

## some names in early sangita literature

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THE proper scope of this paper of mine is early Sangita literature. It does not propose to go into the Vedic period and the *Samapratishakhyas* nor to treat of the later literature i.e., roughly after the time of Sarngadeva, the author of the *Sangita Ratnakara* viz., the beginning of the 13th century. There is a rationale in this classification of mine of the periods of Sangita literature. The early literature is Sangita literature dealing with dance besides music, vocal and instrumental.

गीतं वाद्यं च नृत्तं च त्रयं संगीतमुच्यते ।

So the works of the earlier period treat of dance and drama also. Some are predominantly *Natya*, works, by the way, treating of Sangita at length. For instance, the Bharata Sastra on *Natya*, a work on drama and dance devotes 6 of its 36 chapters to music. Narada's *Sangita Makaranda* the *Sangita Ratnakara* etc., are works primarily on Sangita and they contain chapters on *Natya* also. As a contrast to this early period, the later is only Gita literature. This classification proceeds on the general rule, taking full cognisance of the presence of exceptions. For instance, the *Tala Dipika* quoted by Abhinavagupta is a work of the early period but restricts itself to a branch of music. In the later period, when the field was filled with digests or treatises on particular branches of music, we have such *Natya* works as the *Vasanta Rajiya Natya Sastra* of King Kumaragiri, which now lost must have dealt with music also. Jagaddhara's *Sangita Sarvasva* quoted by him in his commentary on King Bhoja's *Sarasvati Kanthabharana*, (P. 467) is a work of the later period but deals with *Natya*

besides music, as the quotation given there shows. *The Sangita Ratnakara* of Sarngadeva is the boundary line roughly, since it is the last comprehensive work, comprising within its scope all branches of music and in addition, *Natya*.

A history of the Sanskrit music literature is not in the field. A history of early Sangita literature is attempted here with the evidences supplied mainly by the great commentary of Acarya Abhinavagupta on the *Natya Sastra*, Saradatanaya's *Bhavaprakasa* etc. Even this does not propose to be a history but only a notice of some names in early Sangita literature. Some such thing is being attempted and published serially in the Journal of the Music Academy. A general survey, with dogmatic assertions and mystifying identifications has already been made by Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi. This paper does not restate what is contained in Mr. R. Kavi's published paper. It proposes to be more definite and critical and attempts, with citation of authorities, as far as available, to ascertain the definite nature and date of many works and authors. Especially as regards the authors and works known from Abhinavagupta's *Abhinava Bharati*, this paper has much that is not contained in Mr. R. Kavi's paper. The scope of this paper is more restricted and the treatment is more intense on many points.

### Bharata's Natya Sastra

The only early work which is completely available to us is the *Bharata Natya Sastra*. Its upper limit is fixed at the 2nd century B.C. It treats of music in chapters 28-33. Scholars

are exercising all their industry and ingenuity with regard to the real historical fact about a sage Bharata.

Mr. Manmohan Ghose, suggests in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, that Bharata was a common name meaning 'actor' at first, that we had *Natya Sutras* and *Bharata Sutras* and that latterly a mythology of a sage Bharata and origin of *Natya* were created out of the common name Bharata. The present text of *Bharata Sastra* contains *Anushtups*, *Aryas* and long prose paragraphs and occasionally here and there Sutra-like prose bits. Some of the *Aryas* and *Anushtups*, in chapters 6 and 7 on *Rasa*, are introduced as those existing before, with the words अत्रानुवंश्यै श्लोकौ भवतः । अत्रानुवंश्ये आर्ये भवतः । तत्र श्लोकाः । One of the *Anushtups* herein quoted is attributed to Vasuki in the *Bhava-prakasa* by Saradatanaya (pp. 36 and 37). In the मेधाधिकार, chapters 28-33, it is only in the 32 and 33, that we find additional prose and verses introduced thus—भवन्त्यत्र. The last chapter on नाट्यावतार says that the rest will be dealt with by Kohala. The last portion is called *Nandi Bharata* in the *Kavya Mala* edition. Besides, from Raghava Bhatta's commentary on the *Sakuntala*, we know of an Adi Bharata and a Bharata, verses attributed to these two some of them being found, some found only as parallels and some not found at all in the *Natya Sastra*. We hear of a Bharata Vrddha from Saradatanaya, who attributes to him a prose passage on *Rasa*, which is found in the present *Bharata Sastra* only in its parallel. Further the *Natya Sastra* seems to have been called सूत्र and पट्टसाहस्री and there is a tradition recorded in *Bhavaprakasa* and other works that the *Bharata Natya Sastra* is an epitome perhaps of the द्वादशसाहस्री. Abhinava himself speaks of three Sastras, of Sadasiva, Brahman and Bharata, the *Natya* trinity found in the story of the origin of *Natya*. Mr. Kavi informs us that there is also a *Natya Veda* of 36,000 slokas and that portions of the Sadasiva, and Brahma Bharatas are available now. There is no denying the fact of big works on *Natya* and *Sangita* existing as works of Sadasiva and Brahman. The *Dasarupa* contains verses of Sadasiva, while the *Bhavaprakasa* quotes opinions of both Sadasiva and Brahman. It is likely that the extant *Natya Sastra* of Bharata is one that has incorporated into itself many portions of earlier *Bharata Sastras*.

Similarly it has also incorporated into itself portions of later works. The present text

is later than Kohala and even Dattila. These two writers are included in the list of the hundred sons of Bharata whom he taught. The inclusion of Tandu here does not help us much. Kohala is referred to twice in the last chapter. In the second reference he is made to come along with धूर्तिल (दत्तिल ?) and some other sages to earth, to live as mortals for sometime for the sake of King Nahusha to write and popularise the Drama on earth. After King Nahusha brought *Natya* from heaven to earth Brahman says that the उत्तर तंत्र will be written by Kohala. This makes the *Bharatiya Natya Sastra* the पूर्वतंत्र. There is no evidence to prove that Kohala's work is called उत्तरतंत्र. His work must have been bigger than Bharata's and as we know from references, he elaborated many a topic, as for instance, the many *Uparupakas*. That part of Kohala's work, stray bits here and there got into the text of Bharata cannot be disputed. For, in commenting upon the tenth verse in chapter six—giving the summary of the topics in the *Natyasastra* as eleven—*Udbhata* is referred to by Abhinavagupta as saying that this verse is from Kohala and is not part of Bharata's text, for Bharata recognises only five *Angas* or topics in the *Natya Sastra*. Again in the *Dasarupa* chapter we find more treatment than is promised, the *Natika* being described after *Nataka* and *Prakarana*, though it is not one of the *Dasarupakas*. Kohala is very well known as the first to have introduced, with definitions, *Uparupakas* and the *Natika* here, is perhaps from Kohala, though there is no conclusive evidence to take it so.

The पञ्च भरत story is very late. We find Mr. R. Kavi speaking much of it. There is nothing to support it in the *Natya Sastra*, which gives a list of hundred Bharatas, sons of sage Bharata. Of these hundred sons, we are familiar with Kohala, Dattila and Tandu. The list is a hopeless one, containing such names as Sandals and Shoes, पादुकोपानहौ. The origin of the पञ्चभरत theory is not traced. Saradatanaya, in chapter three, first considers the name 'Bharata' only as actor. The गुरुपरम्परा here given is Siva-Nandin-Brahman and the Bharatas, actors and not Bharata, a sage. But at the end Saradatanaya contradicts himself by saying that Narada taught Bharata and Bharata wrote the रसोत्पत्ति as he heard it from Narada. But this kind of रसोत्पत्ति is not recorded in the extant *Natya Sastra*. Saradatanaya gives this same *parampara* in chapter ten

changing the 'Bharatas', actors, into one sage with five pupils.

स्मृतमात्रे मुनिः कश्चित् शिष्यैः पञ्चभिरन्वितः  
तानब्रवीत् नाट्यवेदं 'भरत' इति पितामहः  
तुष्टस्तेभ्यो वरं प्रादात् अभीष्टं पञ्च विष्टरः  
नाट्यवेदमिदं यस्मात् 'भरत' इति मयेरितम्  
तस्माद् भरत नामानः भविष्यथ जगन्त्रयै  
नाट्यवेदोऽपि भवता नाम्ना ख्यातिं गमिष्यति ॥

Bha. Pra.X.

The passage refers to one sage with five pupils, who were the first recipients of the Natya Veda and whom Brahman called Bharatas. This same verse is quoted by Mr. R. Kavi to prove the *Panca Bharatas*. As a matter of fact the first verse above given proves not five Bharatas, but one and five i.e. six Bharatas. Again, all these were called Bharatas because, according to the ingenious derivation Saradatanaya gives here, viz., भस्त 'you bear or hold or preserve the Natya Veda', (imperative of भृ, भर to bear) Bharatas were so addressed by Brahman. (vide verses quoted above). This also proves the theory that the name Bharata as a sage is a later myth and that Bharatas at first meant only actors. But it is rather strange how actors could have been known as Bharatas. Saradatanaya's explanation is far-fetched. The still later and most popular derivation, explaining Bharata as an epitome of the first letters of भाव, राग and ताल is equally far fetched.

Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi adduces further evidence from Tamil literature, from Adiyarkku Nallar's commentary on the *Silappadikaram*. This also is wrong evidence. Adiyarkku Nallar does mention the name '*Panca Bharatiyam*,' but mentions it not as a collection of five works on *Natya* by five different writers, but as one single work by one author, the author of it being Deva Rishi Narada. When thus the evidences adduced mean something else and the theory of five Bharatas in early *Natya* literature falls to the ground, it is futile to suppose imaginatively and suggest that Kohala is the second Bharata, another, the third and so on, as Mr. R. Kavi does. The exact import of the word '*Panca Bharatiyam*' in Adiyarkku Nallar means something else. It refers to a custom of dividing the subject of *Natya* into five heads or sections. Another Tamil *Natya* work, *Panca Marabu*, referred to by the same Adiyarkku Nallar, is also one such which

treats of *Natya* in five sections. The five sections may be the five *Angas* of *Natya* referred to by Abhinava as Bharata's view,—the five *Anagas* being the three *Abhinayas* and the two kinds of music, vocal and instrumental. (pp. 265. Chap. VI, Gaek. Ed.)

Another point to be investigated in the history of early *Natya* literature is the part played by king Nahusha in it. The last chapter of the available *Natya Sastra* gives king Nahusha the credit of bringing from heaven to earth, the beautiful lore of *Natya*. In Saradatanaya's *Bhavaprakasa*, in the tenth chapter, Manu takes the place of king Nahusha. Manu as king feels tired in his duty and Surya his father, asks him to go to Brahman who has got the *Natya Veda* from Siva. Brahman sent six Bharatas along with Manu to Ayodhya to receive him now and then with the entertainment of Drama, Dance and Music. The Bharatas then multiplied on earth; they wrote treatises, one in twelve thousand slokas, and another, an epitome of the former, in six thousand slokas. After the name of those who possess and exhibit it, the *Sastra* itself is called *Bharata Sastra*.

Coming to the many names in Sangita literature, mythical and semi-mythical, the likelihood is that, as in the case of Sadasiva and Brahman, the names were only of eponymous authors; but there were definitely works on *Natya* and music current as theirs. This we shall see, as we take up such names, one by one.

### Kasyapa

This sage is referred to by Sarngadeva as one of the authorities on music. He is mentioned in Narada's *Sangita Makaranda* (p. 13). Matanga's *Bhaddesi* refers to him seven times. The *Abhinava Bharati* of Abhinavagupta contains two references to this sage, in Vol. IV of the Madras MSS. The first reference is a quotation from the *Tika-Kara* (Commentator) on the *Natya Sastra* who quotes in his commentary, one and half *Anushtups* of Kasyapa dealing with the रसप्रयोग of Ragas i.e., the particular tunes appropriate to each Rasa.

“संभोगे चैव शृंगारे प्रोलिङ्काम.....(?)  
.....स्तेषु सर्वेषु कुर्यान्मातु (ल) वकौशिक (कं)  
भिन्न पङ्क जोपमाभेदैः ह्येकान्ता जीवितस्यवा ।”

Vol. IV Mad. MS. p. 5

The second reference to Kasyapa given by Abhinavagupta is on the same page, on the same topic.

“तत्र लक्ष्य प्रवन्वगाने प्रायोगिक कश्यपादुद्दिष्टं

(कश्यपादुद्दिष्टं) विनियोगजातं कथ्यते ।

And Abhinava gives eight pages of *Anush-tups* on the particular tunes to be used according to the various *Rasas* and *Bhavas*. This is either a quotation or a compilation made by Abhinava himself from Kasyapa and other writers, for he says at the end—

इत्येव कश्यपाच्च कः विनियोगो निरूपितः

An earlier reference is available in chapter five.

एतदुपजीवनेनोक्त कश्यपाचार्येण—“पूर्वरङ्गे तु षाडवः” इति ।

Kasyapa dealt with Drama and *Alankara* also elaborately since he is so referred to by *Hrdayangama*, a commentary on the *Kavyadarsa* of Dandin.

#### Brhat Kasyapa

Besides Kasyapa, there is yet another called Brhat Kasyapa, an early writer on music. There are two references to him in the work of King Nanyadeva. (pp. 111-b and 114-a; Manuscript of the *Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*.) Thus there are two works on music by sage Kasyapa, one being *Laghu Kasyapa* and another *Brhat Kasyapa*, the latter being similar to *Brhat Desi*.

#### Nandikesvara or Nandin

The place of Nandin in the mythological origin of the *Natya Sastra* is by the side of Siva himself. The latter portion of the *Bharata Natya Sastra* in the Kavya Mala edition is called *Nandi Bharata*. Works attributed to him are many. There is a music work called *Nandi Bharata*, noticed by Rice in Mysore and Coorg Catalogue. The Madras Catalogue has a नन्दिभरतोक्त संकरहस्ताध्यायः and another work called भरतार्थचन्द्रिका with a Telugu Commentary described as a dialogue between Nandikesvara and Parvati.

“इति नन्दिकेश्वर विरचित पार्वतीप्रयुक्त भरत चन्द्रिका नानार्थप्रकरणं समाप्तमासीत् ।”

From the manuscript of the *Bhartarnava* in the Tanjore library we see that this is the tenth chapter in Nandikesvara's *Bharatarnava*.

The Tanjore library has a work called ताल-लक्षण attributed to Nandikesvara. Most of the works attributed to him treat more of *Natya* than *Sangita*. In Rajasekhara's *Kavya Mimamsa*, in his account of the origin of the *Sahitya Sastra*, Nandikesvara is mentioned as the first writer on *Rasa*. So it is likely that the name Nandikesvara is not important in music as much as in Dance, Drama and *Rasa*.

One of his major works was not available to Abhinavagupta. Abhinava, while quoting him, says that he is reproducing Nandikesvara's views, exactly as quoted by Kirtidharacarya, only on the authority of Kirtidhara and that he himself never saw the work of Nandikesvara.

“यत्तत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरतन्मात्र गामित्वेन (?)

दर्शितं तदन्यामिः (तदस्माभिः) न दृष्टं, तत्प्रत्याचु लिख्यते”

Vol. IV, p. 50.

Then Abhinava gives, as given by Kirtidhara large prose extracts from Nandikesvara on pp. 51-54, on the प्रयोग of मार्गसारित, dances in the पूर्वरङ्ग. Though one such work of Nandikesvara, which was available to Kirtidhara was not available to Abhinava, another work called नन्दिमत was available to Abhinava and he quotes it.

“तथा च नन्दिमते उक्तं—

“रेचितारव्योऽङ्गहारो यो द्विधा तेन हयरोषतः

तुष्यन्ति देवातास्तेन ताण्डवे ते नियोजयेत् ॥”

P. 171 Gaekwad

The assumption of the identity of Nandikesvara with Tandu made by Mr. R. Kavi is quite wrong. As proved above the legend of *Panca Bharata* has no evidence. There is no meaning in idle guesses or assumptions that Nandin or Tandu or Kohala or Kasyapa is one of the five Bharatas. Incidentally we will deal with the name Tandu also. Tandu is mentioned in the *Natya Sastra* as one of the 100 sons of Bharata, to whom Bharata taught his *Natya*. But latterly he is made to belong to the camp of Siva, and through Tandu, who was a witness of Siva's evening dances. Siva passes the Tandava dances

to Sage Bharata. Abhinava quotes Kohala (p. 182. Gaek Ed.) who says that when Siva was dancing, Narada propitiated him by singing the त्रिपुरोन्माथः; Siva danced according to Narada's song; and gave this Tandava, as part of *Natya*, to Tandu who passed it to others. In connection with Tandava there is also mention of one Tandyā. Thus it is very difficult to hazard any such thing as Mr. R. Kavi has done, as regards the name Tandu. Whether Tandu first existed is a question. It is most likely that Tandava first existed and to create a beautiful story for its origin, grammar was resorted to and Tandu was, latterly, grammatically extracted out of the word Tandava, which word itself was long a रुद्धि among the *Natas*, even as अर्जैर and other terms. Kohala's *Sangita Meru* as quoted extensively by Kallinatha, in the नर्तनाध्याय, refers to one Bhatta Tandu five times. The affix 'Bhatta' to the name Tandu makes him less mythological and more historical. Whether another historical writer with the name Bhatta Tandu existed is not yet known.

Nandikesvara's very popular work is the *Abhinaya Darpana*. It is available in print, being printed in Telugu characters by Nidamangalam Tiruvenkatachari and subsequently translated into English by A.K. Coomaraswamy and Duggarilal. The compiler of the *Bharata Rasa Prakarana* printed along with it was Sabhapati Ayyar, a Brahmin Bharatacarya of the Tanjore Court, a Bhagavata who finally settled at Mannargudi and taught his art to some. This *Abhinaya Darpana* is fitted into the style of a dialogue between Indra and Nandin. Nandin says that there is a big work called 'भरतार्णव' 'ocean of the Bharata art', in four thousand slokas and that the *Abhinaya Darpana* itself is its summary. We often hear of the early *Natya* works of twelve thousand and six thousand verses. But this work of four thousand verses is new. There is a work called भरतार्णव available in the Madras and Tanjore MSS libraries. Three copies of this भरतार्णव with Telugu *Tika* are available in the Madras MSS Library. (Catalogue Volume XXII nos. 13006-08.) These MSS have in their colophons an epithet सुमतिविशेष to the name भरतार्णव. The significance of this epithet is known only from the Tanjore Library MSS. of the *Bharatarnava*. It is called there as गुह्येश्वर which is a mistake for गुह्य यक्षेश्वर. Sumati is the king of the semi-divine beings called गुह्य यक्ष and the work *Bharatarnava* is in the style of Nandin teaching the *Natya* lore to this Guhyakesa called Sumati. From the colophon to chapter ten

of this work in the Tanjore library, we come to know of another work called भरत चन्द्रिका, the *Hastabhinaya* section of which is utilised by Nandikeswara. From chapter thirteen, we also see that there is a work on *Natya* in the name of sage Yajnavalkya.

“सुमते श्रूयतां सम्यक् याज्ञवल्क्यो महामुनिः  
ताण्डवानां गतीनां च भरतार्णवं लक्षणे ॥  
नाट्यशब्दक्रमं सम्यक् उक्तवान् क्रमपूर्वकम् ।”

Chapter thirteen, deals with the seven kinds of *Lasya*, which perhaps were dealt with elaborately in a work attributed to sage Yajnavalkya.

### Narada

Abhinava refers to Narada in Vol. II page 100 with regard to the etymology and meaning of the word गान्धर्व.

प्रीतिवर्धनमिति नारदीयनिर्वचनमपि सूचिते ॥

Dattila earlier than Matanga, who quotes him, quotes Narada. Matanga also quotes Narada. We have at least two Naradas: one, the author of the *Siksha* and the other, the author of the *Sangita Makaranda* published in the Gaekwad series. Scholars opine that the Narada referred to as holding the गान्धारग्राम is the author of the *Sangita Makaranda* which has that ग्राम. This is to show the genuineness of the *Sangita Makaranda* as a work of Narada. The *Sangita Makaranda*, on page thirteen, gives the names of a number of writers. The reference to Matrgupta here definitely puts the date of the *Sangita Makaranda* after the seventh century. Vikrama is another noteworthy, and indentifiable name quoted here. Two names that we miss in this list are Kohala and Dattila. The Tanjore Library has a work attributed to Narada, called चत्वारिंशच्छ्रुतारागनिरूपणं.

### Kohala

It is from Kallinatha that we have the best glimpse into Kohala. In the नर्तनाध्याय of the *Sangita Ratnakara*, in his commentary, Kallinatha gives the additional कर्तव्यनाम from Kohala. From here we learn some facts about Kohala's work.

(i) Kohala's work is called *Sangita Meru*.

(ii) It is in dialogue style, like the *Bharata Sastra*, a dialogue between Sage Sardula and

Kohala, the latter replying to the former's queries.

(iii) It is in Anushtup verses.

(iv) Its first part treated of *Natya* and the latter part only of *Sangita*. The work was thus in the style of the ancient works, in dialogue style and divided into *Ahnikas*. The extracts from Kohala given by Kallinatha quote the following names:

भट्टतण्डु, कीर्तिधर, नारद (author of the *Siksha*), शंभु (God Siva), मतङ्ग, सुमन्तु, क्षेमराज and लोहितभट्टक ।

These references are absolutely confusing. The names भट्टतण्डु, सुमन्तु, क्षेमराज and लोहितभट्टक look quite historical. Kirtidhara is later than Nandikesvara's work. But the reference to Matanga is hopeless for Matanga himself quotes Kohala. Matanga's *Brhadhesi* further quotes Dattila, who himself quotes Kohala. The only possible conclusion is : We know Kohala to be a very early writer whose name is by the side of Bharata. The last chapter of *Bharata Natya Sastra* contains a promise that the rest will be done by Kohala. Though there is yet little authority to make out Kohala as one of the 5 Bharatas whom Brahman instructed (as Mr. R. Kavi has made out), there is no denying that Kohala was a very early writer. A music work called 'ताललक्षण' is attributed to him in Aufrecht's catalogue. The Madras Catalogue contains a *Kohaliya Abhinaya Sastra* with a Telugu commentary. A Dattila-Kohaliya noticed by Dr. Burnell, was once available in the Tanjore Library. Rajasekhara's Drama *Bala Ramayana* lifts his name out of the historical sphere. These show—

- (i) Kohala was an old and convenient name to which later writers could ascribe their own works.
- (ii) There was a very early work of Kohala.
- (iii) *The Sangita Meru* itself may not be actually this first work of Kohala but may be an elaborated one of some later time foisted on the name of Kohala. But the *Sangita Meru* may be that well known work of Kohala which Abhinava quotes often.

Abhinavagupta refers to Kohala very often both in the नाट्याधिकार and in the गेयाधिकार. The name Kohala is as great in the history of Drama and Dramaturgy as it is in that of music. *The Sangita Meru* must be a very voluminous and valuable work. In Dramaturgy and Rhetoric, Kohala is always quoted even by later

writers as the writer who first introduced the *Uparupakas*, minor types of Dramas, *Totaka*, *Sattaka* etc. In the Madras MSS. Library there are some fragments described as extracts from Kohala's works. Thus we have कोहलीयं अभिनयशास्त्रं and ताललक्षणं (Nos. 12,989 and 12992 Cat. Vol. XXII.) There is also a work called कोहलरहस्यं, available in this library—Triennial 1910-11 to 1912-13. Only the 13th chapter is available. It is set in dialogue style, Kohala replying to Matanga.

### Dattila

Dattila is often Dantila also. He is often coupled with Kohala and the reason is not known. Dattila is a very early writer whom, especially in the गेयाधिकार Abhinava quotes very frequently, more often than even Kohala. He is referred to as दत्तिलाचार्य and from the references we may infer that Dattila's work was in *Anushtups* like Kohala's and Bharata's.

'Dattilam' published in the Trivandrum series is only a very late fragmentary selection or condensation of the early original and big work of Dattila, which is not yet available. Dattila's work must have, like other early works, dealt with dance and dramaturgy. It must have been big. The Trivandrum text of Dattilam is very small even as regards music. It has no section on drama and dance. There is no denying the fact that Dattila's work treated of नाट्य also.

The Trivandrum edition of Dattilam quotes Narada, Kohala and Visakhila. Even as regards the original Dattila, it may be only later to Kohala.

There are two copies of a work called रागसागरं in the Madras MSS. Library (Cat. Vol. XXII Nos. 13,014 and 13,015) in 3 *Tarangas*, रागविमर्श, श्रुतिस्वररागविमर्श, and रागध्यानविधानं । The last *Taranga* gives the *Rshi Chandas* and *Dhyana* of each *Raga*. The colophon of this work describes it as a dialogue between Narada and Dattila.

“इति श्रीरागसागरे नारददत्तिल संवादे रागविमर्शको नाम प्रथमस्तोत्रम् ।

### Anjaneya

If we can expect a शादूल and an अश्वतर as *Sangita Acaryas*, why not Anjaneya ? As a

matter of fact, evidences of Anjaneya having had some work on *Natya* and music to his credit, are more than those available for many others of his class. Sarngadeva and Narada enumerate him in their lists. On p. 251. Caek. ed., defining and describing the *Rupaka* called उत्सृष्टिक, Saradatanaya quotes in his *Bhava-prakasa*, Anjaneya along with व्यास ।

अस्यांकमेकं भरतः द्वावकाविति कोहलः ।

व्यासाञ्जनेयमुखः प्रादुरङ्कत्रयं यदा ॥

#### Chap. VIII

Again as Maruti, he is quoted by Saradatanaya on p. 114. 19 in Chap. V. From the first given reference we can make out that Anjaneya's work dealt with Dramaturgy at length. From the other reference in the *Bhava-prakasa* we see that this नित्यब्रह्मचारिन् work dealt elaborately with वैशिक also, even as Bharata's. As regards the signs by which another man's wife shows her love to her secret lover, Saradatanaya quotes मारुति, who says that such signs or indications *Bhavas* are common to all women.

ये भावा राग चिन्हानि स्त्रीणामुक्ताः पृथक् पृथक्  
साधारणस्ते सर्वासं स्त्रीणामित्याह मारुतिः ॥

That Anjaneya's work dealt with music also is plain. Kallinatha quotes him on p. 218, chap. 2 on Desi Ragas :—

“तथा चाह आञ्जनेयः—

येषां श्रुतिस्वरग्राम जात्यादि नियमो न हि ।

नानादेश गतिच्छायाः देशीरागास्तु ते स्मृताः ॥

*Sangita Darpana* of Damodara, a later work which quotes Sarngadeva and Kallinatha, quotes Anjaneya twice. The first reference is a general praise on *Nada*.

अत्र आञ्जनेयः

“नादाब्धेस्तु परं पारं न जानाति सरस्वती ।

अद्यापि मञ्जन भयात् तुं बुं वहति वक्षसि ॥”

Again in the enumeration of *Ragas* and their consorts—*Raginis*—he is quoted as Hanuman. This reference makes Hanuman's work as expounding the northern system which alone has the scheme of *Raga-Raginis*. We also hear of a work on *Natya* called हनुमद्भरत . Ahobala, in his *Sangita Parijata* refers to and bases his definitions often on Hanuman.

#### Sardula

Sarngadeva's and Narada's lists contain the name of Sardula. In the latter's list there is

also another name व्याल which is only a synonym of सार्दूल . Similarly there are 2 references under two different synonyms to Vishnu and Indra, in the *Sangita Makaranda*. Sarngadeva couples सार्दूल with कोहल , Neither Abhinavagupta nor Sarngadeva nor Kallinatha refer to any opinion of Sardula. It is thus very likely that Sardula finds a place among Sangita Acaryas because he is the questioner to whom Kohala's *Sangita Meru* is addressed as reply. *The Brhaddesi* however has two references to Sardula independently.

#### Durgasakti

Durgasakti is referred to as दुर्गशक्ति by Matanga. It is likely he is a historical personage. Besides mentioning him in his list of authorities at the beginning, Sarngadeva refers to him along with Kasyapa on p. 182 S.R.

#### Yashtika

Sarngadeva mentions Yashtika as an authority on music in his list. Matanga quotes him seven times. Nanyadeva quotes him once. From the latter fact we can take that there was some definite work on music current as Yashtika's. The fact gains additional support from a reference to him given by Kallinatha on p. 228 in Chapter 2.

#### Kambala and Asvatara

These two are always associates and are two figures in the mythological pantheon of Sangita Acaryas. Sarngadeva mentions these two as authorities on music and again quotes them in chapter 1, p. 78 as holding some definite opinion, different from that of Bharata. The reference proves that some music work was extant as theirs, but need not prove that that work was available to Sarngadeva, who might have referred to their view from references in the works of earlier writers. We do not hear of these two anywhere else in the works of the early period but have some information about them in Damodara's *Sangita Darpana*. These two are not “Wool” and “Ass” but “Snakes”. They propitiated Sarasvati, got the नादविद्या and became the ear-ornaments, कुण्डल of God Siva, a post from which they could be pouring their music into the ears of God.

Kambala and Asvatara are mentioned as two Nagas, serpents in the list of Nagas in chapter 35, Adiparva M. Bha.

Sl. 10.

The Markandeya Purana gives their story in Chapter 21.

### Matanga

Abhinava quotes sage Matanga only twice—pp. 59 and 67, Vol. IV Mad. MSS. Since quotations from his work given by other writers are found here, we may take the Trivandrum Ed. of Matanga’s *Brhaddesi* as genuine though it is incomplete. Matanga quotes:

Kasyapa, Kohala, Dattila, Durgasakti, Nandikesvara, Narada, Brahman, Bharata, Mahesvara, Yashtika, Vallabha, Visvavasu and Sardula.

Of these names Vallabha must be noted. We do not hear of this Sangitacharya Vallabha anywhere else.

From a reference in Kallinatha, on page 82, we see that Matanga quotes Rudrata, who flourished in the first quarter of the ninth century. Hence the *Brhaddesi* is later than the ninth century.

Damodaragupta, in his *Kuttanimata* makes Matanga a specialist in flute.

“सुषिरस्वरप्रयोगे प्रतिपादन मण्डितो मतङ्गमुनिः ।”

Sl. 854.

The *Brhaddesi* must have been famous for the excellence of its सुषिराध्याय and this has resulted in a story of Sangita, that Matanga propitiated Siva by singing on the flute. Abhinava mentions this story in the सुषिराध्याय Vol. IV, page 58.

“पूर्वं भगवन्महेश्वराराधनं मतङ्गमुनिप्रभृतिभिः

वेणुमितं (?) ततोर्वंशइति प्रासिद्धः ।”

The *Vadyadhyaya* of *Brhaddesi* itself seems to have been held in high esteem. Jayasimha (C. 1253 A.D.) in his work on *Natya* called *Nrtta Ratnavali* (Tanjore Library) mentions the वाद्यध्याय of Matanga’s *Brhaddesi*.

### Visakhila

Abhinavagupta quotes Visakhilacharya six times in his commentary on the *Geyadhikara*. His work was earlier to that of Dattila who quotes him.

Vayu is given in the list of Sarngadeva and Narada. We have no other information about him in any other authoritative work. His must certainly be a prominent niche in the temple of the Sangitacaryas for, as wind that sings through the atmosphere and the trees, as the carrier of music, as the प्राणवायु which creates नाद and as air playing in the holes of the flute, certainly Vayu’s part is very great in any myth of the origin of *Sangita Sastra*. It is also likely that the name Vayu refers to the *Vayupurana* which says something of music.

### Visvavasu

Visvavasu is merely enumerated by Sarngadeva. Matanga attributes to him some opinion in his *Brhaddesi*, on p. 4. Simha Bhupala, in his commentary on the *Svaradhyaya* of the *Sangita Ratnakara* quotes a passage from Visvavasu. It may be that there is a work in his name. Visvavasu is the name of one of the Gandharvas who are, as a class, musicians and as a Gandharva at least, he enters the list. The name of Tumburu is similar. He is not only a Gandharva but is often associated with Narada also and hence has a double title to enter the list.

### Rambha and Arjuna

Rambha is a mere name now, no work in her name being available. As an Apsara and exponent of *Natya* in heaven, she has a sure place in the list. Arjuna’s name is also found in the lists. His meeting with Rambha in heaven and his sojourn at Viratas’s court as Brhannala, a tutor of dance, have sufficient cause for the possibility of some later writer ascribing a work of his to the name of Arjuna. There is a work called *Arjuna Bharata* available in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library.

### Ravana

Ravana’s name is associated with *Samagana* and with a particular kind of *Veena*. Rajasekhara’s drama, *Bala Ramayana* makes Kohala praise Ravana as having had the fortune of enjoying God Siva himself perform *Natya*. So far, we have not landed on any evidence of quotation to show that, in fact, there is a work in the name of Ravana even as the many *Stotras* current in his name.



Guna is another name in Narada's list, which is a mere name, no further light upon him being available. So are also the following names found in Narada's list:

Two Haris, Visvakarman, Hariscandra, Kamalasyaka (may be Brahman), Candi (probably only Devi), Angada (who must naturally go with Anjaneya), Shanmukha and Bhrngi (these 2 because of their being the audience at Siva's dance), Kubera (as he is a friend of Siva according to Puranas), sage Kusika, Samudra, Sarasvati (because she is the Goddess of all विद्याs) Bali, Yaksha, and Kinnaresa (because Kinnaras are described in the *Kavyas* and *Puranas* as singing with instruments.)

But two names in Narada's list must be noted, besides that of मनुगुप्त, viz., समुद्र and विक्रम. This Vikrama is not quoted elsewhere and it is difficult to fix the Sangitacarya Vikrama among the many Vikramas in Indian history. The other, Samudra is certainly not the ocean, but, as regards him, no other evidence is available.

#### Svati

Of Svati mentioned in Sarngadeva's list, some light is available. It is not likely he has any work to his credit but still belongs to the pantheon of Sangitacaryas. Bharata says in Chapter 1, that on the occasion of the first drama in Indra's flag festival, he took Svati and Narada with him, Svati for भाण्डवाद्य (drum) and Narada for music.

स्वातिर्भाण्डनियुक्तस्तु सह शिष्यैस्स्वयं भुवा ।

नारदाद्याश्च गन्धर्वाः गानयोगे नियोजिताः ॥

स्वातिनारद संयुक्तो वेद वेदांग कारणम् ।

उपस्थितोऽहं लोकेऽं प्रयोगार्थं कृताञ्जलिः ॥

Abhinavagupta here says in his commentary that Svati was responsible for the invention of the drum called, पुष्कर. Svati is a constellation associated with rain and is also a *Rishi*. Abhinava exercises his imagination with the aid of the descriptions in *Kavyas* and connects the deep rumblings of the clouds with the sounds produced on the *Pushkara* and thus makes Svati, to whose charge Bharata gave the drum, भाण्डवाद्य as the founder of the पुष्कर .

“स्वातिः ऋषिविशेषः येन जलधर समय निपतत्सलिल धारा वैचित्र्या भिन्नमान पुष्कर दल विलसित रचित

विचित्र वर्णानुहरण योजनया यथास्वं वृत्तिनियमेन  
पुष्कर वाद्य निर्माणं कृतमित्यर्थः ।”

Abhi. Bharati, P. 23, Geak. ed.

The story of this invention of पुष्कर and also the other अवनद्ध by Rishi Svati on a rainy day is told by Bharata himself in the पुष्कराध्याय Chapter 33, Kasi ed., Sls. 5-12. Abhinava only summarises in prose the verses there.

#### Kamadeva

Though the name of Cupid is not found in the lists of the various *Natya* and *Sangitacaryas*, we have evidence to show that some work on *Natya Sastra* was current in his name. There is a work called ताललक्षणे in the Madras MSS. Library (Cat. Vol. XXII, No. 12,993 ), which quotes *Kamadeva*.

“चरणनृत्यलक्षणं तु कामदेवेन—

उद्धता वाद्यवक्त्रेषु..... ।”

This *tala-lakshana* is a late work and it quotes Saradatanaya's *Bhavaprakasa*.

#### Dhenuka

Damodargupta says in his *Kuttanimata* :

कीदृच्छोनयमार्गे धेनुकरचिते च तालके कीदृक् ।

प्रेङ्खणकादावेवं पृच्छति नृत्योपदेशकं यत्नात् ॥

Sl. 82

From this verse we come to know that there is one Dhenuka who has specially written on *Tala*. Who this Dhenuka is and what his work is, are not known. Nor is he mentioned elsewhere.

#### Daksha Prajapati

Simha Bhupala, in his commentary on the *Svaradhyaya* of the *Sangita Ratnakara* quotes Daksha Prajapati, who is no mere name, but in whose name must have been current an important work.

“स्वेच्छया पङ्जावस्थापनमङ्गीकृत्यैवदन्तिल दक्षप्रजा-  
पत्यादयः अवधानं गान्धर्वाङ्गत्वेन अङ्गीचक्रुः ।

दक्षप्रजापतिरपि—

“अवधानानि गान्धर्वं पञ्चात्स्वरपदादयः

अवधानातिरेकेण त्रिविधं नोपपद्यते ॥ इत्याह”

### Utpala Deva

We now come to writers and works regarding whose verity there is little doubt. From Abhinavagupta's *Abhinava Bharati*, we learn that Abhinava's own Paramaguru i.e., preceptor's preceptor in Saivism, Srimad Utpaladeva wrote also on *Sangita*. Otherwise there is no indication of his having written on music. But we can surely rely on the *Prasishya*'s evidence and take Utpaladeva as an early writer on *Sangita*. Abhinava quotes him four times in his *Abhinava Bharati*. The first quotation is in the जात्यध्याय, Chap. 29.

अन्ये त्वाहुः स्वरा इत्यलङ्कारैकदेशाः प्रयोज्यायां तु  
(?) शाताः ।

श्रीमदुत्पल देवपादास्तथा मन्यन्ते ।

Vol. IV, p. 21, Mad. Ms. of *Abhinava Bharati*.

The second reference is in the same chapter on the next page of this Volume.

‘परमगुरु श्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादानां मते वर्णानां  
पदनिबन्धत्वे तदाश्रितालंकार गीतविप्रयोगयोः’

The third reference is in the Chapter 31, page 84 of Volume IV, here also Abhinava differs from his grand-teacher.

The fourth reference to Utpaladeva is on page 188, Volume IV.

‘यथोक्तं श्रीमदुत्पल देवपादैः—

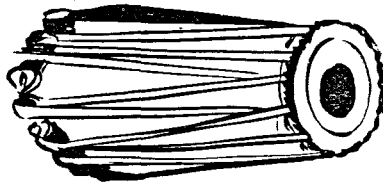
स्थितस्थायित्वसंपन्नात् प्रस्तुत स्थमयोजनं

ध्रुवासु यच्चदन्येभ्यः तद्वत्प्रज्ञोपकल्पयेत् ॥’

From this last quotation we may infer that Utpala's music work was written in *Anustups*. Utpaladeva's date is easily fixed. His प्रशिष्य, आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त पाद flourished at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries.

(To be continued)

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# Some Names In Early Sangeet Literature

By Dr. V. Raghavan

Continued from Bulletin No. 5

WE must separately deal with the commentators on the *Natya Sastra*. The only commentator whose work has been recovered is Abhinavagupta. Even his *Abhinava Bharati* is available in the Madras manuscript only up to a part of the तालाध्याय and there is some lacuna in the seventh chapter. The 8th is also missing. The *Abhinava Bharati*, edited by Mr. R. Kavi, in the Gaekwad series, is a store-house of information, giving us material to construct a history of early Sangita literature. Abhinava's life was a full and very rich one. His place in the history of Kashmir Saivism is as great as that of Sri Sankara in *Advaita* literature. His importance in *Alankara*, i.e., poetics, is also as great. He studied the *Natya Sastra* under 'the good Brahmin' Tota, Bhatta Tota or Tauta, the author of *Kavya Kautuka*, an *Alankara* work upon which also Abhinavagupta has commented. Tota was a scholar of *Natya* and music and Abhinava often refers to his interpretations of the text of the *Natya Sastra* in the गेयधिकार also as Upadhyaya's mata. Besides Tauta, one Nrsimhagupta *alias* Mukhala (Cukhala) was the preceptor in music to Abhinavagupta. He mentions this music teacher in two verses at the end of chapters 20 and 27:

नृसिंहगुप्तायतिनेत्यमत्र वृत्तिस्वरूपं प्रकटं व्यधायि ।  
यत् तत् त्रिनेत्रेण हृदन्तरात्मस्वरूपमेव प्रकटं व्यधायि ॥  
नृसिंहगुप्तापरनामधेयः विद्यावदातो मुखलाभिधानः ।  
यं गेह (य) विद्याभिरयूयुजस्तः प्रयोगसिद्धिं कृतवान्महार्थम् ॥

Since Abhinava refers to Bhatta Tauta in his *Abhinava Bharati* invariably as *Upadhyaya* only, one or two references to one *Acarya* available in the गेयधिकार may be taken to re-

present reference to the interpretations of this music teacher Nrsimhagupta. Who is this Nrsimhagupta? He is Abhinava's own father. This we know from an anonymous commentary

on Abhinava's Saiva work called ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञा-विमर्शिनी (R. No. 4353, p. 6399, Mad. Cat. Triennial, 1922-23 to 1924-25). *Vide* my article in the "Journal of Oriental Research", Madras, Vol. VI, part 2, on the writers quoted in the *Abhinava Bharati*.

## Kirtidhara

The other commentators on the *Natya Sastra* as given by Sarngadeva are Lollata, Udbhata, Sankuka and Kirtidhara. Though mentioned last in Sarngadeva's list, if it is a fact that his work was a regular commentary on the *Bharata Natya Sastra*, Kirtidhara was the first known commentator. Abhinava quotes him four times. The first reference is in Chap. 4, in the discussion on the difference between नृत्त and नाट्य (p. 208, Gaek. Ed.) The other three references to Kirtidharacarya are in the गेयधिकार, the music section of the *Natya Sastra*. The first of these occurs in the जात्यध्याय. (Vol. IV, p. 42). The next is found on p. 50, in the same volume. The last reference to him is on the group-dances to be performed in the *Purva Ranga*. Abhinava says here that he is going to give additional information from Nandikesvara, on the authority of Kirtidhara, who quotes Nandikesvara:

‘यत् यत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरतन्मात्रगामित्वेन (?) ।  
दर्शितं तदन्या (स्मा) भिः न दृष्टं, तत्प्रत्ययात् लिख्यते ॥

Then Abhinava gives on pp. 51—54 large prose extracts from Nandikesvara as given by Kirtidhara.

The *Sangita Meru* of Kohala, in the extracts given by Kallinatha therefrom, quotes Kirtidhara, p. 677. So Kirtidhara is earlier than the *Sangita Meru*.<sup>1</sup>

#### Udbhata, Lollata and Sankuka

It is now accepted by all scholars that the great *Alankarika*, Udbhata, wrote a regular commentary on the *Natya Sastra*. Abhinava refers to his interpretations and views four times at distant intervals in his *Abhinava Bharati*. First, he refers to the followers of Udbhata in Chap. 6, on the *Natya Angas* (p. 265, Gaek. Ed.). Then in Chap. 9, (Vol. II, p. 307, Mad. MS.), Abhinava quotes Bhatta Udbhata on पताक. The third reference is on p. 472, Vol. II. The fourth reference to Udbhata is on p. 479, Vol. II, in the chapter on दशरूप. This reference shows that Udbhata recognised only three *Vrttis*, and even those three, of a different nature from *Kaisiki*, etc. There is another reference which does not mention him but presupposes him and his view of the *Vrttis*. (Vol. III, p. 4.)

Here in the first reference, as well as in the fourth, Abhinava first gives Udbhata's opinion and then Lollata's refutation of Udbhata's view. One of the two references to Udbhata in Rajasekhara's *Kavyamimamsa* also is of the same nature. Thus Udbhata was the earlier commentator and Lollata and Sankuka came afterwards. Udbhata was the Court poet of King Jayapida of Kashmir (778—813 A.D.).

As regards Bhatta Lollata and Sankuka, there is no doubt of the fact of their having written commentaries on the *Natya Sastra*, for, references to their interpretations of particular texts in Bharata are profuse all over the *Abhinava Bharati*. Lollata flourished about 825 A.D. and Sankuka a little later, about 850 A.D.

#### Sri Harsha's Varttika

Besides these direct commentaries, the *Natya Sastra* had two other commentaries, *Varttika* and *Tika*. Abhinavagupta quotes often Sri Harsha and his *Varttika* in the first six chapters. Altogether there are eight quotations from Sri Harsha's *Varttika*. The quotations are mostly in Arya verses and occasionally in prose also. Thus the *Varttika* was mainly

in Aryas and occasionally in prose. Saradatanaya in his *Bhavaprakasa* also refers to Harsha and his definition of the *Uparupaka* called *Totaka* (p. 238-1. 5). This Sri Harsha is not the Royal dramatist and patron of poet Bana, since in a reference in the गेयधिकार to the music verse of King Sri Harsha, found in two of his dramas, Abhinava does not refer to him as the *Varttikakara*. It is strange how Abhinava, who quotes Harsha so often in the first six chapters, never quotes him in the later chapters on dance and drama proper and music. Perhaps Sri Harsha's *Varttika* was available even to Abhinavagupta only in fragments at the beginning.

#### The Tikakara

The name of the author of the *Tika* on the *Natya Sastra* is not available. Beginning in the 22nd Chapter, there are seventeen references to him in the *Abhinava Bharati*, (mostly in the गेयधिकार).

Earlier also there are two references to him in Chapter VI. Abhinavagupta quotes him only to refute him. It appears that the Tikakara on the *Natya Sastra* blundered hopelessly in the गेयधिकार. All the seventeen references to him are those in which Abhinava completely ridicules him. From one of the references we see that the Tikakara quotes Kasyapa (Vol. IV, p. 2). The Tikakara finds some discrepancy between Bharata and Kasyapa which Abhinava removes. In one reference to the Tikakara, we find him quoting Sadasiva and there is mention of one श्रीगद as the *Guru* of the Tikakara (p. 25, Vol. IV).

Besides these commentators on Bharata's work which dealt with dance and music, there are some more names also whom we may take as writers on *Natya* and music from Abhinavagupta's references.

#### Bhatta Sumanas

This writer is quoted in the 32nd Chapter, in the तालाध्याय (Vol. IV, p. 32). Since the reference occurs in the गेयधिकार, Bhatta Sumanas must be the author of some work on music. The reference given by Abhinavagupta is to his interpretation of a verse in Bharata. Perhaps he commented on Bharata, or only on the गेयधिकार in Bharata or had occasion to quote and interpret a verse from Bharata in an independent work of his.

<sup>1</sup>Kirtidhara is quoted often by Jayasenapati in his *Nritta—ratnavali* which I am editing now.

### Bhatta Vrddhi

This author also wrote some work on music. He is referred to in the तालाध्याय (p. 203, Vol. IV).

### Ghantaka

Poet Ghantaka is quoted by Abhinavagupta, but only on a topic in dramaturgy. If, however, poet Ghantaka also was a commentator on Bharata, it follows that he was a writer on music as well.

### Sakaligarbha

From Abhinava Bharati (Vol. II, p. 480), we come to know of a new writer on *Nṭya* named Sakali Garbha? He has a curious view of five *Vṛttis* in dramas. His work on *Nṭya* might have dealt with music also—undoubtedly so, if he is a commentator on Bharata.

### Rahula

Rahula is an early writer on music. Sarngadeva mentions him among his authorities as Rahala.

स्वातिगुणो बिन्दुराजः क्षेत्रसजश्च राहुलः ।

Abhinava quotes him thrice, first on the difference between *Nṭya* and *Nṛtta* in Chap. 4, p. 172 (Gaek. ed.), then on p. 197 of the same edition and then in the 23rd Chap. on वैशिक, p. 38, Vol. III, Mad. Ms. The third reference is reproduced in Abhinava's faithful follower, Hemachandra's *Alankara* work, *Kavyanusasana*.

शाक्याचार्यराहुलादयस्तु—मौग्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनप्यलंकारानाचक्षते तेऽस्माभिर्मरतमतानुसारिभिः उपेक्षिताः ।

*Hemachandra, K.A., N.S. ed., p. 316.*

तेन मौग्यमदभाविकत्व परितपनादीनामपि गत्यादूराक्याचार्य-राहुलादिभिरभिधानं विरुद्धमित्यलं बहुना ।

*Abhi. Bhar.*

The context is सामान्याभिनय and the *Alankaras* of women भाव, हाव etc. Abhinava criticises Rahula for holding मौग्य, मद etc. also to be *Alankaras*. In the reference given above, Abhinava, in the text in Madras Ms. refers to Rahula as गत्याचार्य. It is likely that it is a scribal error for शाक्याचार्य, since we find it so in Hemacandra, who is always very useful in deciding the text of Abhinava's works. He was a Buddhist. We had among Buddhists many such writers on such secular subjects. One Padmasri is known to us as a Buddhist

monk who has written the pornography work, called *Nagara Sarvasva*, from which we learn, in addition to what we know from the second reference to Rahula, that the Buddhist *Sampradaya* on topics of *Alankara*, etc. had their own deviations and peculiarities. Thus Rahula either commented on the *Nṭya Sastra* or wrote a big treatise on dance, drama and music, like the *Nṭya Sastra*.

### Bhatta Yatra

There is only one reference to Bhatta Yantra in the *Abhinava Bharati* and that too only on dance. It is in chapter 4, p. 208, (Gaek. ed.), on the difference between *Nṭya* and *Nṛtta*. If he is a commentator on Bharata, to decide which sufficient evidence is not available, we have in him a writer on music also.

### Rudrata

Sarngadeva mentions Rudrata as a Sangita Acarya:

रुद्रो नान्यभूपलो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा ।

Confirmation of his having written a work on music comes from a reference to him by Abhinavagupta. Abhinava criticises Rudrata as having written without understanding Bharata:

रुद्रका (रा) दिभिस्तु एतमर्थं बु (अबु) ध्यमानैः उक्तानां श्लोकपाठविप्रलब्धैः सर्वत्रैव अशक्यलस्य उक्तः

p. 160 Vol. IV.

This Rudrata is the *Alankarika*, author of the *Kavyalankara*, whom some scholars identify with Rudra or Rudra Bhatta, author of another *Alankara* work called *Srngaratilaka*. Rudrata is placed in the 9th century. He is thus a contemporary of King Avantivarman of Kashmir and the great *Alankarika* Anandavardhana. Rudrata is quoted by Kallinatha, once independently and, again, as being quoted by Matanga.

यथा यावत् षड्जमेव तारगतिः मध्यमस्याप्यत्र संवादित्वात् अनाशित्वात् तारगतीरु द्रष्टेन कृता मध्यमस्येति मतंगोक्तम् ।

S.R. p.82

Mr. R. Kavi, as usual, without evidence or authority, postulates the identity of this Rudrata with Medhavi Rudra, another writer on *Alankara*, which is wrong, and again both of them with Rudracarya, protege of Kngi Mahendra Vikrama Pallava and author connec-

ted with the Kudumiyamalai music inscription. This triple equation is absolutely baseless.

### Bhatta Gopala

Abhinava refers to this writer on music twice. He first quotes him and his तालदीपिका in Chap. 12, on p. 332, Vol. II, along with Bhatta Lollata. He promises here to come to the topic of ध्रुवाताल in the तालाध्याय and accordingly, in the तालाध्याय, he again quotes Bhatta Gopala, who, he says, has refuted at length in his *Tala Dipika* the ध्रुवातालविधि of his predecessors.

“अत एवेतदनुसारेण भट्टलोलटगोपालादि भंग सर्वभंग स चे (?) तालदीपिकादौ चिरन्तनसंमतो ध्रुवातालानां विनियोगः प्रपन्नतो दूषितः । तत्तु ध्रुवाध्याये विचारविषयामः इत्यास्ताम्”

Vol. II. p. 382.

“यथाहि भट्टगोपालः स्वाभिप्रायेण ध्रुवके विधिरिति ।”

Vol. II. p. 181.

### Matrugupta

Matrugupta is referred to by many writers and his *Anustubh* verses on subjects of *Natya* are found quoted in Ranganatha Dikṣita's commentary on the *Vikramorvasiya*, Raghava Bhatta's commentary on the *Sakuntala*, etc. His work should have been in *Anustubhs*, modelled after the *Bharata Natya Sastra* treating of music also. For the reference in *Abhinava Bharati* to Bhatta Matrugupta is in the तालाध्याय, (p. 32, Vol. IV.):

तथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन—

“पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शान्वितः ।”

Sarṅgadeva mentions him as a *Sangitacarya*:

आजनेयो मातृगुप्तो रावणो नन्दिकेश्वरः ।

The reference in Narada's *Sangita Makaranda*, p. 13, to one Matrugupta is evidently only to Matrugupta.

Matrugupta lived in King Sri Harsa's time, 607-647 A.D. He was a great poet and was later made king of Kashmir.

### Priyatithi

This is a very new name in *Natya* literature, which we are given by the *Abhinava Bharati*. It quotes this writer on *Natya* on the subject of *Saindhava*, one of the ten *Lasyangas*:

“प्रियातिथिप्रभृतिः (तिभिः) मुनिमतोपेक्ष्यैव लक्षण (खं)

उदाहरणं च कृतं न चोक्तं युक्त्या तेन किञ्चित्, इत्यसदेव ।”

p. 537, Vol. II

Priyatithi wrote against Bharata's view and Abhinava criticises him for this.

### King Bhoja

About the time of Abhinavagupta the Paramara King Bhoja ruled at Dhara (A.D. 1010-1055). He was a patron of arts and prolific writer. Bhoja's literary period was a little later than that of Abhinava. Sarṅgadeva mentions Bhoja in his list and Saradatanaya quotes him often in music also along with Somesvara. We can believe that King Bhoja, master of all arts and sciences, wrote on *Sangita* also but we want evidence for accepting Mr. R. Kavi's calm assertion that Bhoja's *Sangita* work was called संगीत-प्रकाश, which name is only a fancy, built on analogy the of the name of Bhoja's great *Alankara* work called *Sringara Prakasa*. Parsvadeva says that Bhoja gave the technical terms music in the *Bhandika* vernacular in his work on music.

### Somesvara

परमदी च सोमेशः जगदेकमहीपतिः ।

This reference in Sarṅgadeva gives Somesvara, Paramardi and Jagadelaṁhipati as *Sangitacaryas*. Saradatanaya in his *Bhavaprakasa* refers to Somesvara along with Bhoja twice. Saradatanaya says that he is not elaborating music since it has been already dealt with by Somesvara and others. The *Sangita Samaya Sara* of Parsvadeva quotes him with Dattila, as having dealt with *Tala*, and with Bhoja as having given the technical terms of music in the *Bhandika Bhasa*. This *Bhandika Bhasa* is a vernacular and very highly musical are and a grammar of it is available in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library. In that grammar, a beautiful story of the origin of that vernacular is given. It is said that when Krishna danced the *Rasa*, along with the Gopis from all parts of India, and when each sang in her own tongue, there arose, in that beautiful medley of tongues, the very musical language of the *Bhandika*.

Who is this Somesvara who is cited as an authority on music? The Editor of the *Bhavaprakasa* in the Gaekwad series, Mr. K.S. Ramaswamy Sastrigal, discusses this question. In *Sangita* we know of two Somesvaras. One is the Calukya King Somesvara III, who composed an encyclopaedic work called *Manasollasa* or the *Abhilasitartha Cintamani*, in the year 1131 A.D. This big work, part of which has been published from Mysore and Baroda, is said to contain a very big section on music. This

portion, when published, will light up our field very much. It is very likely that it is this Somesvara whom Sarngadeva and others mention.

Another Somesvara is known as the author of a music work called *Sangita Ratnavali*. Some identify Sarngadeva's Somesvara with this Somesvara.

#### Bhatta Soma Carana

But all are agreed that Somesvara was a King and Kshatriya. If so, we had another writer on music called Soma or Bhatta Soma Carana, a Brahmin. The learned Ranganatha Diksita, in his commentary on the *Vikramorvasiya*, Act. IV, quotes him after quoting Matanga, on the जम्भक or the जम्भलिका गीति, (p. 89, Nirnaya Sagar Edition).

#### King Paramardi

This word is taken by some as an attribute of the above-mentioned King Somesvara, परमर्दी च सोमेशो जगदेकमहोपतिः। Mr. K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri takes Paramardi as a separate name, as a different writer on music, identifiable with a king of that name of the Candel dynasty, a scholar and patron, who reigned between 1165-1203 A.D. This latter view is the justifiable one Parsvadeva in his *Sangita Samaya Sara* (on p. 24, Tri. Edn.) quotes King Paramardi, in the प्रबन्धाध्याय, i.e., Chapter 4.

“स्वयं यत्र प्रबन्धे स्यात् अनेनैव प्रूरणम्।

आभोगः कथितस्तेन परमर्दिमहोभुजा ॥” SI. 6.

Nothing more is known of King Paramardi or his work on music.

#### Nanya Bhupala

Through the kindness of my professor, I got the manuscript of the work of Nanyadeva from the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona. The work is incomplete and is generally called in the colophons *Bharata Bhasya*. But two of the colophons style it as *Bharata Varttika*. The work quotes Narada's *Siksa* and the author of the निवरण टीका on the नारदीय-शिक्षा, *Sikshas*, of Panini and Apisali, Bharata, Matanga and his *Brhaddesi*, Tumburu, Kasyapa and Brhat Kasyapa, Visakhila, Yashtika, Dattila and Abhinavagupta. Two names among the writers quoted must be noted. They are sages आस्तिक and द्धवक्त्र, of whom we do not hear elsewhere. References to these two are on p. 64a. *The Kalika Purana* is referred to by Nanyadeva

on page 132a, as containing the treatment of the *gita* called गोविन्दकम.

The colophon has sometimes this suggestive word—‘वाचिकांशे’. From this we come to know that Nanyadeva's work is very big and divided into four sections according to the four *Abhinayas*—वाचिक, आंगिक, सात्त्विक and आहार्य. The first section—*Amsa*—called वाचिक, deals with *Sangita*. The portion dealing with music alone is available in the manuscript above referred to and even this runs to 221 sheets.

Nanyadeva, as one mentioned by Sarngadeva, is earlier to Sarngadeva. Nanyadeva was king of Mithila. He calls himself by the name मिथिलेश्वर and महासामन्ताधिपति. He has another name also—Rajananarayana.

“एवं द्वाविंशति (मि) ताः श्रुतयः परिकीर्तिताः।

राजनारायणेनेह श्रीमन्नान्यनभूषजा ॥”

p. 12a.

His work called *Bharata Bhasya* and *Bharata Varttika* has another name—*Sarasvati Hrdya Bhusana* or *Sarasvati Hrdyalankara* or *Sarasvati Hrdya Alankara Hara*, as described in the different colophons.

#### Bindu Raja and Ksetra Raja

Of these two authorities enumerated by Sarngadeva, we have no further knowledge. Both look like historical personages. Kohala, as quoted by Kallinatha, quotes one जेमराज on the कर्कवर्तन called स्वस्तिकत्रिकोण on p. 688. If Ksetra Raja is the same as this Ksemaraja we may take him as a writer earlier than the *Sangita Meru*.

#### Lohita Bhattaka and Sumantu

These are two more writers quoted in the *Sangita Meru*. They are certainly historical from what we see by their names, but further light on these two is no yet available. We know of Sumantu who was a sage, who is mentioned in the *Maha Bharata* and *Asvalayana* as one of the five भारताचार्यस, not भरताचार्यस. He was one of those who edited the *Maha Bharata* after Vyasa. He is mentioned thus—

सुमन्तु जैमिनि पैलं शुक्रं चैव स्वमात्मजम्।

वेदानध्यापयामास महाभारतपंचमान् ॥

संहितास्तैः पृथक्त्वेव भारतस्य प्रकीर्तिताः।

### Saradatanaya

Now let us come to the third source of information, the *Bhavaprakasa* of Saradatanaya, a work on dramaturgy ascribed to the period 1175-1250 A.D.

Saradatanaya, if the above given date is correct, was living in Sarngadeva's time. Saradatanaya was, as his name shows, born of the grace of Sarasvati. In the 7th Chapter of his *Bhavaprakasa* he takes up *Sangita* and after elaborately telling us of the physiological process of *naḍottpatti*, just touches music and leaves it saying that he need not deal with it further, since Bhoja, Somesvara and others have treated of it. From this same reference in Chap. 7, we learn that Saradatanaya himself produced a companion work, certainly earlier, on music called *Saradiya*.

“मयापि शारदीयाख्ये प्रबन्धे सुष्ठु दर्शितं ।”

p. 194.

Further, Saradatanaya refers to many other works and authors on *Natya* and music. The following are noteworthy since they are not referred to elsewhere : द्रौहिणी, गान्धर्वनिर्णय and वासुकि.

### Gandharva Nirnaya

The गान्धर्वनिर्णय is a work on music, treating of *Natya* also by the way. Saradatanaya refers to it on p. 266 in Chapter 9, in the description of the minor *Rupaka* variety known as उल्लोप्यक, which is a गीतप्रबन्ध, an operatic composition:

‘यस्मिन्नुल्लोप्यकं नाम त्र्यंगं गीतं प्रवर्तते ।  
तल्लक्षणं च गान्धर्वनिर्णये स्पष्टमीरितं ॥’

The author of the *Gandharva Nirnaya* is not known.

### Drauhini

The quotation in the *Bhavaprakasa* in the name of *Drauhini*, on page 239, line 1., is on *Vrittis* and *Nataka*:

‘सास्वतीवृत्तिरत्र स्यात् इति: द्रौहिणिरब्रवीत् ।’

From this reference we can take him to be an author on drama only. But Rajasekhara in his *Kavyamimamsa* quotes him twice and from the first quotation there, we can surely make out *Drauhini* as an author of some music

work. This reference makes *Drauhini* praise music as the 5th Veda.

“वेदोपवेदात्मा सार्ववर्णिकः पञ्चमो गेयवेदः इति द्रौहिणिः ।”

K.M.p. 2 Gaek Ed.

Thus *Drauhini*'s work, like works of the early period, comprehensively dealt with *Sangita* proper, with its three departments. It is also likely that *Drauhini* is only *Druhina*'s son, i.e., *Narada*.

### Vasuki

Vasuki is a mythological name. Vasuki is quoted twice by Saradatanaya. He is earlier to the *Bharata Natya Sastra*, if we rely upon a verse attributed to him by Saradatanaya, which is found quoted by Bharata. Vasuki is not enumerated by Sarngadeva or *Narada* nor is he quoted elsewhere. *Narada*'s list however contains a name व्याल, which, if it is taken in the meaning 'snake', may refer to Vasuki, but this is quite far-fetched.

### Kalpavalli and Yogamala

The *Kalpavalli* or *Kalpalata* and the *Yoga Mala Samhita* quoted by Sarngadeva are definitely works on *Natya* but probably these two devoted some of their chapters to the *Samana tantra* (allied science) music also. The *Yoga-mala Samhita* seems to be in the form of a dialogue in which *Siva* teaches *Natya*, etc., to *Vivasvan* i.e., *Surya*. *Surya* seems to have some part in the history of *Natya* and *Sangita*.

### Vyasa and Agastya

Saradatanaya mentions at the beginning of his work that he studied and learnt the schools of the following writers on *Natya*—*Sadasiva*, *Siva*, *Parvati*, *Gauri*, *Vasuki*, *Sarasvati*, *Narada*, *Kumbhodbhava*, i.e., *Agastya*, *Vyasa*, *Bharata*'s pupils, and *Anjaneya*. Of these we have already dealt with *Narada*, *Vasuki* and *Anjaneya*. How *Sadasiva* and *Siva*, and *Parvati* and *Gauri* are separate and different we are not able to understand. *Vyasa* is quoted now and then by Saradatanaya. There are two possibilities. Some of the *Puranas* of which *Vyasa* is the general author contain chapters on music. Opinions quoted as *Vyasa*'s may refer to opinions contained there. But such references are not traceable to the *Sangita* text in the *Puranas*. The story of the origin of *Natya* which Saradatanaya attributes to *Vyasa*, the exact number of acts in उत्सृष्टिकांक according to *Vyasa* referred to by Saradatanaya, are not



traceable to the known *Puranas* which deal with drama and music. The other possibility is that there was some work on *Natya* current as Vyasa's. Anyway Vyasa is not a mere name, since Saradatanaya attributes to him two definite opinions on pp. 55 and 251. The name of Agastya does not seem to appear anywhere else. As a matter of fact, in literature, Agastya is a rare name in Sanskrit. It is only in Tamil that he is the eponymous father of all literature. Saradatanaya, as the editor of his work suggests, was thus possibly a South Indian. But in the body of the *Bhava Prakasa* itself, no quotation from Agastya is found.

### Parsvadeva

The *Sangita Samaya Sara* of Parsvadeva published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series is mainly a work on music, but it treats of dance also in Chapter six. Parsvadeva, as his name indicates, was a Jain. He and his father were great scholars of the *Natya Sastra*. The upper limit of his date is easily fixed. He quotes these authors:

1. King Bhoja. 2. King Somesvara. 3. King Paramardi. 4. King Pratapa. 5. Digambara. 6. Matanga. 7. Sage Bharata and 8. Dattila.

Of these, the references to Kings Bhoja, Somesvara and Paramardi are valuable and they fix the upper limit to Parsvadeva's time. King Bhoja ruled between 1010 and 1055 A.D. Paramardi flourished about 1165 A.D. and Somesvara about 1131 A.D. Parsvadeva is thus later than the 12th century. Sarngadeva does not refer to Parsvadeva. Singa Bhupala (about 1330 A.D.) quotes him often in his commentary on the *Sangita Ratnakara*. Thus his date falls between 1165 and 1330 A.D.

The manuscript of the *Sangita Samaya Sara* in the Madras Mss. Library (No. 13028) gives much information about the author Parsvadeva. Parsvadeva was the son of Gauri and Adideva and disciple of one महादेवार्थ, who was himself the pupil of उमश्चन्द्र. The *paramaguru* was thus a Jain and born of Brahmin parents. Parsvadeva was a convert to Jainism. Parsvadeva mentions in the beginning that he consulted the following authorities: सोमेश्वर, तुंबुरु, भोज, मतंग, काश्यप, दत्तिल, कोहल and हनुमान्. Parsvadeva gives the name of his family as श्रीकण्ठान्वय. The colophons mention the names of his *guru* and *paramaguru* and the titles of Parsvadeva.

In the first verse in Chapter I, Parsvadeva says that he is going to follow Bhoja and Somesvara in giving the technical names of music in the *Bhandika Bhasa*:

भाण्डिकभाषयोद्ध्याः भोजसोमेश्वरादिभिः ।

गेयलक्षणतः केचित् वक्ष्यन्ते लक्ष्यसंभवाः ॥

S.S.S. II. 1.

We know of certain new writers for the first time from Parsvadeva.

### King Pratapa

King Pratapa is quoted on p. 29:

पञ्चतालेश्वरो यदा हृद्यं गद्यमथापि वा ।

आलिक्रमोऽयमेवोक्तः प्रतापपृथिवीबुजा ॥

Though Pratapa and Vikrama are synonymous, it is vain to identify this Pratapa with the Vikrama quoted in the *Sangita Makaranda*. See, below, separate note on king pratapa's *Sangita chudamani*.

### Digambara

Parsvadeva refers to Digambara or Digambara Suri thrice in the chapter on dance. The third reference is reverentially in plural. Evidently Digambara Suri is a Jain and most probably a teacher of Parsvadeva. The three references are these—

1. On the three kinds of सन्दर्श, a नृत्तहस्त—

सन्दर्शः त्रिप्रकारः स्यात् पार्श्वजो मुखजोऽश्रयजः ।

इत्यनेकप्रयोगेषु दिगम्बरमतोदितः ॥ p. 60.

2. केशवबन्धकरो प्रोक्तौ तौ दिगम्बरसूरिणा ।

उत्तानावंचितौ किंचित् पार्श्वगौ त्रिपताकरो ॥

p. 63. Sl. 89.

3. हंसपक्षकरो दण्डपद्मावुक्तौ दिगम्बरैः ।

p. 63 Sl. 93.

Thus not only in philosophy and poetics, but in such subjects as drama, dance, music and pornography, also the Buddhist and Jain contributions to Sanskrit literature are immense.

### Sankara

Parsvadeva quotes Sankara in the वाचाध्याय i.e. the fifth, p. 42:

सकलं निष्कलं चेति वाचमेतद् द्विधा भवेत् ।

कथितं शंकरेणैदं एकतन्वीसमाश्रयम् ॥

It may be that this Sankara is a historical writer on music, or only God Siva.

### The Puranas and Music

As remarked above, references to Vyasa may refer to chapters on music in some of the *Puranas*. The *Puranas* that contain chapters on music are—the *Visnudharmottara*, the *Vayu* and the *Markandeya*.

### The Markandeya

Of these the *Markandeya* does not regularly treat of music. In Chapter 21, it gives the story of Asvatara, the king of the serpents. He did penance and requested Sarasvati to give him his brother Kambala and to impart to him and his brother the music lore. Sarasvati did so. Asvatara and Kambala propitiated Siva with this music. Here, incidentally, in mentioning Sarasvati's boon, the to pics in music learnt by the two Naga brothers are summarily given:

सप्तस्वराः ग्रामरागाः सप्त पन्नगसत्तम ।  
गीतकानि च सप्तैव तावत्पञ्चापि मूर्च्छनाः ॥  
तानाश्चैकोनपञ्चाशत् तथा ग्रामत्रयं च यत् ।  
एतत्सर्वं नवान् वेत्ता कम्बलश्चैव ते ऽनय ॥

\* \* \*  
चतुर्विधं परं तालं त्रिप्रकारं लयत्रयम् ।  
गीतत्रयं तथा कालं मया दत्तं चतुर्विधम् ॥

\* \* \*  
अस्यान्तर्गतमायत्तं स्वरव्यञ्जनयोश्च यत् ।  
तदशेषं मया दत्तं भवतः कम्बलस्य च ॥

Sl. 52—56.

### The Vayupurana

In the second *Khanda* of the *Vayupurana*, Chapter 24, latter half, and Chapter 25 deal with music. The former speaks of seven *Svaras*, three *Gramas* and the *Ragas* belonging to each *Gram*—twenty in मध्यमग्राम, fourteen in षड्जग्राम, and fifteen in गान्धारग्राम, the etymology, *devata* and description of each *Raga*, and मूर्च्छना. The 25th Chapter is devoted to thirty *Gita Alankaras*.

### The Visnudharmottara

The third *Khanda* of the *Visnudharmottara* contains a big art supplement treating of grammar, lexicography, prosody, poetics, dramaturgy, dance, *Sangita* and painting. Chapters 18 and 19 here deal with music. In the beginning the matter corresponds to that in the *Vayupurana*, though in the *Visnudharmottara* it is all in *Sutra* like prose. The following are dealt with—

*Svaras*, *Gramas* and the *Ragas* of each of the three *Gramas*, three *Vrttis*, वादि, संवादि, and अनुवादि, nine *Rasas* and the *Svaras* for each *Rasa*, the three *Layas* and the *Laya* for each *Rasa*, ten *Jatis*, four *Alankaras* प्रसन्नादि, प्रसन्नान्त, प्रसन्नाद्यन्त, and प्रसन्नमध्य, and the several kinds of songs, viz, अपरान्तक, उल्लोप्य, मन्द्रक, मकरी, उर्वेणक, सरोबिन्दु, ऋग्गाथा, पाणिका, दक्षविहता and ब्रह्मगीतिका.

Here this chapter called गीतलक्षण ends. The next chapter dealing with music is devoted to आतोष, instruments.