

## The Saṅgītasūryodaya of Bhaṇḍāru Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa: A Study in History

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The age of Vijayanagar (A.D. 14–16 century) was crucial to the development of the culture of South India—its music in particular. There are several reasons for this. India's culture had developed many internal tensions and external stresses due to conflicts between the old and the new. Many a definitive or formative concept had lost its vigour and vitality and had become fossilized. There was a strong interaction between traditional and elite cultural values on the one hand and folk and foreign influences on the other. Vijayanagar became the confluence of many religions, art forms, and cultures. But it grew not so much by eclectic absorption and assimilation as by reaction, protest, revolt and independence. It preserved traditional purity and historical continuity by assimilation and nativization of contending or opposing alien influences. These cultural trends and objectives were sustained, fostered and cherished even after the fall of the empire by Aneṅḡḍi, Penukoṇḍa, Tanjore, Mysore, Madurai, Ikkeri and several other feudatory states.

It was at the height of the glory of Vijayanagar that great saint-composers like Śrīpādarāya, Vyāsarāya, Purandaradāsa, Vādirāja, Kanakadāsa, Tāḷapākam Annamāchārya and his descendants, and Nijagūṇaśivayogi flourished. The most influential musical forms—Kṛtī, Sūlādi, Ugābhoga, Daṇḍaka, Vṛttanāma, Nāmāvali, Muṇḍige, Gīta, Ṭhāya and Prabandha—developed during this period. The Tambūri (Tanpura) was introduced and stabilized as the principal drone instrument. A wide range of experiments and innovations were carried out on Vīṇa-keyboards in respect of accordatura, tonal range, and instrumental parameters. *Grāma* yielded place to *mela*, the theoretical possibilities of which were fully explored and exactly determined through mathematical schemes of tabulation; new classificatory criteria emerged for ragas; scales and intervals were rationalized and aligned to contemporary musical practice through psychoacoustical principles of temperament—*svayambū-svara* (upper partials), *paryāya-svara* (alternative *svara* denomination), and *pratinidhi-svara* (representative note). Many melodic and rhythmic structures were admitted into the fold of art music. All music became *deśi*; *mārga* music passed into oblivion, as did the *madhyama-grāma* and its paraphernalia; the totality of melody came to be referred to *śaḍja-grāma* alone. The numerous *deśi tālas*, which had grown arbitrary and prolific, were replaced with *sūlādi tālas*; these were made comprehensive and versatile through ten vital elements called *tāladaśaprāṇa*. Theoretical and pedagogical scalar standards, as well as propaedeutic exercises (*abhyāsagāna*) which are relevant even today, were the contributions of Vijayanagar. Musicological luminaries like Śrī Vidyārāya, Sāḷva Gopa-tippendra, Kallinātha, Kumbhakarṇa, Rāmāmātya, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, Paṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, Somanātha, Lochana Jhā, and Hṛdayanārāyaṇadeva buttressed the theoretical foundations of music both in South and North India during this period while Tānappāchārya, Govinda Dikṣita and

Veṅkaṭamakhin laid the foundations of modern Carnatic music from Tanjore about a century later.

Theory kept pace with musical practice closely throughout the Vijayanagar period, maintaining a remarkable spatio-temporal continuity through the theoretical works. Each work records a revolutionary and seminal concept or development, cumulatively resulting in modern Carnatic music. Nine such musicological treatises were composed in the Vijayanagar period. These may be called the Vijayanagar Musicological Nonet or the Vijayanagar *saṅgītaśāstra navaratna*. The first of these is the sage Vidyāranya's *Saṅgītaśāstra* composed in the second half of the fourteenth century. Parts of this work, dealing with the fifteen melas and their fifty *janya rāgas*, as well as certain types of singers, were paraphrased by Govinda Dikṣita in his *Saṅgītasudhā(nidhi)* in the early seventeenth century. The innovation of the concept of mela and organization of the entirety of contemporary melodic material under its umbrella are among the most influential and enduring contributions of Vijayanagar to the music of India.

The second of the Nonet is, chronologically, Sālva Gopa-tippendra's *Tāladīpikā*. The author was the brother-in-law of Praudha Devarāya II, and a viceroy under the Vijayanagar empire who ruled from Mulbāgal (near modern Kolar) in the mid-fifteenth century. Besides describing more than a hundred deśi tālas (and inventing quite a few of them), he mentions the tāladaśaprāṇa (ten vital elements of tāla) for the first time; all temporal activities in music and dancing came to be organized, collocated and collimated under these elements. To the same period belongs the third work of the Nonet, Kallinātha's *Saṅgītakalānidhi*, the great versatile commentary on Śaṅgadeva's *Saṅgītaratnākara*, an encyclopaedic magnum opus on Indian music, dancing and aesthetics of the thirteenth century. Besides annotating, explicating, criticizing and emphasizing all the central issues of the *Ratnākara*, Kallinātha illumines the text through comparison with contemporary practices, theories, and norms of music and dance. He anticipates many developments in these arts.

Bhaṇḍāru(-ri?) Viṭṭhaleśvara composed a Telugu commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākara* in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. This work is the fourth of the Nonet. Bhaṇḍāru Viṭṭhaleśvara claims that his father Kesāva was honoured for his musical prowess with three thousand *tolas* of gold by Ghiyasuddin Sultan of Mandwa in Gujarat. His son Bhaṇḍāru (-ri?) Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa composed the fifth treatise of the navaratna, the *Saṅgītasūryodaya*, in c. 1525 under the patronage of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar. In the very next generation, Achyutadevarāya's important treatise on tāla, the *Tālakalābdhi/Tālakalāvāridhi*, was written. This work organizes for the first time in *saṅgītaśāstra* the theory and practice of the sūlādi tālas in terms of the daśaprāṇas. He also compiles the views of many precedent works on tāla such as *Tālakalāvilāsa*, *Saṅgītavidyāvinoda*, *Jainamata*, *Saṅgītamārga*, *Chaturasabhaṇilāsa*, (*Saṅgīta*)-*chudāmaṇi*, *Āṇjaneyamata*, *Nṛttachūḍāmaṇi*, *Saṅgītamānidarpaṇa*, *Kātyāyanīya*, *Saṅgītārṇava*, *Raṅgarāja Bharatabhāṣya*, *Kapardī*, and *Paramēśvara*, and refutes them. These works are no longer available. Achyutarāya expands the scope and function of the sūlādi tālas by applying all the five *laghu-jatis* to each sūlādi tāla. At the same time, Aṣṭāvadhāna Somabhaṭṭa composed, probably under Achyutarāya's patronage, and under the guidance of his guru Sītārāma, *Svararāgasudhārāsa* or *Nāṭyachūḍāmaṇi*, which is now available only in fragments. The final gem in the series is the momentous

*Svaramelakalānidhi* of Rāmāmātya, who was Kallinātha's daughter's son. Rāmāmātya was the royal composer and royal architect, and described himself as *abhinava-bharatāchārya* and *toḍara-malla*. The last epithet is usually interpreted by scholars as belonging to the lineage of Toḍarmal, the minister of the Mughal emperor Akbar, notwithstanding the anachronism. Actually, however, the Kannada term means hero (*malla*) who wears the honorific anklet (*toḍar*). The *Svaramelakalānidhi* brings up theory to date, rationalizes intervals and scales, introduces the concepts of *svayambhū-svara* (self-generating note, upper partial), *ādhāra-śruti paryāyatattva* and *pratinidhitattva* of *svaras*, establishes *mukhāri* as the *śuddhasvara sapta*, standardizes and fixes musical intervals on the keyboard, defines the accordatura, range, preferred strings (for particular notes), etc., for a variety of stringed keyboards, innovates and dedicates a new keyboard to Achyutarāya, and proposes a new scheme for classifying ragas into *uttama* (superior), *madhyama* (middling), and *adhama* (inferior) on the basis of their expressive potential; it also resolves the problem of the *antara* and *kaiśiki* notes.

#### *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa*

The *Saṅgītasūryodaya* of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa is available in print as publication no. 4 (1986) of the Indira Kala Sangit Vishwavidyalaya, Khairagarh. It is edited by Pandit Kamalaprasad Tripathi of the same university under the supervision of the then Vice-chancellor, Dr Prem Lata Sharma. The edition is based on the transcript of a single Pāṇḍu-script manuscript (No. R 5510) of the work deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Chennai, a copy of which is available in the Varalakshmi Academy, Mysore. The manuscript is full of scribal errors and some crucial lacunae in the beginning. A fragment of the dance chapter of this work is preserved in two copies (Nos. 10667, 10668) as *Lakṣmaṇa-bharatam*, wrongly called *Mataṅga-bharatam* in the records of the TMSSM Library, Tanjore<sup>1</sup>. But these are not used as collative sources in the preparation of the above edition. The editor seems to have depended considerably on Śārngadeva's *Saṅgītaratnākara* and its commentary by Kallinātha, the *Saṅgītakalānidhi*. Such dependence is common to most post-Ratnākara authorities on music and dance in A.D. 15–18 century.

The *Saṅgītasūryodaya* has attracted the notice of some modern scholars including M. Krishnamachariar<sup>2</sup>, H. K. Sherwani<sup>3</sup>, V. Raghavan<sup>4</sup>, K. C. D. Brihaspati<sup>5</sup>, Subhadra Chaudhary<sup>6</sup>, and the present writer<sup>7</sup>. M. Ramakrishna Kavi has compiled useful information about the work and its author<sup>8</sup>.

The author, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, furnishes some information about himself and his royal patron, Kṛṣṇadevarāya. The data about the latter are of some historical interest and will be examined below. The author abbreviates his own name to Lakṣmaṇa; this is why the treatise is called *Lakṣmaṇa-bharatam*. In the colophons to the second, third and fifth chapters he gives the epithet *bhaṇḍāri* or *bhaṇḍāru* (edited to the *lectio simplicior* 'bhaṇṭāra(+ka)' in the *impressi typis*), which is probably his family name. 'Bhaṇḍāra' means treasury; 'bhaṇḍāri'/'bhaṇḍāru' means treasurer in Telugu and Kannada. The word also means a special variety of turmeric and a particular kind of plant. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa describes himself as a *brāhmaṇa*, the son of Bhaṇḍāri(-ru) Viṭṭhaleśvara, as *abhinava-bharatāchārya*, *rāya-bayakāra* (royal composer), *sūkṣma-bharatāchārya*, and *toḍara-malla*<sup>9</sup>; in the course of

the work, he also describes himself as *karaṇāgrāṇī* (head accountant? chief scribe? chief revenue officer?). The latter description was also applied by Śārṅgadeva to himself.

The treatise commences with a salutation to the great teacher of Śrīvaiṣṇavism, Śrī Rāmānuja. A Hayagrīva-stuti is given as *maṅgalācāraṇa* in chapters I<sup>10</sup> and II<sup>11</sup>; salutation is offered to this deity at the beginning of chapter IV<sup>12</sup>. Therefore Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa is a Śrīvaiṣṇava brāhmaṇa, commonly called ayyaṅgār in South India. He belongs to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*; he is the grandson of Keśava whose wife is Gauravāmbā (>Gowramma?). His father is Viṭṭhala and his mother Rukmiṇī<sup>13</sup>. Ramakrishna Kavi states<sup>14</sup> that Bhaṇḍāru Viṭṭhala composed, as mentioned above, a Telugu commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākara* in which he refers to his own father (Keśava) as having been honoured with a gift of three thousand tolas of gold for his musical scholarship by Sultan Ghiyasuddin.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa mentions Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka as his *saṅgītaguru* from whom he learnt both the theory and practice of *saṅgīta* (probably meaning the *gīta-vādyā-nṛtta* triad) as well as the *bharata* treatises of Dattila and Kohala along with their commentaries. (If this statement is reliable, it points to the existence of a commentary on the *Dattilam*—*prayogastabaka*? — mentioned by Sīrṇhabhūpāla, and of a hitherto unknown commentary on Kohala, who is cited by Bharata, Mātāṅga, Nānyadeva, Abhinavagupta, Śārṅgadeva, etc., or of a commentary on the *Saṅgītam*.) Thus equipped, he wrote the *Saṅgīta-sūryodaya*<sup>15</sup>. It is not improbable that he named his work thus under the inspiration of the *Saṅkalpa-sūryodaya*, a play in ten acts composed by the great Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher and author Vedānta-deśika (alias Veṅkaṭanātha) in the fourteenth century. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa claims to have composed all the faultless compositions (in music and dance) according to the way of Bharatamuni, such that all experts in music would nod at them in appreciation<sup>16</sup>. He further says that he was awarded the honorific title 'Abhinava-bharatācārya' and was honoured at various times by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, once with an ornamented gold palanquin, and at another time with two umbrellas, each of which was decorated with a hundred tassels of pearls; and that he was appointed the permanent head of dance in the royal household<sup>17</sup>. Even as the emperor Kārtavīrya ruled a large section of the earth, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa also ruled, through the kindness of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, a large segment of the earth<sup>18</sup>. (This may be a pun on his mastery over a form of *tāla-prastāra* called *khaṇḍameru*.)

#### *Kṛṣṇadevarāya*

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa describes Śrīvidyānagarī succinctly as a jewel in the top-knot of Mother Earth, surrounded by the river Tuṅgabhadra, the happiness-bestowing mother of Karnataka, which is surrounded by the high peaks of Mālyavanta and Hemakūṭa, and by the luminous aura of the compassionate glances of god Virūpākṣa and god Vijaya-viṭṭhala<sup>19</sup>. On its golden throne reigns King Narasimha of Turvasu-kula<sup>20</sup>. This refers to Narasimhanāyaka of the Tulu country. 'Turvasu-kula' may suggest that Narasimhanāyaka and his descendants claimed descent from Turvasu of Chandra-varṇśa, second son of Yayāti by Devayāni and brother of Yadu, to whose lineage Śrī Kṛṣṇa belonged. This lineage is described in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (9.23). To Narasimhanāyaka was born Kṛṣṇadevarāya who became learned in all the arts while still a boy<sup>21</sup>.

Kṛṣṇadevarāya captured alive Gaṅgarāja and destroyed his impregnable forts<sup>21</sup>. This is a

reference to Gaṅgarāja, the chief of Ummattūru, who revolted against Vijayanagar and ruled from the forts of Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇam and Śivasamudram (Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's "*Śivānām samudram*"). Kṛṣṇadevarāya proceeded against him, recaptured Penukoṇḍa, pursued Gaṅgarāja first to Śivasamudram and then to Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇam, razed both forts to the ground, killed Gaṅgarāja, annexed his territories and appointed Kempegauḍa and two others as their administrators.

The *Sanḡitasūryodaya* next refers to the campaigns of Kṛṣṇadevarāya against the Gajapati of Orissa: Kṛṣṇadevarāya captures the Udayagiri fort and Koṇḍaviḍu, captures alive Gajapati's son and heir, and erects a victory-pillar at Poṭṭumat-ṭaṭṭaṇa. Having scored his victory over Gajapati, he also wins the hand of the latter's daughter in marriage, as well as huge wealth<sup>22</sup>.

This refers to the military campaigns of Kṛṣṇadevarāya against the Gajapati kings of Orissa, which was planned in five phases: capture of Udayagiri, capture of Koṇḍaviḍu, surrender of Koṇḍapalli, erection of a victory-pillar at Potanūr near Simhādri, and finally the attack on Cuttack, then capital of Orissa.

Kṛṣṇadevarāya lay siege on Udayagiri, the southernmost, supposedly impregnable, hill fort of Orissa, for eighteen months and inflicted a devastating defeat on Gajapati Pratāparudra, capturing Udayagiri in 1514. He then sent his general Sāluva Timma to capture Koṇḍaviḍu, he himself taking a pilgrimage to Tirupati for a *darśana* of Lord Venkateśvara. On his way to Koṇḍaviḍu, Timma captured many fortresses such as Koṇḍahāra, Addaṅki, Vinukoṇḍa, Bellamkoṇḍa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Taṅgeda, Ketavaram, etc., and reached Koṇḍaviḍu in 1515. Kṛṣṇadevarāya joined him at this time and captured the fort. He also took captive Vīrabhadra Gajapati, son and heir of Pratāparudra and his wife, appointed Sāluva Timma as administrator, and returned to Hampi after pilgrimaging to Amarāvati and Śrīśailam.

In the third phase, Kṛṣṇadevarāya subjugated the fort of Koṇḍapalli where Pratāparudra had gathered together all his forces, planning a battle against Kṛṣṇadevarāya. But the latter took Prahareśvara (commander of the enemy forces) and others captive, and conquered many minor forts, including Anantagiri, Udrakoṇḍa, Urlakoṇḍa, Aruvapalli, Jullipalli, Kaṇṭikoṇḍa, Kappalavagavi, Nalagoṇḍa, Khammammeṭṭu, Kanakagiri, and Śaṅkaragiri. He finally arrived at Simhādri. In the fourth phase, he erected a tall victory-pillar at nearby Potanūr. Meanwhile, Vīrabhadra Gajapati died. Losing all enthusiasm for battle, Pratāparudra could not confront Kṛṣṇadevarāya again, transacted a treaty of permanent peace, and sealed it by giving his daughter Jaganmohini in marriage to Kṛṣṇadevarāya, who magnanimously restored to Pratāparudra all his lost territories.

The available text of *Sanḡitasūryodaya* is confused and corrupt here, and reads "Kopaḍṛk" for Koṇḍaviḍu and "Poṭṭamat-ṭaṭṭaṇa" for Poṭṭaṇa-ṭaṭṭaṇa (Potanūr). It athetises the campaigns of Koṇḍapalli and Cuttack, and omits the names of Pratāparudra, Vīrabhadra and Jaganmohini.

The last historical reference by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa is to the victory of Kṛṣṇadevarāya against a Muslim king who was ruling at a fort called Gojjūru with horses, elephants and great wealth. But Kṛṣṇadevarāya generously gave back all he had won. Later, he crossed the Kṛṣṇā river, set fire to the king's palace and killed him<sup>23</sup>. The text is corrupt here and has a crucial lacuna.

The Muslim ruler mentioned here is Ismail Adil Khan of Bijapur, who, growing envious and apprehensive of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's ever-increasing victories and territorial expansions, took advantage of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's preoccupation with the Gajapatis, and occupied the fortress of Raichur with his residence and cantonment at nearby Gobbūru. Raichur had been a bone of contention between Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kingdom for over two generations. Kṛṣṇadevarāya crossed the river Kṛṣṇā in 1520 and defeated Ismail Adil Khan, massacred his army, and took the fort. Soon the vanquished Ismail sent an envoy to Hampi praying restoration of his lost territory. Kṛṣṇadevarāya agreed and fixed a rendezvous for a meeting, but Ismail Adil Khan failed to keep the rendezvous. This angered Kṛṣṇadevarāya, who marched against Bijapur and crushed Ismail Adil Khan's army totally in a decisive battle at Sagar in 1523. Subsequently, he subjugated the Bahmani Sultan Mohammed Shah of Gulbarga, but later restored to him his territories and reinstalled him on the throne. Kṛṣṇadevarāya commemorated the occasion by assuming the title 'Yavanarājyasthāpanā-chārya'.

Thus, by his information on the Gobbūru battle and Kṛṣṇadevarāya's victory, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa adds to our knowledge of what is commonly known as Raichuru-vijaya. Gobbūru has graphically deteriorated into Gojjūru in the *impressi typis* (and the error is conjecturally repeated by the editor). Gobbūru has now phonetically degenerated to Gabbūru. It is now a village situated to the south-east of Devadurga in Raichur district. Originally named Gopura (> Gobbūru), it was reputed since the twelfth century as a centre of learning. Remnants of a strong fort are still visible in the present village.

#### *The Saṅgītasūryodaya: Special Features*

The *Saṅgītasūryodaya* does not mention its date of composition, which may however be inferred from the following circumstances. It was written during the rule of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, i.e., 1509–1529. The last political incident mentioned by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa is the capture of Gobbūru in the conquest of Raichur, in which Kṛṣṇadevarāya engaged twice with Ismail Adil Khan—in 1520 and 1523. Since the crossing of the Kṛṣṇā river and the burning of the "Yavana janapada" by Kṛṣṇadevarāya are mentioned, the latter date may be inferred. Therefore, the *Saṅgītasūryodaya* may be inferred to have been written between 1523 and 1529, probably 1525±.

The *Saṅgītasūryodaya* is a treatise on dancing and music, written in Sanskrit in five chapters: 'Tāla' (525 ślokas), 'Nṛtta' (1075 ślokas), 'Svara' (269 ślokas), 'Jāti' (117 ślokas) and 'Prabandha' (641 ślokas), thus totalling 2,627 ślokas besides some prose passages in the 'Svara' chapter. The metre employed is mostly *anuṣṭubh* and only occasionally (in the beginning) longer ones such as *mandākrāntā* and *sragdharā*. An unusual feature of metrical use is that in a few instances the first half and second half of a verse are composed in different metres. The arrangement of subjects differs from the conventional one, i.e., *gīta* (svara, rāga, prakīrṇa, prabandha), tāla, vādyā and nṛtta. Instead, the *Saṅgītasūryodaya* presents tāla, nṛtta, svara, jāti, and prabandha in an uneven quantitative distribution. It is, however, not unique in this respect, because the order, method, and magnitude of treatment are matters of individual preference, purpose, and methodological convenience within an accepted definition and scope of subject-matter. For example, Haripāladeva's *Saṅgīta-*

*sudhākara*, also composed in five chapters, prefers the order *nṛtta*, *tāla*, *vādyā*, *nāṭaka* and *gīta*. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa adopts the traditional textual definition of *saṅgīta* as constituted of *gīta*, *vādyā* and *nṛtta*, probably inspired by Jagadekamalla and Śārṅgadeva.

The order and quantitative distribution of subject-matter in the *Saṅgītasūryodaya* may be ratiocinated from the fact that its author was the *nāṭyaguru* of the royal household and his main object here is the teaching of dance. *Tāla* is defined as the substrate and common denominator of all limbs of *saṅgīta* and is therefore taken up first. This is directly followed by the central theme of the treatise, which occupies nearly half of the bulk of the whole. Dance cannot be performed without song, which is therefore described in the final chapter, logically preceded by its infrastructural elements (*svara* and its paraphernalia in Chapter III, and its melodic organization, *jāti*, in Chapter IV). Two glaring omissions in the work are indefensible: *raga* and *vādyā*. *Raga* was, and continues to be, the ubiquitous, universal, indispensable, characterizing melodic base in Indian music; *jāti* had become obsolete, even archaic, in Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's time. Yet *raga* is omitted and only *jāti* is described, and that too cursorily. A time-honoured axiom in *saṅgīta* is that instrumental music depends on or follows vocal music, and dancing depends on or follows instrumental music. Yet the *Saṅgītasūryodaya* does not even mention musical instruments.

The *Saṅgītasūryodaya* is in large part a borrowal or recast of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* with or without acknowledgement. But it mentions many earlier authorities on music and dance such as Bharata, Dattila, Kohala, Mataṅga, Nārada, Śārdūla, Kātyāyana, Umāpati, Arjuna, Kīrtidhara, Someśvara, Śārṅgadeva and his commentators. Except for Bharata and Śārṅgadeva and his commentators, most of the other authorities are cited at second hand and some even apocryphally.

In view of the brevity and limited scope of this paper, only some unusual features of omission and commission in the *Saṅgītasūryodaya* may be mentioned here:

#### 1. *Tālādhyāya*

1. The chapter commences with a systematic treatment of the *tāladaśaprāṇas*. The five *jāti*s (*tryaśra*, *chaturaśra*, *khaṇḍa*, *miśra*, and *saṅkīrṇa*) are extended to the *laghu* of all *sūlādi* *tālas* and *deśi* *tālas*.
2. The *mārga* *tālas* are treated cursorily.
3. *Anudruta* replaces *virāma* as a *tālāṅga*. Many *prastāra*-forms are extended to both *anudruta* and *virāma*, though some authorities question the usefulness of such *prastāras*.
4. Besides describing the time-honoured 120 *deśi* *tālas*, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa mentions *deśi* *tālas* of his own creation, some of which have structures identical with those of the former set; some contain *anudrutas* and some contain *laghu-jāti* varieties. The *tālas* with identical structures may differ quantitatively because of differences in the size of the *laghu*. A few of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa's inventions such as *Kalpa-bhūruha*, *Gaṇḍa-bheruṇḍa*, *Raṇabherīmadotsava*, and *Gopati* (= *Kṛṣṇa*, *Gopa-tippendra*, author of *Tālādīpikā*?) may be panegyric dedications to *Kṛṣṇadevarāya*, while *Bharatajña-kuleśvara* may celebrate Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa himself.

II. *Nṛttādhyāya*

1. Most of this chapter is borrowed or recast from the '*Nartanādhyāya*' of *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Nevertheless, the seven postural varieties (*sausṭhava*, *chaturaśra*, *viṣaṇṇa*, *tryaśra*, *sama*, *tata* and *antarāla*) are collectively designated as traditional figurations—*sampradaya rahanā*.
2. Three prefatory forms of *puṣpāñjali* called *mukhalālī*, created by Kāryā (?), Śārdūla, and Umāpati, are described by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa for the first time. These must have been popular in Karnataka because Paṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala describes one of these independently some two generations later in Akbar's court in his *Nartananirṇaya*; again, later, these are mentioned by Chatura Dāmodara in his *Saṅgītamakaranda*.
3. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa has created a new *nṛttakarāṇa* called Kṛṣṇāvataraṇa (cf. Gaṅgāvataraṇa) in dedication to Kṛṣṇadevarāya.

III. *Svarādhyāya*

1. The chapter is an admixture of topics of the '*Svaragatādhyāya*' and '*Prakīrṇakādhyāya*' of the *Saṅgītaratnākara*.
2. Each of the sixty-six śrutis spread over the three registers (twenty-two per register) is given a separate name, similar to the ones given by Pārśvadeva in his *Saṅgītasamayāsāra*.
3. Obsolete and archaic grāmas, *mūrchanās*, and *tānas* are described, but the conspicuously prevalent raga and mela are *not* described. *Gāndhāra-grāma* and its *mūrchanās* are unconvincingly sought to be shown as integral to contemporary musical practice.
4. *Alaṃkāra* is defined with close relevance to raga. Rāmakrishna Kavi extracts a passage from Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa<sup>24</sup>, purporting that the *varṇas*, *sthāyi*, etc., constitute the *chaturdaṇḍī* according to Nārada and other sages. This is not corroborated in the *impressi typis* of the *Saṅgītasūryodaya*.

IV. *Jātyādhyāya*

This chapter is added only as a gesture to the *pūrvaśāstra*, as jātis were totally irrelevant to the music of the sixteenth century. Ragas as well as melas are conspicuous by their absence, though they were irreversibly and firmly established in the musical practice of the time. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa states at the beginning of the chapter that the jātis are mothers of ragas, but the discussion goes no further.

V. *Prabandhādhyāya*

Even though the *Saṅgītasūryodaya* classifies musical compositions into Prabandha and Gīta, the latter is left totally undescribed. Descriptions of Prabandhas, their varieties, classification, apparatus, etc., are closely borrowed from the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. However, the major contribution of the *Saṅgītasūryodaya* in this chapter is the description, at the end, of "ancient *Turuṣka-deśīya* prabandhas". Six "*Turuṣka*" provinces are mentioned: Kharāśana (Khurāsān), Pārśva (Persia), Mūlatrāṇa (Multān), Lāṭa (parts of modern Gujarat), Avaśīya and Ghana. The Prabandhas originating from them have for their emotive theme arrogance (drunkenness?): *gajalu* (Ghazal) from Kharāśana, Kaulu (Qawwali) from Pārśva, *hasaka* from Mūlatrāṇa, *pratitāla* from Lāṭa, *mañjari* from Avaśī (three varieties of *mañjari* called

*deśaja-*, *artha-*, and *anartha-*), and *jhaṅkarī*, (called *jakkarī*, *jakkaḍī*, and *jakkini* elsewhere) from Ghana. Ten kinds of *jhaṅkarī* are mentioned: *ghoṭa*, *jāla*, *āndhrī*, *siṃhala*, *varāṅga*, *gāru*, *saindhra*, *prāñiśī*, and *gaurjarī*. The text is opaque here and has a lacuna for the tenth *jhaṅkarī* variety. These song- and dance-forms native to Islamic countries may have entered the court of Vijayanagar from the neighbouring Bahmani kingdoms or the Mughal court, and were perhaps also introduced by musicians and dancers brought in by the Persian ambassador Abdur Razak and gifted to Praudha Devarāya (1422–1446) of Vijayanagar in 1443. But some of these and other songs are already mentioned by the court poet of this king, Aṣṭabhāṣākavi Chandrasekhara, in his *Pampāsthāna-varṇanam*<sup>25</sup> (c. 1430): *gajalu*, *kaulu*, *bhaitu*, *turiḡe*, *āndolana* and *jakkarī*.

It may be mentioned in passing that Domingo Paes visited the court of Vijayanagar and has recorded in his travelogue the wonderful dancing hall, the lovely image of the presiding deity Sarasvati, and the rows of numerous sculptured dance poses therein. It is not improbable that Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa was influenced by these in his descriptions and taught them to his disciples of the royal household as their nāṭyaguru.

In conclusion, it may be said that the *Saṅgītasūryodaya* is an interesting primary document in constituting the cultural history of Vijayanagar. It deserves a competent translation, a critical introduction and evaluation, and a comprehensive reference apparatus.

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