nātyavedam tataścakre caturvedāṅga-sambhabam //
Jagrāha pāṭhyamṛgvedāt sāmabhyo gītameva ca/
Yajurvedādabhinayān rasānātharpaṇādapi //

—N. S. I. 7, 16-17

Brahmā composed the fifth Veda (‘tasmāt sṛjāparam vedaṃ pañcamam sarva-varṇikam’), the Nātyaveda, collecting materials from the Vedas, Rgveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda. The Rgveda supplied the text (pāṭhya) of the Nātyaśāstra or Nātyaveda, the Sāmaveda, the tune or melody, the Yajurveda, the dramatic scheme and science, and the Atharvaveda, the aesthetic sentiments and moods for drama, dance and music. It has been said before that Muni Bharata has composed his Nātyaśāstra, collecting materials as well as laws and principles, as prescribed in Brahmā’s Nātyaveda of the pre-Christian era. Bharata of the Nātyaśāstra fame has, therefore, mentioned about the kutapa or orchestra and the samūha-saṅgīta or chorus as well as other ingredients for drama, dance and music in the Nātyaśāstra, and from them it becomes evident that though we find frequent references of kutapa or orchestra and chorus in different literature, yet they were prevalent in the pre-Christian society, otherwise Bharata would never have written the line: “nātyaśāstram pravakṣyāmi brahmaṇā yadudāḥreṇ” (NS. I. i).
Now it is found that Bharata of the Nāṭyaśāstra fame has described about orchestra (kūtaṇa) in connection with dramatic performance (nāṭyābbinaya). He has also mentioned about group-singing or chorus as well as the grammar and science of drama, dance and music. The sculptures and bas-reliefs of the pre-Christian and early Christian eras supply palpable evidences of group-recital of musical instruments (vṛṇḍa-vādana) and group-singing or chorus (vṛṇḍa-gāṇa), as prescribed in ancient India. In the Sitā-bhāgā Cave in the Madhya-pradesha (2nd century A.D.), a dramatic stage has been excavated, in front of which there exist a music hall and a seat for the players of musical instruments, which go to prove that simple type of vṛṇḍa-vādyā or orchestra was in practice in the dramatic performances during the early Christian era. In one of the Ajantā Caves (2nd-7th century A.D.), a dramatic stage and a stage-room stand depicted. In front of the stage, some dancing girls (nāṭīs) have been painted in dancing posture, along with an orchestra to keep rhythms of their dance as in actuality. That simple orchestra was composed mainly of flutes and drums. On the bas-reliefs of the railings of the Bārāhut Stūpa (2nd century B.C.) is to be found a band of players of musical instruments as if engaged in keeping rhythms of dance. Usually the orchestra or musical concert consisted of some harp-shaped lutes (veṇnās), drums (puṣkaras) and cymbals. In the paintings of the Bāgh Cave (4th-6th century A.D.), we also come across scenes of group-dances and concerts in the Caves (Nos. 4 and 5), consisting of drums, flutes, cymbals and music-sticks, accompanying the dances of fair maidens. Again in the temple of Kapileśvara (6th-7th century A.D.) at Bhubanesvara, we find a grill, containing engraved
standing figures of nātas and nātis. In the middle, there are figures of three nātas and four nātis. Among them three nātas are dancing in different gestures and postures, and of the four nātis, one is singing and the other is playing a harp-like lute (veena), while the rest are dancing in unison with the concert. A similar scene is also found engraved in the Paramesvara temple (6th-7th century A.D.) at the same place, wherein one of the nātis is dancing in a sitting posture, the second one is beating a damaru-like drum with her right-hand, the third one is blowing a pipe, while the fourth one is playing on a cymbal as if to keep time in the concert. In different inscriptions, specially of the Magadhian and Maurya-Scythian periods, we find references of group-dance, group-singing, concert and orchestra.

Now, the question arises whether the scenes of the vrnda-vādyā and the vrnda-gāna (orchestra and chorus), as engraved in different railings and Caves of the Buddhist Stūpas and Hindu temples are to be termed as orchestra and chorus proper. It is a moot point. But it should be remembered in this connection that definite forms of concert and orchestra (kutapa or vrnda-vādyā) had already taken shape in the pre-Christian era, and Bharata has described them in the Nātyaśāstra. The music experts and scholars have made a distinction between a ‘concert’ and an ‘orchestra’. A concert, they say, is a combination of voices or sounds, or it can be said to be a musical entertainment, whereas an orchestra is a body of instrumental performers or a combination of different classes of musical instruments. In fact, a concert is a musical entertainment of concerted pieces, symphonies, etc., sometimes interspersed with songs, performed by an orchestra of many musical instruments.
The term orchestra has been derived from the Greek term *orchestron* meaning, 'dance.' In ancient Greek theatres, it stood for the space, allotted to the chorus of the dancers. In modern theatres, the part of the building assigned to the instrumentalists; and in the modern concert-rooms, the place occupied by the instrumental and vocal performers. The word 'orchestra' was also used to denote the musicians collectively with the instrumentalists.

Now, what do we mean an orchestra? Orchestra, says Waldo Selden Pratt, is the "general name for an ensemble of instruments and players of several different kinds under the direction of a single leader or conductor. It is distinguished from the *chamber-ensemble* by the variety of its constituents and by the fact that in some parts more than a single player is usually included. Its ideal is to serve as a complex, but unified instrument, like an organ, though composed of many living performers, each of whom is normally an expert soloist on his own instrument. In its highest development it is, therefore, the most elaborate vehicle for instrumental exposition and impression".

He has further said that an orchestra as a definite artistic agency "called into existence by the rise of the opera in the early 17th century. But the experiments throughout that century (as by Monteverdi, Costi, Lully, Legrenzi and A. Scarlatti) were extremely varied in the range and balance of the instruments employed. ** Even in the early 18th century, there was a tendency to use the wood-wind (flutes, oboes and bassoons) as the nucleus or as (as in the case of Bach) to exploit various instruments in

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solo-effects rather than to seek contrasts and gradations of massed tone. It remained for the Mannheim group (about 1750) to fix upon the violin-quartet as the true centre for the whole and to perceive the ideal co-ordination with this of the wood- and brass-groups. Hence came the orchestral symphonies of the Viennese or classical school, which were as novel in instrumental conception as they were in structural detail. The further advances in magnitude and refinement of colour-effects waited for the early and middle 19th century, when Berlioz and Wagner set up standards that have not been greatly exceeded since.

"Prior to 1750, orchestral music, outside of accompaniments, consisted chiefly of overtures, and various forms of concerto, the former magnifying the contrast of successive movements and the latter the contrast between solo and tutti. With J. S. Bach set in the first currents that led with Hayden, Mozart and Beethoven to the rapid evolution of the symphony as the orchestral sonata. About 1800 the concert-overture began to detach itself from the overture proper. About 1850 appeared both Liszt's movement in favour of the symphonic poem and Wagner's prodigious transformation of the orchestral side of the opera, while one composer after another added to the growing appreciation of the orchestra as the special medium for effects and constructions dominated by light, colour, and warmth. Like every other instrument of major importance, the orchestra has called into being either new forms appropriate to its own genius or tended to remodel existing forms to match its transcendent capacity for expression."

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Regarding orchestra and orchestration of the ancient Greeks and the Western nations, Prof. Percy A. Scholes is of opinion that "the idea of combining instruments is probably as old as instruments themselves, but the principles of what may be called systematic combination (and the art of orchestration is just that) were very slowly realized". So the development of the principles approximately spread over four dates viz 1600, 1700, 1800 and 1900. These dates were known as (1) the Monteverdi period, (2) the Bach period, (3) the period of emergence of the modern orchestra, and (4) orchestration at the beginning of the 20th century. The Monteverdi period is known as the period of the early operas. In the second period, i.e. in 1700 A.D., some instruments were improved and some effective combinations were worked out with a growing tendency to standardize the central string section exactly as we have it today. In the third period, i.e. in 1800 A.D., a change of conception came into being. The keyboard instruments were outmoded, and the string ones were accepted as the invariable basis. In the fourth period, i.e. in 1900 A.D., the orchestra became more improved.

"Between the Hyden-Mozart period and the Strauss period", says Prof. Scholes, "have come the work of the later Beethoven and of Wagner, and this great expansion of orchestral media, with its consequent enhanced variety, increased dynamic power, and greater aptitude for dramatic characterization, represents the influence of the Romantic movement plus that of the efforts of instrument makers during the greatest age of invention the world has yet seen".¹

Thus we see that in the ancient Greek theatre-stages, there were orchestras, but they were only the semi-circular or square spaces in the front of the stages, where chorus danced and sang, and they were not meant for group playing of the musical instruments proper. Similarly in Hellenistic theatre-stages, in Graeco-Roman theatres, in Roman theatres, in Elizabethan theatres, in Italian Renaissance theatres, such semi-circular, diagonal or square orchestras were in existence for songs and dances, and not for players of the musical instruments. This is also true of the theatres of modern France and Germany.

Prof. Allardyce Nicoll also informs us that main features of the ancient Athenian theatre in the 6th-5th century A.D. was the religious plots of the dramatic plays, accompanied by chorus of lyric chants and orchestras, allotted front-spaces for dance and song. Consequently the theatres, says Prof. Nicoll, “when they are created, the chorus could make those elaborate terpsichorean movements which always were associated with the verses of the lyric chants. The bare hillside, then, when the round orchestra and the altar was the first theatre known to the Greeks. The excavations undertaken at Athens by Professor Dorpfeld have shown that in the original Dionysian theatre, the orchestra stood 50 feet to the south of the present orchestra and had a diameter of 78 feet”.

In connection with Hellenistic theatre, Prof. Nicoll has further said that the “simple arrangement described

above, consisting of round orchestras, parodoi, rectangular skene with projecting paraskenia and low platform or stage, is all we can confidently assert for the earliest Athenian playhouse".¹ In the Graeco-Roman theatres, the orchestra, which had been completely circular in purely Greek style, was encroached on by the scene-buildings, but always remained more than a semi-circle. In the Roman theatre, orchestra was cut sharply in half, also exhibiting semi-circle, bounded on the diameter by the front of the stage itself, generally styled the hypostenium (or under-stage).

Thus we find that practice of proper orchestra or group-playing of different musical instruments evolved in later period, in the 16th century A.D., or a little before that, in Greece, Rome, Italy, France, Germany and other ancient countries. There were music-rooms, the halls or seats for the musicians and players of musical instruments, and probably from those music-rooms evolved the orchestra in the 16th century, as a part and parcel of the theatres and dramatic plays.

Though it is a fact that theatre or stage and drama (play or abhinaya) are by no means one and the same thing, and though they stand in close relationship to each other, yet they each has its own boundary. "The theatre," says Prof. Nicoll, "extends considerably beyond the frontiers of the drama, while the drama similarly extends far on the other side beyond the frontiers of the theatre".² Again it should be remembered in this connection that chorus or group-songs, dance and music were connected all with

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¹ Ibid., p. 23.
theatre and drama, at least in ancient times. In India also, dance, music and concert or musical entertainment and accompaniment were closely connected both with the stage (raṅga-maṅca) and dramatic play (abhinaya). In an engraving of the Duke’s Theatres in Dorset Garden, published in 1673, we find that on the ledges underneath the two-side windows portraits of a drum, a trumpet, and a violin, "whence we may conclude that these were the windows of the music-room. • • Save for the presence of the music-room, the arrangements were evidently not very different from those obtaining at the Theatre Royal".1

Again, when in late 1600 A.D., theatrical endeavour was concerned with the efforts of the scene-designers, opera had become a fully established form of dramatic art. The orchestra-platform for the players of musical instruments was then felt necessary for help to the dramatic play, and the well-trained orchestras thus provided the musical accompaniment in operas in the West in the 16th century. But it should be remembered that in India, the germ or nucleus of the geya-nātakas can be traced to the early 12th century A.D., when Kavi Jayadeva composed the gītīnāṭya, Gita-govinda. The operas in India were not merely a fantasia, but was a combination of poetry, music, dance and symbolism. The orchestra (samūha-vādyā) was also a part and parcel of the Indian opera (gītīnāṭya).

It is a historical fact that orchestra (vṛṇda-vādyā) evolved in India even before the advent of the Christian era, and as has already been said, its prevalence is generally proved by Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. Bharata has styled orchestra (vṛṇda-vādyā) as kutapa. Besides kutapa or Indian orchestra,

1. The Dancing and Orchestra, Sita-Benga Cave Temple, Madhya Pradesh (2nd Century B.C.)
2. The dancing girl, Ajanta, 2nd Century B.C. to 7th Century A.D.
The dancing party and Orchestra in the Ragh paintings,
Caves No. 4 and 5
1. The main dancer and the orchestra in the Bagh paintings
2. The dancers and the orchestra, Barhut
The dancing girl and orchestra, Pawana, Gawalior

The dancing girl, accompanied by a small orchestra, Ajanta
No. 2. The Main Site of the Theatre at Epidaurus

No. 1. The Main Site of the Odeon Theatre (Media Cavea)
      —Picture from the Pompii.
The Odeon or Little Theatre:
Orchestra-side Entrance and Steps for the 'Media Cavea'.
built by M. Porcius and C. Quinctius
Valgus in 80 B.C.

—Pompeii, p. 40
The Design of Orange Theatre.
mentions of assemblage of different musical instruments are to be found in different religious, royal and domestic functions, but they were not the orchestras or concerts proper. As for example, in the second chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra (Vārāṇasī edition), Bharata has mentioned about different wind and percussion instruments on the occasion of laying of the foundation-stone of the theatre-stage. Bharata has said,

Piṣṭhato yo bhavedbhāgo dvidhābhūtō bhavecca sah/
Tasyārdhena vibhāgena raṅga-śirṣaṁ prayojayet/.

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Saṅkha-duṇḍubhi-nirghośair-mṛdaṅga-paṇava-dibhibhī/
Sarva-tūrya-ninādaśca sthāpanaṁ kāryameva ca/
—Nāṭyaśāstra, II. 35-37.

That is, “these halves (behind him) should be again divided equally into two parts, one of which will be made the stage (raṅga-śirṣa) and the part at back the retiring room (nepathya). And during the ceremony (of laying of the foundation) all the musical instruments such as, conchshell, duṇḍubhi (drum), mṛdaṅga (earthen drum), paṇava (small drum or tabor) should be sounded”. Then Bharata has mentioned about Indian orchestra or kutapa in the second chapter:

Tasmannivatāḥ kartabyah kartṛbhir-nātyamaṇḍapah/
Gāmbhiryaṁ susvaratvaṁ ca kutapasya bhavediti/
—Nāṭyaśāstra, II. 82-83.

“For (in such a playhouse) made free from the interference of wind, voice of actors and singers as well as the sound of musical instruments will be distinctly heard”.

Now, it was customary to represent the kutapa or vṛnda-vādyā after the ceremony of laying of the foundation-stone of the stage and in the beginning of the worship of the presiding deities: “sampūjya devataḥ sarvāḥ kutapaṁ
samprayujya ca” (NS. III. 11). Now, it should be mentioned that Bharata has used the word ‘kutapa’ in different senses. As for example, he has mentioned kutapa sometimes as different musical instruments (“tataśca sarva-kutapair-yuktānanyāni kārayet”—V. 12), and sometimes as orchestra or vrnda-vādyya. Similarly the commentator Abhinabagupra has used the word kutapa in three different ways: (1) “kutapamiti caturvīḍhamātyoḍa-bhāṇḍāni”; (2) caturvīḍhamātyoḍaṃ kutapam”; (3) “kutapah sampheta-gāyana va-dakasamūhah”. It should be remembered that all these interpretations are correct, as the word kutapa sometimes denotes four kinds of musical instruments like tāṭa, vīṭaṭa, ghana and susīrā; sometimes orchestra and also sometimes musicians and players of different musical instruments.

Then Bharata goes on to describe the arrangement of the musical instruments (kutapa-vinyāsa), which was known as pratyāhāra. Besides, he has described about avataraṇa, āśravaṇa, vakrapāṇi, parīghaṭṭanā, saṁghaṭanā, mārgotsārita or mārgaśaṁita, gītavidhi, parivartana, nāndi, etc. Regarding the detailed arrangement of the musical instruments (kutapa-vinyāsa) and their names, Bharata has said,

Kutapasya tu vinyāsah pratyāhāra iti smṛtalḥ/
Tathāvataṭanāḥ praktaṁ gāyakānāṁ niveṣaṇāṁ//
Parigītakṛtyārambha ārambha iti kīrtitalḥ/
Ātodya-cāṇjanānarthām tu bhavedāśīyāvayāvidhilḥ//
Vādyavṛtta-vibhāgārthāṃ vakrapāṇi-vidhiyate/
Tantrejastaraṭārthāḥ tu bhāvav ca paraṇghaṭtanā//
Tathā pāṇi-vibhāgārthāṃ bhavet samghaṭanāvidhilḥ/
Tantuḥ-bhāṇḍa-saṁyaogān mārgaśaṁitaṁ śyaṁate//
Kālapāta-vibhāgārthāṃ bhavedāśīrīta-kṛtyā/
Kīrtanāddevatānāṁ ca jñeyo gītavidhīsthā//

NS. V. 17-21.
“The arrangement of the musical instruments (kutapa) is called the pratyāhāra. The appearance of singers is called the avataraṇā. The commencement of vocal exercise for singing (parigita) called the ārambha or beginning. Adopting the musical instruments for playing them in due manner is called the āśrāvanā. Rehearsing (lit. dividing) the different styles (vṛttis) of playing musical instruments is called the vakrapaṇī. The strings of instruments are adjusted duly during the parighaṭṭanā. The saṅghaṭanā is meant for rehearsing the use of different hand-poses (for indicating the time-beat). The playing together (in harmony with one another) of drums and stringed instruments is called the mārgāśārita. The āśārita is meant for practising the beat of time-fractions (kālapāta). And the application of songs (gītavidhi) is for singing the glory of gods”.

Regarding the arrangement of different musical instruments in orchestra (kutapa-vinyāsa), Abhinavagupta has said in the Abhinavabhāratī: “nepathyagṛhaduरarayormadbye pūrvābhimukho mārdāṇgikah/ tasya pāṇavikau vāmataḥ/. raṅgāpīṭhasya daksinātāh uttarābhimukho gāyanaḥ/ asyāgre uttarato daksinābhumukhasthitā gāyikyaḥ/. asya vāme vānipī ḵaḥ/ anyatra vamsadvāra-dhāra)-kāvityavām kutami pāti kuṃ tapaśī śabda-viśesapālayakṣya nātyabhūmikojvalatādhā-yināscā vargasya yo vicitrō nyoḥ sa viprakīrṇānāmeva tāra dhamkanātmā pratyāhāraḥ” (V. 17). The meaning of the lines is this that the mārdāṇgika to sit facing east between the two doors of the green-room, the pāṇavika to sit to his left, gāyaka to sit to the south of the raṅgāpīṭha, facing

1 These have already been described in the previous chapter (chapt. IV). It is to note further that the English translations of the slokas have been adopted from Dr. M, Ghose's Nātyāśāstra to some extent.
south, the gāyika to sit at his front on the north facing south, vaśīka to their left and two vaṁśikas to their right. In all three types of players of musical instruments occupy a place in the raṅgaśīra between the two doors. The female musicians also used to be allowed to take part in the Indian orchestra. Regarding it, Abhinavagupta has said: “yadyapi kutapasya vinyāsa madhya eva ca gāyaka-syābhimukho raṅgapīthasyottarato gāyinyā iti gāya-(yi)-kānaṁ vinyāsaḥ, tathāpi tuvataranāṁ nāma prthaguktamaṅgaṇāṁ gīta-(maṅganāgīta)-syāvaśyambhāvituṁ raṅjakavesvargadhyāpayitum/ yadvakṣyate—

“Yadyapi puruṣo gāyati gītavidbānāṁ tu laṅkānopetam/ Strīvirohitāḥ prayogastathāpi na sukhāvahobhavati//”

—Nāṭyaśāstra, XXXIII. 5-7.

That is, though in ancient Indian orchestra, male players of musical instruments were mentioned, yet for pleasing combination, it was the practice to engage female players also. Elsewhere Abhinavagupta has given the definition of kutapa in this manner: “kutāṁ śabdam pāsti caturvidhāmātodyaṁ kutapāṁ/ tat-prayoktrajātaṁca tasya viśeṣaṇāvyavastābapākānāṁ tatra viśeṣaṇa nyāso yathāyogam svara-tālalaya-kalādi-niveśaṇaṁ/ sa eva prayyāḥārādirāsaṁkṛtyāntaḥ pariśāraṇo vinyāsah//”

Bharata has said that the arrangement of musical instruments (kutapa) used to be made exclusively in connection with the presentation of dramas. And for this reason he has said elsewhere:

Vādyesu yatnāḥ prathamāṁ tu kāryāḥ
sayyā hi nātyasya vadanti vādyāṁ/
Vādye’pi gīte’pi ca samprayukte
nātyasya yogo na vināśameti//

—Nāṭyaśāstra, XXXIII. 270.
The *kutapa* consisted of four kinds of musical instruments, and Bharata has elaborately dealt with them in the *Atodyavidhi* in the 28th chapter (Vārānasī edition) thus;

Tatam caivaṇanaddham ca ghanam susīraneva ca/
Caturvidham tu vijñeyamātodyāṃ lakṣaṇānvitam//
Tatam tantrigataṃ jñeyamavananaddham tu pauskaram,
Ghanam tālastu vijñeyah susiro vaṁśa ucyate//
Prayogastrividho hyesāṁ vijñeyo nāṭakāśrayah/
Tatam caivaṇanaddham ca tatha nāṭyakṛtaṇca yah//
Tatam kutapa-vinyāsō gāyanaḥ saparigrahaḥ/
Vaipaṇiciko vaiṇikaśca vaṁśavādaka eva ca//
Mārdanikāḥ pāṇavikastathā dārduriko¹ vudhah/
Anāvidhavidhāvesa kutapah samudāḥṛtaḥ//
Uttamādhamamadhībhistathā prakṛtibhīryutah/
Kutapo nāṭyayoge'tra nānadeśa-samāśrayah//
Evam gānām ca nāṭyam ca vādyam ca vividhāśrayam/
Alātacakra-pratimaṁ kartavyam nāṭyayoktrbhih//
Yattu tantrigataṃ proktam nānātodya-samāśrayam/
Gāndharvamiti vijñeyam svara-tāla-padāśrayam//

—Nāṭyaśāstra, XXVIII. 1-8.

From this we come to know that ancient Indian orchestra consisted of *vaipaṇicika* or *vaiṇika*, *vaṁśa-vādaka*, *mārdalika* or *pāṇavika* or *dārdurika*. It can be divided into four main classes, players of lute or *veena*, flutists, drummers and players of cymbal. The players were of three classes, *uttama* (best), *madhyama* (medium) and *adbama* (trite). The orchestra (*kutapa*) was arranged like *alātacakra* i. e. in a circle. These have been fully dealt with by Sāraṅgdeva in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (vide III, *prakīṛṇa* chapter).

¹ Different reading—dārbhariko.
Sāraṅgdeva has said like Bharata that drum, puṣkara was the principal musical instrument in the orchestra: "kutape tvavanaddhasya mukhyo mārdāṅgikastatabh". Sīṁhabhupāla has also said: "avanaddhasya kutapa eko mukhyo mārdāṅgikabh". Sāraṅgdeva has mentioned the names of the drums, which were used in the kutapa or ancient Indian orchestra, and they were pāṇava, dardura, dhakkā, maṇḍi-dhakkā, dakkuli, pataba, karatū, etc. Besides them, he has mentioned the names of other musical instruments, which were included in the kutapa.

Sāraṅgdeva has described about the nātya-kutapa i.e. combination of musical instruments, meant for drama. The nātya-kutapa was divided into three classes according to their merits, and they were uttama (best), madhyama (medium) and adhama (trite). Sīṁhabhupāla has said: "eteśāṁ ca pāṭrānāṁ uttama-madhyamādhamatvena kutapasyāpi traṇīdvyaṁ". When these three types of kutapa were used to be combined, they came to be known as vṛnda or combination (or cluster). The combined musical instruments or instrumentalists (vṛnda) were in their turn divided into best, medium and trite. (1) The best type of vṛnda consisted of four main singers, twelve accompanying singers, four flutists and four drummers; (2) the medium type of vṛnda consisted of two main singers, four accompanying singers, two flutists and two drummers; (3) the lowest (kaniṣṭha or adhama) type of vṛnda consisted of one main singer, three accompanying singers, two flutists and two drummers. Regarding them, Sāraṅgdeva has said in the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara:

Gāṭ-vāḍaka-saṅghāto vṛndamityabhidhiyate/
Uttamaṁ madhyamamatho kaniṣṭhamiti tat tridhā//
Cattāro mukhyogāro dvigunāṁ samagāyanāḥ/
Gāyanyo dvādaśa proktā vāṁśikānāṁ catusṭayaṁ//
Mārdaṅgikāsū catvāro yatra tad-vaṅgamuttamaṁ/
Madhyamaṁ syātradardhena kanisthe mukhyagāyanāḥ//
Ekaḥ syāt samagātāsastrayo gāyanikāḥ punaḥ/
Catastro vāṁsikāṁ dvandvaṁ tathā mārdalikadvayaṁ//


According to Bharata, these vaṇdas or combined musical instrument-players and musicians were called the kutapa or orchestra: “āha vaṇda-viśeṣam tu kutapam bharato munib” (SR, III. 211), though Sāraṅgdeva holds a different view to some extent. Sāraṅgdeva has said: “anyadapi vaṇdam kutapākhyam matantarena” (cf. commentary of Sīthahabhupāla). According to him, vaṇda, known as kutapa, was really the nātya-kutapa (orchestra proper) and was exclusively meant for use in dramatic performances. Sāraṅgdeva has further said that the nātya-kutapa used to be formed out of different persons, expert in the arts of abhinaya, aṅgabāra, maṇḍala as well as in the arts of dances like tāṇḍava and lāsya, which were also current in the countries like Varāṭa, Karpāṭa, Lāṭa, Mālava, Gauḍa, Gurjara, Mahārāṣṭra, Andhra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, etc.:

Varāṭa-lāṭa-karpāṭa-gauḍa-gurjara-kōṅgkanaiḥ/
Mahārāṣṭrāṇḍhra-hammīta-caulair-mālaya-mālavaiḥ//
Aṅga-vaṅga-kalīṅgādyair-nāṭābhhinayakovidaiḥ/
Aṅgabāra-paẏogajñāir-lāsya-tāṇḍava-kovidaiḥ//,
Vicitra-ṣṭhānaka-praudiha-viśameṣu susikṣaitaiḥ/
Nātyasya kutapah pātra-ruttamādhhamamadhayaṁaiḥ//

—Ratnakara, III. 221-223.

It has already been said that the nātya-kutapa was also divided into three classes, best, medium and common-
place: “eteśaṁ ca pātrānāmuttama-madhyanābhamatvena
kutapasyāpi traśividbhyāṁ”.

Sitaabhabhupāla has used the terms vṛnda and samūha
or saṁghāta to mean ‘collection’: “saṁghātaḥ samūho
vṛndamucyate”. The vṛnda or samūha-vādyā was also of
different classes, such as, kutapa-vṛnda i.e. collection of
different musical instruments, vāṁśika-vṛnda i.e. collection
of flutes only, gāyanī-vṛnda i.e. collection of singers, kolā-
balākhyā-vṛnda i.e. collection of various musical instruments
which generally used to create disturbance.

It has been said before that besides orchestra (kutapa),
chorus (vṛnda-gāna) was in practice in ancient India,
in connection with the dramatic performances. The chorus
used to be produced by different musicians, both male and
female, and was known as ‘gāyanī-vṛnda’. These musicians
remained always attached to the dramatic plays or abhinaya.
The expert musicians used to produce songs in unison, and
they were accompanied by different musical instruments.
The gāyanī-vṛnda and the kutapa-vṛnda were in touch with
each other all the time. The gāyanī-vṛnda was also divided
into three classes, best, medium and common-place. The
best type of gāyanī-vṛnda consisted of two main singers,
ten accompanying singers, assisted by two flutists and two
drummers. The medium one consisted of one main singer,
and four accompanying singers, assisted by one flutist and
one drummer. The common-place one consisted of half
of the number of the medium one. Some are of opinion
that according to Bharata, the gāyanī-vṛnda, vāṁśika-vṛnda
and such other vṛndas were also known as kutapa: “āba
vṛnda-viśesaṁ tu kutapam bharato muniḥ”. But it is
a fact that though the musicians in the gāyanīvṛnda,
were accompanied by different musical instruments and connected with the dramatic plays, yet they used to sing songs for drama in unison, which was nothing but chorus (saṃhā-saṅga or vṛnda-gāna). Like kutapa or orchestra, the musicians used to create the ethos in dramatic plays. The vāṃśika-vṛnda was composed only of flutes, and consisted of one main flutist and four subsidiary ones,

Eka syādvāṃśiko mukhyaścatvāro'syānuyāyīnāh,
Vāṃśikānāmiti prāyastajjīnāir-vṛnda nigadyate/

—Ratnākara, VI. 667.

As has been said before that opera (geya-nāṭya or gīti-nāṭya) evolved in India in the early 12th century A.D., i.e. even before the time of Sāraṅgdeva, who appeared in early 13th century A.D., and the palpable evidence in its support is the aṭapadi or gītagovinda-prabandha-gāna of Thākur Jaideva of Kenduvilva, in West Bengal. All over the world, well-trained orchestras provide the musical accompaniments in opera plays. In opera, dance is only incidental, and the dramatic action and conversation (abhinaya) take prominent role. In South India, different operas (geya-nāṭakas) were written by great composers in different times. The charitrāms, written in songs and verses, were produced as opera. The charitrāms were known as the geya-charitrāms. Well has it been said by Prof. Sāmbomoorthý: "A well-trained orchestra is absolutely necessary to provide the music accompaniment in operas. * In a properly balanced orchestra, constituted with attention to tone-colour effects, it is possible to achieve brilliant results", ¹ It is thus-

found that an orchestra is necessary for an opera or geya-nāṭya.

Prof. Sāmbomoorthly has further said: "Kutapa is the term for orchestra in ancient Indian music. There are references to tata-kutapas or stringed bands and avanaddha-kutapa or bands of drums. The kutapas provided musical accompaniment to the dramas in ancient times. In late times, the term saṅgīta-melāṃ came to be used to denote orchestras, playing classical music. The orchestras, designated to play folk music, were called by such names as naiyandi-melāṃ, urumī-melāṃ, etc."¹

It has already been said that genuine evidences regarding the existence of orchestra and chorus, accompanying dance and drama, are found from the sculptures and bas-reliefs of different Buddhist Stūpas, railings and gates, monasteries and Hindu temples of ancient India. Evidences are also discernible (1) in the paintings of the Ajantā Caves, in one of which is depicted a theatre-stage and green-room with a dancing girl, dancing with her attendants, and female musicians are keeping rhythm of the dance; (2) the theatre-stage and green-room hewn out of rock at the Sitābeṅgā-Cave, in front of which is the figure of a female dancer dancing, and a drummer and a flutist keeping the rhythm of the dance; (3) representations of dancing figures on the Bhārut-railings; (4) the vrnda-vādya and dancing figures as well as the figure of a dancer and female players of musical instruments at the Bāgh Cave paintings are worth-mentioning. The orchestra-

¹ Ibid., pp. 86-87.
party and the dance-motive of a dancing girl (나षि), as depicted in the Pāwayā at Gwālior of the 4th century A.D., is also very significant in this context. The orchestra, as depicted here, consists of a sarode like veena, one harp-type of veena, flutes, drums and cymbals. From all these it is evident that a simple form of orchestra was in practice in ancient India even before the dawn of the Christian era, though modern type of orchestra evolved in India in the beginning of the British Rule, as it has been fashioned after the design of the orchestration process of the West. But that does not mean that there was no orchestra in India before the British Rule. India had orchestra and chorus of her own, and that orchestra consisted of purely Indian musical instruments, based on melody and melodic elaboration.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER V.

Regarding ṛṇḍa and kutapa:

(a) शास्त्रेष्वः—
गातृवादसंखारो ब्रह्ममित्रभिगुष्टे ।
उत्तमं स्थिरसमथो कलिस्मितिः तद्भिधा ॥
चत्वारो मुख्यगातारो द्विपुष्या: समगायनाः ।
गायन्यो ह्वादस्य श्रेष्ठो वंशिकानां चतुष्टयम् ॥
भार्तक्रस्तु चत्वारो यत् तद्भुद्द्वुछतमम् ।
मध्यमं स्वात्तर्चो कनिष्ठे मुख्यगायनं ॥
एकः स्वात्तसमगातारख्यो गायनिकाः पुस्तं ।
चत्वारो वंशिक्रश्वत्वत् तथा माद्विक्रश्वयम् ॥
उत्तमे गायानीपन्दे मुख्यगायनिकाद्वयम् ।
दश स्थुः समगायन्यो वंशिक्रस्तितयं तथा ॥
A HISTORICAL STUDY OF INDIAN MUSIC

भवेन्मार्दितकदेवं मधये ाहारगायनी
एका सादुसमगायन्यथाभिसो धारिकातथा
हतो न्यूनो दु हीनो सादु यथेष्ठमथवा भवेत
उत्तमम्भविक्ष ब्रजं कोलाहलसिरितम्
शुक्लातुलिरित्मलं तालिनागुवर्तनम्
मिस्थलुपात्तिकास्वास्थ्यान्वासिः शक्तिः
शाब्दसार्धरामितेति श्रोता ब्रजस्य वष
गुरुः ब्रजविश्वेषां दु कुलवंभो भजतो सुलिः
ततंत्र बालवसह नामवेलितिसिध केस स:
ततस्तु कुलपो ष्ट्रौगायणः सपरिमहः
वीषा घोषवती चिता विपश्री परीवाहिनी
वक्षः वायुवायसी व्येधानु नकलोभी च विमसरी
जया कुमारी पिनाकी च पौषो रावणाहलकः
साराज्ञाताला पिनाकी व्याख्यात्रस्त्रा वादकः
बाणिकः पाणिकः पावः काहः रामबावः
हुसूरी व्यष्णायास्तरा तालिनान्तरावरा
कुलपे लक्ष्मणदस्य मुखो मार्दिकातः
प्रणये दुर्गे चक्षा मरिशस्था च ब्रकुली
पदः करता रक्षा चवसो घवसस्तः
हुद्धकः ब्रम्ह रुजः कुक्कुला कुलवा तथा
विद्याश्रितेऽनीरी दुम्बकी कोम्बरी तथा
पत्तवार्त पतः कम्भा महारीमागवेलुकः
जयपेता कोंसतालो घरस्ता च किरिकिन्द्रम्
बाणाभावेतानादीना धुतवादकागमः
वराटवाटकालोगौरजर्जरकाश्यः
(b) सिंहमुराला—

श्रव्णं लश्यति—गादुवादके चति। गातारी गायना; गायन्यथ; वादका वाशिकादयः; तेषां संख्या-विषयप्रेषण कविता: संघात: समूहो बन्दमिल्युः। तत्र तिविधसः; उसमं साध्यमं करिणः चेति।* * *

अन्यद्य श्रव्णं कुत्पाख्यं मतान्तरेष्ण लश्यतिः—आहेति। तत्र कुतपहत्वं लिप्य; ततसमभिः; अवनंसमभिः; नायकसमभिः चेति। तत्र ततसमभिः कुत्पं लश्यति—ततस्येति। ततसमभिः चनि कुतपेश गायकस्यां परिमहो शात्वं। कोडसी परिमहुः हस्तम छाह—वीषेति। घोषवती-चिलावोऽनो वानास्यायो वच्चमानलच्चानां वादका गायकस्य परिमहः।

अन्यमपि परिमहः कथयति—वाशिका इति। वाशिका वंशवाङ्काः। * * तत्र वाद्यः पावितवाङ्काः। * * नायककुत्यं लश्यति—वरोतेति। वरालालादकां देशस्याधिकारयोग्यविवेकानिष्ठायो निर्माणाम् विवेचलोः विनिर्मिताः विनिर्मिताः समस्ताः संघात: बन्दमिल्युः।
CHAPTER VI

"SAPTATANTRI-VEENA IN THE BUDDHIST CAVES OF PITALKHORĀ

The musicians as well as the musicologists and the lovers of music generally overlook the importance of archaeological finds relating to music. The treatise on music undoubtedly supply to us many a valuable clue with the help of which the obscure and forgotten chapters of history of Indian music get illumined and become meaningful. But it is a fact that the representations of musical instruments and dancing postures with different hand-poses (mudrās) of different epochs, carved on the stone-walls and facades of various caves and temples of India furnish us with materials which are indispensable for proper appraisal of the art of music as it flourished in ancient India. As observed by Carl Engle, the sculptures and frescoes of musical instruments and dance-poses relating to different periods of history provide to us knowledge of the culture obtaining in those periods. These should, therefore, be regarded as valuable means to the understanding of the cultural heritage of a people.

Representations of some of the musical instruments on stone have recently been excavated from the Buddhist Caves of Pitalkhorā, carved in the Satmāḷa range, known also as Chandorā, on the northern fringe of AURAṅgabad District of Mahārāṣṭra State. The caves of Pitalkhorā lie 50 miles to the south-west of the Ajantā Caves and 23 miles to the north-west of Ellorā. An earlier account of these
Caves, says M. N. Despande¹ seems to have appeared in 1853, when John Wilson gave a very brief description of the Chaitya Cave and the adjoining Vihāra Cave. Fergusson and Burges also gave a more detailed account of the same in their monumental book, Cave Temple of India. In the "Report of the Buddhist Cave-Temples and their Inscriptions" (vide Archaeological Survey, West India, IV, London, 1883, pp. 11-12), Burges has further drawn particular attention to the Capitals on the pilasters of the Vihāra and also dealt with the inscriptions, two in the Chaitya and five over the cell-doors of the Vihāra, recording gifts from the the natives of Pratisthāna. In more recent years, fresh light on these Pītalkhorā Caves has been thrown by M. G. Dikshit in the Bombay Historical Society, Nos. 1-2, 1941. It is said that the development of the rock-cut architecture started in the second century B.C. culminating in its final form in the sixth-seventh century A.D. The Caves were taken charge of by the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, in 1953, and are still maintained by them. The ancient name of Pītalkhorā seems to be Pitangalya, which has been mentioned in Ptolemy's account as Petrigala.

Now three portraits of the saptatantri-veena have been found engraved on stone-slabs, excavated from the debris in the forecourt of Cave No. 4 of Pītalkhorā. Besides them, have also been found one fragmentary sculpture of a winged Kinnara and one of a flying Gandharva. Though the nomenclatures of Kinnara and Gandharva are closely associated with music, as found in ancient lore, in the Epics, and

¹ The Bengali version of the Jataka, translated by Isāna Chandra Ghose.
in the classical literature of India, yet the sculptural representations of Kinnara and Gandharva, as found in the Pitalkhora Caves, are very peculiar in forms and features, for the winged Kinnara has been featured with collared beads in the right hand and a bowl of flowers in the left. The flying Gandharva has been depicted with a shield in his left hand, in heroic pose. During the Vedic period, says the historian R.C. Dutt, the Gandharvas, and the Kinnaras used to be considered as the enemies of the gods, but this conception underwent metamorphosis during the Epic period. It seems that the sculptors of the Buddhist Caves of Pitalkhora adhered to the Vedic conception, while chiselling those figures of the Gandharva and Kinnara.

The *saptatantri-veena*s, together with their plectrums have been vividly depicted in some sculptures in Cave No. 4. The particular sculptures are three in number, two of which contain the representations of one female and one male musicians. In one of the two, a woman has been portrayed in a reclining posture, playing a *veena*, having seven strings, with her right hand. From the fragmentary piece of the sculpture it appears that the *veena* depicted thereon resembles in shape the Egyptian Harp. It is placed on the lap of the woman who holds the plectrum (*koṇa*) with her thumb and forefinger, and is seen plucking the second string of the *saptatantri-veena*. In the second one, a youth has been portrayed, holding a *veena* against his right shoulder, and seven strings of the *veena* emanating "from an elliptical gourd with a curved handle, at one end of which are tied the strings". In the third one is found the representation of a male figure, "wearing a *grāiveya* and a *hāra* round the neck and heavy floral wreaths on the wrists." A *veena* with seven strings is on his left arm,
Saptatantri-Veena from Pitalkhora Caves, The Sculpture of a Musician,
—Male (2nd Century B.C.—2nd-3rd Century A.D.)

(By the permission of the Archaeological Department, Govt. of India, Delhi)
Saptatantri-Veena from Pitalkhora Cave.

(By the permission of the Archaeological Department, Govt. of India, Delhi)
Saptatantri-Veena from Pitalkhora Caves—Sculpture of a Musician, Female.

(By the permission of the Archaeological Department, Govt. of India, Delhi)
2. The harp-sized Veena, Amaravati.
1. (a) Sarode-type Veena, Gandhara.
   (b) do. Amaravati.
2. The Veena, Gandhara.
1. The harp-sized Veena, Barhut.
2. The Sarodelike Veena, Russia.
1. The *Veena*, Mahavalipuram.
2. The *Veena* with two gourds, Bagali-Kaleswara.
3. The *Veena* with two gourds.
1. The Veena-player.  
2. The Modern Veenas.  
(Nagarjunakonda, 2nd-3rd Century A.D.)
pressed against the left rib, and he holds the plectrum in his right hand.

The *saptatantri-veena* was not a novelty in ancient India. In the *Rgveda*, we find mention of the *veena*, *vāṇa* with hundred strings: “*marutah vāṇam śata-sañkhyābhis-tantrībhiv-yuktam veena-viśeṣam dharmanto vādayantah*”. In the *Rc. verse 10.32.4*, it has further been mentioned: “*mātā yan-manturyuthasaya pūrvyā'bbi vānasya sapta-dhāturijjanah*”. Sāyaṇa has explained it as: “*vānasya vādyasya sapta-dhāturijjanah*”. As the term “*sapta-dhāturijjanah*” has been used with the word “*vāṇah*,” it is probable that ‘*sapta-dhāturij*’ signifies ‘seven tones’ that were produced in the hundred strings of the *veena*, *vāṇa*. But we cannot agree with Sāyaṇa’s interpretation of the term “*sapta-dhāturij*” as notes like *niśāda*, *dhaivata*, *pañcama*, *madhyama*, *gāndhāra*, *śrāvha* and *śadja* (“*niśādādi-sapta-suaropetaḥ*”), because the notes *niśāda*, etc. are known as the seven notes of both the gāndharva and dēśī types of laukika music that evolved after the Vedic period. The Vedic notes went by the names of *kruṣṭa*, *prabhama*, *dvīṣya*, *tṛṣṭya*, *caturtha*, *māndra* and *atsvārya*, and it is reasonable to surmise that *sapta-dhāturij* or seven notes, that were produced in the hundred strings of the *veena*, *vāṇa*, were the Vedic ones. During the time of Kātyāyana of the *Kalpasūtra*, the *vāṇa* came to be known as the *kātyāyani-veena*, and the commentator Karkācārya has called it the *mahati-veena*, possessed of hundred strings.

The *saptatantri-veena* is one of the types of the *veena* of the lute class of ancient India. The most ancient type of *veena* was in the form of a bow, which was known as
dhanuryantram, or a musical instrument fashioned after the hunting bow, having the strings of gut. The 'bow' or dhanuryantram is regarded as the forerunner of all classes of string instruments of the world. The veena with one string (ekatantri) and the veena with two strings (dvitiantri) are very ancient, and the historians are of opinion that all kinds of the later developed veenās evolved from them.

In the Vedic and Buddhist literature, different kinds of veena have been mentioned, and the authors like Nārada of the Śikṣā (1st century A.D.), Bharata (2nd century A.D.), Matanga (5th-7th century A.D.), Pārvadeva (7th or 9th-11th century A.D.) and Sāraṅgdeva (early 13th century A.D.) as well as most of the post-Sāraṅgdeva writers on music have described the characteristics of different kinds of veena in their respective works. The Birth-stories or Jātakas of Gautama Buddha were compiled sometime between the 3rd-2nd century B.C. Sir Wallis Budge has said in his monumental book, Bāralām and Yewasef (1923), regarding the Birth-stories of Buddha that the orthodox Buddhists believe that this collection of the Birth-stories was in existence some three or four centuries before the Christian era. At the end of the 3rd century B.C. they were held to be sacred, and they were chosen as the subjects to be represented round the most sacred Buddhist buildings, e.g. in the relics of shrines at Sāñchi, Amarāvatī, Bārhut, etc., and they were popularly known under the technical name of Jātaka. The number of the Jātakas are 547 or 550 or 565 and of them the Veenāsthuna and Guptila Jātakas in particular contain references about the musical instruments like the veena, venu, etc. It has been mentioned in the Guptila-jātaka that Guptila and
Musila used to play the veena, having seven strings i.e. saptatantri-veena. The Guptila-jataka states:

Saptatantri sumadhura mohini veenār/
Vādana śikhila antevāsika āmāra//

The veena with seven strings has also been described in some classical works of Kālidāsa. The veena 'saptatantri', perhaps resembled the citrā-veena, as described by Bharata in the Naṭyaśāstra in the 2nd century A.D. Bharata has said:

Saptatantri bhaveccitṛā vipācī navatanトリkā/
Vipācī koṇavādyā syāt citṛā cāṅguli-vādanā//

—NS., 29.114.

That is, the citrā-veena, having seven strings, used to be played by finger, whereas the vipācī-veena, having nine strings, by plectrum (koṇa). Nārada has mentioned about the veenas, dāravī and gātra in the Nārad śiksā (1st century A.D.). It is said that the dāravī-veena, which contained seven strings, was used as an accompaniment to classical type of desī or formalised regional music. We also get the reference of the saptatantri-veena during the time of the Pallava King, Rājā Mahendravarman, who lived in the 7th century A.D. It has been said that Rājā Mahendravarman was himself an accomplished veena-player, and received his training in the veena from his learned teacher, Rudrācārtya. The veena, which he used to play, was known as the parivādini, having seven strings. Dr. Rāghavan has said in this connection in his illuminating article: Music in the Deccan and South India (vide The

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1 Bengali version, from the jataka, translated by Isāna Chandra Ghose.
Behār Theatre, No. 7, January, 1956): “To the east of Kudumiyaṁālāi Inscription, there is a label “parivādini-da” helping us to understand the notation given in this inscription, as pertaining to the music on the veena called parivādini, a lute of seven strings”. From this it becomes clear that the saptatantri-veena was in vogue in Indian society even from the 3rd century B.C. to 7th-8th century A.D.¹ Our modern sitār with seven strings is but the modified form of the ancient citrā-veena, though it is erroneously believed that the Indo-Persian poet Āmir Khusrav fashioned and introduced it into India for the first time in the 13th century A.D. Most of the post-Bharata musicologists have also mentioned about the saptatantri-veena in their respective works on music.

Regarding the forms of the ancient musical instruments of the veena class, it can be said that most of them were bow-shaped, resembling the Egyptian harp, as has been

¹ John Burnet has said in his Greek Philosophy: “In the time of Pythagoras the lyre had seven strings, and it is not improbable that the eighth was added later as the result of his discoveries. All the strings were of equal length, and were tuned to the required pitch by tension and relaxation. This was done entirely by ear, and the first things was to make the two outside strings (hypatē and netē) concordant, in the sense explained, with one another, with the middle string (mesē), and with the string just above it (trite, later paramesē). The notes of these four strings were called ‘stationary’, and were similarly related to one another in every kind of scale; the notes of the other three (or four in the eight-stringed lyre) were ‘movable’ and scales were distinguished as enharmonic, chromatic, and diatonic (with their varieties), according as these strings were tuned more or less closely to the same pitch as the nearest fixed notes”.
stated before. The representations of the three saptatantri-veenás, engraved on stones, which have been excavated from the Buddhist Cave (Cave No. 4) of Pītkhārā,¹ are bow or harp-shaped, and most of the ancient veenás, though differing in number of strings, were of the same shape. The veenás featured in the sculptures of Gāndhāra (1st-2nd century A.D.), Barabudur (8th century A. D.), Kāmbūja (6th-13th century A. D.), Kizil (Turčān, Central Asia, 6th century A. D.), Aṃarávatī (2nd-3rd century A. D.), Ajántā (2nd-7th century A. D.), Nāgarjunakoṇḍa (2nd-3rd century A. D.), Sātnā (2nd century A. D.), Mahāvallipuraṃ (7th century A. D.), Pāhārpur (8th century A. D.), Anurādhāpuraṃ, Ceylon (2nd-3rd century A. D.), and other places resemble the bow-shape. The veenás of ancient Egypt (4000 B. C.) and ancient Sumer (3200 B. C.) were also bow-shaped. While discussing about the harp family, Hortense Panum says that the bow-harp was chiefly known from the Egyptian mural drawings in which it might be found as early as three to four thousand years B. C. The harp of antiquity did not use the front pillar which in the modern harp stays the string-frame, and the longest string was at the open side. Moreover, the frame of the ancient harps to which strings of unequal length were attached, took the form of a semi-circle or of an angle made of two staves. In the earliest known picture, the bow-harp only took the form of a somewhat more amply-strung counterpart of the bow-harp still in use among some of the north-African tribes. On a slightly curved and apparently

still quite solid stick, which was of equal thickness from end to end, six strings were attached. A bow-harp was found in the tomb of Ka-Em-Nofer in Egypt, having seven strings. This kind of bow-shaped lute or veenā was prevalent in India in ancient times. The veenā, embossed on the coin of the Emperor Samudragupta II (4th century A.D.) is also of the identical shape (bow-shape). Again the veenās, perpendicular in shape with a gourd at each end, are also found in the sculptures of Mahāvallipuram (7th century A.D.), Ajantā (2nd-7th century A.D.), Bengal (Bāgāli-Kāleśvara, 14th century A.D.), and Rangpur (Bengal, 9th century A.D.). But the sculptural representations of the three saptatantri-veenās of the Buddhist Caves of Pitalkhorā were palpably of the bow or harp type.

Now it may be asked in this connection as to why the bow-shaped as well as harplike veenās went out of practice in later days in Indian countries? It is a fact that most of the veenās, engraved in ancient sculptures and depicted in frescos and mural paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples and monasteries as well as in the Hindu temples, are bow-shaped or harplike ones. It is found that ancient traditions die hard and generally followed by every society, in spite of emergence of new vision in artistic sense and creation. But it is also a fact that in the present Indian society, the bow-shaped as well as harplike veenās have become obsolete.

Prof. Rühlmann is of opinion that the bowed instruments had arisen independently at different times and in different places amongst advanced civilized peoples, but that they had always sprung from a primitive, rude form. Dr. Otto Anderson, Prof. Hortense Panum, Francis W. Galpin, Fétis and other Western scholars are of the same opinion to some extent. Regarding harp and its family, Prof. Panum
has said that the harp family "is divided into two branches: (1) the Harp Proper, in which the strings are stretched freely so that the hands may reach them from either side, and (2) the Psaltery, in which the strings are extended over a sound-board so that they can be twanged from one side only".

There were also bow-shaped harps, and they were chiefly known from the Egyptian mural drawings in which it may be found as early as three to four thousand years B.C. "It may accordingly be considered with some probability as the original type out of which all the harps were evolved". In India, long before the advent of the Christian era, the veena used to be made out of bamboo and different kinds of wood in the forms of bow and harp proper. Most of the historians are of opinion that the Indian lute or veena first evolved from the bow, and the very primitive type of veena was in the shape of a bow (Indian, dhanu). Afterwards it took the shape or form of the harp. In ancient Greece, Rome, Egypt, Western Asia, Assyria as well as in Wales, Scandinavian and other countries, the bow- and harp-shaped veenas and other string instruments were in practice, and still these types of musical instruments are in use in different Western countries. History informs us that even the most ancient past becomes a common source of impetus and inspiration to all nations of the world in the field of new creation, and as such it is a matter of surprise as to how the bow-shaped and harplike veenas and other musical instruments went into oblivion from the present-day Indian society. The mystery of the real cause of their disappearance has not yet been unravelled, or it can be said that the question as to how, when and why the bow-shaped and harp-sized veenas went gradually out of practice from
the present Indian countries is purely a psychological one. It might have been the fact that as taste, along with the sense of beauty and artistic creation, change through ages, the present Indian society has found the practices of bow-shaped and harplike veenaas as uncongenial for its purpose.

Again there may arise a question that will it be reasonable to assume or ascertain the real shapes, sizes and designs of the present-day veenaas and other musical instruments from those of the ancient ones, as depicted in the ancient sculptures and paintings of the Buddhist and Hindu Cave-temples and monasteries? Because, even in present days it is found that most of the sculptures and paintings are not fully conversant with the correct knowledge of the methods and principles of construction, of exact sizes and arrangements of the frets and wires in the instruments, and yet they chisel and paint or rather represent the musical instruments only to prove their existence and practice in the then society. It has been found that the depictions of shapes and positions of many musical instruments do not exactly tally with those of the modern instruments already existing in the present society. So some scholars are of opinion that it will not be wise to assume or ascertain the exact shapes, sizes, numbers of wire and fret of the modern musical instruments, from those, depicted in the ancient sculptures and fresco paintings. But it cannot be denied the fact that from the representations of the musical instruments in ancient sculptures and paintings, it is possible to know and ascertain that such and such musical instruments were in vogue in ancient society.
I. The method of playing on veena, as described in the Nāradīśikṣā:

दारवी गालवीरा ते वीरे गाणवालिन्हुं।
सामिकी गालवीरा तु तत्त्वेऽः श्रृवृत्त लक्ष्यम्॥
गालवीरी तु सा प्रेक्षा वसीं गायन्ति सामागा।
खङ्गवनसंस्कुता श्रृवृत्त गुप्षिता॥
हली संस्कृती धारीं आठबंध्यासुपरिर्मौष्ट्री॥
युरौरूप्रक्ति कुंवरवाण्हा बाननन्दि भूषैत॥
प्रवण्य प्राक्ष्युष्टोत वाणीस्तदन्तन्तरम्।
सामिला वाणुचर्णं वतो बुलान्तमारमेत॥
प्रतार्वचालुली: सबा रोपवेत् सरवमवर्गम्।
नवालुकिर्मेंतहस्तुक्तेनालुली: स्थूलोत॥
विस्त नालुली कुर्मांमुलेन चैनावस्मृतोदु।
अहुवार्येन तस निहले मध्यमे पवेणिः स्थूलोत॥
मायान्मायुलुद्वाना बिमाराङ्खु बिमाविवु॥
अहुवामिवद्विवालं हु प्रायोऽः सब्हस कर्वेत्॥
तिरीखा तत्त हरस्य सम्भि तत विनिर्वेशित।
स पाये इति इतिहास: श्रीमन्ततम्ततमन्तरम्॥
वाणान्तरं हु सामस्तुलुः। कुर्मांतिलान्तरम्।
खङ्गवनमपर्वसु गुणविवषाविवेषवेद्॥
न नालु कप्पमेतीकिदवश्याप्वायवं हुषह्।
अहुवार्येन सूतुं नभ्य इललामस्ते यथाक्षम्॥
अहुवामें यथो विशूद्धस्यर्वागम्यसिद्धवत॥
एषैव विवेणानां यथा वालेञ्ज तस्मिन्॥ 
(छपक: ) etc.

—Nāradīśikṣā (Vārānasī ed.),
Chapter VI.
The *Veenātana* deals elaborately with the method of playing on the *veenā*.

II  Vācanācārya Sudhākalaśa says about *veenā*:

एकतन्त्री द्वितन्त्री च लितन्त्री सापतन्त्रीका ।
एकविंशतितन्त्री शेतर उससं मथमा परारा ॥
भजते सर्ववीयालु सैकतन्त्री प्रभानतामुः ॥

—Sangitopanisatśroddhāra,
Chapter IV, 11-15.

III. Two kinds of playing, *sakala* and *niśkala*:

सकलं निश्चलं चेति सत्तौऽत्मयं द्विभा भावेत् ।
सकोऽयं सकलं प्रोक्तं निश्चलं निश्चलं भवेद् ॥

—Different reading: चैकतन्त्री प्रभावतामुः ॥
CHAPTER VII

THE CONCEPT OF RĀGA

The conception of rāga is a grand and wonderful thing that had ever been produced in the domain of music in the world. It is the outcome of human mind’s direct mode of apprehending as well as appreciating the aesthetic beauty par excellence, as distinct from all contingent phenomenal things. It can be said to be the product of intuitive perception of the all-pervading abstract beauty, metamorphosed into a concrete idea or concept. This concept is a vital force that designed the grand structure of music. Really concept is the means for forming or constructing a conception of a thing. It is a general idea or meaning, bearing no distinct reference to any concrete object of sensing. It can otherwise be called a thought-construction, carrying with it the idea or notion of a general nature or meaning which may be applicable to an individual or object. The concept of rāga is, therefore, a product of thought or idea of settings of abstract ideal of tones, transformed in concrete form.

From a historical survey we find that rāgas probably evolved in the beginning of the classical period i.e. in 600-500 B.C., and they were evidently used in that time. In the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, we come across the rāgas in a definite form. Nārada of the Śiksā of the 1st century A.D. has mentioned the word rāga in connection with the seven grāmarāgas like śādava, madhyamagrāma, ādvijagrāma, pañcama, sādhārīta, kaiśika and kaiśika-madhyama. In the 4th canto of the Rāmāyaṇa, Vālmīki has definitely
described the pure (śuddha) type of seven jātirāgas, with the application of their registers. (sthaṇas), mūrcehanās, and aesthetic sentiments and moods. The wandering bards like Kuśa and Lava used to sing the Rāmacaritagāṇa with the help of seven classical parent or causal melodies like the jātis. In the 2nd century A.D., Muni Bharata has only elaborated those seven jātirāgas into eighteen, adding eleven more mixed jātirāgas. Bharata has formulated ten specific characters or essentials—like graha, amśa, nyāsa, alpatva, vahutva, etc. to determine the genuine forms of the jātis (rāgas). Like Vālmiki, he has also mentioned about the emotional sentiments and moods of the jātirāgas so as to create the corresponding sentiments and moods in the minds of the appreciators. He has also admitted that the jātis are the precursors or forerunners of all kinds of mārga and devi rāgas to be evolved in future. Regarding the eighteen parent rāgas or jātirāgas, described in Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra, MM. Rāmakrishṇa Kavi has said: “Among the ancient works on music, the rāgas were classified into eighteen jātis, which simply show the main characteristic of rāgas that come under each jāti”. Unfortunately some scholars are not inclined to admit the status of the jātis, described in the Nātyaśāstra, as rāgas, because, according to them, the jātis of the Nātyaśāstra do not contain the real characteristic as well as do not bear the real significance of the rāgas. But, we think, they fail to realize the real purport of the jātis and their ten essentials, as described by Bharata. Bharata has clearly said: “jātisambhūtatvaḥ”, etc. While determining the characteristic or significance of the word jāti, Mataṅga has said: “arthavā sakalasya rāgāderjanma-betutvājñyātīdaya iti”. He has further said that all
the śrutis,grabhas, and svaras (notes or tones) evolve from the jāti. So jāti, being the source or fountain-head of all kinds of rāgas, is known as the causal or parent rāga. As regards the specific character of the jātis, he has also said: “idāniṃ viśeṣā-lakṣaṇāmāhā-grahāṁśau *, * tatrādau jātyādi-prayogo grhyate yenāsau grahaḥ”.

It is a fact that Bharata has not given any definition of the word rāga, but he has simply described the rāgas under the head of the jātis, with their determining essentials and other necessary features. It is Māṇḍāṅga, who, for the first time, has given a clear definition of rāga in the Brhaddeśī. Māṇḍāṅga has said: “yannoktaṁ bharatādibhi tadasmābhiḥ nirūpyate”. By the term ādi, he has meant Bharata and his contemporaries like Kohala, and others. Māṇḍāṅga has defined the word rāga in three different ways, and they are:

(a) svara-varṇa-viśeṣena dhvaṇibhedaṇa va punah/
rajyate yena yaḥ kaścit sa rāgah sammathah
satām/,

(b) yo’sau dhvani-viśeṣastu svaravarna-vibhūṣitaḥ/, rajjako janacittanāṁ sa ca rāga udāhṛtah//

(c) ityevam rāga-sabdasya vyutpattirabhidhīyate/, rajjanājjāyate rāgo vyutpatīḥ-samudāḥṛtya//

From the above ślokas or definitions we come to know that the word rāga has been derived from the root ‘rauj’— ‘to tinge’ or ‘to impress’. Just as a sheet of white cloth can be tinged with some colours, in the like manner, the minds of men and animals get tinged as it were, with the pleasing vibrations of sweet sounds (tones) of music. In fact, the vibrations of sweet sounds of tones of both vocal and instrumental music create soothing and pleasing
sensations (sāmvedanas as the sāmskāras) in the mind, and
the total material form of such sensations or impressions
is said to be the rāga. In fact, a rāga is more than the
sensations or impressions or a bundle of impressions, and
that all kinds of sound, sweet or harsh,—musical or noise,
create some impressions of their own, and as such it may
be asked as to why all kinds of such impression cannot be
termed to be the rāga? To this question it can be answered
that the intuitive musicologists as well as the scientists have
carefully observed and examined the aesthetic aspects of all
kinds of sounds and their vibrations, and have come to the
conclusion that sounds of music i.e. musical tones are more
delicate, charming, attractive and sweet than all other
sounds, and so the vibrations or minute sound-units of
music create sweeter and more soothing impressions in the
minds of all, with their abiding value and beauty. And the
name 'rāga' has been so given as it creates pleasing
impressions-cum-sensations in the minds of all living beings.
Besides, the Śāstrakāras have said that the rāgas are
possessed of some specific qualities as well as characteristics
which determine them and animate them with life and
energy. We thus find that the rāgas have in them the
musical propensities and value, which attract the mind,
help to concentrate the dispersed or scattered modifications
of the mind, and thus lead the audiences and lovers of
music to the realm of meditation, which brings peace,
joy and happiness.

In this connection, it should be borne in mind that no
single sound has the power to charm or attract any man
or animal, but it requires to be combined with a successive
series of agreeable sweet tones (sound-units) to produce the
desired effect. Well has it been said by Vidwān T. V.
Subbā Rāo in connection with his Readership lecture on the *Seven Lamps of Saṅgīta*: "A simple tone by itself has little or nothing to please, but in combination with or in close succession to, certain other tones, its power to delight is high. A compound tone is always agreeable on account of the presence of the partials. These upper partials are produced by the vibration of the string in aliquot parts along with the vibration of the whole string; and these notes agree with the note of the entire string. In this agreement lies the secret of the pleasurable sensation in music. **Every note that is used in music must have at least a fair measure of concord with the fundamental. It must also agree with the note precedes it and the note that succeeds it. Though our system of music is melodic and produces its effects by a succession of notes rather than by a super-imposition of them, yet it must so far be conceded that the foundation of melody is harmony. The notes are derived on the basis of harmony, but they are applied on the principle of melody. That the pleasure of harmony may be sensed by the ear, the saḍja and paṇcama are always sounded in the drone so that all the notes used may be perceived to agree with them."  

Now, what is the psychological process behind the perception of a rāga? A rāga is a psycho-material object, because it originates first in the form of impressions (*samskāras*) in the depth of the mind, and then rises above the plane of the subconscious or unconscious mind and manifests itself in the outside world in the materialized form and is perceived by the senses. So when we say that we perceive and appreciate the rāga, it means that we perceive and appreciate the projected material form of the ideal aspect of the rāga. In fact, we ideally perceive and appreciate:
only the features of grace and sweetness (lāvanya and mādurya) of the rāga, and the intricacies of the tones, having their movements like upward and downward motions (ārohanā and avarohanā), are only the external features of the rāga. Modern psychologists are of opinion that all the activities of our bodies and other organic functions are no other than the result of the reflex actions of the mind. When we hear a sound, sweet or harsh, pleasant or unpleasant, it at once enters our ears and produces agreeable or disagreeable impressions. That impressions are again translated into a kind of feeling or sensation (anubhūti or samvedana), and the mind immediately reacts through the reflex action, and then we pay our attention (mind) to the effect of the sound, which means we listen to and appreciate the sound. This happens also in the case of musical sounds or music. So we shall have to admit the existence of an intelligence or intelligent something behind the process as its mover or doer or director, and the process of our listening and appreciating music means we come in contact with both the intelligence (buddhi or caitanya) and the projected material form (vastu or viṣayasattvā) of music.

In other words, it can be said that the psyche or mind is the reservoir of all kinds of impressions. When an object comes in contact with the psyche or mind through the gates of senses, it is transformed into impressions. The shining intellect then enlightens i.e. animates the impressions, which are at once translated into a sensation or feeling. The psyche or mind is conscious of the object.

1 In the Western Psychology, psyche is known as ‘mind’, whereas in the Indian Psychology, it is known as ‘soul’ or ‘ātman’.
with its intrinsic value and beauty. It happens during the perception of the musical sounds of the rāgas. As soon as we come in contact with beauty, grace and sweetness of the rāgas through the senses, they go at once into the brain in the form of impressions. Then the psyche or mind receives those impressions through the medium of the shining intellect, and they are again translated into the senses, and the result is that we perceive or realize or appreciate the rāgas, possessed of sensible forms and inherent qualities like beauty, grace and sweetness (saundarya, lāvanya and mādhurya). And this is the process of perception of material things and qualities.

According to musicology, the rāgas evolve from the thātas, or melas, or melakartās. The thātas or melas or melakartās form the base or fountain-head of the rāgas. And it should be remembered that a thāta or mela or melakartā is also a rāga and it is known as the mela or melakartā rāga, which means the causal or parent rāga, just as a jāti (jātirāga) is recognized as the causal or parent rāga being the source of the grāmarāgas and different aṅga-rāgas, evolved in the later time.

Now, what do we mean by a thāta or mela? The word thāta is of Sanskrit origin,¹ which means the structure or form (kāthāma), and the word mela is also a Sanskrit one. A thāta or mela is a composite body of seven tones in ascent and descent series (ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa kramas).

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¹ The word thāta (ठाट) is a Sanskrit name, whereas thāta (ठट) is a Persian one, but both of them convey the same meaning of ‘structure’ or ‘form’ (kāthāma or gāthāna).
A thāṭa or mela is consisted of seven tones, and innumerable rāgas (melodic forms) evolve from the thāṭa or mela by the process of permutation and combination of seven tones. A thāṭa or mela may be called a dynamic force-centre, from which innumerable rāgas flower forth with their specific qualities and forms. Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 A.D.) has said: “mela svara-samūha syād rāgavyānjanā-saktim”, i.e. a mela is a combination of tones, and it has a power to create the rāgas. Therefore every rāga has a mela or thāṭa for its basis or ground of origin.

The mūrcchenā is the precursor or forerunner of the mela or thāṭa (or thāṭa). The practice of mūrcchenā was prevalent probably from the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B.C.). It is probable that when Brahmā or Brahmābhārata created the new type of gāṇa, gāndharva out of the materials of the four Vedas (of the sāmagānas), the use of the mūrcchenās was in practice along with the rāgas (jātis or jātirāgas). In the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Harivaṃśa and different Purāṇas, we find the use of mūrcchenās of different types along with different schools of gāṇa. The mūrcchenās have been described in the early treatises like the Nāradīśikṣā, Nātyaśāstra and other contemporary works. From the 1st-2nd to 15th-16th century A.D., the mūrcchenās were recognized as the dominating principle for determining the nature and form of the rāgas, both gāndharva and formalized āsī. During the time of Nārada of the Śiksā, Bharata, Dattila, Yāśṭika, Mataṅga, Pārvavadeva, Śāraṅgdeva, Nārada of the Mahārāna, Somanāth, Ahobala and even Paṇḍit Dāmodara (17th century), the rāgas used to be determined as well as recognised by their respective mūrcchenās.

A mūrcchenā is a succession of seven tones in ascending
and descending orders. Etymologically it means 'swoon' (mūrcchā). A rāga is made to emerge by increasing or elevating it with the help of the mūrcchanā. It is mainly divided into four, pūrṇa, sādava, auḍava (or auḍavita) and sādhāraṇa. A pūrṇa mūrcchanā is so called because it is manifested with seven tones. A sādava mūrcchanā is manifested with six tones; an auḍava mūrcchanā, with five tones, and a sādhāraṇa mūrcchanā is manifested with kākali- niṣāda and antara-gāndhāra tones. Mataṅga has said that a rāga is called a mūrcchanā when it is manifested in ascending and descending orders of tones: "mūrcbate yena rāge hi mūrcchanetyabhisaṅjita". From this it is understood that a rāga is no other than a mūrcchanā, only difference between them lies in the fact that a rāga is possessed of the pleasing and soothing capacity, inspite of its ascending-descending form, while a mūrcchanā is possessed of the capacity of creating a rāga. Paṇḍit V. N. Bhāṭkhāṇḍe has said,

mēlāḥ syān-mūrcchanādhāra grāmādhāra tu mūrcchanā/ svarebhīyo grāma-sambhūtiḥ śrūtayāḥ svara-janmabhuḥ//
mēla svara-samūlaḥ syād-rāga-vyānijana-saktimān//

That is, the base or ground of a śbāṭa or mēla is the mūrcchanā, or it can be said that a mēla derives its origin from mūrcchanā, a mūrcchanā from a grāma (ancient scale), a grāma from a series of tones, and a tone from microtones (śrūtis). So a mēla is no other than a cluster of tones, from which a rāga also originates. As for example, the mūrcchanā, uttaramandrā (of the ādhāra-śaḍjagrāma) consists of the tones, sa ri ga ma pa dha ni; the mūrcchanā, rajānī consists of the tones ni sa re ga ma pa dha; the mūrcchanā, uttarāyatā consists of the tones, dha ni sa ri ga.
ma pa, and so on. So it is a fact that a rāga is consisted of the successive tones to form its skeletal structure. A tāna also consists of successive tones. So it is found that a mūrochana, a rāga and a tāna all these three musical principles are composed of series of successive tones, and, therefore, it may be asked as to what are the differences among them. The difference between a rāga and a mūrochana has already been explained before. Now, as regards the difference between a mūrochana and a tāna it can be said that a mūrochana is known by its successive series of ascending and descending tones, whereas a tāna is recognised by its successive series of descending tones only. The text of Mātanga’s Brhaddeśi is, in this respect, incorrect, and it has been correctly mentioned in Somanāth’s Rāgavibodha (vide chapter I. 44). And it should be remembered that from different variations of mūrochainās there evolved numerous rāgas of different forms. In the present systems of Northern and Southern (Hindusthāni and Carnātic) music, mūrochanaś have been replaced by the ṭhātas or melas and melakartās, and the rāgas of both the systems have originated from the melas and melakartās.

Now the students of Indian history of music know that the Saṅgīta-Sāstrakāras have mentioned about the three ancient scales like ṣadja-grāma, madhyamagrāma and gāndhāragrāma. In the times of the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Harivamśa (400-200 B. C.) and some of the early Purāṇas, these three grāmas were in practice, and the jātirāgas and the grāmaraṇgas used to be determined by these grāmas. Some are of opinion that the ancient grāmas were no other than the three modes, and the jātirāgas and the grāmaraṇgas used to be presented in the three different modes or ways.
But in the Mahābhārata-Harivamśa, we get the reference as to the existence of six grāmarāgas ("ṣad-grāmarāgāṇi"), which were, it is said, the product of six ancient scales (grāmas). In the Nāradīśikṣā (1st century A.D.), we find the description of seven grāmarāgas, which correspond to the seven ancient scales, and they are supported by the Rock Inscription of Kudumianālāi in the Pādukottai State, in South India, in the 7th century A.D. But it is surprising to note that Bharata has mentioned only two grāmas, śadja and madhyama, and from this it will not be difficult to find out that during the 2nd century A.D., the gāndhāragrāma became out of practice. We further come to know that by the times of Somanāth, Srinivāsa and Paṇḍit Ahovala, the madhyamagrāma also became obsolete, and from that time (17th century A.D.) the basic or ādbhāra-ṣadja-grāma exists as the base of the thāṭas or melas as well as of the rāgas.

The mūrechanā were also replaced by the thāṭas or melas probably by the time of Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.), and it bears confirmation of Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) and other music scholars. Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya has said: "svārānāmātha vyakṣate ye mela rāgahetavah". Rāmāmatya has also formulated twenty basic (janaka) melas with the mukhāri at their head as the sūdha scale. After him, Paṇḍit Somanāth has mentioned in the Rāgavibodha: "atha kathyante melah kramarūpāsti bhavanti" etc. In his commentary, he has defined the mela as "milanti vargībhavanti rāgāḥ yatreti tadāśrayāḥ svārā-samstbāna-viṣeṣā melāḥ, 'thāṭa' iti bhāṣāyāṁ". It will be of interest to note that though Kallināth (1446-1465 A.D.), the commentator of the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara has not mentioned the term 'mela', yet he has used the term 'melana' in the sense of using in
musical parlance. Paṇḍit Govinda Dīkṣit (1614 A.D.)
has mentioned that he has adopted his system of mela,
following the 15 basic scales, advocated by Vidyāranya
Śvāmi (14th-15th century A.D.). From this we can
assume that from the 14th-15th century, the system of
replacement of mūrcchanā by mela came in vogue.
Therefore, by the times of Pt. Rāmāmatya and Pt. Somanāth
mūrcchanā as a determining principle of the rāgas
completely disappeared, yeilding the place to the mela or
thāṭa.

The rāgas are classified into three main categories,
śuddha (independent), sālaga or chāyālaga (dependent) and
samkīrṇa (mixed or compound). The śuddha rāgas are
formed independently of other resources. Kallināth’s
definition of it is different, but yet new and novel. He
has said that the śuddha rāgas (independent melodies) are
those which do not violate the prescribed rules of the
Vedic śāstrageya-gāṇa, and from this it is evident that the
śuddha rāgas are age-long traditional. The sālaga or
chāyālaga rāgas always depend on other rāga or rāgas for
its or their constitution and nourishment. The samkīrṇa
rāgas are an admixture of both the śuddha and sālaga rāgas.
Śaṅgīdeva and Somanāth have described these three classes
of rāgas in their Saṅgīta-Ratnākara and Rāgavibodha
explicitly.

The authors on music have further classified the rāgas
into three jātis, sampūrṇa (cluster of seven tones), śādana
(cluster of six tones), and auḍava (cluster of five tones).
The jātis are determined by the number of tones of the
rāgas. Further the rāgas can be divided into nine classes,
mixed with each other, and they are: (i) auḍava-auḍava,
auḍava śādana, and auḍava-sampūrṇa; (ii) śādana-auḍava,
śādava-śādava and śādava-sampūrṇa, and (iii) sampūrṇa-
audava, sampūrṇa-śādava and sampūrṇa-sampūrṇa.

It should be remembered that a thātā or mela is always
in a heptatonic form i.e. it is constituted out of seven
tones. But the rāgas do not maintain the same number,
although they born of the thātas or melas. As for example,
we find that the rāgas are sometimes heptatonic, sometimes
hexatonic and sometimes pentatonic in forms. Again, a
rāga is known by its dominant note or tone, which called
an atmā or a vādi. But it is interesting to note that by the
time of Bharata (2nd century A.D.), the rāgas (jāti-rāgas)
used to be determined by more than one atmā (which
bear the equal status of a vādi). The atmā, grāha and
nyāsa are the three essencials of a rāga, and they are part
and parcel of the ten essencials or daśa-lakṣaṇas. The grāha
is the initial tone, whereas the nyāsa, the final one. During
Bharata’s time, in the 2nd century A.D. these two essencials,
grāha and atmā were used as synonymous teems. But
gradually they conveyed different meanings, and by the time
of Matanga in the 5th-7th century A. D., they were
treated as separate ones, though Matanga has said: “atmā
vādyeva param, grābasta vādyādi-bheda-bhinnab”. An atmā
or a vādi really determines the genuine form and nature of
the rāga, and so Matanga has defined vādi as “vadanāt iti
vādi”. Pārśvadeva (7th-9th or 7th-11th century A. D.)
has also supported this definition. In fact, an atmā or a
vādi is recognized as a predominant factor of a rāga. A tone
as a vādi (sonant) is always followed by a samvādi (conso-
nant) and an anuvādi (assonant). The tone, samvādi may
be called as a concordant one, because it helps to make
vādi more explicit. The anuvādi or assonant plays the role
of a subordinate tone. There is another tone, which is
known as a vivādi or a discordant one. It is said that the
tone, vivādi spoils the form as well as the spirit of the rāga.

The seers of music in India never regard a rāga as a
mere skeleton of tones and semitones, but recognize them
as an embodiment of living and dynamic force. They
have made each rāga divine, and regard them as a source of
inspiration and hope. They have surcharged the rāgas
with different emotional sentiments and moods (rasa and
bhāva). Probably from the 15th-17th century A.D., the
inspired poets composed the dhyānamantrams (contempla-
tive compositions) of the rāgas in colourful meters and
beautiful words (chanda and sābitya), and the intuitive
artists began to give them graceful forms in colours. The
iconographical aspects and representations of the rāgas
were materialized in the vision of the artists, and so to say
that the ideal vision of music became real and vivid at that
time with its practical value and spiritual significance,
which were the keynote to the songs, nay, to the life of all
living beings.
CHAPTER VIII

ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN ORIGIN OF SOME
INDIAN RAGAS

We love music, but sometimes miss its ideal that prevailed in ancient India. We mainly dabble in the theory of music, which means generally the grammar of music. But strictly speaking, theory of music includes in its fold all the aspects other than the practical one, the sādhanā. In the Upaniṣads and ancient Sanskrit texts, we come across the terms like ‘śāstra’ and ‘sādhanā’. By ‘śāstras’ are meant the Vedas, Upaniṣads and other Vedāṅgas i.e. six systems of philosophy and a host of secular writing on science and art, whereas sādhanā means the spiritual practice that enables one to have a glimpse of the ever-effulgent transcendent Reality. The śāstras act as guides and help the aspirants in their practices, by prescribing ways and means for attaining the highest truth. The śāstras are but the theoretical part of music, containing the laws, rules and regulations that go a great way towards facilitating the practice of music by man and ultimately leading him to its highest ideal. In this sense, theory includes all branches of knowledge like literature, history, psychology, and philosophy of music, which colour and influence the practice of music in manifold ways.

Indian music is not merely a skeletal structure of tones and their permutations and combinations, but is something more than that. It is spiritual in nature and breadth of vision, and though it is performed with the help of material tones and tunes, it breathes the supramental
atmosphere, and raises the common man, who comes under its spell, to the level of the superman. The rāgas of Indian music should be considered as living and dynamic. Their conception is not a superstition or make-belief one. During the 15th-16th century A.D., many intuitive poets visualised the forms of the rāgas in contemplation, and composed dhyānamantrams which inspired talented artists to give them their shape in colour and lines. They certainly bear the stamp of inner significance, and possess merit that help men to realise the intrinsic meaning and solemnity of the rāgas.

Besides, the rāgas should be studied in true historical perspective. History is a genuine record or chronicle of the events that happened in the past. If you focus the search-light of history at the rāgas of the Indian classical music, you will find that many of them have been adopted from the regional and tribal tunes of the Aryan and non-Aryan peoples of India. Some of them evolved as a result of the contact with foreign nations, while some were fashioned out of the materials resulting from the coalescence of the Indian and Persian elements. And this is quite natural. India always maintained a liberal and broad outlook. There were also many cultural and political contacts between India and different Western and Eastern countries, either through trade and commerce or through religious missions. Genuine evidences in this respect are not lacking. There are historical records of the Western savants like Megasthenes, Strabo, Plini, Ptolemy, Merindel, Herodotus and others, and Eastern travellers like Hiuen Tsang, Itsing, and others in its support. The Scythians or Sakas, Parthians, Persian, Greeks, Bactrians, Turks, Huns and others invaded India many a time, and many of them were
culturally and politically influenced by the ideas of India, and vice-versa.

From the history of Indian Music we again learn that though the ancient musicologists like Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Durgāsakti, Mataṅga, Pārśvadeva and others were recognised as the staunch followers of Muni Bharata of the Nāṭyaśāstra fame, yet, when they found that the gāndharva type of the post-Vedic music gradually fell out of practice and became unpopular among the artists and lovers of music, they adopted a novel course in the process of Indian music, with a synthetic vision, and this act of renovation was not new in the annals of Indian music. Many of the regional and tribal tunes were formalised with the help of the śāstric ten essentials (daśa-lakṣaṇas), and they were christianed after the places of their origin and also after the tribes accordingly. As for instance, we find that the rāgas like mālava, āndhri, chevātti, gurjañi, kāmboji, pulindikā, śāverī or śrāverī, bāṅgāli, ṭakka, kauśikī, etc., were adopted from the current tunes of songs of those of the tribes of both Aryan and non-Aryan stocks. The rāga boṭṭa or bhoṭṭa was also a tribal tune of the Bhotadesa or the Tibetan speaking peoples. Mataṅga has said that rāgas like ṭakka, (or ṭāṅka or ṭāṅki), sauṅīra (or sauṅīri) and uṣarā, boṭṭa (or bhoṭṭa) originated from the treble clef or madhyamagrāma between the 3rd-5th century A.D. But it will be interesting to know as to how the rāga boṭṭa (or bhoṭṭa) came into being and was included within the fold of rāga of Indian music. We know that the Buddhist religious and cultural missions crossed many times the borders of India, and travelled far into the lands of Iran, Turkistan, China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China and different parts of the middle and East Asia, and even to the Western
countries, from Bengal (Gauḍa), Magadha, etc., through Kashmir, Tibet, Bhotan, Khotān, Samarkand, Yerevan, Sugda, Kutch, etc. From the Chinese chronicles we come to know that the Buddhist religious missions went to China several times through Central Asia and other places, early in the first century A.D. and that Indian culture, including music, both vocal and instrumental and dancing, were introduced in Kutch, Khotān, Samarkand, China and even in Persia and Arabia. In the eleventh century A.D., during the reign of the Pāla kings of Bengal, there was a close contact between India and Tibet. Tibet became a powerful kingdom during the reign of Sranga-tsan Gampo, in the seventh century A.D. The Pāla kings helped a good deal towards the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet. The Tibetan monks used to visit the monasteries like Nālandā, Vikramśilā and Odantapuri, etc. for studying different subjects including Buddhist scriptures. Aṭṭā Dipaṅkara, a monk of Eastern Bengal, visited Tibet in the eleventh century A.D., during the reign of Nyāyapāla of the Pāla Dynasty. Hundreds of Sanskrit manuscripts were translated into Tibetan language, of which the famous Tānjur and Kānjur are worth-mentioning. Through the medium of trade and commerce, religion and culture Tibet and its adjacent countries were intimately connected with India, and in this way it became possible to incorporate the Tibetan tunes into Indian music.

The rāga ṭakka, ṭaka or ṭaku, afterwards modified to taṅka or taṅki, was also a tribal tune of the Ṭakka race of the Aṭ-ṭok country. It is said that before the advent of Lord Buddha, Ṭakka or Aṭ-ṭok was situated on the bank of the river Sind. Taxilā was one of their cultural centres. Dr. P. C. Bāgchi is of opinion that “the Ṭakkas who lived for some
time in the Northern Punjab around Siālkot were most probably of foreign origin". But the rāga ṭakka or ṭaku was included within the fold of the Aryan music. The ancient musicologists are of opinion that ṭakka is an ancient rāga like mālava and hindola. Kaśyapa, one of the ancient musicologists has assigned a high place to ṭakka rāga, and says that it is a very favourite rāga of Devī Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune: "mukhya-gaḥ Lakṣmī-pritikaratuḥ". It has already been said that ṭakka is known at present as ṭakka or ṭakkī.

Like ṭakka, bōṭṭa or bhoṭṭa rāga is also a regional tune, adopted from the Bhotadeśa. In 306 A.D., Srang-tsaṅ-Gampo married Bhruktići Devi, the daughter of the king of Nepāl, and was converted into Buddhism. He established political as well as cultural relations with Magadha and Gauḍa through Nepāl. But the rāga bōṭṭa or bhoṭṭa was adopted into the Indian classical stock, long before Srang-tsaṅ-Gampo, along with other regional rāgas, ṭakka, sauvira, mālava-paṅcamā, ṣaḍava, hindolaka, ṭakka-kauśika and mālava-kauśika. In Mātaṅga’s Brhaddeśi, written in the 5th-7th century A.D., these rāgas have been given honourable position of the grāmarāgas, evolved from the jāṭirāgas and their basic scales in the ṣaḍja-grāma and the madhyamagraṇa. The above-mentioned rāgas, including bōṭṭa or bhoṭṭa, were used in the rāga-gītis like śuddhā, bhinnā, etc.

Regarding the Tibetan rāga bōṭṭa or bhoṭṭa, Mātaṅga has said that it evolved from the primary clef or ṣaḍja-grāma; "bōṭṭa-rāgasca ṣaḍjākhye". While describing the Tibetan tune, he says:

Syāt ṣaḍja-madhyamā-jāteḥ paṅcamāsca vinirgataḥ/
Bōṭṭa-rāgasca vijnēyaḥ paṅcamaṁ so (‘anta) madhyamāḥ//
The Tibetan tune botṭa manifests itself, by taking the four microtonal units from the fifth note, pāṇcama. Its initial (graha) and vital (aṃśa) notes are pāṇcama, and the final (nyāsa) note is madhya. The use of gāndhāra or niṣāda is frequent. Then niṣāda is used as a sharp note. It is heptatonic (sampūrṇa) in form, and is connected with the sacred ceremonial function. Its emotional sentiments like śānta, etc. are used to make it graceful and lustrous. Śaṅgdeva has also followed Mātaṅga. He says that the regional rāga botṭa was used in the sacred memory of the Lord Siva, the divine consort of Bhavānī Gaurī, the daughter of the mountain Hīmaḷayas: "utsavo vinīyoktavyo bhavānīpati-vallabhīṃ". Śaṅgdeva has composed a song for the rāga with notation, and the Sanskrit-Bengali composition (sāhitya) of the song is strikingly similar to that of the mystic poet of Kenduvilva, Jayadeva. The composition of the song runs thus:

Pavāna-vilulīta bhūrāmita madhukara
jalaja-reṇu-paripīñjarīta/
Mada-mandagātī haṃsa-vadhūr-
vicarīta vikāsita-kumuda-vane//

which means, the water of the sacred lake on the Hīmaḷayan mountain is almost covered with the full-blown water-lilies. The bees being swayed by the wind are humming sweetly, becoming intoxicated with their sweet fragrance, and are collecting honey, mixed with the drops of water. The swan-bride (haṃsa vadhū) is sporting in the forest of blooming water-lilies in measured majestic rhythm.

The people of the Bhottaṅga adopted Tāntricism like Buddhism sometimes after the 11th-12th century A. D. Ācārya Indrabhūti propagated the Tāntric Buddhism in
Bengal probably after the ideal of the Hindu Tāntricism already prevailing in India from ancient times. The Tāntricism of Tibet or Bhōṭadeśa may be an admixture of Hindu and Buddhist Tāntric cults. In Tantra and Purāṇa, the Lord Śiva has been given an exalted and venerable position, and perhaps being aware of it, Sāṅgdeva has connected this rāga of the mountains with Śiva, the presiding deity of the Himalayas.

The rāgas, bhairava and bhairavi were the ceremonial tunes of the aboriginal tribe, Bhiravā, who lived in the Himalayan valley with the tribes like Ābhīra, Šavara, Caṇḍāla, Pulinda, and others. Sāradātanaya has mentioned about them in his Bhāva-prakāśana in the 14th century A.D. They were non-Aryans. Probably between the 3rd to 11th century A.D., these two tunes were adopted into the Aryan stock, after rectifying them with ten essentials. We- for the first time come to know about the rāgas, bhairava and bhairavi, mentioned in the Saṅgītasamayasaṅra (vide 3, 5, 17, 70) of Pārvadeva of the 7th or 9th-11th century A.D. The bhairava is known at present as the foremost tune ādi-rāga ("śubhrāmbhara jayati bhairava ādi-rāgah"). But from the historical point of view it is known that the first appearance of the rāga bhairava, together with bhairavi took place in the 9th-14th century A.D., and it was Pārvadeva who has enunciated both the ragas in Saṅgīta-samayasaṅra. So it must be taken to mean that bhairava has been enumerated as the foremost rāga from the aesthetic viewpoint, and not from the historical one. The rāga bhairava evolved out of the grāmarāga, bhinna-sadja, which in its turn originated from the āṭtirāga, sadja-udicyavaśi (S R. II. 79-82). Bharata and Sāraṅgdeva have considered the sadja-udicyavaśi to be pentatonic, having its base in the middle clef or-
madhyamagraña. The rāga, bbīnna-ṣadja was pentatonic, ṛṣabha and pañcama being left out. The bbīnna-ṣadja was considered as a sacred ceremonial rāga, and used to be sung on the occasion of the sārvabhauma ceremony ("sārvabhaumamotsave geyo"). The rāga bhairava was also pentatonic, and breathed the same spirit, and created the same sacred atmosphere like the bbīnna-ṣadja ("prārthanāyāṁ sama-svaraḥ").

The rāga bhairavī also evolved out of bbīnna-ṣadja, and was the heptatonic (pūrṇa). The bhairavī was considered as sacred like the bhairava, and was practised on occasion of sacred ceremony or worship ("devādi-prārthanāyāṁ tu bhairavī vinīyujyate"). Again it should be noted that according to Sāṅgdeva the bbīnna-ṣadja was possessed of emotional units or aesthetic sentiments like śānta, bīhatsa and bhayānaka. Bharata is of opinion that the parent rāga (jātirāga), ṣadja-udēcyavati possessed emotional sentiments of śṛṅgāra and hāsya (NS. 29, 1). We thus find that the emotional-qualities of the bbīnna-ṣadja were somewhat different from that of its causal rāga, and it is probable that in later days the bhairava and even the bhairavī came to be manifested with the common qualities of their causal and remote causal rāgas, i.e. they possessed śānta (in place of śṛṅgāra and bhāyānaka) and karuṇa (in place of hāsya and bīhatsa). Again it is a fact that the manifestations of emotional sentiments of both bhairava and bhairavī took some novel change in course of time, as we find that the emotive ingredients of bhairava and bhairavī, bhayānaka and karuṇa do not generate at all fear and compassion, rather they do help to generate serenity, calmness and peace, and thus bring about balance of mind, in accordance with the peaceful effect of śṛṅgāra or śāantarasa.
The ṭaka rāga was also a tribal tune of the Sakas or Scythians. The Sakas were displaced from their home in Central Asia by Yul-chi, and were forced to migrate to the South. They were also found to be settled in Southern Afghanistan, in the beginning of the Christian era, and the territory they occupied, came to be known as the Sakasthāna, the modern Sistan. They were one of the groups of Pahlava, Pārthiān and Kushān. Some of the Saka-Pahlava kings or Ksatrapas used to rule in Kapiṣa near Taxila in the Western Punjab, and some at Mathūrā and Upper Deccan, and at Ujjain in Mālwā. The Sakas or Scythians and Kushāns were the cultured peoples. Different kinds of arts and crafts came into being during their regime, and the remnants of their art and culture are to be found in the Indian Society. Dr. B. N. Dutta has said in the book, *Indian Art in Relation to Culture*: “That the art of the Scythian period was an innovation, and died out after the cessation of the Scythian rule, is not borne out by the latest investigation. There has been a continuity of culture and its tradition”. The Saka or Scythian rāga was divided into two main forms, ṭaka-tālaḥa and ṭaka-miśrita. It is now almost obsolete in the present society. However, the ṭaka-rāga has been associated with Śiva, the Lord of the universe (“Śiva-priya”—SR. 3, 62).

The rāga toḍi is called by its various names like toḍikā, toḍi, tuṇḍi, tuṇḍi, etc. Toḍi or toḍikā is the correct name. This rāga evolved from the ‘pastoral tune’ of the shepherds or farmers. Originally it was the pastoral tune of the Turkish people. When the Turks invaded India like other foreign tribes, they left their pastoral-cum-national tune to the Indian society, and so it is considered a foreign tune. Dr. B. N. Dutt observes in his book, *Indian...*
Art in Relation to Culture: "It is the classical musical system of the heyday of Hindu culture that existed in the time of Vākāṣṭaka-Gupta period. So long it had been independent of foreign influence. Then came the Turkish invasion. North India was engulfed by it. And the Turkish Točī was introduced in the Indo-Aryan musical system".

Prof. O. C. Gangoly has mentioned that in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā, we get the line: "samāsanna kinnarī-gītā-śravana rasamana ruru visarena", which means 'the deer were mad with joy when they heard the song of a Kinnarī (a young maiden) standing near by'. In the Kathāsārita-sāgara, the influence of music over the deer has been mentioned several times: 'sa tena gītā-sabdena śrutena harino yathā akṛṣṭah', etc. Hemacandra too has mentioned this fact in connection with Kunāla, the son of the Emperor Asoka. He has said: 'Pāṭaliputra-nagare yatra yayuḥ sa tu, tatra tatra yayuḥ puruḥ gītākrīṣṭa kuraṅga-vai'. During the mediaeval period, the hunters used to hunt the deer, humming a charming tune, which attracted the deer. The historian Alberuni has described in his itinerary that he witnessed the hunters to entrap the deer with a particular song, without using any weapon or trap. Prof. Gangoly has said that there is a beautiful allusion in the Nāgānanda of Śrī Harṣa, where Ātreya mentions that when the deer heard the charming tune of song or veoṇā, with closed eyes, the half-chewed green grasses fell down from their mouths. It is also on record that farmer maidens used to allure the deer by a peculiar charming tune, and thus they prevented to ravage their crops in the fields by the deer. The idea that the deer were susceptible to sweet tunes inspired the painters of the mediaeval India to paint
the picture of the rāga toḍī, depicting a herd of deer, and a young maiden, with a veena in her hand.

Pārśvadeva (7th or 9th-11th century A.D.) has described toḍī as a rāgāṅga-rāga, and turuṣka-toḍī and chāyā-toḍī as the upāṅga-rāgas. The turuṣka-toḍī, according to Pārśvadeva, is heptatonic, having seven notes, and chāyā-toḍī, pentatonic, having five notes, ṛṣava and paṅcama being left out (varjita). In the Saṅgītamakaranda, toḍī has been relegated as a subordinate rāga of paṅcama. Mammaṭacarya has called it the janya-rāga of naṭa. Someśvaracarya has called it the aṅga-rāga of vasanta. Śaraṅgdeva, following Pārśvadeva, has observed the note, madhyama as the intial (graha), the final (nyāsa) and the sonant (aṁsa). Paṇḍit Ahobala has called toḍī, i.e. mārga-toḍī as hexatonic (śādava), ṛṣabha and dhaivata being flat (vikṣa or komala), madhyama as the sonant (aṁsa), śadja, the final (nyāsa), and dhaivata, the initial (graha). It is manifested in the pauravi-mūrcchanā of the middle c beetle (madhyamgrāma), which is known as 'ṛa ni ri ga ma pa—pa ma ga ri sa ni ṛa'. It is sung in the morning.

Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) considers toḍī as the mela-rāga, which is known by its tonal structure: sa ri ga (sādbāraṇa), ma pa dha ni (kaśīka). Lochana-Kavi (17th century A.D.) has given the description of the tonal form of toḍī which is similar to that of the bhairavī mela: sa ri ga ma pa ṛa ni; and from this it is understood that Lochana-Kavi admits kāphī as the standard pure scale (śuddha-thāta). Paṇḍit Dāmodara has described toḍī as evolving from the sauviṇī-mūrcchanā, which is known by its tonal arrangements of ma pa dha ni sa ri ga—ga ri sa ni dha pa ma. The notes, ṛṣabha and dhaivata of the
ancient form of todi were flat (komala), and it was hexatonic (sādava).

The tonal form of todi of the present Hindusthāni system is: sa ri ga ma pa dha ni—sa ni dha pa ma ga ri sa. It is included in the todi-thāta, and the sonant (aṁśa or vādi) is dhaivata, and the assonant (anuvādi) is gāndhāra. It tends to manifest towards the later part of the scale (uttāraṅga-pradbāna), and the tonality of the note, gāndhāra resembles that of pīhu.

In the 15th-16th century A.D., as has been said before, the inspired poets composed the dhyānamantrāṃ of todi, and some competent painters drew its pictures in all grace and beauty, depicting a young maiden, with veepā in her hands, standing among a herd of deer, who stand enchanted with the sweet tune of the veepā. Rādhā Mohan Sen, a Bengalee musicologist has described todi as young maiden, who keeps vigil for her lover. She wears a white cloth, and is bedecked with precious ornaments. Her hair is glossy with oil and scented with camphor. She is sitting alone, and is playing on the veepā. But here the poet has lost sight of the real import of the rāga todi and, therefore, has painted her as a foppish lady.

Now, it may be asked whether there is any congruity between the contemplative composition (dhyāna) and the tonal composition (svarārūpa) of the rāga todi. The tonal form of todi, prevailing in the present system of Hindusthāni music is: “sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa—sa ni dha pa ma ga ri sa”. Here the notes “ri ga ma dha” are displaced or flat (komala). But we find that the old tonal form of todi, as has been depicted even in Dāmodara’s Saṅgītadarpaṇa of the sixteenth century A.D., is hexatonic, having the notes, ṭābha and dhaivata as displaced or flat. The South Indian
Raga Todi (the Pastoral Tune)
(Turkish Influence)
Rajasthani painting (Jaipur)
18th Century A.D.
Raga Kambuj (Persian influence)
18th Century A.D.
todi is also hexatonic in its form and has been depicted as: sa ri ga ma dha ni—sa ni dha ma ga ri sa", having the notes "ri ga dha ni" as displaced. Now, though we find different tonal forms of todi prevailing respectively in the North and the South Indian systems and different dhyāna-forms and exquisite paintings delineating the identical todi rāga, yet there can be discerned a fundamental unity underlying all dhyānas and paintings.

The theme of the contemplative composition (dhyāna) as well as the picture of the todi rāga has already been discussed in connection with the historical and aesthetic significance of the same. However different may be the tonal forms of the todi rāga as prevailing in the Northern and Southern systems in dhyānas and pictures, todi has been conceived and depicted as a fair young maiden, veena in hand and pursued by a herd of deer, enchanted with the tune of the instrument. Therefore the real significance underlying the conception of the todi rāga is that while culturing it, the artist will get completely absorbed in the central theme and tune of the rāga, and become forgetful of the maiden tie of the contingent world that keeps one confined in the den of delusion. May the vivid example of the enchanted deer inspire the artists to pursue the art with unqualified devotion to make life blissful and divine on earth.

The rāga nāta is a melody of the heroic sentiment. It has been conceived and designed for using in the battlefield to inspire the soldiers. Pārvadeva has mentioned about this rāga, nāta, nāta or nātkā in the Saṅgīta-samaya-sūra of the 7th or 9th-11th century A.D. This rāga is also known as nāṭi, nāṭi sūddha-nāṭa, etc. The sentiment and aesthetic mood (rasa and bhāva) of the rāga nāta are differ-
ent from those of the rāga, naṣanārāyaṇa, which is known as the melody of rhythmic dance. Pañḍit Dāmodara of the 17th-18th century A. D. has described about the dhyāna-
mantram and features of nāṭa-rāga as:

Grahāmśa-nyāsa sādja syāt sampūraṇa nāṭikā maṭā/
Turaṅgama-skandha-nibuddha-vāhuḥ/
Svarṇa-prabhāḥ ṣonita-ṣona-gātraḥ/
Sāṁgrāma-bhumau vicaran pratāpi,
Nāṭo'yayuṣ uktaḥ kilā rāga-mūrtih/

That is, the hands of the rāga, nāṭa or nāṭikā are placed upon the horse (ready for jumping upon the battle-field). The colour of the rāga is red like blood, and he (or she) shines like gold. He (or she) walks in the battle-field with a heroic look, and he (or she) seems to be an embodiment of rage or anger. A Hindi poet has also described the rāga in a beautiful way:

Chaḍi turaṅgama cheyo yāhā jaṅga,
Tāhā khamasāyaike khaḍge-vajavai,
Muṇḍa-kāti aru ruṇḍa-nāchāvai,
Jaru yogiṇī khappara śrōṇa-purāvai,
Hāthime samasera dhatai,
Sava veera ghatā savva veera jagāvai,
Iyā vidhi bhāva vakhāniye bhairuki,
Rāgiṇī nata yoka bhayānaka-rūpa lakṣāvai/

From the description it is understood that some war-
melodies were prevalent in mediaeval India, and the rāga
naṭa, nāṭa or nāṭikā is one of them. This tune or melody was used both by civilized and aboriginal tribes of India.

Besides the nāṭa-rāga, there were other rāgas or melodies of heroic sentiment (veera-rasa,) and they were specially meant for war. Among others, the names of kalyāṇa and
āḍānā can be mentioned in this connection. The contemplative description of the kalyāṇa-rāga is,

Krpaṇa-paṇḍistilakaṁ lalāte,
suvrata-vesāḥ samare praviṣṭaḥ/
Pracana-mūrtiḥ kila raktavarṇaḥ
kalyāṇa-rāgah kathito munindraiḥ//

The kalyāṇa-rāga, sword in his hand, is entering the battle-field. He is red, majestic and of golden complexion. Again the contemplative description of the āḍānā-rāga is,

Rane praviṣṭaḥ smaracāru-mūrtiḥ
veere-rase vyāfijita roma-harṣaḥ/
Pāṇau krpaṇaḥ kila raktavarṇaḥ
āḍāṇa-rāgah kathito munindraiḥ//.

The rāga, āḍānā is entering the battle-field, with a sword in his hand. He is also of red complexion, and majestic.

Now Śāraṅgdeva has described many grāmarāgas and bbāsārāgas which were possessed of heroic sentiment, and they were: bhinnakaishika-madhyama, sūdhakaśādśārīta, sūdha-kaišika, gaudacaišika, ṣaka, bhaśmāna-paṇcama, ṛūpa-sāvbharana, ṣaḍja-kaišika, takka, hindola, sauvīra, etc., together with bbāsārāgas like paṇcama, śri, haśa, nāgadhanī, etc.

The rāga kāmboji, kāmbodbi, khambāj, or khāmāich was the national tone of the people of Kāmbuja, Kāmboja, Cāmbodiā. The Chinese itinerant monk Houen Tsang has said that the people of Kāmboja were non-Aryans, and this fact has been corroborated by the Bhuridatta-jātaka. The Kāmbojians have been mentioned in the Vīṇa-brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda. Yāska has considered the language of the Kāmbojians as different from that of the
Aryans. Prof. Zimmer is of opinion that the Kāmbojians were closely related to the people who lived in the Uttarāpatha or North-Western Province of India. Prof. Grierson has spoken of the similarity between the Kāmbojians and the Indians. The term ‘Kāmbojian’ is also found in the ancient rock inscriptions of Persia. Dr. Laksmana Sarūpa has observed that Yāska has classified the Aryans and the non-Aryans on the linguistic basis of spoken Sanskrit and Prākṛt, and he is of opinion that both the Kāmbojians and the people of the East used primary Sanskrit while the Aryans and the Northerners used provincial Prākṛt. This leads us to believe that though the Kāmbojians were a Sanskrit speaking people, yet they were not included within the Aryan clan, and as such the national tune of the Kāmbojians, Kāmbojī was originally known as the non-Aryan one. This view also finds support of Matanaga in his Bṛhaddeśī and when it was included into the fold of the Indian classical music, it came to be regarded as an Aryan tune or rāga.

The rāga baṅgāl or baṅgāli was a tribal i.e. national tune of Vaṅga or Bengal. The rāga, gaṇḍa or gaṇḍi also evolved from Bengal, just as the literary style of gaṇḍi (gaṇḍirīti) evolved from Bengal. Gaṇḍa was once the capital of the Greater Bengal. The term ‘Vaṅga’ is to be found in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, 2. 1. 1., along with the names of Bagadh, Chera and other birds. Bagadh is another name for Magadha. With regard to the term ‘bird’, Dr. Pushalkar has said that probably it signifies that the people were of non-Aryan stock, and so the languages they spoke, were not intelligible to the Aryans. The name Āṅga along with Vaṅga occurs in the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra, Mahābhārata and other epics and literature. Prof. Olden-
berg has called the peoples of Aṅga and Vaṅga as the ancient Aryans, but Dr. Pushalkar does not support this view. So it is a matter for investigation whether the rāga bāṅgāl or bāṅgāli of the Vaṅgadeśa is of the Aryan or non-Aryan origin.

The rāga gāndhāra or gāndhāri was a tune of the Gāndhāradeśa, modern Kāndāhāra. It has been said in the Epics that the music-loving semi-divine Gandharvas were the inhabitants of Gāndhāra. The North-Western Province of India once came under the influence of culture and civilization of ancient Greece, and Gāndhāra too came within their orbit. But most of the historians are of opinion that the races like Gāndhāra, Śavara, Niśāda, Pulinda, and others were not really included in the Aryan group, and so the rāga gāndhāra or gāndhāri may be regarded as non-Aryan in its origin.

The ancient rāga pulinda or pulindikā was a tribal tune of the Pulindas. The Pulindas have been mentioned in the Mahābhārata. They are also mentioned along with the Andhras in the Aśokan inscriptions. The capital of the Pulindas was called the 'Pulinda-nagara'. Probably the Pulinda-nagara was situated to the south-east of Dārsāṇā or Vidiśā, modern Bhilsā. Again Dārsāṇā was the former name of Rupānāth, where Aśoka's pillar was found, and this Dārsāṇā and its adjacent areas were really the seat of culture of the Pulindas. The rāga pulinda or pulindikā was, therefore, a tune of the non-Aryan people, having a developed culture.

The rāgas, āndhrī, śavari or śāverī or śrāverī and ābhūrī were also the tribal tunes of the Andhras, Savaras and Ābhīras. The historians are of opinion that the Andhras, the Savaras and the Ābhīras were partly under the Aryan
influence and partly under the non-Aryan. In the Brāhmānic literature, they were known as the dasyus or robbers. The Andhras lived in the area between the rivers Krisnā and Godāvari. Dr. H. C. Roychoudhury is of opinion that the Sāvaras were a branch of the Saura races of the hill tracts of Vizāgāpattam. The historian Plinius has mentioned a race ‘Suyeri’ by name. The Sāvaras had their abode in Gwālior and even in the border of Orissā and Vindhyān forest. They were non-Aryans, and so the rāga sāveri or śravēri can be regarded as the non-Aryan tune of the Sāvaras. The Ablirās being the most important of the succeeding powers in the Deccan like the Vākāṭakas, Palhavas and Kadambas, the tribal tunes āndhrī and ābbirī of the Andhras and Ablirās can similarly be regarded as the non-Aryan tunes, though afterwards they were included within the fold of Indian classical music.

The rāga gurjarī is also known as a foreign tune, as it was adopted from the Gurjarā-deśa. The Gurjaras entered India long after the Sakas or Scythsians, Yavanais, Bahlikas and Palhavas. Some are of opinion that the Gurjaras were a nomadic pastoral tribe, who lived in the Central Asian desert. They entered Aryāvarta by the North-West border of India. In the 7th century A.D., the Chinese traveller Huien Tsang has also mentioned about the Gurjaras. Some say that as the rāga was prevalent among the Gurjaras, it was known as gurjarī: “gurjarīya-deśa-pracārāt gurjarī”. Nānyadeva, the king of Mithilā mentions gurjarī as a regional tune: “deśākhyā dāksinātyā ca saurāṣṭrī gurjarī tathā”. Yāṣṭika takes gurjarī as a subordinate tune (janyārāga) of ṭakka, and according to some, it is a subordinate one of mālava-kausika.

The rāga kāṇḍā or kāṇḍā was formerly a tune of ele-
phant-hunting in the Kārnāṭa-ḍeśa. Prof. Gangoly has given a graphic description of the rāga kārnāṭa in his illuminating article on the secret of the names of the rāgas and rāginiśīs. He has said that ancient Kārnāṭa-ḍeśa was famous for hunting of the elephants. The king of the country, accompanied by soldiers, attendants, and singers was accustomed to hunting, and it was a common custom of the royal family of the period. It is said that a peculiar tune used to be sung when the elephant was killed, and while its tusks were presented to the king as a token of his triumphant hunting. That tune used to signify two things, one, the pathetic sound of the last breath of the dying elephant, and the other, a sound of extreme joy of victory in hunting. In the contemplative composition (dhyānamantras) of kānāḍā, as depicted in the Sāṅgītadārpana of Dāmodara, we find the following description (one of the readings):

Kṛpāṇa-paññh gaja-danta-khaṇḍaṁ
ekāṁ vahan daksīṇa-haṣṭākena,/
Satṣīyamāṇaḥ sūra-cāranaughaḥ
kārnāṭa-rāgaḥ kṣitipāla-mūrtih//

Thus the rāga kānāḍa or kārnāṭa may be said to be a 'hunting melody'. But, afterwards when the Kārnāṭa-ḍeśa came under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism in the mediaeval time, the hero of the hunting, i.e. king came to be conceived as Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and the story of slaying of the Gajāsura was interpolated in the factual episode of elephant hunting. The result was that the hunting tune came to be associated with the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in a mutilated form as kāṇa and karaṇa, and lastly kānāḍa, though the real name of kānāḍa is kārnāṭa, which commemorates the regional tune of the Kārnāṭa-ḍeśa. But whether the people of Kārnāṭa-
deśa were Aryan or non-Aryan, that question requires to be resolved. Besides, we find the rāgas, āndhri, sāverī or śrāverī, pulindikā, mabhāraṣṭri, mālava, etc., which evolved out of the regional and national tunes of those tribes. Mātāṅga has given full description of those tunes, and they were adopted in the stock of the Indian classical music, either during his time or prior to him.

The Persian tunes also received honourable position in the domain of Indian music. As for example, though Puṇḍarīka Viṣṇuḥala has called bijeja or bijeja as *parada* or *paradatta*, i.e. of foreign gift, yet he has included it in the āsāvari scale, and has said in the Rāgamaṇjarī: “deśikāra vākharejah āśāvariyaṃ bijejavaḥ” (bejujjīka?). He has further mentioned fifteen foreign rāgas in his Rāgamaṇjarī, including nisāvara. It is said that the rāga nisāvara was devised by Emperor Akbar. Similarly Lochana-kavi has mentioned in the Rāgataṁgini that the foreign rāga phirdosta evolved out of the combination of varāṣi, bāṅgāli and vibhāsa. In this connection, the names of the following tribal and regional, tunes or rāgas are also worth-mentioning. They are: mbhāraṣṭra-gurjari, dākṣiṇa-gurjarī, kāmodaśimbhala, dākṣiṇātya, karṇāṭa-gauda, dṛāvīda-gauḍa, saurāṣṭri, dviśya-saurāṣṭri, dṛāvīḍi, māṅgali, kālindī, etc. Besides them, there are other regional rāgas like varāṣi and its variants, and paṅcamī, saindhavi, gaudī, etc. The rāgas like tumburu, poṭa (poṭṭa), dhuani, kandarpa, kolbhāsa, raktabhaṃsa, kokila-paṅcama, kiraṇāvali, veghavati, nadyā, paurāli, kacchali, mādhuri kbaṅjani, kauṣali, dohyā, tānā, ravicandrikā, śālavabhaṇi, etc. are also of the mixed elements, and they evolved during the renaissance period. The rāga hārmaṇa or hammāṇa seems to be of foreign tune (rāga), which was taken from the national tune of the Armenians. I would like to quote the lines from
Dr. Bāgchi’s article: *On the Diffusions of Indian Music in Ancient Times*, in this connection. He has said: “The other name, Harmāṇa seems to be of great interest. Mataṅga mentions it only once as Harmāṇa (p. 84) but in another place as Bhammāṇa (p. 100). The Saṅgīta-Ratnākara mentions it as Bhammāṇi (p. 225), but as the author of this work did not live before the 13th century A. D. he was simply reproducing mistakes of his predecessors. It seems that Harmāṇa (Prākt Hammāṇa) was the correct form of the name and Bharmāṇa came to bh. in Indian script. Even Harmāṇa is unknown, but it is not quite unreasonable to suggest a connection of this name with the ancient name of Armenia—Arminā. The Armenians like the Iranians of Central Asia were famous in the world of trade and were as such the intermediaries through which many traits of culture were carried to other countries”.

Paṇḍit Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala has said in the Rāgamaṇjarī:

Anye 'pi pārasikeyā rāgāḥ parada nāmakāḥ/
Sampūrṇāḥ sarva-gamakāḥ kākalyantaritāḥ sadā//
rahāyī devagandhāre kānare ca niśāvarah/
Śāṁgāge māhuro nāma jangula’cha vaṅgālake//,
Deśyānumaharajāgame nāma vārā mallāra nāmakē/
Kedāre'pi bhavet sūhā dhanāsyaṁ ca iśayikā/,
Jījārantyāṁ ca hauseni mālave mṛṣalikakah//
Kalyāṇe imanī gāyet sapardā’cha vīlāvale/,
Deśikāre vākhatejāḥ āśāvaryāṁ hijejakah/
Devagirīyāṁ mūsakākhya evamantere'pi yojayet\//.

From this statement it is understood that many foreign melodies were taken in the stock of classical Indian music.
Similarly Paṇḍit Somanāṭh (1906 A. D.) has said in the same manner in the Rāgavibodha:


Paṇḍit Bhāvabhāṭṭa has also mentioned about the changing phases of the rāgas. He has said that lots of foreign melodies (rāgas) were mixed with Indian ones. He has further mentioned in the Anūpa-saṅgīta-ratnākara and the Anūpa-saṅgīta-vilāsa that many of the foreign melodies were taken into the stock of the classical Indian music. But it should be noted that Puṇḍarika Viṣṇuḥala, Paṇḍit Somanāṭh and Paṇḍit Bhāvabhāṭṭa have only compared the foreign melodies or tunes with their Indian equivalents, instead of enumerating the Persian or other foreign melodies or tunes. Paṇḍit Viṣṇu-nārāyaṇa Bhāṭkhaṇḍe has clearly mentioned the changes in melodies in one of his articles, Modern Hindusthānī Rāga-System and the Simplest Method of Studying the Same, which was read before the "Fourth All-India Music Conference", held at Lucknow in 1925. He has accepted the method of admixture of the foreign melodies with those of the Indian system. He has said: "Thus our present Hindusthān music is our ancient music as it has been modified in the course of centuries by contact with foreigners, and by incorporation of foreign methods of expression and foreign melody-types".
Now it is found that the musicologists and the historians have traced back to the sources of origin of some of rāgas and their real significances as well. Though they have considered them as different structures of notes or tones, surcharged with emotional sentiments and moods, yet they believe that the rāgas of India are full of spirit, and transcend the limitations of names and forms, and shine supreme in undying glory and exquisite beauty. They also consider the rāgas as the means to a supreme end. The poets of the 16th-17th century have composed the contemplative compositions (dhyānamantrams) and the intuitive painters have drawn colourful pictures for helping in the ways of concentration and meditation upon the divine forms (devamaya rūpa) of the rāgas, for spiritual illumination and upliftment. The jātirāgas, as depicted in the Great Epics like the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Harivamśa (400-200 B. C.), evolved out of the sacred remnants of the Vedic music, sāmagāṇa, and so they contained within them the sacred spirit and solemn ideal of the Vedic music. We know from the history of Indian music that from the jātirāgas evolved the grāmarāgas, and from the latter, different bbāsārāgas, having in them the identical ideal and spirit. Intermingling and fusion of art and culture among different nations and different countries are inevitable in all ages, and the process undoubtedly enriches the domain of art and culture.

Again it may be remembered that India always maintains with her a broad outlook and synthetic vision. This has been maintained throughout the ages,—from the Vedic period down to the present time. She is prone to embrace and include all that comes unto her in the shape of wisdom and culture, and thus enriches her own priceless treasure of
art and literature, religion and philosophy. The tunes of the songs of the non-Aryan and the aboriginal tribes of India and even of countries beyond its pale, were all absorbed and included within the fold of her system of music, and some more notes were probably added unto them to make them suitable for and worthy of the rāga forms. Mātāṅga (5th-7th century A. D.) has said in his Brhaddeśī that songs with four or less than four notes should not be considered as the mārga (or gāndharva) type of music—“catuḥ svarāt prabhīti no mārgah,” and it is probable that when the tunes of the aboriginal peoples with lesser notes were adopted into the system of formalised dēśī music, they were reformed (saṁskṛta) and moulded into some new and novel forms. So far as the history of Indian music is concerned, this work of reformation commenced just after the time of Muni Bharata of the 2nd century A. D., i.e., during the 3rd-5th century A. D., and Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Durgāśakti, Mātāṅga and others had their hands in this task of rectification-cum-adaptation. It is, therefore, the fact that both Aryan and non-Aryan elements of music helped to build the grand architecture of Indian classical music. The period of intermixture of the elements of different systems of music may be considered as the dawn of renaissance, and this renaissance took place in India several times, and ushered forth an era of new life and vigour into the whole system of Indian music.
Some of the regional rāgas, mentioned by Matarāṇga in the Brhaddeśī:

(क) भापा चतुर्विंशा प्रोक्ता मूलसंकीर्णेदेशाजाः॥
छायामालाभवः प्रश्रोक्ता भ्रामराणे व्यवसिताः॥

कृष्णप उवाच—

कीर्तिसौ तु भवेदो भापा संकीर्णो देशाजातरेन्॥
छायामालाभवः प्रोक्ता प्रहस्तन्यासःपंजुता॥

यादिक उवाच—

प्रामराणोद्वारे भापा भापाभवेश्वर विभाविका॥
विभावेश्वर सज्जातात्त्वा चातन्तरभविका॥

—येखेदसी, भापालचण्डम, ३६॥

(ख) १. देशभापाल विपर्ययं श्रुर्दी परमोद्वला॥
  २. सीराणीकु तु भाषेयं देशाभयं गोचरे जने:॥
  ३. देशभापा तु देशाभयं सैन्धवस टहराणाजा॥
  ४. * समूहानंकरा श्रेया पोरालीदेशाभयवां॥
  ५. साधारणकर्ता श्रेया देशाभयं हुँथुप्रिता॥
  ६. सवन्धुविलयसम्भूता देशाभयं सैन्धव सिवुत॥
  ७. भैवतायानतरसंवुक्ता कामश्रोजा पूणानुकरा॥

  * * *

एपा भापा तु देशाभयं प्रथमा ककुमोद्वारा॥
  ८. पूणांवस्मजा श्रेया भागमोरीदेशाभयवां॥
  ९. साधारणकर्ता श्रेया लावणीदेशाभयवां॥
  १०. वण्डलदेशाभयवां विण्डली विध्वंपिपणी॥
  ११. द्राविण्डनिल्ले श्रेयो देशाभयं हुमनोहरा॥
Besides them, Mataṅga has mentioned the names of numerous regional (desaja) rāgas. Now, from them it can be shown that most of the ragās, which were included in the samkīrṇa, bhāṣā, sādhārana and chāyā categories, were known as regional ones. The regional rāgas evolved either from the countries or nations (desaja or jātiya). And we find that most of the bhāṣā or chāyā (mixed) rāgas (melodies or tunes) were either of Aryan or non-Aryan origin.
CHAPTER IX
THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF DHRUVAPODA

I

It is a common belief that dhrupada or dhruvapada type of nibaddha prabandha-giti originated in the State of Gwalior, and that it was Raja Man Singh Tomar, its Ruler, who was the first to devise and introduce it to the music enthusiasts during the 15th century A.D. This belief was specially maintained by the English scholars like Captain Williard, Sir William Jones, Dr. Griffiths, Sir Ousley and others, and also by some of the Indian musicologists, who followed them. To cite an example, Capt. Williard, in his book, A Treatise on Music of Hindoostan, has mentioned: “Most renowned of the Nāyukuṣ have been Gopāl, a native of the Dekhun i.e. Deccan, who flourished during the reign of Soolṭān Ulā-oos-deen and his contemporary Ummer Khosrow of Delhi; Soolṭān Hoosan Shruque of Jaunpoor, Raja Mān of Gwalior, founder of the Dhooorpud”, etc. (p. 107). Again, some are of opinion that dhruvapada evolved from the regional folk songs of Gwalior and its adjacent places, and they argue that both dhruvapada and regional folk songs of Gwalior were similar in nature, and their methods of presentation were also the same, being devoid of tānas, etc. But these sorts of opinion or argument are conjectural ones, wanting in logical sequence and history.

In the Šīn-i Akbari of Abul Fazl-i-Allami, it has been stated that dhruvapada was a kind of desī (regional)
song which was much in vogue in Agrā, Gwālior, Bāri and their adjacent places. Ābul Fazl has also stated: "When Mān Singh (Tanwār) ruled as Rājā of Gwālior, with the assistance of Nāyak Bakshu, Macchu and Bhānu, who were the most distinguished musicians of their day, he introduced a popular style of melody which was approved even by the most refined taste. On his death, Bakshu and Machhu passed into the service of Sultān Māhumud of Gujrat, where his new style came into universal favour". Further he has stated: "In the Dekhān, these songs are expressed in their language by the term Chind (chanda = chanda-prabandha), which consist of three or four lines, and chiefly laudatory. In the Tilāṅga and Carnātic dialects, they are called dhruva, and their subject is erotic. Those of Bengal are called bangāla, and those of Jounpur, chutkala, while the songs of Delhi are called kaul and tārānā (?). These last were introduced by Āmīr Khusrau of Delhi in concert with Samit and Tātār, and by combining the several styles of Persia and India, form a delightful variety. The songs of Mathurā are called Bishn-pad (viṣṇupada) consisting of four, six and eight lines, sung in honour of Viṣṇu. Those of Sind are styled Lāḥchārī, and are the composition of Biddyapat and in character highly erotic. In Lāhore and the adjacent parts, they are called chand; those of Gujrat, jakri".

Perhaps this statement of Ābul Fazl is based on mere legends and second-hand information, and it is also true that he was neither a musician nor an accomplished musicologist. Moreover, it is a fact that during the time of Rājā Mān of Gwālior (15th century A.D.), the dhruvapada type of prabandha took a new shape and novel course, but it is equally certain that it was not invented but only
revived and rejuvenated by Rājā Mān, who, assisted by Hindu and Muslim musicians of outstanding merit, established a Gwālior school of music. Dr. Jadunāth Sarkar has supported this statement when he says: “After Rājā Mān, the renowned dhrupadiyā, Bakshu continued his service at the court of Vikramjit, the son of Mān Singh, and after his death, entered the service of Rājā Kirāt of Kalinjar, whence he was invited to the court of Gujrāt”. The historian Bayley has also stated in his History of Gujrāt that “a minstrel, called Bacchu (i.e. Bakshu) attached to Sultān Bāhādur’s court, who was taken before Humāyun on the capture of Māṇḍu in 1535”. From all these records we come to the finding that the culture of the dhruvapada-prabandha was prevalent during the Mughal period.

Now, let us trace the factual origin and growth of the dhruvapada, and find out whether it falls within the category of classical group of the prabandha-gīti, or merely under the desī type or regional one, and this requires to be investigated from both the textual as well as historical points of view. In the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, Sārāngdeva defines ‘gītām’ as a combination of notes or tones, having the propensities of tinging i.e. producing sweet and pleasing impressions (saṁskāras) in the minds of all living beings as well as divides the gītām (song) into two main classes, gāndharvaṇā and gānam. By ‘gānam’ he means the ‘desī gānam’ or regional songs or tunes, composed by the experts of different parts of different countries.

The songs (gānam) were again distinct from the gāndharvaṇā (gāndharva type of gīti), traditionally handed down from the masters to the pupils. According to Bharata,
the gāndharvaṃ was composed of svara, tāla and pada; "svara tāla-pādaśrayaṃ". Bharata has said,

Yacca tantrikṛtam proktam nāṇūtodya-samāśrayaṃ/
Gāndharvamiti caññeyam svara-tāla-pādaśrayaṃ/]

This type of gāṇa, gāndharva was pleasing both to the gods and the semi-divine Gandharvas. Bharata has specifically explained the inherent characteristics of svara, tāla and pada, and from his description it becomes apparent that the jātis (jātirāgas), together with the grāmarāgas and other constituent rāgas, were known as ‘gāndharva’.

The gāndharva was also known as ‘mārga’, which means ‘chased after’ (‘anviṣṭaṃ’) or as one constituted out of the collected materials of the Vedic songs. Bharata’s description about the gāndharva is corroborated by both Kallinātha and Veṅkatamākhī. While commenting on the term ‘gāṇam’, Kallinātha has defined it as ‘desī-gāṇam’, and it was composed by the Vāggeyakāras or composers and as such it was sung according to their sweet will (“sva-buddhyā gīyate”). But, according to Śāraṅgdeva, desī-gāna means the prabandha.

Now, what is meant by the term ‘prabandha’? It means the gīti or song, systematically ‘bound up’ (nībadha), comprising the music-parts (dhātus) like udgrāhaka, melā-paka, dhruva, antara or antarā, and ābhoga; and limbs (aṅgas) like svara, viruda, pada, tenaka, pāta and tāla; jātis like ānandini, medini, dīpanī, bhāvanī and tārāvalī (“prakrīṣṭo yasya bandhab syat sa prabandho nigadyate’). Therefore, ‘prabandha’ means the systematic and organised classical type of song (gīti). Siṃhābhūpāla has also defined the prabandha in his commentary, Sudhākara in a beautiful way.
It has been said before that the prabandha-gītī was possessed of different dhātus, aṅgas, jātis and rasas or aesthetic sentiments. Now, what was meant by the terms dhātu, aṅga and jāti? A dhātu was conceived as a music-part or amśa, implying a division of a gītī or song. The first part of a prabandha went by the name of udgrāhaka, meaning opening or commencing. This is an ancient name, but in the present Hindustāni system of music, it is known as sthāyī, i.e. a place where a gītī or song rests upon and commences to manifest itself. Melāpaka is the ancient name of the second part, and in it the prabandha used to fully manifest itself, keeping harmony with the first part. According to Rājā Raghunāṭh Nāyaka of Tānjore, the function of the melāpaka was to bring about a unity between the first music-part, udgrāhaka and the third one, dhruva. The dhruvapada-prabandha used to sprout forth as it were, in the first part and then manifests in full bloom in the second part. The name of the second part, melāpaka is now known as antarā. The antarā or antara rests in between the first part and the third part. In fact, the music-parts are regarded as different parts or centres of manifestation of the prabandha, and all the parts, when bound up or taken together, form the complete structure of a prabandha, in conjunction with the rāga. An aṅga (limb) conceived to be the essential feature of a prabandha. It is of six kinds,

(a) svāra or note like śadja, etc. with their respective pitches;

(b) viruda or panegyrical like 'they are my God,' etc. Pārvadeva, Rājā Raghunāṭh Nāyaka and others are of opinion that the word 'viruda' means antagonism and that this meaning was current in the
country like Mahārāṣṭra (vide Saṅgītasudhā, IV. 54-55). As viruda connotes the idea of valour or prowess and thereby symbolize veera-rasa, so the limb, viruda is taken to create an atmosphere of valour and freedom in a prabandha gītī like dhruvapada, etc.;
(c) a pada means a name of its object;
(d) a tenaka means a cadence of note on a sacred symbolic standard as tena, na, te, etc.;
(e) a pāta uses to be a continuous limitation of sounds, proceeding from percussion instruments;
(f) a tāla, is a rhythm, expressed by beats at equal intervals.

Again a genus (jāti) is divided into five sections, and they are:
(a) medinī which mean a prabandha, possessing six limbs;
(b) ānandinī which means a prabandha, having five limbs;
(c) dīpanī, which means a prabandha, possessing four limbs;
(d) bhāvanī, which means a prabandha, made of three limbs,
(e) tārāvalī, i. e., a prabandha, which is possessed of only two limbs.

So we see that the name of the genus or jāti differs according to the number of its limb or aṅga.

A dhruva-prabandha or dhruvapada was divided in ancient times into aniryukta or anibaddha and niriyukta or nibaddha. The aniryukta or anibaddha type of dhruva-
pada-prabandha was not governed by the rigid rules of time-measures or mātrās, etc., and it was known as ālāpa. And from this it is understood that though dhruvapada used to be sung even in slow tempo (vilamūta laya), yet ālāpa or elaboration of the tonal forms was mandatory. The niryukta or nibaddha type of dhruvapada-prabandha was bound up with metres, time-measures, and other rules. The nibaddha-prabandhas used to be recognised by three different connotations (saṇijñās) like prabandha, vastu and rūpaka.

Numerous prabandha-gītis were prevalent in ancient times, and they were sūḍa, āli or āli-saṁśraya and viprakārṇa. The dhruva-prabandha-gītis were and even to this day are included in the category of sūḍa i.e., sālaga-sūḍa-prabandha: ‘dhruvādi sālaga mataḥ’ (SR, 4.311). Sāraṅgdeva has divided the sūḍa-prabandha into two, pure and mixed (śuddha and sālaga or cāyālaga).

Now, what were the śuddha-sūḍa prabandhas? The śuddha-sūḍa prabandhas were the jātis or jātirāgas, brāhmagītis, like kapāla and kambala, together with the grāmarāgas, uparāgas, bhāṣārāgas, vibbāṣā-rāgas and antara-bhāṣā-rāgas and the prakaraṇa-gītis like madraka, aparāntaka, ullopya, prakari, obenaka, robindaka and uttara plus the gītis like chandaka, āśārita, vardhamāna, pāṇika, re, gāthā and sāma. Sāraṅgdeva says: “jātyad-yantara-bhāṣāntaṁ śuddhaṁ prakaraṇānvitaṁ”, whereas the commentator Sīmhabhūpāla has only said: “śruti-prakaraṇamārabhya-antarabhāṣā-paryantaṁ”, Rāja Raghunāth Nāyaka of Tānjore has also described the sālaga-sūḍa-dhruva in the same way (vide Saṅgītaśudbā, IV, pp. 800-809).

Now it is clear that the gāndharva or mārga type of gītis was known as prabandhas, and it has been
confirmed by both Bharata (2nd century A.D.) and Śaṅgadeva (early 13th century A.D.) The observation of Bharata, regarding the nāṭyagītī, dhrūvā, may be cited in this connection. Bharata has said,

Ya ṛcāya pāṇīkā gāthā sāpta-rūpaṃ hi sā dhrūvetyabhisaṅgītā/  
—Nāṭyaśāstra, NS. 32.2.

Śaṅgadeva has stated in the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara: “elādiḥ suddha”, etc., and thus it is found that both Bharata and Śaṅgadeva have defined the gāndharva and brahma-gītī in the term of prabandha-gītī.

Bharata has also divided the dhrūvās into two classes, nibaddha and anibaddha, and their definitions differ from those of the regional or deśi prabandhas to some extent. The commentator, Sūtbhabhūpala has mentioned about them in connection with elā and other prabandhas. He has said: “nānu bharatena elādinaṃ chāyālagatvam uktam, tat kathāḥ suddhatvam ucbhaye, tatrāha-chāyālāgatvatamiti”. From this it is understood that Bharata has dealt with the prabandha type of classical gītī in the Nāṭyaśāstra. While describing sixty-four dhrūvās, he has said that the dhrūvās were composed of different letters (‘sama-vṛttāksara-kṛtaḥ’), dhātus and āṅgas like svara, viruda, tenaka, pāṭa, pada, and tāla, etc. Therefore, it is found that the dhrūvās were recognised as the gāndharva type of prabandha-gītī, and used to be presented in accordance with suitable place, time, and circumstance: “deśa-kālamavasthāṃ ca jñātāṃ yojya dhrūvā budhaiḥ” (32.352).

It has been said before that Bharata has dealt with the brahmagītīs like kapāla, kambila, etc.: (“tanyakṣaraṇī vyakṣe yāni purā brahma-gītāni” NS. 31.95), and following
Sāraṅgdeva, Kalināth has also mentioned: ‘jāti-kapāla-kambala-grāmaragoparāga-bhāsā-vibhāṣāntarabbāsā-paryantamityarthaḥ', which means jātirāga, and kapāla and kambala gītis, etc. were known as the suddha-sūḍa-prabandha-gītis. From all these it becomes evident that the dhruva-prabandhas of the sūḍa type were also prevalent during or prior to Bharata (2nd century A.D.).

Now, let us find out whether Dattila, Matarāga, Pārśvadeva and others have admitted the sālaga-sūḍa type of dhruva-prabandha (or dhruvapada) in their respective works, Dattilāṁ, Brhaddeśi and Saṅgīta-samayāsāra. In the Dattilāṁ, musicologist Dattila has described about the prakaraṇas like madraka, aparāntaka, ullopyaka, etc., in the ślokas 160-221, and in this connection he has mentioned the names of ancient as well as his contemporary musicologists like Viśvākhila and others. It has already been said that Sāraṅgdeva has included madraka, aparāntaka, etc. as the suddha-sālaga-sūḍa-prabandhas: ‘suddham prakaraṇānvitam', etc. (IV. 312).

Though it is true that no definite mention of the dhruva-prabandha is to be found in the work, Dattilāṁ, yet it may be taken for granted that as Dattila has discussed about the suddha-sūḍa-prabandha, it is most probable that he had in his mind about the sālaga-sūḍa-prabandhas like dhruva, etc. Moreover, it is said that the treatise, Dattilāṁ, which has already been published from Trivāndrum, is an incomplete (khaṇḍita) one, and so the presumption is strong that when the complete text of the work will see the light of the day, one may find mention of the dhruva-prabandha or dhruvapada, which will go a long way to prove its antiquity and practice without a shadow of doubt.
The descriptions of the prabandha-gītis are also found in Maṇḍapa's Bhaddaśi (5th-7th century A.D.). Maṇḍapa has termed the prabandhas as deśi, which means the formalised regional but classical gītis. He had defined and at the same time described various kinds of prabandhas like dhe̅̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄️
dhruva, mantha, pratimannya, nissaruka, addatula, ekatili, and rasa. These latter prabandhas were composed of three music-parts (dhatus) like udgraba, antara and abhoga, and melapaka being left out ("ete, dhruvadayah saptapi melapakabhavastridhutavah"). But the prabandhas like mantha, pratimannya, etc., of the dhruva class, comprised six limbs ("manthasadayastu sadapi").

Regarding the nature of composition as well as the form and process of embellishment of the dhruva-prabandhagana, Sranngdeva has said,

Eka-dhatur-dvikhanda syadyatrodgrahasatala param/
Kiiciduccam bhavet khandam dvirabhyasmidam trayam/
Tato dvikhanda abhogastasya syat khandamadimam/
Eka-dhatur-dvikhanda ca khandamuccataram param/
Stutyanamunkitaascasau kvaciduccaikakhandaakah/
Udgrahasayadyakhande ca nyasa sa-dhruvako bhavet/
Ekaadaskatst khanḍadeikalakshaaravadhitai/
Khanḍe dhruvāḥ soddha syula sadvitraśatyakṣatāvadh/

Sūthhabhupala has made these ślokas explicit, when he says:

"Dhruvādibhiḥ saptabh-gitaḥ saлага-sudha-prabandhah/
teṣu dhruvam laṣyaati-ekadbūtiḥ/ pūrvaḥ sadṛṣageyakhandadvayayukta udgrābhaḥ kartavyah/ tato'nantaram kiiciduccam khandamantarākhyam kartavyam; etat trayamapi dvirabhyastaṁ dvirgeyam/ tato'nantaram khandadvayam-yukta abhogah, tasya prathamam khandadvaya-mekadbhātu sa- dṛṣageyakhandadvayayuktam, dvitiya-khandam tato'yuccam gatavyam/, asāvabhogastutyasya näyakasya nāmāḥ yuktah kāryah/ kvacitkeśëmacinmateyamuccaikakhando gatavyah/ udgrābasya adyakhande ca samāptih, sa dhruva iti jñeyah/"

That is, the music-part, udgrāba was divided into two parts, and those two parts were sung in the same way (i.e.
in the same pitch), and for that reason, Śātaṅgadeva has called them as ‘eka-dhātu’ i.e. as if they were one and the same part. But it should be noted that their compositions were different (mātu-gata-bheda), otherwise the same part used to be sung repeatedly. The next part used to be sung in acute or high pitch, and it was known as the antara. For that reason Siṃhabhupāla has said: “kiṇciduccaḥ khaṇḍam antaraṁ kārtavyaṁ”. Śātaṅgadeva has said “dhruvābhogāntare” etc., which means that in case of prabandhas of the sālaga-sūḍa class, antara used to be added other than the music-parts, dhrūva and ābboga. The two parts of the udgrāha, together with the antara (=three parts) were used for singing. The ābboga was also divided into two parts, and they, like the two parts of the udgrāha, were also called as ‘eka-dhātu’ or undivided part. But the difference lied in the fact that between the two parts of the ābboga, the last part used to be sung in high pitch. According to Siṃhabhupāla, the last part of the ābboga used to be sung in more acute or high pitch than the music-part, antara. In the ābboga or concluding music-part, the name of the stūtya or nāyaśka (author or composer) used to be added, and after the singing of the entire song (with its music-parts), the first part of the udgrāha used to be repeated, and then the song ended.

Now, it should be remembered in this connection that the music-part, dhrūva was not used in any time in the ancient dhrūva-prabandha, as it used to be dropped. But Kallināṭh has said: “ayamatāro laukika-rūpāntara ityucyate tathā tair dhrūvaḥ khaṇḍasyāntara-vyāpadeśah kṛta iti maṇtavyaṁ”, which means that antara-dhātu can be taken in the sense of dhrūva-dhātu, as it was essential for the composition of the song. However, Kallināṭh has discussed elaborately
on this subject. In the present system of the Hindusthāṇī music, antara is used as antarā, with other three parts, stbāyi, saṅcāri and ābhoga. Kallināth has further said that the ancient form of dhrūva-prabandha was comprised with tāla, and was included in the tārāvali-jāti (‘tārāvali-jātimanta’), as it was composed of two añgas like pada and tāla.

Sārāṅgdeva has described sixteen types of dhrūva-prabandha, and they are: jayanta, śekhara, utsāha, madhura, nirmala, kuntala, kāmala, cára, jaya-maṅgala, tilaka, latita, etc. These dhrūva-type of prabandhas have been specifically mentioned in the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara with their respective aesthetic sentiments and moods. Sārāṅgdeva has said,

Jayantāsekharotsāhastato madhura-nirmanau//
Kuntalāḥ kāmalaścārō nandanaścandraśekharaḥ/
Kāmolo vijākhyāśca kandarpa-jayamaṅgalau//
Tilako lalitaśceti saṅjñāścaisāṃ kramādīmāḥ/
Āditālenā śṛṅgāre jayanto giyate vudhailḥ// etc.

—Ratnākara, IV. 318-329.

To make the meanings of the ślokas of the prabandhas of the dhrūva category, let us mention the commentary of Sirhhabhupāla, where he has said that sixteen kinds of dhrūva-prabandha can be determined by adding one successive letter to each prabandha in a gradual process: “tasya bhedaṇāba—ekādaśeti/ ekādaśaṅkārahcandradārabhyā saṅvīm-śatyaksakārhaṇḍaparyantamekākārasarvāvṛddhyā javantādayo lalitānta śoḍaṣa dhrūvā bhavanti/ teśaṃ kramaṇa lakṣaṇa-मāha—āditālenets” (—Cf. Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, Adyār edition, vol. II, pp. 313-315). Besides Sārāṅgdeva, Rāja Raghunāth Nāyaka of Tānjore (17th century A.D.) has also defined.
the *dhruvapada-prabandha*, together with sixteen other *sālaga-sūda prabandhas* of the *dhruva* class in his *Saṅgītasudhā* (Cf. the Appendix to this chapter).

The *dhruvapada* of the latter period appears different in its form and method of presentation (*gāyaki-bhaṅgi*) from those of the ancient period, and probably this change or re-orientation took place in the time of Rājā Mān Singh of Gwālior in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. It has been mentioned that Rājā Mān modified the old *śāstric* form of the *dhruvapada-prabandha* for its better and wider appreciation according to the taste and temperament of the contemporary society. Before him, Baijunāth i.e. Baiju Bāorā and Gopāla Nāyaka and other noted musicians of that time and the Kalāvīds in the court of Sultān Ālā-ud-dīn Khalji used to culture the *dhruvapada* with due ardour and spirit, during the 14th-15th century A.D.

Āmir Khusrau, who was in the court of Sultān Ālā-ud-dīn, was an Indo-Persian scholar, poet and musician, and it is said that he was also a great lover and supporter of the *dhruva-prabandha-giti*.

The period of Sharquī rule at Jaunpur, and specially that of the Sultān Husian Shāh Sharquī in the fifteenth century, witnessed the culture of the *dhruvapada* on a wide scale, and though the nucleus of the *kheyl* or *khyāl* type of giti evolved during the period, yet *dhruvapada* gained pre-eminence in the courts of the Sultānas. During the reign of the Emperor Akbar, or it can be said that from 1542-1605 A.D., the practice and culture of *dhruvapada* reached their high water mark. Swāmī Krishṇadas, the celebrated author of the *Gita-prakāśa*, Swāmī Haridās, the disciple of Swāmī Krishṇadas, Rāmadās, Miān Tānsen and a host of other eminent musicians gained abiding fame for the culture of *dhruvapada*. 
Like Gwalior and Delhi, Rewa was also a seat or centre of culture of dhruvapada. We know from history that before joining the court of Akbar, Miian Tansen was in the service of Raja Ramachand of Bandhogarh, Rewa, who was a great patron of dhruvapada. The Raja was so great a lover and patron of music, and specially of dhruvapada that he gave Tansen in one day a crore of gold pieces. This statement has also been corroborated by the author of the Virabhānudayakāvyam. The author of the Virabhānudaya says that "for every song and each tāna (?) and each dhrupad he (Raja) gave a crore of rupees to this musician (kalavid), namely Tansen, who was the embodiment of the art of music". Though these statements of Badāoni and that of the author of the Virabhānudayakāvyam seem to be exaggeration to some extent, yet it is clearly understood that Rewa and even its adjacent places were famous for the culture of classical type of the prabandha-gītis.

Vṛndāvana was also a famous seat of culture of the prabandha-gītis. From the history of Bengal Vaishnavism we come to know that most of the Vaishnava savants, headed by Svarūpa-Dāmodara, Rāy Rāmānanda, Swāmī Krishnādās, Swāmī Haridās, Krishnādās Kavirāja, Raghuñāthdās Goswāmī, Thākur Narottamadās and others were well-versed in the sublime prabandha type of gītis. It is said that Thākur Narottama devised the padāvalikīrtana on the structure and ideal of the classical dhruvapada in slow tempo at Khetari, Bengal. It might be the fact that Vṛndāvana drew its inspiration and impetus of the culture of dhruvapada from Gwalior and its adjacent places, but yet it cannot be denied that Vṛndāvana and afterwards Mathurā created the schools of their own, and those schools were maintained by a host of Kalāvīds like Krishnādās,
Haridās and others. Those celebrated exponents of music were all upholders of dhruvapada.

Bijāpur was also a seat of culture of classical music, and specially of dhruvapada. Sultan Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh II of Bijāpur was a contemporary to the Emperor Akbar. He devoted the best part of his life to the cause of classical music, in which he took interest from his early age. From Āsād Beg’s mission to Bijāpur, we learn that Bijāpur was so famous for its culture of classical music that Akbar and afterwards Jahāngīr were also attracted to this kingdom. From the editorial comments of the journal, Lalitakalā, April 1955—March 1956 and Joshi’s, article on Āsād Beg’s Mission in the ‘Potadar Commemoration Volume’ 1950, we come to know that Āsād Beg went on his Mission in 1603-1604 A.D. It has been stated: “Speaking about the events of 1603-04, Āsād Beg says that he was invited to the Royal palace to bid farewell to Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh II of Bijāpur on the night of 27th Sh‘āban. A grand music party had been arranged for the occasion. Āsād Beg found Ibrāhīm so rapt in listening to music that he could hardly reply to Āsād Beg’s question. The conversation for sometime was mainly concerned with music and musicians”.

It should be remembered in this context that dhruvapada was the most prominent feature of music culture of that time i.e. in the 16th-17th century.

Dr. Nāzir Ahmed has written as follows in the ‘Introduction’ to the book, Kitāb-i-Naurās by Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh II that Ibrāhīm was a master of dhruvapada (dhrupada), and his book in the same style became so popular as to attract even the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr, and the Emperor claimed the Kitāb-i-Naurās to be in form of
_dhruvapada_ which Sultan learnt from Baktar. It has been stated that about four thousand skilled musicians thronged on the occasion, and the Sultan wished that skilful musicians should always adorn his court by their presence. Dr. Nāzir Ahmed has said: "The Sultan's achievements in music will be best judged from his own composition, the _Kitāb-i-Naurās_. He has stated by Jāhāṅgīr to have learnt this art from Bakhtār Khān, a notable statesman at the court of Bijāpur, to whom the Sultan is stated to have married his niece subsequently". He has further stated: "Unfortunately the names of only two of the musicians have survived; the first is Bakhtār Khān about whom we have spoken earlier. He is stated to be the King's teacher in _Dhrupada_ form of music. But he seemed to be younger than the Sultan himself. * * The other musician at the court of Ibrāhīm was Chānd Khān. He is mentioned by the way in the _Basatin-us-Salatin_ which shows that he was one of the pupils of the Sultan and was classed with the _Huziris_. He is stated to have wielded much influence and was a favourite of the Sultan".1

It has already been stated that Sultan's adherence to music was personally reported by Āsād Beg who visited him in A.H. 1013/1604 at Akbar's behest. "When the Mughal envoy was to leave the Adil Shāhi court, a grand musical concert was arranged to celebrate the occasion. In that farewell party, Āsād Beg found him so much wrapped in listening to music that he could hardly reply to his (Āsād Beg's) questions. Their conversation centred

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round music and musicians. Ibrāhim enquired about Akbar's fondness of music, and was told that he listened to it sometimes. He then enquired of the Mughal envoy whether Tānsen stood or sat while singing before Emperor, and was told that in Darbār at day time he had stand while singing; but at night and on festive occasions Tānsen and other musicians were allowed to take their seats while engaged in their performance. Ibrāhim is stated to have expressed that music should he heard at all times and musicians should be kept happy and contended. He held the musicians in high esteem which is proved by his marrying his niece to Baktār Khān”.

From the fact it is proved that dhruvapada used to play a prominent part in every musical function not only in the Royal court of the Mughal Emperor, but also in the kingdom of Ibrāhim Adil Shāh II. After Akbar, the Emperors like Jāhāṅgīr and Sāhajābān were also great patrons of dhruvapada. The names of Jagannāth Kavirāj, Dirang Khān, Guṇasamudra Lāl Khān, the son-in-law of Bilās Khān, are worth-mentioning in this connection as noted exponents and connoisseurs of dhruvapada-prabandha.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century A.D., when Mohommed Shāh was on the throne of Delhi, dhruvapada was held in high esteem in his court. The name of Mohommed Shāh's court-musician Niyāmat Khān, sadāraṅg is worth-mentioning in this connection. Niyāmat Khān, sadāraṅg was a veṇkāra as well as a dhrupadīyā. Though he devised a new style of kheyāl or khyāl in slow tempo, yet he was noted as an exponent of dhruvapada of the pure Senī

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1 Ibid., pp. 48-49.
school. The decadence in the culture and appreciation of dhruvapada came probably during the British rule in India. It came to a climax, when the last titular Mughal Emperor Shāh Alam II ascended the throne of Delhi, and granted by a firman, the Diwānī of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā to the East India Company.

Viṣṇupur (Bāṅkurā) and different parts of Bengal were also recognised as the seats of culture of dhruvapada. Because when the noted musicians of Senī school found no help and support from the Emperor Shāh Alam II, they began to seek refuge in the Durbārs of different Muslim Nawābs, Hindu kings and rich landlords of Oudh, Betiyā, Viṣṇupur, Hooghly and different parts of West and East Bengal.

It may, therefore, be said that the prabandha-type of gītis originated during the pre-Christian era, and evolved through ages out of the ancient jātirāga and different grāmarāgas, as described in the Nāṭyaśāstra, Brhaddeśī, Saṅgīta-samayasāra, Saṅgīta-Ratnakara, etc., and attained development, assuming novel modes, new names and phases. It still survives in the form of modern dhupada i.e. dhruvapada, though lacking in its pristine glory and traditional ideal. Ordinarily it is believed that the term “dhruvapada” (dhruva + pada) connotes the idea of sacred or celestial gīti or song, for “dhruva” means ‘sacred’ or ‘that which is eternal, persisting and celestial,’ and pada, meaning gīti or gāna, as has been defined and described in Bharata’s Nāṭyaśāstra.

The word ‘dhruvapada’ has been derived from the classical type of the dhruva-prabandha, which has been described in the works of Matānga. Pārvadeva, Sāraṅgdeva and others. The root meaning of the word dhruva (dhru+ā(ka)
may convey the ideas of 'calmness', 'straightness', 'permanency', 'deathlessness', 'sacredness', etc. But necessarily the term dhruvapada does not convey the idea of sacred or celestial song, as meant by the first part of the couplet: "yo dhruvāni pariyajya adhruvāni niśevate" etc. It might have been the fact that in later period, the idea of sacredness or permanency was added or imposed on the dhruvapada type of gīti or gāna. Again the term dhruvapada was neither derived from the gāndharva dhruva (nātyagīti), as described in Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra, nor from the music-part (dbhūtu) dhruva, which is again a deviated form of dhūyā of a song. It is purely a contemplative and majestic type of song, dhruva-prabandha of the sālaga-sūda class. It is seen that some of the scholars try to describe the dramatic song (nātyagīti) dhruva, described by Bharata, as the forerunner of the dhruvapada, but they are absolutely wrong.

Originally the literary composition (sāhitya) of the dhruvapada was graceful, majestic and contemplative by nature. It breathed an air of sublimity and grandeur in laudation of the gods and goddesses and the Father in Heaven, though in later days it lost that lofty ideal, to some extent. Because in later days, the dhruvapadas used to be composed in praise of the seasons, compositions of songs, Nature, kings and Emperors.¹

¹ Different types of compositions of the dhruvapada:

(क) महावाक्-वाचिनि समुख हृःख्ये भापू धृ—चौताल, तानसेन
(ख) जय गण्डा जगततारिखी
(ग) तेरीहो ध्यानधरत
(घ) अा वाद प्रभावहुम
(ङ) रु अस्ये ह्या-भवानी
During the time of Akbar, the four methods of improvisation of the prabandha-gītis (songs) centered on the regional utterances (intonations) of the compositions or sāhitya, and they were known as four vānis. The name of the four vānis are: gaudabhāra, khāṇḍāra, dāgara and naobhāra. It is generally believed that these vānis evolved or were created for the first time during the reign of Akbar. But that is not the fact, as different gītis were in practice before the time of Mataṅga (5th-7th century A. D.), having different characteristics and methods of improvisation. Those gītis have been fully described by Mataṅga, Pārśva-deva, Sāraṅgdeva and others in their Bhaddeśī, Saṅgīta-samayasāra and Saṅgīta-Ratnakara. Mataṅga has said about seven kinds of gītis i.e. rāgagītis, and they were: sūḍbhā, bhinnā or bhinnakā, gaudī or gaudikā, rāgagīti, sādhāraṇī, bhāṣā and vibhāṣā. Those rāgagītis were so called because they were known by their respective rāgas. Those rāgagītis were possessed of different specific qualities or characteristics, and so when they were sung, they used to create different methods of improvisation, which can be taken at present as different styles of presentation.
According to Yāṣṭikā, the rāgagītis were five in number, and they were: sūddhā, bhinnā, veṣarā, gauḍī or gauḍa and sādbhārīta (or sādbhāraṇī). According to Durgāsakti, the rāgagītis were three, and the ancient musicologist Sārdula approved only one rāgagīti. From this it is known that the ancient rāgagītis and even the grāmarāga-gītis used to be sung in different methods or styles.

Mātangā and Sāraṅgdeva have described about different specific qualities or characteristics of the seven or five rāgagītis. To mention the outlines of their descriptions, it can be said:

(a) The sūddhā type of the rāgagītis possessed tones, which were straight (ṛju), soft (komala) and melodious (madhura).

(b) The bhinnā type of the rāgagītis possessed tones, which were used in curved lines or crooked way (vakra), but with subtle and sweet tonal modulations (gamakas).

(c) The gauḍī type of the rāgagītis possessed tones, which were frequently used in three octaves (saptakas), with steady poise and some vibrations like kampana or gamaka.

(d) The veṣarā type of the rāgagītis possessed tones, which were used in rapid tempo (druta-laya) and quicker vibrations.

(e) The sādbhāraṇī type of the rāgagītis had no special quality or feature of its own, and it used to be sung with the combination of four other gītis.

(f) The bhāṣā type of the rāgagītis possessed sweet and tangible tones, added with kākus.

(g) The vibāṣā type of the rāgagītis possessed tones, which were pleasing and soothing. The tones were used
in all the octaves, and the gitis used to be sung or played with ease and with different gamakas.¹

Different kinds of rāgas (i.e. grāmarāgas) evolved from those rāgagītis, and it might be taken for granted that rāgas (grāmarāgas), that evolved later, used to be sung and played in accordance with different qualities or characteristics of the rāgas.

It has already been said that during the time of Akbar (and of Miān Tānsen), the dhruvapada-gitis used to be sung and played with mainly four vānīs, which were afterwards known as four methods of improvisation of the songs. Those methods or ways of presentation of the classical prabandha-gītis were, therefore, not altogether new inventions in the domain of Indian music, as different methods of presentation of songs were already in practice in ancient times (the examples of which have been cited in Matanga’s Bhāddevī and Śāraṅgdeva’s Saṅgīta-Ratnākara). It will not, therefore, be wise to say that the later vānīs or styles of improvisation evolved from those of the past. It might have been the fact that the vānīs that gave rise to different methods of improvisation or presentation of the rāgas (consequently of the gānas or songs) like rāgagītis, grāmarāga-gitis, etc. in the medieval time, during the reign of Akbar, were somewhat similar to those which were prevalent in ancient time.

Kumāra B. N. Roychoudhury has rightly observed in this connection that in the Hindusthānī dhruvapada, we find the names of four vānīs which indicated four different styles of the dhruvapada songs. The gaudahāra-vānī

¹ Cf. Bhāddevī (Travancore ed.), pp 82-84.
resembled the śātric śuddhā-gītī, containing meeds in straight lines, according to the structures of the rāgas. Miān Tānsen himself was a master of this style, although he was proficient in other styles as well. In the hierarchy of his youngest son, Bilās Khān, this style was mainly used. Similarly the dāgara-vāṇī resembled the bhinnā-gītī, which contained meeds in curved lines with sweet and subtle gamakas. The dāgara-vāṇī was very charming, and it is said that that vāṇī was used in Vṛndāvana by the disciples of Swāmī Haridāsa, and also by Sarasvatī Devī, the daughter of Miān Tānsen. The husband of Sarasvatī Devī was Miśrī Singh, the noted veena-player. The khāṇḍāra-vāṇī resembled the śātric veṣara-gītī, which contained quick gamakas. It is said that that vāṇī or method of presentation (style) of the dhruvapada was used by Bāj Bāhādur, and also by Miśrī Singh in his veena recitals. Later on, the descendants of Miśrī Singh used both the dāgara-vāṇī and the khāṇḍāra-vāṇī. The naohāra-vāṇī resembled somewhat the gaudī-gītī, which contained ‘chut-alamkāra’. In that vāṇī, tones were used in a jumping way, with different gamakas. That vāṇī was used as a part of the dhruvapada.

Śrī Roychoudhury has further said that the vāṇīs of the dhruvapada used to indicate the words as well as the intonations of the words, which used to be produced in accordance with different emotional sentiments, contained in the rāgas. It is said that the sweet gaudahāra-vāṇī used to create the emotional sentiments of calmness and peaceful tranquility (śanta-rasa); the dāgara-vāṇī used to create the sentiments of sweetness or pathos (madhura-rasa) as well as that of the sympathetic attitude (haruṇa-rasa); the khāṇḍāra-vāṇī used to create the sentiments of valour and heroic spirit (veera-
rasa), and the naohāra-vāni used to create the sentiment of surprising movements of the tones, expressed in the adbhūta-rasa.

Gradually different schools of dhruvapada (gbarāṇās) evolved to suit the different methods of improvisation of the songs. Those schools or gbarāṇās evolved no doubt after the unique style of Miān Tānsen. The Senī-gbarāṇā of Jaipur specialised in the dāgara-vāni style of the dhruvapada. “In Lucknow, Vārānaśī and Rāmpur, two lines of the senī-gbarāṇā became very famous. The line of Bilās Khān specialised in the dhruvapada of gauḍabāra-vāni, although they took up the dāgara-vāni to some extent. The Senī-musicians of the line of Miśrī Singhji were specialists in the dāgara and khāṇḍāra vānīs. Among other gbarāṇās of dhruvapada, which grew up with the teachings of the Senī-musicians or of the disciples of Haridās Swāmī, the musicians of Betiẏā based their dhruvapadas on the khāṇḍāra-vāni, and the famous musicians of Viśnupur made gauḍabāra-vāni the basis of their music. The vocalists of Mathurā mainly sang the dhruvapadas of dāgara-vāni. Another famous gbarāṇā of dhruvapada led by Ustād Bāhrām Khān, flourished in Rājasthān”.¹

Now, it can be said that dhruvapada-prabandha-gānā is the basis or background of all kinds of music, khēyāl or khyāl, tappā, thumṛī, etc., and even of classico-Bengali and Bengali folk songs. So the proper culture of dhruvapada-prabandha requires to be maintained and sustained in all its purity and supreme value even in these days, so as to

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¹ Vide B. N. Roychoudhury: Hindusthānī Music and Miān Tānsen (Calcutta), pp. 6-10.
preserve the glorious tradition of śāstṛiya classical music, and to enrich the priceless treasure of art culture of India.

II

THE CULTURE OF DHRUVAPADA IN BENGAL

During the early 19th century, Chinsurā, (Hooghly) Krīṣṇanagar (Nadiā) and Murshidābād became famous as the seats of culture of classical music, and specially of dhruvapada. Ustād Mān Khān settled at Chinsurā in 1806, and nearly during the same time, Ustāds Baçe Mīān, Has-su-khān, Hardu-khān, Hīrā and Bulbul settled at Murshidābād, and Ustād Rasūl Bux settled first at the Krīṣṇanagar Rājbaṭī, and afterwards at Srīrāmpur, Hooghly. When Ustād Mān Khān came to Bengal and settled at Chinsurā in 1806 A.D., the titular Emperor Shāh Ālam II of Delhi drew his last breath (in the same year). Shāh Ālam II was a man of very weak personality, and he was extremely indifferent alike to the Hindu and Muslim Ustāds in his court. It is said that when he granted the dewānī of Bengal, Behār and Orissā to the East India Company on the 12th August, 1765, the noted Ustāds of his court, and also of Delhi and Āgrā began to migrate to different parts of India, and eventually sought refuge in different Durbārs of Muslim Nawābs and Hindu Kings and Zemindars of different parts of the country. Some say that most of them settled in Bengal during 1757 to 1806 A.D. Hāyadārā Khān went to Betiyā, Chajju Khān settled at Lucknow, and Ustād Mān Khān, and Ustāds Baçe Mīān, Has-su-khān and others came in Bengal and settled at Chinsurā and Murshidābād.
Ramachandra Seal of Chinsurā was the first and foremost student of Ustād Mān Khān, and the names of many other enthusiastic Bengali young men like Gopāl Chandra Pāchāk, Parāṇa Mukherji, Rāmakriṣṇa Pāul, Rāmakānāi Mukherjee and others are worth-mentioning in this connection. As regards the student of Ustād Rasūl Bux, the name of Rāmadās Goswāmī of Śrīrām pur is worth-mentioning and from Rāmadās Goswāmī, Harinārayaṇa Mukherji of Ṭārānasi and Nimāi Chānd Ghośāl of Śrīrām pur learnt dhruvapada. Afterwards Harinārayaṇa Mukherji learnt dhruvapada from many other Hindu and Muslim Ustāds. A Punjabi school is still prevalent at Chinsurā.

In the middle of the 19th century A.D., Calcutta became the chief centre of culture of classical music, under the patronage of Malharāja Jatindra Mohan Tagore and Sir Saurindra Mohan Tagore. A 'Saṅgīta-samāja' was established in Calcutta. At that time all the top-ranking Muslim and Hindu Ustāds of India used to assemble from time to time in different mīfles and soirees at Calcutta, and created for the lovers of music a congenial atmosphere of classical music, and specially of dhruvapada, and of those Ustāds the names of Maulā Bux (1876) of Barodā, Ustād Ali Bux, Ustād Daulat Khān of Lāhore, Hanumān Dāsjī of Gayā are worth-mentioning. Again those, who helped for the promotion of culture of dhruva-pada in Bengal, the names of Mahārāja Ananda Kishore and Mahārāja Nawal Kishore of Betiaya, Rājā Brajendra Kishore Roychondhury of Gourīpur, Mahārāja Śtīryakānta Āchārya of Mymensingh, Jagat Kishore Āchārya of Muktaṅgachā, Bābū Sāradā Prasanna Mukherji of Gobar-dāṅgā, Jaikrishna Mukherjee of Uttarapārā, Rājā Rāo Jogindra Nārāyaṇ Rāy Bāhādur of Lālgolā, Mahārāja
Jogindra Nāth Roy of Nātore, Rājā Veer-Vikrama Bāhādur of Āgoretolā stand prominent. Different styles of dhruvapada, obtained from different Ustāds of different schools, grew up in Bengal, and gradually stalwarts like Rāmśālākr Banerji, Ananta Lāl Banerjee, Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī, Jadu Bhatta, Aghore Nāth Chakravarty, Wizir Khān, Mohammed Ali Khān, Radhikā Prosād Goswāmī, Krishna Dhan Banerji, Guru Prasād Mīrā, Lakṣmī Prasād Mīrā, Rāmprasanna Banerji, Viśvanāth Dhumāri, Dānī Bābu or Satish Chandra Dutta, Gojāl Chandra Banerjee, Nikunja Behari Dutta, Mahām Chandra Mukherji, Lalit Mohan Mukherji. Girijā Sānkar Chakravurtty, and others appeared on the scene, and through their endeavour gave fresh impetus to the culture of dhruvapada in Bengal. The names of some of the living artists, those are still preserving the glorious tradition of the culture of dhruvapada in Bengal, are worth-mentioning in this connection. They are Sangitānāyaka Gopeśwara Banerjee (died in 1963), Surendranāth Banerjee, Amarnāth Bhattachāryya, Yogindra Nāth Banerjee, Dhirendranath Bhattachāryya (died in 1964) and others.

The early compositions of Kaviguru Rabindranāth Tagore have a leaning towards dhruvapada, and he also learnt dhruvapada from the Ustāds like Vishnū Chakravurtty, Śrīkanṭha Sīnha, and some others in his early youth. In fact, the vestiges of the graceful technique and mode of presentation of dhruvapada, as taught by the old masters, linger among the musicians, who still hold fast to the culture of the sombre and graceful type of Indian music. It is firmly

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1 Rabindranath’s precious contributions in the domain of Indian music have been discussed in the Appendix III.
asserted that Bengal is still preserving the sacred tradition of culture of *dhruvapada* in its true perspective and colour, and in all its beauty, grandeur, and sublime aesthetic lustrue.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER IX.

I

(क) पाष्येेंचेघ: (7th-9th or 7th-11th century A.D.):

अथ सालगुरुधर्मां वच्यो—

आदिद्रुवा (धृव ११) ततो मद्यायमः न लम्बकः।

भ्रष्टताली रासःक एकतालीयः कौरितिताः।

आदी पादी समगबुधुतः भावासामी ततलकाष्टो वाष्पिलततवृद्धिः स्तरः झाडुवाहेडः पदसहितो नेश एव त्विवाराः

सः ह्यागीरा स्तरायूर वुन्नीस्येते चोद्माहांसः।

स धृव्ये एकादसारः

शाशिद्राहंससादधर्मः नालोतप्लालसरसादरायानाताः।

हरिशरारपविशधिशा एकार्यः ते कमादुकः।

—सचीतसादसारः (Trivandrum ed. 1925). IV, 191-193

(ख) शाश्र्बीश्वरः (early 13th Century A.D.):

शुद्धशयायालगबंति द्विपिवांशु उच्छमते।

एलादिः शुद्ध हर्षयुक्तो धृव्यादिः सालगो मतः।

—सचीत-रश्यकारः ४७३०-३१२१

(ग) कलिनाथः (1446-1465 A.D.):

श्रायालगश्यास्य शुद्धसादसारः लक्ष्यति मन्यमतीलक्ष्यति लक्ष्योः। एलादिरितिः।

एलामार्गश्चकाताश्रीश्यामसरसादधिमिगतिः शुद्धसुधा दत्तकः। धृव्यादिरितिः। वच्च्यानां श्रवसम्भव्य वच्च्यामार्गश्चकाताश्रीश्यामसरसादधिमिगतिः सालगहुलोकामितः।

सालग इति श्रायालगश्यास्याप्रथमप्रायोहिंशि लोकविनद्यो श्रुद्धुत्त प्रथ्यात्त्वेति बेदितत्वः।
(c) राजा रघुनाथ: (1614 A.D.):

|| सालगुत्तकश्रेणम् ||

सुक्रप्रवेशो विविधोऽवश्य कुलदेशायाय गुलाबवर्धीयम्।

इति विनिवेशवालोऽस्य निःसंशयः। प्रकोष्ठः: प्रकोष्ठः: फिल शुद्धसुहः।||

* * *

श्रेयसायस्य फिल शनि एष शुद्धपार्थिवोऽवश्य वशस्त्रीयः।

धृवं समारम्भः फिके गायक यावदूपेतः सालगुत्तकश्रेणः।||

|| श्रुत्यविश्लेषम् ||

गेयो हि दुस्कर्षाक्रमणी। बाजारविश्वासः बाजारबद्धानत्यविश्वासः।

साधनतत्रात्: किल खरेष एकः बाजारसुधाक्रमणयुक्तः।||

बाजार्विश्वासः हि खलु गेयोऽवश्य बाजारसुधाक्रमणसमाविश्वासः।

आयोगके तः नुसरत कार्यसंशोधकः। नुराक्षादः।||

द्वितीयके तः नुसरत बाजारबद्धानत्यविश्वासः फिके बाजारसुधाक्रमण॥

साधनतत्रात्: किल खरेष एकः बाजारसुधाक्रमणसमाविश्वासः।||
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— महानाट्यम् (Music Academy, Madras, 1940), Slokas, 800-803 and 808-812 (pp. 340-341).

(र) शेखरमली (1620 A.D.):
रुद्रा सालगुङ्घराष्ट्रायणिगीतमेत्तःकालः।
भरत: सालगुङ्घराष्ट्र गीतमल सिद्धान्ते॥
तद सालगुङ्घरत्ति शब्दसार्थः प्रदर्शये॥
सूड इति देवीरायचे सीतलवाचकः॥

* * *

गच्छतीति यज्ञसामाच्छायालग इति न्युतः॥
छायालगेति शब्दाप्रभुः सालग इलामु:॥

* * *

स च सालगुङ्घराष्ट्र भुवादि: साध्या मतः॥
भायो भुवुलतो मठः प्रतिमेती निमाणः॥
अभृतालकः रास एकतालीति न कमाल॥
तालापि प्रथथोपिद्विधः वलकणशुचये॥
बादी खरंदूर्यं कायन्तिभिषाराधाकुकः॥
तत्त्वं खरंदूर्यमुद्माहो श्रीभक्तविद्वतनतर्मः॥
उद्योगसवरः: किंविदुवाखरसमवितमः॥
खयं कृष्णदिनसंखरं खरंदूर्यं द्विरेपमिनये॥
ततो द्रिखणं ब्रम्होऽत्तु: खुलनामाशिवतः स्मृतः॥
उद्योगसवरः: श्रीभोग इति केचन॥
उद्योगसवरः: च न्यासो चलसह त्वः॥
तं च भुव बादविवं वदति भरतादय:॥

— वनसेराबादीप्राकाशिका, गीतप्रकरण, ४-१४.
II

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DHRUVA-GĀNA AND THE DHRUVA-GĀNA

The students of history of Indian music should know that two ancient types of song, dhruva and dhruva are not one and the same thing, but are different from each other in types, structures and applications. Because the former is the nibaddha prabandha type of song, included in the sālaga-sūḍa category, whereas the later is purely the stage-song of the nibaddha type of metrical song, meant for the dramatic performances. The dhruva-gāna has been described by Mataligā (5th-7th century A.D.) Pārśvadeva (7th-9th or 9th-11th century A.D.), Śāraṅgdeva (early 13th century A.D.) and other later authors in their respective works on music. Similarly the stage-song, dhruva has been elaborately described by Bharata in the Nātyaśāstra (in the 32nd chapter, Vātānasī edition). Regarding the dhruva-gāna, Śāraṅgdeva has said,

Śuddha chāyālagaśceti dvividhalḥ sūḍa ucyate//
Elādiḥ śuddha ityukto dhruvādi sālago mataḥ//

*    *    *

Ādyo dhruvastato maṇṭha-pratimaṇṭha-nisārakāḥ//

*    *    *

Ekadhātur-dvikhāṇḍaṁ ca khaṇḍamuccataram paraṁ/
Stutyanāmāṅkitaścāsau kvaciduccaikākhaṇḍakah//
Udgrāsyādyakhaṇḍe ca nyāsaḥ sa-dhruvako bhavet// etc.

—Ratnākara, IV. 310-318.

Kallināth has said in the commentary: "ete dhruvādayah saptāpi melāpakābhāvat tridbätavah", i.e., the dhruva-gāna is possessed of three music-parts or dhātus. Sīthhabhupāla
has also said: “sālaga-sūḍaṃ lakṣayitumāḥa—śuddha iti/ sūḍo dvividhah; śuddhaḥ chāyālagasceti/ * * dhruvādiḥ sālagah; sālaga-chāyālagasaṃ paryāyaḥ/ (IV. 310-312)/ sālagasūḍa-prabandhānvibhajate—ādyo dhruva iti/ dhruvādiḥi sataptabhigītaḥ sālaga-sūḍa-prabandhaḥ/ tesu dhruvaṃ lakṣyati—ekadhātvitī/ etc.

The śātric dhruva-gāna or dhruvapada-prabandha-gāna or dhrapad was afterwards revived with a new vision by Rājā Mān Singh (Tomar) of Gwalior in the 15th century A.D. The dhruva-gāna is neither derived from the stage-song, dhruva-gāna, nor from the music-part, dhruva-dhātu, but it is the nibaddha prabandha type of song.

But the dhruva-gāna is an old type of nibaddha stage-song, and it has been divided into different classes. Bharata has said (in the chapter XXXII, Vārānasī edition):

Dhruveti samjāitani syut-nāradapramukhav-dvijālī/.

Ya ṭcaḥ pāṇikā gathā saptarūpāṅgameva ca/
Saptarūpaṃ pramānaṃ hi sa dhruvetyabhismajñītaḥ//.
Ebhyaśvangaḥbhya uddhṛtya nāṇa-chandaḥkṛtāni ca/
Dhruvaḥvaṃ yāni gacchanti tāni vyakṣāmyahāṃ dvijāḥ//.

—Naṭyaśāstra, 32.1-3.

The dhruva-gāna is also known as the gāndharva;
“dhruva-vidbāna ca mayā suvra-tāla-padātmakaṃ/gāndharva- metat katbitaṃ mayaḥ hi pūruṣaḥ yaduktaṃ tviba nāradeno”
(NS.32.483-84). The sixty-four dhruvaḥ evolved from the jātis or jātirāga-gānas: “caturṣaṣṭihr-dhruvānaṃ ca vijñeyo mūla-jātayab” (32.326). Bharata and the commentator Abhinavagupta have again divided the stage-song, dhruva
into five main varieties for their dramatic uses and applications, and they are:

Praveśa-ākṣepa-nīṣkrāma-prāśādikamathantaram/
Gānāṁ paścavidham jñeyaṁ dhruvāyoga-samanvitan\ /\1

Among these five dhruvās (1) the praveśa-dhruvā is the song of entrance in the stage, or it can be said as the entry song (‘pātrasya praveśa’). (2) The ākṣepa-dhruvā is the song used to reveal flavour of a particular situation (‘rasāntarākṣepārthamākṣepa-gānam’). (3) The nīṣkrāma-dhruvā is the song used to be sung when the actor used to walk out of the stage. It can be said to be the exit song (‘pātrasya nīṣkrāmane tu nīṣkrāma-gānam’). (4) The prāśādikā-dhruvā is the song, designed to convey to the audience in an attractive form, the inward feeling of an actor so as to touch the heart of the audiences. (‘praviśṭas-yāntargatam cittayāttim sāmājikāṇ prati prāśādayitum prathayitum prāśāda-gānam’). (5) The antara-dhruvā is the song introduced during the interval of the actor; moving and walking about, and inspecting something on the stage (‘antarami gati-parikramaṇa-nirūpaṇādi tatra yad giyate tadantaram gānam’). Besides them, there were other varieties of dhruvā-gāna. But it should be remembered that all kinds of dhruvā-gāna were meant for or applicable to the dramatic performances, and this type of the stage-

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1 Bharata has mentioned them as:

प्रावेशिको तु प्रथमा द्वितीयाःचेष्ठिको स्वहता ।
प्रासादिको दृष्टीयच च चतुर्थाः चान्तरा ध्रुवा ॥
नेष्टामिको च विद्येया पक्षाः च ध्रुवा हुथः ।
एततेऽव वस्त्र वच्याभ्यां हम्बेदृष्टिनिदर्शनम् ॥

song is quite different from the dhruvā-gāna of the sālaga-sūda prabandha-class.

III

A VIEW

Let me mention and also quote, in this connection, a view, forwarded by an erudite scholar, sīr Ṭhākur Jaideva Singh. This view was given in his paper on Prabandha and Dhruvapada, read in the All India Radio Symposium, held at New Delhi. He has forwarded:

"The first historical reference that we get about dhruvapada is its association with Rājā Mān Singh, Tomar of Gwalior. He ascended the throne in 1486 A.D. He did not invent dhruvapada. He only gave it an impetus. It must have taken about hundred years for the development of this style of musical composition before such a connoisseur of music, as Rājā Mān Singh could extend it to his patronage and take such a great interest in its development. We may, therefore, safely say that the dhruvapada style of composition started some time about the middle of the 14th century. The question is whether dhruvapada was entirely an innovation or simply an evolution of an earlier form of composition.

"A careful reading of the Saṅgīta-sāstras will at once show that dhruvapada was only an evolution of the prabandha form of composition. The word ‘prabandha’ literally means anything well-knit or well-fitted. It is a blanket term for ‘composition’. But in music it came to be used in the restricted sense of composition of a particular kind. Sāraṅgdeva, the great musicologist of the
13th century has devoted a whole chapter to 'prabandha' in his Saṅgīta-Ratnākara. Jayadeva has written his Gita-govinda in the style of prabandha. He graced the court of Lākṣmaṇa Sena, who was king of Western Bengal and flourished in the 12th century A.D. At the very outset of his Kāvya, Jayadeva says that he is writing a 'prabandha': "Śrī vāsudeva-ratī-keli-kathā-sametam ārto jayadeva-kaviḥ prabandhaṁ" (I.2). We have thus an evidence of the prabandha form of vocal music from about the 11th century A.D.

"We would do well, first of all, to ascertain the meaning of the word 'dbhūva'. The word means 'fixed', 'determinate', 'definite'. Dhrūvapada, therefore, means a song in which the padas or words are well-set in a definite structure or pattern. While it is difficult to find a regular use of dhrūvapada earlier than the fifteenth century, dhrūva in the sense of a definitely set pattern of a song is, at least, as old as Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. Commenting in the word dhrūva in "gānam-paṅcavidham jñeyam-dhrūvāyoga-samanvitaṁ". In the 30th stanza of the 6th chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra, Abhinavagupta comments: "dhrūvā gītādhāro niyatah pada-samāhah" (p. 270, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda). Dhrūvā means the basis of song in which words are set according to a definite pattern. The word 'dbhūva' occurs in the Nāṭyaśāstra, and not dhrūva, because it has been used as an adjective of gītī which is feminine. Bharata himself was concerned only with the dhrūvās that were of

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1 The commentator, Pujārī Goswāmī has also said: "एतह श्रीगीतगोविन्दायां प्रबंधः प्रकटेण वाच्यः भोजस्वाय इदमस्मिन्दिति प्रबंधस्त क्रोऽति प्रकाशयति"
use in the drama, but he admitted that there were *dhruvās* of other kinds also:

Yā ṛcaḥ pāṇikā gāthā saptarūpāṅgameva ca/
Saptarūpā-pramāṇaṃ ca tadhruveyabhisānjitaṃ./.

—NS. Kāvyamālā ed. p. 532

"He says that all the ṛcas, pāṇikas and gāthās are ‘dhruva’. Again he admits that there are many varieties of *dhruva* according to jāti, sthāna, prakāra, pramāṇa and nāma:

Jātisthānām pramāṇañcak prakāro nāma caiva hi/
Jñeyā dhruvānām nātyajñairvikalpāḥ pañcahetukāḥ./


**Dhruva**, in the sense of a musical composition of a definite pattern, is very old. Only as adjective of jāti it was known as *dhruvā*; as an adjective of *pada*, it is known as *dhruva*. With regard to the musical pattern of the various *dhruvas*, used in Bharata’s time, it is difficult to say what it was like, for we have no definite example of it before us. And so we cannot say whether there was any *dhruva* in Bharata’s time which was similar to modern *dhruvapada* as a piece of musical composition.

"But the structure of prabandha, as given in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, is fairly clear. Let us see what Śāraṅdeva has to say on this composition:

प्रश्रावतव धाँहुः स चतुर्वां निहिरपि: I
प्रश्चलव ... ... II
उद्धारः प्रथमो भागस्तो मेलापाकः स्मृत: II
धु कलालः धु बृ: प्रब्धादामोगस्वत्रित्मिसो मत: II
धु वामोगान्तरे जातो धातुरस्योन्तराणिप: II
स दु ख सालगुह्यमधुकेश्वेव दुस्यते I
"What is dhrūva? Kallinātha says: "भुजनात नित्यलवादित्वेषः सकलप्रवचनेष्वनयायः। तेन द्विभासु प्रवचनेषु मेलापकामोगब्रित्रहातुदुः प्रवचनेषु सर्वेः मेलापकामोगिष्ठयां परिलायाः। भुजन न करिविदं परिलयाः."।

Simhābhupāla adds: "भ्रुवलवासिशत्वादितिः उद्धारान्तरात्मोगान्तर च गानात।" Dhrūva is so called because it is a permanent or immovable component of a prabandha, and also because it is repeated after udgrāha and ābhoga i.e. it is the refrain of the song. In a prabandha which consists of only two dītus, melāpaka and ābhoga are eliminated, but udgrāha and dhrūva must be there; in a prabandha of three dītus, melāpaka may be eliminated, but not dhrūva.

"The prabandha form of music enjoyed great popularity upto the 13th century. From the fourteenth century, dhrūvapaḍa began to take its place. Dhrūvapaḍa was in its hey-day from the 15th to 18th century. The prabandha form slowly disappeared. It only survived for some time as an antique curio in some of the Vaiṣṇavite temples.

It is thus clear that dhrūvapaḍa has evolved out of the prabandha. Paṇḍit Bhātkhanḍe quotes in his Comparative Study of Some of the Leading Musical Systems, the lakṣāṇa of dhrūvapaḍa as given by Bhāvabhaṭṭa in his Anūpa-saṅgīta-ratnākara. Bhāvabhaṭṭa was employed in the court of Anūp Singh, the Ruler of Bikāner from 1674-1709 A.D. The quotation is reproduced below:

अथ भ्रु बप-लग्मेः
गोविंदमध्यदेशीयभायासाधिहिन्दस्वराजितमेः
द्विभासवध्यरसेः नगमारीक्षरध्यायमेः
भ्रुहारस-भावायं रगळापपदांसतमेः
पादान्त्यात्रापायायमेः पादात्यायुगाव त ता
प्रतिपयं बल बद्धतेवं पादवद्यायमेः
उद्धारप्रकाशमोगान्तरेभु बप-स्मृतमेः
"The most interesting thing in this quotation is that though the names of the component parts of dhruvapada had changed since the 15th century, Bhāvabhāṭṭa, even in 17th century is describing dhruvapada in terms of prabandha, viz. udgrāha, dhrūva, antara and ābboga. This is a further proof of the fact that dhruvapada evolved out of the prabandha. ** In conclusion, it may be said that dhruvapada is an evolved form of prabandha style. In it, the musical idea stretches its wings in the sthāyī, soars up in the antarā, goes in the saṅcari, and finally with a broad sweep of notes in the ābboga furls down its wings".
CHAPTER X

THE EVOLUTION OF KHEYĀL AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

Kheyāl or khyāl (kheyāl in Bengali and khyāl in Hindi and Urdu) seems to be an Arabic term, meaning ‘thought’, ‘imagination’, ‘fancy’, ‘ideation’, ‘imaginative conception’, ‘respect’, ‘understanding’, etc., and, therefore, kheyāl or khyāl connotes the idea of some sort of song or verse which is imaginative and conceptual in its nature, or an execution at will, and this word or term has been imported to India through the medium of Persian language. In fact, the term kheyāl or khyāl or khyāl connotes the ideas of imagination and imaginative composition, and from the meaning or connotation it can further be inferred that kheyāl or khyāl is imaginative in conception, artistic and decorative in execution and romantic in appeal. Its theme or subject-matter is interpretative, and its form and method of execution are classico-romantic. In comparison with the dhruvapada-prabandha type of songs, the kheyāl-prabandha is imaginative and creative, whereas dhruvapada is concentrative, contemplative and majestic.

Controversy rages round the origin or evolution of kheyāl or khyāl, and its term or name. Various theories have been advanced in this regard: (1) First, some trace its origin or evolution to qāwāli or qāvvāli type of regional love-cum-devotional songs. They are of opinion that some wandering Qāwāl or Qāvvāl singers were already in existence in different parts of Northern India, even before the time of Sultān Ālā-ud-dīn Khaljī and Āmīr Khasrau or
Amir Khasroo, who lived in the 13th-14th century A.D., during Sultan Allahudin's reign. The term kheyal or khyal was derived from the name qawali or qauvali, — a type of song of those wandering Qawals. (2) Second, some say that the result of admixture of decorative principle and word-structure of melody gave rise to the new and novel form of kheyal. (3) Third, some hold that from the musical composition (prabandha), kaiwada, possessed of three musical parts (dhatus) and bhavanjiati with three limbs (angas) of the 12th-13th century A.D., evolved the new form of kheyal. (4) Fourth, some scholars are of opinion that not only kaiwada, but other prabandhas like ekatali and rasaka are also the fountain-head of kheyal. (5) Fifth, some others again argue that kheyal was designed after the sastric akshiptika, which has been described by Sarangdeva in the Sañgita-Ratnakara. The akshiptika is akin to pallavi of the South Indian system of music.

There are again differences of opinion regarding the innovator or originator of kheyal. Some say that the Indo-Persian scholar, Amir Khasrau (Khasroo) was an accomplished musician as well as a musicologist, and that he himself was conversant with the popular type of song, the qawali or qauvali of the Qawals. It is said that he introduced kheyal with a particular style of execution among the music-loving people of the then society. But most of the scholars have refuted this view, and consequently there arose some controversial theories regarding the innovator of kheyal. Captain Willard has said in his Treatise on the Music of Hindostan (1834) that kheyal or khyal was composed chiefly in the language, spoken in the district of Khyrabad, * * "Sooltan Hoosyan Sharque of Jaunpur was the innovator of this class of song". A. H. Fox-
Strangways has said in his *Music in Hindostan* (1914) that the commonest type of *kheyāl* was a later form of *dhruvapada* or *dhrupad*, supposed to have emanated from Muhammed (Sultan) Sharque in 1401-1440 A.D. Some hold that it was Sultan Hussain Sharque who developed *kheyāl* on the basis of an older form of folk song that was prevalent in North India in the early part of the mediaeval times. But most of the scholars are of opinion that neither Amir Khasrau nor Sultan Hussain Sharque was the innovator of *kheyāl*, but it was an outcome of the gradual process of evolution that was at work during the reign of any one of the Sultans like Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, Zālāl-ud-dīn Firuz, Alā-ud-dīn Khalji and the Tughluq Rulers, supported by the inventive geniuses of the Muslim and Indo-Persian musicians. Some others again maintain that it was Niyāmat Khān, sadāraṅg, the court-musician of Sultan Muhammed Shāh of the 18th century A.D., who really designed the novel type of *kheyāl* either on the structures of some old śāstric prabandhas or on his individual genius, with the mixture of different languages of that time.

Now let us discuss the views, set forth above as to their soundness. Regarding the prabandha, kaivāḍa, which is recognised as the source of origin of *kheyāl* by some scholars, Sāraṅgdeva has said that kaivāḍa is possessed of two dhātus, dhruvā and udgrāha, and it ends in udgrāha.

Pātaiḥ syātām dhruvādghrāhau kaivāḍe nyāsanaṁ grahe/
Sārthakair-arthalīnaśca pātaiḥ sa dvividho mataḥ//

The commentator Kallināth has explained kaivāḍa with its characteristics as; “kaivāḍa iti karapāta-pradhanatvat
tadbhavo'pabhramśapadeneyaṁ saṁjnā; karapātastra vādyādb-
yāye vyaksyante”. 

Sīṃhabhupāla has mentioned that when kaivāḍa-prabandha is possessed of pāta, aksara (letters) and dbātus like dhruva and udgrāha, and the graha ends in udgrāha, it is known as kaivāḍa: “pātāksara-dhruvadhrābāh kartyarvayau graha udgrābe samāptirya sa kaivāḍaḥ.” Kaivāḍa is of two kinds, sārthaka and anarthaka, and these are again divided into two respectively.

From Kallināṭh’s commentary we come to know that among the four varieties of the kaivāḍa-prabandha, the latter one or two are possessed of three music-parts (dbātus), and three aṅgas like pāta, pada and tāla, and so they belong to the category of the bhāvanī-jāti: “pātapada-tālā-baddhatvātṛāṅgo bhāvanijātimān”. Regarding the bhāvanī-jāti, Sīṃhabhupāla has said: “tribhirange-rūpanibaddhā bhāvani”. However, from the text of the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara we find that though the simple form the kaivāḍa-prabandha is possessed of two dbātus and two aṅgas, yet the mixed forms are not so, and, therefore, judging from all the forms of the kaivāḍa-prabandha it can be said that kheyaḷ or khyāḷ is not an offshoot or changed form of the kaivāḍa-prabandha.

Some say that kheyaḷ evolved from the prabandhas like rāsaka or ekatāli, because both the prabandhas are possessed

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1 Kallināṭh has further informed us that kaivāḍa-prabandha can be embellished with three dbātus, (including the ābhoga-dbātu, amputated with the names of the netā and the gātā, and then it will be included in the category of the bhāvani jāti. But generally it is found that the kaivāḍa-prabandha is possessed of only two dbātus. Paṇḍit Ahobala has said in the Saṅgīta-pārijāta,
‘Udgrāha-dhruvakau yasya pātaireva vinirmitau/
Padaīḥ kṛtvāntarābhogau kaivāḍo’tyanta śobhitah//
—Saṅgīta-pārijāta, 555.
of two dhātus, and are included in the category of the tārāvali-jati, possessed of two aṅgas. But this view seems to be untenable, because merely two dhātus of any ancient prabandha and two dhātus of kheyl are not the sufficient reason and proof for the similarity of the said two types.

Further it is sometimes suggested that kheyl or Khyāl evolved from the settings of the nibaddha type of ākṣiptikā which is possessed of svara and pada: “ākṣiptikā svara-pada-grathita kathitā vudhāḥ” (SR. II.26). The mārga type of tāla like caccatputa is used in ākṣiptikā. The form of ākṣiptikā is different from those of alāpa and rūpaka, and this has clearly been explained by Kallināth, while commenting on the śloka: “* * abhivyaktiryatra dīṣtvā * * rūpakām tadavadeva...vidārikām” (SR. II. 24-25). But kheyl is not an off-shoot of the nibaddha-gīya, ākṣiptikā for many reasons, rather it can be said that the rūpaka-prabandha is the forerunner of kheyl. Regarding the rūpaka-prabandha, Śāraṅgdeva has said,

Rāgeṇa dhātu-mātubhyām cātā tāla-layauduvaiḥ//
Nūtani rūpakam nūtanaṃ rāgāḥ sthāyantaraихraijnavah//

Regarding it, Kallināth has said: “nūtana-rāgādi-nirmittatādṛupakam navaṃ bhavatityarthaḥ/ raunādi-dharmayoge siddhārūpāṇaṃ rāgādīnaṃ nūtanatvam kathamityāṃkṣāyāmāha-rāgaḥ sthāyantaraियदी”//. Similarly Sīrṇhabhopāla has said: “navaṇa rāgena dhātu-mattvā-dibbiṣca tānai-rūpakasya nūtanatvam/* * rāgāṃśa-bhedena dhātusthāyah sthāyantaraिय, tai rāgena rāgo nava bhavati”//

Further Śāraṅgdeva has said,

Dhātu rāgāmśa-bhedena mātostu navatā bhavet/,
Pratipādyaviśeṣena rasālathkāra-bhedatah/,
Laya-graha-viśeṣena tālānāṃ navatā matā//
From both the commentaries of Kallināth and Siñhabhupāla we know: “rāgāṃśabhedena dhāturnavo bhavatī/ rasālaṃkāra-bhedena māturnavo bhavatī/laya-graha-bhedena tālo navah/tālo viśramvasya tulyena sāmyena viśrāmena vā layo navah/, chanda-ādibhirnavairacanā navā bhavatī”. From these it is understood that the rūpaka-prabandha is a musical composition, which is novel and original in conception. The new forms of composition, rhythm, tempo, etc. are designed with different meters and aesthetic sentiments and moods. While comparing kheyāl with rūpaka-prabandha, Paṇḍit S. N. Ratanjankar has said: “Khyāla is a Persian word and in the context of our topic would mean imagination, a spontaneous idea, independent of traditional or accepted usages. The ‘Roopakaṃ’ a type of songs referred to in the old Sanskrit Granthas, appears to have in it the germ of style”. Further he has said: “Roopakaṃ is a musical composition in which there is scope for creating novelty, something original out of the trodden path in the Rāga as well in the wordings of the composition, by emphasising passages which, though ordinarily occurring in the Rāga being sung, are prominent in some other sympathetic Rāga, by using fresh words expressing some emotion, by making changes in the Tāla and Laya. It may not therefore be too fantastic perhaps to consider the Kheyāl as an off-shoot of the Roopakaṃ type of musical compositions. Within a short time after Śāraṅgdeva the old system of music was fast receding in the background and a new one in which influence of foreign music was beginning to rush in was coming into vogue”.

This subject has been elaborately dealt by Thākur Jaideva Singh. He has opened a new vistas of investigation into the origin of kheyāl. He has said about the
evolution of kheyāl or khyāl."

"It is supposed that Āmir Khusroo started this style or composition, and it did not exist in Indian music before. Āmir Khusroo flourished in the 13th century. Was there no indigenous style of composition in the 13th century which used all kinds of graces? Sātraṅgdeva’s Saṅgīta-Ratnākara was written in the 13th century itself. Let us turn to it for an answer to this question. Sātraṅgdeva mentions five types of musical composition viz. śuddha, bhinnā, gaudī, vesarā and sādhāraṇī. He says: "śuddha syāduvair-lalitaiḥ svaraṁ/ bhinnā vakraiḥ svaraṁ sukhśmaṁ-madhurair-gamakāiryutā". The main contention of Ṭhākur Shāhiḥ is that kheyāl or khyāl evolved or rather developed in a new and novel form from the ancient śāstraic sādhāraṇī-gīti, and its charming style evolved from the rūpakālapaṭi that was current in the 12th-13th century A.D. Ṭhākur Shāhiḥ has stated about his personal view: "I maintain that the so-called khyāl style of musical composition is nothing but only a natural development of the sādhāraṇī-gīti, which used the exquisite features of all the styles. It is this sādhāraṇī-gīti with the predominant use of bhinnā in it that became the khyāl".

Now the type of kheyāl or khyāl is known by its special charming style or method of execution. In Mataṅga’s Bṛhaddeśi, we find five (even seven) kinds of rāgagītis which were possessed of different qualities as well as different methods of presentation. Sātraṅgdeva has also mentioned those rāgagītis in his Saṅgīta-Ratnākara of the early 13th century A.D. Sātraṅgdeva has said that five grāmarāgas, accompanied by five gītis or rāgagītis, were current even from Bharata’s time (2nd century A.D.). Śrīhābhupāla has stated: "grāmarāgaḥ pañca-prakāra
bhavanti/ kena vīśeṣena teṣām pānca-prakārātvaṁ? ata āha—pānca-gīti samāśrayāditi”’. Bharata has described four grāmarāgas, which were used in songs, accompanied by four gītis like māgadhi, ardha-māgadhi, sambhūvītā and prthulā. (vide Sīṁhabhupāla’s commentary on Sārāṅgdeva’s “pāncaadbhā grāmarāgāḥ syuḥ” etc., SR. Ādyar ed., vol. II, p. 4). Regarding the characteristic of those gītis (rāgagītis), Sārāṅgdeva has said:

"* * śuddhā syādvakair-lalitaiḥ svaraiḥ, Bhinnā vaktraiḥ svaraiḥ sukṣmaire-madhurair-gamakairyutā//
Gāḍhāisthānā-gamakairohāti-lalitaiḥ svaraiḥ/, Akhanḍitasthitaiḥ sthānattaye gauḍī mataḥ satāṁ/
Ohāṭi kampitair-mandrair-mṛdu-drutataraiḥ svaraiḥ//,
Hakāroukārayoṇa hṛṇṇyaste civuke bhavet/
Vegavadbhūtaiḥ svarair-varnacatuṣke’pyatiraktitāḥ/
Vega-svaraiḥ rāgagītair-vesarā cocayate vudhāiḥ//,
Caturgītītāśriḥ lakṣma śrītā sādhāraṇī mataḥ/
—Ratnākara, II. 3-7.

The sādhāraṇī-gīti was “an eclectic style of composition which included within itself the excellent points of all other four styles”. It was more charming than all other styles, because it was full of gamakas, pleasant, tender with sweet idioms and delicate nuances of emotion (kāku). The kheyl or khyāl “adopted the style for its composition i.e. it embodied within itself the excellent features of all the styles and had a predominance of the bhinnā style i.e. it exploited all the gamakas without bothering about their names, khaṭkā, murkī, meend, (mṛda), kampa, āndolana—everything was beautifully woven in its structure”.

14
Further it must be remembered that the embellishment of the kheyl is somewhat similar to that of the ancient śāstric rūpakālapti. Now, what do we mean by a rūpakālapti? Śārāṅgdeva has defined rūpakālapti thus:

Rūpakasthena rāgena tālana ca vidhiyate/
Yā proktā rūpakālaptiḥ sā punardvividha bhavet/ /

—Ratnākara, III. 197.

Śūndhabhupāla has made it explicit when he has said: "pravandhabsthena rāgena tālana copalakṣitā yā alaptiḥ kriyate sā rūpakālaptiḥ," i.e. when alapti or ālāpa is accompanied by rāga and tāla, contained in a prabandha, it is called the rūpakālapti. Again what do we mean by an ālapti? Śūndhabhupāla has said: "yena svara-sandarbhena rāgah prakāshikriyate sā alaptiḥ/sā dividhā, rāgālaptiḥ rūpakālaptiśca! * * yā rūpaka-prabandhe elā-manṭhādayanapekṣa pravartate sā rāgālaptiḥ/sā caturbhiḥ * *" (vide the detailed commentary, SR., III. 197 and the Adyar ed. of SR., vol. II, p. 178). The rūpakālapti was the creative and imaginative song (manodharmā-saṅgita), whereas the rāgālapti was purely a technical one. The rūpakālapti was again divided into two, pratigrabhanikā and rūpakabhāṅjanī. Śūndhabhupāla has further given the definitions of the two bhāṅjanīs as: (1) "yasyāmālaptau rūpakah savishtitah prabandbāśrito yah sthāya-varṇo'uyayavastasya prabandhasya padamānena nānā-prakāro'neka-bhaṅgikah kriyate, sā sthāya-bhāṅjanī/rūpaka-bhāṅjanī lakṣayati—taiḥ padairiti/taiḥ praband basthai padaiḥ; tene prabandhausthena mānena samagrameva rūpakamanvāndhyath bhaṅgi-viśeṣena yasyāmālaptau-gamako gayet, sā rūpaka-bhāṅjanī" (p. 18o). The term sthāya connotes the idea of melodic phrase or a phrase of a musical composition. But the word sthāya, that occurs in the sthāya-bhāṅjanī, means "a part of the composition itself".
From the commentary of Sīnhabhūpāla it is understood that the sthāya-bhaṅjanī connotes the idea of a well-marked creative imagination, whereas the rūpakabhāṅjanī means that an artist “is not tied down to the tānas, occurring only in the composition that he is embellishing or singing, but also uses other tānas (tāṅntaraṁ), appropriate to that particular rāga, embellished with gamakas, etc.” So by a close observation it is found that the embellishments, rendered in the kheyāl or khyāl type of songs, were also used with the sāstric bhaṅjanīs, sthāya and rūpaka.

Regarding āksiptikā, rūpaka and ālapti, as mentioned previously, I would like to draw the attention of the readers to Kallināth’s commentary on the śloka: “abhivyaktiryata dṛṣṭā sa rāgālāpa ucyate/rūpakaṁ tadavadeva ** āksiptikā svara-pada grathitā **” (SR., II. 24-25). There Kallināth has drawn the marks of distinction among those three musical elements, and has said: “ayamarthah—apanyāseṣaviramyāikākāreṇa pravṛttā ālāpaḥ, sa eva panyāseṣu viramya pravṛttam rūpakamiti/āksiptiketi nibaddha-gitiibhe dah/ ** svara-pada-grathitā, śadja pūnopetaiḥ padaiḥ padārtha-vācakaiḥ śabder-grathitā racitai/pada tālādyāksipta tvādaāksiptiketyanvarthai juddbair-matāṅgādibhiḥ kathitā” (p. 21). The rūpakālapti is sometimes different in its nature and embellishment from those of āksiptikā, pure rūpaka and ālāpa or ālapti. And it has also been shown a distinction between a prabandha and a rūpaka, because a prabandha lays emphasis upon the beauty of ‘form’ and a rūpaka on the beauty of ‘creative fancy’. So, regarding evolution of kheyāl or khyāl, it can be said that it developed upon the already existing ancient structure of the sādhārani-giti, having its basis on rūpakālapti for the imaginative and creative style.
So kheyal is neither altogether a new or foreign importation in Indian music, nor did Āmīr Khusrāu invent it in the 13th century A. D., rather it was current mostly among the Muslim musicians of the Arab-Persian stock, known as the Kāwāls. The Kāwāls were adepts in the art and culture of qāwālī type of regional songs in rapid tempo (druta laya), and their fanciful mode of singing used to employ only 'qaua.' "The word qaua," says Thākur Jaideva Singh, "means the same as the Sanskrit word vācana. Though both qauna and vācana are words of wide application, meaning only word or statement, in music both of them have got a restricted sense. Just as in Hinduism, singing a vācana or vāni or ṣabdā means singing a mystic or devotional song, even so in Islam qauvāli or singing qauna means a mystic song in accordance with the orthodox belief of Islam". It is a historical fact that Āmīr Khusrāu was much interested in qāwālī or quvālī, and he mastered this type as well as composed many imaginative verses or songs. He also admitted this fact in his monumental work, Nuh Sipir. Daulat Shāh has mentioned in his Account the personal statement of Khusrāu thus: "I have written three volumes of poetry, and my musical compositions (qāwālī, gazel, etc.) would also amount to three volumes, if they could be reduced to writing". Āmīr Khusrāu flourished in the 13th century A. D., and at the same time Sārangdeva flourished and composed his epoch-making treatise on music, Saṅgīta-Ratnākara (early 13th century). Āmīr Khusrāu was a man of extraordinary merit and intelligence, and he was well-versed in Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit, and other languages. So it might be the fact that, being a scholar and a music-loving man himself, he was quite aware of the colourful form of the śāstric sādharaṇī-rāgagīti, together
with the imaginative style of the rūpakālapti, full of so much embellishment, as described in Śārṅgdeva's Ratnākara. It is most probable that he thought it better to designate the fanciful type and style of qāwāli of his time as kheyāl or khyāl for better understanding and sweet rendering. But we do not know whether he can be credited for doing that. And if that be so, then it is also possible that the newly introduced type and style gradually attracted the attention of all music and beauty-loving peoples of that time and, consequently attained refinement through gradual novel process during the time of the Sharqui Rulers in the 15th century A.D.

The Sharqui Rulers were great lovers as well as patrons of fine arts like architecture, painting and music, and so it can be assumed that kheyāl or khyāl got their support, and it was much improved and better understood during the time of Sultān Husain Sharqui. During Akbar's time, in the 16th-17th century A.D., it was also nurtured by top-ranking musicians of refined and elegant taste, and it is said that the master musicians like Sūraj Khān, Chānd Khān, Bāz Bahādur, Rupamati and others of the time were much interested in the culture of kheyāl; though it did not enjoy Royal patronage like dhruvapada, and, therefore, it remained outside the pale of Royal courts and aristocratic societies of the time. A very few scholar again believe that kheyāl was appreciated by the Muslim Rulers and even by Akbar himself. It might be possible that kheyāl was much appreciated by the musicians, music-lovers and even by the kings and the Royal families. Let me quote in this connection some suggestions, made by one of the connoisseurs of music, Thākur Jaideva Singh. He has said: “Since
the style was ornate and romantic, it did not find favour in the temples. It was mostly patronised by the Kathiks, the dancing girls and kings. The Sharqui kings of Jaunpur patronised this style to a great extent in the 14th-15th century. It was quite popular in the 16th century. There is in Braja Bhāṣā a very important work, called Chaurāśī Vaiṣṇavān-ki Vārtā. This was compiled by Śrī Gokulanātha, the grandson of Śrī Vallabhācārya. In the life of Kṛṣṇadāsa Adhikāri, who was the accountant of Śrī Nātha temple, he mentions an interesting incident: “jaura eka samaya śrīnāṭhīke bhāṇḍārame......khyāl ṭappā āghara buti jaura.......sau kṛṣṇadās bāzārme tāmāsai me jāya ṣhade bhaya”. The passage is a long one. I have quoted only the relevant portion which shows that khyāl was sung at that time. * * Śrī Vallabhācārya flourished in the 16th century. The incident mentioned above, therefore, relates to some date in the 16th century”. From this it is evident that the kheyāl or khyāl singing was much appreciated in the society during the Mahammedan period, and it was warmly appreciated by the musicians as well as music-lovers even during the time of the Emperor Akbar. And it might be quite possible that Emperor Akbar was also an appreciator of the ornate and romantic style of kheyāl, though some are of opinion that kheyāl or khyāl singing was not patronised by the Emperor.

But kheyāl gradually attracted the minds of the beauty-loving artists, the later Sultāns and Royal families. The kheyāl was highly developed during the time of Sultān Muhammed Shāh in 1719-1748 A.D., under the able guidance of Niyāmat Khān, who was an adept in both dhruvapada and veena. Niyāmat Khān won the title of
'sadāraṅg' from Sultān Muḥammed Shāh for his great talents and theoretical and practical knowledge in classical music. It is a fact that Niyāmat Khān, sadāraṅg designed the elegant classical form of kheyl in a majestic and colourful slow tempo (vilambita laya) like dhruvapada. It has already been said that he designed kheyl either on the basis of some śāstric prabandha-gītis, as delineated in the ancient Saṅgīta-śāstras, or innovated it absolutely in a new and novel form, based on the somewhat reformed type of kheyl that already existed in the society. Truly speaking, Niyāmat Khān, sadāraṅg brightened the classical form of kheyl, and made it to be appreciated by the top-ranking musicians and Royal sovereigns of that time. Thencefrom, it attained the similar high position as enjoyed by dhruvapada, and gradually came to be developed with many modifications and changes in forms and styles and decorative elements even upto the present time. In the 19th-20th century, there evolved some colourful novel styles in kheyl through individual efforts-cum-methods of execution or embellishment, and they were named after noted places (seats of culture) and artists. To name a few: Gwāliorgharānā, Āgrā-gharānā, Jaipur-gharānā, Pāṭiyālā-gharānā, Kirānā-gharānā, Allādīyā khān-gharānā, etc. Different kinds of gamaka, subtle tāna, meeda, bol or vāni, laya (tempo), etc. were the salient features constituting their differences.

The Evolution of the Gharānās.

In fact, the gharānās or different methods or schools of embellishment or improvisation of the classical songs did not only evolve through the medium of culture of the kheyl type of songs, but also evolved in connection with the dhruvapada of different vānis as well as with different
methods of recitals of the musical instruments like veena, sitar, etc. From the historical records of Indian music of the mediaeval time, and specially of the Muhammedan period, we come to know that mainly two gharanás evolved during or after the reign of Alaud-din Khaljí, the noted Páthan Ruler, and they were: (i) the kalawanta-gharaná and (ii) the qawal-gharaná. (i) The kalawanta-gharaná was established by Baiju Bawará (or Bôra), who was quite a different man from Baijunâth, the court-musician of Akbar and Brjâ Chând, the disciple of Swâmi Haridâsa. It is said that the kalawanta-gharaná was maintained and propagated by Nâyaka Gopâlalâl, who hailed from South India. (ii) The qawal-gharaná was founded by Amîr Khusrâu, the court-poet of Alaud-din Khaljí. It is said that this gharaná was also patronised by Sultan Hussian Shârquî of Jaunpur. The noted singers of the qawal or quawal and târânâ types of songs as well as the instrumentalists of that time were included in these two gharanás.

Later on, says B.N. Roychoudhury, a third gharaná was established by the instrumentalists, who used to play on senai and tabal. "With the increase of the number of female singers and dancing girls in the Royal court, there arose a fourth gharaná of the instrumentalists accompanying them. The Ustâds of the third and the fourth gharanás were called Mirâsis and Dhadis."

After the death of Miân Tânsen, the Senî school of music (Senî-gharanâ) evolved with its three main aspects; (1) the first type of the Senî-gharanâ was formed by Tânsen's youngest son, Bilâsasen (or Bilâsa Kâhn, the tâna-

1 Vide Hindusthâni Music and Miân Tânsen (Cal.), p. 25.
taraṅga) at the Delhi Durbar. That gharāṅā represented the gauḍī-vāṇī of dhruvapada. (2) The second type of the Senī-gharāṅā was formed by Tānsen's another son, Suratasen, who used to sing dhruvapada in dāgara-vāṇī. His descendants subsequently settled at Jaipur. (3) The third type of the Senī-gharāṅā was formed by Miśrī Singh, the son of Mahārāj Samokhan Singh and the husband of Sarasvatī Devī, the daughter of Miān Tānsen. Miśrī Singh's descendants formed the main school of veṇā recital, and used to present dhruvapada in both the dāgara-vāṇī and khāṇḍāra-vāṇī. Besides these three types of Senī-gharāṅā, the other famous gharāṅās were established by Bṛija Chānd and Suradāsa at Māchurā, whose disciples were the Brāhmaṇī priests, while Chānd Khān and Suraj Khān were the founders of tilmaṇḍī-gharāṅā of dhruvapada in Punjab.

To give the list of the main gharāṅās, let me take the privilege of quoting the list, forwarded by the noted Veenkāra and musicologist, B. N. Roychoudhury of Gaurīpur in his booklet, Hindusthāni Music and Miān Tānsen:

1. The Senī-gharāṅā of dhruvapada and rabāb, formed by three great brothers, Jāffar Khān, Payār Khān and Bāsat Khān of Lucknow and Vārāṇasi.

2. The Senī-veṇkāra-gharāṅā, laid by Nirmal Shāh of Lucknow.


4. The Gwālior-gharāṅā of kheyāl, formed by the two great Kheyāliyās, Hassu Khān and Nāthhu Khān.
5. The Āgrā-gharāṇā of dbāmār, formed by the descendants of Khān (Dbāmār) and who later on became disciple of Shāh Sadāraṅg.

6. The Bettiā-gharāṇā of dhruvapada, formed by the disciples of Hāidār Khān Senī of Lucknow, who were the Kathakas of Vārāṇasī as well as Muslim Ustāds of Kalpi.

7. The Biṅgupur-gharāṇā of dhruvapada, formed by Rāmaśaṅkar Bhattācārya.

8. The Tilmaṇḍi-gharāṇā of Panjabī dhruvapada singers.

9. The Lāhore-gharāṇā by the Punjābī Kheyāliyās, disciples of Shāh Sadāraṅg.

10. The Ataruti-gharāṇā of dhruvapada and kheyāl, founded by the Brāhmaṇs of Mathurā, who embraced Islam later on.

11. The Dāgar-gharāṇā, founded by Bātām Khān, a great scholar and Dhrupadiyā, and who was a descendant of a priestly line of Mathurā.

12. The Senī-gharāṇā of sitār of Jaipur, founded by the celebrated Amrita Sen.


15. The Sitār-gharāṇā of Lucknow, founded by Golām Md. Khān, a disciple of Omrāo Khān Senī”.

Further mention can be made about the Rāmpur-gharāṇā, the latest gharāṇā of India. This beautiful gharāṇā was founded by Bāḥādur Hussain and Āmīr Khān,
who were possessed of some special charms in the use of 
ālāpa, dhruvapada, dhāmār and in instrumental music. But it 
should be mentioned that during the time of Hāidar Ālī Khān of the Rāmpur State, the disciples of Bāhādur 
Hussain or Āmir Khān were followers of other gharāṇās, 
but they changed their old style (gharāṇā) and were influ-
enced by the styles of their masters and thus became identi-
fied with the Rāmpur-gharāṇā.

The Development and Culture of the Dhruvapada in Bengal:

Now, let us briefly survey the development and culture of 
kheyl in Bengal. By ‘development and culture of 
kheyl in Bengal’, I mean the historical development and 
proper culture of Hindusthānī type of kheyl in Bengal. A 
close study as well as survey of the history of music of 
Bengal reveals that the Hindusthānī type of kheyl was 
introduced in Bengal not more than fifteen or twenty decades 
ago, though the age-long Hindu-Mohammedan traditional 
culture of dhruvapada existed in Greater Bengal from 
the 15th-16th century A.D. The Greater Bengal comprised 
whole of undivided Bengal, Assam or Kāmarūpa, Behar and 
Orissā. Śrī Chaitanya appeared during the period interven-
ing the last quarter of the 15th century and first quarter of 
the 16th century A.D., and during his time, Svarūpa-
Dāmodara, Rāy Rāmānanda and other talented Vaiṣṇava 
savants were fully conversant with the Hindu-Muslim 
classical music. Most of them were both musicians and 
musicologists. The authentic book on music, Gitaprakāśa 
was written by the Vaiṣṇava savant of the Gauḍīya 
sect, Śvāmi Kṛṣṇadās in the first half of the 16th 
century i.e. during the time of Rāmānanda Rāy and
Pratāparūdra-Gajapati. During the later part of the 16th century, Ṭhākur Narottamadāś introduced the new mode of rasa or līlā kīrtana on the basis of slow or bilamvīta dhṛṇuvapada, which used to be sung in the gāderbāṭi or garānbāṭi style. Besides, many Vaiśṇava savants like Harinārāyaṇa Śuri, Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva of the Khemudi line, Kavi Nārāyaṇa and others wrote books on music which go to prove the genuine culture of classical music in Bengal. Narottamadāś, Ghanasyāma Naraharidāś and others learnt classical music from both the Hindu and Muslim Ustāds of that time. But it should be noted in this connection that even then the Hindusthāṇi type of kheyaḷ had not been introduced in Bengal.

From the early 18th century, classico-Bengali songs like ṭappā and ṭap-kheyaḷ were introduced by Kavirāṇjana Rāmaprasād Sen, Bhārata Chandra, Rāmanidhi Gupta or Nidhu Bābu and others. The ṭap-kheyaḷ was a type of song which used to be sung after the style of somewhat ṭappā and kheyaḷ mixed, and this type of classico-Bengali songs still exist in Bengal. Many musicians and composers like Haru Ṭhākur, Dewān Raghunāth Rāy, Dewān Rāmadulāl, Rāma Basu and others appeared in Bengal and enriched the treasury of Bengali songs by their valuable compositions. Though the Hindusthāṇi kheyaḷ was not in practice at that time, yet, as has been said before, the neoclassical charming and romantic types of ṭappā and ṭap-kheyaḷ, having rich artistic and aesthetic sentiments and feelings, were in practice, and they were known as the ‘Bengal style of music’. Specially Rāmanidhi Gupta brought a renaissance in the classico-Bengali songs by composing and improvising new type of ṭappā, and from this it can be presumed that ṭappā was introduced in
Bengal earlier than Hindusthānī kheyāl, and that Bengal of the 18th-19th century had her full share of the legacy of traditional music, which came to be known as the aristocratic vaiṭhaki saṅgīta.

The period of hundred years, extending from 1800 to 1900 A.D. witnessed another renaissance in the domain of classico-Bengali songs, when different traditional rāgas like vasanta, gaurī, pūravī or pūrū, sāhānā, vāgesvarī, luma, khāmbaj, multāna or bhimpālaśrī, etc. and different tālas like yat of eight mātrās, ādāthēkā of 16 mātrās, madhyamāna of 32 mātrās, medium ekatāla, divided into four parts, having three mātrās in each part, ādā, pośtā, etc. were composed and cultured on one side, and the seed of Hindusthānī kheyāl was sowed on the soil of Bengal on the other. As on one side the composers and musicians like Dāsarathī Rāy, Rasika Chandra Rāy, Manomohan Basu, Sṛidhar Kathak, Govinda Adhikāry and others appeared and enriched the classico-Bengali songs like pāncāli, tappa, tap-kheyāl, etc. through the medium of krīṣṇa-yātā, kathakatā, rāmāyaṇa-gāna, jhumura, kavigāna, tarjā, etc., so on the other towns like Chinsurā, Hooghly, Sṛīampore, Uttarapāḍā, Nadiā, Krishṇanagar, Murshidābād, Govardāṅgā, Vishnupur-Bāṅkurā, Nātore, Mymensingh, Gauripore, Daccā, Assām-Gauripore, Āgaratolā, Comillā, Calcutta and its adjacent places became gradually the seats of culture of classical music like dhruvapada and kheyāl, owing to the advent of a host of Hindu and Muslim Ustāds like Mān Khān, Baḍe Miān, Hassu Khān, Hardu Khān, Delwār Khān, Nobi Kāwāl Mirān, Rahīm Bux, Mohammed Khān, Āli Bux, Kakubhā Khān, Niyāmat-ullā Khān, Daulat Khān, Nānne Khān, Uṣir Khān, Kāle Khān, Bāsat Khān, Morād-āli Khān, Ālādiyā Khān, Ābdul Karim Khān, Imdād Husain

It should be mentioned in this connection that though kheyāl gradually got firm footing on the soil of Bengal from the 19th century, yet the culture of ḍhruvapada was much appreciated than kheyāl by majority of music-loving people of Bengal. The Hindusthānī kheyāl was first introduced in Bengal by expert exponents like Aghore Nāth Chakravurtī of Hatinābhī, Prasād Mukherji or Nulo
Gopāl of Calcutta, Śiva Nārāyaṇa Miśra, Paṇḍit Guru Prasād Miśra and their able contemporaries. Though Aghore Nāth Chakravurty and Nulo Gopāl were specially proficient in dhruvapada, yet were accomplished Kheyāliyās as well. They taught their students slow kheyāl with vilamvita gamaka-tāna, and they themselves neither used, nor did they teach their pupils the druta halaka-tānas in kheyāl. Paṇḍit Śiva Nārāyaṇa Miśra and Guru Prasād Miśra were noted Kheyāliyās at that time in Bengal, and they should also be given credit for introducing the Hindusthānī kheyāl in Bengal, Aghore Nāth Chakravurty, Rādhikā Mohan Goswāmī, Surendranāth Mazumdar, Nikuśīja Behāri Dutt of Sivpur, Harendra Nath Seal and others also composed many Bengali songs and improvised them in purely Hindusthānī style. It is said that Ustād Rahamat Khān, and afterwards Ustād Abdul Karim Khān introduced ālāpa in kheyāl, and the system of improvisation of sargams (svaragrāmas) in kheyāl was also introduced by Ustād Abdul Karim Khān, and this system or method is still prevalent in kheyāl in Bengal. The name of Vishṇu Chakravurty, the music-teacher of Kaviguru Rabindranāth may be mentioned in this connection for the introduction of both Bengali and Hindusthānī kheyāls in the Brāhma-Samāj in Calcutta.

Before Ustād Kāle Khān came to Calcutta, the noted Kheyāliyā Ustād Nānne Khān became very popular. He also introduced kheyāl in slow, medium and rapid tempi among the musicians of Bengal. It is said that Ustād Nānne Khān, Kāle Khān and Maizud-dīn Khān practically introduced the druta halaka-tāna in kheyāl for the first time in Bengal. Gaohār Jān and many others learnt kheyāl from Ustād Kāle Khān, and along with the names of Nāsirud-dīn.
Khān, Hanumāndasji of Gayā, Ustād Faiyāz Khān of the Raṅgile gharāṅā of Agra, Ustād Abdul Karim Khān of the kirāṅā gharāṅā, Khālifā Bādal Khān of the Gwalior gharāṅā, Bāmācharan Banerji of Behāla, Rādhikā Prasād Goswāmī, Girijā Saṅkar Chakravurtty of Calcutta, Nagendranāth Bhattachāryya of Rānāghāt, Nagendranāth Dutt and others are worth-mentioning for the promotion of culture of classical kheyal in Bengal.

The present trend and prospect of kheyal in Bengal are encouraging and bright in every respect. Different institutions of classical music have been established nearly all over Bengal, and kheyal of different styles are properly taught in them by expert musicians. Truly speaking, the culture of dhruvapada, for which Bengal won a great reputation for more than two hundred years, is now being gradually replaced by kheyal. Different musical soirees and conferences are also giving impetus to the culture of classical music, specially of kheyal, in whole of Bengal, and as a result thereof, kheyal is being appreciated more and more, and is forming a part of education and aesthetic culture of Bengal.
APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER X

The characteristics of some of the gītis and prabandhas:

(a) The sādhārāṇī-gītī:

ह्रदयभरननिमोऽविदितं गुडङ्गमातुसमेह सख्रणेण।
हर्षरूपीं बलमयं गुरुस्मितिसिद्धेऽलभ्य।
प्रभासे मायैः मूलमेण् कार्यविषय गुरुविषये।
पुनः साधारणां इति गुरुद्वारित्रिभाष्याः।

(b) The rāgālāpa, rūpaka and āksptikā:

निमित्तः गम्भीरनीयं गुरुद्वारित्वरूपेण।
भविष्यमन्द्रतारामां न्यायार्थाद्वयोजस्तता।
चालनस्य चहुदवस्य वाधवोधपौरणियः।
अधिकारिक्ष्य दृष्टा स राजनामि अवमये।
‘रुपे’ तद्रूपेण स्वाभाविकमृत्तिकविरहितम्।
चालन,पुटादिविनाशन गार्गयविन्यूपितम्।
‘आचिनिका’ स्वरूपसुधिना कथिता सुप्रभृते।
मोकृतश्च वर्गाय गुरुद्वारित्रिभाष्याः।
मति ज्ञातिदत्तां भुजों मो भविष्यद्विनेव रूपकम्।

RegardLess them, Sithhabhupalā has said:

“भव्यवायिनी लक्षणानि चालिभविम्युद्धृश्यते स राजालापः। विवादिदुःक्षरानुपुकुल्क्ष्यम् राजालापपत्ताः युक्तम्। मार्गलयुक्तं चचाटपुटादितलायेन स्वरूपदयुक्तं या गौतेन गार्गिचिनिकाः।”

(c) The definition of the kaivāda-prabandha:

पाठेः स्वातं भ्रु बोदमाहीं केवले न्यसनन बशे।
सार्थकत्वमवैनेक पाठेः स द्विविधी गतं।
स शृङ्गारसिन्धवेः पाठेः श्रुद्धो मित्र हरित द्विधा।

—Ratnākara, IV, 200-201
Regarding the \textit{kaivāda-prabandha}, Simhabhupāla has said: "पाठालाकृपः बोधमाही कर्तवी। भर्मुधारः समासिन्यख अ केवलः। स च द्वितियः। सायकः पाठरकः। अनवर्त्तिताः इति। गुरुरूपि द्वितीयः। शुद्ध भिन्न इति द्वितियः। केवलः। पाठकारितिः। शुद्धः। पदलराधिमिर्यः। इति: पाठकारितिः। इति वैवांशप्रवः।"

(d) The rāṣaka and the ekatāli prabandhas:


(ii) Simhabhupāla has said regarding the rāṣaka:

(a) "यो गमक्षणवगजिं मोक्षदलचम भजते, रात्रातिश गीतते ग रास इस्थुच्यते। * * * Kallināth has said: "तालासिकिताय सनयुक्तो गमक्षणक्षिमतिरिक्किमोक्षदलचातिविदेशो मेलापाकामासविधातुः, पदतालवद्वत्वात् बश्लारावलीजातिमान्। १५६-१५०५। इति रामकुप्रवः"

(iii) Regarding the ekatāli-prabandha, Simhabhupāla has said: "उद्धारः भुवस्य द्विगृंगिते; अभागाभूवस्याभूवस्याभ: सकुम्भीतता, अभिमुखाभ्यामलयोद्धारो न्यासः; समासः भृताभृतिनिपिनिक्कातालिका। अस्सामुः भाराधामालशैति केवाधिन्मताः।" Kallināth has said: "तालासिकिताय सनयुक्तो मेलापाकामासविधातुः पदतालवद्वत्वात् बश्लारावलीजातिमान्।" ॥१५॥
CHAPTER XI

A SHORT ANALYSIS OF MUSIC OF BENGAL

Bengal's contribution to music as well as to other phases of arts is immense. Beginning from the plain folk songs like ballads of the Gupta and Pāla periods down to the current classical type of music, there had been changes, adjustments, re-adjustments, additions and alterations, together with various innovations in the forms of musical compositions and musical phrases, melodies and tempi through the ages. It should be remembered in this connection that mainly two types of music, folk and classico-folk, along with classical one were always in practice both in the rural and urban societies not only of undivided Bengal, but also of Greater Bengal (Vṛhad-Vaṅga), which consisted of whole of Bengal, Behār, Orissā and Assam. The Zemindars and Nawābs as well as the art-loving wealthy men of Bengal always patronised music, dance and drama for their healthy culture and wide appreciation.

The musical compositions and musical phrases (prabandhas and sthāyas) of songs like vajra and caryā of the Vajrayāni and Sahajayāni Buddhists of the 10th-11th century A.D. used to be sung with classical (śāstrīya) melodies and rhythms (rāgas and tālas), accompanied by musical instruments like lute with one string or two (ekatārā or dotārā), and drums of various sizes and cymbals. The Buddhist Yogiś sometimes used to dance with their songs in ecstatic joy like the Arabian Sufis and Christian mystics of the mediaeval time. Some scholars are of opinion that song like caryā
was not only composed by the Buddhists monks alone, but by the Saivaites and Vaiśṇava Tāntrists as well. "The writers of the mystic songs," says Dr. Sukumār Sen, "were generally known as Siddhācāryas inasmuch as they were spiritual masters (Ācāryas), and were believed to have attained the final beatitude (siddhi). Some were reputed as great Yogīs (Mahāyogī, Yogirāja), and others as Āvadāta (literally 'purified' i.e. washed clean of ignorance or delusion'). Similarly a sacred and ritualistic song like vajra was also in practice among the Vajrayāni Buddhists (as caryā was in practice among the Sahajayāni Buddhists), and that both the songs, caryā and vajra were composed in old Bengali or proto-vernacular (auhāṣṭha). The caryā or caryāgīti (pada) is also known as the cakrāgīti. The word 'cakra' is specially used in the Tāntric sādhana (both Hindu and Buddhist) to mean a circle of the sakti-sādhanas (sacred), engaged in the Tāntric functions. The padas or gānas do not only hear the literary and social values, but also religious and spiritual ones, and, therefore, it will be wise to call them the socio-religious songs. Ordinarily they are known as the 'Buddhist Mystic Songs'. Munidatta wrote a commentary on them in the 14th century, and from it we come to know their philosophical as well as social significances. Different kinds of classical śāstroī tāgas like mallārī, kāmoda, bhairavī, mālaśri, mālaśi-gabudā, gabuda or gauḍā, kānchu-gurjari, bāṅgāl, sāvari, guṇjari (gurjari?), ramakī, patamaṇjarī, aru, devakī, desākha, dhānaśri, varādi or valāddā(?') were used in the caryāgīti.

The gītāgovinda-padagānas or aṣṭapadīs were composed by Thākār Jayadeva of Kendulvīla (West Bengal) in the 12th century A.D. They seemed to be constructed after the form of the caryāgīti of the mystic Buddhist
Yogis, though their languages differed from each other to some extent. The songs of the *gitagovinda* are the *prabandha*-type of *gītis*, which means they are duly bound up with *ṣāḍaṅgas* like music-part (*dхаtu*), rhythm (*tāla*) and other *aṅgas*. The language of the *gitagovinda*-pada-*gānas* is a combination of Prākrit and Sanskrit. Dr. Sen is of opinion that the songs of the *gitagovinda* are written in Sanskrit, but their rhythm and rhyme belong to *apabhraṃśa* poetry. The *padas* or songs (*gānas*) of the *gitagovinda* are tuned in classical melodies and rhythms. It is said that sometimes the *astapadis* were sung accompanied by classical dances, as formulated by Bharata in the *Nātyaśāstra* in the 2nd century A.D. It has been recorded in Kalhan’s *Rājataraṅgini* that in different temples of Kārtikeya and Śiva, *nātis* and *nātas* and specially the *devadāsīs* (temple dancing girls) used to perform dances according to the laws and principles, set forth in Bharata’s *Nātyaśāstra* during the times of Gupta and Pāla kings. During the reign of Rājā Lakṣmanaśena, the culture of both classical dance and music were properly maintained. Besides, the *maṅgalagītis* were in practice and their materials and themes were taken from different *Maṅgalakāvyas*. The *maṅgalagītis* were the of socio-religious songs, and they were very popular among all classes of people. Sārangdeva has described both *caryā* and *maṅgalagītī* as classical ones in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. He has said,

(a) Ṛṣnātmaṭagocarā caryā śvātviśyādītātatah//
Sa dvidhā cchāṅdasaḥ pūrtiyā pūrṇāpūrṇa tvapūr-
titāt//
Samadhrūvā ca viṣamadhruvetyesā puṇārdvidhā//

—SR., 4.292-93
Śrīhabhupāla has said: "yasyāṁ pādānāmantane anuprāsayuktah, adyātmavācakāhiḥ padairupnibaddḥa sā caryā"; i.e. the last line of the caryāgiti is with anuprāsa. It is spiritual in nature. It is so composed that its words (sābitya) convey the idea of spiritualilty and sacredness.

(b) Kaiśikyāṁ boṭṭarāge vā maṅgalāṁ maṅgalaiḥ padaiḥ/

Vilamvita-laye geyāṁ maṅgalacakhandasāṭhavā//

—RK., 4. 303.

Śrīhabhupāla has said: "kaiśikarāge boṭṭarāge vā kalyāṇavācikaiḥ padair-vilamvitena layena maṅgalo geyāḥ"; i.e. the maṅgalagāṇa used to be sung on auspicious occasions, along with the words (sābitya) that conveyed sacredness, and with the rāga, kaiśikā or boṭṭa (the bhūtiyā or Tibetan melody), and it used to be sung in slow tempo.¹ Some are of opinion that the maṅgalagiti of the ancient time and the maṅgala-kāvya-gāna of the mediaeval time are not one and the same, and it might have been the fact that the maṅgala-kāvya-gānas used to be composed and sung in the spirit and under the inspiration of auspicious type of the ancient maṅgalagāṇa.

Gradually there evolved the classical form of krṣṇa-kirtana, formulated by the Vaiṣṇava savants like Vaiḍūya Chaṇḍidās of Nānnura (West Bengal), Kavi Vidyāpati of Mithilā and others. They were composed after the form of the gītāgovinda-padagāna to some extent, and they used to be sung with the help of classical rāgas and tālas. The songs of the krṣṇa-kirtana paved the way for formulation of the nāma-kirtana, introduced by Śrī Chaitanya.

¹ Cf. the Appendix II of this book, where the maṅgalagiti has elaborately been discussed.
The contribution of Orissā to kirtana was not less important, as many of the prominent Vaiṣṇava savants of the 15th-16th century were either disciples or followers of Chaitanyadeva. Rāya Rāmānanda, Murārigupta, Svarūpa Dāmodara and others were the constant companions of Śrī Chaitanya at Gambhīrā in Puri, and as they were most efficient musicians of that day, they helped to enrich the treasury of the kirtana-gāṇa. Rājā Pratāparudradeva Gajapati also rendered immense help to the propagation of kirtana, as promulgated by Mahāprabhu (Chaitanyadeva).

In the 10th chapter of the Bhāgavat, which was written, it is said, on the basis of the Pañcarātra-saṁhitā and different Purāṇas, the true significance of kirtana has been mentioned, and it has been defined there as the auspicious type of gītā in praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. In other sense, it was known as ‘gūṇa-gāthā’ or ‘gīta-kirti-gāṇa’. In the 16th century, when Tḥākur Narottamadās returned from Vṛndāvana (Mathurā) to Khetāri (in the Rājasāhi district), he arranged a conference of kirtana, where he formulated and introduced the classical type of padāvali-kirtana on the basis of the dhrūva-prabandha-gāṇa, which he mastered from the accomplished Vaiṣṇava musicians at Vṛndāvana. His style of kirtana was known as garāhbāti or gaderbāti, and it was recognised as the līlā or rasa kirtana. He also introduced the gaurcandrikā of kirtana at that time. After him, three other types of kirtana, manaharsāhī, reṇeṭī and mandārinī evolved. Kavindra Gokul also introduced a new type of kirtana, known as jhārkhaṇḍi, evolved from Jhārkhaṇḍa, Midnapore.1

1 The mahājana-padāvali-kirtana has not been elaborately dealt here, as it has been discussed elsewhere in detail. Cf. author’s
After the mahājana-padavali-kirtana, the dhab type of kirtana (or dhab-kirtana) evolved with the admixture of the padavali-kirtana and the pāncāli or yātrā-gāna. So the dhab-kirtana can be recognised as an intermediate musical feature of padavali-kirtana and pāncāli or yātrā. The dhab-kirtana was introduced in the early 19th century, and it was prevalent from 1825-30 to the beginning of the 19th century A.D. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of opinion that pāncāli is the forerunner of dhab-kirtana, and from the kirtana, tukka (or bhāṅgā-kirtana i.e. mutilated form of kirtana), pāncāli and yātrā evolved. Some say that dhab-kirtana evolved from the padavali-kirtana, and yātrāgāna as well as pāncāli evolved from the dhab-kirtana. But most of the scholars are of opinion that dhab-kirtana is the product of admixture of the gānas, padavali-kirtana, pāncāli and yātrā. The theme of the dhab-kirtana was composed mainly of the sportive plays of Śrī Kṛṣṇa (brja-lilā).

The word 'dhab' is a product of rural or local language (deśaja-bhāṣā). It conveys two meanings or ideas, one of which is pattern of construction or form, and the other is the sound, caused by the fall of an empty or hollow matter on the ground. As regards the meaning of dhab-kirtana, we can take the second meaning which conveys the idea of sound of an empty or hollow matter, and as such the word dhab-kirtana does not convey the idea of a real classical type of mahājana-padavali-kirtana, but an imitation or a changed form thereof. Really the dhab-
kirtana does not follow the strict rules of singing, as set forth in the padavali-kirtana, but is sung or embellished in its own way. Again the performers of the dhap-kirtana do not follow the method or practice of singing of gauracandrika before they begin the real theme of the kirtanagana. Sometimes they sing their own compositions (composed padas), along with the traditional ones, with the help of classical ragas and tālas. They also use tukka (bhāngā-kirtana) in the form of a lecture or conversation, instead of using āṅkhabara (tāna of the classical kheyāl type of song), as used in the padavali-kirtana. Sometimes they use words for creating laughter (bāsyarasa) in the mind of the audiences. So it is found that in later days, the dhap-kirtana has been divided into two, dhap-kirtana and dhap-yātra. The dhap-yātra is performed exclusively by women.

It is said that Madhusūdan Kinnar (or Madhu Kān) introduced the dhap (light) type of kirtana, though there rages differences of opinion regarding it. Satish Chandra Mitra has admitted this fact in his History of Jessore and Khulna (Beng.). Mr. S. C. Mitra has written that just as Dāsu Rāy and Govinda Adhikāry earned great reputation in the kṛṣṇa-kirtana in West Bengal, so Madhu Kān in the like manner earned it in East Bengal for his new and novel type of dhap-kirtana or pāncālī (?). The word kinnar connotes the idea of celestial dancing class of people, the evidence of whom are found in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Harivamśa, Bhāgavata and different Purāṇas, along with the names of Yakṣa, Rakṣa, Rākṣasa, Gandharva. In fact, the word kinnar connotes the idea of a dancing class of people like the word nāṭa. The father of Madhu-
sūdan was Ananda Kinnar by name, and he used to earn his living with music. 'Kinnar' was his title which defined that he was musician (nata) by class. Madhusūdan inherited the tradition of culture of music from his father as well as from his family. Some are of opinion that he introduced the dhop kirtana in the form of paicāli, and earned great reputation for his own unique style. Ordinarily he was known as Madhu Kān. The main themes of his kirtana were four in number, and they were kalaṅka-vañjana, akur-samvāda, māthur and pragāsa. All of them were composed with the legends and stories of Lord Śī Kṛṣṇa.

The baulgīti or baulgāna evolved in the Rāḍadeśa in West Bengal (some types of the baulgīti also evolved in East Bengal). It is also known as the dehatattva-gāna, because the Bauls sing songs with the Buddhist-cum-Yogic interpretations of the material body. They recognize the Sahaja, instead of God or Atman, and that Sahaja resides in the gross material body, being free from all kinds of impurities and imperfections. So a Baul tries to be a Sahajamānuṣa by means of the kāyā-sādhana, (by practice of the body). Music helps him in his religious practice. The word 'baul' connotes the idea of a man who is bāul or mad, and, therefore, a Baul is mad after the realization of the Sahaja. The Arabic term of bāul or āuliya is oyāliā or deoyānā (or dewānā). The kāyā-Sādhakas are divided into four, ānl, bāul, daraveśa and sāi. The Sāi or Swānī is the topmost Sādhaka of the Bauls.

Regarding the significance of the terms bāul and baulgāna, Dr. Shashibhūṣan Dāsgupta has said: "The Bauls belonging to the Hindu community are generally Vaiṣṇavite in their faith and those belonging to the Muslim community are generally Sufi-istic and in both the schools
the emphasis is on the mystic conception of divine love. The word bāul with its Hindi variant bāur may be variously derived; it may be derived from the Sanskrit word vātul (affected by mind-disease i.e. mad, crazy), or from vyākula (impatiently eager); both these derivations are consistent with their modern sense of the word, which denotes inspired people with an ecstatic eagerness for a spiritual life where one can realise one’s union with the eternal Beloved—‘the Man of the heart’. The name Bāul as also its cognate form of Āul can very well be associated also with the Arabic word āwliyā (plural of wāli, a word originally meaning ‘near,’ which is used for ‘friend’ or ‘devotee’), that refers to a class of perfect man. With the Bengali word Bāul we may also compare the Sufi word Diwānā which means mad, i.e., free from all social responsibilities”.

Regarding bāul and their murshidā-songs, Dr. Dāsgupta has mentioned about a Sufi-istic influence of samā (song, together with dance in a circle) as well as of the Sufi’s spirit, upon them. But this estimatation should be examined in its proper historical perspective. He has said: “In the murshidā-songs of the Bāuls we find a mixture of the Indian spirit with the spirit of Sufi-ism”.

The bāul or bāulgiti probably evolved from the caryā-giti, because like caryā, all the Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā type of songs like bāul, kartābhaja, etc. are socio-religious in nature. Not only that, but it is also a fact that all the

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1 Vide Obscure Religious Cults (As background of Bengali Literature), Calcutta University, 1946, pp. 187.
2 Ibid., p. 193.
3 Ibid., p. 194.
mystic songs like caryā, vajra, baul, etc. evolved from the doctrine of sabaja (sahajavāda) of the Sahajayāna school of the Tāntric Buddhists of the 10th-11th century A.D.

Now, what do we mean by the sabajavāda or sabajiyā doctrine? The sabajiyā doctrine evolved from the Buddhist Sahajayāna in later days. The followers of Buddha were afterwards divided into two main sects, Hinayāna and Mahāyāna. The Hinayāna was also known as the Śrāvakayāna or Pratyeka-buddha-yāna. Gradually Mantrayāna school evolved with the adoption of Tāntric interpretation and practice of the religious doctrines of Buddha. The Mantrayāna was also known by its three main branches, Kālacakra-yāna, Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna. The Vajrayāni Buddhists adopted in their religious practices three prime formulae, mantra, mandala and mudrā, and Vājradevī was their supreme deity. The Sahajayāna sect or school practically evolved out of the Vajrayāna one, or it can be said that Vajrayāna gradually culminated in the Sahajayāna. The prime aim of the Sahajayāna school was to attain the transcendental state of mahāsukha like nirvāṇa or śūnyatā of the Madhyamika one. According to the historical records it is known that the doctrine of sabaja of the Sahajayāna school reigned supreme over Greater Bengal, comprising entire Bengal, Bihār, Orissā and Kāmarūpa or Assam in the 10th-12th century A. D. The padas (or gānas, because all kinds of pada were known as gānas or songs at that time) like caryā, vajra, baul, etc. practically evolved during that time. Those Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā or Vaiṣṇava-Tāntric songs really evolved from the doctrine of the Buddhist Sahajayāna. The Vaiṣṇava religion also got intermixed with the Buddhist Sahajayāna to some extent, and, it is sometimes believed that the Vaiṣṇava-rasa-kīrtana also evolved out of the materials of
caryā and other sahaiyā paddas, which were the products of the Sahajayāna doctrine.

The Bāuls use musical instruments like gopīyantra and cymbal (mandirā) to accompany their songs, wear yellow robes, and use tinkling anklets (nāpura) round their ankles. They also dance in a circle along with the rhythms of their songs like the Arabian Durbises and Persian Sufis. Some of the tunes or musical modes of the bāulgītī are more or less influenced by those of the padāvali-kīrtana.

Besides the bāulgītī, there are umā-saṅgītā (āgamanī-saṅgītā), śyāmā-saṅgītā, kālī-kīrītana, etc. which are purely devotional and spiritual in nature.

The devotional and classico-Bengali songs, composed by Sādhaka Ṛāmaprśād, Kamalākānta and other mystic saints as well as the songs, composed by Bhāratachandra, Nidhu Bābu, Raghunāth Dewān, Rājā Rānmohan Roy, Dāsarathe Roy, Govinda Adhikāry, Madhusūdan Kinnar (Madhu Kān), Girish Chandra Ghose, Krishnaprasanna Sen, Jyotirindranāth Tagore, Satyendranāth Tagore, Rabindranāth Tagore1 and others are the valuable assets to the music of Bengal. Different kinds of classical and devotional songs of the Brāhma-samāj are worth-mentioning in this connection. The akhdāi, hat-akhdāi, kavigāna, pāncāli, yātrāgāna, rāmāyaṇa-gāna, jhumur, kālī-kīrtana are also the special features of classico-folk songs of Bengal.

Regarding the kavigāna, Īśvarchandra Gupta has said that before the 1210 sāka (Bengali era), Mahārāj Nava-
krishṇa Bāhādur of Sobhābāzār, Calcutta, patronized the akhdāi type of song. In 1211 sāka, Rāmanidhi Gupta

1 Vide the detailed discussion on the music of Kaviguru Rabindranāth in the Appendix III.
(Nidhu Rābu) introduced the culture of ākhḍāi both at Sobhābāzār and Bāgbāzār, Calcutta, and it should be mentioned that classical rāgas and tālas were used in the ākhḍāigāna. Gradually the practice of bāf-ākhḍāi was introduced in Calcutta and also in Chinsurā. In the beginning of the 18th century, the kavigāna evolved and was introduced in both the common and educated societies of Calcutta. The kavigāna was socio-religious in nature. Regarding the kavigāna, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen has said: "The Kavi songs had originally constituted part of old Yātrās or popular plays. The simple episodes in Yātrā, especially those of the nature of light opera, were in course of time wrought into a separate class of songs, which were sung by those distinct bodies of professional bards called Kaviwālās, whose domain was thus completely severed from that of the Yātrā parties". ¹ Dr. S. K. De is of opinion that the "existence of kavi-songs may be traced to the beginning of the 18th century or even beyond it to the 17th, but the most flourishing period of the Kaviwālās was between 1760 and 1830". Rāsu-Nṛşimha, Hari or Haru Ṭhākūr, Rām Bābu, Nitāi Vairāgī and other noted Kaviwālās died in 1830. Dr. De has further said in this connection: "After these greater Kaviwālās, came their followers who maintained the tradition of kavi-poetry up to the fiftees or beyond it. The kavi-poetry, therefore, covers roughly the long stretch of a century from 1760 to 1860, although after 1830 all the greater Kaviwālās one

¹ (i) Vide History of Bengali Language and Literature (Calcutta), p. 679.
by one had passed away, a kavi-poetry had rapidly declined in the hands of their less gifted followers". ¹

So we find that kavigāna was in practice from 1760 to 1860. The themes of the kavigāna were taken from the legends and stories of the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Harivamśa, Bhāgavat and different Purāṇas. Some are of opinion that kheďu or khe uda-gāna is the forerunner of the kavigāna. It is a historical fact that the type of kavigāna, which was prevalent in Sāntipur and Fuliā in the middle of the 18th century, was known as kheuda, and this fact has been mentioned by Bhāratachandra in his book, Annadāmaṅgalā. But it should be mentioned in this connection that old form of pāncāli is the real source of all kinds of classico-folk songs, including the kavigāna of Bengal.

The kavigāna begins with the music-part, citen, and then the mahada is sung, and at last antara is sung. The words or literary compositions (sābitya) of the kavigāna principally depend on the tunes, or it can be said that sābitya of the songs is used in accordance with the nature of production of the tunes. The kavigāna is mainly composed of four classes of musical themes, known as mālasī, sakhī-samvāda, goṣṭha and kavi or kavi-labarī. The mālasī causes to arouse the emotional sentiments as well as devotion in the minds of the audiences. This type of kavigāna is composed with different rāgas and tālas. The sakhī-samvāda type of kavigāna simultaneously describes joy and sorrow of the nāyakas and nāyikās of the themes. The goṣṭha type of kavigāna is composed of the stories of the early life of

¹ Cf. Dr S. K. De: Bengali Literature in the 19th Century, p. 302.
Sri Krishna, and it is full of sweetness and affection. The kavi or kavi-labari type of kavigâna generally arouses wits and laughter in the audiences. The Kaviwâlás or composers of the kavigânas are really gifted with poetic genius, because they sometimes extemporarily compose the songs (compositions of the songs) from memory during the times of singing.

Regarding the classico-folk song, pâncâli, there is a great controversy among the scholars, Dr. Haripada Chakravurty has ably discussed all the different views about pâncâli in his book, Dâsurathi O Tâhâr Pâncâli (Bengali, 1367 B. S.). The pâncâli is mainly a religio-devotional as well as social type of song. The pâncâlis like Râmalîla, Kîsâpalîla, Mahâ-bhârata, etc. are the religio-devotional ones, whereas those of Manasâ, Dharmâthâkur, Maîgala-chanâdi as well as Vidyâsundar, are the social type of songs. Dr. S. K. De is of opinion that the old Bengali poems were generally known as pâncâli: "This word shows that we owe at least some forms of old Bengali meters of Pâncâl or Kanauj". Dr. D. C. Sen is also of the same opinion. In fact, there was a meter, known as pâncâl in Prâkrt. Again in the Alâmkâra-sâstra, pâncâl was a style of writing like those of gauâli, vaidarbhi, saurasenî, etc. Bharata has described about those styles in the Nâtyasâstra. So it might be the fact that there was a special pattern of song (pâncâli), written in the pâncâli style.

According to Dharmânanda Bhârati, the spelling of the word will be pâncâli (醯) instead of pâncâli (醯). This term is the product of Râdadeśa in West Bengal, and the suffix ali means the bee (madhukara or maṣṭikâ). He has said that it is said that in ancient time, the stalwart or top-ranking persons were known as 'the Bee of the village'. In
In Midnapore, Bankura and Birbhum districts, many persons were known by their ancestral titles, ali, bhramara, etc. Before the time of Kasiramadâs (of the Mahabharata of the Bengali version) and even in his time, many persons of the community were known as ‘pâncâli’, because they used to sing the chadâ, tarjâ and jhumura, accompanied by folk-dance and comic (‘saith sâjya nâchita evam tâmâsâ karita’). They were gifted with natural talent and used to extemporize the verses and songs of pâncâli. Dâsarathi Roy innovated a new type pâncâli with the prevailing old type.¹

Some say that the name pâncâli is known by its five limbs (aṅgas) like song (gâna), costume (sâja), dual practice of chadâ (chadar ladâi), composition of songs and dance. Some say about different meanings and materials of these five limbs. Some hold that pâncâli is known by its definite method of singing (gâyana-paddhati). Pândit Harekrîṣna Mukhopâdhyây has given a śâstric or classical interpretation of the pâncâli, which is valuable for the students of history of Indian music. According to him, pâncâli evolved from the kṣudra-giti or samkîrṇa-giti or rûpaka-giti, and in this respect he has quoted Pândit Narahari Chakravury’s Bhaktiratnâkara:

Tâla dhâtu-yukta vâkya-mâtra kṣudra-gîta/
Dhâtu pûrve ukta udgrâhâdi yathocita//
Suddha sâlager prâya kṣudra-gîta haya/,
Ithe antyânuprâsa prasasta śâstre kaya//
Kṣudra-gîta bheda cāri, citrapadâ āra/
Citrakalâ dhruvapadâ pâncâli pracâra//,

¹ Cf. Dr. Haripada Chakravury: Dâsarathi O Tâhâr Pâncâli (Bengali, 1367 B.S.), p. 45. Vide also ‘Bhârati-Patrikâ; Stravana, 1349 B. S, pp. 300-301.
The pañcāli is different from the jbhumī type of song, and it is also different from the maṅgalagāna and the padāvalī, because the pañcāli is of the viṣama-dhrūva type and it is divided into sama, ardha-sama, viṣama. Paṇḍit Mukhopādhyāy says that the pañcāli has no definite name or significance of its own, as the kuṭṭha-maṅgala, śiva-maṅgala, dharma-maṅgala, manasā-maṅgala, chaṇḍi-maṅgala and other maṅgala-gītis were sung in the tunes of the pañcāli.¹ But it should be remembered in this connection that pañcāli used to be sung along with chaḍā, whereas the maṅgalagītis had no verse or song like chaḍā, and so it will not be wise to mix up the pañcāli with the maṅgalagīti. According to Mukhopādhyāy, Dāsarathi Roy composed his new and novel type of pañcāli with the admixture of the kaviṅgana and the maṅgalagāna.

In fact, Bengali literature for the mass (jana-sāhitya) was of two kinds, dhāmāli and laukika-pañcāli. Between these two, the dhāmāli was an original and ancient literature for the mass or general public. But it was regarded as illegal (avaidha), whereas the pañcāli was legal (vaṭidha). The dhāmālis are composed with the plots of the characters of Śrī Kuṭṭha and Śiva, but they are not meant for the educated society, and, therefore, are played outside the village, among the uncultured mass. The laukika-pañcāli is divided into two, old and new. The pañcāli, as introduced by Dāsarathi Roy, was known as the new one. But the old pañcālis like Maṅgala-Chaṇḍi, Sūrya, etc. and the maṅgalagītis like Manasā-maṅgala, Chaṇḍi-maṅgala, Dharma-maṅgala Nāth-maṅgala (like

¹ Ibid., p. 47. Cf. also The Yugāntara (Pujā Number) 1360 B.S., p. 48.
Gorakṣa or Gorka-ujjaya and the songs of Gopichand) were the old types of pāncālī. Sometimes the Kṛttivāsī-
Rāmāyana and Kaśīdāsī-Mahābhārata were known by the name of Rāmāyana-pāncālī and Bhārata-pāncālī.¹

According to Dr. Sukumār Sen and others, the pāncālī type songs evolved from the songs, which accompanied the plays of the dolls (pāncālikā or putul-nāch) in ancient India. This type of plays with songs was connected with the Sanskrit dramas. Dr. Sen has said in this connection: “These early Bengali devotional narrative poems are classed as ‘Pāncālī’ or ‘Pāncālikā’ which originally meant ‘doll’ or ‘puppet’. The name indicates that at the beginning the devotional songs were sung and poems chanted supporting a puppet-show of the story. Even now a puppet-show in Bengal is accompanied by chanting of verses narrating the story and punctuated by beating of drums and cymbals. An abridged version of this is the showing of the painted scroll (‘Paṭa’) depicting the stories of the devotional narratives. The man showing the scroll chants the story in crude (often extempore) verse as he unrolls it. This popular show, which obtained in West Bengal only, is fast disappearing. Bāṇabhaṭṭa has mentioned such show of Yamapāṭa in his Harṣacarita”.²

Dr. Sen has also found a reference of the song like pāncālī in the Vṛbhadṛṣṭa, which was current, he believes, in the 12th-13th century A.D. He is also of opinion that as the Pāncāladesa was a land for designing or


making the dolls, so the dolls were known by the name of the country, Pāñcāla (i.e. pañcalikā), and the song pāñcālī used to be sung along with the display of the dolls.

Now all the views, subscribed by different scholars, mentioned above, do not help us much to form a definite idea about the real origin and significance of the song, pāñcālī. Some say that pāñcālī is a demunitive form of the yātrāgāna. But it seems that yātrāgāna evolved from the pāñcālī.

The old form of yātrāgāna was practically known as the nāṭagāna or nāṭagīti. In the Chaitanya-bhāgavat, it is mentioned that Śrī Chaitanya himself took part in the play of the nāṭagīti, Rukminībarana. But, in truth, we do not find any ancient Bengali book on the yātrāgāna. It is said that the definite form of yātrāgāna was introduced in the 19th century, and that form was influenced by the Gītagovinda. The yātrāgāna was divided into three according to three kinds of subject-matter, and they were Kṛṣṇa-yāтра, Vidyāsundar- yāтра and Rāma-yāтра, and among them the Kṛṣṇa-yāтра was most ancient. The real name of the Kṛṣṇa-yāтра was the Kāliyadamanā. In the Kāliyadamanā-yāтра, all kinds of sportive plays (lilās) of Kṛṣṇa were included. The dance was a special feature of the ancient type of yātrāgāna. The jbhumura was also known as one of the types of yātra, as duet songs (dvaita-gāṇa), lagnī and dance were the definite features of the jbhumura-gāṇa. The lower type of the jbhumura was known as leto.1

But it is a fact that kāvīgaṇa, akhaḍai, bālf-akhaḍai, yātrāgaṇa and tarjā almost belong to the same class of the pāncāli, though they differ from one another in regard to their songs, plots or themes (pālās), literary compositions or sāhitya, musical instruments, number of musicians and players and also their methods of presentation or singing. The pāncāli used to be sung by a band of musicians not less than five. The leading singer (mūla-gāyena), supported by his two assistants (dohāra or pāli), sings first the lyric lines of the pāncāli and then the other assistants repeat those lines. The leading singer sings the lines of the pāncāli in slow tempo (vilamvita laya) and the assistant singers sing in rapid tempo (druta laya). The leading singer use a chowri or yak tail-fan in his left-hand and a cymbal (mandirā) in the right hand and the tinkling anklets (nūpura) round both the anklets. Sometimes a drum (mādaṅga) accompanies the pāncāli song.

Different types of song are connected with daily life of the peoples of Bengal. The folk-songs like bhādu, pāṭuā, jāga, yuṛīyātra, bhāṭiyāli, jārī, sāri, gambbīrā, ghēṭu, marpbāti, mursidīyā, gājan, dāḍākavi, bolān, mālasī, kheuda, ālkāpb, debatattva, gājīrgāna, letogīta, nālegīta, bhātelgītā, pauṣa-pārvaṇa-gītā, hātugītā, vayānī, bhāsān, mānickpīrergāna, gurusatya, trināther-gāna, caḍakapūja-gāna, aṣṭakagīta, kānāi-balāi-gīta, etc. are the sources of living inspiration and joy in the lives of men and women of rural Bengal. Musical instruments like ektāra, dotāra, goḍiṣyaṇtra, sārindā, murali, āda-vānṣī, tiprā-vānṣī, sīṅgā, mādala, khola, kānṣī, khaṇḍjani etc. are used in those folk songs.

The bhādu songs are current among men and women of Mānbhūm. In Bānkurā, West Burdwan, Bīrbhūm, bhādu is specially sung by the unmarried girls to therhythm
of dhāk (drum). These are narrative songs, and are similar to karam songs of the nomadic tribes of Chotanāgpur. Karam means the kadam tree, and men and women sing karam around the planted branches of the kadam tree. Dances are followed by the song. Men and women dance with different poses with the beat of different drums. Flutes of bamboo sometimes accompany the song.

The paṭnā songs are also narrative ones, and they narrate the lives and greatness of the tribal gods and goddesses. Different images of gods and goddesses are painted on cloth, and when they are shown to the audiences, paṭnā songs are sung with different melodies. They are not followed by any musical instrument. The rhythms of the paṭnā songs are sometimes observed by the clapping of hands. These songs are current at the south of Manipur, and at Assam, north of Bīrbhūm and different parts of West Bengal. Besides, bhāoaiyā, jāga, yugiyātrā, other kinds of songs are also current in different parts of West and East Bengal. The ṭusu song is similar to bhādu song.

It has already been said before that bāul songs of West Bengal are religious. They are sung in connection with Tāntric and Sahajiyā spiritual practices. They are followed by ekīrā or dotārā. The jārī songs are expressive of the sentiment of valour (veera-rasātmaka), and are always followed by dances. The sārī songs are sung when boats ply over the rivers. The gheṭu songs are loving ones, and they are sung with dances. The jhumura, gambhirā, bhāṭiyāli, etc. are narrative and socio-religious songs. There are many types of songs which are connected with religious functions (vratas) like kukkuṭi-vrata, sūrya-vrata, sejuti-vrata, sandhyāmanī-vrata, yama-ṣukura-vrata, etc. Some of the vratas are observed by
aged women and some by unmarried girls. Different kinds of folk-songs (loka-giti) are attached to these religious uratas, and many of them are accompanied by dances. The literature of these songs are oral and at the same time traditional. The singers do not rehearse, but simply sing in a traditional manner. They are sometimes accompanied by dances and musical instruments. The gājan songs are sung in memory of Dharma-Thākur and Nila-Siva. Dances are observed in the gājan songs. Besides these, there are numerous rural songs and folk dances that inspire men and women of Bengal.

The folk-songs are the source of higher classical songs (music). In the ancient treatises of music, we find that local (deśī) tunes of different countries and races were absorbed into the stock of classical music, when they were reshaped and refreshed with the śāstric ten essentials (daśa-lakṣaṇa) like sonant, consonant, assonant, etc. All the folk-songs are attached to social functions as well as to religious ceremonies, whence people used to imbibe sacred atmosphere all the time. These songs appeal to the heart and transform the domestic atmosphere of the village into spiritual one. The folk songs are really the fountain-head of people’s new energy and inspiration, and as such they should be revived and properly maintained and cultured for the upliftment of the human society.
CHAPTER XII

A SHORT SURVEY OF DANCES OF INDIA

Dancing is an art of rhythm in movements, expressed through the medium of different limbs of the body. It is an outward expression of inner joy and pleasure of human beings. If we look into the pages of history of the most ancient primitive peoples of the world, we find that they were fond of dance and music. They used to dance in accompaniment of their speech-songs and songs in praise of rain-god, weather-god, vegetable-god, war-god, witch-god, presiding deities of diseases, supernatural powers, spirits, etc. In fact, dance and music were the part and parcel of life of the primitive tribes of most ancient times. Well has it been said by W. D. Humbly: "The importance of dancing among the primitive people is much greater than among civilized nations; and among the former, emotional life, whether ambre or gary, is capable of expression in bodily movement". From this it is known that the primitive men were devout lovers of dance and music. The joyful stimulus and urge lay at the root of the evolution of their dance and music, which were sometimes simple and sometimes violent. Dance and music were the means to get solace and peace in the tiresome tenure of their lives.

Dancing may, therefore, be called the most ancient as well as living art of human beings. In the prehistoric Indus Valley cities, a bronze dancing girl was excavated by Rāi Bāhādur Dayārām Sāhāni, and its exhumation has proved that the culture of dancing was prevalent even in that remote past in all its artistic display and grace. Some
ingredients of music like crude type of lute (*veena*), pipe (*venu*) and drum (*mdnaiga*) were also excavated, that speak of culture of music in that prehistoric time. In the *Brhman* (Vedic) period, we find the practice of dancing before the blazing sacrificial altars. The maidens with water-pitchers used to dance round a fire, singing different sacred sacrificial hymns. Dr. Keith, Prof. Oldenberg, Prof. Hillebrandt and other Western Vedic scholars as well as the Vedic scholars of the East have admitted this fact. The solemn dance of the maidens round the fire in the Vedic *Mahavrata* rite is worth-mentioning in their connection (Vide Dr. Keith: *The Vedic Mahavrata*, published in "The Third International Congress for the History of Religions for 1908" (Vol II, pp. 55-58). In the classical period (600—500 B.C.), the *gandharva* type of music was in practice. During the time of Bharata, in the 2nd century A.D., dancing took a new and novel classical turn to form an indispensable part of drama. Bharata has fully dealt with different types of dance, along with different hand- poses (*mudr*as) and gestures and postures in the *Natyasatra*. He has defined and described the dances of *tandava* and *lasya*, in connection with the classical dramatic songs like *madraka, vardhamana*, etc. The *tandava* was meant for men, as it was vigorous and masculine in concept, and *lasya*, for women for its grace and dalliance. The dances, *tandava* and *lasya* were included in the category of *nrtana*. Because *nrtana* was divided into two, *nrtya* and *nṛta*. *Nrtana*, which was composed of as well expressed the emotional sentiments and moods, was known as *nrtya*, and *nrtana*, which was composed of rhythm and tempo, was known as *nṛta*. These two, *nrtya* and *nṛta*
were again divided into two classes, vigorous tāṇḍava and graceful lāśya. It has been said in the Saṅgītasārāmṛta,

Bhāvāśrayaṁ nartanaṁ hi nṛtyamityabhidhiyate//'
Yattāla-laya-nispannaṁ nartanaṁ nṛttamiritaṁ/
Madhuroddhatabhedena tatdvayaṁ ca dvidhā punah//'
Madhuraṁ lāśyanākhyātāmuddhataṁ tāṇḍhavanṁ

Lāsanālāśyamityunktam śṛṅgācarasajīvanam//'
Tāṇḍavāṁ tāṇḍunā proktamuddhataṁ sambhua-
nirmitam/

Tatra nṛtyasya bhedaśe catvāraṁ parikīrtitaḥ '//

From these, it is understood that tāṇḍava was possessed of veera-rasa, and lāśya was possessed of śṛṅgāra-rasa. King Tulajā (1729-35 A. D.) has divided nṛṛta into four, perānaṁ, preṇkhaṇaṁ guṇḍali or gaṇḍali and daṇḍa-
rāṣakaṁ.

The āsārita type of dance was very famous at that time, and this type of dance was traditionally handed down from the times of the Mahābhārata and the Harivāmśa (300-200 B. C.). In the Harivāmśa, āsārita has been mentioned as citra-tāṇḍava, which was followed by pure type of karaṇas and musical instruments. The pure type of the seven jātis (jātirāga-gānas) were also sung along with the āsārita dance. It has been mentioned in the Harivāmśa that the wives of the Bhaimas used to sing and dance with gestures and postures to please Kṛṣṇa. The ballisaka dance was also practised during the time of the Harivāmśa, and the commentator, Nīlakanṭha has said that ballisaka was a kind of dance, in which many women dancers took part: ‘ballisakaṁ vahubhiḥ stribhiḥ saba nṛtyam’. This type of dance was known as a sportive play, and it was, in later
time, known as the *rāsa-nṛtya*, which women dancers
dance in circle in accompaniment with songs and musical
instruments. The dance, *gaṅgāvataraṇa* was also prevalent
during the time of the Great Epics. Nilakaṇṭha has
said that the *gaṅgāvataraṇa* was also known as a dance-
drama (*nṛtya-nātya*).

Similarly different types of classical dances have been
mentioned in the works of Kālidās, Śūdraka, Viṣṇu-sarmā
and others. Mahākavi Kālidās (from 100 B. C. to 400
or 450 A. D.) has described about dance-types like *nandya-
varia*, *caturasra*, *ardha-caturasra*, etc. in his different works.
In the *Vikramorvaśī*, he has mentioned about different
technical aspects of music and dance through the character
of Citralekhaḥ, a friend of Urvaśī and Sahajanyā. Kālidās
has described the characteristics of dance-types like *dvipa-
dikā*, *jambhalikā*, *khaṇḍadhārā*, *carcarī*, *bhinnakā*, *valānt-
ākā*, etc., which Citralekhaḥ mastered from his dance-
teacher. The dance-type, *khaṇḍadhārā* was one of the
varieties of the dance, *dvipadikā* or *dvipadi*. Similarly it
has also been described that the dance of *jambhalikā*
was one of the varieties of *dvipadikā*. From this it is
understood that the dance, *dvipadikā* or *dvipadi* was the
main or basic dance, and *khaṇḍadhārā*, *jambhalikā*, etc.
evolved from it. It has been mentioned that the dance-
type of *khaṇḍaka* or *khaṇḍikā* was also prevalent during
the Gupta period, and it was different from the dance of
*khaṇḍadhārā*.

In Śrī-Harṣa’s *Ratnāvali*, we also come across with the
dance, *dvipadikā*. The commentator of the *Ratnāvali* has
mentioned that there were four kinds of *dvipadikā*, and
*khaṇḍaka* was one of them. Again we get the reference
of the dance, carcarī which used to be practised as an alternate one or as a variety of the dance, dvipadikā. The dance, carcarī used to be played with the song, carcarī, which used to be composed of three or four lines. It is said that the dance, carcarī used to be practised by the female dancers, and it was a type of lāṣya. According to Vema-Bhupāla, the dance, of carcarī used to be applied with the prime sentiment, śṛṅgāra, but Rāṇā Kumbha differed from Vema-Bhupāla, because, according to Rāṇā Kumbha, carcarī used to be played with any one of the rasas and tālas. Kālidās has mentioned about other types of dance, and they were kburaka, kuṭilika, galitaka, etc. Sāraṅgdeva has mentioned about them in his Saṅgita-Ratnākara in the early 13th century A. D., and from these it is learnt that those dance-types were traditionally preserved up to the end of the ancient period. Kavi Śūdraka has mentioned about different kinds of classical dances in his Mrdbhakatika. Viṣṇu-śarma (2nd century A. D.) has described about different dance-motifs in his Pañcatantra. In the Gupta period, the culture of classical dances were much appreciated. It is said that Mahārājā Chandra-gupta-Vikramāditya (5th century A. D.) was a great patron of dance and music, and he constructed the dancing and music halls, attached to his Royal palace for the proper culture of classical dance and music. His able son, Mahārājā Kumāragupta also preserved the tradition of his father, and used to patronise the dancers and musicians in his Royal palace. Maukharirāja Prabhākara-vardhana of Thānesvara was also a great patron of classical dance. He also constructed a dancing hall in his Royal palace where dancers, both male and female, used to get privilege to culture the art of dance in its true perspective.
It is interesting to note that a dancing scene of some nāṭīs on an open air stage is seen depicted in the Udayagiri Caves near Bhubanesvara, Orissā, which proves that the distinctive style of classical dance, as has been described in Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra, was in practice long before the advent of the Christian era. Well has it been said by an art critic that on the walls of the Caves of Udayagiri “are to be seen in a fairly well-preserved shape exquisite works of art depicting different facets of life. The precision and accuracy with which the artist used his chisel inspire the awe and admiration of anyone who visits the Caves”.

It has already been said that during Bharat’s time, the dance-motifs took a new and novel course. The cārīs and angharas were used in dances, as they were in vogue during the Epic time. Bharata has mentioned about a mārga dance, and it used to be performed in accompaniment of the drums like puṣkara. Generally two or three puṣkaras were used in ancient time, and among them two were placed erect and one leaning. The hand-poses (mudrās) were used to express the ideas of the dancers, and this process was handed down from the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B. C.). Bharata has defined the 24 ayuta-bastas and 13 yuta-bastas (cf. NS. IX), which were considered essential for the classical dances. He has also explained cārī and maha-cārī (cf. NS. XI) and mandalas like ākāśa (aerial) and bhauma (terrestrial), together with different graceful movements in accordance with aesthetic sentiments and moods (gati-pracāra, rasa and bhāva—cf. NS. XIII). The dance-equipments like cārī, karaṇa, khaṇḍa, maṇḍala, etc. were interrelated with one another.

Now, what do we mean by the term ‘cārī’? A cārī connotes the idea of articulation of limbs like leg, upper
part of the leg, thigh and waist. Even the movements of a leg were known as cārī. The movements of two legs were known as karāṇa, and when all the karāṇas were joined together, they were known as khaṇḍa. Again three or four khaṇḍas used to form a māṇḍala. A cārī and a māṇḍala used to be demonstrated together. In the 12th chapter of the Nātyaśāstra, Bharata has described about the māṇḍalas like uṭkrānta, vicitra, sūcīviddha, etc. The māṇḍalas were shown along with the arīgas and the combination of musical instruments, which were known as kutapa. Bharata has described about four kinds of kutapa or orchestra in the Nātyaśāstra. From the archaeological excavations, we come to know that the classical dances like tāṇḍava, ārdhva-tāṇḍava, etc. used to be practised long before Bharata of the Nātyaśāstra, fame. A statuette of a dancer (nāṭa) in the posture of ārdhva-tāṇḍava has been discovered from the historic Bhūr Mound site of Taxilā, which proves that classical dances were in practice in the pre-Christian India. The motif of the dancer of the Bhūr Mound site seems to be that of the dance prevalent long before the Maurya and Gupta periods. The statuette has been preserved in the Museum of Taxilā, and it was discovered by Sir John Marshall in 1913. Sir John Marshall has assigned a pre-Mauryan date about the 5th-4th century B.C. to the dance posture of the nāṭa. The dancer is in the lalāṭa-tilaka posture, composed of a vṛṣeka pose with one of the legs thrown up to the head for making a tilaka on the forehead by means of the big toe. Regarding the ārdhva-tāṇḍava, Nandikeswara has said (vide the Bharatārṇava, p. 416):

Sheitvā vāmapadenaiva-mullokitatdśā tadā//
Kuṇcitaṁ dakṣiṇāṁ vāmaṁ dakṣiṇā-śruti-saṁnidihau/
Nibēśya śikharau hastau tayōḥ sthānamihocyate//
Dakṣiṇāḥ śikharo hasta vakṣahṛṣṭabānamupāsrītaḥ/
Vāmasca hastastanmaulau dakṣiṇāṃghṛmupāgataḥ//
Etādṛśa-nṛtīṃ kuryādṛdhvatāṅḍava-nartane/

That is, standing on the left-foot and assuming the
ullōkita (slightly upward) look, the dancer lifts the left-leg
and holds it up in front of the right-ear, the right-hand
holding śikharā-mudrā is held at the chest and the left-hand
holding the same mudrā is held over the head clasping the
right-foot. And in this posture, the dance takes place.
The tāla for this tāṅḍava is ḫampa, which consists of a
drūta, a drūta-virāma and a laghu making up 2½ mārās.
The dance-syllables are: kiṇa jakaku thātaddhita ḍhemi tho
thariku tha dhi ta ḍhem. These syllables are uttered in a
wonder-struck manner.

India has been preserving the tradition of art of dance,
both folk and classical, from very ancient time, and its
tangible evidences are found in different rock-cut temples
of India. Besides the figure, found in Terracotta from
Taxilā, numerous dancing postures of Yakṣiṇīs and celestial
nymphs are found engraved on Bhārhat railings, Amarāvatī,
Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri. Nāgārjunagonda, Ajantā and
other rock-cut temples. They are the genuine proof of culture
of dance and music in ancient Indian society. It is true
that there might have happened many changes in motifs
and techniques of dances throughout the ages on account
of new innovations and new outlooks, and as such the dance-
motifs and dancing of the ancient times differ from those
of the mediaeval, and those of the mediaeval, from the
modern, but the art and its spirit and practice still remain
in their pristine glories. Various types and styles of
dances of various ages have enriched the treasury of this
dynamic art of dance. In connection with his valuable article, *A New Document of Indian Dancing*, Prof. O. C. Gāngoly has said that the tradition of Indian dance art had disappeared from the North, surviving in the practices of the gilds of dances under the active patronage of South Indian Temple Foundations. But the Bhir Mound slab of Taxila has proved that the dance art used to be cultured in ancient time in its true perspective throughout India, irrespective of boundaries of North and South. In North India, the classico-religious dance of Manipuri school evolved with new and novel technique in Manipur, Assam. Besides, many socio-religio-folk type of dances evolved in different rural areas of India. In Bengal, different types of simple dances evolved in connection with the song-types of baul, gambhirā, kirtana, together with different religious vrata, rites and ceremonies. The classico-folk type of dances like serikela, rāibenše, chbow, etc. also evolved in the North, in Serikela, Puruliā, Māurabhaṇj and other districts of West Bengal and Orissā. The classical form of kathaka dance evolved in Lucknow. It is said that Īsvāripraśād was the innovator of this graceful type of dance, and it was afterwards nourished and enriched by Thākurprasād, Mahārāj Vṛndādīn, Acchan Mahārāj, Sambhu Mahārāj, Ajamat Āli, Rahat Āli and others. At Vārānasi, Allahabad, Jaipur and other places in the North, different types of classical dance also evolved. The kathaka dance is purely based on aesthetic sentiments and moods, together with the nayaka-nāyikā-bheda. A special school of dance also evolved at Sāntiniketan, in connection with the gitinātyas (musical dramas) and nṛtya-nātyas (dance-dramas), composed by Kaviguru Rabindranāth Tagore. Rabindranāth himself devised the dances for his songs and dramas with the help
1. The Bronze-Dancing Girl, Mohenjo-daro (5000—3500 B.C.).
2. The urdhu-sandara motif of dance at the Bhir Mound, Taxila. (5th—4th Century B.C.)
1. The dance-motif of Lalitam in the Natyasastra (2nd Century A.D.)
2. The Piramid-dance, Bharhut.
1. The Dancing-Siva and the Puskara-vadya, Bhubanesvara
2. The group-dancing, Bhubanesvara
of different techniques and textures of dances like *bharatanātyam*, *kathākali*, *manipuri*, *kathak*, *serāikela*, *rāibenše*, *kaṇḍuyana* of Ceylon, together with the dance-motifs of Java, Bali and other places. In fact, all the motifs and techniques of all kinds of dance, indigenous and foreign, were incorporated in his styles or schools of dance, and yet it was possessed of a special characteristic of its own.

The *bharatanātyam*, *kathākali* and other types of dance evolved in the South. The Siva-Nātāraja of South India is a charming and marvellous example of Indian dance as well as of plastic art. Every part of the image of Nātāraja throbs with dynamic rhythmic movements. A separate temple at Chidāmbaram is consecrated to Siva-Nātāraja. In the four Gopurams of the Chidāmbaram temples, there are 108 beautiful illustrations of *karaṇas*, most of which were engraved according to the dictums, as laid down in Bharata’s *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It has been said: “On both side-walls of each of the long entrances of the four towers of the Nātāraja temple at Chidāmbaram, there are sculptures in dancing poses, carved out on stone-pillars, situated near the walls at a reasonable distance from one another. On each side of the entrance there are seven pillars, each having eight compartments. In each of these compartments of equal size, there are three figures, one big and two small in size. The large figure of a female dancer represents the dancing poses or a *karaṇa*, and the small ones represent two drummers standing on the sides of the dancer. Below each compartment the Sanskrit verse of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, describing the particular *karaṇa*, depicted in the compartment, is inscribed on the stone in legible *Grantha* script”. Thus, there are \( 7 \times 8 = 56 \) poses or *karaṇas* on each side making a total of 112 figures on both
the sides of each entrance. Out of the 112, only 108 figures represent the 108 karaṇas of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

Indian dance is divided into four main categories, as they represent four types of graceful school or style, and they appear different for their special techniques, textures and styles or interpretations. As for example,

(1) The bharatanātyam is the purest and oldest form of Indian dance. It evolved in the South, and has preserved the pure Indian tradition as well as Hindu spirit. It is said that the dance-form of bharatanātyam was designed by Muni Bharata, the author of the Nāṭyaśāstra. Brahmā or Brahmā-bharata initiated Muni Bharata into this art of dancing, and Bharata cultured and preached it in the world in a new and novel form. Some are of opinion that the real significance of the name or term bharatanātyam was taken from the syllables of bha-ra-ṭa, which mean bha-va-ṛga-tāla. So we can take that the classical dance, bharatanātyam is the embodiment of these three categories, emotional sentiments and moods, melodies and rhythms. These are essential for making perfect this type of dance. It has been said before that Bharata has classified the dance-motifs into two main classes, nṛtta and nṛtya. The term, nṛtta signifies the pure or abstract form of dance, where as nṛtya, the expository dance that employs an elaborate gesture language and interpretative dance or abhinaya. So the dance, bharatanātyam is a harmonious blending of both these types of dance, nṛtta and nṛtya. It is impersonated by a single dancer, usually a woman. Different costly costumes are used in this dance. A small group of orchestra, consisting a singer or a group of them, a flute and a drummer, which rouses the memory of the ancient vṛndā-vādyas, kutapas. The music of the orchestra
plays the role of commentary on the dance. The bols with different rhythms and tempi are executed by means of the feet, and different gestures i.e. movements of different parts of the body, including that of eyes and eyebrows, together with different hand-poses (mudrās), embellish the majestic bharatanātyaṁ (dance). It is said that this elegant style of dance was developed by the dancing girls (devadāsīs) in different temples as well as in Royal Durbars of South India. It was previously known as ‘dāsiyattam’.

The following features of dance like állāripu, yatisvaram, śabdam, varnaṁ, padam and tillānā are attached with the present system of the bharatanātyaṁ, whereas in ancient time, the colourful features like sādiranātyaṁ, bhāgavatamela-nāṭaka, kurubhaṇji and kucipuḍi were in practice along with the majestic dance, bharatanātyaṁ. The sādiranātyaṁ used to be practised with its different phases like dāsiyayaṁ or dāsiyattam, cinnamelaṁ, bhogamelaṁ, tāṇjori, etc. The bhāgavatamelaṁ was religious in nature, and used to be practised mostly by the Brāhmiṅs. The kurubhaṇji was like a ballet or combined performance of dance (vṛnda-nṛtya) and used to be performed especially by women. Its ancient name was ‘kutral-kurubhaṇji’. Siddhendra Yogi introduced the dance-type of kucipuḍi. This type of dance-feature was practiced by male dancers.

Among the dance-features, állāripu, yatisvaram, śabdam, varnaṁ, padam and tillānā, the feature állāripu or állārimpu is first taken for the unfoldment of the beautiful lustre of the limbs to be used or performed in dance. The artist first performs the pūrvaruṅga and asks for blessings from the audiences. Then it slowly and gracefully proceeds to
exhibit different movements of the dance. Then *yatisvaran* is taken to elaborate and beautify the gradual development of the dance, *bharatanātyam*. This feature is exhibited with the help of the *sargams* or ‘cluster of tones’, having melodic form and value, and it is accompanied by drums and cymbals (*mṛdaṅga* and *mandirā*). This type of dance-feature really rouses the emotional sentiments, and creates a sensation of pleasure in the audiences.

Next to *yatisvaran*, the dance-feature, *śabdām* is performed with great skill. The feature, *śabdām* connotes the idea of devotional music, having dramatic themes in it. After *śabdām*, *varṇa* is taken with the combination of *nātya*, *nrīta* and *nrīya*, which are the essential features of dramatic performances. In this dance-feature, the tunes of the orchestral songs are accompanied by rhythms and emotional sentiments and moods. At last the dance-feature, *tillānā* is performed with different tempi like slow, medium and rapid (*vilamvita*, *madhya* and *druḍa*). The entire performance of the dance, *bharatanātyam* is exhibited in the primary sentiment (*ādīrasa*), *śṛgāra*, which, according to Muni Bharata, is the best and most divine sentiment.

(2) The dance-drama, *kathākali* evolved in Mālābār (in Kerala) in South India. At first, the themes of *kathākali* used to be drawn from the sacred stories of Rāmaçandra and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Parāṇas*. Later on, it has drawn its themes from different Hindu myths and legends. It is dramatic in form, accompanied by

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1 The themes of ancient type of *kathākali* were composed of sacred stories of Rāmaçandra and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and they were known as *rāmanātyam* and *kṛṣṇanātyam*. 
interpretative dancing. It contains not only the dance technique, but also calls for 'a high degree of mimicry and histrionic abilities'. The emotional sentiments and moods (rasa and bhāva) play a prominent role in this dance, and so it is duty of the performers of kathākali to evoke the corresponding rasas and bhāvas in the spectators. The performers are required to demonstrate the movement of every muscle of the face in order to express mental states and their psychological implications.

The vigorous and masculine form of kathākali is expressed in the tāṇḍava style of dance. The veera and raudra rasas are its predominant features. The musicians recite the stories, the musical instruments are played with the songs, and the actors of kathākali appear one by one and efficiently present their graceful and expressive dances. As the most energetic aspect of this dance is kalasamas or pure tāṇḍava dance, so the feature is thiranottama or 'peering over the curtain'. This dance-type is really artistic and colourful.

(3) Kathaka is a popular type of art-dance of North India. It employs both the aspects of dance, nātyadharmī and lokadharmī. The nātyadharmī dance-style of kathaka is imaginative or idealistic, as it evokes aspirations and emotions in the mind of the spectators with symbolic language, whereas the lokadharmī one is more realistic in its aspects. It is said that in the Muhammadan period, the kathaka dance was patronised by the Muslim Rulers, and the Hindu Rulers, who were under the influence of Muslim rule, were also lovers of this type of dance. In the beginning of the 20th century, the contributions of Mahārāj Kālkā-prasād and Mahārāj Brindādīn were immense in the field of kathaka dance. Kālkā-prasād and Brindādīn were the sons of
Ṭhākuradās, who was the renowned court-musician of Nawāb Wāzīd Āli Shāh of Lucknow. It is said that this last Nawāb of Lucknow, Wāzīd Āli Shāh was a great lover as well as a patron of the kathaka dance. Mahārājīs Kālkā-prasād and Brindālin paid more attention to both of the aspects of tāṇḍava and lāśya, and perfected or renovated them in their own ways for applying them to the kathaka. They introduced parānas, which were the recitation of the lyrical passages with rhythmic syllables. The parānas were accompanied by gats, toḍāḥs and tukrās. Besides Kālkā-prasād and Brindālin, the names of Acchān Mahārāj, Sambhu Mahārāj, Kārtickrām and Jālīl Mahārāj (of Jaipur) are worth-mentioning in the field of kathaka dance.

In the kathaka dance, the facial expressions, together with the hand-poses are known as mudrās and abhinaya. A toḍāḥ is a dramatic sequence with exhibiting action in a rapid tempo (druta laya), and a tukrā is a brilliant rhythmic sequence ‘which excels in double and treble timing’. Generally tālas like dhāmār, ektāl, tritāl, jhāptāl, dādārā, etc. and musical instruments like a sārēngi and a pair of tabal or a pākhwāj are used in the kathaka dance.

(4) The manipuri dance is essentially lyrical, aesthetic, sober, serene, and purely religious in nature. From different motifs of this dance, it seems that an ancient form of socio-religious dance has been stylized in it in a new pattern. Some believe that manipuri type of dance reminds us of the ancient epic dance of ballisaka which used to be performed by the Bhāima wives and men during the time of the Mahābhārata-Harivamśa. It is also seen that in the old form of manipuri dance, religio-mythological themes of Śiva-Pārvatī used to be adopted and performed,
but with the advent of Vaiṣṇavism, this type of theme was replaced by the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-lilā.

The manipuri dance is mainly divided into four, laiharobā, astra-vidyā, calan-gatban and rásalilā. The laiharobā type of dance is almost obsolete at present. The astra-vidyā is an ancient type of dance, and it is known as the sword or spear dance. The calan-gatban type of manipuri dance was specially introduced at the advent of Vaiṣṇavism at Manipur. It may be called a kīrtana-dance, accompanied by musical instruments like manjirī, karatāla and kholā. At Manipur, kholā is known as mṛdaṅga, and the size of the karatāla is large. The kīrtana songs accompany the manipuri dance.

The rásalilā type of manipuri dance is a most popular one in Manipur, Assam. It represents the sportive play of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and his divine consort Rādhā. The rásalilā is divided into four, kuṇja, vasanta, māha and nitya. The first three types, kuṇja, vasanta and māha are performed in the months of Āświn, Vaiśākha and Kārtika, while the nitya-rāsa is performed at any time in any festival. The rāsa-dances begin with themes of Gita-go-vinda, Govinda-lilāmṛta and other Vaiṣṇava literary works. The Śrīmad-bhāratī first explains the subject-matter of the dance and introduces the main feature of the play, and then the dancers begin their dances with graceful manner. The gṛśalilā dance is also performed in the month of Kārtika. Special types of costume are used in the manipuri dance. They are very richly bedecked and are costly and colourful. These costumes are specially made in Manipur.

The chhow dance of West Bengal originated first in Serāikela and Mayūrbanj, the adjacent ex-feudatory States
of Orissā. It is known as a religious type of dance of Bengal, specially played on the occasion of caitra-parva or Spring Festival in the month of April in honour of Naṭa Bhairava, the dancing Śiva. The dance chbow forms an integral part of pūjā-ceremony of the deity, which is intended to supplicate blessings on the Ruler himself and his subjects.

The word chbow literally means a ‘mask’ (mukhoṣa) in Seraikela. Śri D. N. Paṭṭanāik has said: “As it is a mask-dance, in Seraikela, they call it the chbow-nṛtya. But in Mayūrbhaṇj, the chbow-dancers do not use masks. Both tradition and legend prove that this form of dance was first known as chhāunī-nṛtya (camp-dance). Chhāunī literally means a military camp, where Oriyā soldiers (known as Pāika) were practising war techniques through dance. Later on chhāunī-nṛtya came to be known as chbow-nṛtya”\(^1\). Śri Paṭṭanāik further informs us that the chbow dance of Mayūrbhaṇj, in its original state, was in the form of ‘Farikhela’ or ‘sword-play’. The participants were known as Farikar or sword-player. “This was done with sword and shield in hand. The sword-play was almost in the form of war-dance. Various war-drums were only accompanying instruments of the dance”\(^2\). The primary aim of this war-dance was to develop the physical excitement and courage in the dancing warriors. Some magical ideas were also attached to this type of dance, for creating fear and awe in the mind of the enemies.

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\(^1\) Vide the Souvenir of the Kālā-Vihāra-Kendra, Cuttack, 1959-60, p. 18.

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 18-19.
The basic principles of chhōw dance were known as upalaya, popularly known as uphuli. They were again divided into two sub-classes, hātiārdhara and kalibhaṅga. “The principles of former type are for male characters and the latter type for female characters. Hātiārdhara literally means ‘holding an arm’, the principles of which are very vigorous”. It is interesting to note that in every performance of chhōw dance (naṅkī), marching movements are clearly discernible. So, from very close observation it is proved that chhōw dance of Mayūrbhaṅj was, somehow or other, different from that of Serāikela, because the former was purely a heroic war-dance.

It is said that from the chhānī-nṛtya a new type of dance like asari-chhōw-nṛtya evolved with its art-value and special beauty. The asari-chhōw-nṛtya became very popular and prominent among the people, and it is nowadays played for popular entertainment and culture. Though in the beginning, war formed the theme of the chhōw dance, yet gradually the stories from legends, folk-tales, the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana and Purāṇas were adopted for constituting the theme of chhōw. “During the reign of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Chandra Bhaṅja Deo (19th century), chhōw dance already established itself as a distinct school of dancing in India. He himself was taking particular interest in the dance and with the help of the nṛtya-gurus (dance-masters) codified the techniques of chhōw dance for its systematic training and culture, which was not done so far”.

A peculiar type of music accompanies the chhōw dance, the tunes of which are folk. The wind instruments of sānāī type, known as maburi, and various types of big war-

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1 Ibid., p. 20.
drums, known as dhumsa, a small drum, known as nāgārā, dhol, chaḍchaḍi are played with the chhöw dance. The music or sounds of the musical instruments reflect the moods of the chhöw-dancers, so as to interpret the tunes correctly. The dance begins with slow footsteps with vilamvita-kalā, known as chāli. Then gradually speed of the dance and tempo are increased, and the dance is performed in the madhyama-kalā, known as upalaya, and at last the climax of the dance is performed in quick tempo or druta-kalā, known as nāṭki. Mostly the tunes of the jhumur songs are played in this part of the dance.

Besides these, there are various types of dance, classical, classico-folk and folk, prevalent in India, and they are not only treated merely as a form of art, but also as the perennial source of living inspiration and joy. The regional or folk type of dances like ghātu of Sylhet, gambhirā of Mālda, rāvense and gājan of Bīrbhūm, karaṇ and nāṭuyā of Purulia, bihu of Assam, jhumur of the aboriginal Sāntāls of West Bengal, pāik of different rural regions of Bengal, as well as different folk dances of Rājasthān, Kāshmīre, Punjāb, Mahārāṣṭra, Orissā, Madras, Ceylon and other places are worth-mentioning in this connection.

Modern type of dances are also evolving with their unique styles and graces. And it is a fact that all kinds of dances, classical and folk, help men to regulate their ways of social life by means of observing different measured rhythms of dances, and thus they are helped to approach nearer to the gigantic rhythm of the Nature or Prakṛti, which regulates and vitalizes all the time all animate and inanimate objects of the universe. The rhythms of different dances are the miniature forms of the spontaneous universal dance of Nature, which is symbolized as Siva
Naṭarāj, and if the artistes properly concentrate their minds and energies upon the regulated rhythms of dances of Nature, they will be in a position to get nearer to perfection, which will bestow upon them eternal balance and everlasting bliss.

Now let us give a short account of characteristics of different classes of dance, as described by Bharata in the Nāṭyasāstra. The 4th chapter of the NS. is known as the tāṇḍavelakṣaṇa one. Tāṇḍava is the most ancient and classical type of dance. It has been said before that the dance, tāṇḍava is divided into two, violent one, meant for the male dancer, and gentle one (sukumāra or lāṣya), meant for the female dancer. Bharata has said in this connection,

Prāyena tāṇḍava-vidhir-devastutyaśtrayo bhavet/
Sukumāra-prayogastu śṛṅgāra-rasa-sambhavah//
—NS. IV, 265-66.

That is, the classic dance, tāṇḍava is meant mostly for the adoration of gods, but the gentler sukumāra (lāṣya) form of dance is related to the prime sentiment, śṛṅgāra. Tāṇḍava is majestic and heroic in its nature. It is accompanied by aṅgahāra, karāṇa, recaka, stbāna, cāri, etc., as well as different hand-poses (mudrās) and gestures and postures (hāva and bhāva): "nānā-karaṇa-samyuktai-raṅgahārair-vibbūṣitam." While mentioning about aṅgahāras, Bharata has said,

Tato vai tāṇḍunā proktamstvaṅgahārān mahātmanā/
Nānā-karaṇa-śamyuktān vyākhyāyāmi sa-recakān//
—NS. IV, 18.19.

The aṅgabāras are 32 in number, and they are: sthirabasta, paryastaka, suśīviddha, apaśīviddha, ākṣiuptaka, udgāṭṭita, viśkambha, aparājita, viśkamābhāpasyā, mattakriyā, svastikarecita, pāṛśvasvastika, vṛṣcika, bbramara, mattrakshalitaka, madavilasita, gatimāṇḍala, paricchinna, pāribhṛtarecita, vaiśākharecita, pārāvyṛtta, alātaka, pārśvacechita, vidyutbhrānta, uddbhṛtaka, ālidha, recita, acchurita, aṅkṣiptarecita, sambhrānta, upasarpita and ardha-nikūṭṭaka.

The aṅgabāras are known by their different movements of hands and feet, and so all the aṅgabāras consist of different karaṇas. The karaṇas are but a combination of movements of hands and feet in dance. Two karaṇas make one mātrikā, and two, three or four mātrikās constitute one aṅgabāra. Again three karaṇas make a kalāpaka, four, a saṇḍaka, and five, a saṃghātaka. Thus the aṅgabāras consist of six, seven, eight or nine karaṇas. Bharata has said in this regard:

Hasta-pāda-samāyoga nṛttasya karaṇāṁ bhavet/
Dve nṛta-karaṇe caiva bhavato nṛta-mātrikāḥ//
Dvābhyaṁ tri-caturābhir-vyāpyāṅgahārastu māṭibhīḥ/
Tribhīḥ kalāpako jñeyalḥ caturbhīr-manḍalakastathā//
Paṁcāiva karaṇāṁi syuḥ saṃghātaka iti smṛtah/
Ṣaḍbhīrvarśe saptabhīrväpi aśṭabhīr-navabhīstathā//
Karanairiha samyuktā aṅgahārāḥ prakīrtitāḥ//

—Nāṭyaśāstra (Vārāṇasī edition), IV. 30-33.

Bharata has given descriptions of 108 karaṇas, composed of different movements of hands and feet: “eteśāṁiha vṛṣyāmi basta-pāda-vikalpanāṁ” (vide all the definitions and descriptions of the 108 karaṇas in the Nāṭyaśāstra, Vārāṇasī edition, IV. 34-55). These karaṇas are applicable to dance, fight, personal combat, walking and movements
in general. The *ṛttabastas* are applied to the *karaṇas*, the *sthānas*, *cāris* and *ṛttabastas* are known as *mātrikā*, the variations of which are known as *karaṇas*.

Bharata has also given the definitions of 108 *karaṇas* and different *āṅgabāras*. Regarding *recaka*, Bharata has said,

Caturo recakāṁśaiva gadato me nibodhata/
Pāda-recaka ekaḥ syāt dvitiyaḥ kaṭi-recakaḥ//
Kara-recakastraśya tu caturthaḥ kaṇṭha-recakaḥ/
Recitākhyāḥ pṛthag-bhāve valena cābhidhiyate//
Udvāhanāt pṛthag-bhāvān vicalanāccāpi recakāḥ/
Pārśvāt pārśva tu gamanaṁ skhalitaṁ calitaṁ padaiḥ//
Vividhaścaiva pādasya pāda-recaka ucyate/
Trikasyodvarttanaṁ caiva kaṭi-calanameva ca//
Tathāpasaṁśaiva kaṭi-recaka ucyate/
Udvartanaṁ pariśeṣa viksepa-parivartanaṁ//
Visarpaṇaṁ ca hastaṁ hasta-recaka ucyate/
Udvāhanaṁ sannamanāṁ tathā pārśvasya sannatīḥ//
Bhramanaṁ cāpi viśeṣo grīvāyā recako vudhaiḥ/,
Recakāraṁgaḥāraśca ṛṇyangantaṁ viṁśya saṁkaraṁ//
Sukumāra-prayogena ṛṇyati sma ca pārvati/
Mṛdaṅga-bheri-patāhaiḥ bhāṅḍa-diṇḍīsama-gomukhaiḥ/
Paṇavair-dardurādyaiśca nānā-todyaiḥ pravāditaiḥ//


That is, among the *recakas*, the first is known as *pāda-recaka*, the second, as *kaṭi-recaka*, the third, as *hasta-recaka*, and the fourth, as *grīvā-recaka*. The movements of these four limbs, foot, waist, hand and neck are connected with the *recaka*. The term *recaka* connotes the idea of moving round of the limbs of the body separately or ‘its drawing up or its movement of any kind separately’. To cite the
English translation of the four *racakas*, done by Dr. M. Ghose, it can be said that among the four kinds of *recaka*: “Pādarecaka going from side to side with wavering feet or with differently moving feet, is called their *recaka*. Kāti-recaka rising up the *trīka* and the turning of the waist as well as its drawing back, is called the kāti-recaka. Hasta-recaka—rising up, throwing out, putting forward, turning round and drawing back of the hand is called its *recaka*. Gīvā-recaka—rising up, lowering and bending the neck sideways, and other movements of it are called its *recaka*. Seeing Saṅkara (*Śiva*) dance with *recakas* and *āṅgabhāras*, Pārvatī too performed a gentle dance (lit. danced with delicate forms), and this dance was followed by the playing of musical instruments like *mṛdaṅga, bherī, paṭāha, dīṇḍima, gomukha, paṇava and dardura*. All these musical drums were made of clay and wood, and these drums, accompanied by lute (*veṇā*) and flute (*veṇu* or *vaṁśa*) used to from the *kutapa* in ancient time. It has been said before that the drum, *puṣkara* was made of clay or wood, it accompanied dance and music in ancient time.

In the Orissan treatise, *Abhinayacandrikā*, written by Maheswara Mahāpātra, in the 12th century A.D., it is found that some new types of hand-poses (*mudrā*) were used in ancient Orissi dance, and they are also evident from different sculptural representations in different temples of Orissa. The Jaina Cave-temples of Udayagiri and Khāṇḍagiri provide numerous examples of representations of dance, and they were curved on different facades in low relief. One of the earliest ruined temples at Bhubanēśvara is the Bhārateśvara near the Rāmeśvara is still preserving remains of some sculptures of hand-poses and dancing
postures, which, it is believed, were used in the Orissan dances and dramatic plays. "A sunken panel marking the transition between the cubical and the curvilinear portions of the temple, shows among other motifs, a procession of Śiva's marriage in which Lord Śiva riding Nādī is headed by a procession consisting of the gods such as Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Agni, Nārada and Śiva-gaṇas, and of the two dancing girls throwing their hands in ecstasy with the rhythmic movements of their feet. The freize is only partially preserved, but Nārada playing on the veṇā and the two dancing girls heading the procession are clearly discernible. In the actual marriage scene of Śiva too, the dancing girls make their appearance. One scene of Śiva's marriage appearing in the Parasurāmeśvara temple depicts a dancing girl in midst of several deities with Śiva and Pārvatī as the bride-groom and the bride. Human activities and sentiments have no doubt been attributed to gods and goddesses and it is, therefore, interesting to note that the custom of engaging dancers and musicians on the occasion of marriage, so widely prevalent in modern times, goes back to hoary antiquity".1

The great temples of Purī and Koṅārka, built during the rule of the Gaṅgā dynasty in Orissā in the 12th century A.D., also preserve many sculptural remains of hand-poses and dance-postures. And it can be said without hesitation that those classical hand-poses and dance-postures clearly show the evidence that they were designed and curved according to the laws and principles as prescribed in

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1 Vide The Souvenir, publish by the Kalā-Vikāśa-Kendra, Cuttack (1958), p. 3.
Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra and Nandikeśvara’s Abhinayadarpaṇa. The Orissi hand-poses and dance-postures gradually evolved with their special forms and graces in Orissā through the process of interchange of ideas of arts and cultures. Well has it been said by Dr. Pānigrāhi: “Through the perennial process of give and take, Orissā gave to and received from other parts of India certain characteristics of these fine arts and then giving them the impress of her own genius constituted to new system known to us as the Orissi music and the Orissi dance”.

The hand-poses of the Orissan dance, as mentioned in the text of Mahāpātra’s Abhinayacandrikā, are fifty-eight in number. The single hand-poses are 26 and those of double hand-poses are 24 plus 8 traditional single hand-poses = 58. The Orissi dance is always accompanied by Orissi songs, composed by different ancient bards of Orissa, namely Kavi-samrāṭ Upendra Bhaṣija, Kavi-sūrya Baladeva Rath, Banamālī Dās, Gopāl Krishṇa and others. The performers of Orissi dance skilfully represent different hand-poses to express different meaning and significances of the songs, and thus they create the aesthetic value in the entire abhinaya.

Now a comprehensive chart of the Orissi hand-poses has been put forth by Dr. D. N. Paṭṭanāik in his article on Hand-Gestures in Orissi Dance. Let me take the privilege of quoting some portions of the chart, so as to throw some lights on the idea of the forms of the hand-poses,

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1 Cf, Dr. K. C. Pānigrāhi: Sculptural Representation of Music and Dance in Orissā in the ‘Souvenir’, published by the Kala-Vikāśa-Kendra, Cuttack, 1958, p. 10.
generally used in the Orissi dance. Dr. Paṭṭanāik has shown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abhinayachandrika</th>
<th>Nātyaśāstra</th>
<th>Abhinayadarpaṇa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dhvaja</td>
<td>Patāka</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhyāna</td>
<td>Arāla</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṅkuṣa</td>
<td>Kapīṭṭha</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaya</td>
<td>Mukula</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirdeśika</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Suchimūkha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haṁsa-pakṣa</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Mṛugaśīra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gomukha</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>(Mṛgaśīra?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mṛugākṣya (Mṛgaśīra)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Śimhamūkha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardhachandra</td>
<td>Ardhachandra</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āratrika</td>
<td>Śikhaṇa</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaśiptra (?)</td>
<td>Alapaḍma</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Other hand-gestures of the Abhinayachandrika”, he says, “namely Daṇḍa, Sarpaśīra Balaya, Prabodhikā, Sūkachāṇchu, Lulita, Biroḍha, Tāmbula, Bastra, Chaturmukha and Chatura have no similarity with any of the hand-gestures, mentioned in the Nātyaśāstra and the Abhinayadarpaṇa. Mentions of Sarpaśīra, Sūkachāṇchu, Ardhachandra and Chatura are also found in the Nātyaśāstra and the Abhinayadarpaṇa, but except Ardhachandra others bear no similarity”.

It has been said before that the textual single hand-poses of Orissi dance are twenty-six and traditional single

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ones are eight in number, constituting a total number of thirty-four, whereas in the *Nātyasastra*, the numbers of the single hand-poses are twenty-four and in the *Abhinaya-darpana*, twenty-eight only.

**APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER XII**

**General Rules for Dance (शृण्यसामान्यशिक्षितं):**

श्रेणीनालयाबद्धार्थं हस्तेनालयश्रव्द्यम् ।
चक्षुस्मृणं भावेनद्वारं पादपायं तालनिर्णयं ||111||
यतसं हुस्तकालो हस्तिकालो हस्तिकालो मनः ।
यतसं मनलकालो भावो यतसं भावलकालो रसः ||122||

|| नाय्कारस्मतोलसमम ॥

कुशीलयेर्थस्तयते दुखादौ दुप्रायोपयाम् ।
तदस्वरमिति श्रीहं नाय्कारस्मार्धविशारदः ||133||
लयाशुगोष्टिनादं स्वाभाविक अनिवर्दा ।
भरतदिभिराचायरायरसं तहुदाहतम ||144||
नाटराणं श्रुक्षस्तु तमालारं जयुबुत्थात् ।
तत्ततारं जगद्वदिरिलगेर्ववर्गः प्रयोजयेव, ||155||
आदायन्ते योदिगावं मथे पाटाद्वभुतम ।
भोहरेरूति संशोधस्तां कथितो हरिभव्यु भुजा ||66||
तत्ततारथ प्रयोक्तव्यो भम्मणात्तालालुवारत: ।
ततो नाटप्रस्ताकित्व प्रयोगो रिदिरियते ||66||
अढ्यालेन तत्ततारं नाम्मवान्ते रिदिरियते ।
ततो रिदि: कौतमपि कथ्यं लास्यप्रवर्द्धितं: ||66||
उज्जुमानं द्रादशा च लालस्च करणं तत: ।
व्यस्ता वाश्य समस्तं व भ्रमयं वहुशोभिता: ||66||
व्यासाद्वर्यम् दुवांि च कृतां तुषकृमर्यम् ।
हस्तं हि सर्वेर्वानां प्रारम्भे कार्यमर्यमितम् ॥ १०॥

॥ कीतलज्ञाम् ॥
यदुकितकिलसवंन्च देवतारियवार्यमकम् ।
विचिलपाटसूनुकं शाल्यार्धं हयशोभितम् ॥ ११॥

* * * किन्तुलक्षणोऽति ।
ककारः श्वेतवर्षं स्यादकारो रक्तवर्षाकाम ॥ १२॥
तकारः श्वायवर्षं स्यादर्यस्यादवर्षालज्ञाम ।
ककारे कश्मुमार्यां उकारे विष्णुवर्णान ॥ १३॥
तकारे पार्वेती श्रोक्ता कीतलज्ञाधिदेवन ।

॥ कौथासं ॥
कौथासानवसु तदवलो दिनिकिलय ् ् ब ॥ १४॥
शिरोमेधेः सामायुको दशिशानकसंवुतः ।
हस्तादी हस्तायुगामी पादचारसु कौथासं ॥ १५॥
बैशाखशाखानके सिदंत हस्तरो नाभितं करी ।
पद्धपसरसंधरं सूर्य यदुचलाति शोभनम् ॥ १६॥
ताहुसामले तु चलमं तदव विष्णुसमाचरेत ।
सम्बेद जातुना भूमी स्थितवा तु तदन्तन्तरम् ॥ १७॥
दशिलाथ तदव हस्तो वचस्यो खलपवकक ।
बामहस्तं तदव कुञ्चितसितं नाभिषेकारम् ॥ १८॥
धुतं तथा शिरः श्रोक्ता समस्मितिधीरिता ।
दशिलाथं पुरातो व्यस्तं पादं मन्दव प्रचालयेत ॥ १६॥
खलपवकक खटकासुखं लिपताकक ।
उदासानवितं सम्बेदवोथम् खटकासुखं ॥ १०॥
अघोमुखं पताकशः खश्चापसं स्मारयैत ।
श्रीपियपापते तृ खटकासुखं व्यस्तः लपस्य: ॥ १२.९॥
ततो नामी हु शिखरः कांसिस स लिपतावः।
पताकाश्च दुधूल्यं पार्श्वं साध्यं प्रसारः।॥२१॥
श्रावङ्गेः सकुदकुल्कण्यायानं हु शान्तः।
लिपताका वचितः च ह्रिद्यश लोकातिः।॥२२॥
श्रावङ्गेः भवेदेवं ततो नान्तनमाचरेत।
मण्डलाकारतपाश्र्ये नदनं भ्रमणं ततो।॥२४॥
नामो हु शिखरः पार्श्वे पताकोक्रमं।
सन्ताने लिपताका हु पुर। हस्तार्थशारिकः।॥२५॥
लतांमुखसिन्धु हस्तः कारस्तूलानाचितः।
पार्श्वं विकृतं वेशाके सिन्धः पुराणधरणं।॥२६॥

॥ आलापचारिका ॥

कृपेति स्वेदरागेर शुचं जायमां हु सायके।॥२७॥
नर्तकी दुहिति यदा सा प्रोका आलापचारिका।
आलापचारी वशं देशीप्रच्छिन्तमाधिककातः।॥२८॥
भरतार्क्यविधितव्य कुशलमिव समाधिताम|।
अनविद्यालापस्ती गुणं तानागुर्विति च।॥२९॥
आलापचारी सा ज्ञान सत्यं सिद्धार्थ्य।।
समस्तां स्थितां भुवना कोलाहस्ती समायतेऽ।॥३०॥
समं शिरस्तत्वे श्रीकं हरिज्ञाति समा मध्यत।।
समस्तं तिततिः तु मलकर्म परिवर्त्तितम्।॥३१॥
हटः प्रलोकिता चाँदः हस्तः पूर्वं प्रवह ह।
सदास्तमा को किं चलनं तु यथा भवेत।॥३२॥
काये तुर्माशानं स्वामयकः पार्श्वेर्योऽहुँसः।।
तिततिः भुकुमारः मिर वरा महिष्ठितं भवेत।॥३३॥
हरितमहतिमित्वं वामहोरस्वलक्ष्यं।।
दुधिखसूं पताकोक्रे पुरं पूर्वालु चालमयं।॥३४॥
हिसननुष्ठापणमे तवष्टुं भु तत्त्वादः।

आदेकु भवेद-दरियमृत प्रसाधनामाकः॥३॥

पताको वामहलस्य पृथ्विद्वागल्लभाननम्।

यं कवित्रागमाभिध गीताध्यायस्य वस्त्रं भावत्॥३॥

करणान्गुसुक्लाद्विता तालादितर्तनं भवेदः।

देशीयालापचारोमथ कथिता कोहलादिविगः॥३॥

॥ नर्तनटर्दाः ॥

तारवर् लायमित्येवन्म द्वृत्तं देशा निम्बते॥

लास्यं तु सुकुमाराकर्न भाष्यवर्धनम्॥३॥

शुद्धलास्यं देशिका च प्रेरणा। प्रेमद्वेषिति च।

कुएदली दुरितका चारपि कलासः सत्यां सत्यः॥३॥

दध्याबर्तं धूते वामस्य अभिमाणं तत्॥३॥

विनुमटमभेमैव लाल्लात्रामभेमैव च।

अंवेदं तारबं भिक्षुः सत्या तारबकः॥३॥

तारकमुद्रकाध्यप्रयोगं तारबं स्मृतम्॥

पुष्पार्जिकलम्बैव द्वादशोहुपलागः॥३॥

धवालव लिमेष्ठ तारवर् व परिकौरितम।

निकृष्टं कृष्टं च सम्प्राकृष्टं तदा॥३॥

पार्ष्टिकृष्टं नेत्र व स्याद्धकृष्टं च तथा।

नदनं क्षमिलाहणांस्य गीतमन्नकम्॥३॥

विनुमट दर्शनचिन्द्रं नुस्मतिवेद्यस्ते चुरः॥

इद्यत्राश्वं संभिष्टं पाटाचरुसरोभितम्॥३॥

रुक्मचरविशेषं गीतान्तर्त श्रव्द उच्चते।

हैं दु ( में, 'मे')-कारी प्रसादः

इद्व आदिशान्वीं वदन्ति हि॥४॥
The Mythico-religious interpretations of Evolution of Dance, as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*:

II

The Mythico-religious interpretations of Evolution of Dance, as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*:

II

The Mythico-religious interpretations of Evolution of Dance, as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*:

II

The Mythico-religious interpretations of Evolution of Dance, as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*:
अंबावधामानसरयो लच्छा यदुकलोद्धार।
नमस्यां तस समुद्रपणं पदं प्रभानिष्टवयः ॥१॥
तत्तजातः खच्छ बलवा देवः शुभचन्द्रमुखः।
*   *   *
परिक्रम मया तोयेह दुःसलालितः प्रभो।
अतीव रमणीयान्तः कितयं भृ॥ से प्रभो ॥१॥

अभावानुवाच ॥

हुतमुदापदितं बौद्धमया पद्धनिष्टवज्जे।
अश्राहरः सक्रयं संयुक्तं सपरिक्ष॥ ॥१॥
हुतेनाराध्यित्वन्ति भक्तिमन्तस्तु मां शुभे।
बोधिक्या शाल्करणं दत्ते देवि प्रतिविद्धवम् ॥१॥
एतावदुक्ता तां देवो भावायं वाक्यमत्वीत।
हुतायं रत्नं धर्मं लक्षणलक्षणसंयुतम् ॥१॥
एतावदुक्ता भावायं प्राहुयामास केशवः।
तत्सुद्धीक्ता ततो भावः ददि हदाय चेष्यसे ॥१॥
हुतोक्ता कृच द्वितीयो तोप्यायामास केशवाम्।
वेन हुतेन सततं देवेशं भक्तिभवसलम् ॥२॥
एवमुदापदितं दृश्य वासुदेवान पार्थिव।
एकायवे शुरां योके नरस्थाबरजस्तः ॥२॥
ततः प्रत्यति देवेशं शश्रः शश्रो नृणाम्।
हुतेनाराध्यस्तस्ते देवं चक्रवद्धस्तरम् ॥२॥
हुतोस्तरवं चावाप हुधाय मधुसुदनम।
सोरविषवतु मुद्धवतु मम्माराधितो हुरः ॥२॥
हुतेयच देवासुद्धवतु मम्माराधिता।
हुतेमाण्डलम् परं घोषतं कथितं हु द्वीपिकाम् ॥२॥
एतदेव हि देववं दीप्तां सततं दिविः।
धुर्गतेवदानयमेभो नृत्तां विशिष्यवते ॥२॥
III. Cf. also the *Agni-purāṇa*: नृत्यादायकर्मेनििष्टिः, in the चतुर्विनिष्टिकेशतसमिभाष्य: *Ślokas*, 1-20.

CHAPTER XIII
THE ACOUSTICS OF INDIAN MUSIC

The word ‘acoustics’ is derived from the Greek verb *akousa—*‘to hear’, and as such the acoustics of music means the science of auditory vibrations of music, sensed by the auditory nerve. It is the study of the physical basis of music. Helmholtz in Germany, Köening in Paris and Lord Raybigh in England mainly worked on this physical process of music in a scientific manner and on the mathematical basis. In India also, efforts have been made in this direction for making music and its culture perfect in system and sublime in quality.

Acoustics, not only of music of India, but also of music of all civilized countries of the world is mainly concerned with the nature of sound and its vibrations, and also with its relationship to music, resources, intensity, loudness, pitch, register, audition, musical quality, consonance, scale, temperament, harmonic analysis, air columns, musical voice, production of good voice, etc. Thus acoustics of Indian music can also be said to be the physics of Indian music.

Now from the viewpoint of physics, the word ‘sound’ is commonly used in two different senses, says Dr. E. H. Barton, (1) to denote the *sensation* perceived by means of the ear when the auditory nerves are excited; and (2) to denote the *external physical disturbance* which, under ordinary conditions, suitably excites the auditory nerves. And from this standpoint *acoustics* really connotes the idea of the ‘study of sound’. It can be said to be the branch of physics which deals with vibratory motion as perceived by the sense of hearing. So three things are imperative
for the production of sound, musical or non-musical, and these three things are: (a) some medium to receive and transmit the vibratory motion; (b) the parts of the body in vibratory motion should have such shape, size and motion as to cause a disturbance to advance through the air; and (c) our ears should enable us to perceive the sensation of sound only when effected by to-and-fro movements whose number per second lies between certain limits. So to produce sound sensations, it is necessary that our vibrating body should conform to this requirement also.

All sounds may be divided roughly into two classes, noise or non-musical and musical sounds. Though ordinary sounds are not known as musical ones, yet they may not be recognised as noise or irregular sounds. Now the difference between noise and musical sound lies in the fact that noises are irregular or sudden, whereas musical sounds are comparatively smooth, regular balanced and sweet.

If we study the science of musical sound, we find that musical sounds are possessed of vibrations, because they are no other than the sum total of sweet and soothing vibrations. Dr. Barton has defined vibration as the period which is no other than the time from the instant when the vibrating point passes through any position to the instant when it next passes through the same position, moving in the same direction. Again, every unit of vibration is possessed of a frequency, and the frequency of a vibration is the number of vibrations, performed per unit time. Thus frequency is the reciprocal period. Again, the amplitude of a vibration 'is the maximum displacement, assumed by the vibrating point in the course of its motion'. Next the phase of a vibrating point at any instant is the state of its displacement and motion at the instant in question.'
All musical sounds are characterised by three features like pitch, intensity and quality. Now, what do we mean by a ‘pitch’. The pitch of a musical sound is a feature, recognised by every one. It depends upon the period or frequency of the vibrations constituting the sound. The greater the frequency, higher the pitch. Dr. Barton has shown that a pitch is specified in two distinct ways: (a) scientifically, by the statement of the period or frequency of the vibration, or by the logarithm of its frequency, and (b) musically, by the statement of the period or frequency of the vibration, or by assigning to the sound in question its position in a certain accepted series of sounds constituting a musical scale.¹

The intensity of the sound-waves is a purely physical quantity, independent of the ear. It is proportional to the wave energy passing per unit time through unit area. So, we find that a pitch depends upon the frequency, whereas an intensity upon the amplitude of the vibration. The loudness of a sound ‘depends upon the intensity of the waves producing it, and increases and decreases with the intensity for a sound of given frequency, but in a way difficult precisely to define, and scarcely susceptible of strictly quantitative statement’.² The quality of a sound serves to distinguish between musical sounds of the same pitch and intensity, produced on different instruments, say, the voice, the violin, the organ or any other musical instrument; and it is found that different qualities are observed in various musical sounds, vocal and instrumental.

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2 Ibid. p. 15.
tones in relation to aesthetic significances of the causal microtones (jāti-brutis). The musicologists of India have also determined the colours, presiding deities of the tones, as well as of the rāgas which are but the outcome of combinations of tones (svaras). They also observed the ancient grāmas, mūrcchanās, tānas, varṇas, etc., as the products of musical tones.

The modern musicologists, after incorporating in their scheme the Western mathematical divisions of microtones into different vibrational units, have devised some definite vibrations of both the sharp and flat notes. The sounds are the finer matters in vibrations, as light, electricity, etc., are. The finer matters are the ethereal particles in motion, energised by the dynamic eternal force or energy. Music primarily implies tones and melodies, but in the final analysis, its material elements are resolved into that divine cosmic energy, which creates, sustains and destroys everything in this phenomenal world.

The Western musicologists are of opinion that sound forms the basis of music, and though all kinds of sound are the outcome of vibrations of ethereal particles, yet musical sounds (sound-units) are specially distinct from the ordinary non-musical sounds or noise. The musical sounds are smooth, regular, periodic and pleasant and are of definite pitch, whereas non-musical sounds, in their turn, are rough, irregular, unpleasant and, therefore, are possessed of no definite pitch. So there is a difference between a musical sound and a noise, and this difference between musical tones and noises can generally be determined by attentive aural observation without artificial assistance.

Hermann Helmholtz says that a "noise is accompanied by a rapid alteration of different kinds of sensations of
sound”, whereas “a musical tone strikes the ear as a perfectly undisturbed, uniform sound which remains unaltered as long as it exists, and it prevents no alteration of various kinds of constituents”. So it is understood that musical tones are the simpler and more regular elements of sensations of hearing, and they have a periodic motion. “By a periodic motion”, says Helmholtz, “we mean one which constantly returns to the same condition after exactly equal intervals of time. The length of the equal intervals of time between one state of the motion and its next exact repetition we call the length of the oscillation, vibration or swing, or the period of the motion”. So from the definition of periodic motion we get the answer thus “the sensation of a musical tone is due to a rapid periodic motion of the sonorous body; the sensation of a noise to non-periodic motions”.¹

A musical co-ordinated sound or tone is intelligible when it is possessed of recognizable pitch, and noise is a complex of frequencies, assembled more or less at random and having no recognizable pitch. When a sound-complex includes all audible frequencies in equal ratios, says Charles E. Osgood, it is called ‘white noise’, analogous to the production of white light in vision through mixture of all wave lengths of light. The difference between noise and tone as psychological experiences is to some extent modifiable by experience,—as Chinese music sounds like noise to most occidentally trained ears. In fact, the vibrations of sound communicate themselves to the air in contact with the vibrating system, and this to-and-fro vibration is communicated through air from the source to the ear of the listener.

¹ Vide Sensations of Tone (Dover ed., 1954), pp. 7-8.
Dr. Alexander Wood says: "We have three principal aspects of the musical note to consider: (a) the vibration of the source, (b) the transmission through the medium, and (c) the reception by the hearer". Therefore sounds, whether tone, speech or noise, have frequency and pitch that create amplitude of vibrations and loudness. Bodies, vibrating very slowly, says Dr. Wood, do not produce sensation of sound, but when their frequency reaches about 20 or more per second, we begin to hear very low sound, and as the frequency continues to rise, we hear higher and higher pitch, until finally at a point roughly 20,000 vibrations per second we cease to hear sound. All sounds have, therefore, vibrations, and all sound-vibrations have three physical attributes, viz. frequency, amplitude and vibration, which give rise in the mind of the audiences three psychological tonal attributes, and they are called pitch, loudness and tone-quality.

A sound has a quality of its own, and different kinds of sound are possessed of different specific qualities. A musical sound has in it a musical quality, termed klaugfarsee in German and timbre in French. In Indian music, this quality may be termed as svatantra-dharma. Dr. Alexander Wood has suggested that if a tone of the given and definite pitch is played successively on two different musical instruments, and played with exactly the same loudness, we can distinguish between two sounds, and refer each to its appropriate instrument. The basis of this judgement is the quality of the sound. The German physicist Chalandus (1756-1827 A.D.) first experimented this process of musical quality of sound on a vibrating plate, and afterwards it was attempted by Hermann Helmholtz in terms of partial tones. Helmholtz insisted that differences
in quality were all capable of explanation in terms of particular selection of partial forms, associated with any note and their relative intensities.

Every sound has a resonance, and this resonance is transmitted by the help of vibrations in the form of waves. Now, what do we mean by a resonance? A resonance is the result of vibrations of a sounding body, being communicated to another body. It can be said to be the throwing of one body into the co-vibration by another body. The resonance or free resonance is a sympathetic phenomenon of vibration of sound that evolves motion or vibrating body. The principle, underlying the phenomenon, was first promulgated by Galileo (1564-1642 A.D.), and was afterwards systematically worked out by Wallis, Marloye, Helmholtz and other Western scholars.

We hear and appreciate everything audible through the medium of ear, and it is a remarkable instrument that has been given to human beings. The ear is commonly divided into three parts, the outer, the middle and the inner ones. The outer ear is known as the pinna. The sound-waves travel down the external auditory meatus, the hole in the ear and strike the tympanic membrane at its end, which is a band of skin that separates the outer and the middle ears. Music is produced either by human voice or instruments, and the sound-vibrations of music charm and captivate human hearts by creating sweet and soothing impressions (sanskāras). So music is partly a conscious and partly a subconscious or unconscious act, and the subconscious exercise of motor nerves, says Banavia Hunt, can only be translated into the realm of consciousness in terms of subjective physical sensation.
Music, which is produced by the human voice, is transmitted with the help of vocal mechanism. Now the question arises as to how it is produced by the vocal cords. It is the product of a main wave, modulated by a number of subsidiary waves. The main wave takes form immediately in front of the larynx, holding vocal cords due to the vortices or rotating cores of pressure of air, which issue from the vibrant slit.

But how do the vortices produce sound? The air in the throat remains stagnant, until disturbed by jets of air pressure from the lungs. The vibrating cords, opening and closing in alternate sequence, inject vortices into the restricted passage of throat immediately above, which corresponds to the mouth-piece of a brass instrument. These progressive cores of air set up pressure vibrations in the stagnant air, each vibration occurring at the velocity of sound (11,000 feet per second) and the frequency per second corresponding to the number of vortices forming per second, and the number of complete vibration executed by the vocal cords per second. Thus if the cords are vibrating at the rate of 25 times in one second, in that same space of time 25 vortices will be ejected into the throat by the cord, and 25 pressure vibrations will occur in the stagnant air of the throat. The acoustic result will be the sounding of middle C. Now the air in the throat, covering a restricted space, imposes a loud resistance on the vibrating cords and their associated vortex system, and in consequence, considerably enhances the efficiency of the acoustic output.

In fact, the wave-front, produced immediately in front of the cords, is amplified in the mouth, which acts somewhat as a horn or tube, terminating in a flare. The size
Hand-Poses

1. Pataka
2. Ardha chanda (Natya sastra)
3. Shikha ra
4. Padma kosa ha
5. Mrigashtirsha
6. Simhamukha (side)

7. Svastika
8. Hansapaksha (Natya sastra)
9. Khatakamukha (Natya sastra)
10. Urnanabha (Natya sastra)
11. Hansssya (Ajanta)
12. Chatura (Natya sastra)
of the vortices, proceeding from the vibrant slit of the cords, also varies in accordance with the air of that slit, which can be adjusted within limit by the vocalist. As the latter sings an ascending scale of tones, he gradually reduces the diameter of the vortex rings until they become quite small in comparison with those he was manufacturing, when singing the lower notes. Since the cords execute a simple harmonic motion, the vortices produce the fundamental frequency only, but this simple wave is modulated by the vibrating air column and formant of the throat and larynx; hence the 'laryngeal voice', which is essentially embryonic and constitutes the main sound wave of the vocal system, consists of the fundamental and harmonics plus a small percentage of formant. The 'laryngeal voice' is amplified by the throat and mouth, but it is worthy of note that the singer is able to direct the sound column in the throat, either outwards towards the mouth or towards the pharynx. The directing process is carried out by the adjustment of the cords, since the use of a section of cords propels the vortices and resulting sound column towards the soft palate or even behind it in the direction of head cavities; while the employment of the entire cord directs it towards the hard palate. In all cases, however, it must be understood that the sound is ultimately reflected into the mouth and is transmitted as a progression of spherical waves into outer space.

In dealing with the acoustics of music, something must be dealt about the musical instruments, specially about the stringed ones. Dr. E. H. Barton has elaborately dealt with the methods of construction, measurements and tonal qualities of different kinds of Western musical instruments.
in his book: *A Text Book on Sound.* He has divided the musical instruments into three chief divisions, viz. (1) the *exciter*, or means of producing vibrations; (2) the *vibrating system*; and (3) the *manipulative mechanism* for the production of the various notes of the scale for expressions, etc. The *vibrating system*, he says, may often with advantage be subdivided into a *vibrator of definite pitch* and a *resonator which reinforces*, and otherwise, modifies the sounds, produced by the *vibrator*.

Dr. Barton has further divided the characteristic features of the musical instruments into seven classes, and they are: (1) the range or pitch or *compass* of the instrument; (2) the interval relation of the possible notes or the *scale* of the instrument; (3) the *power and delicacy* of tones producible; (4) the noises accompanying the beginning or finishing of the sounds; (5) the possible or inevitable *change of intensity* of the sounds while they last; (6) the *quality* of the sound after it is completely established by musicians often termed tone; (7) lastly, the instrument may be restricted to the production of one note at a time, or be capable of producing simultaneously two or more notes, i.e. it may be restricted to melody or capable of harmony. He has also scientifically divided the various musical tones into following five classes: (1) those with the full harmonic series of partials, i.e. including the prime the relative frequencies are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, etc.; (2) those with harmonic partials, but forming only the odd series of natural numbers i.e. the relative frequencies are 1, 3, 5, 7, etc.; (3) tones with inharmonic

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2 Ibid., p. 408.
partials; (4) simple tones, usually limiting cases of the foregoing three classes in which the upper partials are indefinitely diminished or suppressed; (5) tones with harmonic partials, but, whatever the pitch of the note, those partials near some one or more fixed pitches specially reinforced, the others being relatively discouraged.\(^1\)

The human voice, whether musical or non-musical, possesses two units of element, primary and secondary. The first element, says Prof. Herbert Caesari, is the initiatory process, set in motion by the vocal cords, and culminating in the second columns; second is the resonance element which is derived from the various cavities. Prof. Bonavia Hunt is of opinion that when we speak of resonance, we mean one or two possible phenomena; either the sympathetic vibration of an air column, enclosed in a chamber or cavity. The former is represented by the bony and cartilaginous framework that holds the body together, the latter by the slightest prompting of the parent system. These resonators all impose their complex wave forms on the main wave when ‘comped’ to it, and modify and modulate it in such a way that both quality and intensity are profoundly affected.

Though real and abstract music is known by its manifestation of tones or different arrangements of tones only, yet to the mass or multitude it is manifested as the combination of tones and words. Generally \textit{speech} (word) and \textit{song} (tone) make music, expressive and recognisable. But there lies a difference between \textit{speech} and \textit{song}, and that difference is perceptible due to the use of vowels and

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 409.
consonants attached thereto. Prof. Bartholomew is of opinion that, in general, song prolongs the vowels and shortens the consonants, while speech does not dwell on vowels, and, therefore, is occupied with consonantal sounds for a larger proportion of the time. In fact, a song or tune tends to prolong the vowels which means the vowels in general may be sung with an open throat and mouth, permitting power as well as beautiful quality, whereas consonants are usually produced by narrowing or more or less complete closures at one or more points between back of the tongue and the lips.

Song can afford to sacrifice speed for beauty. Speech, on the other hand, must usually get its message across as quickly as possible, and since the understanding of it is based largely on perceiving the consonants, they are usually sufficiently emphasized while many vowels are passed over as quickly as possible. Instead of an enlarged back throat resonator as in good singing, the result is then a more or less constant tonic construction of the throat during speech, because of the frequent occurrence of consonants without sufficient intervening vowels time to permit enlargement. Now, the positions of the larynx, pharynx, tongue, velum, lips, and other parts are almost constantly changing to a much more rapid degree than song. Besides another "difference between song and speech is that, in general, song follows a more or less strict melodic outline, sustaining for definite durations certain pitches in a certain scale, with relatively little but rapid sliding from one pitch to another, while speech has no formal melody, but slides constantly up or down depending on the sense of words to be inflected. The sustaining of certain pitches and qualities, as in singing,
makes it more difficult to understand the word, even if they are carefully pronounced”.

Regarding the position of vowels in music, it can be said that when songs are composed and sung, attention is always given to the words and tunes of the songs, and special stress is laid on the pronunciation of the vowels. The vowels are taken to be the vital force or prāṇa in Indian music, because they add aesthetic lustre and beauty to the rāgas (melodies) and, consequently, to the songs (gītis) also.

The vowels are produced with open mouth i.e. with the open or untouched tongue and the lips, whereas consonants by narrowing more or less complete closure at one or more points between the back of the tongue and the lips. When songs are sung with the use of maximum quantity of vowels, they create greater number of emotional quality and enjoyability, whereas when they are sung with the use of greater number of consonants, they rather stand in the way of creating aesthetic lustre. By way of an example: while defining a rāga, Mātāṅga and Pārśvadeva and others have said that when a rāga comprises greater number of vowels, it pleases and soothes the minds of those who listen to it. Mātāṅga says in the Bṛhaddeśī,

(a) Svara-varṇa-viśeṣeṇa dhvanibhedena vā punah/
Rajyate yena yah kaśacet sa rāgah sammataḥ
satām//,

(b) Yo’sau dhvani-viśeṣastu svara-varṇa-vibhuṣitaḥ/
Rañjako jana-cittānām sa ca rāgah udāḥṛtaḥ//.

That is, when the combinations of notes are possessed of greater number of vowels and pronounced with variant sounds or intonations, the expert musicians call them rāga,
because the notes create sweet impressions on the minds of men and living animals. Pārvadeva too has said in similar vein in the Saṅgita-samayasāra.

In fact, the vowels are the emotional units, and they create maximum aesthetic feelings of calmness and joy in the hearts of living beings. Again, when consonants are pronounced or elongated, they take the help of vowels which make them pleasant and sweeter. So a vowel is considered by the Indian philosophers as Śiva or Puruṣa, while a consonant, being dependant on a vowel, is considered as Śakti or Prakṛti. Śakti or Prakṛti is inactive by herself. She becomes dynamic, when comes in contact with Śiva or Puruṣa. The vowels, being independent and self-evolved, are full of concentrated energy, whereas consonants, being dependent on vowels, are not a free agent to create a peaceful and calm atmosphere.

Indian music is enriched by rāgas which are fully manifested in their ālāpas. The ālāpas are more lively than the songs, because ālāpas manifest themselves by the help of vowels, whereas songs being composed of different words, constructed of vowels and consonants, cannot create peaceful and delightful atmosphere which ālāpas do. In the Vedic songs, we come across the stobhas that used to elongate or lengthen the words or syllables, used in the sāmans, and it is for the use of the stobhas that the sāmans used to rouse a spirit of serene peace and blessedness in the hearts of the priests who used to perform the sacred sacrifices. The vowels are also the base (ādhāra) of the vocal tones, and they are pronounced in relation to their respective pitches.

Prof. Herbert-Caesari is of opinion that vowels are formed primarily in the larynx in an embryonic form, and
then completed, matured and reinforced by the variform cavities of mouth and pharynx. The five classic vowels like A E I O U and 12 vowels, A, AA, (a, ã=ब, बा etc.) in Sanskrit and Bengali, are the basis of correct and good emotive singing. The correct reinforcement of the prime sound "is impossible if the throat is unable readily and accurately to adjust itself in every part to meet and satisfy the exigencies of the particular vowels, or shade of vowels. Each vowel must be deliberately formed; they must each be visualised, felt and heard by the singer. By securing, feeling and hearing the vowels during such deliberate formation, the singer is able to control both the formation and the enunciation of the vowels as well as the direction taken by the relative columns of sound; by which mental-physical process the throat is rapidly moulded". So every vowel must be given a characteristic of its own, and its formation must always be deliberate, and that means a singer must memorize the exact sensation of every vowel, and he must develop a mental vision of the shapes of all vowels at all pitches.

It is true that fundamentally the mechanism of physical and mental activities is same or identical in all peoples in all countries and "it is precisely the variations of thought and of physical form which distinguish and divide them into races: race-physique". Similarly, voices are all moulded after the one and the same model, but yet "the slight variations of form and quality of the vocal organs, quantitatively and qualitatively distinguish one category of voice from the other, and the individual voices belonging to a particular category".

The natural voice is the good voice, which produces sweet, melodious and charming music. But what do we
mean by a natural voice? A complete natural voice is one "that, without training, is able to articulate, enunciate and sustain with perfect ease and freedom all vowels on all pitches in its particular compass. In other words, a voice that has no mechanical defects or difficulties, no matter the pitch or the vowels on that pitch, a voice is a voice in which exact laryngo-pharyngeal adjustments obtain automatically at any and every pitch with any and every vowel within its compass *. * *. A completely natural voice, while acoustically perfect and physiologically balanced, is not necessarily beautiful (although it often is); it can possess mechanical perfection and yet be divorced from beauty". But there are differences of opinion regarding the view, as expressed by Prof. Herbert-Caesari. Because good voice must always be adorned with beauty, and, therefore, it must necessarily be beautiful. The ideal tone or voice is a gift of God, and it cannot be said as to how it can be achieved and maintained. Such is also the opinion of all the master musicians of all over the world.

Now, all artists cannot attain the ideal tone, in which a quality is predominant, yet everyone should sincerely try to acquire a good and natural voice. It is also a fact that a good voice of a singer physiologically depends upon his sound physique, cool and balanced disposition and good thought. As exuberance of emotion destroys the creation of art, so absence of emotion or its excess stands in the way of creative art. Therefore, emotion of a good singer should always be measured and well-balanced, and be guided by reason and intel ligence with a sense of proportion.

In the Saṅgīta-sāstras, we read that the tones (svaras) and, consequently, the melodies (rāgas) are the embodiments
of aesthetic sentiments and feelings (rāsas and bhāvas), and a
singer is required to be competent to call them into action.
The bare tonal structures of the rāgas are in themselves
devoid of life or energy, and life or energy in infused in
the rāgas by the artists through the medium of movements
of the tones. It has already been said that the Nāradīśikṣā
(1st century A.D.) has mentioned about five microtonal
units like diptā, āyatā, etc. which are no other than the
aesthetic force-centres. These five microtonal units (śrutis)
form the fountain-head of twenty-two microtones, devised
by Bharata in the Nāṭyaśāstra. The tones again are the
product of twenty-two microtones, nay, of innumerable
tone-units that are surcharged with emotional sentiments.
The rāgas are the product of combination and permuta-
tion of tones, having ascending and descending series.
Therefore, as the microtones, devised both by Nārada
and Bharata, are surcharged with emotional sentiments, so
are the rāgas, and so when a singer has learned to infuse
balanced thought into the formation of tones and when
he had learned the accurate laryngo-pharyngeal adjustments
on all pitches with all vowels and the intimate relation of
the latter to the former, and when such formation and
adjustments are coolly deliberate, then his voice takes on a
peculiar quality that is subtle and indefinitely but eminently
attractive and satisfying. It is precisely the quality of
intelligent industry that attracts, effects and rouses an
audience.

A good voice is a boon to a musician. But this alone
is not sufficient assurance for making anybody a good
musician, for a good musician should be well-equipped with
the knowledge of both theory and practice of music.
Because practice without theory is barren and meaningless
and vice versa. In fact, one is precondition to the other. A good musician should, therefore, possess perfect knowledge of microtones, tones and sidetones, together with that of the sonant, consonant, assonant and dissonant, alamkāra, tāna, gamaka mūrechanā and other music materials. He must have the knowledge as to what kind of emotional sentiments and moods are produced by different kinds of note, sharp and flat, and should also be an adept in the methods of their proper application in music.

First of all he is expected to conceive and idealise the divine pictorial forms of the rāgas in his mental horizon or ecstatic vision, and then transform and present them in material forms. He must bear in mind that Indian rāgas are not mere lifeless skeletons of tones or microtones, but are living, dynamic and beneficial bodies. He, therefore, should not indulge in mere mechanical feats of calculations of tones and statistics of tonal patterns of the rāgas, but must take them to be one of the material means to make his experimental knowledge perfect, and must also concentrate his mind upon the ideal of spiritual sādhanā.

Now a question has been raised by Prof. Vernon Lee as to what is the nature of music and what music does in the mind of the audience or hearer. To this he has said: "Since, from the psychologist’s point of view, an art is not the material collection of objectively existing pictures, statues, poems or musical compositions, but the summing up of a set of spiritual processes taking place in the mind of the artist and in the mind of him who receives the artist’s gift. Or rather, the work between the activities of the artist and those of the beholder or hearer. Indeed, musical aesthetics ought to be the clue to study of all other branches of art, first and foremost because the evanescence
of music’s material makes it more evident that the work of art really is the special group of responses which is susceptible of awakening in the mind of its audience, including the composer himself, who mentally hears his own work in the process of building it up and taking stock of its whole and its parts.

"The enquiry what music is, therefore resolves itself, for those thinking like myself, into an enquiry as to what music does in the mind of the hearer; or, more correctly, of what the mind of the hearer does in response to the music which he hears. But the ‘mind of the hearer’ is not an individual entity; it is only a convenient average of the phenomena common to all or most minds of all hearers under examination. And the first result of such examination is to reveal that these hearers’ minds, although similar in one or two main points which oblige us to classify them as hearers of music, are in other respects dissimilar, indeed so dissimilar that we are obliged to consider them as belonging to opposed classes. Therefore, before being able to say how music acts upon mankind as a whole, we have to enquire how music acts upon different categories of human beings; which, as already remarked, in another way of saying how minds or various categories of types of hearers act in response to the music they hear".¹

However, self-analysis as well as self-confidence are essential qualities for every student and teacher of music. They should be cautious of the psychological attitude of different hearers. There should be a mutual understanding

between the artist and the audiences for better understanding of the greatness as well as the intrinsic value of music.

In fact, development of a musician depends firstly, upon his or her aptitude and devotion to the art, and secondly, to the understanding of perfect balance of voice, and thirdly, to concentrated attention on the rasātmakalā of the svaras and the rāgas. Musicians must bear in their minds that the rasātmakalā of the svaras as well as of the rāgas forms the background of Indian music. He must, therefore, avoid vibratory and erratic application of voice or sound and also erroneous use of tones that spoil the spirit of a rāga and consequently of a song. He must be conversant with the art of applying grace or sparśa-svaras, mūrechanās, tānas, gamakas, etc. for making the rāgas living. He must remember that music is both a science and an art, and as such it should be taken as a means to an end in human life and not as a meaningless exuberance of emotion and fanciful creation of the mind. He must know that music has a meaning that conveys the idea of freedom of the soul, and it takes men to the eternal haven of bliss and tranquillity.
CHAPTER XIV

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF INDIAN MUSIC

The term 'iconography' is derived from two Greek words eikon, meaning image, and graphia, meaning writing, drawing, etc. The term eikon is synonymous with the Indian word arca or image. Therefore, the term icon signifies an object of worship, a figure that represents a deity or a saint, in painting, mosaic, sculpture, etc. It is, in some way or other, associated with the sacred rituals, connected with the worship of particular Divinities. Therefore, iconography is a special branch of knowledge or study that deals with the images of deities. Iconography of Indian music also connotes the idea of the study of figures, images, deities, and pictorial representations of the rāgas that form the norm of Indian music and are regarded as the presiding deities of music.

The word 'image' is derived from the old French and Latin word image, which signifies the idea of 'likeness', i.e. vimba or pratika. The idea of pratika as a symbol is found in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, where spiritual aspirants are instructed to concentrate and meditate upon an object that represents the indeterminate (nirguna) Brahman. The 'icon' or 'image' serves also the purpose of a sign or symbol which is used for an object. The science of iconography is also closely related to religion or religious cult that teaches one to realize Divinity in a man or in an object. Some argue that music, being an art, has no connection with religion or spirituality, but that is not correct. Because art is an expression or a
symbol of Nature, and it unveils as well as represents the exquisite beauty of Nature, which, in its turn, is the representation of the world-essence, Ātman, that pervades, sustains, and animates the whole universe. Art unfolds the immanent as well as transcendent beauty and blessedness of the Ātman that shines behind Nature, and as such art ever goes hand in hand with religion and spirituality.

Music in India is a superb creative art, infused with a religious feeling. Music is a spiritual sādhanā that uplifts the consciousness of man to the highest. It is not just a subtle fabric of tones and tunes, of fancy and dream, but is a dynamic spiritual expression. The ancient seers saw in their ecstatic vision the divine forms of the rāgas, realized them, and transmitted them to humanity. They realized the rāgas as both objective and subjective—material and spiritual ones, and not merely as the inert structures of tones and tunes. So a rāga is a psycho-material object that spiritualizes both the body and the mind, and helps men to transcend both matter and mind, so as to get the luminous apperception of the Absolute.

Music is looked upon in India as a living art, having matter (sound) for its body and spirit (melody) for its soul. Or it can be said that the psycho-material body of music is the rāga, which takes shape out of the permutation and combination of tones and microtones, which are again surcharged with emotional sentiments and moods. It has already been said before that the seven tones have been divided into twenty two śrūtis (microtones), and these śrūtis have been classified into five species: āyatā, mrdu. madhyā, karunā and dīptā. In Sanskrit Grammar, āyatā is derived as ā-yama-ta, the root, yama
meaning restraint. Therefore āyatā expresses the attitude of tranquility (śāntāvasthā) of the mind. Mrdu denotes the attitude of humanity, and it is derived from the root mṛd with the suffix ku. This type of mental trait is the outcome of complete surrender, ignoring the sense of egoism (dāṣya). Madhyā expresses the sentiment of friendship (sakhyā), and is formed out of the root 'man' with the suffix 'yak'. Karuṇā is formed out of the root, kr-ūnan, which means the scattering of the affectionate sentiments (vatsalya-rasa). Dīptā expresses the sentiment of self-dedication, and denotes sweetness (mādhuryā).

Therefore music finally aims at the eternal joy, and one can realize the blissful state of mind through music. The highest reality, nāda-Brahman is itself a transcendent sentiment (rasa vai sah). It has been said before that Muni Bharata has worked out twenty-two microtones on the basis of five emotive microtonal units, as devised by Nārada of the Śikṣā. And as the tones are the material forms of the combination of subtle microtones and the microtones in their turn are saturated with emotional suggestivity, so the tones and consequently the rāgas are also surcharged with aesthetic lustre and beauty.

Music is a sign or symbol that signifies bliss and beauty, for which it really stands. The function of a symbol or sign is, in fact, to refer to that for which it stands. Some make a distinction between ‘symbol’ and ‘sign’ from the standpoint of logic. Dr. Stebbing has said that it is not possible to draw a hard and fast line between a ‘sign’ and a ‘symbol’. What we understand, he says, is always a symbol in a sense. "Hence, to understand a verbal symbol is to know what it refers
to, i.e. to know the referend for which it stands’. Prof. Russell has asserted that sometimes logical symbolism makes things difficult to understand, while, according to Prof. Whitehead, symbols have invariably been introduced to make things easy. But both the assertions are correct from different points of view, for, on the one hand, the vagueness of the symbol creates difficulty in grasping the real import of a thing or an object, while, on the other, clear and distinct symbol helps us to apprehend the meaning for which it stands. So music may be considered as an interpretative sign or symbol that clearly signifies its prime object, the universal Soul or Atman.

Benedetto Croce has said in connection with art in intuition that “the symbol has sometimes been given as the essence of art. Now, if the symbol be conceived as inseparable from the artistic intuition, it is a synonym for the intuition itself, which always has an ideal character”. Dr. Freud has also termed the true symbol as the expression of an intuitive perception, “which can as yet, neither be apprehended better, nor expressed differently”. Dr. Jung has called this symbol a sign, which signifies the intuitive perception of some things. While discussing about the formal structure of art and iconic signs and expressiveness, Professors Ritchie, Morris, and Hungerland have fully discussed this subject. Charles Morris has said that the work of art is, in some sense, a sign, and it is the basic doctrine of aestheticians from Plato to Dewey. It is an intelligible interpretation of the doctrine of ‘imitation’ to regard it as a theory of the sign-character of the work of art. The sign or symbol, therefore, works as a language for the communication of meaning and value.
Again, music is the language of the Impersonal. It is a symbolic medium, through which the solemnity and grandeur of the Divinity find expression in the visible world. Thus the musicology of India recognizes the rāgas as the very embodiment of the Divinity. The artists sing or play on instruments and the audiences listen to them. It means that through singing some songs or playing some instruments they worship the goddess of music, the Sura-Sarasvatī to receive her benediction. And for this reason both the acts of singing and appreciating are considered in India as a spiritual discipline or sādhanā, and through this sādhanā both the performer and the good listener of music find solutions to the mystery of life and finally attain God-consciousness.

Now, let us see how and when the idea or conception of the pictorial forms and images evolved in India. Dr. J. N. Banerjea is of opinion: “In India, iconism and aniconism existed side by side from a very early period, and this feature is also present even in modern times. Buddha could be represented by means of such symbols as the Bodhi tree with Vajrāsana beneath it, his foot-prints, the stūpa, etc., which were directly associated with him; in the Amarāvatī and Nāgarjunakoṇḍa sculptures of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., we find him being depicted iconically and aniconically at the same time, though in the earlier Buddhist art of Central India he used to be represented only in the latter manner. Similarly, Brāhmaṇical cult-deities could as well be worshipped in the Śaligrāmas, the Bāna-līṅgas and the Yantras, as in images...”¹ Some are of opinion that worship of the Buddha image is very ancient, and from the Buddha image,

¹ Vide The Development of Hindu Iconography, 2nd edition, p. 82.
image-worship itself came into being. Dr. Coomaraswamy has observed in connection with the representative of Buddha and Siva on coins thus: "In Buddhist art, we find at Bharhut and Sânci the tree, wheel, etc., on or behind an altar, clearly designated in the inscriptions as Buddha (Bhagavato) and worshipped as such... Later on the figure of a human teacher takes its place upon the throne, the old symbols being retained as specific designations... In the same way with Hindu types; thus we find at first the humped bull alone, then a two-armed, and finally a four-armed figure accompanying the bull, once the representative of deity, now his vehicle, while other symbols are held in the hands as attributes".1

But, if we go the into Vedic literature, we find that the sacrificial stake (śūra) was the symbol of worship long before the worship of the sacred mound or stūpa, which was recognised as the representation of Buddha. And so it will not be unwise to think that the stūpa-worship was designed after the Vedic śūra-worship, which was conceived as the sacred seat of the Sun god, Mithra. The Sun or Mithra was once the chief deity of the Aryan race, and long before the Buddhist era, the worship of the sacrificial stake or śūra as the seat of the Sun god was in practice in connection with the Vedic sacrifices, rites and ceremonies. Symbol-worship was, therefore, prevalent in India in the Vedic times, and this practice was also common amongst all the ancient nations of the world. Again, before the Christian era, Pāṇini (550 B.C.) and Patañjali (300 B.C.)

1 Vide Dr. Coomaraswamy: The Origin of Buddha Image. Prof. O. C. Gângoly has also dealt on this subject in his book, Origin of Buddha Image.
have mentioned it in their Aṣṭādhyāyī and Mahābhāṣya respectively. In the Great Epics like Rāmāyana, (400 B.C.), Mahābhārata (300 B.C.) and Harivamśa (200 B.C.), we come across the worship of sacred symbols. In the Rāmāyana, we find that after the exile of Sītā, Rāmacandra performed the Aṣvamedha sacrifice with Sītā represented by a gold statue. Besides, from all the historical and mythological evidences of ancient nations of the world, we learn about the existence of idol or image worship in connection with religious functions. That image-worship was prevalent in the civilization and culture of the prehistoric Indus Valley cities, is clear from the excavation of the mounds of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, where idols of gods and goddesses have been discovered. Among the findings, we come across an image of the Mother Goddess, Durgā and that of a Yogi with his eyes pointed to the tip of the nose, inscribed on clay seals which bear the stamp of exquisite workmanship. Many composite human and animal figures, together with the figures of deities, nude and half-nude, found on seals and amulets, excavated from the prehistoric mounds of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, “very probably stand for divinities in their theriomorphic or therico-anthropomorphic forms, though many others are to be regarded as mere accessories. Most, if not all, of the above icons of cult gods were being worshipped by the people in those days”. The Vedas and Upaniṣads prescribe symbol-worship (pratika-upāsanā) for the spiritual aspirants, in order to help them to have a glimpse of the imperceptible transcendental Brahman in meditation. The reflection (pratibimova) of the sun in the sky has been compared with a mundane man, who is essentially the Brahman or Ātman. The Upaniṣads also state that, in a sense, the reflection is
nothing but the Essence itself, for a face of a man is an
index or reflection of the man himself. That is, reflection
can stand for the object. All these go to show that symbol-
worship (pratibimva or pratika-upāsanā) was prevalent in
ancient India long before the advent of Buddhism.

Regarding the use of sculptures as symbols, we find
that in the Buddhist period, sculptured representations of
the life stories (jātakas) of Lord Buddha, were carved in the
stūpas and cave temples of Amarāvati, Bhārhut, Bādāmi,
Ellorā, Elephanṭā, Mathurā, Gāndhāra, Sānci, Nāgārjunā-
koṇḍa, etc. The mural paintings of Bāgh, Ajantā, etc.,
are also the genuine proofs of the use of human figures as
symbols. Many of the Hindu temples of the post-Vedic
period, including their dancing halls (nātyamandir), are
decorated with the sculptures of Naṭas, Naṭis, Yakṣinis,
and different musical instruments like ṣaṅkha, veṇā, veṇu,
and different sizes of drums (mṛdaṅga or pūşkara). We thus
get evidences of symbols in the sculptures and paintings
that were chiselled and painted after the gods, goddesses,
and sacred objects of the past. Now it is understood that
idol or image worship generally developed in connections
with the worship of divine and semi-divine beings, heroes
and heroines in the remote past, though their conception
differed in different countries possessing different tastes and
temperaments.

In Vedic time, the ṛc or stanzas, with notes, were
known at the sāmans or sāmagānas. They were sung before
the sacrificial altars for invoking the presiding deities like
Varuṇa, Mithra, Indra, Agni and others. The gāndharva
type of music evolved in the period 600-500 B.C. out of
the remnants of Vedic music, though the former took
different forms and shapes from those of the latter. The
later authors on music have observed that the marga or gandharva type of sacred music was meant for the celestial region. This dictum was of the period when the marga or gandharva type of music was replaced by the classico-regional or formalised desi type of music, approximately in the 3rd-5th century A.D. Kalinātha, the celebrated commentator of the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara has said that the jatirāgas, grāmarāgas and some of the aiya or chāyā rāgas were included in the category of the marga or gandharva type of music. The gandharva type of music used to be considered sacred, because it evolved out of the holy Vedic music. Again the gandharva type of music was sung with the help of the rāgas (jāti and grāma rāgas) in different registers, rhythms and tempi and aesthetic sentiments.

Now, for enunciating the origin of the rāgas, the authors of the mythico-historical epics have taken the help of symbols for clarification of the subject in a mystic manner. They have stated that the five rāgas evolved from the five mouths of the Lord Śiva, and the rāga nātanārāyana, from the mouth of Devī Gaurī. We notice that the Śiva-Sakti or Tāntric cult was predominant when the said conception arose. From the iconographical viewpoint the worship of the Śiva-Sakti principle is very important. In the iconographical conception of music, Śiva has been conceived in two ways, one, in the symbolic way, the phallus being the emblem; and the other, in the anthropomorphic way, the idol or image being the emblem. The practice of worship of Śiva and Sakti is very ancient, as is evidenced from the findings of the prehistoric Indus Valley mounds. In some of the ancient rock-cut temples, Śiva has been depicted as a five-faced god. The names of the five faces are: Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa, and Isāna.
which are again the five aspects of the sun. The mythological interpretation of the origin of the rāgas relates to the five mouths, and the five rāgas have been conceived to correspond to these five mouth-cum-gods:

1. Sadyojāta ... Śrīgā 
2. Vāmadeva ... Vasanta 
3. Aghora ... Bhairava 
4. Tatpuruṣa ... Pañcama 
5. Isāna ... Megha

The five faces of Śiva, as represented here, are the five symbols of the five main rāgas, and these symbols are no other than the icons. The five primordial elements (sukṣma-bhūtās) like earth (kṣīti), water (apah), fire (tejas), air (marut) and ether (vyoma) have been conceived as the symbols or signs of those above-mentioned rāgas. The primordial elements are signified by the viṣjanmantras (mono cryptic letters) like ṹa, va, ra, va, ba (श, स, र, व, भ). In Tantra, seats for the viṣjanmantras have also been conceived, and they are known as cakras (force-centers or plexuses). The cakras are possessed of different colours and presiding deities (varṇas and adhiṣṭhātri-devatās), The five Tāntric code-languages (viṣja-mantras), plexus (cakras)

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1 It has been said in the Saṅgīta-darpana, 160-162:

शिवशक्तिसंयोगात्राय तमस्मवो भवेत् ।
पश्चात पवित्राणा: स्यू: वचनन्तु, गिरिजामुखाय ॥

मद्वेवकान्तु श्रीरागे वामद्वादसत्तक: ।
श्रवोरात् भैरोड़ैभूततुष्वात् पवित्राणोऽभवत् ॥

इशनाह्यान्मेघरागो नावारम्भे शिवादभूत ।
गिरिजायाभुखास्ये नन्तारायशोऽभवत् ॥
and colours (vārṇas) have also been taken as the symbols i.e. icons of the five rāgas. They are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five face-cum-mouth of Śiva</th>
<th>Primordial element</th>
<th>Vījamantra</th>
<th>Plexus (Cakra)</th>
<th>Rāga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sadyojāta</td>
<td>Earth (kṣiti)</td>
<td>Laṅgāḥ</td>
<td>Mūlādhāra</td>
<td>Śrīrāga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāmadeva</td>
<td>Water (apah)</td>
<td>Yāmāḥ</td>
<td>Svādhīśthāna</td>
<td>Vasanta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aghora</td>
<td>Fire (tejā)</td>
<td>Raṅgāḥ</td>
<td>Manipura</td>
<td>Bhairava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taṭpuruṣa</td>
<td>Air (maruta)</td>
<td>Vaṁgāḥ</td>
<td>Anāhata</td>
<td>Pañcama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iśāna</td>
<td>Ether (vyoma)</td>
<td>Hamgaḥ</td>
<td>Viśuddha</td>
<td>Megha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Tāntric literature of the Buddhists, five dhyāni-Buddhas or Tatbāgatas have been conceived in accordance with the five skandhas, which were designed after the five material elements (pañcā-bhūtas) of the Sāṅkhyā philosophy. The five material elements were earth (kṣiti), water (apah), fire (tejas), air (marut) and ether (vyoma). These five material elements, together with the five sense-organs (indriyas) evolved from the five potential or causal elements (tanmātrās), which were known as generic essences of the sound (śabda), touch (śparśa), colour (rūpa), taste (rasa) and smell (ghrāṇa or gandha). The five dhyāni-Buddhas were like the five emanations of Śiva, known as Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Taṭpuruṣa and Iśāna. The dhyāni-Buddhas evolved with their divine consorts or Saktis, having
five different vi̊jamantras, vābanas, mudrās and locations (sthanas) respectively. In the Advayavajra-samgraha, the five dhyāni-Buddhas have been depicted as five kinds of consciousness (jñāna) and they are: (a) suvi̊suddha-dharma-
dhātujñāna = Virocana, (b) ādārśa-jñāna = Akṣobhya, (c) pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna = Amitābha, (d) somantā-jñāna = Ratnasambhava, and (e) kṛtyanuṣṭhāna-jñāna = Amoghasiddhi. The same primordial consciousness manifest as five different forms. Now, the five dhyāni-Buddhas may be mentioned according to the five orders of emanations or faces of Śiva as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dhyāni-Buddhas</th>
<th>skandas</th>
<th>directions</th>
<th>colours</th>
<th>elements</th>
<th>locations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>saṁskāra</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>kṣīri (gandha)</td>
<td>legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Amitābha</td>
<td>samjñā</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>apaḥ (rāsa)</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>vedanā</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>tejas (rūpa)</td>
<td>navel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Akṣobhya</td>
<td>viśṇāna</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>mārut(eśvara)</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Virocana</td>
<td>rūpa</td>
<td>centre</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>vyoma(sabda)</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From both the charts of the emanations of Śiva and Buddha, it is seen that the conceptions of primal emanations of the five rāgas evolved purely on the basis of mythico-philosophical ideas of man.

In the Upaniṣads, the five faces-cum-mouths of Śiva have been conceived as the five flames, i.e. blazing tongues of the sacrificial fire. The fire has been considered as the sacred symbol of Śiva in the Vedas, as the sun is that of Viśnu or Vāsudeva. The five faces of Śiva are also known as
Mahādeva (eastern), Bhairava (southern), Nandīvaktra (western), Umāvaktra (eastern), and Sadāśiva (the fifth face on the top known also as Isāna). His three eyes, ten arms, the shield and trident, matted hair, tiger-skin all bear some inner significances. In the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, there are descriptions of the concrete forms of the various deities, including Siva. They are “almost invariably accompanied by references to such esoteric symbolism underlying them, and the Purāṇakāta thus lays emphasis on the fact that what is being worshipped is not what it appears to be, but is something beyond it”. Another Vedic name of Siva is Rudra, which corresponds to Agni or fire. The treatises on music have also mentioned fire and air, in connection with the origin of the causal musical sound (nāda). It has been stated in the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara (1.3.-6) as:

Dehasṭham valnimāhanti sa prerayati marutam/.

Na-kāreṇa prāṇa-nāmānam da-kārarenamanalām viduḥ/,
Jātah praṇāgni-samyogāttena nāde bhidiyate/ /

The subconscious mind is the storehouse of energy, and it has been conceived as the eternal blazing fire in an inverted triangular altar (▽). The triangular altar is the symbol of the subconscious mind or mūlādāra-cakra. Not only musical sounds, but every particle and object of the world also evolve out of this causal fire, which is known in Tantra as the kāmakalā or kuṇḍalinī (divine latent energy). The kuṇḍalinī is the base of the causal sound or nāda, which is the fountain-head of music, and it has been conceived in a two-fold way, unmanifested (anāhata) and manifested (āhata). When the manifested subtle sound comes out through the medium of vocal chord, it is known as ‘music’
or rāga. Thus we notice that music has been manifested in manifold ways. Again, a symbol always stands for an object, and in music it has been conceived as a pointer to the real object that looms in the background of the symbol, and that object is Ātman, which is the fountain-head of everything in the universe.

The supreme aim of music is to realize the Essence that shines behind music. So the rāgas have been conceived as the media for the realization of the World-Essence, which is the source of all-knowledge, all-intelligence and all-bliss. The seers of music felt within themselves the necessity of animating the material structures of the rāgas. Living under the spell of time, space and causation, they imagined form of the Formless and personified the Impersonal. They conceived the idea of the tonal forms, possessed of flesh and blood like human beings and thus deified the rāgas. Then the invisible rāgas became visible in material forms. Sometimes it is said that the visual forms and their corresponding conceptual ones (dhyānas) cannot be established on a logical basis, as the tonal structures of the rāgas are not constant, being under the sway of change in different circumstances and different ages. Again, though the intuitive poets composed the conceptual forms or dhyānas of the rāgas, yet some of them composed dhyānas of the same rāga in a quite different way, which means that there cannot be a fixed standard of dhyāna-themes of the rāgas. But this argument or objection does not hold good at all. Because, by the change of the tonal forms (rāga-rūpa) or lyrical texts (sāhitya), the central theme or essence is never affected. As the one and unique Brahman, being the substratum of the changing phenomena, does not suffer any change in itself, rather its unbroken existence and
essence remain the same, so the number of placed (sharp) and displaced (flat or chromatic) tones, together with its tonal structures may undergo changes, but the basic ideal or conceptual character of the rāgas does not change at any time. It should be remembered that the poets and the seers of music composed the conceptual forms (dhyānas) of the Ideal or basic Type of each of the rāgas and not of their skeletal forms, and at the same time they considered the rāgas as living, immortal and divine. In fact, all true and talented artists desire permanent peace of mind through the practice (sādhanā) of music, and so through constant concentration and meditation upon the eternal Ideal of music (i.e. rāga), they attain that state. By way of example, it may be said that the conceptual forms or dhyānas of gods and goddesses like Śiva, Kāli, Durgā, Gaṇapati, Sarasvatī, Indra and others may be composed in different ways, but the central idea, together with the basis dhyāna-theme remains always the same, just as though a man undergoes changes from childhood to youth, from youth to old age, yet the basic identity of the man remains the same. So the number of notes and description of conceptual forms may change from time to time, but their basic forms and intrinsic nature and value suffer no change at any time under any circumstances. According to the inscrutable law of nature, every thing in this world of space and time undergoes change, the old forms are replaced by the new ones and the new ones by the newer ones, and so on, but it should be noticed that the basic character of every thing always remains unchanged. One thing may be described in manifold ways, the one and unique world-essence Brahman may be called by various names, but the Essence or Brahman is not affected thereby. The oldest literature of the Hindus,
the Rgveda has stated: "ekam sad viprā vahudhā vadanti", i.e. the one divine existence may be called by different names, but the fundamental existence remains the same. In fact, the conceptual forms (dhyānas) of the rāgas are known as the copies, prototypes or doubles, and so the icons of the rāgas may not be real by themselves, but they signify the Real that stands or shines behind the unreal or apparent. The seers of music are the worshippers of the real and not of the images of the rāgas, though it is taken for granted that they worship images or shadows of the rāgas. So we should not be confounded with the anomaly that the colourful conceptual forms or dhyānas of the old rāgas do not correspond to the new ones.

Now, what idea does the conceptual form (dhyāna) of rāga convey, and what is its true significance? It has already been stated that the conceptual forms are the media that help and intensify the inward tendencies of the artists, and thus enable them to understand and appreciate the intimate relation, existing between the tonal forms and the real divine forms of the rāgas. It has been said before that in India, the rāgas are not considered to be mere settings or skeletal structures of tones and tunes, but are taken as living ones, having in them real significance and value. The Vedic Rśis perceived the energising vibrations of the life-principle (prāṇaspadana) in every atom and molecule of the universe. They regarded the sentient and insentient beings of the world as the positive and the negative poles of the same neutral Brahman. The rāgas themselves are the divine and dynamic life-principle, and as such they should be studied and looked upon from the religio-philosophical as well as psycho-material viewpoints for the better
realization of their real import, deep significance and inner sublimity.

It may be asked as to why those sentiments and moods of the rāgas were given material forms. The answer is that it is a fact that men of the material contingent world of space and time recognise and appreciate everything through some concrete media. Though the ultimate aim and object of all mortals are to reach the transcendental unity and happiness, yet they live and move in this world of matter so long the real value of human life is not realised by them. The emotions and emotive feelings of the rāgas were also conceived as material forms for easy grasp and appreciation of the men of the material world. This conception became inevitable for men of music in order to visualize the intrinsic value and beauty of the rāgas.

Let us take as example of a contemplative composition (dhyāna) of the rāga bindola. Though there is no mention of any dhyāna-mantra of the bindola in the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara of the early 13th century A.D., yet Śāraṅgdeva has given some contemplative descriptions of it, while describing its specific character and form. He has said:

"guyo veere raundra'dhbute rase, vasante prabhere tūrya makara-dhvaja-vallabhe", etc. From thus it is understood that the rāga bindola is possessed of the sentiments like veera, raudra and adbbuta, and is meant for the spring season. Now the significance of the name of the rāga is that which creates vernal atmosphere, and quickens the hearts of men with love, joy and hope. The rāga bindola is, therefore, sung in the spring and specially in the holy festival, that takes place in the spring. In the 16th 17th century A.D., the contemplative poets composed the dhyāna-mantra of the bindola thus: "dolāsu khelāsukhamādadhāna", etc.
The rāgas hindola has been represented here as a motive force that sways the hearts i.e. emotions and feelings of men. The rāga has been described that he is rocking on a swing, surrounded by young lovely maidens. As has already been observed that the rāgas of Indian music are not the mere lifeless structures of svaras, mūrcchanās, alamkāras, tānas, gamakas, ten essentials or dāsa lakṣmaṇas and other music materials, but they are imbued with emotions that animate and elevate the mind and personality of the music artists and music lovers. As different contemplative compositions (dhyānas) are the suggestive descriptions of the same Divine Mother, of the unisere, so are the dhyānas of the rāgas. Patanjalī has called these suggestive descriptions as the symbol or vācaka: "tasya vācakah prāṇavah" i.e. the universal mystic word Om or Prāṇava is the vācaka or medium of expression. The contemplative compositions or dhyāna-mantras of the rāgas are, therefore, essential for realizing the real and divine forms of the rāgas, and this realization will guide men to the path of absolute freedom and eternal peace. So, music has been termed by some poets as the language for expressing the greatness and grandeur of the Beautiful, and as the rāgas are the very core and foundation of music so they should be nurtured with care for realizing the divine essence of Indian music. The contemplative compositions or dhyāna being the direct suggestive symbols of the rāgas, should be taken as the essential media for visualising the devamaya-rūpas of the rāgas.

Again it may be asked as to whether the aesthetic representations (rasa-rūpa) of the melodic forms or rāgas were in vogue before their pictorial representations (citra-rūpa) came into being; because it is a fact that the pictorial representations (citra-rūpa) as well as the contemplative
Raga Hindola
Persian influence
(Rajput painting, end of the 17th Century A.D.)
Raga Dipaka
(Rajasthani, 18th Century)

Raga Kakubha
(Rajasthani with slight Mughal influence, 18th Century A.D.)
compositions (dhyāṇa-rūpas) of the melodic forms (rāgas) were made in accordance with their aesthetic sentiments and moods (rasa and bhāva). The answer to this question is that it is a historical fact that the contemplative compositions or formulae (dhyāṇa-mantras) were first conceived by the intuitive poets in accordance with the aesthetic sentiments (rasas) of the melodic forms (rāgas), and the colourful pictorial representations (citra-rūpas) were afterwards executed according to those contemplative compositions (dhyāṇa-mantras). From this viewpoint it can, therefore, be admitted that the nucleus (bījas) of the contemplative compositions or formulae as well as their pictorial representations already lie buried in the very depth of the conception of aesthetic sentiments of the melodic forms or rāgas. In other words, it can be said that the conceptual forms of the dhyāṇa-formulae of the rāgas were in existence long before their actual representations from the painters' brush.

Regarding the existence of the aesthetic sentiments of the rāgas we find that Vālmiki has described in the Rāmāyaṇa (400 B.C.) the aesthetic sentiments of the seven śuddha jāṭīrāgas like śadji, ārṣabhī, gāndhāri, etc.: “jāṭibbi saptabhīryuktam tantrilaya-samanvitaḥ // rasaiḥ śṛṅgāra-karuṇa-hāsya-raudra-bhayānakaḥ/ veerādibbi rasairyuktam * *”. In the Nātyaśāstra (2nd century A.D.), Bharata has also followed the rules as mentioned by Vālmiki. In the 29th chapter (Vārānasī edition, 1929) of the NS., it has been mentioned:

Shaḍjodicyavatī caiva ................................................................. /
Shaḍja-madhyama-vāhulyat kāryaṃ śṛṅgāra-hāsyayoh//,
Ārṣabhī caiva śādji ................................................................. /
Veerādhbhūte ca raudre ca ..................................................... /
In the 5th-century A.D., we find that Māṇḍava has described about the intrinsic sentiments (rasas) of the jātirāgas in the rāga-lakṣaṇa chapter of the Bṛhaddeśī: "bhīnna-sadjaḥ vibhatsa-bhayānakaḥ rasaḥ" (p. 89); "bhīnna-paścama vibhatsa-bhayānakaḥ rasaḥ" (p. 89), etc. In the 9th-11th century A.D., Pārvādeva has also described about the rāgas, having their respective sentiments. In the 3rd chapter of the Saṅgīta-samayasaṅga, he has mentioned: "ma-payoḥ kampitaścaiva śṛṅgāre vinīyuṣyate", i.e. the rāga vasanta should be sung with the application of the sentiments, śṛṅgāra (3.16); "śādjānyāsa-grahāṁśāśca rase veere prayuṣyate", i.e. the rāga śrī should be sung with the application of the sentiments, veera, etc.". In the early 13th century A.D., Śāraṅgdeva has described the sentiments of the grāmarāgas in the 2nd chapter of the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara: "kākalyāntara-saṁyuktā veere raundre’dbhute rase", i.e. the grāmarāga, sadja-grāma should be applied as representing the sentiments, veera, raundra and abhuta (2.29); "bhayānake ca veerādaṁ rase", etc., i.e. the rāga gauḍa-kauṣika should be sung with the application of the sentiments, bhayānaka, veera etc. (2.41).

In this way it can be shown that all the rāgas used to be sung according to their respective aesthetic sentiments, for creating different emotional moods in the minds of the
appreciative audiences. Thus the aesthetic sentiments of the rāgas were essential all the time and their contemplative formulae were composed not earlier than the 16th-17th century A.D., as are evidenced by the Sanskrit treatises on music (Sārigīta-śāstras) of that time. The Rāgamālās were drawn immediately after the composition of the dhyāna-formulae.

It has been said that in the hey-days of India, music was nourished and developed purely from the religious standpoint for material as well as spiritual upliftments of the human society at large. But gradually music lost its pre-eminence and ancient heritage, and became an instrument of secular delight at the hands of the laity and a sort of pastime with the royal dignitaries. Time has come when it should be revived and studied in its true perspective, and the responsibility of it rests on the shoulder of the present generation. Music is a means to an end, and it should, therefore, be cultivated purely from this standpoint.

It may be mentioned in this connection that some of the conceptual forms (dhyānas) of some rāgas appear dissolve and sensual. But it should be remembered at the same time that they are no other than the divine expression of the prime sentiment, śṛṅgāra, (Eros) which has been regarded as the first and foremost aesthetic sentiment by Bharata in the Nātyaśāstra, and also by the later Vaiṣṇava philosophers. The śṛṅgāra-rasa is the manifestation of the Beautiful. The nude figures, depicted on the temple facades of Jagannāth at Purī,1 and other shrines of India might be due to the influence of the Tāntric Vāmācāra cult, but from the standpoint of artistic beauty and grace, their nudity does not affect the mind of the onlookers, not sully

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1 These have recently been replaced by figures of different deities.
the serene beauty of art. The nude sculptural figures of the Yakṣinīs and the half-nude ones of some of the deities and the female attendants of the Royal household were not chiselled out for depraving the human taste, but they were considered as symbols, as it were, of the basic creative sentiment, śṛṅgāra. It should again be remembered that ‘to the pure every thing is pure’ and that art being an expression of the Beautiful, it is not a believer in the commonplace notions of indecency and indecorum. As light and shade—brightness and darkness—appear as different shades of the same resplendency which means beauty when viewed from different angles of vision, so both of them are indispensable media for the realization of the Absolute, the transcendental Beautiful.

Now let us illustrate some of the icons of some main rāgas that form the fundamental features of Indian music. They are:

1. Bhairava: The rāga bhairava represents the image of the Lord Siva. He possesses two hands and three eyes. The current of the sacred Ganges rushes down his tawny matted hair, the crescent moon is on his forehead, crawling serpents are in his hands, a garland of skulls is round his neck, and he is dressed in a tiger-skin. A shining trident and damaru (kettle-drum) are in his hands. He rides on the bull, Nandi.

2. Mālava-kausika: He is a lovey youth. Though he drinks honey (madhu), yet he looks grave and serene. There hangs a garland of pearls round his neck, and he wears a blue linen. He is engaged in merry-making (rasa-krīḍā) with fair young maidens.

3. Hindola: He is a lovely youth surrounded by beautiful young ladies. He looks like an embodiment
of love. The spring blossoms around him with all its beauty and lustre. He swings amongst the maidens who are playing the veenaśa and beating the drums. It is said that the Lord Siva created him out of his navel-lotus (nābhi-padma).

4. Dipaka: He is youth, and wears a red cloth. There shines a fine garland of pearls (gajamukta) round his neck. He is always engaged in merry-making with the youths and young maidens. Riding on an elephant, he travels on hills and dales during night time. He sings a celestial song that soothes the heart of every-one and at the same time creates fire which destroys all the trees and animals of the forest on the mountain. It is said that dipaka-rāga originated from the scorching rays (eyes) of the sun.

5. Śrī: He wears garlands of padmarāgamani and sapphires. He shines like hundreds and thousands of suns and moons. He is seated on a golden throne, wearing a snow-white cloth, and holding a full-blown lotus. Some of his beloved maidens (nāyikās) are singing and dancing around him, and some others are playing on veenaśa and tambūrās, accompanied with drums. It is said that śrī-rāga originated from the navel of the earth.

6. Megha.: He is of deep blue colour like that of the blue lotus. He wears the ochre cloth (gairika), and his matted hairs appear like the cluster of clouds. He holds in his left hand a trident (triśūla) and in the right a sword (kṛpāna). He looks like a young warrior. In the descriptions of the icons of the rāgas, I have mainly followed Saṅgita-taraṅgiṇī by Radhā Mohon Sen of Bengal. Besides these, there are other kinds of descriptions of the conceptual forms of the rāgas, composed by different poets.
Now, what is the exact time when the conception of graphic representations of the musical modes or rāga-themes came into being? Nānālāl Chamanlāl Mehta is of opinion that the idea was unknown to the poets, seers and the painters of the 15th century, and also to Śrāṅgdeva (early 13th century), who wrote his standard work on Indian music, the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, in the court of the Yādava King Sīhna of Devagiri. Now, it was the common practice that the painters copied and translated the ideas of the poets, and those poets were no other than the seers of the rāgas and the sābitya of music. The intuitive philosophers, poets and seers of music furnished the intellectual and aesthetic materials of the conception of the pictures and stone-figures and set down the rules, on and within which the artists were free to express them.

Regarding the date of the emergence of the rāga and rāginī pictures, Mehta has further mentioned in the Studies in Indian Painting: "It is, therefore, probable that the Rāginī picture first came into vogue some time in the 16th century, after the advent of the Moghuls, when the entire fabric of the common life of the people was undergoing a subtle transformation which found expression in the propagation of the cult of Bhakti, broadcast through the exalted verse of the Vaiṣṇavite poets, and the inspired word of Chaitanya...for unlike the Gupta renaissance, the 16th century revival was democratic in its nature and universal in its appeal. It is also interesting to note that there are Hindu as well as Moghul versions of Rāginī and Bāramāsī (seasonal) pictures, which can be easily distinguished by their characteristic differences of style and treatment. Some of the Moghul melody-pictures have Persian inscriptions. A good Rājput Rāginī picture has more of temperament and imagi-
native feeling, while the Moghul version is generally perfect as regards the splendour of its stage effects. The Rāmpur State Library has an excellent series of Rāgamālā pictures in the Moghul style of the late 18th or the early 19th century. Most of the Rāgamālā belong generally to the 17th and the 18th century and there are not many pictures which can be confidently assigned to an earlier period.\footnote{Mr. Meća has used the spelling ‘Moghul’ instead of Mughal.}

Now, before coming to any decision as to whether the Rāgamālā pictures first came in vogue sometime in the 16th-17th century A.D., let us discuss some of the comments, made by the experts in the field of art and culture. There is no doubt that the ancient musicologists formulated some theories of music, and the conceptual form of every rāga was composed according to those theories. So far as the printed Sanskrit book on music is concerned, we get Panḍit Somanātha's Rāga-vibodha (1609 A.D.), and in that book we get the conceptual forms or dhyānas of many of the rāgas. Some are of opinion that Nārada had already composed the conceptual forms of the rāgas in his Paṅcama-sārasanbhita, generally ascribed to 1362 Saka, which corresponds to 1440 A.D. But there is a controversy regarding the date of the said book, and it is also a matter for investigation whether Nārada composed dhyānas prior to Panḍit Somanātha (1609 A.D.) Now, besides the tonal forms, the conceptual form of each rāga has been conceived in two different ways, one, with the body of sound (nāda-tanu) and the other, with the body of deity (devamaya-tanu). The colourful paintings of the rāgas of the Rājasthānī School were executed in Rājputanā, and Dr. Coomāraswāmy is of opinion that these paintings were executed from the early
13th to the middle of the 19th century A.D. He has said in his celebrated Rājput Paintings (Oxford, 1916): "Rājasthānī paintings are those works which have been executed in Rājputana from Bikāner to the border of Gujrat, and from Jodhpur to Gwālior and Ujjain. We either know, or may infer that the great centres of Rājasthānī paintings have been Jaipur, Orcha and Bikāner, and presumably Udaipur and Ujjain, possibly also Mathurā at an earliest date... Its period may be taken as from about the beginning of the 13th century A.D. when the Rājputs were disposessed of capital cities such as Delhi...to the middle of the 19th century". Percy Brown is of opinion that the Rājasthānī Rāgamālā paintings were executed from 1550 to 1900 A.D. Regarding the characteristics of those paintings, he has said: "This Rājput painting, for that in the title by which it has become designated, is essentially Hindu in expression, and in many aspects demonstrates that it is the indigenous art of India, a direct descendant of the classic frescoes of Ajantā."

Besides the Rājasthānī Rāgamālā pictures, there are Pābādi, Mughal and post-Mughal rāgā-rāgini paintings. The Pābādi paintings of the rāgas evolved from the land extending from Jammu to Almorāh, and within this vast region, the paintings of Jammu and Kāṅgrā Valley were of greatest value. The Rājputs of the Kāṅgrā Valley protected the region from the invasion of the Muhammedans until 1806-1846. According to Percy Brown, the Rāgamālā paintings of Kāṅgrā reached the zenith in pictorial quality.

During the reign of the Emperor Akbar (1542-1605 A.D.), the Rāgamālā paintings were executed with new vigour and spirit. Basil Gray has said in connection with the
intermingling of the Mughal and the Rājasthānī Arts: "He (Akbar) was the real creator of the school of Mughol painting as of the Mughol Empire". Mughol paintings of the rāgas of that time were influenced by Rājasthānī paintings, to some extent, because "the Rājput Rājās had a special position in the Mughol Empire... ... The Rājās of the Rājput States now helped the vernacular renaissance by supporting the poets, musicians and painters, while at the same time, through them, the Hindu and the Mughol made contact". 1 Regarding the Rājput portrait of the indigenous school, Prof. O. C. Gāngoly has said that "after the development of Mughol school of Portrait in the early 16th century, the two schools, the earlier indigenous Indian and the later Mughol—got entangled and influenced each other. It is now, therefore, difficult from the products of the fusion of the two to recover the outlines of the earlier Hindu traditions and the few surviving examples seem to prove that the pure Rājasthānī idiom has been practised side by side with the mixed Mughol style" (Mārg. Vol. VII, Sept. 1954, No. 4, pp. 14-15). 2 This can also be applied to the Rājasthānī paintings of the Rāgamālā pictures. Prof. Goetz has also expressed the same opinion, while dealing with Rājput sculpture and painting under Rājā Umād Singh of Chāmbā (Mārg. Vol. VII, Sept. 1954). Many are of opinion that from the 13th-14th to 18th-19th century, the Rāgamālā paintings and the visual rāga-rāgini pictures evolved with their exquisite beauty and colour.

The Bijāpur School of Rāgamālā paintings also reached its zenith under the patronage of Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II.

1 Basil Grey has used the spelling 'Mughol'.
2 Prof. Gāngoly has also used the spelling 'Mughol'.
He was a contemporary of Akbar and Jāhāngīr, and he “strove hard to evolve a distinctive Deccani culture which incorporated what was best in indigenous and foreign traditions”. Adil Shāh II was a fine musician and composer, and the Kitāb-i-Nauras is a genuine proof of his musical talent. He composed many songs in bhopāli, māhbār, gaurī, kedāra, purab (pūrū), kānāḍā, dhānaśī, āśāvari, rāmakeli, māru, naurez (?), etc. Dr. Moti Chandra has said in his article, Portraits of Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh II (Mārg. Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 24-28): “It is interesting to note that in several songs certain rāgas are visualised. Bhairava is visualised as Siva with the crescent moon upon the forehead, holding a human skull in one hand and trident in the other; he is served by the bull; he wears a tiger skin and serpents are his ornaments. Māhbār visualises rainy weather with dark clouds, the lightning, the trees with new leaves and dancing peacocks. Āśāvari is a beautiful young woman wearing red garments and yellow bodice; Kalyāṇī, again a charming woman, wears variegated indigo garments; Kānāḍī is visualised as a charming lady wearing an indigo blue sāri and blue bodice, and Rāmakeli is visualised as a charming girl of dark complexion playing with her friends”. But Dr. Moti Chandra has raised some doubt whether these Deccani Hindi dhyāna-mantras are based on some Sanskrit text, which remains to be traced. To this it can be said that dhyāna-mantras, though differing in their compositions or descriptions, are to be found in the Sanskrit texts on music by Pt. Somanāth, Pt. Dāmodara, Nārada of the Rāganirūpaṇa, and others. Now, regarding the original quality of the Bijāpuri style of Rāgamalā paintings Dr. Moti Chandra has further said:

"If Akbar gave a new direction and outlook to
painting in the North, it was Ibrāhim who brought
the Deccani painting to a perfection which could claim
for it an important niche in the temple of Indian
Art”.

The Rāgamalā paintings of Murshidābād, Bengal are
also worth-mentioning in this connection. “The first
phase of Mughal painting in Bengal”, says Robert Skelton,
“began with the decline of patronage of Delhi during the
reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707). The Murshidābād
technique of Rāgamalā paintings really reached their zenith,
during the short reign of Siraj-ud-daulā, the young Nawāb.
Out of a set of four Rāgamalā paintings of the period in the
collection of Mrs. D’Arcy Hart, one depicts Hindola-
Rāga (1755 A.D.) and the other Kakubha-Rāginī (1755
A.D.). Among the paintings from other Rāgamalā sets of
the same period, mention may be made of Syāmagujjari-
Rāginī (1755 A.D.) in the collection of Bodleian Library,
Bhairavi Rāginī (1755-60 A.D.) and Kedāra-Rāginī (1770
A.D.) in the collection of India Office Library and also
that of Vilāvala-Rāginī (1770 A.D.) in the collection of
Victoria and Albert Museum”. Robert Skelton has further
stated that “a characteristic female type from the series is
found in the Kakubha-Rāginī, where between two leafy,
fruit-laden trees, the girl is watched by peacocks as she
awaits her lover with garlands. Among paintings from other
Rāgamalā sets, which can be assigned to this period, the
treatment of Syāmagujjari from an album in the Bodleian
Library effectively draws us into its mood of quiet
reflection. Another painting in the same collection depicts
a young girl bedecked with jewels and garlands approaching
a shrine at night, her supple charms emphasized by,
the sombre simplicity of the background. The row of
dark, rounded bushes edging the horizon in this picture
is a characteristic Murshidâbâd idiom".

It can be said in conclusion that the pictorial
representations of the râgas of Indian music are essential
for formulating the imaginative impulse which is respon-
sible for transforming the abstract notes of music into
concrete forms or images. The pictorial representations
of the râgas are necessary for visualizing the aesthetic or
emotive essence of the râgas, for the attainment of perfect
peace and enlightenment in this domain of delusion.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER XIV

The Dhyânamantras and Sâhityas of the Five Principal
Râgas:

I. शैरवः ।—
   (a) ग्गापर: शाशिफलातिलकक्षिनेनतः
       सपें विभूषितातुवाराकृतिवासा: ।
       भाषाविविषयूलकर एव तुमसुबऽधारी
       योजाम्बरो जयति शैरव भ्रादिराग: II1

1 There are different descriptions of this dhyâna.
(b) धैवतांश महन्यासो रिपहीनोथ मागत: ।
मेरवस्तू हि विशेषः धैवताधिक मूर्द्धन: ।
धैवतोविविक्तोयत्र भौदवः परिकीतितः ॥

2. मालवकौशिकः ( मालवकौ: ) :—

(a) ब्राह्मणों पृथ्वीरस्तिः
बोर: चुब्रेरु कुतप्रवाहः ।
वार्त्तो वैरिक्षोभमाला-
मालीमतो मालवकौशिक्रस्यम् ॥

(b) पर्जन्महाशक्तिः सम्पूर्णः कीशिको सतः ।
मूर्द्धना प्रथमा जेया काक्तीरसम्मतः ॥

1 There are different readings of this dhyāna.
3. हिन्दौलः

(a) नित्यमिनी मन्दतप्रितां

दोलांचं अलापात्मात्रानं।

खवे कलेवरूप विकासयुक्ते

हिन्दौलागः कथितो मनोद्रेणः॥

(b) हिन्दौलः किलायः सत्यः कथितो वचः।

मूर्ताणि शुद्धस्माय सातो जीवः कापलीयुतः॥
4. दीपकः:

(a) वाला-रतार्ण हरिलोनदीपे
    यहनण्डकारे बमनो प्रवृत्ताः।
    तस्यः शिरोमूर्त्यरणदीपे;
    लङ्कान तदानीं कृतवान्नगरदीपे॥¹

(b) पद्मप्रहारोशकन्यासः सम्पूर्णो दीपको मतः।
    मूर्त्तना युह्मस्थम्यायात् गात्वा गायने सदा॥

¹ There are different descriptions of this rāga.
5. अभी: —

(a) ब्राह्मणाचार्य सारस्वत: सारस्वतमूर्तिः

भीरोकस्त्रो: भौपदकरपूरः।
भारद्वजसेव्योऽसूचि
श्रीवास्तव: चिन्तामूर्तिः।

(b) श्रीवास्तव: स विक्रमत: सत्तमांस विभूषितः।

पूर्णः सवेयुक्तात: मूलं ना प्रथमम् मतः।
कैचिन्तु कथापन्तेन अन्यप्रशस्यसम्मलम्।

1 There are different readings of this line.
6. मेघः :—

(a) मीलोपलाभर-पुरिन्दुमानचंतः

पीतांबरसुनिवितत्वाल्स्याचिन्मानः ॥

पीयोपमन्दहसिसोष्णमनववसी ॥

कोरेण राजस्तियुवक किश मेघरागः ॥

(b) मेघः पूर्णं धलयः स्वातं उत्तरायत्मूः ॥

विकृतो धौवती मेघः शक्तारसपूरः ॥

—शक्तार्द्धम् (Tānjore edition, 1952).

It should be noted in this connection that though the tonal forms of some of the rāgas have now been changed, yet their dhyāna-forms shall nearly be the same.
II

It has already been mentioned about the nādamaya and devatāmaya forms of the rāgas. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) has described the nādamaya-rūpa of the rāgas in V. 11-12 (pañcama-vivekah) and the devatāmaya-rūpa in V. 167-168. Pr. Somanāth has said,

(क) सुखरवर्णविशेषं रागस्य शोभकम् देखि ।

नादास्म च देवमद्य तत्कमस्ती। नेनेके ंचे पु॥ ११॥

नादालते । नादास्म च पाद्यादित्वोहसूलतं स्वसमायद् । देवमद्य च देवताः-

देवमद्य च । तद्द्विविवर्ण हृत्त कमलोदनेके ंचे । रागस्य नादास्म तु हृत्त-

मनेकान् । देवतास्म च देवमद्य चे चे पाकान् ॥ १२॥

(ख) उषां हपमनेकं तलत्रागर्ग नादामयमेवमु ।

अथ देवतास्म मिह कमतः कथ्ये तरं के काम् ॥

अथ देवतास्म मेके कमतः तेनेोष्रहके य तथे ॥ १५॥

In fact, the nādamaya form of a rāga is the svara-rūpa (tonal or sound form), whereas the devatāmaya form is the dhyāna-rūpa (contemplative divine form). Regarding the devatāmaya-rūpa or divine visual form of the rāga, Prof. O. C. Gāṅgoly has said: "How can the language of words be translated into the language of visible forms? But the new discoveries of science in various spheres are achieving new miracles every day, and expert scientists have discovered common fundamental principles underlying the language of sound and the language of form. It has been proved that when sound develops a very large number of vibrations it can convert itself into visible forms. At such a stage audible things and objects become apprehensible on the path of our eye-sight. But these miraculous reconciliations of contradictory forms of natural phenomena do not much help us
to find a logical justification for representing musical forms in the effigies of visual forms and colours. This practice can only be explained on the basis of certain peculiar theories as to the essence of Indian melodies, enunciated by our musical sages. According to this theory, it is believed that each rāga or rāgini has its peculiar psychic form, corresponding to its sound-body over which the former presides as the nymph, deity or devatā, the presiding genius or the god of that particular melody. These devatās of Image-Forms dwell in the supercetrestrial region—the Paradise of Musical Symphonies—from which ethereal region each melody could be evoked and induced to descend to this earth through the prayer of the musical performer with the aid of the definite of symphony, peculiar to each melody. In order to induce these angels of music, the rāgas and rāginiś to descend from their Paradise to the dusty level of this earth of ours, our music practitioners have to undertake strenuous penances and sādhanā and send up their prayers in peculiar shapes through different forms of meditative processes and formulas, to please these Angels through these melodies, descend on the voice of our singers and on the strings of our musical instruments. It is further claimed by our musical sages that by the recital of these dhyāna-ślokas, that is to say, the contemplative verses describing the melodies, one can visualize the Angelic Forms of the rāga-devatās. When these presiding Angels of melodies descend on this earth, being pleased with the adoration of our musical sādhakas by reason of their spiritual presence, this little piece of material earth of ours, at least, for a short time, is turned into a Paradise of melodies, and mortal man, through the medium of immortal melodies, have the chance of tasting the Ambrosias of Heavens".
Further he has said: "On the basis of these descriptive verses painters have prepared pictorial representations of most of the melodies in miniature sizes, the verses being quoted on the top of each pictures. .......That these pictorial diagrams, visualizing the spirit and character of each melody, were prepared for the use and guidance of our music practitioners, is proved by the fact that at a certain stage the descriptive verses were composed in the Hindi language for the benefit of those who did not understand the Sanskrit language. At the time of Akbar, these descriptive verses were translated into Persian, as most of the musicians of the court of Akbar did not read the Hindi language, and for the benefit of this group the verses were rendered into the Persian language, and many pictures of rāgas and rāginiś have survived, carrying the descriptive comments, written on the pictures in Persian script and language. .......We have a complete vocabulary in terms of significant melodies to express the whole gamut of human feelings in all shades and varieties of moods, skilfully woven with the moods of nature, and related to our reactions to the various situations in life, of actions of love, of suffering, of enjoyment".  

CHAPTER XV
THE AESTHETIC-CUM-PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF INDIAN MUSIC

I
A study in the art and science of Indian music should be preceded an enquiry into the mystery of the unfathomable depth of one's being. Well has it been said by the eminent psycho-analyst, Dr. Jung that speech is originally a system of emotional and intuitive sounds,—sounds that express terror, fear, anger, love, sympathy, etc. Such is also the views of the Indian Ālatākārikas and playwrights, headed by Bharata, Abhinavagupta, Bhojarāj, and others. Bharata has expounded eight kinds of aesthetic sentiment that come out from the level of man's basic psychic content, and generate emotional feelings or moods, like terror, fear, love, etc. In music, these emotional moods (bhāvas) or mental attitudes manifest through the medium of the tonal sound.

Music is the combination of word and tune,—sāhitya and suṣa, nay, it is an emotional presentation of sounds or succession of sounds or tones—an emotional symbolism of man's inner depth. When the colourful tones are presented, both the musicians and the listeners cannot but help expressing their mental attitudes outwardly by the movements of head and limbs. The movements of the material body are exercised due to the reflex action, corresponding to the modifications of the mind. A rāga is an emotional product or emotive manifestation of the mental attitudes, and so it
expresses the aesthetic feelings of love, devotion, anger, hatred, egoism, etc. The intuitive artists saw in their ecstatic vision the emotional forms of the rāgas, and the poets composed their contemplative compositions (dhyānas), corresponding to specific colours, movements and sentiments.

Music is an aesthetic representation of the artist's inner depth. It is rather a projection of artist's own mental feeling and imagination in the outer world. It is, therefore, a transformation or translation of the ideal into the real, or it can be said to be the production of the tonal form or picture, corresponding to that of the mind, combined with colour, pitch, grace, harmony, melody, successions of tones and microtones.

The inherent desires or impulses of man and all animals are the cause of outward manifestation of everything. A man designs the ideational form or image of a thing first in his mental plane and then projects it outside in materialized form. So all the material constituents of music are, in a sense, the mental construction, and have their being in the outside world, corresponding to mental images. Indian Vedāntists also admit that the outward expressions are but the reflections (prativimba) of things behind the mind, and they are known as vimba, like the image of a human face on a mirror. It is a double or projection of the real face behind. Music is, therefore, a psycho-material or ideal-real object, and so the intuitive artists cultivate music for appreciating both its forms, ideational and real—subtle and gross. In fact, music is designed, apperceived and enjoyed both inside and outside. As the First-born Lord, Iśvara projects without efforts the manifold world from within, in order to witness and enjoy His own beauty
and glory \textit{par excellence}, which is known as the sportive play (\textit{tīlā}), so an artist of music begins music with the help of tones and tunes from within and then enjoys the beauty, grace and grandeur of his own projection (\textit{ṣrīśī}). The works of construction and enjoyment of music happen simultaneously or co-existently, as Dr. S. Alexander says in some different way, in his \textit{Space Time and Deity} that the enjoyed and the contemplated are together or compresent. He says: "The contemplation of a contemplated object is, of course, the enjoyment which is together with that object or is aware of it". The artist, therefore, doubly enjoys his creation or projection of music: first, the construction of his art, and then enjoyment in himself and appreciation from his sympathetic audiences. The case of a sculptor or a painter is the same. All the cultivators of Fine Arts, musicians, sculptors and painters, adopt the same process, in the construction or projection of their motifs or themes, though techniques and textures of their productions differ from one another.

Men sing and dance to express their feelings of joy and sorrow. They enjoy, they lament, and they express their awe and reverence, through the medium of colourful tones and balanced rhythms of songs and dances. Now, what is the cause behind? It is because the psychic content, that lies with him, stirs his emotion and makes him to create, project and enjoy music. It may be called the emotional side of the musical experience, which is known as sensuous appreciation and creation or projection. But psychologists, Revesz of Holland and Seashore of America are of opinion that though the concept of musicality is attached to the psychology of music, yet the musical experience in relation to emotion and sensuous
appreciation are not the entire thing in the field of musicality. Prof. Revesz says that we must hold fast to the thought that the musical aesthetic is the beautiful in music; and it is the real core of the matter as far as musicality is concerned. It has a reference to the autonomous emotional effect of music, to the pleasure, deriving from the specific musical intellectual form of the art creation, which, in musical persons, can arouse responsive feelings and create aesthetic experience or emotive feeling.

The aesthetic content is an important thing in the domains of psychology and philosophy of music, and it should be experienced and appraised. But such an experience is mental or psychical in its character, and so it must be inwardly digested and fashioned. So it must be taken that a musical person is possessed of a deep understanding of musical form and structure, together with the inward aesthetic content and its consciousness. In truth, it is the inward tendency of the musical person to dive deep into the mood of music and get a relation to it, which has an effect on his whole spiritual being.

Prof. Revesz is of opinion that a man of music who truly and sincerely seeks to appreciate the aesthetic content of music, that lies deep at the bottom of tone, tune and colour of the musical composition, profoundly feels as though he is creating the art. Therefore musicality is an inborn quality “that requires (as is also capable of) development—irradiates the whole individual, and accordingly forms a characteristic trait of the personality as a whole”. Prof. Carl Seashore and psychologist Johannes von Karies are almost of the same opinion, though they differ from Prof. Revesz, regarding the symptomatic characteristics of musical aptitude and musical talent.
Now, what do we mean by *aptitude* and *talent*? These two things are essential in the *creative* or *interpretative* field of music, together with the real appreciation of both the psychological and aesthetic contents. By *aptitude* we mean the *inborn capacity* of a person, that helps him to realize and develop certain general or specific types of behaviour, properties, and capacities. Therefore *aptitude* is a potential ability and a native latent endowment, by means of which productive powers may be realised through the operation of environmental factors and the systematic training of the personality.

On the other hand, *talent* indicates capacities far above the average in a special field of human activity. Talent is specially evident in the realm of music like prodigy. It has been divided into two types, the *creative* and the *reproductive-interpretative*. Though sometimes they manifest simultaneously in one person, yet they seem highly independent. But inspite of all these things or capacities, one should lay paramount stress on the spontaneous musical inspiration, welling up from the depth of the unconscious. The unconscious or subconscious layer is the original base of the psychic content, and it sends forth inspiration and creative urge, to compose or compile music and to create beauty and life-force in it. The unconscious or subconscious layer is the ‘vast field’, say Swāmīs Vivekānanda and Abhedānanda, where hundreds and thousands of impressions (*saṃskāras*) of past and present incarnations of every living being lie buried. These embedded impressions or psychic contents are the prime-mover of characters and habits of all living beings.

Psychology of music is exclusively concerned with the awakening of the flashes of the primal psychic force-centre.
The study in the psychology of music brings unto us a clear understanding as well as an intuitive perception of utility and importance of the force-centre, and it gives us a full realization of the real object and ideal of the musical contents. The great laboratories like those of Bell Telephone Company, Harvard and Iowa Universities of America, have made considerable researches on the psychological aspect of music, which have enriched the Western musicology. We are glad to know that in India, the Deccan College of Poona has started researches on physics and psychology of music under the able guidance of Dr. Sankaran, Dr. B. Chaitanya Deva and others. Similarly the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore has started psychological study and research of Indian music. Their scientific findings will undoubtedly help us to unravel many things of music, that still remain as mysterious, unsolved or unexplored in the field of musical study. The University of Jabalpur and that of Annamalai, Madras are also making experiments on the effect of music on the properties of matter and plants, from the standpoint of Organic Chemistry and Botany. All these new constructive experiments and researches on Indian music will pave the path of the artists and the musicologists to visualize and interpret music in a better and more logical way.

II

It has already been said that sound is the flesh of music, and melody, emotional sentiment and mood are its blood. Sound evolves in a successive order from the subterranean self. "The science of sound", says Dr. Miller, "is related to at least three phases of human endeavour, the intellectual,
the utilitarian and the aesthetic”. The Indian Tantra and other philosophies admit more than these three phases.

The field of science of sound still remains unexplored. Hermann Helmholtz was a great German scientist of the nineteenth century, and his book, *The Sensations of Tone* explored the mystery of structure of musical sounds and their intervals, nature of voice production and hearing, and development of musical scales, pitch, colour, etc. After him, Keöning, Raybigh, Boehm and other eminent scientists made observations and experiments in the field of sound theory. The scientists of the twentieth century, like Sir James Jeans, Sullivan, Einstein and others have thrown much light on the field of musicology. The psycho-analysts like Dr. Freud, Dr. Adler, Dr. Jung and others did some work on the origin of the sound, and have declared that the unconscious or preconscious is the origin of the gross sound. The Tantra also states that the unconscious or *kūṇḍalinī* is the seat of the causal sound or *nāda*. The gross sound can be classified into two main heads, musical and non-musical. The unmanifested sound is the causal one and it is known as the *anāhata-nāda*. The manifested sound is known as the *āhata-nāda*.

Sound becomes musical when it is pleasing and soothing. The succession of sounds that pleases and soothes the minds of men and animals are known as ‘*rāga*’, and the very name of it expresses the true significance of it (‘*rañjayati iti rāgah’*). Bharata, Sāraṅgdeva and other authors on drama and music have described ten specific qualities (*daśavidhagunās*) to determine the nature of a *rāga*, and those qualities are: *pūrṇa, prasanna, madhura, ślaksṇa, sama, raka, vikṛṣṭa, sukumāra, alaṁkṛta* and *vyakta*. Vālmikī also says in the *Rāmāyana* (400 B.C.): ‘sabateśa madhuraṃ
raktam sampannam svara-sampada. The quality, raka signifies the pleasing sounds, emanating from veena, venu or vadhisi and vocal chord of man. In the early Christian era, Bharata has also determined the ten characteristics of a raga, which are strictly observed even to this day, in both the Northern and Southern systems of music. But in spite of all these qualities and characteristics, the psychological aspect of music is concerned with the aesthetic or emotional side. The psychology of music states that emotional sentiments are the fountain-head of music, and they animate music with living sensation and feeling.

Now, what are the emotional sentiments (rasa) and moods (bbava)? The emotional sentiments are the aesthetic qualities or properties of the mind (psyche), and they originate from different attitude and environmental conditions of it. Now the very connotation of the term rasa, says Prof. S. N. Sastri, is "that which can be relished" (rasyate iti rasah;" asvadyatvat rasah"). Effect of the relish of rasa, metaphorically called flavour, is very wonderful. It creates an ecstatic joy in the heart of the enjoyer, and leaves upon him an impression of delight (lokott-ara-änanda). It is compared to the bliss, enjoyed by a Yogin when he is in unison with the Self. The relish of rasa creates a concentrated state of mental harmony (sattvodreka) unadulterated with any other element of human nature; and for this reason, irrespective of nature and substratum of a particular type of rasa which is relished, there is an outcome of joy to a sensible person (sahrdaya). That is why when karuna-rasa or bibhatsa-rasa with grief and disgust as their basic features produce a state of jubilance in the mind of the enjoyer, and elevate him far above the region of human limitations and transport him to the realm
of total bliss ("rase vai saḥ, rasaṁ labdhvā ānandī-bhavatī"
"Taittirīya Upaniṣad, II-VII). It is so possible for the simple
reason that an enjoyer, in course of his cognition (bhāvanā)
of a rasā, feels that his individual existence in this world,
which is subjected to diverse disabilities by virtue of his
birth, caste, status, wealth and other circumstances, sinks,
and he is in full sympathy with the sentiment which is an
expression of Self. This enjоysome attitude is the result
of the force of fruition which is again a mental operation or
an effectum mentis called bhogakṛttvā-vyāpāra. These two
forces of cognition and fruition (bhāvakatva and bhogakṛttva
respectively relieve the enjoyer of his individual existence
and identifies him with the substratum (ālambana) of the
rasa. The cumulative effect of these two forces is to remove
the collateral obstructions from the course of identification,
which are caused by such factors as distance of time, place
and personality, including feeling of unapproachability to
the other ālambana of rati, felt by the relisher in case of
the śrīgāra-rasa. The mental fusion (druti) is the result of
the sentimental relish (rasāsvāda), which has a maddening
effect having an oblivious tendency".¹

The Vaiṣṇava philosophers classify the emotional senti-
ments (rasa), into eight or nine classes. In the Bhakti-
rasāyaṇa, eleven kinds of emotions are prescribed for
achieving the highest kind of love (prema), which makes
communion with all-love God possible. The Vaiṣṇava
śādhakas mention that the permanent aesthetic feeling
(sthāyi-bhāva) is the only means of attaining the celestial
love, which knows no selfish return and material gratification.

¹ Cited in The Laws and Practice of Sanskrit Drama, vol. I (1961),
pp. 258-259.
The Upanishad says that the all-beautiful and all-love God is the emotional feeling Itself: “raso vai sah”. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī says in his Bhaktirasāyaṇa (1. 10) that the all-bliss God is transformed into emotional feeling: “bhagavān paramānanda-svarūpāḥ svayameva hi * * rasaśāmeti”.

In the Bhaktirasāyaṇa, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī says “ata stadeva bhavatuṁ rasaṭāṁ yāti,” i.e. the modal consciousness (vr̥tti) itself is manifested as the aesthetic sentiment (rasa). Bharata says in the Nātyaśāstra (VI. 32) that the permanent emotional sentiment (stbāyī-rasa), together with the moods evolves as vibhāva, anubbāva, vyabhicāri-bhāva: “vibhāvānubbāva-vyabhicāri-rasa-samyogād-rasanīṣ-pattih”. He says further that as medicine is made from the extract of many herbs and vegetables, so the emotional sentiment grows from the combination of different mental moods. Śrī-Saṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Lollāṭa, Abhinavagupta, Viśva-nāth Chakravurtty and others and the authors of the Bhaktirasāmytasaṇḍhu, Ujjvalanilamaṇi, Bhaktisandarbhā, Pritisandarbhā, etc. also deal with the permanent emotional sentiment or stbāyī-rasa. The teachers of music like Nārada, Śaṅgdeva, Somanāth, Dāmodara, Ahobala and others have discussed elaborately with this subject in their respective works.

Bharata has elaborately dealt with the theory of sentiment in the sixth chapter of the Nātyaśāstra. He poses the question, as to what is meant by rasa. Rasa is said to be an experience (anubbhūti). As a man is pleased with a good taste of rice and different kinds of delicious vegetables, so we get experience of the permanent emotional sentiment, originated from different kinds of mental moods, gestures and postures.1 Bharata says that rasa and bhāva are coexist-

1 “Atrāha—rasa itī kaḥ padārthaḥ/ ucyate—āśvādyatvāt/kathā-
tent, one cannot evolve without the other, as a tree comes out from a seed, and again it bears fruits with seeds. But rasa is a primary one, and bhāva rests on it.

Dr. S. K. De has said in connection with the definition or interpretation, as advanced by Bharata in the Nāṭyaśāstra that “by its ambiguity taxed the ingenuity of his followers and led to a great deal of controversy regarding its true interpretation; and as such writer tried to explain it in his own way, it gave rise to a number of theories on rasa. There are four such theories associated with the names of Lollatā, Saṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta; but Jagannātha (Rasaṅgaṁādhara, p. 28) speaks of eight different interpretations”. Dr. De is of opinion that Bhaṭṭa Lollatā appears to have been one of the earliest formulators of such an explanation. But his work is unfortunately lost, and it is said that Abhinavagupta’s Abhinavabhāratī (commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra) deals with most of Bhaṭṭa Lollatā’s theories or views on rasa. Most of the scholars are of opinion that while explaining Bharata’s theory of rasa, Lollatā “took the vibhāva as the direct cause (kārana) of rasa which, therefore, is an effect (anukārya or utpādyā), and the term nispati of Bharata should be explained as utpatti or puṣṭī”.

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Abhinavagupta has said in the Abhinavabhāratī: “Etaduktaṃ bhavati—na rasanāvyāpārā āsvādanasāṃ/ api tu māṇasa eva”. In fact, the aesthetic sentiments are felt or realized through the medium of mind.

2 Ibid., p. 118.
Mammatā and his followers have made Lollāta's interpretation of rasa more clear by saying that the permanent mood or sthāyin is directly connected (mukhyatayā vṛtatyā= sākeśat sambandhena) with the hero, and, therefore, the rasa resides in the hero. But there is an objection to this theory. Saṅkuka rejects the interpretation of the utpatti-vādins, who are said to follow, in their peculiar theory, the Mīmāṃsā school of philosophers. "Saṅkuka, on the other hand, thinks that the rasa is not produced as an effect, but inferred by the spectator, and the inferred feeling is relished by him as rasa. The realization of rasa, therefore, is a process of logical inference, and the niṣpatti of Bharata's sūtra is explained as anumīti, vihbāvas standing to rasa in the relation of anumāpaka or gamaka to anumāpya or gamya".

Dr. De says that vihbāvas, therefore, do not constitute either the efficient cause (kāraka-betu) or the logical cause (jñānaka-betu) of rasa, as held respectively by Lollāta and Saṅkuka. Bhāṭṭa Nāyaka maintains that rasa is enjoyed in connection with the vihbāvas through the relation of the enjoyer (bhokta) and the enjoyed (bhoojya). So abhidbā, bhāvakatva and bhoojakatva, these three different functions are necessary for the realization of the aesthetic sentiment or rasa. The word, bhāvakatva or rasa-bhāvanā is derived from Bharata's general definition of bhāva. According to Bhāṭṭa Nāyaka, rasa consists in the sthāyī-bhāva or permanent mood.

Dr. De estimates that the theory of rasa, as advanced by Lollāta, is akin to that of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy, the

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1 See the detailed discussion in Dr. De's History of Sanskrit Poetics, vol. II (1960), pp. 118-119.
2 Ibid., pp. 119-120.
rasa-theory, as advanced by Saṅkuka, is akin to that of the Nyāya, and the rasa-theory, as advanced by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, is akin to that of the Sāṅkhya philosophy to some extent. In fact, Abhinavagupta is of opinion that the realization (pratīti) of rasa results from its manifestation (abhiṣvayakti) by the power of suggestion, and consists of a state of relish, known as rasānā, āsvāda or carvanā. “What is manifested, is not the rasa itself, but its relish; not the mood itself, but its reflection in the form of a subjective condition of aesthetic enjoyment in the reader. This state or relish partakes no doubt, of the nature of cognition...”¹ This rasa-theory is advanced or determined generally by the dhwani-school. The dhwani-school adopts “the moods and feelings as an element of the unexpressed, and tries to harmonize the idea of rasa with the theory of dhwani or suggestion”.² Dr. De is of opinion that the elaboration of the rasa-theory, however, by this school (dhwani-school) in the direct tradition of Lollata, Saṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, is associated by Mammaṭa and others with the name of Abhinavagupta. All the later writers of the dhwani-school, from Dhanaṇḍaya to Jagannātha, have accepted, more or less, this theory of rasa.

Bharata has given the elaborate description of eight kinds of emotional sentiment or rasa, and they are: śṛṅgāra, hāsyā, karuṇa, raudra, veera, bhayānaka, vibhatsa and adbhuta (creative, laughing, lamenting, attacking, valorous, fearful or rapid expanding, ridiculous and surprising sentiments). Bharata has mentioned them as,

¹ Ibid. pp. 131-132.
² This view is generally maintained by Ānandavardhana and his followers. But it should be remembered that there is some difference in the general theoretical positions of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta.
Śrṅgāra-hāsya-karuṇa-raudra-vīra-bhayānakāḥ/
Vibhatsādbhuta-sāmijñau cetyāstau nāṣye rasāḥ smṛtāḥ/;
—Nāṭyaśāstra, VI. 15

Viśvanātha and other Ālaṁkarikas have admitted the motherly feeling or 'tenderness' (vātsalya or vātsala) as the ninth emotional sentiment. But the modern authors on Ālaṁkāraśāstra include 'calmness' (śānta) as the ninth rasa. From the eight kinds of sentiment (rasa), eight emotional moods (bhāvas) originate, and they are: affection, laughter, grief, anger, ridicule, fear, hatred and surprise (rāti, hāsa, śoka, krodha, upabhāsa, bhaya, jugupsā and vismaya). Bharata has stated them as,

Ratir-hāsaśca śokaśca krodhotśhau bhayaṃ catthā/.
Jugupsā-vismayaśceti sthāyī-bhāvāḥ prakṛtitāḥ/;
—Nāṭyaśāstra, VI. 17.

It is a fact that Bharata has not mentioned about the śānta-rasa, which develops from nirveda or śama, in the Nāṭyaśāstra, and instead of it he has described the ādirasa, śrṅgāra (but in the Kāvyamālā edition, of Bombay, of the NS., the ninth rasa, śānta has been mentioned). The śānta-rasa brings tranquillity of mind. The sāttvika-bhāvas of the śānta-rasa are horripilation, perspiration, cool tears and change of voice. But according to Bhāṭṭa Prabhākara, śānta-rasa can prevail only in the śrāvyā-kāvyas, and not in the dramatic literature or nāṭaka. "But later rhetoricians like Jagannātha ably refute this view and believe that even the scenic art can, without prejudice, admit the ninth rasa. In actual practice also, the view of Jagannātha finds support in plays like the Bhāṭbha-nirveda'.

The very few canonists like Viśvanātha believe in the existence of the tenth rasa, vātsalya or affectionate senti-
ment, "which subsists between the parent and child, *guru* and his pupil, and all such individuals related *inter se* as persons in *loco parentis et fili*, like the ruler and the ruled. But all such feelings are subject of *bhāvaadhvaṇi*, and for the reasons detailed above they are incompetent to prevail as durable states and develop into independent *rasas*. Even Paṇḍitṛāja Jagannācha, the most modern and rationalist among the classical critic canonisers does not feel inclined to go far beyond the dictum of Bharata in recognising eight *rasas* and to favour the loose opinions of poets like Rudrata and Bhojadeva".1

Bharata and the post-Bharata poetics regard the sex-emotional feeling (*śṛṅgāra*) as the primary one. It is, in reality, the primary divine impulse of creation or creative urge and an outward expression of the subconscious or unconscious mind, which has been described by the authors of the Tantra and Yoga philosophies as *kāmakalā* or *kundalinī*. The *kāmakalā* or *kundalinī* is no other than the unmanifested divine creative energy that lies latent in the bed of the basic centre of consciousness, known as the *mūlādhāra*. As it is in itself unmanifested, it is known as the coiling energy, and the Tantra philosophy has described it as a serpent that moves in a crooked way and thus symbolises the expression of dynamicity. The latent as well as the potent phases of the *kundalinī* is said to be the undivided Prakṛti, the undifferentiated consciousness. In Vedānta, the latent *kundalini* may be compared with the *avyakta līvara*, whereas the potent one, as *vyakta līvara* or Hiranyagarbha, from which the manifold universe evolves. It is the ‘hunger’ (*tanbā*) as

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the English philosopher, T. H. Green has said, and the kāma or tapāḥ, as mentioned by the Upaniṣad. It has been alligorically described in the Upaniṣad that Prajāpati, the Creator desired to be the ‘many’ and he manifested him as many or the manifold universe. The divine desire (kāma or samkalpa) of Iśvāra-Hiranyagarbha was the product of the basic sentiment, śṛṅgāra-ṛasa. It is, therefore, absolutely different from the ‘libido’ or narrow sexual impulse, as advocated by Dr. Freud. Drs. Adler and Jung have called it an ‘energy of life’ or a ‘psychic energy’ that forms the background of all kinds of desire and impulse of all living beings. Bergson calls it as élán vital, which may be compared with the dynamic phase of the cosmic energy or Prakṛti. The Ālaṃkārikas have divided the śṛṅgāra-ṛasa into two, and they are vipralambha and sambhoga.

Bharata has elaborately described about the emotional sentiments with their classifications in his monumental work, Nāṭyaśāstra in the 2nd century A.D. He has said that the original emotional sentiments (rasas) are four in number, and they are śṛṅgāra, raudra, veera and vibhatsa. From them originated successively bāsya, karuṇa, adbhuta and bbayānaka. All these sentiments are possessed of colours (vārṇa) and presiding deities (devatā). The seers of music have imagined that everything in this world is animated with the life-force or energy. The authors of drama and Ālaṃkāra have divinised the rāsas, bhāvas and chandas. The authors of music have described the tones and tunes,—the rāgas and rāginis as divine and living. Bharata has mentioned about the colour of śṛṅgāra-ṛasa as blue-black, that of bāsya as

blue (asita), those of raudra, veera, bhayānaka and vibhatsa as white (kapota), red, yellow (gaura) and black respectively. The presiding deities of the rasas, śṛṅgāra, hāsya, raudra, karuṇa, vibhatsa, bhayānaka, veera and adbhuta have been conceived as Viṣṇu, Pramatha, Rudra, Yama, Mahākāla, Mahendra respectively.—Cf. NS., VI. 42-45.

The basic jātis (jātirāgas) used to be sung according to their respective emotional sentiments (rasas): “jātayo rasa-saṁsrayah” (NS. 29. 16). Bharata has said that the tones of the rāgas should be produced, according to eight emotional sentiments, and the sentiments of the seven tones might be used in two different ways:

I. Yo yadā valavān yasmin vasīvat jāti-samāsrayarē/
   Tat-prayukte rase gānaṁ kāryaṁ geye prayaṅkṛ-
   bhīṁ/
   Madhyama-pañcama-bhuyiṣṭāṁ hāsya-śṛṅgārayor-
   bhaver/
   Śaḍjarśabhā-prayakṛtaṁ veera-raudrādbhuteṣu ca//
   Gāndhāra-saṁtama-prayaṁ karuṇe gānamisyate/
   Tathā dhaivata-bhuyiṣṭhaṁ vibhatse sa-
   bhayānake//


II. Hāsya-śṛṅgārayoh kāryau svarau madhyama-
   pañcamaau/
   Śaḍjarśabhau ca kartvayau veera raudrād-
   bhuteṣvatha//
   Gāndhāraśca niśadaśca kartavyau karuṇe rase/
   Dhaivataśca prayoktabyo vibhatse sa-bhayānake//

   —Ibid, 29. 17-18

The former one has been mentioned regarding the dominant tone of the rāgas, whereas the latter one for ordinary tones.
of the rāgas. In the Saṅgītā-Ratnākara, Śaraṅgdeva has mentioned about the distinctive colours of the tones, which are produced according to the vibrations and pitches of the sounds of the tones. Śaraṅgdeva says,

Padmābhah piṁjaraḥ svarṇa-vārṇaḥ kunda-prabhōsitah/

Pītah karvura ityayaṁ......../1

The commentator Śimhabhūpāla has made it clear, when he has said; “padmābhah rakta-vārṇaḥ saḍjayah, ṛṣabhastu piṁjara āsat-pitavārṇaḥ, gāndhāraḥ svarṇa-varno’tipita-vārṇaḥ, madhyamah kunda-vārṇaḥ śubbarah, paṁcamaḥ śita kṛṣṇa-vārṇaḥ, dhaivataḥ pīta-vārṇaḥ, niśadah karvuro vicitra-vārṇaḥ”.2

III

We know that the vibrations of the atoms produce electricity, sound, light, aesthetic sentiments and emotive feelings, etc. As light and sound can be perceived and felt, so also the colours, sentiments and emotive feelings. Similarly attempts for determining the colour-theory of the musical tones were made in the West. Specially from the middle of the 18th to the middle of the 19th century A.D., the seven specific colours of the seven musical tones were made clear. Besides Louis Bertrans Castel’s attempt, we find that George Field (1787-1854) appropriately determined the respective colours of the seven (European) tones. In 1816, Field first published his Chromatics or the Analogy, Harmony and Philosophy of Colours. In working

2 Vide the Appendix attached to this chapter.
out his analogy with music, he associated the tone C with blue, E with red, and G with yellow. The Diatonic Scale thus became:

\[
\begin{align*}
C &= \text{blue} \\
D &= \text{purple} \\
E &= \text{red} \\
F &= \text{orange} \\
G &= \text{yellow} \\
A &= \text{yellow-green} \\
B &= \text{green} \\
C &= \text{blue}.
\end{align*}
\]

But Prof. A. B. Klein said that this determination of Prof. Field was not correct for his inadequate knowledge of physics and chemistry. Yet, in spite of his shortcomings, Field must be given credit for some very original theories. Afterwards F. O. Macdonald adopted the Newtonian scale, and published his thesis on *Sound and Colour*, in which he proved the colours of the seven tones as,

\[
\begin{align*}
C &= \text{red} \\
D &= \text{orange} \\
E &= \text{yellow} \\
F &= \text{green} \\
G &= \text{blue} \\
A &= \text{indigo} \\
B &= \text{purple}.
\end{align*}
\]

Prof. Klein said that Macdonald’s estimation was not correct for want of proper mathematical value. But after Macdonald, Sir William Barnett, the Science Master at the London International College made a much more thorough investigation of the vibration theory of colour harmony. He found that the succession of colours in the spectrum was red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo and violet, and likewise, the succession of the musical tones in the scale was C, D, E, F, G, A, B.

After Barnett, Edward Lacy Garbett, F. J. Hughes and others made investigation upon the colour theory. F. G. Hughes was a great-nephew of Erasmus Darwin and a cousin of Charles Darwin. In 1883, he published the
thesis, *Harmonies of Tones and Colours*, and adopted the following Diatonic Scale:

\[
\begin{align*}
C &= \text{red} \\
D &= \text{orange} \\
E &= \text{yellow} \\
F &= \text{green} \\
G &= \text{blue} \\
A &= \text{violet} \\
B &= \text{ultra-violet}.
\end{align*}
\]

In 1881, Theodor Seemann published his thesis on *The Laws of Colour-Harmony*, based on Hay’s paper on *Laws of Colour-Harmony*, and he found the colours of the tones of the Chromatic Scale as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
C &= \text{carmine} \\
C' &= \text{scarlet} \\
D &= \text{orange} \\
D' &= \text{yellow-orange} \\
E &= \text{yellow} \\
F' &= \text{green} \\
F &= \text{green-blue} \\
G &= \text{blue} \\
G' &= \text{indigo} \\
A &= \text{violet} \\
A' &= \text{brown} \\
C &= \text{carmine}.
\end{align*}
\]

Prof. Seemann remarked: “We thus see that the colour scale consists of colours and shades in their vibrational order as in music, ascending and descending by semi-tones”. (vide also Mrs. Sargent Florence’s devise ment on the similar Chromatic Scale). But in Prof. Klein’s opinion, Seemann’s investigation was also not correct. After Prof. Seemann, Prof. Campbell, Prof. Wilkinson, Rood, Helmholtz, Ruskin, Church and others made investigations upon the colour-theory in relation to the musical tones, and new lights were thrown upon the subject.

Dr. P. S. Dubash has summarized the opinions of the Western savants, regarding the colour perception in the book, *Colour Psychology* in his own way. He has mentioned that Mrs. Christian Ladd Franklin forwarded his theory that the eyes are the medium of colour vision, and
Vibrations of sound in sand.
in their act of vision some photo-chemical actions take place. Eyes contain two kinds of photo-chemical substances. “One of these is decomposed by all kinds of light, and by their action of decomposition on the nervous organs of the retina gives the sensations of black-grey-white series; the other is decomposed in a particular way by red, green and blue lights, and gives these colours and their mixtures”. Von Kries called this theory of Franklin as ‘duplicity theory’, and Marion Luckiesh favoured this theory and said, “this theory is based upon anatomical evidence of the existence of rods and cones in the retina. The former are assumed to be responsible for achromatic sensations and the latter for both achromatic and chromatic sensations. The rod action is supposed to be largely responsible for sensation of light at twilight illumination, and is in general more responsive to rays of shorter wave-length. The cones, however, are supposed to act only under stimuli of brightness, represented by the range above twilight illumination and not to be greatly increased in sensitiveness by dark adaptation”. But Dr. F. W. Edridge-Green differed, to some extent, from Luckiesh regarding this stimulation. According to his theory of visual purple, the decomposition of the visual purple by light chemically stimulates the ends of the cones, and a visual impulse is set up which is conveyed through the optic nerve fibres to the brain. The cones do not contain the visual purple, but the rods contain it between them, yet the visual purple affects the cones and not the rods. Edridge-Green maintained that the visual impulses

of colour, caused by the different rays of light, differ in character just as the rays of light differ in wave-length.¹

Now it can be asked as to how the colour of a thing or an object is perceived. Well it has been said by Swāmī Abhedānanda, in his book, *Doctrine of Karma* (1947; pp. 129-30): “You see a beautiful colour in a flower. If you analyse it and study carefully, physiology will tell you that you do not see any colour there. There is no colour. There is some kind of vibration of ether. It is a play of light, and light is nothing but vibration. But an ignorant person says, ‘I see it, here it is, how can I deny it?’ It is true that he cannot deny it. But what he sees and feels is not just exactly what it is in reality. There is a certain kind of vibration which comes from the flower and produces a kind of inverted image on our retina. And that image even we do not see, but that image produces a molecular change in the optic nerve and in the cortex of the brain at the back of our head, and then it is translated into feeling or sensation. Then we try to trace the cause of that sensation, and by the law of causation we see it is there. That flower has caused this sensation, and we call it red or yellow or whatever colour you may call it. The colour could not exist if you did not have the optic nerve, the retina and the brain”. Now, from the phenomenal viewpoint, colour and other sense objects have existential and conditional values, and, therefore, colour is pragmatically seen and felt. The colour, as produced by the vibrations of the sound-units of the rāgas, is, therefore, possessed of practical value. In music, colours are the medium for the

appreciation of distinctive tonal forms of the rāgas, and so they are important from the psychological viewpoint. They may be the product of the vibrations of the light of the sun, but yet they produce some sensations of tones and tunes in the brain of the artists as well as of the audiences.

But there are differences in opinion regarding primary colours. Some Western scientists hold that primary colours are red, green and violet, because, they say, the spectroscopy cannot break up green into blue, and yellow and violet into blue and red. Some again differ from it. In the Rgveda, we find red, white and black colours have been mentioned as the primary ones: “lohitā-śukla-krīnām” (‘लोहित-शुक्ल-क्रिनाम्’), and from the mixture of these three, other colours were made. But the scientists of the modern time differ somewhat from the names of the primary colours as mentioned in the Veda. Regarding the perception of colours, George E. Thorp said that musical tones and their respective colours are coalescent i.e. “they are produced simultaneously by the same agent, they are inseparable and also have equal prominence. Therefore colour audition is not the mere association of the idea of colour with tone, but an actual sensation”. “After studying for months,” he further said in his paper, published in the Edinburgh Medical Journal, “I first noticed that it was the slight movements of the base of the tongue, when singing the scale which produced these changes in quality, colour, and form of the tones. Moreover certain movements of the tongue had the effect of projecting the tones from the mouth, while others seemed to detain them in the throat and impart to them a peculiar throaty quality. In singing words, the tongue moved from base to lip, and on this account the same words sometimes had several colours, qualities and forms. Thus in ‘holy’ the
'ho' used to be hollow in sound and dark brown in colour; when the tone is more intense, the colour is red. The law governing change of colour I have observed to be the same as far change in quality, viz the change depends upon the number, order, and relative loudness of the upper partials in the tone." Mr. Thorp made an experiment of this theory on the 20 blind men, and found the following colours, associated with the sound of musical notes: C—blue, D—navy blue, E—bright yellow, F—brown, G—green, A—white and B—black. "The brightness of musical notes", he says, "was altered according as it was played in a higher or lower octave; but each note preserved its own colour, E and F sharp giving rise always to a yellow photism".


2 Sir James Jeans also admitted the emotional qualities of the scales, modes and notes of music, while discussing about the problem of Key Characteristics, in connection with harmony and discord. Regarding it, he discussed the views of Plato and Helmholtz, and said that the "power of subjective imagination seems to be very strong. Some hearers even claim to find emotional qualities in individual notes—here is a list from Curwen's Standard Course of Lessons and Exercises in the Tonic Sol-fa Method (1872):

Do (key-note)—strong, firm.
Re—rousing, hopeful.
Mi—steady, calm.
Fa—desolate, awe-inspiring.
So—grand, bright.
La—sad, weeping.
Ti—piercing, sensitive.

We cannot but be reminded of the Beethoven enthusiast who claimed that a single chord, nay even a single semiquaver, of his favourite master contained more emotional quality than all the music of Bach added together".—Cf. Science and Music (7th impression, 1953), pp. 184.
Dr. Dubash has given some genuine illustrations of the effect of colour perceptions in his book, Colour Psychology, and have come to some decisive indicative conclusions. He says that (a) the white colour has no such perceptible vibrations, and, therefore, is ineffective; (b) yellow is ineffective and is not pleasant; (c) black is unpleasant because of too much effectiveness; (d) there is an audible difference of tone and pitch in colours; (e) red is the most pleasant to the ears though some consider green and even black as most pleasant. The colour sense of the musical tones can be known as the psychic or sixth sense, and so it should be regarded as different from gross physical sense to some extent. It may be called as an intuitive perception of the colour.¹

Again, Prof. A. B. Klein carefully dealt with the different problems of colour-music and coloured light in his illuminating book, Coloured Light: An Art Medium, published second time in London in 1937. In this book, he forwarded that as arts are no other than languages for conveying ideas, so one individual wishes to make another partake of his experience, and the struggle to find the integral word to embody the idea is the essence of the artistic spirit. The special art-language have, therefore, evolved in response to the need for man to convey to his fellow creatures his perception and experience of certain relations of order in the universe as perceived and experienced by him under the limitations of time and space. "The colour-musician", said Prof. Klein, "will be concerned with ideas which arise from the relation between the physical world revealed by light, the physiological structure of the visual organ, and the imaginative spirit of Man. These ideas are ideas of order, of balance, of harmony, in their relation to visual experience".

¹ Vide pp. 138-145.
Prof. Klein’s research and labour have created a new sensation in the fields of sound and light, though he followed his great predecessors, who worked hard in the same field in the past and the present. Prof. Klein informed us that Louis Bertrand Castel was probably the first to imagine the existence of an independent art of colour-music. Now the word ‘colour-music’ connotes the idea of light-music, which means the sound-vibrations correspond the light-vibrations that have emotive value, and cause emotions in the mind of sensible creatures. In Castel’s opinion, at every period, light has been compared to sound. Such is also the opinion of Rev. H. R. Haweis. Rev. Haweis maintained in his Music and Morals that colour-art, exactly analogous to the sound-art of music, is possible, and is amongst the arts which have to be traversed in the future, as sculpture, architecture, painting and music have been in the past. In the middle of the 19th century, A. Wallace Rimington discovered his theory of colour-organ and proved that sound-music and light-music might be simultaneously performed to the mutual enhancement of their respective emotional effects. After him Louis Favre was also a pioneer in the field of colour-music. He also subscribed his opinion that music occurs in time and not in space, and that a colour-music could either take place in space as in the case of juxtaposed or moving colours, or in time, as in the case of a changing coloured light, filling the visual field. He thought that colour-music likely to develop first of all on the lines of the latter one.

During 1900 A.D., E. G. Lind made fresh research on the subject, and found that colours of sound (colours emitted from sound) could distinctly be visible from the human voice. From his observation of seven spectrum colours and
seven notes in the diatonic scale, the following comparative values of sounds and colours were found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vibrations of Sound</th>
<th>Vibrations of Light</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C — 259</td>
<td>Red — 476 billions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D — 289</td>
<td>Orange — 511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E — 322</td>
<td>Yellow — 546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F — 343</td>
<td>Green — 588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G — 385</td>
<td>Blue — 630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A — 427</td>
<td>Indigo — 665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B — 483</td>
<td>Violet — 721</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now the human eyes are sensitive to vibrations of very great frequency; “but the range of rapidity of vibrations between the red and the violet is only in the proportion of about two to one; that is to say, the vibrations which produce violet light are a little more than twice as numerous as those which give the sensation of red light. For otherwise is it with the ear which can hear regular vibrations as low as thirty-eight a second—the period of the lowest audible musical note (i.e. the lowest audible musical note has a frequency of some 16 vibrations per second)—and as high as 38,000 vibrations, which is about the pitch of the squeak of a bat. The proportion, it will be seen is 1,000 to 1; and that is a preliminary reason why it is difficult to attune colour to sound. It is perhaps also a reason why sound affects the senses more than colour”.

With regard to direct translation of music into colour, Prof. Lind said: “The two arts, (colour and music) so far in harmony as we have shown, it might be assumed that what would please the ear in one should please the eye in another. If, then, a musical instrument could be constructed that when performed upon, coloured sound would be
produced, we might expect lively tunes to emit bright colours, and sad and minor tunes subdued and secondary colours, and pleasing and sympathetic sounds, colours of a like nature". After Prof. Lind, Thomas Wilfred Alexander Burnett Hector, M. Luckiesh, R. A. Houstown, Lewis Barnes, Leonard G. Taylor and others worked on the same field of experiment and research, and they came nearly to the same conclusion regarding the colour theory in relation to musical sound.

While discussing on 'past and present proposals', Prof. A. B. Klein said that the musicians have appropriated the word colour principally to describe the sensous charm of art of music. The musicians of the 19th century specially used the word colour to describe the transformation in effect, which results from the use of various combination of a given musical idea. The psychologists have carried out certain investigations "as a result of which the conclusion has been reached that colours unquestionably possess what is known as emotive value".

A band of scholars, artists and scientists also made research on the field of psychological effect of colour-music, based on the experiments on a polyphonic music. Prof. N. A. Wells was one of them, who made research specially on the effective value of colours, which showed "a remarkable agreement, in a large number of subjects, as to the moods awakened by the simple pure colours of the spectrum and purple". Afterwards, Smith, Wasburn, Crawford and Dr. C. S. Myers developed this method, after employing divisions of perception type, equally applicable to colour appreciation. Prof. Klein ably gave a historical review of the past masters, who let their solid opinions, regarding the value of the problem of colour of the musical sounds.
From his survey it is known that Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519 A.D.), Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1527), Louis Bertrand Castle (1688-1757), Robert Warving Darwin, Dr. Thomas Young, Goethe (1749-1832), Hermann von Helmholtz (1821-1894), John Ruskin (1819-1900) and others admitted that musical sounds carry in them the emotive value that inspires and animates men. The Munsell Colour System, Typer System of Colour-Harmony, Tudor-Hart System of Sound and Colour have also added value to the discovery of colour-music.

The emotional sentiments and moods are the means through which men and women, irrespective of caste, creed and colour, appreciate and enjoy music. The Indian Poetics are of opinion that without emotion, music is barren and lifeless. So the authors on music, ancient and mediaeval, have conceived of colours of the tones, which have also been approved by the scientists and psychologists of both the East and the West. Śāraṅgdeva has described the colours of the tones, together with their presiding deities, which are no other than the symbols or signs of the respective tones. The Saṅgīta-Ratnākara has described these colours and deities as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>śadja</th>
<th>pṛabha</th>
<th>gāndhāra</th>
<th>madhyama</th>
<th>pāñcama</th>
<th>dhaivata</th>
<th>niśāda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>padmābhara</td>
<td>pījāra</td>
<td>svarṇa</td>
<td>kunda-prabha</td>
<td>asita</td>
<td>pīta</td>
<td>karvura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deities</td>
<td>Agni</td>
<td>Brahmā</td>
<td>Sarasvatī</td>
<td>Sarva</td>
<td>Śrīṣa</td>
<td>Gaṇa</td>
<td>Iśvara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like Bharata, Śāraṅgdeva has mentioned that the notes, śadja and pṛabha should be sung in veera-rasa, the note, dhaivata in vibhatsa and bhayānaka rasas, the notes,
gāndhāra and niśāda in karuṇa-rasa, and the notes, pañcama and madhyama in hāsya-rasa. The tones and tunes or melodies (suvaras and rāgas) have also been depicted as living forces and deified as gods and goddesses.

IV

The latter authors of music have classified rāgas into three classes and they are masculine, feminine and neuter. They have recognized the rāga-bhairava as the foremost rāga: ‘bhairavāḥ ādi-rāgāḥ’. Most of the authors are of opinion that the rāga-bhairava is possessed of three main emotional sentiments, śṛṅgāra, karuṇa and bhayaṇaka. It has already been said that Bharata of the Nātyaśāstra fame considers śṛṅgāra as the divine basic sentiment (ādi-rasa). It is the prime creative urge (kāma or desire), by the help of which the indeterminate Brahman (nirguṇa Brahman) appears as the determinate one (saguṇa Brahman). The eternal undivided One manifests as the manifold appearance: ‘sa tapo’tapyata, eko’ham vahusyāṁ praṣīyaya’. The Vaiṣṇava philosophers and theĀlāṅkārikas also consider śṛṅgāra as the best possible means to enjoy the celestial love dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The mystic poet Jayadeva (12th century A.D.) describes Rādhā as the embodiment of śṛṅgāra: ‘śṛṅgāraḥ sakhi mūrtimāniva madhaba mugdho hariḥ kṛiḍati’ (1.48). If we analyse the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva we find that no single statement shows the poet's desire to have union with Kṛṣṇa, as Rādhā had, and he only sings in praise of love dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The same attitude is found in Chanḍidāsa, Vidyāpati and other Vaiṣṇava mystic poets and savants.

According to the philosophical-cum-theological works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, Rādhā is nothing but the transfi-
guration of the infinite potency of Love, contained in the very nature of Keśīṇa. In fact, "the divine love between Rādhā and Keśīṇa has been conceived anthropomorphically, through the analogies of human love" says Dr. Sasibhusāṇa Dāsgupta. Further he has said: "Human love has been analysed psychologically into all its varieties and niceties to the minutest details, and it has been found on analysis that divine love can be expressed only through the analogy of the most intense and the most romantic and unconventional love that exists between a man and a woman, who become bound together by the ideal of love for love's sake". This love or divine love is the expression of the basic sentiment śṛṅgāra or creative urge. The stone figures of nātās and nāṭīs (male and female dancers), depicted on the walls of the temples of Orissa, represent the expression of the śṛṅgāra-rasa. Those nude figures may appear ordinarily obscene and objectionable to the common observers, but they appear divine from the artistic and aesthetic viewpoints. The śṛṅgāra-rasa that saturates the rāga-bhairava, brings fixity of mind, serenity, tranquility, concentration and meditation, renunciation or nirvēda unto the artists and the lovers of music. The latter Ālaṁkārikas consider śānta, instead of śṛṅgāra, as the basic sentiment. Regarding the sentiment śānta, Lochana has said: "mokṣaphalatvena cāyaṁ paramapuruṣārthanisṭhatvāt sarva-rasebhyah pradbhānutamah". Following Lochana, Abhinavagupta has also said in the Ṭhīṭhāvalaṁka: "tasmādasti śānto rasah * * / tatra sarva- rasānāṁ śāntaprāya evāsvādā na vaiṣayebhyo viparīttītya/, tanmukhyatālābāḥ kevalam vāsanāntaropahita ityasya sarva- prakṛtitivābhidhānāya pūramabhidhānām/ /

Some say that the bhayānaka-rasa that saturates the rāga- bhairava or that is generated from bhairava, creates the
mental attitudes of terror and fear. But that is not the real fact. The bhayānaka-rasa that permeates bhairava, brings the attitudes of reverence (śraddhā) and divine submission (prapatti) to God, which help the Śādāka to attain perfect detachment (nirveda) from the deceitful worldly desires. Such is also the function of the karuṇa-rasa, which is generated from the total tonal manifestation of the rāga-bhairava. It does not bring the attitudes of melancholy, grief or sorrow, despair and disappointment, but rather creates the mental attitudes of calmness and detachment. The rāga-bhairava has been called as the melody-type of the confluence of night and day (sandhiprakāśa-rāga), because it brings new life, vigour and energy to all the animate objects of the world. It manifests itself before the sunrise, and welcomes the rising golden sun, the force-centre of the gigantic universe. During this time, the whole atmosphere of the Nature remains calm and tranquil, with a complete balance of breathing of the living beings. The seers of music saw in their vision a harmony between the tonal manifestation of the rāga-bhairava and the serene atmosphere of the morning. The śringāra or śānta rasa that predominates over the whole atmosphere of the morning as well as of the manifestation of the rāga-bhairava, helps men to enjoy both outward and inward peace and tranquility which are permanent. The psychological aspect of music is concerned with these aesthetic and contemplative things, which make music dynamic and divine.
APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER XIV

I

The texts from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (6th and 7th chapters) and the *Abhinavabhārata* about the aesthetic sentiments and emotional contents (*rasas* and *bhāvas*):

II नाट्यशास्त्रः (6th chapter):

(1) भावशास्त्रसृजनेषुरोद्वृत्तारभावानवः।

चौबलसादभूतसङ्गी चेलाधी नाथ्ये रस्यम्: स्थृता: || 15 ||

* * * *

रत्नहासां शोकश्च कोष्ठोत्साही भ्रमं तथा।

जुग्ना सिसाध्येति स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिततः || 17 ||

निरंदिष्टानिशायाः सत्यात्माः मद्व भ्रमः।

शालयं चैव देन्यं च चिर्ता मोहः स्पृहितः || 18 ||

श्रीदत्ता नचिलता हर्ष याचनो जडता तथा।

गवो विषाद ब्रूतिकर्ता निदृपसूर एवं च || 18 ||

मुखं विनोभोजनं स्वयम्यविज्ञर्यमयोभ्रमता।

महत्योधित्योन्नादसुधा मरणार्थे च || 20 ||

शास्त्रवैवितर्जत्व विषेयं स्वायत्विकारिणः।

वेद्यविशारदी भावाः समाहयातातु नामसः || 21 ||

* * * *

(2) न हि रसाद्वा कश्चिद्प्रथमः प्रवर्तते।

तत्विभावारुभावव्यभिचारिः संयोगाधारनिधिः || 22 ||

II अभिनवभारती

श्रल भलवलोकसृजनेषु स्वायत्यं व्याख्या:—विभावसङ्करं संयोगोधर्माः।

स्थायिन्तोत्साहनि। तत्विभविशिष्टतः स्वायत्तिकाया उत्तसतो कारणः।

आदुभावाः न रसाद्वां श्रल विविधततः। तेषां रसकारणादेव
गणनाहंवाद। अनं तु भावान्मेव (ते) वेष्टुमात्राः व्यभिचारिकां संतकुस्तमकर्तव्य। यथापि न सहभाविन: स्मायिन तथापि वासनात्मकेन तथा विविधितः। ह्यथार्थस्वरूपे ऋषिदासिद्धिः कपिलसिद्धान्तस्मिता स्मायिन:।
श्रावणस्योत्तताः व्यभिचारितः। तेन श्याहेव विभावातुभाषा जिविहारितो रसः। स्यायी भवयुपवितः। स शोभयोगिः। [ मुहयः श्रवण शर्मा रामादी ] श्रीकारक्ष्यनुविर्यायीपि चाँदसदन्यानबलादे—ईति।

* * *

भद्रायक्ष्मत्वाि—रसों न प्रतीतीते। नवः प्रतीतीते। नाभिव्यज्ञते।
खगतरूप द्वै प्रतीतीत कह्यों हुस्वतिल्य यथा। न च सा प्रतीतिसूक्ष्मः। * *

॥ नात्यवाक्षः ॥ (Baroda edition):
को ह्यान्तः। अश्लाह—यथा। नानाभव्यक्ष्मीपिकोभ्यस्योद्योगास्मिन!।
तथा ननामायोगप्रास्यस्मिनिः। * * अश्लाह—रस ईति कः पदार्थः।
उच्यते—शालायवताः। कथमाखायते रसः। यथा हि नानाभव्यक्ष्मी-
सांस्कृतमत्रं शुभाना रसायाशास्त्रार्थिः शुमनसः प्रसो हृद्वर्द्धाभिधाग्न्नित्त
तथा ननाभव्यक्ष्मिनप्रक्ष्मितानु वागनस्वकोविन्तानु। स्मायिन: स्मायिन: स्मायिन:।
शुमनसः प्रेइका: हृद्वर्द्धाभिधाग्न्नित्त।

* * *

न भावायोनाडित्त रसो न भावो रससंयतः।
परस्परत्वा सिद्धि भोगाभिभिः भवेदः ॥३ ॥
व्यभिचारिकांस्योगो यथावत् खाद्यां न येन।
एवं भाव रसाययां मायव्यन्ति परस्परः ॥३ ॥
यथा वीजात्वं च हि द्वारां पुष्पं फलं यथा।
तथा मूलं रसा: सर्वं तेम्य: भावा व्यविन्तः ॥३ ॥

* * *

श्रावणरूपः स्मायोद्योगसो रीतार्थ कह्यो रसः।
श्रीरा वा भद्रायक्ष्मापरिवर्तीवामविलासाभ्यानकः ॥३ ॥
श्रावणरूपातिक्तयः हु स हास्यं प्रकटितः।
रूपसौंच च यज्ञमें स श्रेयः कश्यप रसः ॥७०॥
वीरसापि च यज्ञमें सोडूज्यते परिकीतितः ॥
वीरसाारक्रमं यज्ञ श्रेयः स तु भवनकः ॥७१॥

(१) श्राक्षरः। तत्र श्राक्षरो नाम रतिशायिनियावासमवः। उज्ज्वल-
स्वालमः। यताकिलिकः शुचिः मेधयुज्जलं दशर्णीयं वा तन्त्रभारे गौर-
मिश्यते। नलावहुज्जलेऽवेयः स श्राक्षरातिनियावासः। ** एवेषे श्राक्षर-
सिको हुतीज्जलेऽवेयार्कावासं श्राक्षरो रसः। स च श्रीपुष्पजेहुक उत्मसुग-
प्रकृतिः। **

कहासु शापक्षेषाविनियितितेजनिभववाजवासवर्धसः निर्मलेण-
नामः। शुचिमुखयज्ञातासरसः वायुः विप्रलभभकः। एवमवः
कहासुन्यख विप्रलभस्म इति। एवमेष सरसवस्तुः श्राक्षरो महतः।

|| अभिनवभारती ||

** अते एव यताक्षिकृपयोगं—रंतराधारसेदे न्यायक्रमेको रस
इति। तदनिहरता। एकैव थर्सो ताबनो रति। यज्ञस्योऽनुप्लवः
वदं विगतो न भवति। अतं एवोतस्मयुवप्रकृति। उत्मस्योऽलम्बो चोतमी।
पमं गुयानी। ततोतस्मयुवशंदेन ततस्मविनुभयते। न नु कायः। चैतन्य-
स्येः हि परमार्थ उत्तमस्यवत विशेषः। ** सा संविदास्यादयोऽथस्वात
श्राक्षरसोभमतिः।

(२) हास्यः। अथ हास्यो नाम हास्यायिनियावासमवः। स च
विष्णुपरशुरामाराजपद्वार्यलयकृ हास्यस्िलाप्याश्चर्त्तिनोऽप्राहराहारिदिनिर्भिः--
भावेतुपयते। ** द्विविधाययाससत्त्वः परस्थ। यदा सर इति
तदाज्ञास्यः। यदा तु परं हास्यति तदा परसः।

(३) कहणः। अथ कहणो नाम शोकसाहिष्मावासमवः। स च
शापक्षेषाविनियितितेजनिभववाजवासवर्धसः श्राक्षरातिनियावाससः
ः द्विनिर्भिईः समुपस्यते।

(४) रीढः। अथ रीढो नाम कौशशायिनियावासको र्रोदायोऽहुक--
It should be noted that the Vaiśnava Ālaṁkārikas have admitted nine or ten rāsas, Bhojadeva, eleven, and some others, more than eleven rāsas.
The line-drawings of the nine emotional sentiments (rasas),
drawn by Ācārya Nandalāl Basu of Sāntiniketan.

1 Śṛūgāra, 2 Hāsya, 3 Karuṇa, 4 Raudra, 5 Veera,
6 Bhayānaka, 7 Bibhatsa, 8 Adbhuta, 9 Sānta.
II नास्त्यशाखः (7th chapter):

** शब्दः—भावा इति कस्मात्। किं सत्तात्त्विक भावा। किं वा भाव्यसत्तात्त्विक भावा। उच्चते—वाग्न्रशब्दोपेतान्। काय्याध्वयनं। भाव्यसत्तात्त्विक भावा इति।

II अभिनवभारती

** इत्य तु इत्यादि—भावशिष्यदेन तावचित्तितिविशेषता। एवं विविधत:।

तथा तथा "एकोनप्रवास्ताभाष्यं।" इत्यादिः। तात्पर्यम् विभावं संस्कृतविभावं।

वे इत्यतः अश्युमात्स्थावः। विभावा वायाखाय वाय्यप्रकः संविदास्याः। एकांतजब्ब्यापेद्याः। तेन सावश्याब्यापेद्याः।**

वाय विभाव इति कस्मात्। उच्चते—विभावे विभावार्थ:। विभावः

कारणम् निमित्तेतः हेतुरितिः पर्यथाः। विभावोत्पत्तिः वायाखाय मानवविभावाः

यथा विभावित विभाविनिविर्भावार्थाः। अश्युभोक:—

वायोद्भूतं विभावाती वायाखायायः।

अभिनवस्थानायं विभाव इति संज्ञित:।**

अश्युभाष्येऽति कस्मात्। उच्चते—अश्युभाष्येऽतस्य वायाखायमहतोऽभिनव इति।

अश्योकः—

वायाखायमहते वायाखायमहातोऽभिनव इति।

अश्योकः—

वायाखायमहाते वायाखायमहातोऽभिनव इति।

तलादी भावः ध्वनिः। सत्त्वीश्चार्यार्थः। अधीं सालिका इति मेदा।।

एवेते काय्यसालिकेयथेष्टव एकोनप्रवास्ताचारा:। एव इत्यथात्त्वया।।

III

Regarding sentiment (rasa), colour (varṇa) and sacred varṇavīja, Sāraṅgdeva has said:

| पप्रभः | पिजः | लक्ष्णवर्णः | कृत्यगभोजसितः ||
| पीतः | क्षुरूर इत्येवाः ||
| सारस वीरेकृते रौते थो बीमतसे भयानके ||
| कार्यम् गनो तु करूणे हास्य-मकरयोगीमेरी ||

—सन्ती-वर्तकरः ११३। ४५-४६, नै.

The specific colours (varṇas) of the sentiments, śṛṅgāra, etc. have been described in the Nāṭyaśāstra, VI. 42-45 and the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.

|| सिङ्गधुराल ||
| पप्रभः रक्तवर्णः | क्षुरूर, भ्रमसतु पिजः श्रवणपीतवर्णः, गान्धारः | खःवर्णः वर्णादिपीतवर्णः, मधमः कृत्यवर्णः | श्रुत्रः, पचमोदसितः कृत्यवर्णः, | पीतः: पीतवर्णः नियादः करूणौ विचितवर्णः ||

| यदा क्याण्बू ब्रजः | पहुँचायसे खरा उपास्यने तसा लेषाँवत्प्रदेवत्वाद्रूपा निर्माणं स्वतित्वार्थं | वस्तिक्षे यथेऽः | अतंव खराणथो बीजानुकलानि मन्त्रने। यथा—

| गणिते मु संप्रवाप्त एकारादि यच्चान्तकम् ||
| वर्णमावलनायुजकलरससानकम् ||
| श्रद्धालय तृतीयं तु हरिवीजसमन्वितम् ||
| आस्तं खर्र लक्ष्मी उद्देशत साधनतः ||
| सत्तमस्य द्वितीयं तु कामवीजसमन्वितम् ||
| उद्देशु खर्र नितं सौरसभ्य सनोहरम् ||
| द्वितीयस्य तृतीयं तु हरिवीजसमन्वितम् ||
These are the Tāntric interpretation of the musical tones. The process requires the spiritual practice of sādhanā with the help of the real spiritualised soul (guru). Besides, consult, in this connection, the theory of colour-vision as well as *Thomas Young's Theory of Light and Colour-Vision*, as discussed in William McDougall’s *An Outline of Psychology* (London, 1939) pp. 223—224, and *The Mind*, N.S. Vol. X.
Now, let me take the privilege of quoting some portions of ‘Relation between Tone and Colour Perception’ from the chapter IX of the book: Introduction to the Psychology of Music (Longmans, 1946) by Prof. G. Révész (pp. 123-125), for which I owe my debt of gratitude to the learned author and also to the publisher. Prof. Révész has said:

“There are certain persons—at all events few in number—who automatically associate tones and tone qualities with distinct colours. Their identification of isolated notes is due to the primary acoustic impression, but to the optical, mnemonic, or intuitive image associated with it. Such a reciprocal relationship between tone and colour is known in psychology as colour (or coloured) hearing (Synaesthesia). By colour hearing we understand the fixed permanent association of acoustic sensations with optical images. In persons with pronounced colour hearing, certain tonal stimuli always create involuntarily, regularly, and constantly the same colour sensations (so-called chromatisms or photisms). These chromatisms or photisms can be divided into three classes, according to type: perceptual, as though the colours were actually seen; conceptual, when the colour is envisaged as an ideated sensation; and mental, when the colour only comes to mind, when only its name is suggested to the conscious mind. * * *

“The tests on synaesthetes have brought to light a large number of synaesthetic variants. There are persons with a very finely nuanced system of subjective colours for all the notes in the octave (including the enharmonic variants), as well as for all the major and minor modes, intervals, instruments, and vocables. In other synaesthesia is limited
to the notes (tone qualities) with enharmonic distinctions. Many synaesthetes construct the 'taids' and 'melodies' from individual colour elements. They 'see' a melody as tiny coloured dots in a dotted line like variegated glass beads on a string. Besides this analytical colour hearing, there is also a 'synthetic' type. In this latter the chords and melodies are not formed from the constituent elements; but each entity appears in a definite colour, or colour nuance. Musical works, as such, are 'dipped' as it were in one single colour—according to the key, for example.

Brown with a deep, dark voice.
Lavender with a soft, melancholy voice.
Yellow with a shrill, high voice.
Red with a high, ringing voice.
Blue with a fairly colourless voice."


Cf. also Sir James Jeans: Science and Music (1953), and Dr. Dayton C. Miller; The Science of Musical Sounds (1922).
CHAPTER XVI

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MUSIC

The philosophy of fine arts like poetry, music and architecture, including painting and sculpture generally conveys the idea of theory of the beautiful as well as of the science of artistic creation and its nature, and this view was specially maintained by Hegel and the Hegelians. But “the works, where in the philosophy of art is discussed, are primarily concerned with the technique, and the philosophy is closely related to it”. It is generally believed that the arts of poetry, music and architecture, painting and sculpture arouse an intense feeling and urge to experience and appreciate both the sensible and the supersensible objects, and though at first their representations are indirect in terms of the physical expressions, yet, at last, they directly appeal to the depth of experience or feeling, and create aesthetic joy and beauty.

Aesthetics (Gk. aisthētikos) is also a branch of philosophy, as it is absolutely concerned with the problem of emotional content, value and beauty. The philosophy of music, like many other high branches of knowledge, says Dr. William Pole, claims attention rather on intellectual than on utilitarian grounds. Moritz Hamptmann first tried to establish a philosophical theory of music in West. He published a book entitled, Die Natur der Harmonik und der Metrik, zur Theorie der Musik, in 1853, and built his theory entirely on transcendental metaphysics, borrowed chiefly from the system of Hegel. But as he dealt with only the abstract problem or truth of music, his theory was highly philosophical, and was not
easily appreciated by common mass of people. A few years later Hermann Helmholtz published his book, *The Doctrine of the Perception of Musical Sounds, considered as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music*, and tried to establish a relation between the boundaries of physical and physiological acoustics on the one side, and of musical science and aesthetics or philosophical structure of music on the other. Dr. Tyndall and Mr. Sedley Taylor also made considerable researches on the theory and science as advanced by Hermann Helmholtz. As regards the contributions, made by Helmholtz, Dr. Pole has said that philosophy of music "as established by the investigations of Helmholtz, implies not the bare enunciation and explanation of acoustical phenomena, but the general philosophical analysis of musical structure, to which the acoustical element is only introductory, and which really extends into a much wider domain".

Well has it been said by C. E. M. Joad: "Philosophy is concerned not with phenomena, but with their meaning; not with facts, but with values; not with what is, but with what ought to be; not with means, but with ends". Really end or value is the prime achievement in philosophy, and that end or value is sought to be realized in one's experience: "yad avagataḥ sat suavṛttitāḥ isyate tat prayojanam". Or it can be said that "the terminal end is always happiness and absence of unpleasantness, while the instrumental ends are objects or actions which, directly or indirectly, bring about the final end". It is an undeni-

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1 Vide Dr. W. Pole: *The Philosophy of Music* (London, 1879), p. 6
3 Cf. *The Vedāntaparībhāṣā*.
4 Cf. *The Siddhāntamukta-vali*. 

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able fact that a man seeks happiness or pleasure in his life, and tries to avoid pain and sorrow, living in this world of cause and sequence. But the question is what sort of happiness or pleasure he seeks. Generally it is found that he seeks happiness or pleasure in his life as a result of his actions and aspirations and enjoys that happiness or pleasure to mitigate his selfish motive only. But, perhaps he fails to get and enjoy it all the time in all actions, because happiness and pleasure (sukha) are always mixed up with unhappiness and sorrow (dubka) like the compresence of light and darkness. Or it can be said, in other words, in the dictums of the Upaniṣad that “happiness, which admits of a more or less is the bliss of Brahman, manifested in the mould of the internal organ, antahkaraṇa, due to contact with objects, whereas unsurpassable or absolute happiness is Brahman itself.”¹ Now, in regard to music, man generally cultures music in order to enable him to get material gains and worldly pleasures. The philosophy of music states that music is the highest art, because it confers upon man absolute bliss and happiness, which are permanent and persisting all the time.

It should be remembered that the province as well as the outlook of philosophy of music are very broad and liberal, because they contain not only the materials of the supersensible divine world, but also of the sensible material one. It informs us of the real aim and object of music, and also deals with the laws and principles, together with the raw materials of music. As for example, as to the question:

what do we mean by the philosophy of music, Dr. Pole says that a philosophy of music shall contain the enquiries into various musical problems like (i) the musical sounds, (ii) the nature of the simplest elementary modes in which the material is arranged or prepared for use, (iii) the distinction between two varieties of music, known as melody and harmony, along with other musical materials like counterpoint, time, measure, rhythm and form of music. "And broadly speaking", says Dr. Pole, "we may fairly assume that the principles, which have determined or influenced them, may be classed under two distinct heads, namely, physical principles and aesthetical principles". By physical principles are meant such principles as can be deduced, according to the laws of natural science, from the physical nature of musical sounds and from their known physiological effects on the human ear. By aesthetical principles are meant such principles as have resulted from the free action of the human mind, independently of any physical considerations.¹ Now the philosophical investigation of music will show that the truth lies between these two extreme principles.

The main material of music consists of tones or sounds, and philosophical concept of music centres round this sound theory. In India, the seers of music found out this truth and idea long before the West dreamt them. Long before Helmholtz, the intuitive authors on music of India discovered the mystery of sound (causal sound or nāda), which forms the background of the grand structure of music, and philosophy of music is absolutely concerned with the theory and value of the causal sound (nāda). In the previous

¹ Vide Dr. Pole: The Philosophy of Music (1879), p. 12.
chapter, we have discussed about the theory of aesthetic or emotional sentiments and value of music, and in this chapter, we shall deal with the problem and value of the philosophy of music, mainly, conceived by the Indian seers and authors.

From the philosophical analysis of the problem and mystery of the universe it is found that everything material is based on its subtle form, and everything subtle, upon its causal one. The cycle of cause and effect forms the world of appearance. Man's intellectual pursuit begins with an enquiry into the cause of everything around him, and with this act of enquiry, metaphysics begin as a theoretical aspect of philosophy of being and becoming. The philosophy of music is also concerned with an enquiry into the ultimate cause of the manifestation of music, and helps men to get into the core of its mystery and offers them the everlasting bliss and happiness even in this life on the earth.

In the primitive society, men and women used to sing and dance as a part of pastime and pleasure in their everyday life, but they did never enquire about the cause behind music and dance. With the gradual development of culture and civilization, there was an awakening in the intellectual and intuitional pursuits of men, and they began to seek and dive deep into the real significance of music and dance.

Now, what is the cause as well as the foundation behind music? Philosophy and science of music state that sound is the cause and also the foundation of music. Sound is known in Sanskrit as nāda. Sound is produced by the friction of heat-energy (agni) and vital air (prāṇa-vāyu). It produces tones and tunes, or it can be said that music is produced by the vibrations of the sweet and soothing sound-units. Rāgas,
varṇas, mūroccanās, tānas, alaṅkāras, etc. are also the outcome of the sweet and agreeable vibrations of the sound. From the science of music we know that a rāga is a psycho-material object, and it is constructed out of man’s innermost feelings and sensibilities, together with material ingredients of tones and tunes.

The world of appearance is guided by the inscrutable law of cause and effect. The biologists are of opinion that a unicellular germ of life or a bioplasma, after passing through various stages of evolution, ultimately manifests in the form of a highly developed human being. Such happens also about music. The perfect form of music comes into being, after passing through various stages of becoming from a potential germ of sound. By a close observation into the cause or origin of sound, the scientists find that a latent force or psychic energy is the source of evolution of sound. Patañjali has said in the Mahābhāṣya that the latent force or psychic energy remains in the form of primordial causal sound, known as ‘sphoṭa’.

The sphoṭa is the substratum (ādbhāra) of all kinds of sound, subtle and material. The sphoṭa is the all-inclusive (sarvāṇusyāta) universal causal sound. It is divided into different forms like pada-sphoṭa, sabda-sphoṭa, etc. The pada-sphoṭa means the awareness of the sphoṭa of a word which is necessary for the knowledge of the meaning (artha) of the word (sabda), exactly as the knowledge of a genus (jāti) is required for recognizing the individual belonging to it. The Nyāya philosophy admits the theory of generic concept (jāti). The generic concept can be said to be the pada-sphoṭa of the grammarians. The pada-sphoṭa is an important part of the unique and universal sphoṭa. The Kāshmīre-Śaivism has dealt with the theory of dhvani like the Ālatikārikas as
a vital part of poetry or literary composition. Ālaṅkārika Ṭanandavardhana is of opinion that theory of dhwani is built on the theory of sphota. Abhinavagupta has admitted it to some extent, though he is in great favour of the rasa theory i.e., the theory of emotional sentiment. Ācārya Bhaṭṭārāmi has dealt on the theory of dhwani, based on the sphotavāda in his Vākyapadiya. Abhinavagupta and Mahimabhaṭṭa have followed Bhaṭṭārāmi in this respect. Abhinavagupta has said from the viewpoint of the Śaivāgama that vāk or abhilāpa (consciousness or expression) is not only gross and determinate, but also subtlest and indeterminate in its essence. According to the philosophy of grammar, the parāvāk is essentially identical with the ultimate Reality, the Brahman. The sphota as such is free from all kinds of determinacy and gross expression, and yet it is determinate when manifests itself as the gross body of speech (dhwani). So the sphota is both immanent and transcendent,—determinate and indeterminate in its nature, and from the rationalist viewpoint, the theory of sphota upholds the doctrine of identity-in-difference.

The Śaivāgama-Tantra calls it the theory of voluntarism or svatantravāda, according to which, the absolute vāk or sphota “manifests all from itself, in itself and by itself and by its universal free-will. All that constitutes the world of experience, whether unity or diversity or unity-in-diversity, whether subjective or objective or the relation between them, such as that of causality or action, etc., is the manifestation of the absolute free-will”. So the Śaiva-Tantra holds that free-will is the ultimate Reality of all, and, therefore, sphota, the substratum of all articulate and inarticulate sounds or speeches (dhwani), creates all kinds of sound, musical and non-musical, through the medium of
its free-will. The grammarians differ somewhat from the doctrine of the Saiva-Tantra. Some say that it will not be wise to hold that the theory of dhvani is based upon the theory of sphota, as maintained by Anandavardhana, because there is some difference between the significances of the two theories. To summarise their views, I would like to quote Dr. S. K. De, while he says: "The word dhvani itself, as Anandavardhana pointed out, is sometimes used by the grammarians for the word or letters which reveal the sphota. Mammapa's remarks in this connection are pertinent. In his Vyāti on the definition given by him of dhvani (1.4), he says that the dhvani is, according to the grammarians, that word which reveals the all-important sphota, inasmuch as through it arises the knowledge of the word's meaning. Others, by whom he signifies the writers on the dhvani-theory is Poetics, carry this doctrine of the grammarians a step further and apply the term dhvani to the meaning as well as to the word, which is capable of suggesting a meaning superseding the one which is directly expressed. Intrinsically the two theories have scarcely any mutual connection; but what the Alāṅkārikas really wanted was an authority for their assumption of the power of vyāṇjanā, which the great grammarians did not acknowledge. The sphota-theory of the grammarians, however, presupposed something similar, for the vāṇas of a word reveal, as it were, the ideal word. Hence it afforded an analogy which could at least boast of the authority of the Vaiyākaraṇas, the prathame vidvāmsah and which could therefore be seized upon by the Ālaṅkārikas as the foundation of their own theory of suggestion, .....Although it accepted, with some modifications, the grammarian's analysis of the nature and
function of speech and based its theory of dhvani, on the analogy of the theory of sphota, the school really started independently with distinct theory of expression of its own, which demonstrated a function of vyanjanā and vyāngārtha untraceable in earlier speculative literature. But the influence of other schools of Poetics on the composite work on the Dhvanikāra and Anandavardhāna cannot be ignored". Regarding the real significance of the sphota, Dr. De has further said: "The sphota, which has been likened to the neo-Platonic logos, is of often translated by the terms 'expression', 'concept' or 'idea'; but none of these terms brings out its essential nature. Some philosophers propounded and the grammarians took it for granted that a word has intrinsically a word-prototype corresponding to it. The sphota is not exactly this word-prototype, but it may be explained as the sound of a word as a whole, and as conveying a meaning apart from its component letters (vāṇās). The sphota does not contain exactly the sounds of the order peculiar to the letters, but the sounds of something corresponding to them are blended indistinguishably into a uniform whole. When a word is pronounced, individual sounds become reflected in some degree in the order of the sphota in which the particular sounds are comprised; and as soon as the last sound dies away, the sphota, in which the idea corresponding to all these sounds is comprised, becomes manifest and raises to our consciousness the idea thus associated. The sounds of a word as a whole, therefore, and a part from those of the constituent letters, reveal the sphota".

2 Ibid. p. 143.
Now let us discuss the matter of the philosophical doctrine of sound that forms the background of music and musicology in a more explicit way. Pāṇini, Patañjali, Bhatṛhari, Nāgeśa, Punyaraṇa, Helarāja and others are of opinion that the causal sound or sūhoḍa is the substratum and fountain-head of the cosmic world-process. According to them, sūhoḍa is uncreated and eternal. But the Naiyāyikas and the Vaiśeṣikas have opposed their views, and have refuted the doctrine of eternality of sound (śabdānantaṇavaḍa). They say that words and languages, made up of sound, are created by man, and, therefore, have beginning and end, which means they are perishable. But they, who defend the eternality of sound as well as the doctrine of sūhoḍa, advance arguments that sounds are not created, but manifest through the medium of the vocal chord, and so the nature of their eternality is not lost. But, according to the grammarians, says Dr. P. C. Chakraborty, sound (śabda) is not lifeless mechanism, invented by man. It is more than a mere sound or symbol. “It is consciousness that splits up into the twofold category of śabda (sound) and ārtha (meaning), and what we call vāk as the vehicle of communication, is nothing but an expression of caṅtanya (spirit) lying within”. According to Patañjali, words are divided into two, nitya and kārya,—eternal and created. The nitya-śabda is the supreme reality, which transcends the limitations of time and space. It is the parāvāk as well as the para-Brahman. The conception of vāk as Vāgdevi has glorified the idea of aksara or udgītha. Dr. Chakraborty has further said that the doctrine of sūhoḍa, as expounded and nourished by the grammarian, marks the climax of mysticism, reached by the Sanskrit Grammar. “The assumption of a spiritual phenomenon like sūhoḍa, to which all sounds are reducible and from which all meanings
follow, furnishes a clue to the origin of sound. To the grammarian, śpṛṭa is indivisible (aṅkhaṇḍa), and represents caitanya in its purest form. Its sacred and lofty nature was much exaggerated by the grammarian so that it was finally identified with Brahma (—Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa). The conclusion, at which the grammarians had arrived after all their speculations on śabdātattva is this supreme identity”.

Bhatṭhāraṇī was a staunch advocate of the doctrine of sound (śpṛṭavāda). According to him, the śabdātattva and the Brahmātattva are interchangeable (vide Vākyapadiya, 1.1). All words and meanings are but the apparently different aspects of one and same thing. Bhatṭhāraṇī was thus conscious of that mahāsatta or Highest Universal which permeates all. He made his Vedāntic position perfectly clear, when he said that “śaṭṭa represents the real essence of all things; it seems to be manifold in consequence of the diversity of objects; it is to be regarded as the sumnum genus which is denoted by all words, all prātipadikas (crude forms), verbal roots and suffixes like tvā and tal (—Vākyapadiya, 3.33-34)” But it should be remembered that this satta is not equal to the eternal supreme soul of Vedānta.

Bhatṭhāraṇī maintained the theory of eternity of sound (śpṛṭa) in a different way. He said in the brahmākāṇḍa of the Vākyapadiya that Brahma, without beginning and end, is the indestructible essence of speech or sound. It is manifested in the form of things, and from it springs also the creation of the world-appearance. In fact, Bhatṭhāraṇī, Nāgēśa and others have established an identity between śabda and Brahma:

1 anādinīdhanam brahma śabda-tattvan yadaksaraṇī,

(2) ‘brahmēdanaḥ śabda-nirmāṇam’. In the Yogasūtra (1. 27), we find the close relationship between vācya and vācaka i. e. between the prāṇava and the Brahman—‘tasya vācakaḥ prāṇavah’. The Vedāntasūtra (1. 3. 28) has also supported the evolution of the world from the causal sound on the logical basis of perception and inference. Śaṅkara has said: “eta iti vai prajāpatirdevanāsājatasāgramiti * * śastramabhisahbagetyanyāḥ prajāḥ”.

It should be noticed that Śaṅkara has drawn a mark of distinction between the ‘evolution from the Brahman’ and the ‘evolution from the sound’ from the view-point of causation. From the viewpoint of the evolution from the Brahman, the Brahman is implied as the material or essential cause (upādāna-kāraṇa), while from the viewpoint of the evolution from the sound (śabda), sound is implied as only the efficient cause (nimitta-kāraṇa). So, when Śaṅkara has advanced his view of evolution of the world-appearance from the sound (śabda) in the commentary of the Brahmasūtra, he has taken it as the matter of ordinary experience. Vyāsa has said: “śabda iti cennātah prabhavāt pratyakṣānumānābhyām, Śaṅkara has explained in the commentary: “na cedam śabda - prabhavatvām brahma - prabhavatva - vadu - pādānakaṇātavābhiprayenoyate / ....... cikirsitamartha-manunistiṣṭhān tasya vācakaṃ śabdam pūrvaṃ smṛtvā pascātta - marthamanunistiṣṭhātiti sarvesām naḥ pratyakṣametal/tathā prajāpa-terapi sṛṣṭuh sṛṣṭeḥ prāk vaidikāḥ śabdā manasi prāduryabhavah, pascāttadaugatānarthāṃ sasarjugamyo” (Śaṅkarabhāṣya, 1. 3. 28). That is, Śaṅkara means to say that the creative will (sisyrkaṇḍa) of God, that has been sanctioned by the sacred Vedic dictum, is the cause of evolution of the world-process. So Śaṅkara has not practically accepted the views of the spōtavādins or grammarians, who hold the
view that the world emanated from the eternal sound (śabda) or sphoṭa.

Some divide the causal sound or sphoṭa into dhvani and varṇa. They say that when sounds are pure and simple and do not convey any definite meaning or sense, they are known as dhvanyātmaka-śabda, and when they are intelligible and capable of being expressed by letters, they are known as varṇātmaka-śabda. Upavarsa is of opinion that letters really constitute the stuff of the word (‘varṇā eva tu śabda iti bhagavanupavarsaḥ’), and this view has been accepted by Sāṅkara and Śabara Swāmīn. Patañjali has also accepted this view in the Mahābhāṣya to some extent, as he has hold the view that sounds are articulate (vyakta-vāk), when they are turned into letters. The audible or articulated sound is known as vaikhari.

Now, what do we specifically mean by the word sphoṭa? It is called sphoṭa, because the meaning is ultimately expressed by it and not by sounds of momentary existence. The derivation of sphoṭa is ‘spuṭatyaartho’smāditi sphoṭāḥ’ and ‘vācakatā sphoṭaikaniṣṭhā’. Again when a sentence is conceived as an indivisible unit, it is called sphoṭa. It is recognised both as internal and external entities. Sphoṭa as an internal entity is the spiritual indivisible consciousness in essence, and it is revealed by the sound or dhvani.

It has already been said that the grammarians identify sphoṭa with the Brahman, the world-essence. They say that sphoṭa is the source of knowledge of the sound (śabdārthakāraṇa), and it is not consisted of mere letters, as some believe. This view of the grammarians is quite different from that of Upavarsa, and, consequently, those of Sāṅkara and Śabara Swāmīn, who have followed Upavarsa. According to the grammarians, sphoṭa is sacred and divine, and it
symbolizes the conscious element or cit-śakti. Bhaṭṭhārī has mentioned in the Vākyapadīya that the study of the science of sound leads men to the realization of all-pervading God, and thus has fully supported the doctrine of the śabda-Brahman (śabda-brahmanavāda). Nāgęśa has quoted in his Laghumāṇujā (vide p. 172) that nāda, being the source of all forms of vāk, is called the śabda-Brahman. Regarding the doctrine of sphoṭa, as expounded in the Sarvadarśana-saṅgṛaha, Sāyaṇa-Mādhava has said in connection with the Pāṇiniyadārśana: "tasmāt varṇānāṃ vācakatuṁnapaṭtaṁ yadvāladartha- pratipattih sa sphoṭah/[varṇātirikto varṇā- bbivyaṅgartha- pratyaṅyako nityāḥ śabdaḥ sphoṭa iti taduḍo vadaṭi/ata eva sphuṭyate vyajyate varṇairiṣṭi sphoṭo varṇābbivyaṅgyah sphuṭati sphaṭibhavatyaasmādartha iti sphaṭortha-pratyaṅyaka iti sphaṭa-śabdārthamubhayathā nirābhāḥ/......tatḥā-coktaṁ bhagavatā patañjalīnā mahā-bbāṣye......(Patañjala Mahābhāṣya, p. 1) iti/............. sphaṭo nādābbivyaṅga vācako vistareṇa vākyapadiye vyavasthāpita ityantena prabhavatiḥ."

E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough have translated the portion thus: "...as letters cannot cause the cognition of the meaning, there must be a sphaṭa by means of which arises the knowledge of the meaning; and this sphaṭa is an eternal sound, distinct from the letters and revealed by them, which causes the cognition of the meaning. It is disclosed (sphuṭyate) or revealed by the letters, hence it is called sphaṭa, as revealed by the letters or from it is disclosed the meaning, hence it is called sphaṭa as causing the knowledge of the meaning, these are the two etymologies to explain the meaning of the word", etc.

1 Vide the Sarvadarśana-saṅgṛaha (edited by M M Abhyaṅkaropādhya Vāsudeva Śāstrī and published by the Bhāṇḍārkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1924, p. 360.)
The sphaṭa can be compared with the divine mystic word, Om or praṇava, wherefrom all the forms of speech or vāk are supposed to emanate. The author of the Yogasūtra has also identified the śabdatattva with the Brahmātattva. Nāgęśa has compared sphaṭa with the eternal phase of the praṇava: "etadavasthārayamapi.....sūkṣma-praṇavavrūpah" (vide the Laghu-maṅjuśa, p. 179). He has also admitted that sphaṭa alone is expressive of sense or meaning and is the potentiality or infinite consciousness, which is known as bindu, composed of three basic subtle qualities or guṇas. The bindu is an inexhaustible and infinite source of energy or saktitattva. The unconscious part of this energy is known as vija, while the combination of the conscious and unconscious parts (cit and acit) is called nāda. The intelligent part of it is known as bindu, and it has been said that it is the ultimate source of all forms of speech or vāk. Nāgęśa has said in the Laghu-maṅjuśa (p. 171): "pralye niyata-kala-paripākānāṁ sarva-praṇikarmanāṃprābhogena.....māyā cetane īśvare īhyate/tataḥ paramēsvārasya sirsātmikā māyāvṛttirjāyate/tato bindura-vamavyak-tam triguṇam jāyate/idameva saktitattvam/tasya bindoro-cidamśo vijaṁ, cidacinmīśro'ṅgo nādo, cidamśo vindu-rīti......".

In the Rgveda (1. 164. 45), we find the mention of four kinds of vāk:

Catvāri vāk-parimitā padāni tāni vidur-brāhmaṇā ye maniṣinah/

Guhā triṇi nihita neṅgayanti turiyaṁ vāce manusyaṁ vadanti∥

The last and fourth form of speech (vaikāri) is spoken by men through the medium of the vocal organ. Patanjali has also said about four kinds of padas like noun, verb,
preposition and particle: "catuṣṭi padajātāni nāmākhyāto-pasarga-nipātaḥ". Bhatṛhari, Nāgėsa, Gaudāpāda and Śāyaṇa have also divided the speech into four parts, parā, pāśyanti, madhyamā and vaikhāri. These four kinds of speech "correspond to four different stages, through which nāda passes till it becomes perfectly audible. Thus, we may start with bindu or the final point as the crude germ of sound and proceed from the mūlādhāra to the viśuddha, in order to see how sabda-Brahman or parāvāk transforms itself into popular speech. From bindu, it is said, arises nāda which is called sabda-Brahman; it is featureless, intellectual in essence, and possesses the characteristics which are favourable to the cosmic creation. It is the essence of the world that is often signified by such words as rāva and parā. The nature of the parāvāk, as described in the Mahābhārata and elsewhere, convinces us that it is luminiferous consciousness residing in the mūlādhāra, creative but indestructible. It is what is known as the sabda-Brahman or the essence of the Logos. When nāda or parāvāk gets manifested a little and the internal air that serves to reveal it comes up to the navel region from the mūlādhāra, we have pāśyanti form of the vāk which is not divisible into parts. Those two kinds of speech are exceedingly subtle and cognisable by the Yogīns alone in a state of perfect spiritual absorption (samādhi). Next in order comes madhyamā which is revealed by the same air, when it passes to the region of the heart. It has intelligence as its only ingredient. Nāgėsa has drawn our attention to the fact that these three kinds of vāk, gradual stages of amplifications as they are of the same nāda, represent, so to speak, the minutest, the minuter and the minute forms of prāṇava. The vaikhāri form of speech is what is spoken by men. It is generated when the
internal air passes through the throat and reaches the mouth.”

The grammarian philosophers say that the śabda-Brahman manifests itself in gross form through the medium of sound or dhvani. Now, what do we mean by śabda-Brahman? In the Vākyapadiya, Helārāja interprets the śabda-Brahman or Word-Absolute as the nature of pure bliss or śuddhānanda. Puṇyarāja, another commentator of the Vākyapadiya, does not accept this theory, as according to him, the Word-Absolute can be identified with samvid or consciousness, and not with ananda or bliss. Bhatṛhari has stated that the Word-Absolute is the ultimate reality, and it can be reached through the medium of the word or śabda. So words should be balanced and chaste or purified. Because, says Dr. G. N. Śāstrī, “strict adherence to chaste forms gradually results in the emergence of a special kind of merit leading to permanent spiritual advancement. For this reason, the correct readings and intonations of the Vedic mantras create a holy atmosphere that helps men to enjoy quieteness and perfect tranquility”. Puṇyarāja calls this tranquil state as kṣema that bestows emancipation (apavarga) to men, and make them free from the chain of delusion.

Bhatṛhari and some of his followers maintain that the state of pāsyanti is the eternal śabda-Brahman itself, and madhyamā and vaikhārī are the manifestations of pāsyanti. Bhatṛhari says that pāsyanti is the summum bonum of human existence, and it is itself the conscious entity (cit). Pāsyanti can really be said to be the transcendental consciousness, in which the distinction between word and

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1 Cf. Dr. P.C. Chakraborty: The Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus (Calcutta University, 1933), pp. 49-50.
import, the knower and the knowable, vanishes. But Helārāja, and specially Puṇyarāja differ from Bhaṭṭharī. They are of opinion that paśyantī is the first divine manifestation of the sabda-Brahman or sphoṭa, and not the sabda-Brahman or sphoṭa itself. Some of the neo-grammarians differ from all of them, as, according to them, parā, and not paśyantī, is the first and prime manifestation of the sphoṭa. But Helārāja and Puṇyarāja have opposed this theory. The Śaiva philosophers of the Kāshmera Trika system hold the similar view, as maintained by the neo-grammarians, and it seems that the latters were somehow or rather influenced by the Śaiva school of Kāshmera. The philosophers of the Trika school hold that parāvāk gives birth to the three states, paśyantī, madhyamā and vaikhari, and so vaikhari is regarded as the first evolved principle, and though it is an effect of parāvāk, yet is pure, indivisible and eternal. It is the cause of madhyamā, which is sensed by the mind only, and from madhyamā, vaikhari evolves as the gross material one. According to the authors on music as well as the Śaṅgītaśāstras, vaikhari manifests as the gross tunes and tones of music.

While dealing with paśyantī and other states in the Śivadṛśṭī, Somānandaṇāṭha says somewhat in a different way that paśyantī is regarded as the individual soul or jīva, who experiences different objects of enjoyment from the material body which is known as the bhogakṣetra. But it should be remembered that individually it is known as the jīva and universally it transcends the limitations of body and senses. So the grammarian philosophers designate the universal one as an enjoyer or pramātā, which is an all-knowing entity, the prime object of human achievement and an eternal one. The universal aspect or stage of paśyantī is reached, when
the veil of nescience is removed and the limiting adjuncts of time, space and causation are transcended. Therefore the real status of \( \text{pa\'s}yant\i \) is no other than the supreme universal Reality. \( \text{Madhyam\a} \) evolves from the vibrating surface of \( \text{pa\'s}yant\i \), and it may, therefore, be regarded as an idea of becoming in the part of \( \text{pa\'s}yant\i \). \( \text{Madhyam\a} \) may be compared to a stuff of the intellect or \( \text{buddhitattva} \) of the S\=an\=khya philosophy. It manifests itself as two divergent entities, \( \text{pr\=a}na \) and \( \text{ap\=a}na \), or \( \text{bindu} \) and \( \text{n\=a}da \), which rise from the navel base, \( \text{m\=u\=l\=a}dh\=a\=ra \). "When the stage of \( \text{madhyam\a} \)”, says Dr. G. N. S\=astri, “is crossed, \( \text{pa\'s}yant\i \) comes up, as it were, into the cavity of the mouth through the medium of the two breaths and touches the different sources of articulation. It is known as \( \text{vaik\=hari} \), in which the discrete letters of the alphabet find their proper expression”.

Abhinavagupta of the K\=a\=shmera Trika school has also described the stages of \( \text{pa\'s}yant\i \), etc. in a beautiful mannar in his commentary, \( \text{Par\=a}\text{trimit\=sik\=a} \). He maintains that Parama\=siva, the Brahman, assumes the form of \( \text{par\=a}v\=a\k \) or transcendental Word for self-enjoyment, which may be regarded as the sportive play or \( \text{lit\=a} \) on his part. Again \( \text{par\=a}v\=a\k \) manifests itself as Sad\=asiva and I\=svara i.e. as the power of knowledge and the power of activity (\( \text{j\=u\=na}a\=sakt\=i \) and \( \text{icch\=a}a\=sakt\=i \)). Though these two manifestations are essentially known as \( \text{pa\'s}yant\i \) and \( \text{madhyam\a} \), yet \( \text{pa\'s}yant\i \) is different to some extent from \( \text{madhyam\a} \), because in the state of \( \text{pa\'s}yant\i \), the notions of subject and object are absolutely negated or transcended, whereas in the state of \( \text{madhyam\a} \), they remain as separate entities and are cognizable. These have further been lucidly explained in Abhinavagupta’s \( \text{Tantr\=aloka} \). Well has it been said by Dr. Gaur\=in\=\=a\=th \=S\=astri in the \( \text{Philosophy of Word and} \)
Meaning: “There he (Abhinavagupta) says that parāvāk assumes the state of pāśyantī when, through its innate autonomous spontaneity, it externalized itself. As the order of the denoter and its denotation does not arise in that state, we find no differentiation. It is the light of consciousness alone which shines with all its lustre, and, consequently, it is described as the cognizer or the seer. In madhyamā, which is purely intellectual, the differentiation between the denoter and its denotation becomes slightly manifested. It is described as the intermediate stage between indistinct and distinct manifestation. And the name madhyamā owes its origin to this fact. The stage of distinct manifestation of the difference between the denoter and denotation is called vaikharī, which exhibits the sequence of letters and syllables. Each of the three stages, pāśyantī madhyamā and vaikharī, is further divided into three stages, gross, subtle and super-subtle. Thus the gross form of pāśyantī is represented by the prelude to a song as denoted by the technical term, ālāpa, in which there is no differentiation of letters and which is singularly captivating. The gross state of madhyamā is represented by the sound which arises when the fingers play upon a musical instrument, say, a drum (mrdanga). The gross stage of vaikharī is represented by what produces the various letters. The subtle conditions of each of these manifestations are respectively represented by the desire to sing, the desire to play upon a musical instrument and the desire to speak. And the super-subtle conditions are represented by the pure knowledge which lies as the source of the aforesaid desires”.

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Similar interpretations have been given by Maheśvarānanda in the *Mahābhārata*ī. Bhāskarāyā has also described these states in a somewhat different way. According to him, *śabda-Brahman* manifests first in the basic lotus (*mūlādhāra*) and then is known as *parāsvāk*. When it comes up to the third base of *manipūra*, it is known as *pāśyantī*, and as soon as the same breath reaches the heart of *svādhiśṭhāna*, it is known as *madhyamā*, and the subsequent manifestation of the *śabda-Brahman* is *vaikhāra*, which is grossest and represents itself as *vīja*. In this state, breath strikes the different places of articulation. In fact, the *cakras* are not plexuses or ganglia, but are the centres of consciousness or primary knowledge. “The causal sound or *nāda* is produced in the basic *cakra* by the action of volition of the self on the vital air. It is called the *parāsvāk*. When it ascends to the *svādhiśṭhāna cakra*, it unfolds itself and becomes *pāśyantī*, and when it ascends to the *anāhata cakra*, it is united with intellect or *buddhi* and becomes *madhyamā*. Gradually it ascends upward and reaches the *vīsuddha cakra* in the throat, and becomes *vaikhāra*. From there it rises towards the head, spreads over the palate, the tongue, lips, teeth, the root of the tongue, etc. and produces articulate sound”.

Now, as *vāk* or speech is the cause or fountain-head of music, the science and the theory of *vāk* should be studied with care in connection with music. The word *vāk* comes from the root *vāch*, which means ‘to speak’. The word *vāk*, therefore, connotes the idea of voice or sound,

(b) Vide also the *Saṅcakranirūpaṇa*, p. 11. and the *Parapañcasūra-tantra*, p. 43.
and this sound manifests itself in three main aspects, pari (supreme) or kara (causal), Sukshma (subtle) and sthula (gross). The paravak is the cosmic ideation (srishti-kalpana) of the Lord, the Creator (Isvara). Well it has been said by Sir John Woodroffe: "The feminine noun vak, therefore, means literally both voice and word it utters, as also the sound of inanimate objects. It has the same sense therefore as sabda. Artha is meaning or object. Pratyaya is mental apprehension. All things have a threefold sense, supreme (pari), subtle (sukshma) and gross (sthula). Paravak is the causal stress which, in terms of pratyaya, is the cosmic ideation (srishti-kalpana) of Isvara.  

But vak is also an effect, either subtle or gross. Pasyati-vak is vak actually going forth as iksha (seeing), producing or manifesting as Sukshma madhyamavak or Hiranyakarbhasa-badha which is the matrika state of sabda, as it exists in man prior to its gross manifestation as the varnas in spoken speech (vaikhari-vak). In the Rgveda, Sarasvati (V. 43. 11) is called Paviravi or daughter of the Lightning, that is, of the great vajra which sustains the worlds, which according to Sanya is madhyamikavak."

Vedanta admits four-fold states of evolution of the prime principle which are known as Turiya, Isvara, Hiranyakarba and Virata. Tantra states that the psychic energy sleeps under the bed of the subconsciousness or unconsciousness. The pure consciousness or siddha-cit remains in its core, veiled with causal nescience or maya. The mystic poet Ramaprasad has described it as "prastupā bhujagākārā svayambhu siva-veśthinī". The treatises on music state

that when the current of the vital air or prāṇa-vāyu comes in contact with the will-power or icchā-sakti, there originates a vibration (spandana), resulting in a subtle audible sound, which is called the anāhata-nāda. Then gradually it becomes grosser and grosser, and manifests at last through the vocal chord and is known as the āhata-nāda or musical sound.

Let us investigate as to how and when philosophy or philosophical idea of music came into being. The germ of the philosophical idea can be found in the great epic, Mahābhārata (vide the āsvamedhika-parvam, 53. 52-54). The epic says,

Tatraika-gūṇa ākāśaḥ śabda ityeva sa smṛtaḥ/
Tasya śabdasya vaksyāmi vistareṇa vahūn guṇān//
Śadjarśabhaḥ gāndhāro madhyamaḥ pañcamalī smṛtaḥ/
Ahaḥ paraṁ tu vijñeyo niśādo dhaivatastathā ///
Iṣṭacāniṣṭa-sābdasca sarvāttataḥ pratibhānavan/
Evaṁ vahuvidho jñeyāḥ śabda ākāśa-sambhavah///

The compilation of the great epic in its present form began from 300 B.C. and, therefore, we can assume that before 300 B.C. the philosophical conception of the origin of music evolved in Indian society. The sociological condition of epic India was quite favourable for the evolution and growth of the philosophical idea, and we should not forget that the monumental work on philosophy, the Bhagavat-gītā was also the product of that synthetic period (samavaya-yuga). The portion of the śloka 54: ‘śabda ākāśa-sambhavah,’ i.e. ‘sound had its origin in the ether’ is very significant. The neo-Nyāya philosophy says ‘śabdagaṇamā-kāśm,’ i.e. sound is the category of ether. Following the doctrine of the Sāṅkhya philosophy the compiler of the Mahābhārata states:

Ākāśamuttamaṁ bhūtaṁ ahaṁkārastataḥ paraḥ,/
Ahaṁkārat para buddhiḥ buddherātmā tataḥ paraḥ///
This doctrinal truth has again been mentioned in the Gītā as ‘yo buddheḥ paratastu saḥ (III. 42). From this it is understood that the basic psychic content or ātman is the fountain-head of everything in this phenomenal world. This psychic content is the cause of sound, both musical and non-musical. The later musicologists say that the vital force of science of music or musicology is the nāda, the ātman: ‘gītānī nadātmakaṁ’. Siṅhahupāla, the commentator says: ‘nādātmakaṁ nāda ātma-svarupam yasya’, i.e. the causal sound is the vitality or the psychic force-centre of music. Mataṅga, the author of the Brhaddeśi (5th-6th century A.D.) identifies the causal music (nāda) with the presiding deities of creation, preservation and destruction (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara). He has said:

Nādārūpoḥ śṛṣto brahmā nādārūpo janārdanaḥ/
Nādārūpa para-śakti nādārūpo maheśvarah/ /

That is, the divine idea, that was in a seed form before creation i.e. projection (śṛṣṭi), manifested with its richness and beauty. In Bharata’s (2nd century A.D.) Nātyaśāstra, we find that the raw materials of music were collected from the Śāmaveda, whereas literature (sābitya) was taken from the Ṛgveda, drama from the Yajurveda and the emotional sentiments from the Arthavaveda,

Jagrāha pātyamṛgvedāt sāmebhyo gītameva ca/,  
Yajurvedādabhinayān rasānartharvanādapi / /
  
Evaṁ bhagavatā śṛṣṭo brahmaṁ lalitātmakaṁ/  
Abhinavagupta has said in his commentary, Abhinava- 
bbāratī: “pāthyā-gata-svara-prasāṅgāt tadantarāṁ sāme-
ḥyo gītām agrāhetyuktaṁ ....... evakāreṇa gīta mantram 
tataṃ grāhitaṁ gītāṁ sāmākhyeti nyāyāt tadādharadbhuvapada-
yojana-mṛgvedādeveti darṣayati” etc.
The idea of the philosophy of music is found in Mataṅga's (5th-7th century A. D.) Bhaddesī in a more developed form. He has divided music into two parts, music with rhythm (nivaddha-gāna) and music without rhythm (anivaddha-ālāpa): “nivadhaścānivaddhaśca mārgoyam duvidho mataḥ”. These two kinds of music evolved from a central or basic energy. Mataṅga has enumerated five grades of evolution of the musical sound, and they are: subtle, subtlest, manifested, unmanifested and mechanical, “sa ca pañcavidho bhavet sūksmaścāvātisūksmāśca vyaktaśca krtrimah”. He has laid stress upon its source or basic psychic content, the nāda. In fact, the nāda is the determinate (saguṇa) form of the absolute Brahman, and its real indeterminate (nirguṇa) aspect is the ātman, which is the pure and absolute consciousness. Mataṅga has said,

Na nādena vinā gītāṃ na nādena vinā svarāḥ/
Na nādena vinā nṛttām tasmānādātmakaṃ jagat//

The world of appearance is the projection of the nāda, the sabda-Brahman. In the 7th-9th or 7th-11th century A. D., Pārasvdeva has laid great importance to the foundation of music, the nāda. He has said that the raw materials like svara, rāga, vādyā and tāla compose mainly the form of music, but all of them have their ground in the unmanifested causal sound, nāda:

Svaro gītāṃ ca vādyam ca tālaśceti catuṣṭayaṃ/
Na sidhyati vinā nādanā tasmānādātmakaṃ jagat.//

In the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, we find that Śaṅgdeva has synthesized all the doctrines of the Pāṇijnala-Mahābhāṣya, the Yoga-darśana, Tantra and Vedānta in his inunciation of the philosophical foundation of music. In the beginning of his book, he adores reverentially, the sabda-Brahman, who assumes the body of sound: ‘nādatanu’. Sirīhahubhūla
has said that nādatanu is an epithet of the sabda-Brahman: “nādatanuḥ svarūpaṁ yasya tam, sabda-brhmetyzuktatvāt”.1 Sārāṅgdeva has said,

Brahmagranthija-mārutānugatinaṁ citena hṛt-pankaje/

* * *

Vande nādatanum tamuddhura-jagad-gitām mude saṅkaraṁ //

Sārāṅgdeva has identified the causal music (nāda) with Saṅkara, the sabda-Brahman. The static causal music is also known as the brahma-granthi. While commenting on the word ‘brahma-granthi’, Sinhabhupāla says that the navel base, mūlādhāra is the divine base or ground of the Brahman-knowledge. The aspiring lovers of music can attain the immortal bliss of the transcendental consciousness by concentrating their mind upon that place: “brahmapadāṁ sakalavighna - vināśa - nighna-hṛdayaṁ paramātmānāṁ smārayat-prathama-nivesān-vaṅgamācaṇamāpi bhābiṣyati manvāno nāda-svarūpaṁ mokṣa-nidānaṁ prathamaṁ brahmapadāṁ prāyunḥta”. Kallināth has said that when the navel psychic energy rises up to the twelve-petalled plexus (anāhata-cakra) in the heart, it shines as the all-consciousness ātman, and the Upaniṣad calls it the Puruṣa in the form of a thum: “aṅguṣ-

1 Regarding nādatanuṁ, Sinhabhupāla says: ‘nādatanu, nādatanu: śaktiṁ yathā tam; śadbhūteṣu śrūṣṭvād. yadhā nādes kāryam kāraṇāmākāraścaryor- lagnaḥ; tātā padākāśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśaṁ śaṅkaraśaṁśamongodb

—SR. I. 1.
The psychic sound at last manifests itself as the audible pleasing musical sound, and soothes the hearts of men and animals. But it should be remembered that though it unfolds itself as the gross material form, yet it contains in it the potentiality of the Divinity. In the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara (third upātti-prakaraṇa of the svārādhyāya), Śāraṅgdeva has elaborately discussed the divine nature of the causal sound. He says that when the causal sound manifests in the level of the heart, it is known as bass or māndra; when it is manifested in the level of the throat, it is known as medium or madhya, and when it is manifested in the base of the tongue, it is known as high or tāra (Sr. I. 3.7). The three levels are frequently known as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, the presiding deities of creation, preservation and destruction, with their ethical qualities like rajas, sattva, tamas. The medium one is the balancing point or nābhi of the two extremities, lower and higher—bass and high. The balancing centre is the neutral point of the poles, positive and negative. Māndra and tāra are the two extremities of an octave (Indian saptaka). The philosophy of music teaches how to create a balance between the bass (māndra) and the high (tāra). In an octave (saptaka), we find that the fourth note, madhyama plays the role of the medium, and it brings a balance between two groups of notes, ‘sa-ri-ga’ and ‘pa-dha-nī’. So it is a common practice to demonstrate the rāgas from the medium octave (saptaka). Even in the Vedic period, we find that among the three register tones, anudātta, svārīta and udātta, the middle svārīta used to bring balance between anudātta and udātta, (‘samābāra-svārītaḥ’). This practice bears a very deep philosophical meaning and spiritual significance too.
Regarding the microtones (brutis), Sārāṅgdeva has said that from the differentiation in the capacity of our hearing the causal sound, the twenty-two minute sound-units or microtones are realized. Those microtones are easily recognized in the frets of the veena. Paṇḍīt Kallinātha quotes Mātaṅga’s view, regarding the mystic seeds of sound of seven tones, and they are harivīja, kāmavīja, etc., connected with the eight vargas like ka-ca-ta-pa-ya-sa. Here we find the influence of Tantra philosophy on music. The theory of astrology has also been adopted for the determination of the names of the microtones. Sīnghabhpāla quotes Mātaṅga, who maintains both the theories of tranformation (parināmavāda) and manifestation (abhiyaktivāda). Sīnghabhpāla says that there are differences of opinion (‘atra vabudhā vipraśipattih’), regarding the origin of microtones. He puts forward five theories in favour of the origin of the microtones, and they are: (1) theory of concomittance (tādātmyavāda), (2) theory of cause-effect or anticident-precedent (kārya-kāraṇavāda) (3) theory of superimposition (vivartavāda), (4) theory of manifestation (abhiyaktivāda) and (5) theory of tranformation (parināmavāda). From

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1 Sārāṅgdeva has forwarded three kinds of doctrine, dvaīta, vitīśṭadvaita and advaita as regards the creation of the world-appearance or music. He has said,

य आत्मा परमात्मा च विभास्ये सहह्रवत् ।
तदेवतसृष्टिसंस्कर प्रवाहानादि संस्मरस ॥
ते जीवा नात्मनो भिन्ना भिन्न वा नात्मनो जगत् १
शक्तया सूजज्ञामित्रोदसी सुवर्यन कुरसङ्गतदिव ॥
सूजज्ञाविश्वेश्येन्ये यथा रज्जुशुज्जगतम् ॥

—SR. 1.2 10-12
this we come to know the trends of philosophical tendency in the province of Indian music.

The rāgas evolve from the process of combination and permutation of different kinds of ascending and descending notes. Paṇḍit Damodara has also mentioned about the philosophical conception of origin of the rāgas and rāginīs in the Saṅgītadarpaṇa. He says that all the rāgas evolve from Śiva and Śakti: five principal rāgas from five mouths of Śiva-Paṅcānana and one from the mouth of Gaurī. The rāgas like śrī, vasantā, bhairava, paṅcama and megha came out of the five mouths of Śiva, which are known as sadyovaktra, vāmadeva, aghora, tatpuruṣa and īśāṇa, and the rāga, naṭanārāyaṇa came out of the mouth of Gaurī.

Śiva-Śakti-samāyogāt rāgānāṁ sambhavo bhavet/
Paṅcāsīyāt paṅca-rāgāḥ syuh śaṣṭhastu girijāmukhāt//
Sadyovaktāntu śrīrāgā vāmadevādvasantakah/
Aghorāt bhairavodbut-tatpuruṣāt paṅcamodbhavat//
Īśāṇākhyān-megharāgō nādyārāmbhe śīvādbhūta/
Girijāyā mukhāllāsyē naṭṭanārāyaṇo'bhavet//

This philosophical conception of the Śiva-Śakti principle had its root in the notion of the related and the relation, which means the cause and the effect. Everything material or mental—gross or subtle—has a causal relation between the antecedence and the precedence. When an event is followed by another event, we call the former a

Regarding the doctrine of superimposition (vivarta), Kallināth says:

"अन्ये वेदांतिन् । अविभयःसचिभाजानाम । तत् द्वान्तः—यथा रज्ज्वः-
सुनिःकिल्ति । एते अङ्गसातलंकरोन्यथामावद् तथाविवहतवं द्रविषाम् ॥"

1 It has also been discussed and quoted before in the chapter of the Iconography of Indian Music (cf. pp. 311-313).
cause and the latter an event. The cycle of cause and effect designs the world of appearance. When music first appeared in the human world in the primitive society, men did neither bother their heads about its problem of origin nor its cause, and so no philosophical idea did grow at that time behind the art and culture of music. In the Vedic time, music was cultured mainly for religious and spiritual achievements, and it was regarded as a means to an end of the human beings at large. In the beginning of the classical period (600–500 B.C.), music was known as ‘märga’ or gändharva type of music, and it was designed after the form and ideal of the sacred Vedic music, sāmagāna. It was sacred and celestial in its nature. The genus-specis (janya-janaka) scheme had already appeared in the domain of Indian music, which had its origin in the collected materials of the Vedic music. The materials as well as methods of the gändharva music were searched for (‘mṛg–anveśane’) and were collected from those of the Vedic music, and so it was known as ‘märga’. The grāmarāgas had their origin in the jātis or jātirāgas (‘jāti-sambhūtatvāt grāmarāgāni’), and, therefore, they evolved according to the scheme of janaya-jānaka or antecedence-precedence, which brought the idea of the cause-effect relation. The cause is conceived in the Tantra as the masculine or male principle, whereas the effect as the feminine or female one. The male is known as the productive one that generates and sustains the effect. It has already been stated that in the Nāradīśikṣā (1st century A.D.), we come across for the first time the notion of the subtle tones, known as microtones (srutis), and they are tūrā, āyatā, mṛdu, madhyā and karuṇā. From these five causal microtones, twenty-two microtones evolved in the latter time, and they have mentioned and described by
Muni Bharata in the Nāṭyaśāstra. It is said that Muni Bharata devised the twenty-two microtones according to the emotive values of the five causal microtones, as described by Nārada in the Śikṣā. The five causal microtones of the Śikṣā are known as jāṭis ('janakabatvāt jāṭih') or genus, whereas the twenty-two microtones are known as vyakty or species. The jāṭi or genus is conceived as Śiva, being the cause, and vyakty or species as Śakti, being the effect. Bharata's genus-species scheme of the microtones are as follows:

I. Diptā: which possesses the aesthetic quality of brilliance or shining radiance. The latter evolved microtones like raudrī, vaṣṭikā, ūvara and āgṛā are included in the category of the diptā-jāṭi, and these microtones also possesses the similar emotive qualities as those of diptā.

II. Āyatā: which possesses the aesthetic quality of vastness or expansion. It contains the latter developed microtones like krodhā prasāriṇī, sandipani, robini and kumudvati, having similar emotive sentiments of broadness and abundance.

III. Mṛdu: that possesses the aesthetic of softness and calmness, and it contains the microtonal units like ratikā, priti, kṣiti and manda, having similar emotional sentiments as that of mṛdu.

IV. Madhyā: that possesses the balancing quality, and it contains raktā, ramyā, ranjani, mārjani, and kṣobhini, having similar aesthetic quality.

V. Karunā: that possesses the emotional sentiments of compassion and sympathy, and it contains the microtonal units like dayāvatā, madanti and ālapini, having similar pathetic and compassionate nature.1

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1 These have already been discussed before in some of the chapters.
It has already been said before that the scheme of jāti-vyakti or genus-species has now been reduced to cause-effect relation (kārya-kāraṇa-sambandha), and it is rooted in the notion of the Śiva-Śakti-principle that forms the background not only of music, but also of everything in this phenomenal universe. Regarding the class (śrenī) of the rāgas, Paṇḍit Somanāth (1608 A.D.) quotes a śloka from the Aumāpatām by Umāpati (14th century A.D.):

Suddho raṇjanakāri svena cchāyālagalī parāśrayatāha〈
Saṅkīrṇastūbhayathā mata-muditamumāpatēravam〈

—Rāgavibodha (Adyar ed. 1945), IV. 3.

That is, while explaining the rāgas from the viewpoint of the Śaiva-Tantra school, Umāpati has said that the rāgas of pure type are the embodiment of the Lord Śiva, the chāyālagalī or sālagalī type of rāgas are that of the Śakti, and the saṅkīrṇag type of rāgas are that of the Śiva-Śakti combined principle. The intuitive artists and musicologists describe two forms of melody-type (rāga), and they are sound-form (nādamaya or śabdamaya) and deity-form (devatāmaya). They have understood the importance of deification and visualization of the melody-types (rāgas), and they realized the fundamental psychic values of the rāgas by the proper application of emotional interpretation of them. Paṇḍit Somanāth has clarified the doctrine of invoking the presiding deities of the rāgas by means of dhyāna-formula, and says:

Uktam rūpamanekaś tattadṛgaśya nādamayamevaṃ〈
Atha devatāmayaṁha kramataḥ kathaye tadaikaikāṃ〈

—Rāgavibodha, V. 168.

but here they have been dealt in a different way in relation to twenty-two microtones, as advanced by Bharata.
That is called rūpa, which, by being embellished with sweet flourishes of svaras (tones), brings a rāga vividly before one’s mind. It is of two kinds, nādātmā (one whose soul or essence is sound), and devamaya (devatā-dehamayaṃ), one whose soul or essence is an image incarnating the deity, of which the former has many phases and the latter has only one. The physical sound-forms being impregnated with aesthetic sentiments and moods become vivid and divine, and they are transformed into image-forms as incarnations of those emotional aspects. Prof. O. C. Gāngoly says: “The application to the theory of Indian music, this doctrine of image-worship i.e. the idea of invoking the presiding deity, or the spirit of the divinity by means of a dhyāna-formula, an evocative scheme of prayer for contemplation, has led to the conception of the forms of rāgas and rāginīs in dual aspects viz. as audible Sound-Forms, and visible Image-Forms—“nādamaya-rūpa and devatāmaya-rūpa”.

Both the Brāhmaṇical and the Buddhist Tantras have conceived different code mantrams (vīja-mantrams) for invoking the presiding deities, and they believe that gods and goddesses incarnate as the code mantrams. According to Tāntric cult, the vīja-mantrams or seed-formulas are the symbols (pratikas) of the deities. Pantañjali has said in his Yogasūtra that the mystic word A-U-M represents the determinate Brahman. The Mimāṃsakas do not believe in any materialized form of the gods, and so they admit the existence of a mysterious power or potency (apūrva) in music. In music, thought or feeling, distilled in sound, becomes itself an independent object. It assumes a tune-form which is definite, but

contains a force, which is called `apūrva', and the apūrva offers boon to the sādhakas.

In Vedic time, the Ṛtvikas used to perform sacrifices, and they regarded the tongues of the blazing fires as the representatives (pratinidhis) of the gods and the goddesses. So the conception of the process of deification was a common practice in India. It is an iconographical process of personification or symbolization of the image-forms (icons), and this divine process is entirely based on psychological-cum-philosophical conception of music. The speculative process of philosophy of music designs an idea of the contemplative prayer-formulae of the Indian rāgas, and so the intuitive poets composed the dhyānas of rāgas and rāginiś with colourful compositions, and the painters drew beautiful pictures of them. The emotional sentiments and moods are the states or modifications of the mind, and the mind being enlightened by the self-effulgent light of the Ātman, conceives, designs, and manifests music in the material form.

According to philosophy of music, the divine psyche or Ātman is the foundation (adhisthāna) of music. The psyche sings eternally the immortal song of the absolute music, which is formless and colourless in essence, and yet it manifests as phenomenal music with the gross raw materials of tone, tune, rhythm, grace, etc. The philosophy of music states that the absolute music is subjective, whereas its objective form is visual and audible phenomenal music. The absolute music is like the 'Idea' or 'Type' of Plato. It is the true Logos or divine 'Word' of the Christian theology. In the beginning, there was a pure Idea in God and He created the manifold universe from within, and within Him there sleep all kinds of impression (saṃskāras) of the projection of
the world in potent form. The Vaishnava mystics say that there is going on the supersensual music eternally in praise of the Divine glory of Radha and Krsna in the celestial region of immortal Vrndavan (Nitya-Vrndavan). That eternal celestial music is the absolute music. The absolute music is not, therefore, altogether inconceivable, but is conceivable through the medium of the concentrated and spiritual mind. Well has it been said by Prof. O. C. Gangoly, regarding the absolute painting: "Absolute painting, though they represent nothing, evokes a disinterested aesthetic sensation, due to happy perception and contemplation of special relations, dimensions, proportions, accents, colour, value and rhythm inherent in the quality of design, claiming to attain the condition of music. But this demonstration of the quality of non-representative painting does not invalidate to capacity of the painter’s craft to represent, delineate, or imitate nature or to render themes of human or emotional significance. And if music possesses, as it indeed does, in a large measure, the power of creating forms of ‘pure emotional values’, it is not incapable of rendering and expressing concepts evocative or human emotions". The phenomenal music, being the copy of the absolute music, contains within it the potentialities of divine nature and supra-mundane beauty of the absolute music. For this reason, the material tones and tunes also sing the song of the Divinity. Rabindranath Tagore has said: 'For music, though it comprehends a limited number of notes, yet represents the infinite'. So the phenomenal music has infinite possibilities for revealing the inner nature of man, nay, for making mortal man the immortal god-man.

Poet Tagore has further said that music "is the most abstract of all arts, as mathematics is in the region of
science”. It is sublime art as “the pure essence of expressiveness in existence is offered in music. In music, the feeling distilled in sound becomes itself an independent object. It assumes a tune-form which is definite but a meaning which is undefinable, and yet which grips our mind with a sense of absolute truth”.

India is the land of spirituality. Here philosophy of music is looked upon as a spiritual śādhanā, which elevates and animates the level of man’s consciousness, and kindles in the cave of his heart the perpetual light of the Divine knowledge, and makes him free from the den of delusion forever and ever. The intuitive authors of music of India are fully conscious of this secret, and have made music the best and purest means for attaining the God-realization. The philosophical foundation of music rests upon the solid rock of the realization of the immortal soul of music. Therefore, we should be educated to know that soul of music, because proper training and education can only harmonize the chords of the phenomenal music with those of the transcendental grand music of man. The artists as well as the art of music should, therefore, be raised upon the high level of spirituality, and they should be conscious of the grand truth of philosophy (darśana-śāstra) of India that man can see God face to face, can get an immediate awareness of the Absolute, as the task of philosophy of India is to solve the riddle of the universe and to discover the ways and means to man’s perfection in life.
APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER XVI

1. About dhvani and nāda from Mataṅga's Brhaddeśī:

वपवेदेशार्च ध्वनिः स्वात्सुगदिष्ट ।
ततो विनुरती नादसतो मालाजुडुकमात ||४१॥
वयास्थु मालाजस्त्रूला मालकां ब्रिनिष्या मता: ।
सर्वव्याणायेशा जगत्यायोतिरिश्चष्यते ||४२॥

* * *

ततो वाक्यानमहावाक्यं वेदा साध्या श्रुतकमात ।
कालस्ते ध्वनिः सर्वेन ततो गामयकामम्ब: ||१०॥
ध्वनियोति: परा हेया ध्वनि: सर्वसं कारणम् ।
श्राकारं ध्वनिना सर्वं जगतः स्वात्सरजश्चम् ||१२॥
ध्वनिष्ठू ब्रिनिष्य: प्रोक्तो विकाल्वकाविष्मार्गतः ।
वयास्थुमक्यस्नान् व्यक्तो देशिसुधुववागत: ||१३॥

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इशानी समप्रश्याम नादपराश्चर्मण्यम: ।
न नादेम विना गीतं न नादेम विना ख्राः ||१६॥
न नादेम विना दुरं तस्मान्द्रार्यस्मकं जगत: ।
नादक्रिया: सम्यतो श्राद्धान्यो जनार्किं: ||१७॥
नादक्रिया पराशक्तिनार्थो महेश्वर: ।
यदृक्ष श्रायत्र: स्वास्थ ग्रामविनिष्ठव: व: स्मृत: ||१८॥
तस्मात्स्वसिंहपिन्तार्या: प्राप्ता: राप्ताद: बहिसुद्धह: ।
बहिसुद्धहसंयोगानाव्राद: समुपपत्तयेते ||१६॥
नादक्रियाचछत्रेकचछत्रेकाः सर्वं च वाद्ययो ।

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नकार: प्राप्ता इशान्द्रायकार्यत्स्मत: ।
नादसं ब्रिनिष्याचायं समीचीनो मयोदित्वं: ||२२॥
2. About nāda from Pārvadeva’s Saṅgīta-samayasaṅgāra:

न सिद्धवति बिना नादः तस्मानामादांकं जगत्।
नादात्मानविन्दा देवस ब्रह्मविन्धुमहेश्वरः।।१२३।।
नामी यद्य ब्रह्माः स्वानं ब्रजसंविचयम यो मतः।।
प्राणेतत्त्वस्वरूप सः सः सः सुप्रसत्।।१३।।
अभिमान्तत्वादिः भवेनादश्य सम्भवः।।
नकारः प्रायः इत्युक्तं दकारो वहिष्ठितः।।४।।

* * *

स च पञ्चविषो नादो नात्मजविनिविनिसम्भवः।।४।।

3. About nāda from Sārangadeva’s Saṅgīta-Ratnakara:

(क) पीतं नादामः वांतं नादसुवक्षया प्रसाेतात्।
तडाचुन्तं इत्यं नादाधीनमहत्सः।।१।।
नादेन अवणया वर्णः पदं वर्णापदः।।
वचसो ववहरार्चं नादाधीनमतो जगत्।।२।।
ब्राह्मोबेवनाहुर्कं द्विः नादो भलस्यते।।
सोऽर्थं ग्रहाशः विवेदं तस्मात्तपितोदित्योते।।३।।
वस्ति नादः चिदानन्दं वन्यशोतितिनिनिराशेमू।
पुनः लिङ्गमिश्रयक्षमेवतिवत्रत्यज contingency: विमुः।।४।।
4. From Sīthahabhpūpāla’s commentary:

(क) नादाभित्तिकाः नाद्या आत्मा ख्यात्यं यथा। बायं च सच्चादिदीन नादाभित्तिकाः ख्यात्यं प्रशस्तं रमणीयं बुष्टित। नृत्यं तद्दुहुराधिकारम्, ‘भक्तिनामालयंप्रेमित्तएव’।
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5. According to the ancient musicologists like Matanga, Parshvadeva, Sraṅgadeva and others, the microtones (śrūtis) evolve from the causal sound, nāda. Regarding the process, Sraṅgadeva has said:

जात: प्राचारितसंयोगात्तेन नाथोज्योगैयते।
Kallināth has said:

Musical tones and melodic types are sometimes interpreted with astronomical, anatomical and Indian medical
(Āyurvedic) terms, which really does not convey the philosophical idea of music. The philosophy of music is absolutely concerned with the basic or causal sound (nāda) and its true realization as the highest knowledge and existence which make the artist (sādhaka) free from the bondage of the delusive world.
CHAPTER XVII

THE PRIME OBJECT OF INDIAN MUSIC

We love music, but if it is asked as to why do we love music, we cannot give a satisfactory answer to it. If we say that we love music for our own satisfaction, the answer will not be correct. But it should be remembered that music is an art, which contains within it an universal appeal and an inner urge for expansion. Music conveys the idea of broadening our mind and intellect. It enlightens our soul for realizing the real import and value of art and life. So the culture of music does not require any suspension and limitation. It does not mean that we should be contented with practice of mere skeletons of rāgas and rāginīs, which are framed out of the combination and permutation of tones, but we shall have to dive deep into the very core of the rāgas and rāginīs, and shall realize their true emotional aspect and spirit. We shall have to infuse life in them and make them dynamic and fit to be divinised and visualised in our intuitive vision.

Music is a system of education which imparts knowledge and experience as to how to elevate and animate the levels of consciousness. The world of ours seems to be very sweet in the outset, but it ultimately deludes us with its outward charms and grandeur. So the wise men remain apart from its fleeting beauty and go deep beneath the surface of it, and find solution of the mystery of their life.

Music is a gift or boon to human beings, because it
consoles the mind and helps the mind to concentrate and meditate upon a universal centre; makes men free from the fetters of false knowledge and ignorance, and bestows permanent peace and happiness even in this earthly life.

In the primitive society of the most ancient days, the uncivilized nomadic tribes, not only of India but also of all the countries of the world, used to sing and dance for consoling their heavy hearts and for mitigating cares and anxieties of their daily life. They used in their songs one, two or three notes, high, low and medium. Their songs were very simple. They used in those songs simple drums of wood and flutes of bamboo, wood or bone of animals. They used to dance with the rhythms of songs of charms, weather, marriage and other aspects of worldly life. The very walk of their life was accompanied with the sweet tunes of music and rhythmical cadences of dancing. In the civilized society too, music became the prime means to men’s household life and to their peace and solace. So from the dim antiquity up till now, music has preserved its glorious march and tradition, and men find their hope and consolation of life in it.

But music requires a systematic study and sustaining striving. In the Vedic days, the sincere pupils used to sit at the feet of their wise teachers and take lessons in the spiritual knowledge, and this master-pupil (guru-śiṣya) tradition is being carried on in the field of study even to these days. Perfection (siddhi) in every aspect of life is always preceded by practice in its truest kind, and a man reaps his ripe harvest in the field if he sows the seeds in time. The childhood is the best time for taking training in culture of fine art of music, because habit and tendency
of a child are ready to receive all he gets in this time. It is the nature of a child to acquire new things from the surroundings and environments he lives in, and thus he expands the sphere of his knowledge and experience. The childhood is also an impressionable age of life. So, if a child is taught music properly by the experienced teachers, it never goes in vain. The impressions of learning music in the childhood remain deep in the bed of subconscious or unconscious mind, they rise again in the ripe age and help men to master over the subject. The tones and tunes of music create sweet sensations in the mind of the child, stimulate his physique and thus bring new energy and vigour in him. Then the mind of the child becomes a new centre of knowledge and intuition. A new vision is then opened to him with new hopes and aspirations, and the world of ours appears to him as entirely new.

The conception of a rāga is very deep and meaningful in Indian music. It gets into the softest corner of the minds of men, irrespective of caste, creed and colour. The tones create the melodic patterns with their colourful ascents and descents and with harmonic relations, together with alamkāras, mūrcheṇās, tāṇas and ten essentials which bring life into music. According to the psychology of music, the microtones and tones are surcharged with aesthetic sentiments and moods, and they make the skeletal forms of the rāgas be impregnated with those qualities. So when men, women and children come in contact with tones and tunes of music, they are absorbed, and their dark depositories of the minds are slowly replaced by the bright ones, and their hearts are purified so as to receive the self-effulgent light of the immortal Atman. The realization of the knowledge of the Atman is the be-all and
end-all of all music artists and music lovers. The prime object of Indian music is, therefore, to get the blessed boon of the Divine knowledge that makes men free from the chain of delusion forever and ever.

But the present-day tendency of music culture seems to be commercial and deplorable, because it has confined itself within the walls of self-interest. It has also vitiated the taste and temperament of both the artists and the art-lovers. It should, therefore, be refined and viewed in its true perspective and colour. We should remember that as man’s power and capacity are limited, it is not possible for him to meet all the requirements he wants in this world of desires. The Upaniṣad states that continual pouring of clarified butter into the fire cannot extinguish it, rather it enhances the flames. To extinguish the fire, water is necessary. So the culture of the art of music in terms of selfish interest may add to the acquisition of material prosperity, but cannot mitigate the real desire of one’s mind. The real aim of man is to reach the goal of the Self-realization, and through the medium of music this achievement is fulfilled much sooner.

Let us remember always that the art of music is maintained and sustained only by the artist’s sincere love for art, purity and perseverance. Teachers, environments and external guides can only help men to manifest the powers and experiences that lie latent in their subconscious mind. They are the best means or mediums. But we should remember that we ourselves are to unlock the door that confines the unfathomable beauty and greatness of music. Musicology always complies with the real ideal of music, and the artists and the art-lovers should always be conscious of this highest aim and object. India is
the land of spirituality and ecstatic joy, and every fine art of India, be it music, painting or sculpture, turns its face towards the lofty ideal of the achievement of unbounded joy and immortal bliss.
APPENDIX I

AN ANALYSIS OF MUSIC IN AN OLDEST PURĀNA

Indian classical music has a very long history from dim antiquity, and the onward march of that history has not yet concluded, nor will it come to an end, so long as its science and art have life and force. It is bound to change and be modified, owing to the impact of changing circumstances and altering phases of the Indian mind. But amidst such changes and modifications, sincere and serious study of the treatises on music will enable us to discover the foundation, on which the cultural evolution of Indian music has been built up. We are still in the spade-work stage, and have to carry on research patiently and indefatigably.

A study of music in the Epics is most important and essential. History cannot afford to ignore the facts of this eventful Epic period. Many things of music that are now obsolete and dead, might be found to have been current in the Epic period. In the Great Epics like Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Harivamśa, we get ample materials of the gāṇḍharva music. Different materials of music are found in the Epics like Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, Vāyu-purāṇa, Agni-purāṇa, Vṛhaddharmā-purāṇa, Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, etc.

The Purāṇas are the documentary records of social customs and manners of the great Epic age. They are the evidences of social, political, educational, religious, philosophical and spiritual aspects of the then society. Rise and fall of the different clans and kingdoms with
their war and peace—conflict and amity—have built up the mythological history of the Hindus and other nations of the post-Buddhist India. Though most of the Purāṇas are recorded allegorically in an exaggerated way, yet they carry in them the historical truth and value.

The Rāmāyāna, Mahābhārata and Harivamśa can also be enlisted in the category of the Purāṇas. The Harivamśa is a supplement to the Mahābhārata. Some say that the Rāmāyāna, Mahābhārata and Purāṇas are merely the mythological interpretations giving in them no genuine facts and conveying no authenticity. But that is not true. Their putting is only in the mythological garb, but truth lies in them with all the historical significance and value. So the Purāṇas must be treated as history, and we should investigate and penetrate into them so as to explore the mysteries of the Epic India.

We are at present concerned with some of the notes on the Märkandeya-purāṇa that claims priority over all the Purāṇas. The Märkandeya-purāṇa, says Dr. Winternitz, "is one of the most important, most interesting, and probably one of the oldest works of the whole Purāṇa literature. Yet even this Purāṇa is no unified work, but consists of parts which vary in value and probably belong to different periods". Prof. S. Bhīmśaṅkara Rāo says: "Brahma-purāṇa stands first and it is called Adi-purāṇa, and Viṣṇu-purāṇa stands 3rd in the list. Some are of the opinion that Vāyu was the oldest". It is said that the Tāmil lexicographer was familiar with the tradition that the Siva-purāṇa was a Mahā-purāṇa. But Rāmachandra Dīkṣitār holds quite a different view. He says that in "priority of date, style, contents and the peculiar classification into four padas, the Vāyu-purāṇa can easily be ranked
as the Mahā-purāṇa”. Prof. Fēquhar is of opinion that the Mahā-purāṇas are twenty in number, and in that respect both the Vāyu and the Śiva Purāṇas enjoy the status of the Mahā-purāṇa. But Rāmacandra Dikṣitar, like Dr. Winternitz, says that the Purāṇas really “constitute a work of various periods in succession. The Purāṇas were composed of facts with adjustments and re-adjustments in different periods covering several centuries”.

It is said that Vṛṣa after compiling the Itihāsas (histories) and the Purāṇas (mythologies), composed the Mahābhārata to complete his task in the domain of literature and learning. Vṛṣa also admitted this view in the Mahābhārata (Ch: VIII, 34. 1498). But this admission, in our view, bears no strong historical evidence, as it is a fact that many of the Purāṇas borrow their materials both from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

Prof. Pargitar opines that the Bhavīṣya-purāṇa was the source of the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas. And in this way it can be shown by many parallel passages that all the Purāṇas are indebted to each other for their discussions. Again, it can be proved that most of the Purāṇas hold in them the traditions that have been developed at different centres of religious activity where local events were inserted subsequently. As for example, Prof. Bhimsāṅkara Rāo mentions: “the Brahma-purāṇa represents Orissā version, the Padma-purāṇa that of Puṣkara, the Agni-purāṇa that of Gayā, the Vāyu-purāṇa that of Mathurā, the Vāmana-purāṇa that of Thaneswar, the Kūrma-purāṇa that of Vārānasī, the Matsya-purāṇa that of the Nabada-Brāhmiṅs”. So it is evident that the Purāṇas were composed or compiled in different times with the topics and annals of different
countries and dynasties. But Rāmachandra Dīkṣitār tells us that though "the composition of the Purāṇas is to be spread over a large expanse of time, covering some countries in the epoch of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads, we already find some reference to a form of compositions allied to the Purāṇas". So he assumes that the earlier Purāṇas were composed at the last stage of the Vedic period, though it is impossible to determine the exact dates and definite natures of them at the present time.

Some are of the opinion that the earliest Dharmaśāstras, such as Gautama and Apastamba, mention the names of the Purāṇas. By the time of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (4th century B.C.) it was counted as one of the subjects of studies for a royal prince. But it is true that the word 'Purāṇa' is again found in the XV maṇḍala of the Atharvaveda and in the Chāndogya-upaniṣad (VII, 2, 1). In the Chāndogya-upaniṣad, it is mentioned that Nārada, asked by Sanatkumāra, said that he studied the four Vedas and also the fifth Veda—the Itihās and the Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata and other subjects. So it can be concluded that the Purāṇa or Purāṇas won the priority over the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. But that is not possible.

Some scholars hold that the Purāṇas are prior to the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata "with the exception of the Mārkandeya and perhaps a few more". Again there rages a controversy as regards the priority of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. The renowned South Indian historian Dr. Kṛṣṇaswāmī Iyeṅgār holds that the events of the Rāmāyaṇa took place after the great war of the Mahābhārata. That is, he is inclined to ascribe the date of the Mahābhārata prior to the Rāmāyaṇa. But Dr. Winternitz has shown that though it is commonly
believed by many that "the Mahābhārata belongs to a ruder, more warlike age, while the Rāmāyana shows traces of a more refined civilization", yet it can be proved that the Rāmāyana is earlier than the Mahābhārata for many reasons.

Again Rāmachandra Dikṣitar has said that from the closer study it is found that some of the Purāṇas are earlier than the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata and even than the Harivamśa, the supplement to the Mahābhārata. Because it is seen that the Purāṇas never mention the name of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, whereas in the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and Harivamśa, the mention of the names of some of the Purāṇas can be found. Dr. Winternitz is of opinion that the "Purāṇas certainly existed already long before the final reduction of the Mahābhārata. ..... and the Harivamśa not only quotes the Vāyu-purāṇa, but in many places agrees literally with the Vāyu-purāṇa transmitted to us". The scholars like Holtzmann, Hopkins and Lüders also agree with Dr. Winternitz. Prof. Hopkins has mentioned that "the description in our Vāyu-purāṇa is more ancient than the one given in the Mahābhārata". Prof. Lüders has also proved that "the Ṛṣya-Sṛṅga-legend has an older form in the Padma-purāṇa than in the Mahābhārata". So Dr. Winternitz sums up from all the conclusions: "From all this it appears that Purāṇas, as a species of literature, existed long before the final reduction of the Mahābhārata and that even in the Purāṇas which have come down to us, there is much that is older than our present Mahābhārata".

Rāmachandra Dikṣitar has further said: "A study of the Purāṇas shows that the earlier Purāṇas were composed in the period prior to the Mahābhārata and
Gautama Buddha, while the later Purāṇas were composed in the epoch following Buddha”. Prof. Pargiter also admits that the Viṣṇu-purāṇa (III. 17, 8-18, 34, Cf. Pad. VI, 263, 67-70) has some accounts of Buddhism and Jainism. Prof. V.A. Smith has shown that “the Viṣṇu-purāṇa is very reliable as regards the Maurya dynasty (326-185 B.C.) and the Matsya-purāṇa is also very reliable as regards the Andhra dynasty (which came to an end about 225 A.D.), whilst the Vāyu-purāṇa describes the rules of the Guptas, as it was under Chandra Gupta I (about 320-330 A.D.)”. Rāmachandra Dīkṣitār admits the views of Prof. Smith to same extent, and says that the “version of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, with regard to the Mauryan dynasty and of the Vāyu-purāṇa to the early Guptas, has found general acceptance among scholars. The Vāyu version of the Gupta rule is believed to be a description of the reign of Chandra Gupta I, who ruled Magadha from 320-330 A.D.”. So from this it can be concluded that most of the Purāṇas contain account of the genealogies of the kings. They contain the genealogy of the Anava, Paurava, North Pāncāla, Kānyakubja, Kaśi, and the Ikṣvāku dynasties. The Mārkandeya-purāṇa gives in detail the early history of the Vaiśāla dynasty (Ch: 113-36).

The etymology of the term ‘Purāṇa’ has been furnished by the Vāyu-purāṇa as ‘yasmāt purā hi anatidāṃ purāṇam’, i.e. ‘that which lives from ancient times is known as Purāṇa’. The general characteristics of the Purāṇas are of five kinds, and they are:

Sargāsa pratisargāsa varṇasomavantarāni ca/
Varnānucaritam ceti laksanānām tu pañcakam/.

The Purāṇas must contain five kinds of characteristics
(lakṣaṇas) and those characteristics are: primary creation, secondary creation, genealogy of gods and patriarchs, period of Manus, and the history of princes of solar and lunar dynasties and of their descendants. However Dr. Winternitz lends his ultimate view as regards the date of the Purāṇas as: "All that we can safely conclude is that the earlier Purāṇas must have come into being before the 7th century, for neither later dynasties nor later famous rulers such as, for instance, Harṣa occurs in the list of kings. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa is one of the eighteen Purāṇas. To enumerate them in the order it can be shown: (1) Brahma, (2) Padma, (3) Vaiṣṇava, (4) Saiva or Vāyavīya, (5) Bhagavata, (6) Nārādiya, (7) Mārkaṇḍeya, (8) Āgneya, (9) Bhavisya or Bhaviṣyat, (10) Brahmavaiśvarta, (11) Liṅga, (12) Varāha, (13) Skandha, (14) Vāmana, (15) Kūrma, (16) Matsya, (17) Garuḍa, (18) Brahmāṇḍa. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa has been designated after the name of the sage Mārkaṇḍeya. In this Purāṇa, the deities like Indra and Brahmā have taken more prominent part than Viṣṇu or Śiva. The Vedic deities like Varuṇa, Mitra, Pṛthivī and Agni have played their roles in some portion. According to Pargītar, the oldest part of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa "may belong to the third century A.D., but may perhaps be earlier". Dr. Winternitz mentions that in the Mārkaṇḍeya, the portion of the Devi-mābhāṣya has been inserted in later time than the 6th century A.D.

Now let us discuss about the materials of music that are depicted in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and analyse that of music therein. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa is divided into 237 chapters, and only a portion of the 23rd chapter (Beng. ed. 23rd and Bombay ed. 28th) has been devoted to the discussion of music. Besides, there are some discussions on
dancing, singing and drumming (nṛtta, gīta, vādyā) in other chapters (Beng. 149 and Bombay 154, etc.). The main discussion on music begins with an allegorical dialogue between the serpent-king Āsvatara and his brother Kambala on one side, and the Goddess of Learning or Devī Sarasvatī on the other. The names of the kings, Āsvatara and Kambala occur also in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Hari-vamśa and other Purāṇas. In Sāraṅgdeva's Saṅgīta-Ratnākara (1210-1247 A.D.), we find the mention of "kambala-śvatarastathā" (i.16). In the Mahābhārata (300 B.C.), we get the names of Kambala, Āsvatara and Kāliya together: "kambalāśvatarau cāpi nāgar kāliyastathā" (1.35.10). Sāraṅgdeva has mentioned also the names of Kambala and Āsvatara, while he determines the jāti or genus of music. As for example, he says,

Etadālapa-ni-gāsvāhuh kambalaśvatarādayah//
Alpa-dvi-sruti-ke rāgabhāsa'dāvapi tanmatam/

—S.R. 1.7.22-23

Kallināṭh (1446-1465 A.D.) has quoted here the views of Bharata, and says: "pañcamī-mādhyanā iti bharata-matānusārinā vacanena, etadālapa-ni-gāsu' iti kambalāśvatarādi-matānusārinā vacanena" (vide SR. Poonā ed., p. 78: Adyār ed., vol. i p. i17). Śīrṣabhaḍāpa (1220 A.D.) has also mentioned: "alpa-niśīḍa-gāndhāre rāgabhāṣādāvapi svarasādhāraṇam proyoktyamitī teṣām kambalāśvatarā-dinām matam" (vide SR. [Adyar ed.], Vol. I, p. 178). From this it is clear that Āsvatara and Kambala wrote some authoritative books on music and we often find them to be referred by the ancient authors. We notice that like Kohala and Dattila, and Nārada and Tumburu, the names of Āsvatara and Kambala are also mentioned together
in many places, as the ‘old authors’ on Indian music (‘urdha samgita-caryas’).

The Mārkandeya-purāṇa describes that the king Aśvatatar made a severe penance for many years together. He seems to belong to the Nāga dynasty (nāga-vamśa). The Nāga dynasty is considered to be one of the branches of the Scythian race. “The Nāgas”, says Prācyavidyā- mahārāṇava N. N. Basu, “spread their influence not only over India, but also at one time over whole of the civilized world. Alexander the Great observed dragon-worship and the influence of serpent-worshippers in the Punjab” (vide The Archaeological Survey of Mayūrbaraṇja, Vol. I. p. XXXV. Cf. also Cunningham’s Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. II. p. 9). Prof. Fergusson says that he noticed a picture of some serpent-worshippers, curved in stone, in the east gate of Sānchi (vide The Serpent-Worship, p. 33). Prof. Grünwedle also admits it (vide the Buddhist Art in India, p. 62). The Chinese traveller Yuān Chawān has mentioned it in his travelling records (vide Watter’s On Yuān Chawān, Vol. II, p. 133). Before the reign of the Nanda Kings, the Nāga dynasty was in existence in India, and it is not definitely known whether the dynasty was connected with the Siśunāga dynasty. In the Pāli literature and the Purāṇas, the names of the nine Nandas are traceable. Dr. B. M. Baruā is of opinion that after 140 years of the passing away (mahāparinivāṇa) of Gautama Buddha (probably in 348 or 347 B.C.) the Siśunāga or Śāśanāga dynasty was extinct (vide Aśoka and His Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 41-42). Dr. B.C. Lāhā says that the Siśunāga dynasty was established before 600 B.C. or perhaps in 642 B.C., by a chieftain of Vārānasi, named Siśunāga, who fixed his capital at Girivraja or Rājgrha (vide Tribes in Ancient India, p. 199). Again
it is found in the history that the Nāga King ‘Champeya’ established his kingdom on the bank of the Champhā that runs between Āṅga and Magadh.

The serpent-king Aśvatara was very fond of music. His intense longing for knowledge in the art and science of music made him take a vow of severe penance, for getting a boon from the Goddess of Learning. The Goddess was very pleased with his austerity. She appeared before him and offered him a sacred boon: “evam stutā tadā devī viṣṇurjihvā sarasvati”. She said to the king Aśvatara,

Varam te kambala-bhrātah prayacchāmyurāgādhipa/
Taducyatām pradāsyāmi yat te manasi vartate//

‘O king of the serpents and the brother of Kambala, I have been pleased with you. I wish to confer upon you a boon. So my son, ask whatever you desire’. Aśvatara was very glad to see his vow fulfilled. His heart was moved by the sweet and affectionate words of Devī Sarasvatī. He said to the Goddess with awe and reverence:

Sahāyaṁ dehi devī tvam pūrvaṁ kambalameva me/
Samasta-svara-samvandhamubhayoḥ samprayaccha ca/

‘O Devi, if you are pleased with me, at first make my brother Kambala a constant companion of me, and then bestow upon both of us the divine boon of art of music by means of which we two can master all the science and knowledge of notes’.

Now it may be asked who was Devi Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning? In the Sambhās and the Brāhmaṇas, Sarasvatī has been described as ‘a river’ (‘nadi-rūpā’) like Deśadvatī, Indus (Sindhu), etc. Most of the European scholars have interpreted the word ‘Sarasvatī’ as the river. In the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa (3.2.4.2.7), we find an allusion
of the stealing of the Soma creepers (somalatā) by the semi-
divine music-loving Gandharvas. The Gandharvas, it is said, 
were the dwellers of the North-West Province of India. 
The ancient musicologists like Nārada, Tumburu, Hāhā and 
Huhu, Viśvavasu, Aśvatara and Kambala were all included 
in the stock of the Gandharva. The allusion in the Sata-
patba-brāhmana proves that the Gandharvas were the born 
musicians, and they practised traditionally the gāndharva type 
of music that evolved in the beginning of the classical period 
in the 600-500 B.C. out of the remains of the Vedic music, 
sāmagāna. In the Mārkandeya-purāṇa, the Goddess of 
Learning has been called as the ‘tongue of Viṣṇu’ (‘viṣṇu-
jjhūva-sarasvati’). In the Vedic period, the sacrificial fire 
(Agni) was conceived as the sun of the nether world (prthū). 
The sun in the sky was conceived as Mithra or Mitra (uni-
versal friend of the world) and the sky, as Varuṇa or the 
‘ocean of milk’ (kṣiroda-samudra). The sun is worshipped 
from very ancient times, and gradually it was conceived as 
the presiding deity of the sacrifice. Consequently the sun 
was looked upon on the earth as ‘fire’ or Agni. Gradually the 
fire (Agni) was considered as the representative (pratiniḍhi) 
of the sun in the sky. With the evolution of the anthropo-
morphic ideas of the gods and the goddesses, both the sun 
and the fire were conceived as Viṣṇu. As the sun pervades the 
whole universe with its rays, so Viṣṇu pervades everything 
phenomenal with his sublime glory and magnanimity. In the 
Epic literature, we find the allusion of Trivikrama or Vāmana, 
who stretching his three legs, covered or pervaded the three 
worlds, while accepting the boon from demon king 
Vali. Vāmana’s three legs represent the three regions 
(lokas), earth, ethereal space or sky and heaven (bhūḥ, 
bhuvah and svah), which again convey the idea of all-perva-
siveness (sarva-vyāpakatvam). The mythological god, Trivikrama or Vāmana has been conceived as the divine incarnation of Viṣṇu or the sun. So the significance of the word ‘Viṣṇu’ holds the same idea of all-pervasiveness. The rays of the sun, together with the flames of the sacred sacrificial fire, were conceived as the ‘tongues’. The Goddess of Learning (Sarasvatī) was afterwards considered as one of the presiding deities, being identified with the sacrificial fire. Therefore the word ‘viṣṇu-jīvita’ became an epithet of Devī Sarasvatī. Sarasvatī was also conceived as the presiding deity (adhiṭṭhā-tri devī) of all kinds of learning and Fine Arts.

Therefore Devī Sarasvatī, as an embodiment of the rays of the sun or flames of the fire, being earnestly asked by the king of Gandharva, Aśvatara, for proficiency in the art and science of music, granted the prayer, and said with a smile ‘be it so’ (‘tathāstū’). The Goddess then bestowed the desired boon upon Aśvatara and Kambala, saying,

Sapta-svarā grāmarāgāḥ sapta pannaga-sattama/
Gitakāni sa saptaiva tavatīscapi mūrcchanāḥ//,
Tānāścaikonapaṅcāsat tathā grāmatrayaṁca yat//,
Etrat sarvaṁ bhavān gātāṁ kambalaśca tathānagha//,
Jñāyase mar-prasādena bhujagendraparam tathā//,
Caturvidhaṁ padamp tālām tri-prakāram layātrayaṁ//,
Yatitrayaṁ tathā todyāṁ mayā datam caturvidhaṁ//

The alternative readings:
1 tavatīscapi.
2 tālāścaikonapaṅcāsat.
3 vṛttā.
4 kambalaścaiva te nādyā.
5 pāroṣ.
6 kāḷam.
7 gātā-trayaṁ.
8 kāḷam.
Asyāntargatamāyattam śvara-vyāñjana-sammitam 9
Tadāśeṣam mayā dattāṁ bhavataḥ kambalasya ca 11
Tathā nānyasya bhurloke pāṭāle cāpi pannaga/
Praṇetārau bhavantau ca sarvasyāsyā bhaviṣyatalḥ/
Pāṭāle devaloke ca bhurloke caiva pannagau//

"O king of the serpents, both you and your brother Kambala will be able to master the seven notes, seven grāmarāgas, fifty-nine tānas, and three grāmas. Moreover, I bestow upon you the boons of getting efficiency in four padas, three tālas, three yatis, and four todyas (ātodyas). By my benediction and grace, both of you will be able to acquire the knowledge of these arts, their vowels and consonants. I am pleased to bestow all these boons upon you and your brother Kambala. Now I have given everything to you and your brother. In heaven, human world and netherworld—everywhere you will be honoured".

On a perusal of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, we find the names of the seven laukika notes, śadja, r̥ṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, pāncama, dhaivata and niṣāda, as opposed to the vaidika ones. The 6th-5th century B.C. was an epoch-making period, as the Vedic music was replaced by the newly devised gāndharva type of music at that time. A demarcating line has been drawn in the history of India between the music, vaidika and the laukika. The vaidika or Vedic music, sāmagāṇa, with its variants were sung with the seven notes, prathama, dvitiya, tṛtiya, caturtha, manda, atisārya and kruṣṭa. The pioneering dramatist and musicologist Brahmābhārata (commonly known as Brahmā, Druhina, Pitāmaha, etc.) was credited to have devised the gāndharva music. As most of the materials of the gāndharva

9 svaravyaṁjanayoṣca yat.
music was sought for and collected by him, it was known as 'mārga' (mīg—anvesāne). The microtones (śruti) being considered as the (subtle) notes, the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa does not feel to mention them separately.

It has been said before that the seven grāmarāgas are sadava, pañcama, madhyamagrāma, śadja-grāma, sādhārīta, kaisika-madhyama and kaisika. In fact the grāmarāgas are six in number, as the kaisika-madhyama and kaisaka are one and the same rāga. As the rāgas have their foundations in the basic scales, śadja-grāma and madhyamagrāma, they are known as the 'grāmarāgas'. They evolved out of the jātis i.e. jāṭirāgas: "jāṭisambhūtatvāt grāmarāgāṇi". The jātis or cast melodies are the primal rāgas. They have also been mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (4th canto). The wandering Bards, Lava and Kuśa used to sing the Rāmāyaṇa-gāna, added with pure type of jāṭirāgas (suddha-jātis). They were seven in number, and were known as the gāndharva music. Out of them, six grāmarāgas evolved during 400-200 B.C. as we find them in the Mahābhārata and Harivāmśa, and they were even played in the gāndhāra-grām: "a-gāndhāra-grāmarāgāṃ gaṅgāvataraṇāṃ tatbā" (vide HV. Viśnuparvaḥ, 89 canto). In the Nāradīśikṣā (1st century A.D.), Nārada has mentioned seven types of grāmarāga, as have been mentioned before. In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (3rd-5th century A.D.), we find also seven kinds of grāmarāga, and it seems that the author of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa has followed Nārada of the Sīkṣā. These seven grāmarāgas are also supported by the Kudimiyamālai Stone Inscriptio, installed by Rājā Madendravarman in the seventh century A.D. The seven kinds of tonal arrangements are also found in the seven grāmarāgas, as evidenced by the Rock-Inscription.
The seven gītis, as mentioned by the Mārkandeya-purāṇa, are the rāgagītis or rāgas by themselves. Bharata deals with the gītis like māgadhi, ardha-māgadhi, etc., which were used in the stage songs, dhruvā-gītis. But Maṭaṅga (5th-7th century A.D.) has fully described the seven gītis, which were described in terms of the rāgas. Maṭaṅga says that the gītis were: śuddhā, bhīnnā or bhīnnakā, gauḍī or gauḍikā, rāga, sādhāraṇī, bhāṣā and vibhāṣā or vibhāṣīka. There are controversies regarding the number of the gītis (rāgagītis) among the ancient musicologists like Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Sārdula, Dūrgāśakti and others. The Mārkandeya-purāṇa has followed the method of Maṭaṅga of the Brhaddeśi. From the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara (early 13th century) we come to know that there were other kinds of gītis like brahmagītī, kapālagītī, etc., which were devised, it is said, by Brahmā or Brahmābharata in the pre-Christian era. Sāṛaṅgdeva has also described the seven gītis like re, gāthā, pāṇika, etc., but the Mārkandeya-purāṇa is not concerned with those seven types of the gāndharva-gīti.

It may be taken that during the time of the Mārkandeya-purāṇa (3rd-5th century A.D.), gāndhāragrāma was absolutely out of practice, and so, when he says about the seven mūrcchanās, it should be taken that it describes seven mūrcchanās of the śāḍja-grāma and the madhyamagrāma, which were current in its time. But it is interesting to mention that the author of the Mārkandeya-purāṇa has also mentioned the names of the three basic scales, śāḍja, gāndhāra and madhyama. Muni Mārkandeya has said,

Tato hāhā-hulhuscaiva nāradastumburustathā/
Upagāyitumārabdhā gāndharvamkuṣalārauviṁ/
Śāḍja-madhyama-gāndhāra-grāmatraya-viśāradāḥ/
Mūrceanabhiśca tānālīśca samprayogaiḥ sukha-pradām/\n\n—(106 canto)

From the text it may be assumed that the gāndhāragrāma was also in practice in the time of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and consequently its tānas and mūrceanās. But from the evidence of the Nāṭyaśāstra we know that in the beginning of the Christian era, the gāndhāragrāma was obsolete in the society, though the practice of the gāndharva type of music was current: ‘gāndharvanī kuśalaravini’.

The mūrceanās of the śadagrāma are: uttaramandāra, rajanī, uttarāyatā, aśvakrānta, abhirudgata, mātārikāt and sūddha-śadja, whereas those of the madhyamagrāma are: sauviri, hariṇāśvā, kalopanata, sūddha-madhyā, mārgu, pauravi and bṛṣyakā. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa admits the forty-nine tānas: “tānāścaikonapāṅcāsāt.” Bharata differs from it. Bharata has described eighty-four tānas: “tānāś-caturāśiti”. Dattila follows Bharata, and says that the tānas can be classified into three categories, complete (pūrṇa), incomplete (apūrṇa) and intricate (kūṭa). But it is interesting to note that Nārada (1st century A. D.) describes, in the Sīkṣā, the forty-nine tānas of three grāmas, śadja, gāndhāra and madhyama. He admits 14 in śadagrāma + 20 in madhyamagrāma + 15 in gāndhāragrāma = 49 tānas. Viṣṇusarmā also admits in the Pañcatantra (2nd-5th century A. D.) forty-nine tānas: “tānāstekonapāṅcāsāt”.

The author of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa states like Nārada (of the Sīkṣā): “grāmatrayaṅca” i.e., there are three ancient scales or grāmas, śadja, madhyama and gāndhāra. But from Bharata’s Nāṭyaśāstra we know that the gāndhāragrāma

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1 Different reading: tālāiśca.
was obsolete from the beginning of the Christian era. Regarding the type of composition, the Purāṇa states: "caturvidham padam" i.e., the padas are four in number, and Bharata is of opinion that everything, which is composed of letters, is known as pada. The pada makes the notes and tempi manifest, and so it is known also as 'vastu': "padaṁ tasya bhaved-vastu svara-tālānubhāvakaṁ". Bharata divides pada first into two, nibaddha and anibaddha, and then into satāla (with rhythm) and atāla (without rhythm), Bharata says:

Nibaddhaṁcānibaddhaṁca tat padaṁ dvividham śrītaṁ/
Atālaṁca satālaṁca dvi-prakāraṁca tadbhavet/.

Śāraṅgdeva admits this division of the pada, and says that the satāla nibaddha padas are possessed of four music-parts (dbhātus), six limbs (śaḍaṅga = svara, viruda, pāṭa, etc.), and atāla anibaddha pada is known as an ālapī or ālapa. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa probably considers those nibaddha and anibaddha and satāla and atāla padas as four in number. But Bharata and Śaṅgdeva have classified them into two groups, satāla-nibaddha and atāla-nibaddha, though they appear as four in number.

By tālaṁ the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa means the ‘rhythm’ which is of four kinds and they are: āvāpa, niṣkrāma, vikṣeṣa, and praveśaka. Those rhythms (tālas) create three kinds of tempo, and they were slow (vilamvita), medium (madhya) and quick (druta). The Purāṇa admits these three tempi ("laya-trayaṁ"). Regarding prakāra, yati and todya i.e., ātodya, the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa admits three kinds of prakāra, three kinds of yati and four kinds of ātodya, which were current in its time. The three kinds of yati are: samā, srotogatā, and gopuccha, and four kinds
of ātodya are: tata, suṣira, ānaddha and ghana.¹ The Saṅgīta-dāmodara of Subhaṅkara (middle of the sixteenth century) states,

_Tamānaddhaṇa suṣiraṁ ghanamiti caturvidhaṁ/
Tataṁ veeṇādikam vādyamānaddam murajādikam,/
Vāṇīyādikastu suṣiraṁ kāṇسا-tālādikam ghanam.//

The word ātodya signifies the musical instruments, and they are divided into four classes, _tata_ i.e. the musical instruments that are played with the help of steel or gutted strings like _veṇā_, and _veṇa_ class of instruments, _saroda_ or _saroda-veṇā_, _tambūrā_ or _tumburu-veṇā_, _sitāra_ or _saptatāntri-veṇā_, etc.; (2) _suṣira_ or wind instruments; like _veṇu_, _sāṅkha_, _vamśi_, _gomukha_, _śīṅgā_, etc.; (3) _ānaddha_ or skin-covered instruments like different kinds of drums, and (4) _ghanā_ or the instruments, made up of iron or brass like cymbal, etc.

Besides the vocal music, the _Mārkandeya-purāṇa_ describes different kinds of musical instruments and the art of dancing. Regarding musical instruments, the _Purāṇa_ states,

(a) _Veṇā-veṇu-mṛdaṅgānātodyasya parigrahaṁ/_
Karoti gāyatāṁ vittam: nṛtyatāṅca prayacchati/
(68 canto)

(b) _Prāvādyanta tatastara veṇu-veṇādi-dardarāḥ/_
Prṇavā puṣkarāścaiva mṛdaṅgāḥ patahānakaḥ,/
Devadundubhayaḥ sāṅkhāḥ śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ,/
Gāyadbhiścaiva gandharvai-nṛtyadbhiścāpsaroga-

Turya-vāditra-ghoṣaśiśca sarvam kolāhalikṭam,/
(106 canto)

¹ These have been fully described in Bharata’s _Nātyasāstra_.


(c) Jaguḥ kecit tathāivānye mṛdāṅga-pañṭāhānakān/,
Avādayanta caivānye veṇu-veṇādikāṁstachā/,
(128 canto)

From these ślokas we come to know that various kinds of musical instruments like veṇu, veṇā, dardura, paṇava, puṣkara mṛdāṅga, paṭaha, deva-dundubhi, śaṅkha etc. were used at that time. The art of dancing was prevalent among both classes of people, aristocratic and common. The dancing was also praised by the ladies of the harem. In the Royal courts, the dancing girls had free access. The Mārkandeya-purāṇa states:

(a) Pragyā-gandharvagāṇāḥ pranṛṭtāpsarasāṁ gaṇāḥ/
Hāra-nūpura-mādhurya-sobhitānyuttamāni ca/,
(10 canto)

(b) Viśvāci ca ghṛtaṁ ca urvaśyatha tilottamā/,
Menakā sahajanyā ca rambhāścāpsarasāṁ varāḥ/,
Nauṛtu-rjagatāmīṣe likhyamāne’ vibhāvasau/
Hāva-bhāva-vilāsaḍhyāṁ kurvantyo’bhinayāṁ vahūn/,
(106 canto)

From these it is evident that the dancing girls like Tilottamā, Rambhā, Viśvāci and others used to take part in the dramatic plays. Their dances were accompanied with different gestures and postures and aesthetic sentiment and moods.

Now we find that the Mārkandeya-purāṇa furnishes us with the materials of music that were traditionally cultured from very ancient time. The type of music practised was purely gāndharva, though some of the regional (deśi) materials are found mentioned in the Purāṇa. It is a historical fact that during the time of the Mārkandeya-purāṇa, the work of formalization of the aboriginal regional tunes had begun, and some of the non-Aryan tunes also got
into the stock of the Aryans. However scanty may be the materials of music in the Markandeya-purāṇa, their historical value and importance are immense. The Epics are the fountain-head of inspiration, and they supply us the materials of music to compile a reliable history of Indian music. We should, therefore, study the Epics and analyze the ingredients of music therein, which will enable us to have a synthetic vision to get into the realm of cultural history of glorious India.
APPENDIX II

MAŅGALAGIȚI: ITS SIGNIFICANCE AND FORM

Most of the historians are inclined to ascribe the time of Mahākavi Kālidās between 150 B.C. and 400 or 450 A.D. In Kālidāsa’s different poetical works and dramas (kāvyas and nāṭakas), we come across the words, maņgala-giți and gītamaņgala. To cite one or two examples of them, Kālidās has mentioned:

(a) mūrechanā-parigṛhita kaiśikaiḥ kinnarairuṣasi
gītamaņgalaḥ’’’—Kumārasambhava, 8.85.

(b) sambhāvićārīnām girirājaputryā ghe’bhavan-
maņgalagītakāpi’’’—Kumārasambhava, 11.33.

That is, when the kinnaras were engaged in singing the maņgalagītī with the help of the rāga kaiśika and impregnated with mūrechanā at day-break, Śiva, who was most worthy of being praised and worshipped by the wise ones, awoke with the blossoming of the hundred petaled golden lotus, etc. Now, this maņgalagītī and gītamaņgala were no other than the sacred maņgalācarana-gītī. Kālidās has mentioned that the maņgalagītī used to be sung with the rāga (grāma-rāga) kaiśika, consisting of a mūrechanā. It is a historical fact that from the time of Bharata of the Nāṭyaśāstra fame (2nd century A.D.) down to that of Paṇḍit Dāmodara of the Saṃgīta-darpana (15th-16th century A.D.) the rāgas used to be determined by their respective mūrechanās. A mūrechanā is a structure of seven tones with their ascending and descending series (“svarānāmārohakrama mūrechanā”). Sāraṅgdeva of the early 13th century A.D. has dealt elaborately with the varieties of mūrechanā of the three grāmas,
and before Sārāṅgdeva, Bharata, Mātaṅga, Pārvadeva and other ancient dramatists and musicologists have fully dealt with the problem of mūrcchanā. We know from Sārāṅgdeva’s Saṅgīta-Ratnākara that the rāga kaiśika was possessed of gāndhārādi-mūrcchanā. The rāga kaiśika used to manifest itself in different forms like sūddha-kaiśika, ṣadja-kaiśika, mālava-kaiśika, ṭhakka-kaiśika, boṭṭa-kaiśika, bhinna-kaiśika-madhyama, gauḍa-kaiśika, etc. Kālidās was fully aware of importance and utility of the mūrcchanās of the rāgas, and so wherever he has mentioned some rāgas, grāmas and gānas, he has used the word mūrcchanā to make them explicit. As for example, while describing the deplorable condition of the departed wife of the exiled Yakṣa, he has mentioned about the mūrcchanā of the gāndhāragrāma, which was appiled by the Yakṣini for ābhicārika purpose on the wires of the veṇā: “nikṣipyā veṇāṁ ... mūrcchanāṁ vismaranti”.

Now the gitamaṅgala, that occurs in the śloka: “mūrcchanā parigrihitā kaiśikaiḥ” etc. was actually the nibaddha prabandha-gāna. Sārāṅgdeva has described in the fourth prabandha chapter of the SR. that the prabandas were mainly of three kinds, and they were: sūḍa or mārga-sūḍa, āli or āli-saṁśraya and viprakirṇa (SR. IV. 22). The viprakirṇa-prabandha was of thirty-six varieties, and they were: elā, karana, dheṇki, ... dvipadi, catuspadi, carcari or cāncara, caryā, paddhaḍi, rāhaḍi, viraśri, maṅgalacarana, dhavala, maṅgala, etc. (SR. IV. 23-32). The nāma-kirtana, introduced by Śrī Chaitanya in the 1485-1533 A.D., and the rasa or lilā kirtana, innovated by Thākur Narottamadās in the 16th century A.D., were no other than the karana-prabandha-gāna, as described by Sārāṅgdeva. Even Thākur Jayadeva (12th century A.D.),
Baḍu Chaṇḍidās (early 14th century A.D.), Thākur Vidyāpati (14th century), and other Vaiṣṇava savants composed many doḥās and padāvalīs in avabhāṣa-saurasenīvaṅga or vaṅga-maitīrī languages before Śrī Chaitanya, and they were known as classical type of karana-prabandhagāna. The nūṭagīti of Bengal, composed in the avabhāṣa language, was also known as the prabandha-gīti. The Carṇāṭaka composers like Achalānandadās (15th century A.D.), Narahari-tīrtha (13th century), Śrīpadarāja (third quarter of the 15th century), Vyāsarāja (15th century), Vāḍirāja (1480 A.D.), Purandaradās (1484 A.D.), Tyāgarāja, Murthusvāmi Dīkṣitār, Ṣyāmā Ṣāstrī and others composed songs which were known as the classical kirtana-prabandha-gāṇa. The karana-prabandha is of nine kinds, and accordingly for their special features they were again divided into three main classes, maṅgalārambha, añandavardhana and kirtipūrvikā labhā or kirtilabhā (SR. IV. 142). The last one, kirtilabharī-karana-prabandha was designed after the form of kirtana or padāvali-kirtana. The gīta-marigala or maṅgalagīti was also included into the category of the prabandha-gīti.

Besides the maṅgalagīti, Kālidās has mentioned in his different Kāvyas the names of the prabandhas like cacarī, caryā, jambhalikā, etc. The cacarī-prabandha or cāṇ-cara used to be sung on the occasion of boli festival in the spiring season: “sā vasantotsave geyā cacarī prākṛtaḥ padai” (SR. IV. 290-291). The caryā was purely spiritual: “adyātma-gocarāḥ caryāḥ” (SR. IV. 4. 292). In the 950-1200 A.D., the Sahajayānī and Vajrayānī mystic Yogīs of the Buddhist, Jain and Nātha sects composed many doḥās (caryās) in code language (sandhyā-bhāṣā), and they were known as the padas i.e. nathagītis and caryāpadas. The
dhavala and maṅgala gītis were also spiritual in their nature, Śāraṅgdeva has mentioned about them in connection with the dhavala-prabandha-gāna: “āśirbhīr-dhavala-geyo dhava-laḍī-pādānūtīḥ” (SR. IV. 302), i.e. the dhavala-prabandha used to be sung with the word of blessings and dhavala verses, The maṅgala-prabandha used to be sung either with the rāga kaiśika (or kaiśikī) or boṭṭa (or bhotṭa), consisting of maṅgala verses (padas) in a slow tempo (vilamvita-laya). Śāraṅgdeva has mentioned about the method of embellishment of the maṅgalagīta or gītamāṅgala thus:

Kaiśikyāṁ boṭṭarāga vā maṅgalaṁ maṅgalaiḥ padaiḥ/
Vilamvita-laye geyāṁ maṅgala-cchandasaṭhavā/

—SR. IV. 303.

Thus we find that there were current two kinds of kaiśika-rāga in the ancient Indian society: one, the jāti or jātirāga and the other, the grāmarāga. Bharata has described the kaiśika-jāti as one of the eighteen jātirāgas in the Nātyaśāstra (28.45), and Nārada has mentioned about the kaiśika-grāmarāga in the Nāradīśikṣā (vide the Vārāṇasi edition, p. 409). Nārada has said that the grāmarāga kaiśika was mentioned by the musicologist, Kaśyapa: “kaśyapah kaiśikam prāha madhyamagṛama-sambhavam” (IV. 11). The commentator, Bhāṭṭosobhākara has said that that kaiśika, madhyamagraśma, saṅgava and other grāmarāgas used to be duly sung in ancient India. Matanga (5th-7th century A.D.) has mentioned in the Brhaddeśī that the grāmarāga kaiśika used to be sung along with the prabandha, dhruvā specially meant for the dramatic performances: “dhruvāyāṁ viniyojanaṁ” (śloka 265). The commentator, Mallināth has regarded kaiśika or kaiśikī as a rāga. Mallināth has said: “kaiśikaiḥ svikṛta-rāga-viśeṣaiḥ.”

Kallināth has said about the bhāṣārāga, kaiśiki, and it is
the bhāṣārāga of the sūdha-paṇcama (SR. IV. 207). As regards the botṭa or bhoṭṭa rāga, Sāraṅgdeva has said that this grāmarāga, botṭa used to be sung on the occasion of religious functions in commemoration of Siva, the Lord of Bhavānī: “utsave vinyuktavyo bhavānīpati-vallabhah” (II.50).

It is said that botṭa or bhoṭṭa is a classical rāga, imported from the Bhoṭadesa in the Tibetan region. Dr. P.C. Bāgchi has said that the botṭarāga might be connected with the Indian names of Tibet, as botṭa (bhūtiyā or bhoṭṭa) however does not occur either in Sanskrit inscriptions or in texts before the 7th century A.D. Such might be the case of the classical rāga ṭakka or ṭaṅki, which was collected or imported from Aṭṭock or Aṭṭak janapada (town), situated on the bank of the Indus river. The evidences of inclusion of innumerable regional tunes (rāgas) into the stock of classical music are found in Mātanga’s Bhadadēśī, and it is a historical fact that there were intermixture of tunes of the Aryans with those of the aboriginal tribes of ancient India. The botṭarāga of the Bhoṭadesa used to be sung on the occasion of sacred ceremonial functions like the rāga kaisika: “bhoṭṭa-ra-ri-dha-saṅcāra giyata sarva-maṅgale.” Now it is clear that the maṅgalagīti or gitamaṅgala, as mentioned by Kālidās in the Kumārasambhava, used to be sung either with the help of kaisika or botṭa (or bhoṭṭa), exclusively for sacred religious purpose. Kallināṭk (1446-1465 A.D.) has also mentioned that with the help of maṅgala verses and the rāgas kaisika or botṭa, the sacred song, maṅgala used to be sung in auspicious functions: “kaisika-rāge botṭa-rāge vā kalyāṇa-vācikai padair-vilamvita layena maṅgalo geyah, athavā maṅgala-nāmanā-chana-dasā.” (SR. IV. 303). As regards the special feature or
characteristic of the *dhavala-prabandha-gāna*, Kallināth has further said that the four sacred symbols like *saṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā* and *padma* should be mentioned in the composition (*sāhitya*) of the *dhavala-gīti*. Again in every verse (*caranā*), there shall occur twenty *mātrās* in the song and all these were again divided into five groups.

The *maṅgala-gīti* used to be profusely sung in Bengal, and specially in the Rāḍadeśa in West Bengal from the 13th to the 18th century ‘A.D. From Vipradās (*Manasā-maṅgala*) to Bhārata Chandra (*Annadā-maṅgala*), the religio-mythological ballads like *maṅgala-gāna*, etc. used to be sung in different villages of Bengal with *śāstric rāgas* and *tālas*. From the musical references, as mentioned in Kālidāsa’s works, we come to know that arts of drama and music used to be cultured by both the rural and urban people of mediaeval India, and the literary compositions (*sāhitya*) of those songs and dramas were written both in Sanskrit and Prākrit.
APPENDIX III

RABINDRA-SANGIT AND RABINDRANATH

Rabindranath was a born composer as well as a musician. He was nurtured in an atmosphere of Indian classical music from his childhood. Calcutta, particularly the poet’s ancestral palace at Jorasanko was the venue of the culture of classical music. Many leading and reputed Muslim and Hindu musicians came at that time from Delhi and other places of North India and settled in Vishnupur (Banskur), Hooghly, Cinsur, Krishnagar, Srirampur, Calcutta, Gobardanga, Mymensingh, Gauripur, Assam, Tipperah, Betiyya under the patronage of music-loving Rajas and landlords. Vishnupur, in those days, was recognized as the most prominent centre of culture of music in Bengal. Rabindranath got impetus and inspiration in music first from his brothers and associates. Musical soirees were held now and then at the Tagore Palace of Jorasanko. Poet’s father Maharshi Devendranath Tagore of revered memory was himself a great admirer and patron of classical music. He encouraged his beloved youngest son, Rabindranath to compose songs and poems. He also engaged some reputed music-teachers like Vishnu Chakravurtty, Srikantha Singha and others to teach Rabindranath pure type of classical and other kinds of devotional music. It is said that Jadubhattacha of Vishnupur for sometime taught him some dhruvapadas of different ragas and talas, but Rabindranath himself did not admit this fact.

Rabindranath’s voice was resonant, charming and sonorous from his very boyhood. He had exceptional merit
and aptitude in exactly imitating the most difficult dhruvapadas and dhāmāras. In his jivanasmṛti (‘Reminiscence’), he mentioned that fact that not only he heard good songs, but learnt them as a part of his life’s sādhana. He had also an innate propensity for mastering intricate tālas. He had great regard for dhruvapada type of prabandha-gītis in the early period of his life, and composed many dhruvapadas in Bengali after the pattern of the old traditional ones. His compositions were rich in poetic value and beauty, shedding aesthetic lusture. He departed, in this respect, from the stereotyped method of composing songs that prevailed in the past and threw new light thereon. Most of the compositions of classical songs of the past masters are bereft of poetic value and beauty, but he fashioned a tie of harmony between words and tunes (kathā and sura) of songs. The compositions (sāhitya) of songs underwent significant transformation at the touch of his magic wand at it were.

The music, that evolved and nurtured on the soil of India and that maintained throughout the Indian spirit and tradition, is known as ‘Indian music’. Indian music has a special charm, characteristic and feature of its own, and so it differs from music of all other countries. Rabindranāth realized this truth, and recognized it as the most exalted of all arts. He observed in the Religion of Man that music “assumes a tune form which is definite, but a meaning which is indefinable, and yet which grips our mind with a sense of absolute truth”. “Our music,” he said elsewhere, “transcends the presinclts of everyday life, so there is to be found so much of tenderness and indifference to worldly joys and sorrows as if it is ordained to reveal the story of the innermost and inexplicable mystery that
surrounds the soul of man and of the universe". While comparing the music of India with that of Europe, he said: "In India, our best thoughts are engrossed in the devotion to song, and we have to overcome the difficulties mainly in the song; in Europe devotion to voice is their first concern, and they perform most complicatedly wonderful feats with it. An appreciative audience in India are content to listen to the beauty of the song alone; but in Europe they listen to the singing of the song". He further said: "I hold that the provinces of Western and Eastern music is, as it were, strangely entwined with the activities of life, so it becomes easy to connect the air of a song with multiform experiences of life". Many of the savants of other countries are of the same opinion that Indian music is superior to others for its superb emotional appeal, together with transcendental nature and beauty.

Rabindranāth was a staunch follower of traditional Indian music, and yet he was a man of independent spirit in every walk of his life and so he sometimes revolted against the stertotyped method of practice of music. He believed that the new things may rise from the ashes of the old ones, and every epoch of history possesses certain new outlook and novel character and idea of its own. It is true that music of both Vedic and classical times underwent some novel change during the Muhammedan period, and music that was prevalent in the mediaeval time is sure to take some new course in the present time. As everything in this world of change is not constant, so principle and practice of music of every age must be subject to change with some new additions and alterations, to suit the taste and temperament of the people of different ages. Rabindranāth was a bright example of his own conviction. So as days were on, he left
the beaten tract in the domain of Indian music, and brought about some innovations in the field of music. In this respect, he may be termed a revolutionary-cum-rationalist. His way of presentation of classical type of songs took a novel course without exhibiting some unnecessary bātas and tānas, having different mathematical arrangements of svaras and tālas. He laid special stress upon the spirit of both compositions and tunes of his songs. He believed that rhythm and tempo (tāla and laya) create symmetry and harmony in songs, but yet there should be proportionate control and balance in them, because the acrobatic feats of intricate and disproportionate tānas, bātas and tālas spoil the harmonious development of the rāgas as well as of the songs. So let not the tānas, bātas and tālas lord over the songs, but remain as the loving companions of the songs. He composed hundreds and thousands of songs of different types, keeping an eye upon this ideal. He set tunes to almost all of his songs himself and made some of the songs to be tuned by his near and dear ones after his manner. He used to sing those songs, so as to test their intrinsic value and quality, and also taught them correctly to others. Though he generally followed most of the traditional forms of the rāgas, yet brought about an admixture in many of them and adopted those forms that were prevalent in the old Bengali songs and in songs of the Vishnupur School.

Rabinendranāth maintained that melody (sura) does not depend on words (sābitya), but what words fail to convey, melody can do it with perfect ease, and that where words end, melody begins, and yet words (sābitya) are necessary for the easy unfolding of the hidden beauty and grandeur of melody (sura). Again words are the signs or symbols of
the songs, whereas the tunes or melodies are life of them. So, according to Rabindranāth, the words of the tuneful songs must be of deep significance as well as of poetical value, so as to help the artists and the audiences to easily grasp the divine beauty that underlies the songs. He, therefore, composed songs which were both musical and lyrical (ṣuradharmī and kāvyadharmī), to cover the entire fields of music and its appreciation. It has already been said before that Rabindranāth was both a composer and a tuner. He composed songs and added tunes to them according to the temperament of themes and compositions of the songs. He said that a tune is a combination of motions i.e. sweet vibrations of the prāṇa or vital energy, which create a divine urge and feeling in the hearts of the artists and the listeners, so as to make them transcend the deceitful limitations of time and space. Therefore a tune is a moving unit which is creative and living.

Rabindranāth was not a blind follower of any chalked out path, but was a lover of progress and yet he followed a suitable method that was nourished on the soil of Bengal. He was a follower of the Vishṇupur School, and it is said that this School was an offshoot of the Senī gharāṇā of Delhi, which took some new and novel form in the hands of the talented Bengali Ustāds of Vishṇupur. The śāstric rāgas were already prevalent in Bengal, but for some unknown cause, many rāgas and even tālas took some new forms other than the traditional ones. As for example, the rāgas like purāvī or pūrū, bhairava, bhairavī, vasanta, vibhāga, rāmakeli, pańcama, lalita, vāgeśī, sindhu, etc., and tālas like yat, āḍāṭhekā, madhyamāṇa, teerā, ekatāla, dhāmāra, etc. took some novel forms and methods of presentation. Rabindranāth incorporated in his system
most of the forms of the rāgas that were current in Bengal. He devised also some new rāgas and tālas, with the combination of the systems of both the South and the North. Sometimes he did not follow the rigid rules of sharp (śuddha) and flat (komala) notes in the structures of the rāgas, and so he incorporated many tunes in a rāga and made it an organic whole. His methods of presentation of the rāgas as well as of the songs are very simple and appealing. His later dhruvapada type of songs are not at all the imitative ones, and yet they are very majestic, sweet and significant. His khayāl, ṭappā and thumri types of songs possess some special qualities. He loved synthesis. So many of the Western and Eastern tunes were coalesced in his system of music for the formation of new models. He synthesised dance with music in some of his dramas and enriched their rhythms and tempi.

Rabindranāth’s creative genius flowered forth in the songs and dances specially composed and conceived for the gītinātyas and nṛtyanātyas. Or it can be said in other words that the gītinātyas like Vālmikipratibbā, Kālāmar-gayā and Māyārkhelā and the nṛtyanātyas like Chitrāṅgadā, Chaṇḍālikā and Śyāmā, etc. are the landmarks of his creative faculty of composing songs and conceiving dances. He travelled extensively all over the world, and noticed with keen interest varied tunes and techniques of music and dances, both classical and folk, prevalent in different countries, and sometimes, adopted them in his own system. He also assimilated the European and Irish tunes (melodies) in his music. In dance, he introduced the techniques of Bharata-nātyaṃ, Kathākali, Kathaka, Manipuri, Kandayan, Seraikela, Rāibense, together with those of the ballet dance of Dovenshire, England, and dances of Java, Bāli and other
countries. Now, if it is questioned whether Rabindranāth did introduce any new school of music or dance, the answer will be in the negative. He was to innovate a new aspect and infuse a new spirit in music and dance, and this is true in respect of his dramas also, which brought an awakening in the field of historic art. He was a lover of truth and beauty, and as such although he had his mind fixed upon the ideals of the Vedic and classical and mediaeval India, yet he was fully conscious of the ever-changing taste and temperament of the human society.

Rabindranāth was a man of rare genius. He was not merely a composer and musician, but also a great poet, an eminent educationalist, an artist, a scientist and a historian, and above all a messenger of peace, love and humanism. His aesthetic sense and spiritual vision were unique. He brought about a renaissance in the field of art, literature and music, and gave a new impetus that inspired not only the people of India, but also all the art-loving peoples of the world. He not only composed the classical type of songs, but many bāul, bbātiyālī and devotional songs as well, and himself used to sing like a God-intoxicated mystic. He also composed many kirtanas after the ideal of the Vaishnava-padāvalī. His national songs breathe a spirit of love and devotion for his motherland, and may be regarded as the fountain-head of living inspiration to all classes of people of all countries.

He was a man of faith and self-confidence. He was a believer in God and His beautiful creation. His songs are, therefore, full of praise of Nature and her Creator. In short, his songs can be divided into main six classes, and they are puja, prakṛti, prema, anuṣṭhānīka, svadesa and vicitra. His seasonal songs (rtsu-saṅgīta)
are full of dynamic rhythms. His outlook was always surcharged with spiritual fervour. He maintained that absolute freedom (mukti) can be attained through music in the midst of innumerable sufferings and a thousand bondages of the world. They should not be shunned, he said, but should be harmonized in our life, and transformed into divine beauty and heavenly bliss through one’s own supreme realization. So most of his songs are full of adoration and supplication of the supreme Being and as such stir the very depth of heart of man irrespective of caste, creed and colour.

We can tentatively discern five strata in the evolution of Rabindranāth’s compositions or songs, and these strata throughout prove the creative genius and dynamic personality of the poet. He had in him an intense progressive outlook, but his notion of progress was supplemented by finality or fulfilment of the goal. (1) In the first stratum was found many religious and devotional dhrupad and old Bengali songs with classical rāgas and tālas. Here he mainly followed the past old masters like Tānasen, Baijunāth, and others. (2) In the second stratum, though the first initiative was not entirely given up, yet he was found here to follow some new and novel course in music, with the admixture of different rāgas and tālas. The words got prominence in the songs, and the tunes were set according to the texture and temperament of the compositions. The tempers and tunes of telemā, tappā and other rāgāgītaś, together with European and Irish melodies of Thomas Moore, were adopted in the compositions of his songs. The gītinātya Vālmikīpratibbā was produced and staged at that time (1881). Rabindranāth also recorded in his reminiscences (jivansmṛti) that the Vālmikīpratibbā was born of an admixture
of Indian (deśi) and European (vilāti) tunes or melodies. Gradually some of the dance-dramas (nṛtyaṅnātyas) like Māyāarkhelā and Kālamrgayā came out from his facile pen, though the last one was later incorporated in the Vālmikī-pratibbā. Afterwards dramas like Rājā-O-Rāṇi, Visarjan and lyrics like Bhānusimher-padāvalī came into being with new types of songs, dialogues and dances. (3) In the third stratum, we find that Rabindranāth’s musical compositions were greatly influenced by the emotional mood or temperament of Bengal. The tunes then got slight prominence, and he composed many devotional songs at that time. (4) In the fourth stratum, we find him as a master composer of lyrical songs (kāvyadharmi-gitis), the tunes having full accord with the words, and Rabindranāth here was found to lay more stress upon the emotional sentiments in his songs. His national songs were composed mostly during the last part of the third or first part of the fourth strata. The bāni, bhāṣiyāli, jāri, kirtana types of songs were composed at this time. The dance-drama Citarṅgadā came into being at this time, and the techniques of dances like bharatanātyam, kathākali, of the South, kathaka of Lucknow, and manipuri of Assam were introduced in it. Besides, the techniques and textures of dances, mentioned above and the dance recital of the Citarṅgadā also were enriched by an admixture of regional dances like seraikhelā, rābense, gambhirā, gājan, kāzri, caiti, together with the dances prevailing in Java, Bali and other places of the Far East.

In the socalled fifth stratum, we find Rabindranāth mainly composing songs of peaceful sentiments (śāntarasa). He was living at that time the life of a mystic or God-intoxicated man. He used to consider himself as a mere
child of Nature, as a result of which we got the songs describing the play of the six seasons (śturaṅga or śtucakra). Many of these songs are akin to the folk-songs, describing the natural beauty, sublimity and simplicity of villages and peaceful environments of Śāntiniketan and Silaidaha. He had an intense love for his motherland, specially for Bengal, his land of birth. His kirtana and baul types of songs are marvels of composition and tune. He had a high estimation of the padavali-kirtana of Bengal. He observed: “Our kirtan music of Bengal came to its being like a star burning whirlpool or emotion in the heart of a whole people, consciousness was aflame with a sense of reality, that must be adequately acknowledged”.

Rabindranāth was a lover of music of all nations, yet he had a soft corner for the music of his own land. He said that Indian music is superb for its lofty ideals and living spirit. He listened to European music many times, collected materials from them, and adopted them in his own music, where and when necessary. But it should be noted that he always Indianized them. It has been said before that while comparing Indian music with the European one, he maintained that Indian music has the innate power to awaken the emotional sentiments and spiritual urge in man, whereas European music stirs only the emotional depth; the one enters direct into the inner chamber of the heart of man, whereas the other gives only the knock at the door. So there lies a difference between the two, from the viewpoints of religious and spiritual significances. To quote his own words in this respect: “At first, I must admit your Western music jarred upon me. I heard Madame Albani sing a song in which there was an imitation of the nightingale. It was childishly imitative of the mere externals of nature that I could
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take little pleasure in it. ** It seems to me that Indian music concerns itself more with human experience as interpreted by religion that with experience in an everyday sense. For us, music has above all a transcendental significance. ** Our music draws the listener away beyond the limits of everyday human joys and sorrows, and takes us to that lovely region of renunciation, which lies at the root of the universe, while European music leads us to a variegated dance through the endless rise and fall of human grief and joy”.

From this we learn that Rabindranāth’s outlook of music was quite different not only from those of the European and other Western countries, but also from those of the so-called composers and musicians of India. He had an out-an-out religious and spiritual outlook, and, in this respect, he preserved the tradition of spiritual India in the domain of music. His music must, therefore, be looked upon and preserved as the priceless heritage of glorious India, so as to uplift the level of consciousness of the human society.

In conclusion, it can be said that Rabindranāth was a mighty ocean, in which there mingled all the streams of schools and styles of music. He synthesized all types of music, classical and folk in his system, and roused a new hope and inspiration not only in the hearts of compatriots, but also in those of all people of the world. His music is serene and simple, and it reaches the innermost core of everyone with easy grace. It should not, therefore, be kept confined within a privileged class to make its scope for expansion rigid, but be placed on a common or universal platform which may be approached by and accessible to all classes of people,—artists and artisans, so as to make them enjoy its enchanting flavour and exquisite beauty, so that it may ‘vibrate in the memory’ ever and anon.
Five of the beautiful compositions of songs of Rabindranāth, which were composed in Bengali, in imitation of the traditional Hindi dhruvapada songs, are given herewith in the devanāgarī script:

(क) सहाराज, एकि साजे एले ह्रदयपुरसामे।
चरणातले कोठे शरीर सूर्य सरे लाजे॥
गरे सव दण्डिया, मूलिंड परे ढुंढिया,
सकल मम देह मन कीणासम वाजे॥
एकि पुलक-बेदना बहिंके मधुवाये,
कानने यत पुष्प चिल मिलिल तत पाये।
पलक नाहि नयने, हेरि ना किंद्रु दुयने,
निरखि श्रुत अन्तरे जन्दर वैराजे॥¹

(ख) शामिंति कर बरिण सीरव धारे, नाध, घिस्मासे॥
हुसे हुके सब काजे, निरने जनसमाजे।
उदित राख नाध, तोमार प्रेमचन्द्र,
अनिमेष सम लोचने, गम्मर तिमिर-सामे॥²

(ग) जन्दर वहे यानन्द-सन्तवानिल, सन्मिदत प्रेमचन्द्र,
अन्तर पुलकाकुल।

¹ This song was composed in imitation of Suratasena’s composition: नेरे जन्दर चल साजे दुरारस-सुल राम, पदम दरा कोठि कोष धारा, etc. in Bihāg—Jhāṃptāla (cf. the notation in Rāmaprasanna Banerjee’s Saṅgītamaṇḍārī (1935) pp. 531-532).

² This song was composed in imitation of Tānārāja’s song: शम्भू हर पदपुष्प ध्यानि वलानि, नायरक तोरि कीरतन दिन रैखा, गावत जनसमाज। etc. in Tilaka-kāmoda—surphāktā or sūlātāla (cf. the notation in the Saṅgītamaṇḍārī, pp. 330-322).
কৃতে কৃতে জাগিঙে কসন্ত-পুণ্য-গন্ধের,
শুনুকি বাণিজ্যে রে রামারি বীরাস্ত্রবি প।
শ্রবণ বিরাজ করে শাঁশী-তারা-পরিপূর্ণ
সম্ভান সিংহাসনে দিতেন নেভর।
পদতলে বিশ্বালোক রোমাঞ্চিত
জয় জয় গাম্ভী গাহে সুর-নর।।

(ঘ) প্রবন্ধণ গানে ব্যাসিল এক হুর্দিন,
বাহাসা ধনপটা, অবিলম্ব স্মরণি তর্জন।
ধনান্দ দামিনী, মৃজ্জ-চতু-বামিনী,
করিয়ে অন্য নয়নে অধ্য বরিষয়।
ছাড়ি শাচ্ছা জাগি ভীষণ,
অলস আনন্দে জাগাশো ভন্তরে সম্ভান।
থুকুক এথ অমৃতে প্রকাশ বিতান বিলাজিত,
মহাভাম সরসনে অশ্রুন্ধর গর্জনে বর্ণণ।।

(ঙ) ভ্রাজ হইয়ে কসন্ত-পুনর্বন্ধ মন্দির,
কতে ভ্রাকুল প্রাণী চিত্ত গাহিয়ে গান,
চাই তোমার পায়ে আনন্দে হে।
জ্যেতে তোমার ভ্রান্তক শুলক ভূলকের,
গায়ন-উতৎসব প্রাণে।।

3 This song was composed in imitation of Budhprakāśa’s song: শাল শিশু পিয়াকী গানাধর, বিপত্ত (==বিলাজ) বাসেব ঈশ্বর বদংকার, etc. in Imana-kalyāṇa—surphāktā or sūlātā (cf. the notation in Saṅgitamañjari, pp. 264-266).

4 This song was composed in imitation of Jānakidāsa’s song: প্রবন্ধণ গানে সূক্তল বর্ষা (বর্ষা) -স্মরণ, কাম ভ্রাণম ব্রতি-নির্দিনী জিয়ন তর্জন, etc. in Bhupāli—surphāktā or sūlātā (cf. the notation the Saṅgitamañjari pp. 276-278).
Besides these, Rabindranath independently composed some thousands of songs of various aspects in different rāgas and tālas, and they are recognized as the precious treasure of Indian music.

5 This song was composed in imitation of Raṅganāth’s (Jadu Bhaṭṭa of Viṣṇupur) song: श्राङ्ख वहल हुसान पवन हुसान मधुर वसन्ततोः, हर मकर पर-सुख मधुप मदहर निरल कर रव क्राणमेंः। etc., in Bāhār—teorātāla (cf. the notation in Saṅgitamaṅjarī, pp. 486-488).
Rabindranāth said (original Bengali is given herewith in the Devanagāri script):

11. সংগীত কীন একটি রামিয়াতে যতই রমনীয় সম্পূর্ণ হয় অহান কথক না কেন, সাধারণ ভাষায় এবং বাহিতের দিক থেকে তাকে শ্রীতি বলা যায় না। উপর শোনা আছে। কিন্তু হয় যখন সংস্ত্রীমায়াকে দেখায় তখন সকলের দেখায় না। তার শোনায় যখন ব্রাহ্মণ মতো প্রসন্নর বালো জ্বালিয়ে যারে তখনকার তখন শ্রীকাশ পায়।

—সাহিত্যের পঞ্চ।

21. আচার্য দেশে সংগীত এমনি শাখাগত, ব্যাকরণাগত, অনুসারণগত হয় যা পরিচিত। যাচাইকরা হইলে এত দুই চলিয়া গিয়াছে যে, অতুম্বরে সম্পূর্ণ সংগীতের বিশেষ হইয়াছে, কেবল কলকাতায় উত্তর-সামাধিতর কথাতে ইন্দুর-রামিয়ার ছাঁচ শো কাউন্স অবশিষ্ট রক্ষিত হইয়াছে; সংগীত একটি সূচকামূল প্রতিমা হয় যা পরিচিত, তাহাতে হয় নাই, যায় নাই। এইরূপ একটি চাঁচে ধারা। সর্বপ্রথম সংগীতের জড় প্রতিমা আসামার্দ দেয়ালের মূর্তির ন্যায় বহু বাল্য হইলে চলিয়া আসিতেছে। যে কীন গায়ক-কুম্ভকার সংগীত গভীর যা নাই একটি ছাঁচ গভীর যা। এইসকল সাধারণ ফের তাহার বাহার থেকে, তাহার সম্পূর্ণাক্ষর ব্রাহ্মণ মূর্তি সহিত তাহার সহিত প্রতিমার কিছুমাত্র তফাত হয় নাই; এমনি তাহার হইল দোলন।** সংগীত এমনি প্রায় শাখাকে চাই, যাহাদের সে সমাজের ক্ষেত্র সহিত বাহিত থাকে, সমাজের উপর নিজের প্রভাব বিস্তৃত করিয়া পারে যে তাহার উপরে সমাজের প্রভাব প্রযুক্ত হয়। সমাজ-ব্রহ্ম শাখায় শুধু মাত্র চলাচলের সম্পূর্ণ নামে একটি সোনার ডাল বেঁধিয়া দেবোধা হয় যা, গাইয়ার সহিতে যাতে না, গাইয়ার চলে পুঁজ হয় না, বসাহ তাহাতে যুক্ত থরে না, প্রাণকী তাহার উপর তাহায় গান গাইয়া না। গাইয়ার তার কিছু উপকার করে না, কেবল শোনা বর্ধন করে।

শীমাবর্ধনের কথা যদি উদিত তবে ততসম্ভবে হই একটি কথা বলা আবশ্যক।** নানাবিধ কাপড়ের পাড়ে, রেলাবিন্যাস যে চর্চিত বিন্যাস দ্বারা
विविध नवरसकं प्रकृति-सकलं चित्रित हृय, किन्तु शुद्ध ताहाते आमरा
इतनां नयां विलयां विश्वास करव। आमादेर
स्मरणाते सेषं शुद्धिन्त्यात्मसंगठ, यत्रायं आमरा ताहार
मध्ये अनुभाव न आनीते पारित, तत्तथे आमरा उच्चमेषीर संगीतनिविदं, वलिया गयं करिते
पारित न।

—भारती १२५८ आयाध।

३। आमादेर शालीयाति गानेर एहं ये राग-रागिणी, इमार रागता किः
राग श्रव्दे गोठाकार मानेरं। एहं श्रव्दं यक्षन मनेर सम्बन्धे आवहार
करत हृय लब्धं बोधंयानं भालो लाग। बालाय राग कवादार मानेर कोथ।
इराजिते passion बलिते भालो लाग बाल कोथ दुष्ट बोधाः। भालो
लाग बाल कोथ एहं हुदार गयं एकं एकं बाल!। एहं हुदार एकं एकं, सेषं
रंगू राग श्रीया रंगिर रंग, हुदार निजेर श्राम।

—संगीतीर सुकिः।

४। ठाटुगुलि आयतनेर उपरं गान-रचनितार खादीनता निम्नर
करे। राजमिथो हॉट साजाहया हमारत सैरी करे। किन्तु तार हारे हॉट
ना दिस यदि एकं एकं श्रास तौरी देयाल टिंगा महलं देयालं खॉसयत तथे
हमारत गहळ तार निजेर बाहादुरी तेमन बेशी खादीनता ना। हुरेर ठाटुगुलि
इंटेर महल हॉलेड तापर दिस विशेषगत विशेषतं प्रकाश करा याप, देयाल
टिंगा श्रास महलं महलं हॉलेड तापर दिस जादिगत साधारणतात एकं
प्रकाश करा याप। आमादेर देवेर गानेर ठाट एकं एकं बढ़ बढ़ फालि, ताकेदं
बलि रागिणी।

—संगीतीर सुकिः।

५। हुरेर महलं कथाके भद्र धामन तिले ताते संगीतीर स्वरंता घटे
किला एहं निये कथा काटकाठि बलेछे। विचारकाले सम्पादक बलेछेन,
অসামাজিক বক্তব্য শুনা উচিত। সংগীতের বড় মাটিতে শ্রোত্রাম শ্রমীর শ্রামর নাম এঁধঁি আনেকদিন থেকে। শ্রমপথে শ্রামর যা বক্তব্য সংক্ষেপে বলত। শ্রামর শ্রীগণ, সময় শ্রাম, বিশাল বেশি নেই। শ্রামি যে শীত শীত দিনে শুধু যাত্রি সে বিশেষভাবে সংগীতশাখায় নগ, কাঠামোর নয়, তাকে বলে তথিতকালাশাখ, সংগীত শ্রো কাহ্য হুই তার অন্তর্গত।

—কথা শ্রো সুর।

৬। নিরন্ধন শ্রীশ শ্রামর করে সংগীত তেলেনা সারসম খুঁটি করেন। গীতকলায় তাদের স্থান উষ্মগুণীর নয়। তাঞ্জেন প্রশ্নি উষ্মাধ্যর রচনা শারীরিকতা অবলম্বনে শ্রামর পর্যন্ত টিকে শ্রামি। সে ভূমি শাবলিবের কোন সে সময় উষ্মান্তর অভিকারি২ প্রয় না। তবু তাদের শ্রামর রসে কিছু অন্তর যদি না ঘটত তাহে সংগীতে দেখা দিত তেলেনা-বর্গের শাবলিব ।

স্বতুল শাবলিভ হলে এই গানে শাবলিব গৌণ নয়। সুরের শ্রামর নেপাই তার পেলে বায়ুমুখে শ্রামণ রহ ফলিয়ে দেয়। শ্রামি সামান্য বাক্যকের রিড়ণে তোলবার সুযোগ পায় গান।

—কথা শ্রো সুর।

—Quoted from the Rabindra-racanāvali (janma-satavārsika-samskaraṇa, 14th Volume), published by the Government of West Bengal, 1368 B. S.
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2 Bhāratiya Sangeeter Itihās, Vols. I & II. (up to 7th
century A.D.), with various plates. (Awarded the
Sisir Memorial Prize in 1958).
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Author—Swami Brahmananda

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