DEVOTIONAL MUSIC IN MYSORE

by

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This thesis has been composed by myself and the work is my own.

Signed
ABSTRACT OF THESIS

I examine the motivations and rewards concerned with participation in performances of devotional music in Mysore, India. Whilst the vachana and devaranama traditions are considered, I concentrate upon the saangita, or 'art', form of devotional music.

The motivations and rewards are expressed in terms of indigenously-conceived correspondences between musical experiences and experiences in sadhana. I examine the set of religio-philosophical ideas and meditational practises involved in sadhana and conclude that all forms can be conceived in terms of three procedures - viz. 'purification' (i.e. experience of the 'real self'), 'participation' (i.e. mergerence with 'alter') and 'transcendence' (of the conceptual frameworks employed in thought).

Indigenous aesthetic theory conceives of three separate components of musical experience - viz. gahitva bhaya (i.e. the 'emotional' effect of the literary text), raga bhava (i.e. the 'emotional' effect of the raga) and ganam (i.e. the 'aesthetic' effect of musical form). I examine each component and conclude that the bhava components amount to 'participation' whilst the ganam component amounts to 'purification' and 'transcendence'. I conclude that the mechanisms by means of which the music produces its effects are those of 'absolute' and 'referential' musical meaning and that 'referential' meaning may be conceptualised in terms of 'image processes', 'moods' and 'connotations'.

I conclude that the participant's motivations and rewards may be defined in terms of the capacity of the music to promote the maintenance of his emotional and mental equilibrium and that the social significance of the institution of devotional music derives from its capacity to adapt the participant to cope more successfully with his/her reactions to life in society.
NOTES ON THE TEXT

All Indian words are underlined with the exception of proper names (including the names of gods, places, cults, sects, castes, systems of philosophy and ragas). The diacritical forms of these words are contained in the Glossary.

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CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction
(a) Anthropological Explanations of Ritual 1

(b) South Indian Devotional Music 15
   (1) Vachana 16
   (2) Devaranama 18
   (3) Sangita 23
   (4) Comparison of the Three Traditions 27

(c) The Functions of Devotional Music 39
   (1) In respect of individuals 39
   (2) In respect of society 45

Chapter 2: Sadhana
(a) Introduction 53

(b) Influential Non-Contemporary Darsanas 63
   (i) Introduction 63
   (ii) Mimamsa 66
   (iii) Samkhya-Yoga 69

(c) Advaita Vedanta 76
   (i) Advaita Cosmology 77
   (ii) Advaita Rationalisations of Sadhana 84
      A. Jnana yoga 86
      B. Laya yoga 88
      C. Bhakti yoga 99
      D. Karma yoga 103

(d) Dvaita Vedanta 107
   (i) Dvaita Cosmology 107
   (ii) Dvaita Rationalisations of Sadhana 119

(e) Conclusions 124
   (i) Purification, Participation and Transcendence 124
   (ii) Cross-Cultural Comparison 135
   (iii) Transitions between States 138

Chapter 3: Sahitya Bhava
(a) Introduction 143
(b) Vachana 147
(c) Devaranama 154
(d) Sangita 160

Chapter 4: Raga Bhava
(a) Introduction 182
   (i) Problems of Data-Collection 182
   (ii) Varna and Rasa 187
(b) **Raga Varna**
(i) Systems of Difference
(ii) The Distribution of Non-Characteristic Phrases
(iii) Diachronic Considerations
(iv) Associational Aspects of the Appreciation of Ragas
(v) The Social Context of Sangita Performances
(vi) Raga in Kirtana Performances
(vii) Powers' Analysis of Raga
(viii) Social Function

(c) **Raga Rasa**
(i) Indigenous Concepts
(ii) Problems of Sampling
(iii) Amsha Svara and Raga
(iv) 'Flat'/ 'Sharp' Svaras and Rasa
(v) Gamaks and Rasa
(vi) Discussion of the Findings
(vii) Raga Rasa and Sahitya Bhava
(viii) Raga Rasa and Kirtana

(d) Conclusions

**Chapter 5: Ganam**
(a) Introduction

(b) **Music as 'Purification'**
(i) The Drone-Tonic
(ii) Ascent/Descent

(c) Metric-Rhythmic Organisation
A. Definitional Problems
B. Indigenous Concepts
Metre and Pulse
Rhythm

(ii) Solo Percussion Sections
(iii) Sangati Patterns
(iv) Alapana and Tanam
(v) Tension and its Release

(d) Conclusions

**Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusion**
(a) Conclusion

(b) Summary of the Argument
(i) Sahitya Bhava
(ii) Raga Bhava
(iii) Ganam

**Bibliography**

**Glossary**
(Contents - continued)

LOCATION OF DIAGRAMS AND FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diagrams</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diagrams (i), (ii) and (iii)</td>
<td>267-268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram (iv)</td>
<td>292-293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram (v)</td>
<td>293-294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram (vi)</td>
<td>315-316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram (vii)</td>
<td>357-358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram (viii)</td>
<td>406-407</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figures</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figures 1 and 2</td>
<td>322-323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures 3, 4 and 5</td>
<td>335-336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures 6 and 7</td>
<td>360-361</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A copy of the musical examples transcribed in figures 1 to 7 has been deposited in the archive of the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh - reference number Tape SF 1980/1.)
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an examination of South Indian devotional music approached from the study of ritual in British social anthropology. The approach is justified by the fact that 'indigenous actors' (i.e. musical performers and listeners) conceive of the music as functionally equivalent to an indigenous type of ritual activity called sadhana.

(a) Anthropological Explanations of Ritual

No satisfactory definition of 'ritual' as a social institution exists. This is inevitable when a universal approach is adopted, due to the diversity manifest between different rituals in different societies. The same problem arises in anthropological studies of such social institutions as 'marriage', 'family' and, indeed, 'music'. In the absence of a satisfactory definition, most social anthropologists accept the type of definition expressed by V.W. Turner as:

"...prescribed formal behaviour for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in mystical beings or powers." (The Forest of Symbols', Ithica, 1967, P.19)

The first part of the definition is expressed by Edmund Leach ('Ritualization in Man', Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Series B, No.772, Vol.261,1966,P.403) as: all behaviour that is not mani-
festy rational-technical. Leach's formulation of the
definition is unsatisfactory because 'non-rational-techni-
cical' can only be defined from the perspective of the
foreign investigator. All types of ritual studied by
anthropologists constitute motivated behaviour, even
though in certain types the motivation may be expressed
as simply 'to bring good luck' or 'to avert bad luck'. In
complex rituals, such as the curative rituals amongst the
Ndembu tribe of Zambia studied by Turner (ibid. et sequ.),
the investigator may find that constituent parts of a
ritual appear 'unmotivated' in the sense that indigenous
informants can not explain their significance. Yet they
are motivated in the wider sense that they are indigenous-
ly regarded as essential components of the total ritual
which, if omitted, would prejudice the desired effects of
the total ritual.

Since such motivation is always present in ritual
performance, it is clear that ritual behaviour constitutes
rational action. The premises upon which the cause-effect
relationship underlying ritual action is based may differ
from those recognised by Western science or may not be
understood by the 'indigenous actors' (i.e. ritual par-
participants). In the former case, ritual is rational
action in terms of a world-view different from that of
Western science. In the latter case, we should recall
that in certain fields of Western science and technology,
such as pharmacology/drug therapy, a cause-effect
relationship is recognised and exploited although the premises underlying it may not be understood. Exploitation of a known cause-effect relationship is therefore no less rational action in the case of ritual than in the case of certain fields of Western science and technology.

Turner's formulation of the definition is no more satisfactory. By the expression "occasions not given over to technological routine", he appears to be proposing a definition of ritual as "non-economic pursuits". However, this is unsatisfactory because many of the types of ritual found in anthropological literature are directly concerned with economic pursuits; indeed, an important category of Ndembu rituals is concerned with increasing success in game-hunting, which is traditionally an important subsistence activity in Ndembu society.

A more logical reformulation of the first part of the anthropological definition of ritual would therefore be: "behaviour which is not immediately comprehensible to the foreign investigator". In the second part of the definition, Turner employs the term 'mystical' in preference to 'supernatural'. What both terms refer to is the fact that ritual tends to concern itself with types of being or power not recognised by Western science.

The earliest theory of ritual in British social anthropology which still exerts an influence today was A.R. Radcliffe-Brown's interpretation of the role of
religious ceremonies amongst the Andaman Islanders:

(Religious ceremonies) "are the means by which the society acts upon its individual members and keeps alive in their minds a certain system of sentiments. Without the ceremonial these sentiments would not exist, and without them the social organisation in its actual form could not exist." (‘The Andaman Islanders’, London, 1948, p. 324)

This interpretation, proposed in 1922, appears to be influenced by Émile Durkheim’s concept of ‘mechanical solidarity’, developed in his book ‘The Division of Labour in Society’ (1893). Radcliffe-Brown justifies his interpretation in terms of a method which is referred to as "structural-functionalism":

"I would define the social function of a socially standardised mode of activity, or mode of thought, as its relation to the social structure to the existence or continuity of which it makes some contribution." (‘On social structure’, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 70, 1940, p. 10)

Radcliffe-Brown’s approach has been criticised by Clyde Kluckhohn:

"The motivations and rewards felt by persons have been lost sight of in the preoccupation with the significance of a culture pattern for the social system". (‘Navaho Witchcraft’ (1944), Boston, 1967, p. 80)

The method proposed by Kluckhohn to remedy this deficiency is termed the ‘culture and personality’ school of American ‘functionalism’. Kluckhohn defines his method as:

"...the operations by which the 'function' of a culture pattern is defined consist in showing how the fulfilment of the pattern promotes the solidarity or survival of the society and the maintenance of their equilibrium on the part of individuals." (ibid.)

The closest approximation to such an explanation of ritual, within British social anthropology, is the earliest
explanation of Ndembu curative rituals proposed by Turner. Whilst the objective of the rituals studied by Turner was manifestly curative, the problem in the explanation of these rituals is that Ndembu employed purely medicinal techniques in the case of simple illness. Curative rituals were only resorted to when illness coincided with a long-standing dispute between the patient's kinsmen and fellow-villagers. Turner therefore proposes that

"Ritual is the social mechanism by which a group is purged of the anarchic and disruptive impulses which threaten its crucial norms and values. These impulses are present in the majority of its members and come dangerously near to overt expression in there has been a long series of quarrels between its members." ('Schism and Continuity in an African Society', Manchester, 1957, P.124)

Kluckhohn's explanation of Navaho witchcraft accusations and their 'sequentia' (ibid.) is that this social institution provides a means for the reduction of aggressive drives. However, he argues that the origin of these aggressive drives is to be located in the effect of the society upon the individual: everyday Navaho social life tends to create a pathological state of disequilibrium in individuals which the social institution of witchcraft accusations redresses, thereby restoring the individual to a state of equilibrium. In the above passage and all of his subsequent work, it is never clear whether Turner regards the 'anarchic and disruptive impulses' as a normal or pathological condition of the individual or, if the latter, what their origin is. For example, in the develop-
ment of his interpretation of Ndembu rituals contained in 'The Drums of Affliction' (Oxford, 1968) he refers to such drive-reduction as a 'need', but fails to tackle the problem of the origin of this need:

"...it would seem that the needs of the individual biopsychical organism and the needs of society, in many respects opposed, come to terms with one another in the master-symbols of Ndembu society. What can be shown to be infantile murderous and cannibalistic impulses are transmuted into zeal on behalf of certain moral imperatives and legal rules" (P. 19)

This incorporates into his earlier theory Radcliffe-Brown's idea of ritual inculcating a 'system of sentiments' into the participants but the ideas of the 'bi-polarity of reference' of the 'dominant' or 'master symbols' employed in these rituals and the 'transference of affect' from a set of 'organic' to a set of 'social' referents, upon which this interpretation is based, have not found general acceptance amongst social anthropologists or been verified by ethnographic evidence from other societies.

Kluckhohn's definition of 'function' has the advantage that it takes into account the complexity of the relationship between a society and its individual members. The application of his method to the study of ritual would consist in the investigation of how behaviour which restores individuals to a state of equilibrium itself 'promotes the solidarity or survival of the society'. In the Ndembu case, if the existence of the 'anarchic and disruptive impulses' is to be believed and their removal constitutes the function of these rituals in respect of society, then:
(i) their function in respect of individuals must be the restoration of a state of equilibrium within the individual which has been disturbed by the existence or 're-surfacing' of these drives and

(ii) motivations towards and effects of ritual performance articulated by informants should be expressed in these terms.

In fact, the motivations towards and effects of ritual performance articulated by Turner's informants were expressed, not in terms of the removal of 'anarchic and disruptive impulses', but in terms of the removal of grudges. For example, immediately after the Ihemba ritual described by Turner in great detail in 'The Drums of Affliction', the patient said:

"Now that he had told his grudge to everyone, he said, all would be well. His hard thoughts had been keeping back his cure." ("The Drums of Affliction, ibid., P.172)

I have argued (G. Geekie, 'The Ndembu Material of V.W. Turner', B.Litt. thesis, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1971, Pp.143-50) that the Ndembu symbolically represent grudges in ritual as confusions, or conjunctions, of certain logical categories which underlie Ndembu thought. This interpretation of Ndembu rituals is consistent with a general theory of ritual which Claude Lévi-Strauss has developed and his general theory offers us a new insight into the function of ritual in respect of individuals.

Although Lévi-Strauss does not attempt a re-analysis
of Turner's ethnographic material, he develops his general theory by suggesting precisely the type of structure underlying these rituals which I discovered in my own re-analysis of them:

"When Turner ('Drums of Affliction', P. 7) writes that religious ritual 'creates, or re-creates, the categories through which men perceive reality - the axioms underlying the structure of society and the laws of the natural and moral orders', he is not fundamentally wrong, in the sense that ritual certainly refers to these categories, laws or axioms. But ritual does not create them and make use of them, except in the sense of denying them or at any rate obliterating temporarily the distinctions and oppositions which they lay down, by creating all kinds of ambiguities, compromises and transitions between them." ('L'Homme Nu', Paris, 1971, P. 608; my own translation)

This interpretation is highly persuasive because it conforms with an interpretation of Ndembu rituals which Turner himself proposed in 1962 but did not develop further. In 'Chihamba the White Spirit' (Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 33, 1962, Pp. 85-6), Turner argues that the meanings of the dominant symbols employed in Ndembu rituals comprise a haphazard collection of conflicting and incompatible objects, actions and ideas. He argues that such sets of meanings amount to paradoxes and that paradox achieves a type of 'dérèglement' in the minds of the ritual participants which temporarily breaks through the "habitual patterns formed by secular custom, rational thinking and common sense" and thereby induces religious experience. (It should be noted, in passing, that this observation upon the meanings of Ndembu dominant symbols conflicts with his later theory of 'bi-polarity of
reference' of dominant symbols and thus casts doubt upon
the applicability of his later theory to his ethnographic
material).

The universal theory of ritual which Lévi-Strauss
proposes emphasises precisely this aspect of ritual:

"Ritual is not a reaction to life, it is a reaction
to what thought has made of life... Precisely what
ritual seeks to overcome is not the resistance of
the world towards man but the resistance of man to¬
wards his thought."

"...whilst myth resolutely turns its back on the
continuous in order to divide up and dismember the
world by means of distinctions, contrasts and
oppositions, ritual tends in a direction which is in
a sense the reverse; divided up into the discrete
units which are imposed upon it by this 'a priori'
conceptualisation of reality, it seeks to make itself
whole again, although the initial breaking up into
parts brought about by mythical thought renders the
task forever impossible." ('L'Homme Nu', Ibid.,
Pp. 609;607; my own translation)

This explanation, in conformity with other explana¬
tions of socio-cultural forms in the 'anthropological
structuralism' of Lévi-Strauss, is open to the criticism
expressed by Jean Piaget:

"...the problem of how eventually to coordinate
sociological and anthropological structuralism with
biological and psychological structuralism remains;
it seems to us. And one thing is clear, in biology
and psychology structural analysis must, at all
levels, from homeostasis to operations, be supple¬
mented by functional considerations." ('Structuralism'

There is no space in the present discussion to examine
in detail Piaget's definition of 'structuralism' as:

"...only self-regulating transformational systems are
structures" (Ibid., P.113)
However, in terms of this definition Piaget is able to suggest a concept of 'function' applicable to anthropological structuralism:

"In physics, biology and psychology it is... EQUILIBRATON which accounts for the 'selection' of the actual system from among the range of possibilities; it is equilibration, again, which establishes homeostasis at its various organic levels and which explains the development of intelligence as well. May we not expect it to render similar services in the social sciences?...the processes whereby equilibrium becomes established in these increasingly complex systems account not only for the regulations characteristic of each level but even for the form which these regulations take at the final stage." (ibid.,P.113)

This suggests that what is lacking in Lévi-Strauss's anthropological structuralism is something akin to Kluckhohn's concept of the function of a culture pattern in respect of individuals: viz."how the fulfilment of the culture pattern promotes... the maintenance of their equilibrium on the part of individuals". Thus, for example, even a system of thought - the datum 'par excellence' of anthropological structuralism - must be viewed as having a function in respect of individuals in that it contributes towards the equilibrium of the individual by providing a means whereby he can make sense of the world in which he lives. Furthermore, it must be viewed as having a function in respect of society derivative of this function in respect of individuals in that it

(i) permits different individuals to make the 'same sense'

of the same world in which they live, thereby

(ii) permitting communication between individuals; apart
(iii) contributing to the maintenance of their equilibrium on the part of all individuals who comprise that society, in the absence of which the social organisation, in its actual form, could not exist.

Such a concept of function is implicit in Lévi-Strauss's universal theory of ritual. In reply to the question of who or what "seeks to make itself whole again" by participating in or performing ritual, the obvious answer is: the individual, who seeks to restore himself to a state of equilibrium. We can therefore paraphrase Lévi-Strauss's theory of ritual in order to render explicit this implicit concept of function:

The individual seeks a state of equilibrium between two conceptualisations of reality. One is that obtained through thought and consists in a world dissociated into elements which are then re-united into classes. The other is the logical antithesis of that obtained through thought and therefore consists in a world order which is beyond the grasp of man's logical faculties. Ritual is therefore a social institution which contributes to the maintenance of the equilibrium of individuals by inducing in them a temporary conceptualisation of reality which is the logical antithesis, or reversal, of the 'everyday' conceptualisation based upon thought.

Such an explanation is compatible with other explana-
ations of ritual. For example, Ndembu curative rituals are curative and, we may argue, reinforce wider forms of social integration by establishing networks of cult membership over wide areas as well as reinforce leadership roles.

These are all functions in respect of society. However, on the basis of the foregoing discussion we can now argue that, in addition to these functions, they supply the function of 'equilibrating' the individual and, because they supply this function in respect of individuals, they additionally supply a function in respect of society deriving from this function in respect of individuals. For, without equilibrated individuals, the social organisation in its actual form could not exist.

This theory of ritual also has the advantage of reconciling a universal definition of ritual with an explanation of its function. As we have seen, the only useful part of Turner's definition of ritual is "having reference to beliefs in mystical beings or powers" whilst his interpretation of Ndembu rituals is concerned with the "purging of anarchic and disruptive impulses". The theory of ritual developed above permits us to define ritual as "behaviour directed at eroding the boundaries between logical categories" - a definition which is compatible with our explanation of its function.

It may be contended that this theory of ritual is simply an explanation of Ndembu rituals. I would argue
that it has much wider applicability: certainly, in developing this theory, I have borne in mind the problems posed by ethnographic examples from various parts of the world, although there is no space in the present context to discuss these. What is, however, most important in the present context is that, whatever the applicability of this theory to the rituals of other societies, it constitutes a precise explanation of sadhana - the type of ritual within South India to which devotional music is regarded as functionally equivalent by indigenous actors. In the next chapter, in which I examine the rationale of sadhana, I illustrate this point in detail.

Finally, when the methodological perspective underlying this theory of ritual is applied to the study of music it is possible to reconcile the anthropological and aesthetic approaches to the study of music. The anthropological approach is summarised in A.P. Merriam's statement:

"music sound is the result of human behavioural processes that are shaped by the values, attitudes and beliefs of the people who comprise a particular culture. Music sound cannot be produced except by people for other people and, although we can separate the two aspects conceptually, one is not really complete without the other." ("The Anthropology of Music", Northwestern University, 1964, P.6)

The aesthetic approach to the study of music is summarised in Professor Aloys Fleischmann's criticism of the anthropological approach as:

"...demoting the significance and value of a piece of music and exalting its peripheral associations." ('Newsletter' of the International Folk Music Council United Kingdom National Committee, No.16, Oct.1978, P.18)
When we apply the concept of 'function in respect of individuals' to the study of music, then "the significance and value of a piece of music" obviously resides in its role as a mechanism whereby a desired effect is produced upon the listener. The structure of any piece of music which continues to be played within performance contexts (i.e., which has passed through the process of selective screening whereby certain pieces of music are accepted and others are rejected - by audiences - as having "significance and value") is ultimately explainable in terms of this desired effect upon the listener of which the piece of music is a cause (whether the only cause or, in situations in which other meaningful behaviour - such as movement, speech or social interaction - is incorporated into the performance context, one cause amongst several).

When we consider Merriam's approach in the light of the concept of 'function in respect of individuals', it is clear that the fact that music is produced "by people for other people" is ultimately explainable in terms of desired effects upon the performer and listener (and perhaps also 'patron', in situations in which this role is not identical with either of the other two) of participating in a performance situation. There is no disagreement with Merriam's statement that the 'what' of music is culturally specific and is "shaped by the values, attitudes and beliefs of the people who comprise a particular culture". However, in musical, as in all other social
institutions, the 'what' is ultimately explainable by the 'why': that is, social forms 'are as they are' because they supply social functions in the absence of which the social organisation in its actual form could not exist. This impels an approach to the study of music within any society which addresses itself to two interrelated questions:

(1) What are the functions in respect of individual participants within the performance contexts? (This is a question which can only be answered by asking participants what are the effects of the music which they participate in performances of in order to experience).

(2) What are the functions in respect of society of these performances? (i.e. In the absence of these performances, what features of the organisation of society could not exist in their actual form?)

(b) South Indian Devotional Music

'South India' is a political and geographical entity basically comprising the four southernmost political states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamilnad and Kerala. The boundaries of these states were drawn on a linguistic basis, the four languages being, respectively, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam. (It should, however, be noted that, in each state, there are many minor and tribal languages spoken in addition to the above major, or 'official', state languages.) The 'lingua franca' is
English, although the teaching of Hindi as a compulsory second language in schools since Independence is resulting in the use of Hindi as a 'lingua franca' in urban areas. Sanskrit is a common literary language amongst educated members of the Brahman caste, used principally for the purpose of reading religio-philosophical texts. An extensive literature exists in the four languages of Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam from about the 12th century A.D., the literary forms of these languages employing a great deal of Sanskrit vocabulary.

Traditions of devotional music (sankirtana, in Sanskrit) exist in all four major southern languages. My fieldwork in South India was carried out exclusively in Karnataka state, from January 1975 to March 1976, financed by the Anthropology Committee of the United Kingdom Social Science Research Council.

(b), (1) Vachana

Two traditions of devotional music exist in Kannada language. The earliest is the vachana tradition. Most of the vachana compositions sung today were written in the 12th century, although A.K.Ramanujan ('Speaking of Siva', Harmondsworth,1973,P.91) dates the earliest vachanas, written by the composer and ascetic Devara Dasimayya, some time in the 10th century.

As I shall illustrate in Chapter 3, the 12th century vachanas preach a religious philosophy which is the same,
in certain fundamental respects, as that of the early 12th century Brahman philosopher Ramanuja. However, whilst Ramanuja advocated devotion towards the god Visnu-Krisna, the vachanas advocate devotion towards the god Siva.

The vachana compositions and the religious philosophy which they contain spread amongst the higher Sudra castes in Karnataka and this developed into the 'Virasaiva' ('brave devotees of Siva') cult. The Virasaivas developed into what is nowadays officially referred to, for example in the Census of India, as the 'Lingayat' (wearers of the lingam - a symbol of Siva) sect. In one sense the Lingayats constitute a caste within the system of Hindu castes within the region and, in another sense, they are themselves ordered into a caste-like system parallel to yet independent of the Hindu system of castes within the region (see Louis Dumont, 'Homo Hierarchicus', London, 1972, Pp. 235-7 for a more detailed analysis of Lingayat social organisation). From the viewpoint of religious philosophy, Lingayat monasteries (matha) exist in which jangamas (priests) study a philosophy called 'Sakti Visistadvaita'; Ramanuja's philosophy is itself termed 'Visistadvaita' - literally, 'modified' or 'qualified non-dualism'. Although I have heard vachanas performed by non-Lingayat musicians for non-Lingayat audiences, vachanas are mostly performed by and for Lingayats.
(b) (2) Devaranama

The later tradition of devotional music in Kannada language is the devaranama tradition. This flourished in the late 15th/early 16th century and was revived in the late 18th/early 19th century. The most popular devaranama compositions today are those of the 15th/16th century composers. The devaranamas were the work of religious ascetics who called themselves 'Haridasas' ('servants of Hari' - i.e. Visnu-Krisna). The Haridasa movement arose as the conjunction of two previously unrelated religious movements: the worship of the god Panduranga Vitthala whose temple is situated in Pandharpur (now in southern Maharashtra state) and the 'Dvaita' (dualist) religious philosophy of the Brahman philosopher Madhva.

Pandharpur grew in importance as a place of pilgrimage throughout the 13th century as the centre of the 'Varkari' sect, which was popular amongst the Maratha statesmen and generals. The Varkaris were devotees of Visnu-Krisna. They laid great emphasis upon the repetition of the names of Visnu-Krisna and the principal form of worship of the deity at Pandharpur consisted in singing kirtanases (devotional compositions) containing these names. (From A.V. Krishna Rao, 'Purandara and the Haridasa Movement', Dharwar, 1966, Pp.9-34)

A.P.Karmarkar and N.B.Kalamdani ('Mystic Teachings of the Haridasas of Karnataka', Dharwar, 1939, P.25)
translate 'Panouranga' as 'Ranga' (Krisna) 'of the Pandavas': a reference to Krisna's appearance and role in the Hindu epic, the 'Mahabharata'. However, the images of Panduranga depict the god either holding a lingam (the emblem of Siva) or with a lingam on top of his makuta (headress) (ibid., P.xlv). According to Krishna Rao (ibid., P.32), the Varkaris fasted every ekadasi day (the 11th day of the moon), on which Visnu is worshipped, as well as every Monday, which is the day of worship of Siva. Clearly, the Varkari cult was not exclusive worship of Visnu-Krisna to the same extent as Virasaivism is exclusive worship of Siva.

Madhva was a Tulu-speaking Brahman from a village near Udipi, in western Karnataka. There are two variant computations of his dates: 1238-1317 (B.N.K. Sharma, 'Madhva's Teachings in His Own Words', Bombay, 1970, P.4) and 1197-1276 (Suzanne Siauve, 'La Voie Vers La Connaissance de Dieu selon L'Anuvyakhyana de Madhva', Pondicherry, 1967, P.iv). I discuss Madhva's religious philosophy in detail in the next chapter. He established maths (monasteries) for the study of his Dvaita philosophy in Udipi and, after his death, many Madhva maths were established throughout Karnataka.

The 16th/17th century Haridasas were acharyas (heads) of these Madhva maths, or studied in these maths, and devotees of the god Panduranga Vitthala. The earliest Haridasa composer of devotional songs
whose compositions survive today was Sripadaraja, who was a 15th century acharya of the Madhva math in Mulbagal (eastern Karnataka). He composed in Sanskrit but his disciple, Vyasaraja (1447-1539), who became acharya of the Madhva math in Hampi (northern Karnataka) composed in Kannada: (from B.N.K. Sharma, ibid., Pp.169-70). Hampi was the capital of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, which was overrun by Muslim invaders after the Battle of Talikot in 1564. The Vijayanagar emperors patronised the Haridasas, as well as other religious cults and orders. The Battle of Talikot was contemporary with the deaths of the two most famous Haridasa composers - Purandara and Kanada - and marks the end of the earlier devaramana movement. After Vyasaraja's death (1539), however, the movement had bifurcated into the 'Vyasakuta', consisting in philosophers/Sanskrit scholars living for all of their lives in the Madhva maths, who were concerned with the philosophical debate of and commenting upon Madhva's texts, and the 'Dasakuta', which consisted in mendicant composer-singers preaching the fundamental ideas of Madhva's philosophy to the non-literate, non-Brahman masses (from Karmarkar and Kalamdani, ibid., Pp.9-10).

The earliest account of the Haridasas by a foreign observer is contained in Abbé Dubois' 'Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies' (Trans. H.K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1897, Pp.112-23), an account of the French missionary's
observations in what was then Mysore State and Madras Presidency from 1792 to 1823. He describes them as:

"These religious mendicants generally pursue their begging to an accompaniment of singing and dancing. Their songs are a species of hymns in honour of their deities; and they very often sing indecent ballads." (ibid., P.114)

Dubois describes them as users of drugs and intoxicating liquors, plying their 'trade' systematically in gangs, and as the aggressors in fights and squabbles with Lingayats,

"The reason is, that this sect draws most of its members from the very dregs of society, and so takes a delight in creating troubles or disturbances. The followers of Siva, on the other hand, who belong to the upper classes of the Sudras, are much more peaceable and tolerant." (ibid., P.121)

He says that each 'sect' accepted converts from the other and that, even within the same family, husband and wife were sometimes found to be members of different 'sects'.

Dubois description of the Haridasas reminds the reader of the Bauls of Bengal. The Haridasas movement died out during the 19th century, so that we have no more accurate information about these mendicant singers. (In considering the reasons why the movement died out, if Dubois' attitude towards them reflects that of the British colonial administration then this would constitute a prime factor in their disappearance). What is clear from his description is that the exclusive worship of Visnu-Krisna was found in the very lowest
and highest castes. Brahman sects are distinguished on the basis of the system of philosophy adhered to and this sect affiliation is transmitted patrilineally. The predominant Brahman sects in Karnataka are Madhva and Smartha, although Srivaisnavas constitute a significant minority group. Of these three sects, two (Madhva and Srivaisnava) involve exclusive worship of Visnu-Krisna, following, respectively, the systems of Madhva and Ramanuja. The other (Smartha) follows the 'Advaita' (non-dualist) system of the 9th century philosopher Sankara and does not advocate exclusive worship of a deity.

Although Lingayats are classified by the Census of India as 'Hindu', since they worship a deity of the Hindu pantheon, they regard themselves and are often regarded by non-Lingayats as 'non-Hindu'. This distinction is most clearly expressed as one of 'orthodox'/ 'non-orthodox' (Hindu). Thus, in Karnataka the 'orthodox' spans the extremes of the caste system (comprising very high and very low castes) whilst the 'non-orthodox' is located in the middle ranges of the caste system and is, in a sense, outside of the regional system of castes.

The devaramana performers and audiences also span these 'orthodox' extremes of the caste system. This type of devotional composition is popular amongst Brahmans (of all sects). It is performed in daily
puja (worship) at Brahman temples and, especially by Brahman women, in their daily puja at home. In Mysore, where most of my fieldwork was carried out, a number of professional Brahman devaranama performers make a living by giving concerts of devaranamas and by performing at bha.iana (communal worship) meetings in private houses. Low caste, mendicant devaranama performers are rare today in Karnataka but there are many semi-professional devaranama performers of the lower castes who perform regularly in the low-caste temples and bha.iana meetings, particularly during festivals and ekadasi day, and combine this with everyday economic pursuits.

(b),(3) Sangita

In all four southern states, apart from the regional traditions of devotional music in the regional languages, we find the sangita tradition of devotional music. The sangita tradition derives from the late 18th/early 19th century and most of the compositions heard today are the work of three composers: Syama Sastri (1762-1827), Muthaswamy Diksitar (1776-1835) and Tyagaraja (1767-1847). Approximately 60% of the compositions heard today in sangita performances are the work of Tyagaraja. From the historical perspective, sangita developed as a fusion of the devaranama tradition with a tradition of courtly music which developed throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. This synthesis was achieved by
Tyagaraja and his compositions are today regarded as unsurpassed masterpieces which serve as models for contemporary composition and improvisation within the *sangita* tradition.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, professional musicians and dancers were employed by Hindu temples and Hindu and Muslim royal courts on a permanent basis. Both institutions ultimately depended upon royal patronage, since (Hindu) princes were the most prominent contributors to temple funds. In both institutions, the musical dance-drama was popular, usually based upon erotic episodes concerning Krisna. The most famous musicians competed for the posts of *samasthana vidyan* (*court master-musician*) at the royal courts (both Hindu and Muslim), often engaging in musical competitions to decide the issue. The court musicians were exclusively Brahmans of wealthy and prominent families whilst the temple musicians comprised members of the lowest castes with a Brahman of poor family as *nattuvanur* (dance-master or 'choreographer'). The court musicians travelled throughout South India and beyond - to Puri (in Orissa) and Benares - seeking *samasthana* posts or gifts of precious jewellery as rewards. The most prominent of these court musicians were Telugu-speaking Brahmans. Many of the princes competed with each other to secure the services of the most prominent musicians of their day. The Maharaja
of Tanjore was the most successful in this respect: by the late 18th century, Tanjore had become the musical centre of excellence within South India. (P. Sambamoorthy records that, in the late 18th/early 19th century, there were 360 samasthana vidvans employed by the Tanjore court: 'Great Composers', book 2, Madras, 1970, p. 244). By this time, Tanjore contained a large number of permanently settled Telugu-speaking Brahman families. Tyagaraja himself was a Telugu-speaking Brahman who spent all of his life in Tanjore district. Diksitar and Sastri also resided in Tanjore and performed regularly at the court of the Maharaja of Tanjore. (From P. Sambamoorthy, 'Great Composers', book 1, Madras, 1962, Pp. 36-65)

This fierce competition between court musicians and between their patrons contrasts with the system of appointment of the low-caste temple musicians: these posts were transmitted from father to son within families of the barber caste (Dubois, ibid., p. 597), a practice which survives today in the appointment of temple musicians in Mysore. Dubois (ibid., p. 593) relates that the (low-caste) temple musicians played different instruments from their courtly Brahman counterparts. This is still largely the case today: temple musicians play the nagasvaram (a type of oboe) and tavil (a drum sounded with a stick and wooden or ivory finger-rings) whilst Brahman musicians play the vina (lute), venu (flute), violin and mridangam (a drum sounded with the
bare hands). Dubois (ibid., Pp. 65-6) relates that the principal Brahman instruments of his day were the *vina* and *kinnahra*. From his descriptions, however, the *kinnahra* appears to be the ancestor of the contemporary South Indian *vina*, whilst the *vina* which he describes (a type of harp) is no longer played in South India. He relates (ibid., Pp. 64-5) that Brahmans played (steel-) stringed instruments whilst low-caste musicians played wind instruments; thus the *venu* (flute) appears to have become a Brahman instrument only recently.

Dubois describes Brahman musicians in temples during daily *puja* (worship) singing "sacred poems of their own composition" (ibid., P. 595), in rotation with dancing-girls and the *nagasvaram* ensemble. The rotation of devotional compositions, dance sequences and instrumental music is also characteristic of the South Indian musical dance-drama. According to P. Sambamoorthy ('Great Composers', Book 2, Pp. 225-6), the performances of the court musicians, immediately before Tyagaraja's time, consisted mostly of *rāga* exposition (i.e. spontaneous improvisation within a single *rāga* - a melodic framework - lasting at least an hour). The emergence of this more secular form of improvised music would appear to be consistent with its performance at the courts of Muslim as well as Hindu princes. Tyagaraja's innovation, according to T. V. Subba Rao ('Studies in Indian Music',
Bombay, 1962, P.147), consisted in incorporating the type of melodic development generated within this more secular, improvisational tradition into devotional compositions of the Haridasa devaranama type. In attempting to explain the immediate popularity of such an innovation, the defeat of the Muslim armies by the British, in the 1790's, resulting in the deposing of most Muslim princes, would appear to be an important factor. The resurgence of the Haridasa movement in the late 18th/early 19th century may also be attributable to the sudden decrease in Muslim power in South India at this time.

Sangita compositions are in Telugu or Sanskrit language. The religious philosophy which they expound tends to be syncretic, attempting to reconcile the differences between the philosophical systems. They are performed today mostly by nagasvaram and tavil ensembles and by Brahman musicians, although in recent years Muslim nagasvaram performers and Christian and Lingayat performers on Brahman instruments have succeeded in becoming full-time, professional sangita performers.

(b),(4) Comparison of the three traditions

Later in this thesis (Chapter 4, section (b),(v)) I shall discuss in detail the contexts in which sangita is performed. For the meanwhile, it is important to
note that vachanas are sometimes sung during devaranama performances, that sangita compositions (particularly those of Tyagaraja) are often sung during devaranama performances (particularly by Brahmans) and that both devaranamas and vachanas are often sung during sangita performances. Particularly between devaranama and sangita, we can not draw an absolute distinction between the genres of devotional music on the basis of performance contexts. The indigenous distinction between devaranama and vachana, on the one hand, and sangita, on the other hand, is expressed in terms of the different effects of each upon the listener. In order to understand this distinction, we therefore have to understand the indigenous classification of musical effects.

The most fundamental distinction made between the effects of devotional music upon the listener is that between bhava (which the Mysore musicians and rasikas - music lovers - translate as the 'emotional' effect) and ganam (which they translate as the 'aesthetic' effect). The term ganam refers to an effect created by musical sound and words (together or separately). In discussing the merits of a particular composition, the musicians and rasikas distinguish between the merits of the matu (words aspect) and the merits of the dinatu (purely musical aspect) of the composition. The term bhava is never used to refer to words and music together. It is always used within the composite
terms *ashitva bhava* (the 'emotional' effect upon the listener of the themes conveyed by the words) and *raga bhava* (the 'emotional' effect upon the listener of the *raga* - melodic entity - being performed). The effect of *raga bhava* is further sub-divided into *raga rasa* (literally, the 'taste' of the *raga*) and *raga varna* (literally, the 'colour' of the *raga*).

It is important to note that the terms *ashitva* and *sangita* are also used to refer to literature (*ashitva*) as an institution as opposed to music (*sangita*) as an institution. Within music as an institution (*sangita*), the words of a composition are termed the *ashitva* (whether the composition is classified as a *vachana*, *devarana* or *sangita* composition) but, in comparing the literary and musical aspects of a composition, the *matu/dhatu* terminology and not the *ashitva/sangita* terminology is employed. I tabulate these classifications below for convenience of reference.

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Vachana and devaranama performances are said to have only literary effects (i.e. sahitva bhava) upon the listener whilst sangita performances are said to have all of the above effects upon the listener. Thus, although vachanas and devaranamas are sung (i.e. as performed they consist in music as well as words) they are not regarded as having a musical (as opposed to a purely literary) effect upon the listener. The Mysore musicians and rasikas express this as: the music is simply the 'vehicle' for the words. In vachana and devaranama performances, we find melodies containing little ornamentation or improvisation whilst, in sangita, we find a great deal of melodic development, ornamentation and improvisation and complex rhythmic development and improvisation by the percussion instrumentalists. The rationale of the indigenous view therefore appears to be that the purely musical parameters must be developed to a certain degree of complexity before purely musical effects can be produced.

This distinction between vachana/devaranama and sangita on the basis of effects correlates with a distinction between the two types of devotional music
on the basis of authenticity. The words (sahitya) of the compositions of all three genres are believed, by performers and listeners, to be authentic: that is, they are believed to be precisely those sung by the original composer. Whilst there is no means by which we can test this assertion, a reasonable hypothesis would be that they are sung today as first written down although probably altered slightly between being first sung and written down. In all three genres, the songs are said to have been composed spontaneously, in a state of religious ecstasy, and transmitted aurally (within guru-disciple 'lineages') before being incorporated into written collections by disciples after the composer's death. In the case of vachanas and devaranamas, these collections were often lodged in Lingayat and Madhva maths (monasteries). In the case of sangita compositions, these collections were published, from the late 19th century onwards.

In the case of vachanas and devaranamas, the melodies to which they are sung today are not believed, by performers or audiences, to be authentic. In the case of popular compositions, slight variants of a single melody are employed by different singers in rendering the same composition. It seems likely, however, that fieldwork directed at eliciting less popular compositions would uncover a greater degree of difference between melodic variants. In discussing the question of melodic variants with devaranama performers, all of my
informants said that their version was a faithful re-
production of the version taught (aurally) to them by
their guru (teacher) but none claimed that this version
was closer to the version originally sung by the com-
poser than that of other performers.

Most sangita performers with whom I discussed this
question agreed that, considering all the melodic var-
iants of a single sangita composition, the only common
feature is the first melodic line and that this first
melodic line is precisely that sung by the composer.
In this respect, compositions and raga exposition
converge. The 'central core' of a raga exposition con-
sists in pallavi improvisation. A pallavi is a single
melodic line employed as the first line of a pallavi
improvisation and partially returned to at the end of
every spontaneously improvised part of the pallavi
improvisation. The pallavi has words and different
musicians will improvise upon the same pallavi. We may
thus describe pallavi improvisation as progressive de-
development of a single melodic line within the limits
imposed by the raga and conforming to certain general
features of compositional form.

The first section of a sangita composition is also
called the pallavi and also takes the form of progress-
ive development of the first melodic line, which is
partially returned to at the end of this and the sub-
sequent sections of the composition. Melodic variants of *sangita* compositions thus consist in different logical possibilities for the development of a common first melodic line within the limits imposed by the *raga* and conforming to certain general features of composition-al form. In this situation, we can define the 'composition' as a first melodic line in a specified *raga* (and *tala* - metrical framework) together with a poem and regard the 'composer's version' as simply, historically, the first exploration of the logical possibilities of development of this melodic line and musical accompaniment of the poem within the limits imposed by the *raga* and conforming with the specified *tala*.

Some *sangita* performers confessed that they did alter the version of a composition which they had learned from their *guru* and justified this procedure as 'improving' the version, either by 'updating' it to conform with the changing tastes of audiences or by 'updating' it to take account of the changes which occur through time to the *raga* in which the composition is composed. They warned, however, that only a *sangita vidyan* (i.e. a 'master-musician') should do this; students must absorb and reproduce the version taught by the *guru* for many years before they can hope to improve it. These considerations justify the above description of a version of a *sangita* composition as
comprising a 'composition' (i.e. first melodic line, in a specified raga and tala, together with a poem) together with a 'realisation' of this 'composition'. In such a situation, the question of the authenticity of a particular version (i.e. 'realisation') is irrelevant and only the authenticity of the 'composition' itself (i.e. first melodic line, in a specified raga and tala, together with a poem) is important - in order to ensure that the 'realisations' are all logical developments of the same 'composition'. 

On the other hand, we find musicians who are 'direct descendants' (within guru-disciple 'lineages') of the composer, particularly in the case of Tyagaraja, who claim that their version (i.e. 'realisation', in the terminology developed above) is thereby more authentic than that of musicians who are not 'direct descendants' of the composer. This argument is mostly employed to rationalise the publication of such versions. Audiences do not express preferences for particular musicians on the basis of the authenticity of the versions of compositions which they play; rather they emphasise the 'style' of a particular musician in rationalising their choices. Musicians and audiences conceive of 'style' as being 'inherited' within guru-disciple 'lineages'. The best definition of 'style' which I could obtain from informants was: when two musicians play the same notes (svaras), 'style' is what
distinguishes their performances from each other. 'Style' is therefore not co-terminous with 'version': in the indigenous conception, 'version' refers to 'what is played' whilst 'style' refers to 'how it is played'.

Authenticity of style is important when a famous musician dies. His pupils and pupils' pupils possess styles which are closer to that of the deceased musician than those possessed by other musicians. Listeners who were 'supporters' of the deceased musician will therefore prefer to listen to the direct 'musico-lineal' descendants of the deceased 'master'. Many of my rasika (music-lover, literally, 'person of taste') informants made this point when explaining why they listened to particular musicians rather than others. All of my informants who were popular performers (i.e. on the basis of their 'style') emphasised that they taught disciples, often free of charge if they came from a poor family, in order that their style would endure after their deaths. However, all of my informants admitted that, after the 'master's' death, when his pupils can no longer hear him in order to copy his style, they develop their individual styles, which progressively diverge from that of the master so that, beyond the master's pupils' pupils, the master's style is lost.

I have heard musicians who are direct 'musico-lineal' descendants of Tyagaraja and Diksitar and,
particularly, their 'supporters' claim that, by virtue of their direct 'descent', they possess the authentic styles of these great musicians. Such claims to authenticity of style are even less plausible than claims to authenticity of version (i.e. 'realisation') of a composition made on this basis. Versions of Tyagaraja, Sastri and Diksitar compositions were written down by their immediate pupils and these obviously have some claim to authenticity. However, several of my musician informants made the point that, as the composition is passed down the guru-disciple 'lineage', it is transmitted aurally and therefore begins to diverge significantly from the written version, which is very rarely consulted by subsequent pupils. Style is never written down, so that claims to authenticity of style spanning 130 or 140 years can have little basis in fact.

From this detailed description of the situation, it is clear that, considering the purely musical aspect of sangita compositions, it is only the first melodic line of any version, or 'realisation', which is authentic. This contrasts with vachana and devaranama compositions, in which none of the purely musical aspect is regarded as authentic. To summarise this discussion of the differences between vachana/devaranama and sangita:

The two types of devotional music are distinguished on the basis of their different effects upon the
listener: vachana and devaranama are said to have literary effects only whilst sargita is said to have both literary and musical effects. We have found that this corresponds with a distinction between the two types in terms of complexity and authenticity of the purely musical aspect.

Whilst some consideration of vachana and devaranama is necessary in this study, clearly, in that sargita produces the effects attributed to vachana and devaranama (i.e. literary effects) and also produces effects peculiar to itself, we ought to concentrate upon sargita. If we were to concentrate upon vachana and devaranama then, since the purely musical aspect, in these traditions, is regarded as simply a 'vehicle' for the sahitya (words), we should end up examining devotional poetry and not devotional music if we adhered to the method proposed in section (a) of this chapter.

Another justification for concentrating upon sargita consists in the explanations which informants give of the bhave/sanam distinction. The different brahmanical systems of philosophy (darsanas) rationalise sadhana and each advocates a particular yoga (i.e. form of sadhana) as the only means of achieving the desired result of sadhana. I shall discuss these philosophies in detail in the next chapter but, for the meanwhile, it is important to note that Sankara's philosophy (Advaita)
adhered to by Smartha Brahmins, advocates *jnana yoga* whilst the philosophies of Madhva and Ramanuja (Dvaita and Visistadvaita, respectively), adhered to by, respectively, Madhva and Srivaisnava Brahmins, advocate *bhakti yoga*. *Jnana yoga* consists in philosophical discrimination and meditation whilst *bhakti yoga* consists in the cultivation of a particular emotional state called *bhakti* (devotion towards a god).

In music, the *bhava* effects are said to produce the same state in the listener as *bhakti yoga* and the *ganam* effect is said to produce the same state in the listener as *jnana yoga*. In that *vachana* and *devaranama* produce only a *bhava* effect, they therefore constitute only one form of *sadhana*; in that *sangita* produces both *bhava* and *ganam* effects, it constitutes both forms of *sadhana* simultaneously. Whilst a study of *vachana* and *devaranama* would therefore elucidate only the *bhakti* form of *sadhana*, a study of *sangita* elucidates both the *bhakti* and *jnana* forms and their interrelations.

Whilst listeners in all three traditions of devotional music explain their preferences for particular performers in terms of 'style', they explain their attendances at performances of devotional music, whoever is the performer, in terms of their desire to experience these effects of 'music as *sadhana*'. For *vachana* and *devaranama* performances, they expressed this as the
desire to experience the emotion of bhakti and, for saucita performances, they expressed this as both the desire to experience the bhakti emotion and the desire for 'purification and elevation of the mind' (which is, as we shall discover in the next chapter, a precise description of the indigenous conception of the effect of the practice of jnana yoga) or, alternatively, the desire to experience the gana effect of the music. Only very rarely did an informant express his/her motivation for attending a performance of devotional music as 'to be seen' or 'to meet friends' and, even then, these were given as secondary reasons for attending, the primary reason being to experience the effect of music as sadhana.

(c) The Functions of Devotional Music

Following the method explained in section (a) of this chapter, I shall distinguish between two sets of functions of South Indian devotional music: functions in respect of individuals and functions in respect of society.

(c)(1) In respect of Individuals

The most important function of the music in respect of individuals is, in terms of the above discussion, the effect of the music as sadhana. The ultimate goal of sadhana is 'release' (moksa or makti), on death, from samsara ('bondage; in the cycle of re-births). In the indigenous view, the individual will automatically be re-incarnated unless
he has attained the goal of 'release' through the practice of sadhana. In the indigenous view, the performer is able to achieve the goal of 'release' without having to practice any other form of sadhana whilst the non-performer is not, although attendance at concerts is said to assist the latter towards 'release' achieved through other (i.e. non-musical) means.

Very few members of the audience, however, actually practice these non-musical forms of sadhana with the objective of attaining 'release' at the end of their present lives. Some listeners believed that attending performances of devotional music increased their chances of achieving the goal of 'release' in a subsequent life. Others, however, said that the goal of 'release' was not important to them and/or unattainable by them and that they sought the rewards of sadhana which can be enjoyed in this life.

The very small minority of the audience who seek the goal of 'release' within their present lives are sanyasins: that is, they have undergone a ceremony which consists in abandoning the 'sacred thread' or 'triple cord' worn by members of the higher castes and have thereby formally renounced all rights and obligations in respect of their family, caste and society. They are distinguishable by their saffron-coloured robes, wooden sandals and (usually) a saffron-coloured bag containing
a string of japa beads which are employed in meditation. Louis Dumont ('World Renunciation in Indian Religions', in 'Religion/Politics and History in India, chapter 3, The Hague, 1970) translates sanyasin as 'world-renouncer'. The vast majority of the audience, at performances of devotional music, are not 'world-renouncers'. Dumont (ibid.) calls them 'men-in-the-world'. In South India, they are usually designated, in opposition to sanyasins, by terms referring to their position as a householder or head of a family; the indigenous terminology emphasises their involvement in the organisation of everyday economic pursuits.

Dumont characterises the renouncer as pursuing the goal of moksa (release) and the man-in-the-world as pursuing the goal of dharma. The word dharma has many meanings in Sanskrit and the four regional languages of the South. The most common meaning is 'duty' or 'correct conduct' and I have often heard the term used in a sense which encompasses the goal of moksa and the pursuit of sadhana. Dumont (ibid., P.40) translates dharma as "conformity to the world order".

Clearly, the distinction between the renouncer and the man-in-the-world is not that the former pursues sadhana whilst the latter does not. Rather the distinction is that the renouncer pursues the rewards of sadhana attainable after his death (i.e. 'release') whilst the man-in-the-world pursues the rewards of sadhana attainable
in this life. The distinction is therefore quantitative rather than qualitative: in order to achieve 'release', the renouncer must practice **sadhana** full-time whilst the amount of practice of **sadhana** carried out by the man-in-the-world is commensurate with the extent of the rewards which he desires.

Amongst those practicing **sadhana** full-time, a qualitative distinction is recognised between the goal of 'release' and the goal of **siddhis**. **Siddhis** are powers, over nature and, particularly, over the minds of other men. **Siddhi yogins** (i.e. practitioners of **siddhi** yoga) are greatly feared in South India, since they are said to employ these powers for their worldly ends, although it is always a hotly debated question of who is and who is not a **siddhi yogin**. The renouncer who pursues the goal of 'release' is believed to acquire **siddhis** as a 'by-product' of his **sadhana** but is said to have no interest in employing them to further his worldly ends. Cultivation of **siddhis** for worldly ends, however, ultimately involves the **yoga** practitioner in procedures different from those employed in attaining 'release', so that **siddhi yoga** is ultimately qualitatively different from the **yogas** involved in the pursuit of 'release'. I mention **siddhi yoga** at this point in order sharply to distinguish this worldly reward from those sought by the part-time, man-in-the-world practitioner of **sadhana**. The acquisition of **siddhis** is said to
require many years of full-time practice and is, for the most part, beyond the reach of the man-in-the-world practitioner of sadhana.

In order to understand what the man-in-the-world obtains from the practice of sadhana, hence from music as sadhana, we have to recognise that the 'release'/ 'bondage' distinction is not simply a classification of the fates of the individual after death. The ancient Samkhya-Yoga philosophy (see chapter 2, section (b),(iii)) asserted that:

"...states of mind(vrtti) comprise our inner experience. When they lead us towards saamsaara ('bondage') into the course of passions and their satisfactions, they are said to be klista (afflicted or leading to affliction); when they lead us towards liberation ('release') they are called aklista (unafflicted)." (S.Dasgupta, 'A History of Indian Philosophy', Vol.1, Cambridge, 1932, P.269)

This view of man is fundamental to the contemporary brahmanical systems of philosophy and their rationalisations of sadhana. Whether the yoga advocated is bhakti or jnana, the idea underlying the practice of the yoga is the suppression of the klista vrtti (afflicted states of mind) which has the result of concentration upon the aklista vrtti (unafflicted states of mind). Everyday life 'in the world' is conceived, within all of the contemporary brahmanical systems, as inducing suppression of the unafflicted states and concentration upon the afflicted states whilst sadhana is conceived as inducing the reverse situation.
The indigenous rationalisation of the effect of *sadhana* upon the practitioner therefore amounts to what Kluckhohn terms "the maintenance of their equilibrium on the part of individuals". Life in society propels the individual towards a state of disequilibrium (concentration upon the afflicted states of mind) and motivates the individual to restore his equilibrium by means of the practice of *sadhana*, through which he attains some measure of success in suppressing these afflicted states and concentrating upon the unafflicted states. In that the reward of participating in performances of devotional music is indigenously conceived as identical to the reward of practising *sadhana*, we can explain devotional music as a cultural mechanism supplying a 'counterweight' to the undesired effects of life in society upon the individual member of that society.

In Kannada language, these 'undesired effects' of life in society are termed *duhkha* ('misery' or 'suffering'). Kannada speakers very often described the effect of devotional music upon them as *sukha-duhkha* ('sweet misery') an expression which we might best translate as 'sweetening the misery' or 'alleviation of suffering'. In employing this expression, they did not apply it specifically to the *bhava* or *gana* effects of the music and applied it to all three genres of devotional music. This expression therefore represents the most
generalised statement which I obtained from informants of the effect of devotional music in general upon them.

The concept of *duhkha* is best explained by a native speaker of Kannada language:

"Out of this awareness of the transitoriness, inner 'vacuity' and ultimate worthlessness of all worldly possessions and pleasures, the individual develops a sense of surrounding misery about the whole life. Misery or *duhkha* does not arise out of this or that object in the external world, but is a basic feeling which expresses the individual's reactions to life as a whole. It is not a fleeting feeling of the individual, but an abiding one; but he often seeks to escape from it by involving himself in sensuous activities... However, *duhkha* announces itself as that from which he is trying to escape and thus reminds him of itself throughout his worldly life." (G.Srinivasan, 'The Haridasas of Karnataka', Belgaum,1972,P.42-3)

Precisely how *sadhana* and devotional music 'sweeten' this 'misery' will be investigated in detail in the body of this thesis. For the meanwhile, it is sufficient to note that the function of devotional music in respect of individuals is expressed in these terms and consists in a contribution towards the maintenance of the equilibrium of the individual which is continuously being upset by life in society.

(c) (2) In Respect of Society

Considering the functions of South Indian devotional music in respect of society, this has to be understood in terms of the mediating role occupied by performers of devotional music between renouncers, on the one hand, and men-in-the-world, on the other hand. Renouncers
do not engage in everyday economic pursuits. They exist by begging or, more commonly, by living in *ashrams* or *maths*. *Ashrams* are 'retreats' for the pursuit of full-time *sadhana* which grow up around famous renouncers called *swamijis* (literally, 'most revered men'); *maths* are monasteries for the pursuit of *sadhana* which are attached to temples. Both *ashrams* and *maths* owe their origin and continuing existence to the wealth - in the form of land-grants, goods, services and money - endowed upon them by men-in-the-world. This raises the question of why men-in-the-world support such institutionalised renunciation. Abbé Dubois' answer - in terms of fear, ignorance and intimidation - is obviously coloured by his role as a Christian missionary and does not 'fit the facts' as observed today by an anthropological investigator.

The flow of wealth from men-in-the-world towards renouncers is reciprocated by a flow of benefits from renouncers towards men-in-the-world. The role of devotional music as a channel for the latter flow of benefits is its most important function in respect of South Indian society.

Considering the nature of these benefits, Dumont ('World Renunciation', *op.cit.*, P.46) says:

"Is it really too adventurous to say that the agent of development in Indian religion and speculation, the 'creator of values', has been the renouncer?... Not only the founding of sects and their maintenance, but the major ideas, the 'inventions', are
due to the renouncer whose unique position gave him a sort of monopoly for putting everything in question". In south India, the brahmanical systems of philosophy and the forms of sadhana which they advocate and explain are the work of renouncers. However, these philosophies are written in Sanskrit language, hence comprehensible only to the educated members of the Brahman caste. Furthermore, the philosophies take the form of translations of and commentaries upon older texts - Rg Veda, main Upanisads, Bhagavata Purana etc. and contain a great deal of epistemological argument. Apart from the problem of language, the non-scholar is faced with the problem of extracting the fundamental ideas which are of use to him in pursuing his own sadhana from this dense accumulation of commentaries upon ancient texts and complex sets of cross-references.

The Brahman scholar is able to understand these philosophical texts because he has an encyclopaedic knowledge of the literature, but he does not simplify them and extract the fundamental ideas which are of use to the layman. Rather his role consists in teaching students (i.e. the next generation of Brahman scholars) and adding his own commentaries upon commentaries. In this situation, virtually the only access which the layman has to the fundamental ideas of the systems of philosophy is through devotional song texts.
However, devotional music does not simply inform the layman; it also permits his participation in sahāna, of the bhakti form (in vachana and devāranama) or of the bhakti and inana forms (in sangita). The musician represents the renouncer to the listener because his (the musician's) musical sahāna, performed in full public 'view' (or, more precisely, 'hearing'), is the only form of sahāna in which the layman, particularly the non-Brahman, listener can participate. In that he represents the renouncer to the listener, he is invested by the listener with the attributes of the renouncer.

Very few contemporary performers of devotional music are renouncers. Most are married householders who perform, teach or do other work (in the case of vachana and devāranama performers) for financial reward. Yet these performers regard their music as conferring the rewards of sahāna upon both themselves and their audiences and the members of their audiences agree with this and regard the musicians as 'advanced sadhakas' (i.e. men who are very advanced in their sahāna).

In the legends concerning the musician-composers of the past, this characteristic of sharing the attributes of renouncers and men-in-the-world is also apparent and is most apparent in the case of those composers - Basava, Purandara and Tyagaraja - whose compositions are the most popular today within their respective traditions of
devotional music. Basava was a Brahman who formally became a renouncer (i.e. discarded the 'sacred thread') early in life but was directed by Siva to go to the court of King Bijjala in Kalyana, where his uncle Bala-deva was the king's minister. He married his uncle's daughter, succeeded his uncle, became the king's chief minister, and through his influence at court, was able to establish a community of devotees of Siva in the city (from Ramanujan, op.cit.Pp.61-3). Purandera was a Brahman who married, inherited his father's business in precious stones but had a conversion experience and formally became a sanyasin, at the age of 40, yet continued to live with his wife, who also became a sanyasin, after this time (from Sambamoorthy, 'Great Composers', Book 1, op.cit., Pp.28-32). Tyagaraja was a married Brahman who became a sanyasin only a few days before his death, at the age of 80. He lived with and provided for his family all his life before becoming a sanyasin - by begging and, later, by gifts from pupils and patrons. Yet he performed sadhana throughout his life and the legends recount that he experienced the rewards of sadhana: both the 'proximate' rewards of sidhis and the 'ultimate' rewards of the god Rama revealing himself Himself to him and thereby guaranteeing his attainment of 'release' after death (from Sambamoorthy, 'Great Composers', Book 2, op.cit.).

Whether these legends are historically accurate or
not is irrelevant in the present context. They express, and thereby reinforce by providing a 'pseudo-historical' justification for, the contemporary view of the musician as a mediator between renouncers and men-in-the-world. The institution of devotional music thus mediates between the institution of renunciation and that of the caste-based social system. In the absence of the institution of devotional music, the flow of benefits from renouncers to men-in-the-world could not take place, therefore, we can argue, the reciprocating flow of wealth from men-in-the-world towards renouncers would be curtailed so that the institution of renunciation in its present form (viz. ashrams and maths) could not exist. The function of South Indian devotional music in respect of society therefore consists in its contribution towards the maintenance of the institution of renunciation within South Indian society.

Considering the two interrelated functions of South Indian devotional music - in respect of individuals and in respect of society - it is the former which is problematic. The function in respect of society is derivative of the function in respect of individuals and the above statement of this function in respect of society constitutes a hypothesis which can be tested. For example, in a historical study of Karnataka, if other factors remain constant then increases in attendance at performances of devotional music at specific
periods in history should correlate with increases in the flow of wealth towards *maths* and *ashrams*. A comparative study of geographical areas in the present day would also provide a means of testing this hypothesis: areas relatively lacking in performances of devotional music should supply relatively less wealth to renouncers' institutions.

For the function in respect of individuals, however, we do not, at this stage, even have a hypothesis. In the explanation of any social institution, since the functions - in respect of individuals and in respect of society - to which the investigator addresses himself are interrelated, it is necessary to develop the explanations of each function to the same degree of completion. In the present case, this involves generating a hypothesis of the function of the music in respect of individuals.

In the present chapter, I have merely described a set of 'equations' which indigenous actors articulate: viz. that the effect of *sadhana* is identical to that of devotional music; that the *bhava* effects of devotional music are identical to that of the *bhakti* form of *sadhana*; and that the *ganam* effect of the music is identical to that of the *jnana* form of *sadhana*. In the remainder of this thesis, I examine the rationale of these 'equations': In the next chapter, I examine the rationale of *sadhana*. In chapters 3 to 5, I examine the rationale of music as *sadhana*: chapter 3 is concerned with *sahitva bhava*; chapter 4 is concerned with *raga bhava*; and chapter 5
is concerned with snow.
CHAPTER 2: SADHANA

(a) Introduction

The yogas (forms of sadhana) are rationalised by the darsanas (systems of philosophy). The darsanas supply cosmologies, or 'views of the universe', in terms of which sadhana is the only logical way of life and each darsana advocates its own particular form of sadhana which is consistent with the particular cosmology which it expounds. Before proceeding to a detailed discussion of the darsanas, in the present section I examine what an Indian cosmology consists in and how present-day practitioners of sadhana view the relationship between the written cosmologies contained in the darsanas and their own practice of sadhana.

A cosmology is a 'view of the universe': it is a set of assertions about the nature of the universe of observable and experiencable phenomena. I use the terms 'observable' and experiencable' because a cosmology makes assertions about the 'internal' experience of the self (in physical, emotional and mental terms) as well as the 'external' universe (that which exists outside of and independently of the self) and it integrates (internal) self-experience into the wider system of the 'external' universe.

In attempting to understand the subject-matter and social role of Indian cosmologies, it is helpful to com-
pare them with Western scientific thought. Western science attempts to understand the universe in terms of empirically testable hypotheses. Internal self-experience is not empirically testable therefore it can not be included in the subject-matter of Western science. The criterion of empirical testability also excludes human observations of external phenomena from the subject-matter of Western science: what we may, in 'common sense' discourse, describe as our most 'objective observations' are themselves subject to the vagaries of different observers. Scientific method aims to eliminate such errors involved in human observation by means of the machine-observed experiment.

These differences in subject-matter between the Indian cosmology and Western science correspond with different social roles assigned to each. The role which we assign to Western science is that of building up a body of information about types of matter or event and their interrelations. An Indian cosmology, on the other hand, consists in assertions about the ultimate nature of the self and the universe in terms of which mukti or moksa (the release of the individual from the cycle of re-births) is possible. All of the contemporary South Indian darsanās contain cosmologies in terms of which mukti can be attained only by means of the manipulation of the individual's notion of self, although certain non-contemporary darsanās (principally Mimamsa -
see section (b), (ii) of this chapter) contained cosmologies in terms of which _mukti_ could be attained by other means (in the case of Mimamsa, by means of the performance of Vedic rites). The contemporary cosmologies assert that the individual's everyday notion of self is erroneous and that ignorance of the correct notion of self and its relation to the universe prevents the individual from attaining the goal of _mukti_. They also assert that it is not sufficient for the individual to grasp intellectually the correct notion of self; in order to attain the goal of _mukti_ he must experience the 'real' self and its relationship to the universe and be as convinced of the reality of this correct experience of self as he was of his previous, erroneous notion of self.

Thus the social role of Western science is, in a sense, 'external' to the individual in that it seeks to understand the nature of external phenomena on the basis of which technology can manipulate these external phenomena. The social role of the Indian cosmology is, in the same sense, 'internal' to the individual in that it exists in order to inform the individual of the correct nature of the self and its relationship to the universe.

Because of the peculiar social role of the Indian cosmology, several cosmologies are necessary within Indian society. My informants said that there are divergences, within any society, between individuals
in terms of the way in which they experience the self. In South Indian thought, the most basic classification of 'self-experience types' is threefold and distinguishes between those whose experience of the self is predominantly physical (more precisely, 'psycho-physiological'), emotional or mental. Several of my informants said that a minimum of two cosmologies is necessary because a cosmology suitable for those whose experience of the self is predominantly emotional is not satisfactory for those whose experience of the self is predominantly psycho-physiological or mental. Thus whilst, in Western science, there can be only one ('external') reality, the social role of the Indian cosmology requires that there be a choice of cosmologies because of the variation in 'internal' realities between individuals.

Indian cosmologies are contained in darsanas (literally: 'seeing', 'looking at', 'philosophical system' - A.A. Macdonell, 'A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary', Oxford, 1976, P.117). These darsanas find expression in written texts in Sanskrit language. Darsanas contain more than cosmologies. Apart from epistemological arguments, often of great complexity, they also contain sets of instructions on how to apply the cosmology to the experience of self in order to achieve the desired effect, detailed refutations of rival darsanas and, in the case of the darsanas considered in this thesis, highly detailed
exegeses of the main Upanisads aimed at demonstrating that their system is the system expounded in the Upanisads. The earliest Upanisads were probably written between 700 and 600 B.C. Although Upanisads continued to be written up to Mohammedan times, the main Upanisads were written before approximately 300 A.D.

The cosmologies encountered in the Upanisads are incomplete, logically inconsistent or both:

"... germs of diverse kinds of thought are found scattered over the Upanisads which are not worked out in a systematic manner... (they are) a repository of diverse currents of thought - the melting pot in which all later philosophic ideas were still in a state of fusion." (Dasgupta, op.cit. Vol. I., Pp. 41-2).

The darsanas current in present-day South India were written between the 9th and the 14th centuries A.D. In this period and in the present day the Upanisads are not usually considered as a 'melting pot'.

In regarding them as such, Dasgupta is adopting the perspective of the Western historian of ideas, which differs from that of the indigenous actor. By the latter, the writers of the Upanisads are regarded as having possessed an intuitive grasp of the ultimate nature of the self and the universe which is largely denied to men in the present age - all of my informants agreed upon this. The Upanisads are regarded as contemporary man's only link with this age of intuitive awareness. Whilst, on the face of it, the Upanisads may appear to consist in fragmented and diverse cosmologies, it is believed by
South Indians that it is only the documentation which is fragmented and the modern reader who is unable to perceive the connectedness between the various currents of thought. In the 9th to the 14th centuries and today we find the widespread view that cosmology in the age of the Upanisad writers was both complete and unitary: i.e. that a single cosmology existed within which were reconciled all the diverse currents of thought encountered in the Upanisads.

This is why the writers of the darsanas went to such lengths to demonstrate that their respective systems are justified by the main Upanisads. For example, Sankara - the 8th/9th century A.D. founder of the Advaita darsana and Madhva - the 12th/13th or 13th/14th century A.D. founder of the Dvaita darsana - each wrote commentaries upon 10 Upanisads. Sankara's version, with commentary, of one of these ('The Brhadaranyaka Upanisad', Almora, 1934) runs to 952 pages. This is a typical length and thus gives some indication of the amount of literature contained within a darsana.

Compared with this formidable amount of literature, the fundamental ideas contained in the darsana which are of use to the individual in altering his experience of self can be expressed in a few paragraphs or Sanskrit verses. My informants in Mysore, Sringeri and Udipi made a fundamental distinction between the Sanskrit scholar, who has an encyclopaedic knowledge of the literature of
the darsanas and writes commentaries upon and debates the details of this literature and the sadhaka ('one who accomplishes or brings about' or 'worshipper': Macdonell, ibid., P.346) who seeks to alter his experience of self by the employment of the fundamental ideas of the darsana. To the sadhaka, the most important darsana texts are those which express the fundamental ideas in the most concise and condensed form. These short texts are therefore the most popular and easily available of the works of the darsana writers.

In order that the cosmology may play its desired role of altering the sadhaka's experience of self, the sadhaka must consciously (at least in the beginning) apply the set of cosmological assertions to his observations and experiences of the self and the universe. Darsanas therefore contain sets of instructions for the application of the cosmology to personal observation and experience. Obviously only the more general instructions can exist in a written form. The more detailed instructions required for the application of the cosmology by different types of individual with different life-histories at different stages in the process can not. The art of the guru (preceptor) is to recognise such differences amongst his disciples and his role consists in recommending to each disciple the best means of applying the cosmology in order to obtain the desired effect.
Such self-disciplines which consist in the systematic merging of personal observation and experience with the cosmology are termed yogas. The most frequent translation of yoga employed by my informants was 'spiritual discipline' but the term 'spiritual' is likely to be misleading if we interpret it in our Western, theist sense. The word yoga means 'yoking' (of horses, buffaloes etc.), 'application', 'means', 'device', 'understanding', 'union', 'mixture' etc. (Macdonell, ibid., P.247); and the undertaking of such disciplines is called sadhana (from the same word root as sadhaka). Yogas are thus intimately connected with their respective cosmologies and each darsana advocates a particular yoga, or series of yogas, as sadhana. The cosmology explains the correct experience of self to be sought by the sadhaka and the yoga consists in the discipline by means of which he can arrive at this correct experience of self. In order to achieve this goal, the assistance of a guru may or may not, at some point in the sadhana, be necessary.

The goal of mukti is attained on the sadhaka's death whereas the correct experience of the self and its relationship to the universe is attained during the sadhaka's lifetime. The correct experience thus guarantees to the sadhaka that he will attain mukti at death so that the remainder of his life is lived in a state of 'guaranteed mukti'. Two terms exist in Sanskrit to refer to this state: the aparoksa state and the jivanmukti state.
The former is the term employed in the Dvaita darsana and the latter is the term employed in the Advaita darsana; whilst sadhakas say that both terms mean the same thing, Sanskrit scholars stress the singular meaning of each term within its respective darsana. Of the two terms, jivanmukti is the more widespread and general, meaning 'liberated in life'. In English, South Indians use the expression 'realised state' to refer to both jivanmukti and aparoksa. By 'realised state' they mean that, in this state, the sadhaka realises, or experiences, the real self and its relationship to the universe within which it is located.

The different darsanas give different 'models for and of' the transition between the sadhaka state and the 'realised' state. In that there is a threefold classification of 'self-experience types', so there is a basically threefold classification of yogas: lava yoga (psycho-physiological), bhakti yoga (emotional) and jnana yoga (mental). Correspondingly there are three separate models for and of the transition between the sadhaka state and the 'realised state'. Each darsana has its distinctive experiential focus: it defines correct self-experience in either psycho-physiological, emotional or mental terms and describes the transition between the sadhaka state and the realised state exclusively in these terms.

In that these different models for and of the transition to the 'realised' state refer to different types of
experience, they therefore do not contradict each other.

Whilst the different cosmologies contained in the different darsanas are difficult to reconcile with each other - for example, Dvaita cosmology asserts that there is a Supreme God who controls the universe whilst Advaita cosmology asserts that there is not - the different models which each darsana gives for and of the transition to the realised state are easy to reconcile since they each refer to a different field of self-experience.

I did not meet one sadhaka who had practised only one yoga for all of his life. Most had practised all three types and claimed that the way in which one experiences the self alters with age and the practice of sadhana and that few individuals experience the self in exclusively psycho-physiological, emotional or mental terms. They stressed that the realised state consists in a state of correct self-experience in all three areas of experience. Thus they said that, in the realised state, the mutual contradictions between cosmologies are realised to be illusory - to be merely the result of the inadequacy of language and thought to express the ultimate nature of the self and its relationship to the universe. Cosmologies, they stressed, consist in words and concepts whilst the experience of the realised state is 'beyond' words and concepts.

"Where all speech and thought cease and the truth of the Self shines in its own majesty" (Swami Shraddhananda,'introduction', P.(v) to "Laghu-vakya-vvrti" of Sri Sankarscharya", Almora, 1963).
Thus what may appear, in words, as a paradox is realised in self-experience, as a non-contradictory statement. The *sadhaka* strives to attain the Upanisadic ideal of what we might call a 'macro-cosmology', since it encompasses and reconciles with each other the contemporary written cosmologies, which is beyond word and concept and which can therefore only be experienced and not described in words, whilst the Sanskrit scholar strives to express this experience in words.

These efforts by Sanskrit scholars and, indeed, by the *darsana* writers are not merely intellectual exercises. Written cosmologies, the inadequate attempts to convey in words the experience of the 'macro-cosmology' believed to have been intuited by the writers of the Upanisads, are the only clues which the *sadhaka* has access to, in the early stages of his *sadhana*, about the nature of this 'macro-cosmology'.

(b) Influential Non-Contemporary Darsanas

(i) Introduction

I define a 'contemporary' *darsana* as one to the exclusive study of which present-day *maths* (monasteries) are devoted. Indian *darsanas* are indigenously classified as six *astika* ('believing') systems (i.e. they accept the authority of the Vedas) and three *nastika* systems which do not accept the authority of the Vedas. The *astika* systems are the product of Brahmins therefore I have called them the 'brahmanical' systems in
chapter 1 of this thesis. They are also called the saddarsana (literally, 'six darsanas') and together comprise 'Hindu' philosophy. They are: Mimamsa, Samkhya, Yoga, Nyaya, Vaisesika and Vedanta. The nastika systems are the product of non-Brahmans. They are: Carvaka, Buddhism and Jainism. Of these nine darsanas, only three can be classified as 'contemporary'. These are: Vedanta, Buddhism and Jainism.

Vedanta by no means comprises a single system of philosophy. What the several systems termed 'Vedanta' have in common is that they seek to expound the true meaning of the 'Vedanta-sutras', also called the 'Brahma-sutras', of Badarayana, written some time between the second century B.C. and the first century A.D. According to Dasgupta (op. cit., P. 70):

"The word Vedanta means 'end of the Veda', i.e. the Upanisads, and the 'Vedanta sutras' are so called as they are but a summarised statement of the general views of the Upanisads."

The Upanisads concern themselves with the nature of an entity called the Brahman. In Karnataka, four separate systems of philosophy termed 'Vedanta' are exclusively studied in maths. They are distinguished by terms which summarise their assertions about the nature of the Brahman and its relationship to the self. Madhva's system is called 'Dvaita' ('dual') Vedanta since it asserts that the self and the Brahman are eternally separate. Sankara's system is called 'Advaita' ('nondual') Vedanta since it asserts that the self and the Brahman are eternally one and the same. Ramanuja's
system is called 'Visistadvaita' ('qualified non-dual') Vedanta since it asserts that, in the state of dissolution (pralaya) of the universe, the self and the Brahman are the same but that, during the active states of the universe, termed samarati, the self and the Brahman are separate. The Lingayat system is called 'Sakti Visistadvaita' ('consort of Siva, qualified non-dual') Vedanta since it asserts the identity of the Brahman as Siva whilst Ramanuja's (and Madhva's) system asserts the identity of the Brahman as Visnu-Krisna.

The Vedanta systems incorporated the fundamental assertions of the most influential systems which preceded them. All accept certain fundamental assertions of the Mimamsa system concerning the 'law of karma'. Dasgupta (op. cit., Vol. I, P. 68) considers that Samkhya and Yoga should together be considered as a single darsana. According to Dasgupta, all of the Vedanta systems accept the fundamental assertions of Samkhya-Yoga physics (ibid. P. 403); Dvaita and Visistadvaita cosmology are fundamentally the same as Samkhya-Yoga cosmology (ibid. P. 221); and Advaits incorporates many of the cosmological ideas of the Vijnanavada and Sunyavada schools of Buddhism (ibid., Pp. 493-4).

A knowledge of Buddhism is not essential for an understanding of Advaita because neither Sankara nor any of his followers ever attempted to reconcile Advaita with Buddhism; indeed Smartha Brahmanas have always been unwilling to admit the origins of Sankara's system within
Buddhism. A brief summary of the fundamental ideas of Mimamsa and Samkhya-Yoga is, however, essential in order to understand the Vedanta systems because the Vedanta systems only succeeded in supplanting Mimamsa and Samkhya-Yoga by reconciling their assertions with those of the latter systems. Thus, for example, the 'law of karma' is not logically related to any of the Vedanta cosmologies yet all of the Vedanta systems discuss the law of karma and assign it a role in determining the fate of the individual (in terms of 'bondage' or 'release').

(b). (ii) Mimamsa

Dasgupta describes Mimamsa as:

"a systematised code of principles in accordance with which the Vedic texts are to be interpreted for purposes of sacrifices." (op. cit., Vol. I, P. 68), therefore "it cannot properly be spoken of as a system of philosophy (ibid.). The 'Vedic texts' referred to are the 'Samhitas' and 'Brahmanas'. The Samhitas are the collections of Vedic verses usually referred to as the 'four Vedas': viz. Rg Veda, Sama-Veda, Yajur-Veda, and Atharva-Veda. The writing of these Vedic verses is variously dated between 1200 B.C. and 4000 B.C. They were aurally transmitted before being written down, so that their precise date of origin is impossible to determine (Dasgupta, ibid., P. 10). The Brahmanas debate and explain the significance of these texts for the purposes of sacrifices and were written some time before 500 B.C. (Dasgupta, ibid., P. 14).
The earliest extant work of the Mimamsa school is Jaimini's 'Mimamsa-sutras', probably written about 200 B.C. (Dasgupta, ibid., P. 370). Mimamsa evolved a cosmology and theory of knowledge which would support the doctrine of the performance of Vedic rites as the highest goal in life. In order to do so, it argued that the Vedas, which contain the details of the rites, are self-valid and that it is therefore not necessary to derive their validity from God or test their validity by any other means. In order to argue that the Vedas are self-valid, Mimamsa argues that they are eternal and thereby rejects the view of the periodic creation and dissolution of the universe which is accepted by the other five brahmanical systems. In arguing that they do not derive their validity from God, Mimamsa argues against the existence of God and translates Brahman in its original Vedic sense of the unknown mechanism whereby the Vedic rite produces its associated results (from Dasgupta, ibid., Pp. 403-4).

Mimamsa interprets the Vedas as a collection of injunctions (vidhis) impelling the performance of karmas (sacrifices or rites). Performance of some of these karmas results in the accumulation of punya (good) karma - i.e. stored-up rewards to be enjoyed in the individual's subsequent lives. Failure to perform other karmas results in the accumulation of para (bad) karma - i.e. stored-up 'retribution' to be suffered in subsequent lives. In Mimamsa, karma thus means a type of (ritual)
action as well as the results of this action.

Two types of *karma* (rite) are thus distinguished in Mimamsa. *Kamya-karma* ('desire karmas') are performed solely in order to store up good *karma* to be enjoyed in subsequent lives and failure to perform them does not incur bad *karma*. *Nitya karmas* ('necessary karmas') do not produce good *karma* but failure to perform them produces bad *karma*. Dasgupta (ibid., p. 402) cites the *sandhya* ceremony as the prime example of a *nitya karma*. The *sandhya* ceremony consists in ritual ablutions and chants, particularly of the *Gayatri mantra* (a formula in praise of the Brahman comprising 24 syllables) and the mantra *'AUM'* (for full details see Edgar Thurston, 'Castes and Tribes of Southern India', Vol. 1, Madras, 1909, pp. 308-315). It is performed before dawn by all adult males of the Brahman caste. In this sense, Mimamsa - as a set of injunctions - survives today throughout India.

As a system of Indian philosophy (i.e. a systematised set of assertions about how the goal of 'release' from the cycle of re-borns is to be attained), however, Mimamsa can not be said to survive today. In Mimamsa, 'release' is brought about by abstaining from the performance of *kamya-karmas* and assiduous performance of *nitya-karmas*. Mimamsa asserts that, if a man dies without any stored-up good or bad *karma* to be 'worked out', then he is not re-born. In the Mimamsa view, the state of 'release' is one of mere existence in which the
disembodied self is not conscious and suffers no pain or pleasure (from Dasgupta, ibid., p.402). Neither this view of the state of 'release' nor this view of how 'release' is to be attained are subscribed to today.

(b). (iii) Samkhya-Yoga

The founder of Samkhya was a mythical Kapila. Samkhya, of itself, consists in a metaphysical system which lacks any highly evolved associated form of sadhana. The founding of the Yoga school is attributed to Patanjali; his 'Yoga-sutras', which Dasgupta dates around the second century B.C. (op.cit., vol. 1, p.238), were the first compilation and rationalisation of the techniques of yoga. Dasgupta reckons that these techniques existed before the time of the Buddha (ibid., p.237); that is, before the 6th century B.C. Patanjali employed the metaphysical system of Samkhya to rationalise the efficacy of the yoga techniques (ibid., p.229). Thus Dasgupta considers that the two darsanas should together be regarded as a single system (ibid., p.68).

Samkhya asserts that there is a fundamental distinction between purusa (soul) and prakrti (the root principle of matter': Dasgupta, ibid., p.238). Souls are characterised by consciousness (cit) whilst matter is lacking in consciousness (i.e. scit). Samkhya classifies thought (which Dasgupta calls 'knowledge forms of matter': ibid., p.241) as matter, hence scit. It distinguishes between three different constituents of matter, called gunas, and accounts for the diversity of matter in terms of
combinations of different proportions of these three gunas:

(the gunas are) "substantive entities or subtle substances and not abstract qualities... (they) are united in different proportions... and, as a result of this, different substances with different qualities come into being." (Dasgupta, ibid., P. 244)

The three gunas are sattva, rajas and tamas, which Dasgupta translates (ibid., P. 242) as, respectively, 'intelligence-stuff', 'energy-stuff' and 'mass-stuff or the factor of obstruction'. The properties of different types of matter are thus conceived in terms of combinations of the characteristic properties of the three constituent gunas. The three guna properties are also related to a colour classification: white (sattva), red (rajas) and black (tamas).

In the state of pralaya (total dissolution of the universe), the gunas are not combined with each other and by their mutual opposition create an equilibrium, in which none of the characters of the gunas manifest themselves... This state of the mutual equilibrium of the gunas is called 'prakrti'... Then later on disturbance arose in the prakrti and, as a result of that, a process of unequal aggregation of the gunas in varying proportions took place, which brought forth the creation of the manifold." (Dasgupta, ibid., P. 245).

The process of evolution is thus conceived as one of successive stages of combination of matter. However, since it is conceived as 'multilineal', all of the successive stages of combination, as well as the uncombined stage (i.e. prakrti), co-exist at any point in time:

"Prakrti, consisting of the infinite reals, is infinite and that it has been disturbed does not mean
that the totality of the gunas in the prakṛti has been unhinged from a state of equilibrium. It means rather that a very vast number of gunas constituting the worlds of thought and matter has been upset. These gunas once thrown out of balance begin to group themselves together, first in one form, then in another, then in another, and so on. But such a change in the formation of aggregates should not be thought to take place in such a way that the later aggregates appear in supersession of the former ones, so that when the former comes into being the latter ceases to exist. Thus it is said that the evolutionary process is regarded as a differentiation of new stages as integrated in previous stages. (Dasgupta, ibid., Pp. 246-7).

Samkhya and Yoga differ over the attribution of the initial disturbance of prakṛti which commences the evolving world process (called samprapti) and terminates the non-evolving state of pralaya. Samkhya does not recognise the existence of God and attributes it to natural tendencies; Yoga does recognise God (Isvara) and attributes it to Isvara. According to the Yoga school, Isvara is a purusa (soul - i.e. the same as men) but

"Isvara is a purusa who had never been subject to ignorance, afflictions or passions. He is all knowledge and all powerful. He has a permanent wish that those barriers in the course of the evolution of the reals by which the evolution of the gunas may best serve the double interest of the purusa's experience ('bhoga') and liberation ('srevera') should be removed. It is according to this permanent will of Isvara that the proper barriers are removed and the gunas follow naturally, an intelligent course of evolution for the service of the best interests of the purusas. Isvara has not created the prakṛti; he only disturbs the equilibrium of the prakṛti in its quiescent state, and later on helps it to follow an intelligent order by which the fruits of karma are properly distributed and the order of the world is brought about." (Dasgupta, ibid., P. 259)

According to Samkhya, purusa is conscious (cit) and constitutes the real self. The thought forms of matter, termed citta or buddhi, give the appearance of conscious-
ness, hence appear to be the real self due to ignorance (avidya), but the buddhi does not, according to Samkhya, in reality possess the characteristic of consciousness. It only appears to be conscious because it 'reflects' the consciousness of the purusa. It does so because, in the thought forms of matter, sattva is the predominant guna.

"(Sattva) resembles the light of purusa, and is thus fit for reflecting and absorbing the light of purusa." (Dasgupta, ibid., P.241)

Samkhya and Yoga agree that 'release' (moksa) is brought about by the dissociation of the purusa (the real self) from the buddhi (the unreal self which gives the illusory appearance of real self, hence 'illusory self'). This 'illusory self', accompanies the purusa through its reincarnations and binds it to the cycle of re-births (Dasgupta, ibid., P.265). Samkhya and Yoga disagree on how the dissociation of purusa from the citta, or buddhi, is achieved. Samkhya takes an optimistic view:

"It is necessary therefore that in buddhi we should be able to generate the true conception of the nature of purusa; when this true conception of purusa arises in the buddhi it feels itself to be different and distinct from and quite unrelated to purusa, and thus ignorance is destroyed. Thus, according to Samkhya, philosophy is alone adequate to bring about the liberation of the purusa." (Dasgupta, ibid., P.265).

(It is no error on Dasgupta's part to state "the buddhi .. feels itself to be". Samkhya conceives of emotion as a property of the buddhi and not of the purusa. As we shall see shortly, this has important implications for the Samkhya conception of the state of 'release'.")
The Yoga view is more complex. It posits entities called *samskaras*, which Dasgupta (ibid., P. 127) translates as 'conformations'. The *samskaras* are generated within the *citta*, or *buddhi*, by the experiences of this and previous lives. They are 'linkages', formed during the course of a vast number of lives, which strengthen the hold which the *buddhi* has upon the *purusa*. In the *kliśte* (afflicted) states of the *buddhi*, the *samskaras* predominate and the *buddhi* tends towards *avidya* ('ignorance' - i.e. mistaking the 'illusory self' for the 'real self'). In the *akliśte* (unafflicted) states of the *buddhi*, the *samskaras* do not predominate and the *buddhi* tends towards knowledge of the real self, hence 'release' (Dasgupta, ibid., P. 269).

"Yoga... thinks that mere philosophy is not sufficient. In order to bring about liberation it is not enough that a true knowledge differentiating *purusa* and *buddhi* should arise, but it is necessary that all the old habits of experience of *buddhi*, all its *samskaras*, should be once for all destroyed never to be revived again. At this stage the *buddhi* is transformed into its purest state, reflecting steadily the true nature of the *purusa*. This is the *kevala* (oneness) state of existence after which (all *samskaras*, all *avidya* being altogether uprooted) the *citta* is impotent any longer to hold on to the *purusa* and, like a stone hurled from a mountain top, gravitates back into the *prakrti*. To destroy the old *samskaras*, knowledge alone not being sufficient, a graduated course of practice is necessary."
(Dasgupta, ibid., P. 266).

Thus, when *purusa* and *buddhi* separate, the *buddhi* does not simply persist 'unoccupied' by a *purusa*, in the Samkhya-Yoga view; it dissolves back into *prakrti*. Samkhya-Yoga thus conceives of processes of evolution (*arati*) and dissolution (*lave*) on the level of the
individual identical to those on the level of the universe, called \textit{samarat\texti{t}i} and \textit{pralaya}. These ideas are, as we shall see in section (c), (ii), B of this chapter, fundamental to the rationale of \textit{laya yoga}.

The rationale of \textit{sadhana}, according to the Yoga school, is therefore

"to steady the mind on the gradually advancing stages of thoughts towards liberation, so that vicious (i.e. \textit{ki\texti{t}a}) tendencies may gradually be more and more weakened and at last disappear altogether."

\cite{Dasgupta, ibid., P.270}.

As I explained in chapter 1, this rationalisation underlies all forms of \textit{sadhana}; this fact would seem to explain why all forms of \textit{sadhana} practised today are called \textit{yogas}. In this thesis, I restrict myself to a consideration of the more 'advanced' \textit{yogas}, which I define as those which, in the opinion of my informants in Mysore, Sringeri and Udipi, are themselves capable of leading the practitioner to the goal of 'release'. There are many preparatory courses of practice which are undertaken as necessary preliminaries to the practice of these advanced \textit{yogas}. They are also called \textit{yogas}: e.g. \textit{mantra yoga} (the repetition of syllable sequences) and \textit{hat\texti{t}a yoga} (the physical, as opposed to psycho-physiological, techniques which most of my informants regarded as preparatory for the latter).

The rationalisations of all three advanced \textit{yogas} (\textit{jnana}, \textit{laya} and \textit{bhakti}) are already present in the Samkhya-Yoga philosophy, although not as highly developed as in the Vedanta systems. In the idea of the generation
of the conception of the real self within the buddhi as a course of practice leading to 'release', we have the fundamental rationalisation of jnana yoga. In the idea of the dissolution of the thought forms of matter (buddhi or citta) into prakrti, we have the fundamental rationalisation of laya yoga. In the ideas of Isvara, His capacity to intervene in universal processes and His interest in the fates and merits of purusas, we have the fundamental rationalisation of bhakti yoga: in the earlier stages of the course of practice advocated by Yoga, it is necessary that the practitioner

"fixes his mind on any object he chooses. It is, however, preferable that he should fix it on Isvara, for in that case Isvara being pleased removes many of the obstacles in his path, and it becomes easier for him to attain success." (Dasgupta, ibid., P.271).

Whilst Samkhya-Yoga contains rationalisations of all three advanced yogas, it also arranges them into a hierarchy. Jnana yoga, found in Samkhya-Yoga as the generation in the buddhi of the true conception of the real self, is the most highly evaluated: it is the final (samadhi) stage of the Yoga sadhana. The basic techniques of laya yoga are present as pranayama - the course of practice to be followed before proceeding to samadhi. Bhakti yoga is relegated to a still earlier stage, in which meditation is upon external objects. This hierarchy of yogas is advocated today by Advaita Vedanta.

The attribution of consciousness to the purusas results in a conception of the state of 'release', in Samkhya-Yoga, which is different from that posited in
Mimamsa. Whilst Mimamsa views the state of 'release' as one of simply 'being', Samkhya-Yoga views it as a state of 'being' (sat) and consciousness' (cit).

However,

"There is no bliss or happiness in this Samkhya-Yoga mukti (i.e. state of 'release'), for all feeling belongs to prakriti." (Dasgupta, ibid., P. 373).

(c) Advaita Vedanta

In this thesis I shall consider in detail only Dvaita and Advaita Vedanta. Primarily this is due to limitations of space. However, this does not give a misleading view of the Vedanta systems adhered to today in Karnataka. Firstly, Dvaita, Visistadvaita and Sakti Visistadvaita advocate the same form of sadhana (i.e. bhakti) and give similar rationalisations of sadhana; a detailed analysis of the rationalisation of sadhana in one of these systems is therefore sufficient. Secondly, Dvaita and Advaita are the most widespread systems with the greatest number of adherents in Karnataka. Thirdly, the cosmology of the two Visistadvaita systems is indigenously viewed today as a compromise between, or fusion of, the two opposed Dvaita and Advaita systems. Kannada speakers refer to the disputes and oppositions between contemporary systems of philosophy as simply 'Dvaita versus Advaita', thus summarising all oppositions in terms of the most fundamental opposition. They are not thereby ignoring the two Visistadvaita systems; they are simply saying that
such minor oppositions are encompassed by and understood in terms of the more fundamental opposition. In concentrating upon this fundamental opposition in this chapter, I am therefore simply regarding the oppositions between systems from the indigenous viewpoint.

(This indigenous viewpoint is the basis of a misunderstanding between Abbé Dubois and his translator-editor H.K. Beauchamp. Dubois states that whilst, in his day, six systems of philosophy - i.e. the saddarsana - were recognised, only two systems were then popular amongst Brahmans - Dvaita and Advaita. In a footnote, Beauchamp states that 'today' - i.e. the 1890's - Visistadvaita is also popular (Dubois, op. cit., Pp. 406-7). Rather than suggesting an increase in the popularity of Visistadvaita between the early and the late 19th century, this disagreement seems to indicate that Beauchamp had not grasped the indigenous viewpoint described above.)

(e), (i) Advaita Cosmology

The earliest work of Advaita Vedanta was Gaudapada's verse commentary on the Mandukya Upanisad, called 'Mandukyakarika', which Dasgupta dates circa 780 A.D. (Dasgupta, ibid., P. 418). Dasgupta discusses the total content of this work and concludes that it assimilates all the teachings of Sunyavada and Vijnanavada Buddhism (ibid., P. 429).

The experiential focus in terms of which Gaudapada
constructs his system is that of the three states: 
awakeness, dream sleep and deep sleep. He asserts that
in none of these three states is the real self manifest
and describes a turiya (literally, 'fourth') state in
which the real self is manifest to the experiencer.
This real self is beyond comprehension in terms of the
'dualities' (i.e. oppositions and distinctions) of
thought and, when it is experienced, the notions of
self held in the other three states are realised to be
illusory:

"In dreams things are imagined internally, and in
the experience that we have when we are awake
things are imagined as if existing outside, but
both of them are but illusory creations of the
self. There is first the imagination of a per-
ceiver or soul (jiva) and then along with it the
imaginary creations of diverse inner states and the
external world. All things that appear as com-
ounded are but dreams (svauna) and maya (magic).
Duality is a distinction imposed upon the one
(advaïta) by maya." (Dasgupta, ibid., Pp.425-6).

Gaudapada did not undertake the detailed exegesis of the
other Upanisads:

"His main emphasis is on the truth that he realised
to be perfect. He only incidentally suggested that
the great Buddhist truth of indefinable and un-
speakable viśnu or vacuity would hold good of the
highest atman (i.e. notion of the self) of the
Upanisads, and thus laid the foundation of a
revival of the Upanisad studies on Buddhist lines.
How far the Upanisads guaranteed in detail the
truth of Gaudapada's views it was left for his
disciple, the great Sankara, to examine and
explain". (Dasgupta, ibid., P.429).

Sankara was the pupil of Govinda, who was the pupil of
Gaudapada. Dasgupta gives Sankara's dates as 788 to
820 A.D. He was born in Kalady, North Travancore dis-
trict (of present-day Kerala state) of Brahman caste.
Many miracles are related concerning his life and he is believed to have been an incarnation of the god Siva. He is said to have become a sanyasin (renouncer) at the age of 8 and to have written his commentary on the 'Brahmasutras' at the age of 12. He travelled all over India, debating the merits of his system, and wrote commentaries on 10 Upanisads (i.e. Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya, Aitareya, Taittiriya, Brhadaranyaka and Chandogya). Sankara's method of explaining his system

"does not consist in proving the Vedanta to be a consistent system of metaphysics, complete in all parts, but in so interpreting the Upanisad texts as to show that they all agree in holding the Brahman to be the self and that alone to be the only truth." (Dasgupta, ibid., P.434).

Sankara thus interprets the Brahman of the Upanisads in terms of Caudapada's conception of the real self; that is,

"the ultimate and absolute truth is the self, which is one, though appearing as many in different individuals. The world also, as apart from us the individuals, has no reality and has no other truth to show than this self. All other events, mental or physical, are but passing appearances, while the only absolute and unchangeable truth underlying them all is the self." (Dasgupta, ibid., P.439)

Sankara terms this unitary, real self in which all individuals participate sauddhabodha ('pure consciousness') and characterises our illusory notions of separate selves as asuddha ('impure'). He terms our illusory, impure notions of self jiva:

"jiva or individual means the self in association with the ego and other personal experiences, i.e. phenomenal self, which feels, suffers and is affected by world-experience". (Dasgupta, ibid., P.476)
Following Gaudapada, he distinguishes three states of the jiva: awareness, dream sleep and deep sleep. In these three states, he conceives of the real self as 'constrained' or 'limited' by upadhis. Upadhi is most literally translated as 'adjunct', although 'sheath' is employed in some translations. In his 'Atmabodham' (translated K.R. Radhakrishnan, Calcutta, 1965, verses 12 to 14, Pp. 23-5), Sankara lists the three upadhis as the sthula deha ('gross body'), suksma deha ('subtle body'), and the karana ajnana ('causal ignorance'). The 'gross body' is the body of everyday experience. The 'subtle body' is recognised in Samkhya-Yoga and is employed in the rationalisation of the efficacy of the Yoga disciplines. I discuss the 'subtle body' in detail in section (c), (ii), B of this chapter, in the context of the Advaita rationalisation of laya yoga. It is the earlier evolutionary stage of the 'gross body', which, in terms of Samkhya-Yoga cosmology, co-exists in time with the 'gross body' and is thus experienceable by means of certain disciplines. Thus Sankara describes it as:

"constituted of the five primary elements before they undergo sub-division and combination" ('Atmabodham', op.cit., verse 13, P.24).

(For an explanation of the 'five primary elements', see section (c), (ii), B of this chapter). Sankara describes the 'causal ignorance' as follows:

"The causal ignorance has no beginning in time and its nature is beyond human language. This ignorance is the cause of all unconditioned and relative existence. Hence it is called the 'Karana' (i.e. 'causal') upadhi." ('Atmabodham', ibid., verse 14, P.25).
He relates the three *upadhis* to the four states of consciousness:

"during deep sleep.. the self perceives merely the (karana) *ajnana*.. In the dream-state the self is in association with a subtle body.. In the awakened state the self is associated with a subtle and gross body.. So also the self in its pure state is called *Brahman.*" (Dasgupta, ibid., P. 476)

The transition from the 'pure', or turiya, state, through the states of deep- and dream-sleep, to the state of awareness is thus conceived in terms of successive 'sheathing' of the real self within *upadhis*. This transition, in Samkhya-Yoga cosmology, represents the evolution (arstj) of the 'illusory self': the stages whereby prakrti evolves into the 'subtle body' and the 'subtle body' evolves into the 'gross body'. However, Samkhya-Yoga regards matter as real (i.e. it adopts what my informants called the 'world as reality' viewpoint) whilst Advaita regards matter as unreal (i.e. adopts the 'world as illusion' viewpoint). Whilst Advaita employs the same term as Samkhya-Yoga (viz. arstj) for this transition, it regards it not as a succession of stages of 'evolution' but of stages of 'projection' (of the illusion of 'duality' or 'difference').

Whilst Samkhya-Yoga conceives of *purusas* (souls) conjoining with matter to produce conscious beings at the beginning of each period of universal arstj (technically called *samarstj*) which terminates a period of *Bralaya* (total universal dissolution), Advaita conceives of arstj in terms of the 'veiling' of the true nature of the *Brahman*, followed by its 'projection' as the
illusory universe of phenomena or illusory self:

"Ignorance, Avidya, Maya, Prakrti - all of these are synonymous terms, meaning the indefinable Power of Brahman that becomes immediately responsible for the manifestation of the phenomenal world. This Power operates in two ways: first by veiling the true nature of the Brahman, and then by projecting the universe (beginning from the subtlest down to the grossest) upon that. (As in the classical illustration of the 'rope-snake', Ignorance first veils the nature of the rope and next projects the snake on that). In relation to the Jiva, this power remains operative in both aspects during waking and dream-states; while in deep sleep only the veiling power remains active."

(Swami Aparnananda, "Laghu-Vakya-Vrtti" of Sankara, Almora, 1963, P.7., commentary on verse 2.)

In Samkhya-Yoga, prakrti - the state of matter in which the gunas are in a state of mutual equilibrium - immediately precedes the evolution (srstti) of matter. Prakrti is thus the 'cause' of the illusory self and is distinguished from the purusa (real self) in Samkhya-Yoga. Advaita employs a similar distinction, between sarvam and nirguna, but regards these as different aspects, or 'ways of viewing', the same entity - the Brahman:

"Nirguna and sarvam: that is to say, Brahman in its Ultimate Absolute Absoluteness and Brahman related to the phenomenal existence in its triple aspects of manifestation, sustenance and dissolution, as the Great Cause." (Swami Aparnananda, ibid., P.32, commentary on verse 18)

Nirguna means 'beyond attributes' (although opponents of Advaita translate it in ita more literal sense of 'without attributes'); sarvam means 'with attributes'. The "triple aspects of manifestation, sustenance and dissolution" refers to the three types of universal activity distinguished in most systems of Hindu philosophy - i.e. creation (amsrstti), maintenance (sthitii) and destruction (pralaya) - and the Hindu Trinity of
gods who preside over these processes – i.e. respectively, Brahma, Visnu and Siva. The greatest gods of the Hindu pantheon, two of whom (Visnu and Siva) are identified as the Brahman in other Vedanta systems, are thus regarded in Advaita as simply those aspects of the Brahman which are immediately responsible for, thus the 'cause' of, the universe of phenomena (and the activity which takes place therein).

The saguna Brahman is thus the 'cause' of the illusory universe of phenomena, on both the level of the universal macrocosm (as 'Great Cause') and the level of the individual microcosm (as karana adhuna – 'causal ignorance'). In this way, Advaita conceives as homologous the processes of sruti and laya on the level of the universe (technically called smarati and pralaya) and the processes within the individual of transition between the turīya, deep-sleep, dream-sleep and awake states.

Like Samkhya-Yoga, Advaita conceives of the 'illusory self' as the result of the reflection of the real self upon the buddhi:

"Pure Consciousness stands behind them all (i.e. the three upadhis) as the Witness and the Illuminator. The reflection of the Pure Consciousness on the Buddhi (acquiring the sense of individuality due to Ignorance) becomes the Jiva." (Sankara, "Laghu-Vakya-Vr̄tti", translated Swami Aparnananda, op.cit., verse 2, P.6)

(It should be noted that it is questionable whether "Laghu-Vakya-Vr̄tti" was written by the original Sankara. In content, it differs from Sankara's other works in
that it supplies a concise and brief exposition of Advaita. However, since my aim is an exposition of Advaita as a system rather than Sankara's writings as a system, it seems admissible to make use of this work in the present context.)

The Advaita conception of the state of 'release' is 'sat (existence) - cit (consciousness) - ananda (bliss)' and thus differs from both the 'sat (mere existence)' conception of Mimamsa and the 'sat - cit (existence and consciousness)' conception of Samkhya-Yoga. The Advaita rationalisation of the nature of 'release' is:

"As all being of the world-appearance is but limited manifestation of that one being, so all pleasures also are but limited manifestations of that supreme bliss, a taste of which we all can get in deep dreamless sleep." (Dasgupta, ibid., P.491)

The 'sat - cit - ananda' conception of the state of 'release' is common to all the Vedanta systems.

(c), (ii) Advaita Rationalisations of Sadhana

Note

Sankara is widely believed to have founded four maths (monasteries) throughout India. These are at Badaranath in the North, Dvaraka in the West, Puri in the East and Sringeri (south-western Karnataka), in the South. He is usually also credited with the founding of a math in Kanchipuram (Tamilnad). He based himself in Sringeri, so that the Sringeri math, attached to the temple of the Devi (goddess) Sarada (a form of Parvati,
consort of Siva), claims for itself authority over all Advaita maths in India. In Sringeri, Sankara instituted a graduated series of disciplines for the monks which closely follows Patanjali's series of disciplines: karma yoga (i.e. the performance of Vedic rites), followed by bhakti yoga, followed by jnana yoga, leading up to the practice of jnana yoga, by means of which the sadhaka can attain 'release'.

The deity worshipped in the bhakti stage of sadhana in the Sringeri math was Parvati, in the form of Devi Sarada. In an official history of the Sringeri math (K.R. Venkataraman, 'The Throne of Transcendental Wisdom', Sringeri, 1967, P.11) we read that Sankara installed the idol (muruti) of Sarada over a Sri Chakra (ibid., P.11) and that

"because of its excellence, Sri Sankara introduced in the mathas the external worship of Sri Chakra together with the meditation on the mystic 'truth that it symbolises." (ibid., P.9)

The Sri Chakra represents the mystic union of Siva and his consort Parvati, or Sakti, and is an important symbol in jnana yoga.

Devi worship (i.e. worship of Siva's consort) merges into jnana yoga by identification of the goddess as Sakti, or 'Power', and jnana yoga merges into jnana yoga by the identification of Siva/Sakti as nirguna/saguna Brahman. Not only are the three disciplines graduated but their cosmological rationalisations are integrated with each other. The sadhana of Advaita
thus provides a means for the gradual extension of the sadhaka’s conception of the Brahman from that of a deity to that of the nirguna Brahman of Advaita cosmology; it permits the sadhaka to advance gradually towards the nirguna conception of the Brahman. This graduated set of correspondences would appear to be the 'mystic truth' symbolised by the Sri Chakra. The remainder of this section consists in an examination of this 'mystic truth' through the respective examination of the Advaita rationalisations of jnana yoga, laya yoga and bhakti yoga, followed by an examination of the rationalisations of karma yoga by Sankara and his successors.

(c)(ii) (A) Jnana Yoga

The Advaita definition of the goal of sadhana is identical to that of Samkhya-Yoga:

"the effort to discriminate the Pure Consciousness from its reflection (i.e. the Jiya)” ('Laghu-Vakya-Vrtti', op. cit., verse 3, P.8)

The Advaita rationalisation of the means towards this goal is identical to the Samkhya-Yoga conception of the buddhi’s fluctuation between klista (afflicted) and aklista (unafflicted) states. In 'Laghu-Vakya-Vrtti', it is expressed as the 'string of pearls' analogy:

9. “The modifications of the Buddhi are changing from moment to moment, but never so the Pure Consciousness. It permeates all these modifications like the thread in a string of pearls.

10. “The thread covered by the pearls in a string can be seen in between two pearls. Similarly, the Pure Consciousness, though hidden by the modifications of the Buddhi, can clearly be perceived in between any two modifications.
11. "The Pure Undifferentiated Consciousness shines forth clearly by itself in the interval between two modifications of the Buddhi, when the preceding one has died down and another is yet to appear.

12. "Persons aspiring to the experience of Brahman should, therefore, practise by slow degrees this restraint of modifications—starting with one moment and then extending it to two, three and so on.

13. "This individual self (Jiva), which is now affected by modifications of the Buddhi, will in time become one with the Undifferentiated Brahman by realising the truth of the Vedantic teaching—'I am Brahman'. That is the idea sought to be conveyed here, in this treatise...

18. "Consummation of this practice lies in the firm conviction of one's identity with Brahman, like what conviction there normally is in the sense of identity of the Self with the body. One who has realised this is liberated indeed, without a doubt; his body may then drop off—any time, anywhere." (op. cit., verses 9 to 13 and 18, pp. 17-22, 30-1)

The kliṣṭa vṛtti of the buddhi in Samkhya-Yoga appear, in the above passage, as the 'modifications' (vikalpa—literally, 'false notion') of the buddhi; whilst the akliṣṭa vṛtti of Samkhya-Yoga appear as the 'Pure Undifferentiated Consciousness' (nirvikalpaṣeṣita-vyuḥa—literally, 'unchanging' or 'undifferentiated consciousness'). Both Samkhya-Yoga and Advaita thus conceive of the buddhi as alternating between kliṣṭa and akliṣṭa states and rationalise sadhana as the suppression or restraint of the kliṣṭa states. The Yoga techniques of samadhi (meditation) can thus be incorporated into Advaita as the most efficacious form of sadhana.
(a), (ii), (B) Laya Yoga

Sir John Woodroffe ('The Serpent Power', Madras, 1973, (9th ed.,) P. 364) presents evidence from Sankara's writings which suggest that he practised **laya yoga** himself. The theory and techniques of **laya yoga** are contained in highly detailed secret instructions passed on from guru to disciple. Many of these have been incorporated into texts, collectively called the 'Tantras' or 'Agamas'. Since about the 16th century the most eminent Tantra authors have been Bengalis (Woodroffe, whose works on the subject are regarded in South India as the most authoritative, was a member of the judiciary in Calcutta). The practice of **laya yoga**, however, like Sankara's Advaita Vedanta, has a pan-Indian distribution. The Tantras are written in an esoteric language; it is often said that this is in order that the uninitiated can not learn the secrets of this discipline and all the Tantric texts warn against passing on these secrets to those 'unfit to hear them'. The instructions which these texts contain for the practice of **sadhana** are highly detailed. In the present context, however, we are interested in only the most basic features of **sadhana**, which are common to all of these texts, and their cosmological rationalisation.

In order to describe these basic features of **laya yoga** practice, it is first necessary to explain the conception of the five **bhutas** ('elements') in Samkhya.
physics. The body is conceived as comprising basically six types of matter, each type being constituted by a different combination of the three *guna*s. The thought form of matter (*buddhi* or *citta*), discussed in section (b), (iii) of this chapter, is one of these types of matter. The other five types are the *bhutas*—these are: 'ether' (*akasa*), 'air' (*vayu*), 'fire' (*tejas*), 'water' (*ap*) and 'earth' (*nrtiavi*).

The series—'mind-stuff', 'ether', 'air', 'fire', 'water' and 'earth'—is conceived as comprising evolutionary stages. In the process of evolution (*sruti*). 'mind-stuff' evolves into 'ether' and 'ether' evolves into 'air' etc.; the process of 'dissolution' or 'absorption' (*laya*) is conceived as the reverse process—'earth' is absorbed into 'water' and 'water' is absorbed into 'fire' etc. As we saw in section (b), (iii) of this chapter, the result of Samkhya-Yoga *samadhi* (meditation) is the absorption of 'mind-stuff' into *prakrti*; the absorption of the *bhutas* into each other and into the 'mind-stuff' is conceived as a manifestation of this same process.

In Samkhya physics, the earlier stages of evolution of matter are termed 'subtle' (*sukasa*) in relation to the later stages of evolution which are termed 'gross' (*sthula*); thus 'mind-stuff' is 'subtle' in relation to 'ether' whilst 'ether' is 'gross' in relation to 'mind-stuff'. The series—'mind stuff', 'ether', 'air', 'fire', 'water' and 'earth'—therefore represents a
'subtle'-'gross' continuum. 'Subtle'/'gross' is also a measure of density; the 'gross' is regarded as more dense than the 'subtle'.

Samkhya physics conceives of the physical body as consisting in combinations of the five bhutas. It terms this physical body in which the bhutas are combined the 'gross' body. It conceives of an earlier stage of evolution of the body in which the bhutas exist in an uncombined state and terms this the 'subtle' body. Since Samkhya conceives of the earlier (more 'subtle') and the later (more 'gross') stages of evolution (sruti) of matter as co-existing in time, it conceives of the 'subtle' body as co-existing in time with the 'gross' body and the two bodies as connected through the relations of sruti and laya.

The functions of the body are conceived as being sustained by prana ('energy'). Prana is conceived as circulating throughout the body and as energising the 'subtle' and 'gross' bodies by means of nadi (literally, 'canals' or 'rivers'). The more 'gross' nadi are the veins, nerves and arteries known to Western physiology whilst the more 'subtle', which are said to be invisible, are not recognised by Western science.

Samkhya physics conceives of the basic structure of the 'subtle' body as comprising chakras (literally, 'discuses', since they are said to be experienced in yoga practice as like spinning discuses), located in the
spino-cerebral axis, and 'subtle' nadis connecting these chakras to each other and to the organs of the 'gross' body. Each chakra is associated with a type of body-matter; it is conceived as a reservoir for the uncombined body-matter of that type and as a control centre for the body-matter of that type existing in its combined form in the 'gross' body.

In the (standing) human body, the 'earth' chakra, called the muladhara chakra, is located at the base of the spine near the anus. The 'water' chakra (svadisthana chakra) is located further up the spinal column at the level of the penis. The 'fire' chakra (mahanukha chakra) is at the level of the navel. The 'air' chakra (anahata chakra) is at the level of the mid-chest. The 'ether' chakra (visuddha chakra) is at the top of the spinal column, at the level of the throat. The 'mind-stuff' chakra (ajna chakra) is at the front of the cerebrum, at the level of the mid-forehead. The 'subtle'/'gross' distinction, a measure of evolutionary stage and relative density, is thus applied to the 'subtle' body in terms of a 'high'/low' distinction: in the (standing) body, the chakra associated with the more 'subtle' bhuta is located above the chakra associated with the more 'gross' bhuta. (The analogy of a mixture of liquids of different densities seems appropriate: when left standing, the liquids separate into strata - the more dense occupying strata beneath the less dense.)

Each chakra is associated with particular functions
of the 'gross' body. For example, the visuddha chakra, control centre for the bhuta 'ether', located at the level of the throat, controls the functions of hearing and speech. Nadi is said to connect this chakra with the hearing and speech organs of the 'gross' body, along which prana travels to energise these functions.

On the 'input' side of the 'subtle' body, prana enters the 'subtle' body through the right and left nostrils. In the nostrils are said to be the terminal points of two nadiis called the ida and pingala nadiis, which run from the nostrils, through the 'mind-stuff' chakra, to the spine and form a double spiral around the spine, passing through each chakra, and finally meet in the lowest (muladhara or 'earth') chakra. By means of the ida and pingala nadiis, prana is transmitted to the chakras.

The 'subtle' and 'gross' bodies are thus interrelated by means of the movement of prana from the former to the latter. This movement of prana through the 'subtle' body to the organs of the 'gross' body is thus identified, in laya yoga theory, with the process of sarati (evolution or creation) in the body - the identical process within the human microcosm to the process of smarati within the universal macrocosm.

As we saw in section (b),(iii) of this chapter, the rationalisation of 'release' in Samkhya-Yoga is that the 'mind-stuff' (buddhi or citta) is 'absorbed'
or 'dissolved' into prakrti, thus reversing the process of srstti (evolution or creation). In Samkhya-Yoga, this process of absorption (laya) is the effect, of which the generation of the true conception of the purusa ('real' self) in the 'mind-stuff' (buddhi) is the cause. Laya yoga reverses this cause-effect relation: 'absorption' (laya) it regards as the cause, of which realisation of the 'real' self (called 'Siva consciousness' in laya yoga theory) is the effect.

In laya yoga, absorption is achieved by reversing the flow of prana in the body. This is done in two stages. The first stage is the cessation of breathing; this stops the normal (i.e. 'creative') flow of prana through the body and is thus called pranayama (the 'killing' of the prana). In the second stage, laya yoga theory conceives of a nadi, called the susumma nadi, which runs from the 'earth' chakra (muladhara chakra) up the centre of the spinal column, passing through the centres of the other chakras, up to a point at the top of the head (sometimes said to be about 4 inches above the top of the head). This nadi is ordinarily closed but the laya yoga practitioner learns how to open this nadi and create a reversed (i.e. absorptive') flow of prana through it, up through the chakras to the top of the head. This 'absorptive' flow of prana through the susumna nadi is called sat-chakra-bheda ('the piercing of the 6 chakras') or bhutasuddhi ('the purification of the 'elements').
As the prana moves upwards, it takes with it the body-matter from the chakras. In order to raise the prana from a lower to a higher chakra, the yoga practitioner must absorb the more 'gross' bhuta existing in the lower chakra into the more 'subtle' bhuta existing in the higher chakra. This is done by means of bija mantras. Bija means, literally, 'seed'. Every bhuta has a bija syllable and, in the process of arati (evolution or creation), the more 'subtle' bhuta is said to evolve into the more 'gross' bhuta by first evolving into the bija of the more 'gross' bhuta, then this bija evolving into the more 'gross' bhuta itself.

For example, the bija of the 'earth' bhuta is the syllable "LAM". When 'water' evolves into 'earth', it first evolves into the sound, or vibration, "LAM" then "LAM" evolves into the bhuta 'earth'. Thus, in order to absorb the body-matter from the 'earth' chakra into the 'water' chakra, the practitioner repeats mentally the mantra "LAM" and thereby absorbs the body-matter in the bhuta 'earth' into the form of the mantra "LAM". He then raises the sound, or vibration, "LAM" up the susumna nadi to the 'water' chakra. On entering the 'water' chakra, the bija "LAM" is absorbed into the bhuta 'water'. The procedure is then repeated for each chakra. (I have described a bija mantra as a 'sound or vibration', in the sense that it is a 'sound' when audibly articulated, but only a 'vibration' when repeated mentally—i.e. not audibly articulated.)
That which is raised up the susumna nadi is called kundalini ('that which is coiled' - i.e. snake or serpent). In terms of Samkhya physics, it is prana and bhutas which are raised up the spino-cerebral column. In laya yoga, these processes are 'visualised' in the body in symbolic form. Thus, when breathing stops and the prana in the body collects in the 'earth' chakra, it is said to 'strike' the 'serpent kundalini', which lies coiled (3½ times) and 'sleeping' in the 'earth' chakra, and 'awaken' kundalini. Kundalini then ascends the susumna nadi, the bija which ascends from one chakra to the next being called the 'body' of kundalini.

Within each chakra, the different schools or Tantric texts give different, highly detailed sequences of 'visualisations' for the practitioner. These consist in deities, in both anthropomorphic and bija syllable form, mounted upon different species of animals as 'vehicles' and enclosed within ventras (geometric shapes employed in meditation). Woodroffe (op. cit.) presents graphic representations of these chakra visualisations as described in 'Sat-cakra-nirupana', a laya yoga treatise which he translates in 'the Serpent Power'.

In the esoteric language of laya yoga, the 'earth' (muladhara) chakra is called the 'abode of Sakti' (consort of Siva - equated with the serpent kundalini; one of the common names of Siva in South India is 'Nagaraja' - i.e. 'snake-king') and the top of the head is called
the 'abode of Siva' or *sahasrara padma* ('lotus of 1,000 petals'). The 6 chakras are also called 'lotus-esa'. The opposition between Siva and Sakti is conceived in terms of an opposition between the attributes of 'male', 'passive', 'cold' and 'female', 'active', 'hot'; these are the characteristic attributes of, respectively, *purusa* and *prakriti* in Sankhya. When *Sakti-kundalini* has entered the 'abode of Siva', the whole body of the practitioner is said to be cold to the touch with the exception of a small area at the top of the head. The entering of *Sakti-kundalini* into the 'abode of Siva' is described as the mystic, sexual union of the god and his consort.

*Yoga* is rationalised in terms of Advaita cosmology by the equating of Siva and Sakti with, respectively, the *nirguna* and *saguna* aspects of the Brahman (see section (c), (i) of this chapter for an explanation of the *nirguna/saguna* opposition):

"The ultimate or irreducible reality is 'Spirit' in the sense of Pure Consciousness from out of which and by its Power (Sakti), Mind and Matter proceed. Spirit is one.. Spirit is infinite and formless. Remaining in one aspect unchanged, (it) changes in its other aspect as active Power which manifests as Mind and Body.

In Theology this Pure Consciousness is Siva, and His Power (Sakti) who as She is in Her formless self is one with Him. She is the great Devi, the Mother of the Universe who as the Life-Force resides in man's body in its lowest centre at the base of the spine just as Siva is realised in the highest brain centre, the cerebrum or *Sahasrara-Padma*. Completed Yoga is the Union of Her and Him in the body of the Sadhaka. This is *Yoga* or dissolution, the reverse of *Sruti* or involution of Spirit in Mind and Matter". (Woodroffe, 'The Serpent Power', op. cit., Pp. 26-7)
Advaita thus rationalises *lava yoga* practice in terms of a microcosm/macrocosm identification between the human body and the universe. The highest point in the 'subtle' body (the 'abode of Siva') is equated with the *nirguna Brahman* and the lowest point (the 'earth' chakra) is equated with the *sarvaguna Brahman* in the form of Sakti-Kundalini. The procedure of raising Sakti-Kundalini up to the 'abode of Siva' is rationalised as the procedure of absorption (*lava*) of the *sarvaguna Brahman* into the *nirguna Brahman*. The 'Siva consciousness' (i.e. the realisation of the 'real' self) attained when Sakti-Kundalini is absorbed into the 'abode of Siva' is equated with the realisation of the self as the *nirguna Brahman*. In Advaita terms, this therefore amounts to the destruction of the *karana aiyana* (causal ignorance) which ordinarily prevents the individual from realising his 'real' self as the *nirguna Brahman*.

In the practice of *lava yoga*, achievement of this ascent is said to be a slow procedure, whilst the subsequent descent is said to be achieved much more rapidly. The practical limitation in performing this *yoga* is the necessity of holding the breath. With many years of practice, the *sadhaka* is said to be able to extend the period for which he can hold the breath and to be able to raise Sakti-Kundalini progressively higher in a progressively shorter time. When he is able to raise Sakti-Kundalini to the 'abode of Siva', he is assured of attaining 'release' on
death. He then chooses the time of his own death and, having raised Sakti-kundalini to the 'abode of Siva' for the last time, simply remains in this state until his physical body dies.

My informants were divided on the subject of whether lava yoga is itself capable of bringing 'release' or whether it constitutes simply a preliminary discipline for the practice of inana yoga. In terms of the Advaita rationalisation of lava yoga, it constitutes an adequate means of attaining 'release'. Opponents of the discipline, however, said that it leads to the attainment of powerful siddhis ('powers' - see chapter 1, section (c), 1) as by-product, more so than is the case with inana yoga, and that the lava yoga practitioner is likely to be 'side-tracked' on to the worldly goals which are attainable by means of these siddhis and away from the goal of 'release'.

The description of lava yoga practice given in this section is mostly taken from Woodroffe's 'The Serpent Power' (op. cit.), supplemented by his 'Introduction to Tantra Shastra' (Madras (1913), 2nd ed., 1952) and 'S'akti and S'akta' (Madras (1913), 6th ed., 1965). The fundamental features of the practice described here are consistent with those described by M. Eliade ('Yoga', London, 1958), O.V. Garrison ('Tantra: the yoga of sex', New York, 1964) and D.N. Bose and H.Haider ('Tantras: their philosophy and occult secrets', Calcutta, 1956 (3rd ed.)).
Advaita adopts the Samkhya-Yoga rationalisation of worship of deities: that Isvara is capable of removing obstacles from the path of the sadhaka (though not of granting the attainment of 'release' to the sadhaka); that, in the disciplines which are necessary preliminaries to the practice of samadhi proper, it is necessary to 'fix the mind upon' an external object; and that, by fixing the mind in these disciplines upon Isvara, He will therefore be pleased with the sadhaka and remove obstacles from his path:

"It is not all that can realise the Formless Absolute. To them Sri Sankara says that the Supreme is both Formless and with form: formless when viewed in itself, and not in relation to the universe, hence beyond the senses, beyond speech and mind; and with form when thought of in relation to the world as its creator, sustainer and indweller. Out of His own volition, and projecting His power of Maya, Brahman becomes Isvara and, to bless the devotees, manifests Himself in several divine forms in which the upasaka (i.e. worshipper) contemplates Him. These divine forms are not different; they are the manifestations of the Supreme, and devotion to any one of them accompanied with complete self-surrender will bring divine grace, which will lead the sadhaka to Jennings and liberation." (Venkataraman, op. cit., p.9)

Clearly, there is a lack of fit between the Advaita rationalisation of bhakti yoga and Advaita cosmology. In Samkhya-Yoga, Isvara is conceived as 'male' (being purusa) and as a being separate from both the purusas seeking 'release' and the 'mind-stuff' from which 'release' is sought. In Advaita, in order that the deity worshipped in bhakti yoga can be converted into the Sakti-kundalini of laya yoga theory and hence the saguna
Brahman, it must be 'female'. In terms of Advaita cosmology, any deity is simply an illusory 'projection' of the Brahman; it has no more reality than the jiva, the illusory self from which the sadhaka seeks release, therefore it can not assist the sadhaka in his quest for 'release'.

The lack of fit is inevitable since Advaita regards bhakti yoga as what we might term a 'necessary self-deception' practised in order to progress towards the true knowledge of the self. Thus, in the texts on Devi worship, we find passages stressing the reality of the deity, such as

"for the benefit of the aspiring, of those who seek for It, Brahman assumes forms, determines itself in a way as to be cognisable and accessible."

('Kularnava Tantra', translated M.P. Pandit, Madras (undated), P.58)

juxtaposed with passages stressing the nature of such worship as purposeful self-deception, such as

"The Presence of the Divine in the Form is determined in its intensity by the appropriateness of that Form, speciality of the worship offered and by the faith of the worshipper."

(ibid., P.59)

The practices followed in Devi worship throughout India are various but the principal techniques employed are mantra and yantra and these techniques also characterise the form of Devi worship, called 'Srividya', instituted by Sankara. A highly developed set of rationalisations of the efficacy of repetition of sequences of sound-syllables in terms of Advaita cosmology exists in South India. This is called mantra sastra ('the
science of *mantra*) and Sankara and Tyagaraja are credited with having been experts in this discipline. P. Sambamoorthy ('Great Composers', Book 1, op. cit., P. 81) records that Syama Sastri initiated Muthuswamy Diksitar into the cult of Devi bhakti of the Srividya form, so that the three principal composers of sangita were, clearly, immersed in the theory and practice of mantra.

The Advaita rationalisation of *mantra yoga* is:

"In each mantra, the relationship between Nada, Bindu and varna - the vowel and the consonant - constitutes the individualistic formation and it symbolises the form of the Devata (i.e. deity). A particular varna (letter) is symbolic of a particular aspect of Devata. A mantra, if properly practised, reveals the mantra Devata to the consciousness of the practitioner." (T. Ramalingeswara Rao 'The Rationale of Mantra Sastra', Madras, 1974, P. 29)

To the Western academic, these two statements (that the mantra symbolises the deity and renders present the deity) may not appear logically related. It is necessary to explain that the Sanskrit term for 'symbol' which is usually employed in this context is *pratika*, which literally means 'going toward' (Macdonell, op. cit., P. 176). Thus, a symbol (*pratika*) both 'signifies' a 'referent' and 'leads toward' this referent. The theory of mantra yoga rests upon the same basic conception as that of the employment of *bija* mantras in *laya* yoga; that any form, in its most 'subtle' state, exists as a sound or vibration. By replicating the correct sound or vibration, the practitioner can thus materialise the form related to the mantra. This is the
sense in which a mantra 'leads toward' and hence renders present a deity. In the employment of bija mantras in lava yoga, we witnessed the reverse procedure: by replicating the correct sound or vibration in the presence of the related form (in this case, a bhuta) this form is absorbed into the more 'subtle' state represented by this sound or vibration. These are important procedures in the exercise of siddhis ('powers', over nature and the minds of other men). The development of these techniques in the practice of lava yoga explains why the practitioner of lava yoga is believed to acquire such powerful siddhis as a by-product of yoga practice.

The use of mantras in Devi worship thus represents an uneasy compromise between the mechanistic Advaita conception and the Samkhya-Yoga conception of Isvara possessing will and agency and choosing to reveal Himself to the devotee. Again, the Advaita view of bhakti yoga as purposeful self-deception as a preliminary to the practice of more advanced yogas is the basis of this paradox. The same problem arises with the employment of yantras in Devi worship. Yantra means literally a 'means of holding'. It is a geometrical shape, made with chalk or coloured powder, of different designs depending upon the deity worshipped by means of it, and it is usually considered necessary to make the yantra in a continuous movement. It is called the asana (seat) of the deity worshipped. Once the sadhaka has
'visualised' the deity by means of the repetition of a mantra, he instals it in a yantra in order to retain or prolong its presence.

The transition from Devi worship to yoga is thus a transition from the 'external' employment of mantras and yantras (i.e. physically producing both as external objects of meditation) to their 'internal' employment (i.e. 'visualising' them in different parts of the 'subtle' body). There is a unilinear development of techniques of practice from the former to the latter. The sadhana is thus continuous and there is no point of discontinuity at which we can say that Devi worship ends and yoga begins.

(C). (ii). (D) Karma Yoga

Sankara conceives of the performance of Vedic rites as necessary at two stages in sadhana: at the very beginning and at the very end. He asserts that there are two necessary qualifications for the commencement of sadhana:

"(1) that the person having studied all the Vedas with the proper accessories, such as grammar, lexicon, etc., is in full possession of the knowledge of Vedas,
(2) that either in this life or in another, he must have performed only the obligatory Vedic duties (such as daily prayers etc. called nitya karma) ... in such a way that his mind is purged of all good and bad actions." (Dasgupta, op.cit., Vol 1, P.489)

After the sadhaka has attained the objective of jnana yoga - viz. the realisation of the self as Brahman -
final 'release' is delayed if any karma remains to be worked out:

"even when the true knowledge has once been attained, the body may last for a while, if the individual's previously ripened karmas demand it. Thus the emancipated person may walk about and behave like an ordinary sage, but yet he is emancipated and can no longer acquire any new karma. As soon as the fruits due to his ripe karmas are enjoyed and exhausted, the sage loses his body and there will never be any other birth for him. Such a man is called jivanmukti, i.e. emancipated while living". (Dasgupta, ibid., Pp. 491-2)

This idea, combined with the previous statement, implies that the sadhaka who attains this state will have only 'good karma' to be worked out.

Sankara's followers extended the role played by the performance of Vedic rites in sadhana:

"The performance of Vedic duties is intended only for ordinary men, but yet it was believed by many (e.g. Vacaspati Misra and his followers) that due performance of Vedic duties helped a man to acquire a great keenness for the attainment of right knowledge; others believed (e.g. Prakasarata and his followers) that it served to bring about suitable opportunities by securing good preceptors, etc. and to remove many obstacles from the way so that it became easier for a person to attain the desired right knowledge." (Dasgupta, ibid., P. 490)

The necessity of having studied all the Vedas before undertaking sadhana traditionally restricts the goal of 'release' to male members of the Brahman caste. Abbé Dubois (op.cit., Pp.174-6) notes that the reading of the Vedas was, in the late 18th/early 19th century, a privilege reserved exclusively for Brahmanas. This has become slightly modified in the present century as translations of the Vedas have become available in print. Nonetheless, a Sanskrit education and, particularly,
the study of the Vedas in the original Sanskrit is still virtually the exclusive preserve of the Brahman caste. This is also the case with the performance of Vedic rites, the details of which are contained in the Vedas (i.e. Samhitas and Brahmanas). Since only Brahman males are, traditionally, permitted to read the Vedas, this excludes Brahman females from the goal of 'release'. In fact, my informants regarded it as unthinkable that women should practice _japa_ or _jnana yoga_. They regarded only _bhakti yoga_ as suitable for women; in terms of Advaita thought, this excludes women from the goal of 'release' in their present lives. Only by being reincarnated as males can they attain 'release'.

In this context, it is important to note that

"The main difference between the Vedanta as expounded by Gaudapada and as explained by Sankara consists in this: that Sankara tried as best he could to dissociate the distinctive Buddhist traits found in the exposition of the former and to formulate the philosophy as a direct interpretation of the older Upanisad texts". (Dasgupta, ibid., P.457)

Buddhism, like Jainism, was largely the product of non-Brahmans; thus it was regarded by Brahmanas as a _darsana_ of the lower castes. In incorporating the basic ideas of certain Buddhist schools into brahmanical philosophy, firstly it was necessary to conceal, or deny, their origins in Buddhism: hence Sankara's derivation of his system from the older Upanisads. Secondly, it was necessary to place the new system above suspicion of Buddhist egalitarianism, in the eyes of Brahmanas.
The fundamental ideas of Advaita, as found in Sankara's writings, contain no logical Justification for the restriction of 'release' to Brahman males. In Sankara's system, the prerequisites of knowledge of the Vedas and performance of Vedic rites, which effectively restrict 'release' to Brahman males, bear no logical relation to the other forms of sadhana advocated. Advaita adopts the forms of sadhana advocated by Samkhya-Yoga. Samkhya-Yoga interprets karmas simply as Yoga practices. References to karmas in the Mimamsa sense of the term which we find in Samkhya-Yoga texts exist entirely in the commentaries by later writers upon these texts. For example, S.S. Suryanarayana Sastri's translation of verse 67 of the 'SamkhyaKarika' of Iswara Krishna, a very early Samkhya text, is

"Virtue and the rest having ceased to function as causes, because of the attainment of perfect wisdom, (the Spirit) remains invested with the body, because of the force of past impressions, like the whirl of the (potter's) wheel (which persists for a while by virtue of the momentum imparted by a prior impulse)." (Madras, 1935, P. 116)

The term which Sastri translates as 'past impressions' is samakara (see section (b), (iii) of this chapter), he is clearly referring to these 'conformations' delaying final 'release' after the attainment of the correct knowledge of the self (as purusa). Yet the translator's commentary is:

"wisdom has the capacity to destroy all KARMA except that which has begun to take effect" (ibid. P.118; my own italics)

Neither is the 'law of KARMA' logically related
to Advaita cosmology. Like Isvara, it has no more reality than the rest of the illusory universe of phenomena, therefore, when the self which is Brahman which is the only reality is realised, logically the 'law of karma' should cease to operate. The importance of the role allocated to the 'law of karma' in 'release' in the Vedanta systems is ultimately explainable in historical terms: the Vedanta systems supplanted the earlier systems of Mimamsa and Samkhya-Yoga by encompassing the basic assertions of these earlier systems. In Advaita, this process of encompassing leads to logical paradoxes between Advaita cosmology and the Advaita rationalisations of the bhakti and karma forms of sadhana.

(d) Dvaita Vedanta

(i) Dvaita Cosmology

As with Sankara, we have a great many legends but little historically supported evidence concerning the life of Madhva. S. Dasgupta ('A History of Indian Philosophy', Vol. 4, Cambridge, 1949, P. 52) and Suzanne Siauve ('La voie vers La Connaissance de Dieu selon L'Anuvyakhyana de Madhva', Pondicherry, 1957, P. (iv)) give Madhva's dates as 1197 to 1276 A.D. However, Dasgupta himself (ibid., 1949, P. 54) praises B.N.K. Sharma's work on Madhva and Sharma (in 'Madhva's Teachings in His Own Words', Bombay, 1970, P. 4) gives Madhva's dates as 1238 to 1317 A.D.
There has been some discussion (notably, G.A. Grierson, 'Madhva-charita', 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics', Vol.8) of the influences of Christianity upon Madhva, based upon the evidence that his birthplace was the ancient city of Kalyanapuram, in which thrived a settlement of Nestorian Christians at this time. Dasgupta (ibid., P.93) considers this view unjustified by either the historical evidence or the internal evidence of Madhva's writings. Sharma (op. cit., P.4) also rejects the view of Christian influence upon Madhva and, following the earliest biography of Madhva, locates his birthplace as the village of Pajaka, 8 miles southeast of Udipi (western Karnataka).

Madhva's main works are his two commentaries on the 'Brahma-sutras': 'Brahma-sutra-bhasya' (hereafter 'B.S.B.') and 'Anuvyakhyana' (hereafter 'A.V.') and his commentaries upon 10 main Upanisads (those also commented upon by Sankara). According to Sharma (ibid., Pp.4-9), Madhva based himself in Udipi and, like Sankara, toured both North and South India disputing with adherents to rival philosophies, thereby gaining converts to his own system.

Sharma considers that, in the face of Muslim invasions, forcible conversions to Islam and disunity amongst the Hindu princes during Madhva's lifetime, the 'disguised Buddhism' of Sankara was, in Madhva's view,
"leading the nation to an unconscious pessimism of spirit; which he felt to be highly detrimen-
tal to the social and political future of his counymen. It was no accident that the seed of
hope for the rehabilitation of the social and political fortunes of the people planted by
Madhva developed into the mighty kingdom of
Vijayanagar, symbolising the hopes and aspira-
tions of a harassed people regaining their strength
and realising their aspirations." (ibid., Ppl-3)

It is certainly the case that the Muslim invasions
precipitated a religious revival throughout South India
which was the direct cause of the foundation of the
Vijayanagar kingdom and empire. (Sharma supplies the
date 1325 A.D. for the foundation of Vijayanagar, al-
though the date usually accepted by scholars is the
coronation of Harihara on 18th April 1336):

"The foundation of the (Vijayanagar) empire was
the culmination of a strong wave of religious
revival and political excitement caused by the
Sultanate of Delhi seeking to impose its sway on
the Deccan and farther south in the early four¬
tenth century." (K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Develop¬
ment of Religion in South India', Bombay, 1963,
P.125)

The principal Muslim invasions took place in 1310-11
and 1327-8 (Sastri, ibid.). Even with the dates which
Sharma given for Madhva (1238-1317) it is impossible to
argue that he constructed his system as an alternative
to the militant monotheism of Islam as a result of these
invasions in the early 14th century. Yet the view that
his system acquired such popularity throughout the 14th
century due to these invasions is highly persuasive.

Madhva's system is summarised in a Sanskrit verse
composed by Vyasaraja (1447-1539):
"Hari is supreme, the world is real, separateness is true, the individual souls are infinitely graded as superior and inferior, and are dependent on God, liberation is self-realisation consisting in the enjoyment of such bliss as remained latent in the soul. Pure Bhakti (devotion) is the means to this end. Perception, inference and testimony are the sources of knowledge—mundane and heavenly. Hari is knowable in the entirety of the Vedas and by the Vedas alone."
(translated Karmarkar and Kalamdani, op. cit., Pp. 16-17)

This summarises Dvaita cosmology, assertions concerning sadhana and theory of knowledge. Madhva himself summarises his cosmology in the expression prapancha (literally, the 'complete S') or 'fivefold difference':

"This fivefold difference is the difference that exists as between Jivas, Jadas (material principles) and Brahman on the one hand and mutually among Jivas and Jadas themselves on the other."
(from Madhva, 'Visnusattva-Nirmiya', translated Sharma, ibid., P. 68)

This closely follows Samkhya-Yoga cosmology: Isvara of Samkhya-Yoga is identified with the Brahman of the Upanisads. Madhva conceives of the opposition between jivas (i.e. purusas of Samkhya-Yoga) and jadas (literally, 'inert things') as one of cit/acit (Sharma, ibid., P. 96). Cit/acit (conscious/lacking in consciousness) is the distinction employed in Samkhya-Yoga to characterise the difference between purusas and matter. Madhva conceives of the Brahman as also cit (c.f. Samkhya-Yoga, in which Isvara is also cit).

However, he introduces a distinction between the jivas (i.e. purusas) and the Brahman (i.e. Isvara): the former are dependent (upon the Brahman) whilst the Brahman is independent.
Madhva takes the view that jivas are dependent (parastantra) whilst the Brahman is independent from Ramanuja. In both systems (i.e. Dvaita and Visistadvaita), this view is the basis of the rationalisation of bhakti as the only effective form of sadhana. Madhva follows Samkhya-Yoga in asserting that matter, souls and the Brahman (i.e. Isvara) are real and eternal entities. Thus, in that the jivas and the Brahman are eternal, Brahman does not create jivas (or the matter comprising the universe of phenomena); thus far he agrees with Samkhya-Yoga. However, whilst Samkhya-Yoga conceives of Isvara terminating periods of universal dissolution or absorption (pralaya), initiating new periods of evolution or creation (samsrasti) and, beyond this, having only a limited capacity to intervene in the evolution of matter (sufficient only to remove obstacles from the path of the sadhaka with whom He is pleased), Madhva conceives of the Brahman as actively involved in every stage of the evolution, or creation, of matter throughout the universe:

"He enters into matter and energises it to transform it in various ways and assumes many forms to control such modifications."

"The Supreme Being, possessed of infinite powers, enters into various stages of the evolution of matter and brings about each and every such manifestation of things, Himself." (B.S.B. i,4 and ii,3, translated Sharma, ibid., P.110)

Sharma summarises this conception of the Brahman as "the active source of the rich multiplicity of finite reality and the sustaining principle behind it" (ibid. P.34)
Since the Brahman is immanent in all transformations of body-matter (bhutas and 'mind-stuff') and controls them, the Yoga disciplines for the attainment of 'release' can only be efficacious if the Brahman so wills. Madhva's cosmology thus denies their independent efficacy.

Since 'bondage' must be tackled at its source in order to attain 'release', in terms of Madhva's cosmology 'release' can only be attained by the alteration of the will of the Brahman in respect of the individual jiva or purusa. Thus Madhva asserts that

"The true and final explanation of bondage is therefore the Will of the Brahman." (Dvadasa Stotra', iii,6, translated Sharma, ibid., P.87)

and asserts that the only means of 'release' is through the grace (prasada) of the Brahman:

"there is no possibility of mukti even by the power of knowledge, as such, without the grace of the Brahman," (A.V., quoted Madhva, ibid., P.89)

This amounts to a very different view of the role of God's intervention in the fate of the individual jiva from that of Samkhya-Yoga, which conceives of Isvara as capable only of removing obstacles from the path of the seeker of 'release' and not as being able to grant or withhold 'release'.

Madhva accepts the Samkhya-Yoga view that 'bondage' manifests itself as ignorance (avidya, aijana) of the 'real' self (jiva or purusa) and the equating of the 'illusory' self (i.e. the reflection of the purusa or jiva upon the 'mind-stuff') with the 'real' self. However, by asserting that the Brahman is immanent in all
transformations of body-matter (bhutas and 'mind-stuff'), he is able to equate this 'causal ignorance' with the 
jiva's ignorance of his relationship of dependence upon 
the Brahman. Thus, in Madhva's interpretation, the 'real' 
self is the 'dependent' self, the 'illusory' self is the 
'independent' self and the knowledge (vidya, inana) which 
leads the jiva to 'release' is knowledge of the 'depend¬
ent' (i.e. 'real') self, hence knowledge of the relation¬
ship of dependence of the jiva upon the Brahman (Sharma, 
ibid., Pp.86-7). In this way, Madhva is able to encompass 
and re-interpret these key concepts of Samkhya-Yoga and 
Advaita in order to justify his own system.

In Madhva's conception of the Brahman
"The two main characteristics of God in respect 
of the Universe - viz. His transcendence and His 
immanence - are given equal importance." (Sharma, 
ibid., P.111)

As we saw in section (c), (1) of this chapter, Advaita 
conceives of both a transcendent (nirguna - beyond 
attributes) and immanent (saguna - with attributes) 
Brahman but it regards the latter as the 'illusory 
projection' of the former, hence stressing the trans¬
cendent nature of the Brahman. The conception of the 
immanence of the Brahman is thus radically different 
in the two systems: In Advaita the immanent Brahman 
is illusory and comprises the whole universe of phe¬
omena whilst in Dvaita it is real and comprises only the 
'energiser', 'transformer' and 'controller' of the 
matter in the universe and the 'controller' of the fates 
of the jivas contained therein.
In the transcendent conceptions of the Brahman, however, it is difficult to distinguish between those argued by each system. Madhva attempts to distinguish his conception of the transcendence of the Brahman from Sankar's nirguna conception. Interpreting nirguna as 'without attributes', he argues that

"There can not possibly be anything that is utterly attributeless." ('Karma-Nirnaya', quoted Sharma, ibid., P.104)

Yet he argues that

"The Independent Being must, necessarily, be infinite in Its attributes." ('Nyaya-Vivarana', quoted Sharma ibid., P.96)

Sharma comments

"Since there is no other way left for our limited understanding to know the Infinite, we have to use terms and concepts of empirical understanding in trying to form some idea of it. Otherwise, there would be no other way in which we could form any conception of the Infinite." (ibid., P.108)

There appears to be little, if any, distinction between such a conception of the Brahman as 'beyond attribution' and Sankara's conception of the Brahman as 'beyond attributes'. In both conceptions, the Brahman is 'beyond the dualities (i.e. oppositions and distinctions) of thought'.

Madhva identifies the Brahman as the Hindu god Hari (i.e. Visnu-Krisna). He founded the Krisna temple in Udipi, surrounded by 6 mathas (monasteries) for the study of Dvaita philosophy, which is today an important pilgrimage centre in Karnataka. Identification of one of the Hindu gods as Brahman (i.e. God) raises a problem
for Madhva's system:

"That God has independent sovereignty, that all beings, different from Him and different from each other, depend completely upon Him alone, immediately raises the question of the status and role of the gods and the religious attitude which the true devotee should have towards them."

(Suzanne Siauve, 'Les Hierarchies Spirituelles; selon L'Anuvyakhyana de Madhva', Pondicherry, 1971, P.3; my own translation)

Madhva's solution to this problem is, firstly, to adopt the *avatar* theory contained in the 'Bhagavad Gita': viz. that the gods Visnu, Kriana, Narayana, Vyasa, Rama, etc., are simply different forms assumed by the Supreme God in different places and different historical periods.

His conception of the 'infinite forms' of the *Brahman*, discussed above, supports this theory. Secondly, he regards those gods which are not *avatars* of the *Brahman* (Brahma, Sarasvati, Siva, Parvati etc.) as, like men, *jivas*. Thirdly, he arranges the most important of these gods into a hierarchy and assigns to them a role similar to that of the saints in medieval Christianity: viz. as intermediaries between men and Hari (hence the theories discussed above of Christian influences upon Madhva):

"The single divine sovereignty is not impaired by the honours paid to the gods, since they are not only superior to us but like us; more powerful but also dependent upon the single supreme power which impels them, like us, towards 'release' which they can only obtain by divine grace and also immersed in 'sin' and its consequences. The true devotee worships them because they are the eminent devotees of Visnu ... They teach men: the true devotion - that which gives to the only Lord all devotion". (Suzanne Siauve, ibid., 1971, Pp. 3-5; my own translation)

It is tempting to leap to the sociological conclusion that this hierarchy of gods represents the projection
on to the gods of the hierarchical inter-caste relations existing amongst men. Suzanne Siauve considers this interpretation, but rejects it in favour of the following:

"It seems that another hierarchy prevails, the model for which is the relationship of the guru to his disciples." (ibid., 1971, P. 5; my own translation)

The hierarchy of the gods is based upon the criterion of the relative completeness of the vision of Himself which Hari grants to each one of them and men worship these gods in order that the gods may communicate to them their (to different degrees complete) visions of Hari. The forms of Hari are infinite and only He sees Himself as He really is. As we move up the hierarchy of gods, we find that their respective visions of Hari progressively approach the true, infinite form of Hari although even the highest god in the hierarchy does not see the true, infinite form of Hari and sees only those aspects which Hari permits the god to see. (from Suzanne Siauve, ibid., pp.62-5). Thus, as the sadhaka worships progressively higher gods in the hierarchy, so his conception of Hari, communicated to him by the gods, progressively approaches the true, infinite form of Hari. In this way, the gods perform the role of gurus in relation to men: as a man seeks progressively more advanced gurus, so the devotee of Hari worships progressively higher gods in the hierarchy, as his sadhana progresses.

In Madhva's scheme there are essentially four ranks
of gods. In some of Madhva's writings, the gods Laksmi (Visnu's consort) and Rama are considered to be outside of the hierarchy (with Rama conceived as an avatar of Hari) and in others they are included in the first rank of the hierarchy. In 'Anuvyakhyana', Laksmi is placed outside of the hierarchy and Rama is the sole occupant of the first rank of the hierarchy (i.e. not conceived as an avatar of Hari). In the second rank are Brahma, Sarasvati (Brahma's consort), Siva and Parvati (Siva's consort) - in that order. In the third rank are Indra and his consort Kama - in that order. In the fourth rank are all the other gods. (From Suzanne Siauve, ibid., Pp.62-4)

Madhva conceives of the state of 'release' as "a continuity and survival of individual consciousness" (Sharma, ibid., P.77). This is consistent with the Samkhya-Yoga view of 'release' and differs from the Advaita conception of 'release' as the loss of individual consciousness on participation in 'Universal Consciousness'. However, like Sankara, Madhva also conceives of the state of 'release' as one of bliss (ananda) and, when added to the Samkhya-Yoga conception of the state of 'release', this raises the possibility that the individual, released jivas will experience different degrees of bliss:

"There is a natural gradation among the released souls as also disparity in their Sadhanas. The difference in the nature and quality of Sadhanas must necessarily have a relation to the result."

(A.V., quoted Sharma, ibid., P.149)
However, he distinguishes 'degree of bliss', which differs between released souls, from 'fulfilment', which does not differ:

"Just as vessels of different sizes, the rivers and the Ocean are all 'full' of water according to their respective capacities even so, in respect of the jivas, from ordinary human beings to god Brahma, their fullness of bliss attained through Sadhanas is to be understood with reference to their varying (intrinsic) capacities. The Sadhanas practised by them such as Bhakti, Jnana etc. are nothing more than an expression of their intrinsic potentialities, which are the very core of their being — going back to beginningless eternity. Those with limited capacities are satisfied with limited bliss and those with comparatively greater capacities reach fulfilment with still more". (Bhararanyaka Upanisad Bhasya, quoted Sharma, ibid., Pp.149-150)

These conceptions of the state of 'release' and Madhva's conception of the hierarchy of gods are together expressed in Vyasaraja's summary (see above) as "the individual souls" (i.e. both men and gods) "are infinitely graded as superior and inferior" and "liberation is self-realisation consisting in the enjoyment of such bliss as remained latent in the soul". The resultant conception is a blending of a hierarchical and an egalitarian view of man. Despite innate differences between individuals and the inequalities of opportunity for the development of the full potential of the individual, in Madhva's view all men are equal since they all have equal opportunities to attain 'release': this is the message of Madhva to non-Brahmans, conveyed by the mendicant Haridasas. On the other hand, the gradation of the jivas into an eternal hierarchy justifies the location of Brahmans at the top
of the hierarchy of castes and offers them a similar, elite status in the released state. Madhva's recognition of the different efficacies of the forms of sadhana also offers them rewards, in the released state, for the practice of their exclusive forms of sadhana (i.e. Sankara's jnana yoga and the performance of Vedic rites).

Neither Dvaita nor Advaita is a social philosophy. As systems of Hindu philosophy, they are concerned with the questions of 'bondage' and 'release'. However, whilst Advaita restricts 'release' to Brahman males, Dvaita makes it available to all whilst providing a cosmological justification for the hierarchical nature of Indian society. Only Mimamsa had hitherto supplied the latter: viz. members of the lower castes were suffering the consequences of bad karma whilst Brahmans were enjoying the consequences of good karma.

(d), (ii) Dvaita Rationalisations of Sadhana

In terms of Dvaita cosmology, the only efficacious form of sadhana is that which is capable of altering the will of Hari in respect of the individual jiva. Madhva asserts that only bhakti is capable of this. He defines bhakti as

"That firm and unshakeable love of God, which rises above all other ties of love and affection, based upon an adequate knowledge and conviction of His great majesty, is called Bhakti. That alone is the means of Moksa." ('Mahabharata-tatparya-nirnaya', 1,86, translated Sharma, ibid., P.92)
He conceives of *bhakti* both as the means of *sadhana* and as the goal of *sadhana*, since he regards it as the source of the bliss (*ananda*) experienced in the state of 'release':

"From Bhakti one reaches (mediate) knowledge, thence again ripe Bhakti, thence vision (*aparoksa*) and thence again very ripe devotion to the Lord. Then comes *mukti* and thereby *bhakti* again, which is of the essence of bliss and an end in itself." (A.V., iii,4, translated Sharma, ibid., Pp.92-3)

This passage summarises the sequence of stages of Dvaita *sadhana*. I shall discuss each of these stages in turn.

From an initial love of God, the *sadhaka* strives for (mediate) knowledge by means of *upasana* (literally, 'worship'):

"Such *upasana* is twofold: one consisting of deep study, reflection and exposition of Scriptures and the other of pure meditation. The control of breath and other aspects of Yogic meditation are all the accessories to this *Dhyana* (i.e. meditation)." (A.V., quoted Sharma, ibid., P.125)

(In passing, we note the relegation of the forms of *sadhana* advocated by Advaita as the most efficacious to a very much preliminary and dispensable stage of the Dvaita *sadhana*.) The object of *dhyana* (meditation) is the *Brahman* but Madhva stresses that

"the form of *Brahman* that is built up in *Dhyana* by the mind of the *Sadhaka* is not the same as *Brahman*. In *Dhyana* one sees only the reflection of *Brahman* on the *Citta* (i.e. 'mind-stuff'). The meditation of this reflected form of *Brahman* is like the worship of an image. It leads (gradually) to the actual vision of the Lord, by His own grace." (B.S.B., iii,2, translated Sharma, ibid., P.139)

The "deep study, reflection and exposition of Scriptures"
provides the evidence of the nature of the Brahman
(the "adequate knowledge") which is assimilated through
Dhyana (meditation) and results in the "conviction of
His great majesty". Madhva regards the main feature
discernable in the Scriptural evidence (i.e. basically
the Upanisads), which is to be assimilated through
Dhyana, as the infinite form of the Brahman:

"Among all the attributes of Brahman to be medi-
tated upon, the attribute of Bhumatva or infini-
tude is the chief one which is to be meditated
upon in unison with the other attributes like
ananda (i.e. bliss)." (B.S.B.iii,3, translated
Sharma, ibid., P.136)

Having attained the stage of 'ripe bhakti' by these
means, the sadhaka practises sadhana-bhakti. Madhva
attached great importance to the 'Bhagavata Purana'
(Sharma, ibid., P.155) in which the Supreme God is
Krisna (hence his establishment of the six maths (mona-
steries) in Udipi around a Krisna temple). The Bhaga-
vata Purana (VII.5.23) prescribes nine forms of sadhana-
bhakti. These are:

1. SRAVANA - hearing the accounts of the childish
   exploits (lila) of Krisna
2. KIRTANA - reciting the names of Krisna in song and
   in the heart
3. SMARANA - reminding oneself all the time of the
   presence of Krisna
4. PADADEVANA - showing respect by touching His feet
5. ARGAANA - adoring Him
6. VANDANA - prostrating oneself before Krisna
7. DASYA – having the attitude of a servant towards Him

8. SAKHYA – confiding in Him as a friend

9. ATMANIVEDANA – complete submersion in Krisna

(R.V. Joshi, 'Le Rituel de la Devotion Krsnaite', Pondicherry, 1959, P.96; my own translation)

By these means, the sadhaka induces Hari to reveal Himself to His devotee. This vision of Himself which He grants, of His own volition, is called aparoksa (literally, 'not invisible', 'present') and constitutes the guarantee, to the sadhaka, that Hari has granted him 'release':

"Release from Samsara (i.e. 'bondage') is possible only through God's grace. It is bestowed on those who have had a direct vision of God." (A.V. quoted Sharma, ibid., P.89)

and:

"Though He remains unmanifest always, by His own grace He reveals Himself to the Upasaka (i.e. devotee), by His own inscrutable power. Without His choosing to reveal Himself in this way, who can ever see Him, the limitless one?" (B.S.B., iii,2, translated Sharma, ibid., P.140)

Sharma describes the aparoksa vision of Hari as

"a flash-like revelation of the Supreme at the fruition of a long and arduous process... Ultimately, it is He that must choose to reveal Himself, pleased by the hungering love of the soul." (ibid., P.140)

After the aparoksa vision, the devotee is in the aparoksa or 'realised' (see section (a) of this chapter) state; this is the Dvaita equivalent of the jivanmukti state in Advaita. In this state, the devotee practises premabhakti. Prem means 'love' or 'affection' – thus,
in contrast with sadhanabhakti, practised in order to achieve the guarantee of 'release', premabhakti is the practice of bhakti without such selfish motives:

"In this state, no consciousness of self remains in the devotee. He transcends the limited states of 'I' and 'mine' and lives in a state of supreme bliss by thinking that he belongs to Krisna and to nobody else." (Joshi, op.cit., P.97; my own translation)

Although, in this state of "very ripe devotion", 'release' is guaranteed to the devotee,

"There is no hard and fast rule that release should take place at the destruction (by death) of that particular body in and through which the Aparoksa-Jnana was attained. It depends upon Prarabdha (i.e. residual) Karma. If its effects have been worked out (in that body) there is no more delay; but if they have not been, then he must pass through some more lives to work them out." (B.S.B., iii,4, translated Sharma, ibid., P.141)

Whilst he accepts Sankara's view that a man who has attained the realised state will have no bad (papa) karma to work out, Madhva distinguishes between two types of good (punya) karma: the desirable (ista) and the undesirable (anista):

"The former is what conduces to deeper and deeper manifestations of innate bliss in Moksa. The latter is whatever is likely to prolong the onset of complete release." (Sharma, ibid., P.141)

However, as controller of the universe Hari controls the law of karma, so that Madhya's conception of the role of residual karma in delaying 'release' gives greater scope for the grace of Hari in the quest for final 'release':

"When such a final stage of Bhakti is reached, after Aparoksa-vision, God intervenes to neutralise a portion of Prarabdha even and ushers in final Moksa." (Sharma, ibid., P.142)
Such desirable (ista) good \textit{karma} as will enhance the experience of bliss in \textit{Mokśa} is not removed, but remains to augment the bliss experienced in the released state (ibid.).

In this conception of the role of residual \textit{karma} in the realised state, again we witness the blending of a hierarchical and an egalitarian view of man. On the one hand, because residual \textit{karma} can prolong the realised state for up to several lifetimes, those who can alter their \textit{karma} through the performance of Vedic rites before attaining the realised state (i.e. Brahman males) are at an advantage in the quest for final 'release'. On the other hand, those who can not perform Vedic rites (i.e. non-Brahmans) can have this disadvantage removed by the intervention of Hari.

(e) Conclusions

(i) Purification, Participation and Transcendence

In the preceding four sections (a) to (d) of this chapter, I have described the practices which constitute \textit{sadhana} and how these have been rationalised in cosmological terms. These practices and rationalisations have evolved over two and a half millenia; it has therefore been necessary to describe them from the perspective of their historical development. The \textit{darsanas}, which rationalise and advocate the practices, evolved through a process of dynamic mutual interaction - viz. disputations between adherents to different systems
with the objective of gaining converts. In this situation, the success of a darsana depended upon its 'deductive potential': i.e. the capacity of its general cosmological propositions to explain three different categories of particular - (i) the cosmological propositions of other darsanas, (ii) existing forms of sadhana and (iii) Scriptural texts. For example, the general cosmological proposition which was Gaudapada's interpretation of the Buddhist ideas of sunya ('absolute vacuity' - Macdonell, op.cit., P. 317) and vijnana ('knowledge alone - and not external phenomena - having a real existence' - ibid., P. 282) was employed by Sankara to explain (i) Samkhya cosmology, (ii) the Yoga disciplines and (iii) the main Upanisadas.

However, the diversity of the particulars which constitute the 'explanandum' is so great that, firstly, they defy such systematisation (for example, the lack of fit noted in section (c),(ii) of this chapter between the Advaita rationalisations of the jnana and laya forms of sadhana, on the one hand, and the bhakti and karma forms on the other). Secondly, alternative rationalisations of the same particular in terms of the same general proposition emerge. I have attempted to avoid these in this chapter by avoiding the degree of detail at which such alternatives emerge. One example, however, is the different correlations which different laya yoga texts make between the four lowest chakras in the 'subtle' body and the functions of the 'gross' body which they control. Such alternative rationalisations
of particulars occupy indigenous Sanskrit scholars and their attempts to render them mutually compatible evolve into new commentaries.

In extracting the fundamental ideas of these darsenas concerning sadhana and explaining the relations between them, it has been necessary to apply judgements of centrality and peripherality to a vast complex of ideas. As an anthropologist by training, I have attempted to apply only those judgements made by or accepted by my informants; I have either employed their abstractions from and systematisations of the complex of ideas or those contained in texts which they recommended to me. An informant in North India or even other parts of South India would no doubt employ different abstractions and systematisations and recommend different texts; as, no doubt, would a Western Sanskrit scholar.

Such variations are, however, irrelevant in the present context for two reasons. Firstly, I am concerned with the rationalisation of sadhana in southern Karnataka; my informants' views and preferred texts express this. Secondly, in the present section I develop my interpretation of this set of ideas to a high level of abstraction, in terms of which such variations between different regions and even different darsenas would not appear to contradict the general statements which are my conclusions (although the final judgement on this can only be made by scholars who have
investigated this topic in other parts of India).

In section (a) of this chapter, we encountered a fundamental problem: contemporary sadhakas view the set of ideas and practices described in this chapter as a single system although it basically consists in two variant and logically irreconcilable systems of interpretation of the main Upanisads. From the more detailed examination in sections (b) to (d), an interpretation of the set of ideas and practices is now apparent which solves the above problem and gives us an insight into the viewpoint of the contemporary sadhaka.

The various differences between Dvaita and Advaita derive (as the indigenous terminology reflects) from their interpretation of the identity of the Brahman as either 'self' or 'alter'. If the Brahman is interpreted as 'self', then sadhana must take the form of self-manipulation; if the Brahman is interpreted as 'alter' then sadhana must take the form of influencing 'alter'. In the former case, sadhana takes the form of the removal of the 'pure' (suddha) from within the 'impure' (asuddha) and the state of 'release' is characterised as one of 'purity' (e.g. the concept of suddhabodha - 'pure consciousness' - in jnana yoga and bhutasuddhi - 'purification of the 'elements' - in laya yoga). In the latter case, sadhana takes the form of the development of a set of sentiments towards 'alter' and the state of 'release' is characterised in terms of a permanent relationship with 'alter' which is mutually
satisfactory because of these sentiments (i.e. Hari only wants to spend eternity with those who are deeply in love with Him and the individual jīva only wants to spend eternity with someone with whom he is deeply in love). I shall term the former (i.e. Advaita) a 'purification' model of sadhana and the latter (i.e. Dvaita) a 'participation' model of sadhana.

The 'purification' model contained in Advaita is derived from that contained in Samkhya-Yoga. In the latter system, the purusa is the 'real' self which is 'pure'. The distinguishing characteristic of purusa is that it is conscious (citt) in opposition to 'matter', which is lacking in consciousness (acitt). What is 'impure' is the 'illusory' self which consists in the 'reflection' of the conscious upon that which, of itself, lacks consciousness (i.e. the 'mind-stuff' - buddhi or citta). 'Pure' and 'impure' are thus attributes of consciousness and the 'impure' consists in the conjunction of pure consciousness with that which, of itself, lacks consciousness. In Advaita, 'pure' is the attribute of consciousness (bodha or caitanya) which is real whilst 'impure' is the attribute of consciousness which is illusory. 'Illusion' (maya) itself has no reality therefore no consciousness; the 'impure' consciousness which we have in māyā (i.e. the jīva) consists in the 'reflection' of the pure consciousness upon the illusory 'mind-stuff' (buddhi or citta). Underlying both systems is the idea that the 'impure' consciousness consists in the conjunction of the 'pure' consciousness
with that which of itself lacks consciousness and that this 'impure' consciousness is the source of 'bondage'.

The term 'participation' (model of sadhana) is borrowed from Dumont (op.cit., 1970, P.55):

"'Participation' is in fact the original meaning of the word bhakti. There seems to be a linguistic correspondence between the devotee, bhakta, and Bhagavan, the Blessed Lord, or better He whose plenitude is open to participation."

Dumont notes that the description of bhakti given in the Bhagavata Purana, the text from which Madhva’s conception of bhakti is derived, has similarities with non-brahmanical religious practice: viz.

"that both possession, a functional feature of folk religion, and bhakti, a characteristic of many sects, rest upon a common psychological condition, and that bhakti takes up in more or less sublimated form an aspect of common religion ignored by Brahmanic orthodoxy." (ibid., P.57)

The idea of the self's participation in 'alter' is common to both the bhakti model of sadhana and non-brahmanical ecstatic possession cults. The Dvaita model of sadhana thus represents the particular manifestation of a more widespread, pan-Indian phenomenon. The Advaita model of sadhana is also a pan-Indian phenomenon, so that the argument which follows may be applicable beyond the confines of Karnataka.

Advaita cosmology ultimately denies 'participation' as a result of sadhana, since 'self' and 'alter' are in reality always one. Yet Advaita sadhana involves 'participation' as a fact of experience, since the jiva, on realising itself to be the Brahman (i.e. 'self') +
'alter') attains the experience of participation in what it had previously (though erroneously) conceived as 'alter'. Dvaita cosmology re-interprets the concepts of 'real self' and illusory self' as, respectively, 'dependent self' and 'independent self' and thereby interprets 'purification' as 'participation'. Yet Dvaita also conceives of 'release' as the disjunction of the real self which is conscious (cit), from the body-matter, which lacks consciousness (i.e. is sic) — precisely the procedure regarded as 'purification' in Samkhya-Yoga and Advaita.

Sadhana and 'release'; in both systems, thus consist in the dual processes of 'purification' and 'participation'. The cosmological rationalisation of 'release' however, logically demands a choice between two alternatives: viz. 'Brahman is self' or 'Brahman is alter'. The adoption of one alternative logically demands the adoption of one model of sadhana ('purification' or 'participation') and the denial of the other. The two logically irreconcilable systems of interpretation of the Upanisads thus amount to a single interpretation of sadhana: viz. that sadhana consists in the extraction from the everyday notion of self of that which is the real self (i.e. 'purification') and some kind of merger of this real self with 'alter' (i.e. 'participation').

These procedures of 'purification' and 'participation' result in the alteration, or re-structuring, of the sadhaka's notion of self. Before practising sadhana,
the individual's notion of self is based upon logical categories: 'self' is that which is internally experienceable (i.e. mind and body) and is opposed to 'non-self', which is experienceable as external to the self. The Vedanta systems term this notion of self avidya (ignorance). Sadhana consists in the erosion of the boundary between 'self' and 'non-self' contained in this logical, or avidya, classification: the 'purification' model locates 'non-self' within 'self' whilst the 'participation' model extends the boundary of 'self' into 'non-self' (either by identification with or by establishment of a close relationship with 'alter'). Sadhana results in a new classification of 'self' and 'non-self' which stands opposed to that contained in the logical (avidya) classification; and this diametrical opposition between the logical and the Vedanta classifications is expressed in the opposition between avidya (ignorance) and vidya (knowledge).

The procedures of 'purification' and 'participation' thus involve the erosion of the boundary between two fundamental logical (avidya) categories: 'self' and 'non-self'. This is one sense in which my definition of 'ritual' (in chapter 1, section (a),) as "behaviour directed at eroding the boundaries between logical categories" is applicable to sadhana. However, the definition is also applicable in a wider sense: sadhana involves the erosion of the boundaries between all logical categories. This is witnessed in the importance of the procedure of 'transcendence' (of 'dualities')
In both Dvaita and Advaita sadhana.

In Advaita, the Brahman is conceived as nirguna (beyond attributes) therefore the meditation upon the self as Brahman involves the transcendence of the oppositions and distinctions contained in all logical (avidya) categories. In Dvaita, the attributes of the Brahman are conceived as infinite and meditation (urvasana) upon the Brahman focuses upon this attribute of infinitude (bhumaṇa) which transcends all logical categories. In the Vedanta systems, vidya is precisely defined as 'knowledge of the Brahman' (and its antithesis, avidya, as 'ignorance of the Brahman'). Thus vidya entails the transcendence, or erosion, of the boundaries between all logical (avidya) categories.

In mantra sastra (see section (c),(ii), C of this chapter), vidya is said to be conveyed at its most condensed form by the mantra 'AUM' (see, for example, 'S'akti and S'akti', Woodroffe, op.cit., Pp.488-90). The three phonemic elements signify the 3 aspects of the saguna Brahman: in cosmological terms these are creation (arati), maintenance (athiti) and destruction (pralaya) of the universe and in theological terms these are the gods Brahma, Visnu and Siva. As written, the mantra consists in a succession of three discrete elements but it is pronounced as a single, nazalised sound. The pronunciation of the mantra thus imposes continuity upon the discontinuous succession of discrete elements comprising it. This is said to symbolise the
relationship of nirguna to saguna Brahman.

Repetition of the mantra 'AUM' imposes continuity, identified with the experience sought through sadhana, upon the discontinuity of experience as mediated through logical categories. Although mantra sastra expresses the Advaita view of the transcendent nature of the Brahman there is, as we noted in section (d), (i) of this chapter, little if any difference between the Dvaita and Advaita conceptions of the transcendent nature of the Brahman, so that the repetition of the mantra, 'AUM' serves as an apt paradigm of the concept of 'transcendence' in both systems.

The idea of the imposition of continuity upon discontinuity is, as we saw in chapter 1, section (a) of this thesis, precisely that which Lévi-Strauss posits as underlying 'ritual' in general. In Lévi-Strauss's view, ritual attempts to deal with the resistance of man towards his thought:

(Ritual) "is a direct response to neither the world, nor even the experience of the world; it is a response to the way in which man thinks about the world." ('L'Homme Nu', op.cit., P.609; my own translation)

In ritual, man seeks experience which is 'direct', in the sense of unmediated through thought. This is precisely the concept of 'transcendence' in the Vedanta systems.

'Transcendence' is obviously functionally related to 'purification' and 'participation'. In order to
achieve these, the sadhaka must transcend the avidya distinction of 'self' versus 'non-self'. The quest for the experience of life unmediated through thought in the meditational disciplines of 'transcendence' (in both Dvaita and Advaita sadhana) assists the sadhaka in transcending the avidya distinction of 'self' versus 'non-self'; erosion of the boundaries between all logical categories assists in the erosion of this particular boundary between logical categories.

The concept of 'transcendence' in the Vedanta systems explains the statements by my informants, in section (a) of this chapter, that the experience of the Brahman is 'beyond' words and concepts and that, in the 'realised' state, the sadhaka experiences a cosmology within which are reconciled the mutual contradictions existing between written cosmologies. The differences between Dvaita and Advaita derive from the interpretation of Brahman as 'self' or 'alter'. Transcendence of the 'dualities' of thought results in the erosion of the boundary between 'self' and 'alter' and hence the erosion of the difference between Brahman as self' and 'Brahman as alter'.

Thus, one objective of sadhana is to transcend logical categories. Written cosmologies comprise systems of logical categories, one function of which is to assist the sadhaka to transcend all logical categories. Once this transcendence is achieved, they are of no more use to the sadhaka. He has achieved an experience of the
nature of the self and its relationship to the universe unmediated by logical categories, hence one in which the oppositions between written cosmologies are (experientially) reconciled.

(e), (ii) Cross-Cultural Comparison

The rationalisation of sadhana in written texts which are used by contemporary sadhakes allows the investigator a direct insight into the effect upon the participant of this set of practices. Together with statements from practising sadhakes, this constitutes the only data available by means of which to study sadhana, since most of the practices involved are personal and internal. In other forms of ritual, such as the Ndembu curative rituals studied by Turner, ritual activity is communal and consists mostly in the manipulation of external objects. In the study of such forms, observational data is the most accessible and exegetical data is sparse and often self-contradictory (because, in a non-literate society, it does not exist in a systematised form in written texts and must therefore be collected aurally in its entirety).

However, despite these radical differences in the forms of ritual action and in the methods appropriate to their investigation, there are striking similarities between sadhana and Ndembu curative rituals. These similarities comprise the three procedures of 'purification', 'participation', and 'transcendence'.
In chapter 1, section (a), I argued that much Ndembu ritual activity consists in the symbolic representation of grudges and that Ndembu symbolically represent grudges in ritual as confusions, or conjunctions, of certain logical categories which underlie Ndembu thought. I also discussed Turner's interpretation of these rituals in 'Chihamba the White Spirit' (op.cit.); viz., that they achieve a 'déreglement' in the minds of the ritual participants which temporarily breaks through the 'habitual patterns formed by secular custom, rational thinking and common sense' and thereby induce religious experience. I also discussed Lévi-Strauss's interpretation of these rituals; viz., that they temporarily obliterate the distinctions and oppositions laid down by the logical categories through which men perceive reality - by creating ambiguities, compromises and transitions between these logical categories. The element of 'transcendence' in Ndembu curative rituals is thus readily apparent.

Other features of these Ndembu rituals strongly suggest the 'purification' procedure. For example, in the Ihamba ritual (Turner, op.cit., 1968, Pp.156-197) the cause of the patient's sickness is conceived as the 'shade' of a deceased hunter relative punishing his living kinsman for failure to make libations of blood and beer at his grave, for offending the 'shade' by quarrelling with other kinsmen, or, as the representative of a group of kinsmen, for the group's collective
offence of the 'shade'. Punishment is believed to take the form of an upper front incisor tooth of the deceased kinsman flying about invisibly and fixing itself under the skin of the victim. This tooth is called *ihamba* and the ritual takes the form of the removal of this tooth from the body of the victim by means of lacerating his skin and sucking it out by means of goats' horns. Removal of the tooth is identified by the patient with the removal of the grudges which he bears against his fellow kinsmen, which he conceives as the reason for the persistence of his illness, and Turner identifies the removal of the tooth with the removal of the grudges borne by the whole group of kinsmen towards each other. The *Ihamba* ritual therefore has the effect upon the participants of the removal of an undesired aspect of self; a procedure identical to 'purification' in *sadhana*.

All Ndembu curative rituals comprise two stages. The first consists in a series of ritual actions which culminate in the seclusion of the patient in a hut separated from the rest of the village. During the period of seclusion, the patient is permitted only limited contact with fellow villagers. The second stage consists in the removal of the patient from seclusion and his/her reintegration with the fellow villagers. In all Ndembu rituals, the sickness of the patient is attributed to the action of the 'shade' of a deceased relative and the second stage of the ritual celebrates the establishment or restoration of a close relationship
between 'shade' and patient which persists long after
the ritual. The 'shade' is believed to provide super-
natural assistance to the patient within this relation-
ship. The establishment of this relationship by ritual
means is a procedure very like the 'participation'
attained through sadhana (and has even greater similar-
ities with the type of 'participation' achieved in non-
brahmanical ecstatic possession cults, discussed in
section (e), (i) of this chapter).

These correspondences suggest that the interrelated
set comprising the three procedures (of (i) removal of
an undesired aspect of self, (ii) participation in a
desired 'alter' and (iii) transcendence of logical
categories) constitute a human need which is supplied by
ritual means in very different societies. Whilst sadhana
is a peculiarly Indian institution, the problem to which
it supplies a solution and the nature of this solution
would appear to be more widespread. This should not
surprise us. Present-day sadhakas and the darsana writers
consider the 'truths' contained in the darsanas and
realised by means of sadhana as valid for all men in all
historical periods and not as valid only for Indians or
Hindus.

(e), (iii) Transitions Between States

In chapter 1, section (c), (l), I stated that the
Samkhya-Yoga view of man as alternating between kliota
vrttis (afflicted states of mind) and akliota vrttis
(unafflicted states of mind) is fundamental to the Vedanta systems and their rationalisations of sadhana. Kliśta vṛttis are states of mind in which experience is mediated through logical categories; that is, states of avidya (ignorance). Aklīśta vṛttis are states of vidya (knowledge) in which experience is unmediated through logical categories. Advaita also interprets the kliśta vṛttis as those in which the experiencer is conscious of the 'illusory' self and the aklīśta vṛttis as those in which he is conscious of the 'real' self. Dvaita also interprets the kliśta vṛttis as those in which the experiencer imagines himself to be independent of Hari and the aklīśta vṛttis as those in which he realises his total dependence upon Hari.

Before practising sadhana, the aklīśta vṛttis are said to be of very short duration. The practice of sadhana extends the duration of these states and, on transition from the sadhaka state to the 'realised' state, the kliśta vṛttis disappear altogether, thus leaving the 'realised' individual in a permanent aklīśta state.

Both the transition between kliśta and aklīśta states and the transition between the sadhaka and the 'realised' states are conceived in terms of a transition between a state of avidya, in which experience is mediated through thought, and a state of vidya, in which experience is 'direct'. The aklīśta states of the
non-sadhaka are in this respect identical to the 'realised' state.

Both aklista and 'realised' states are 'beyond' description in words since, in these states, the experiencer transcends the logical categories expressible by means of words. What is amenable to description is the transition from the kli\(\text{\textipa{\textipa{s}}}\)ta to the aklista state and from the sadhaka to the 'realised' state. The latter transition is described in detail in the rationalisations of the different forms of sadhana; these descriptions are the three 'models for and of' the transition to the 'realised' state referred to in section (a) of this chapter. In jnana yoga, the transition is described as the mental experience of that which is unchanging amidst that which changes. In laya yoga, it is described as the psycho-physiological experience of the ascent of kundalini to the highest point in the 'subtle' body. In bhakti yoga, it is described as the emotional experience of the Supreme God revealing Himself to His devotee.

In that the transition to the 'realised' state is of the same nature as the transition from kli\(\text{\textipa{\textipa{s}}}\)ta to aklista states, the above 'models for and of' the transition to the 'realised' state are also applicable to the transition from the kli\(\text{\textipa{\textipa{s}}}\)ta to the aklista states. This is an important feature of sadhana: by imitating the transition to the realised state, the sadhaka achieves the transition from a kli\(\text{\textipa{\textipa{s}}}\)ta to an aklista.
state. In bhakti yoga, by worship of an image (either external or built up in the mind by meditation - dhyana) of Hari, the devotee attains an aklista state, in terms of Dvaita thought; worship of such an image imitates the Dvaita conception of the transition to the 'realised' state (viz. Hari revealing Himself to His devotee). In jnana yoga, by 'fixing the mind' upon a meditational object which does not alter, the sadhaka imitates the Advaita conception of the transition to the 'realised' state (viz. the realisation of the self as undifferentiated and unchanging pure consciousness) and thereby attains an aklista state. Similarly, in the more advanced stages of Devi worship and the early stages of lave yoga practice, the sadhaka imagines the absorptive flow of prana up the spino-cerebral axis to the top of the head without actually raising the prana up through the chakras. This constitutes 'purification' and places the sadhaka in a state in which the Devi will reveal Herself to him, in the indigenous view, thus placing him in an aklista state.

The 'man-in-the-world' who does not aspire to the goal of 'release' seeks, through sadhana, the transition from klista to aklista states. The temporary attainment of an aklista state, i.e. of experience unmediated through thought, has the effect upon the 'man-in-the-world' of restoring a state of equilibrium which has been disturbed by thought. The 'renouncer' seeks, through sadhana, the attainment of the 'realised' state which guarantees 'release' from 'bondage' in the cycle of re-
births. Whilst these two categories of practitioner seek different goals, the former transition imitates the latter transition. We can say that, whilst their 'ultimate' goals differ, they share the same 'proximate', experiential goals.
CHAPTER THREE: SAHITYA BHAVA

(a) Introduction

Analytically, we can distinguish between two separate functions of song texts (sahitya) although it is usually the case that a particular song text combines these two functions. One function is informative: as I said in chapter 1, section (c), (2), these song texts convey the fundamental ideas of 'renouncers' to 'men-in-the-world'. Specifically, they convey the basic cosmological tenets and related advice upon sadhana contained within the brahmanical systems of philosophy to non-scholars and non-Brahmans.

The other function of song texts is to effect a transition, in the listener, from a kliśta to an akliśta state. One way in which my informants conceived of the operation of this effect was that song texts describe the composer's experience of transition from the sadhaka to the 'realised' state and induce the listener's "emotional" involvement in this experience of transition. This results in the listener's transition from a kliśta to an akliśta state. Whilst some song texts expound philosophies other than those which advocate the bhakti form of sadhana (as in the case of many sangīta song texts), the 'models for and of' the transition to the 'realised' state which they describe are (with the possible exception of some vachana song texts - see section (b) of this chapter) exclusively those of
bhakti yoga. The exclusive description of the bhakti model of transition between states in song texts is consistent with my informants' statements that they induce the listener's EMOTIONAL involvement in the experience of transition (as opposed to 'psycho-physiological' or 'mental' involvement). This inducement of a transition in the listener by means of the description of the composer's transition, I shall term 'sympathetic transition'.

Sympathetic transition is, however, only one way in which my informants conceived of song texts as inducing an aklista state in the listener. A dominant theme in the song texts of all three genres of devotional music (vachana, devaranama and sangita) is the composer's suffering in the absence of the Supreme God and his desire for Him to reveal Himself and thereby put an end to this suffering. This sentiment expressed in the song texts is called bhakti-karuna. Bhakti means love of, or devotion towards, a deity. Karuna means 'pathos' and 'compassion': the expression of suffering is said to make the Supreme God have pity upon the sufferer, which induces Him, out of compassion, to reveal Himself to the sufferer and thereby grant him 'release'. My informants said that, through the expression of the sentiment of bhakti in the song texts, this sentiment is induced in the listener. They said that the expression of the sentiment of karuna in the song texts induces in the listener compassion for the suffering of others and the conviction that the world is a 'vale of tears'.
This is termed *vairagya* ('indifference to worldly objects' or 'detachment') which is regarded as the first stage arrived at through the practice of *sadhana*. In that these themes directly induce the sentiments which comprise an *aklipta* state (in terms of *bhakti* philosophy), I shall term such inducement of an *aklipta* state in the listener 'direct transition'.

In one sense we should distinguish between 'sympathetic' and 'direct' transition: the former operates by means of descriptions of the transition to the 'realised' state whilst the latter does not. However, according to my informants they "amount to the same thing" - the creation of the sentiment of *bhakti* in the listener. They said that the description of the experience of the Supreme God revealing Himself induces the sentiment of *bhakti* in those who hear this description. All of my informants agreed that *bhakti* and *karuna* are simply "different sides of the same coin" and some justified this viewpoint with the argument that the expression of the composer's suffering in the absence of the God itself directly induces in the listener love of the God (i.e. *bhakti*).

By regarding all of these themes as having the same effect upon the listener, it would appear that my informants were implying that, through the *sahitya*, they identify with the composer. Conversely, in all three genres of devotional music in Karnataka, the composer is never anonymous. Not only is the identity of the
composer known, but also many legends exist concerning his personality and incidents in which he was involved during his life (few of which are supported by historical evidence). In many cases a legend exists surrounding the circumstances of the (spontaneous) composition of the song. Life-like paintings of composers and, particularly, posters of these paintings are very popular in Karnataka.

This feature of identification with the composer would also explain why, although I have clearly distinguished between the two functions (of informing and inducing a transition) which song texts supply, none of my informants classified these as different effects of the sahitya. Significantly, the informative aspects song texts very often take the form of the composer addressing his own mind (manas - synonym of buddhi and citta, i.e. 'mind-stuff': see chapter 2). Thus, the cosmological tenets and advice upon sadhana contained in the systems of philosophy appear in the song texts as realisations experienced by the composer - as personified rather than as anonymous statements. The song texts convey this information in the form of personal experiences and induce transitions in the listener by describing personal experiences. This would appear to justify the indigenous viewpoint of not distinguishing between the informative and transition-inducing functions of the song texts and classifying both together as sahitya bhava.
(b) Vachana

I collected only two examples of vachana in Mysore. These are very popular compositions (even amongst non-Lingayats). I translate them below, in the form of both a literal and a free translation. The reason for the literal translation is to illustrate the characteristic feature of 'grammatical parallelism' found in vachanas. In 'Speaking of Siva' (op.cit., P.42), A.K. Ramanujan explains this feature:

"Their metre is not syllabic but syntactic; the regularities and returning units are not usually units of sound, but units of syntax and semantics. The oral origins of the poetry are clear in its favourite structure. The poetics of vachana is an oral poetics."

Example 1: Vachana by Basava (sung in Natakuranji rage; rupsaka tala)

**Literal Translation**

Heaven - hell - to say - not exist - understand
Truth - speaking - heaven
Lie - speaking - hell
Good conduct - heaven
Bad conduct - hell
Rivers - meeting - god
Yourself - judge

**Free Translation**

Understand that heaven and hell (also 'this world') do not exist.

Speaking the truth is heaven;
Telling lies is hell.
Good conduct is heaven;
Bad conduct is hell.
God of the meeting rivers,
You are the judge.
Example 2: Vachana by Basava (sung in Abheri raga; adi tala)

**Literal Translation**

In speech - name - nectar - filled up
In sight - your - form - filled up
In mind - your - memory - filled up
In ears - your - praises - filled up
Rivers - meeting - god
Your - feet - lotus - inside - myself - filled up

**Free Translation**

In speech, my mouth is filled with your sweet name.
In sight, my eyes are filled with your form.
In thought, my mind is filled with the memory of you.
In hearing, my ears are filled with your praises.
God of the meeting rivers,
I want to immerse myself in your lotus feet.

The line 'God of the meeting rivers' ("Kudalasangama deva") appears in every composition by Basava: it is the composer's mudra ('signature', 'stamp') which identifies the author. It could also be translated as "God of Kudalasangama", since it refers to the temple of Siva in the town of Kudalasangama in Bijapur district (north Karnataka), located at the junction of the rivers Krishna and Chataprabha. Every vachana, devaranama and sengita composition contains the composer's mudra.

From an examination of these two examples together with the many vachanas presented by Ramanujan (ibid.), an important feature of vachana, which Ramanujan does not mention, is apparent. In the early lines of the poem, a syntactical pattern is established by means of repetition then completely disrupted by the mudra line which addresses the god. After the mudra line, the previous syntactical pattern is restored, either
completely (as in example 1) or partially (as in example 2). The naming of the god thus coincides with the temporary breakdown of the pre-established poetic structure. Although characteristic of vachanas, this feature does not occur in the sahitya of devaranama or sangita compositions.

Considering the themes expressed in these examples, example 1 is primarily informative whilst example 2 is transition-inducing—describing the composer's attainment of the 'realised' state. In chapter 1, section (b),(i), I said that the religious philosophy contained in the vachanas is fundamentally the same as the Visistadvaita ('modified non-dual') Vedanta of the 12th century philosopher Ramanuja. Ramanuja lived around 1100 A.D. and died in 1137 (K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, op.cit., P.90). He received his early philosophical training from Yadava Prakasa, who belonged to the school of Sankara. He disagreed with his teacher and preferred the Visistadvaita Vedanta system which was being developed by a succession of teachers, including Nathamuni and his grandson Yamunacarya. The latter was the acharya (head) of a Visistadvaita math (monastery) in Srigangam (in Tamilnad). Ramanuja succeeded Yamunacarya as acharya of the Srirangam math, where he wrote his most important work, his 'Sribhasya' on the Vedanta-sutras. (from Nilakanta Sastri, ibid., Pp.37-8)

Visistadvaita Vedanta was thus emerging as an alternative to Advaita in the 11th century. It therefore
does not seem likely that the *vachana* composers were directly influenced by Ramanuja; rather both represent different but contemporaneous manifestations of the emergence of a *bhakti* philosophy in opposition to Advaita and Mimamsa. Whilst Ramanuja achieved this within brahmanical philosophy, the *vachana* composers totally rejected brahmanical philosophy and the institution of caste in general.

The distinguishing characteristic of Ramanuja's system is the idea of the *Brahman* as *antarvamin* ('inner guide') - the 'indweller' and 'eternal ruler' of both matter and souls. Whilst the three categories of *Brahman*, souls and matter are regarded as, in one sense, separate entities, together they are regarded as constituting an 'organic unity' in that matter and souls are conceived as constituting the body of the *Brahman* (Nilakanta Sastri, ibid., Pp. 88-9). This can be viewed as a compromise between the Advaita view that the *Brahman* is knowable as an aspect of our experience of self and the Dvaita view that the *Brahman* is entirely separate from the self; historically it represents a transitional stage between the former and the latter. In most other fundamentals, however, Ramanuja's system agrees with Madhva's: another example of the process of a later system encompassing the fundamentals of an earlier system. The *Brahman* is identified as Visnu-Krishna, the state of 'release' is regarded as one of individual consciousness and bliss (*ananda*) in the
presence of the Brahman and the means advocated for the attainment of 'release' is the practice of bhakti (devotion) and upasana (meditation - upon the Supreme God) - Nilakanta Sastri, ibid.

In examining the cosmological assertions and advice upon sadhana contained in the vachanas, I again employ the larger sample of vachanas contained in Ramanujan's collection (op.cit.). Ramanujan (ibid., P.91) dates the earliest vachana composer - Devara Dasimayya - some time in the 10th century A.D. This precedes the emergence of Visistadvaita yet the most fundamental ideas of Visistadvaita are present in Dasimayya's compositions, suggesting that the 11th/12th century movement amongst Brahman philosophers was, in part, a codification of a set of ideas which emerged earlier amongst renouncer-composers. Dasimayya's vachanas express the idea of the mysterious oneness yet separateness of the devotee and the Supreme God (e.g. Ramanujan, ibid., P.106) and the idea that 'release' is only obtainable through the grace of God, which is obtainable only through the cultivation of the sentiment of bhakti towards Him (e.g., ibid., P.104).

In the vachanas of the 12th century composers, the fundamental tenets of Visistadvaita appear in a more easily detectable form. Mahadeviyakka refers to:

"the Absolute hidden away in the heart" (Ramanujan, ibid., P.115)

and Allama Prabhu refers to:

"A little bee born in the heart's lotus flew out and swallowed the sky" (ibid., P.160)
These are clearly references to the Brahman as antaryamin: He is regarded as dwelling in men's hearts, in Ramanuja's writings, and the buzzing of the bee is employed as a symbol of the Brahman throughout Sanskrit literature.

The mysterious oneness yet separateness of the devotee and the Supreme God is a recurrent theme in the 18th century vachanas. For example, Mahadeviyakka says:

"When I didn't know myself
where were you?
Like the colour in the gold,
you were in me.
I saw in you,
lord white as jasmine
the paradox of your being
in me
without showing a limb". (Ramanujan, ibid., P.119)

The vachanas stress the importance of EXPERIENCING the Brahman and the inadequacy of words and concepts in conveying this experience. For example, Basava says:

"I touched and joined
my lord of the meeting rivers.
How can I talk to anyone
of that?" (Ramanujan, ibid., P.89)

They ridicule the (Brahman) Sanskrit scholar who attempts to express this experience in words. For example, Basava says:

"Sir, isn't the mind witness enough
for the taste on the tongue?
Do buds wait for the garland maker's word
to break into flower?
Is it right, sir, to bring out the texts
for everything?" (ibid., P.89)

This emphasis upon direct experience which is 'beyond' the 'dualities of thought' is precisely the idea of 'transcendence' found in Dvaita and Advaita (discussed in chapter 2, section (e), (i)). Ramanujan notes this and
"the Virashaivas returned to what they felt was the original inspiration of the ancient traditions no different from true and present experience." (ibid., P.33)

Where the vachanas differ from Ramanuja's Visistadvaits is in their frequent references to laya yoga theory and practice. This is consistent with their identification of the Supreme God as Siva since, as we noted in chapter 2, section (c), (ii), B, laya yoga emphasises the importance of Siva. Laya yoga theory regards Siva as knowable as an aspect of our psycho-physiological experience of self. Correspondingly, the vachanas frequently speak of the human body as a temple dedicated to Siva (e.g. Ramanujan, ibid., Pp.88;153) and refer to the experiencing of Siva in terms of laya yoga theory and practice. For example, Dasimayya refers to the experiencing of Siva as:

"The five elements have become one" (ibid., P.101)

and Mahadeviyakka refers to the experiencing of Siva as:

"I saw the Great One who plays at love with Sakti original to the world." (ibid., P.180)

Allama Prabhu's vachanas draw heavily upon the esoteric language of the Agamas (the laya yoga texts) in their descriptions of the experience of Siva (ibid., Pp.149-168). However, in that the vachanas advocate bhakti yoga as the only means towards 'release', these references to laya yoga theory would appear to be merely symbolic. Thus, the form of sadhana advocated in the vachanas
seems comparable with Devi bhakti (see chapter 2, section (c),(ii),C), in which the raising of the 'absorptive' flow of prana up the spino-cerebral axis is imagined and not carried out in reality.

Whether or not this represents an exception to my statement in section (a) of this chapter - that all devotional song texts in Karnataka describe only the bhakti model of transition to the 'realised state' - is problematic. These vachanas describe the bhakti model in terms of an analogy with the laya model of transition rather than describe the laya model itself. Therefore it seems preferable to adhere to my general statement in section (a).

(c) Devaranama

I collected ten examples of devaranama compositions in Mysore; all are extremely popular songs. Each composition expresses one of three themes and these themes characterise devaranamas in general. They are: detailed descriptions of the Supreme God (Hari); the dependence of all men upon the Supreme God; and the worship of other gods (i.e. devas). The following examples illustrate, respectively, these three themes.

Example 1: Devaranama by Purandara (sung in Kambhoji raga: adi tala)

The image of Krisna is standing before my eyes.

All my troubles vanish;
All my wishes for protection are granted.
On his head is a crown of rubies;
A spot of musk shines on his forehead;
He is unruly, playing the flute and giving suggestive glances;
His jewelled pendant swinging from side to side on his breast.

His curly hair is fragrant and beautiful;
Around his neck is a garland of forest flowers and young leaves of the basil plant;
On his fingers he wears different kinds of gold rings;
And his navel is as beautiful as the lotus flower.

He wears a girdle of precious metal, a gold belt and all the ornaments;
He is clothed in a garment of yellow silk which shines as bright as a hundred suns;
On his feet he is wearing gold dancers' anklet bells.

Lord, Purandara Vitthala, have compassion towards me.

Example 2: Devaranama by Kanaka (sung in ragamalika; khanda charu tala)

O mind, do not be so eager to know everything.
Be still.
There is one who protects all of us. Of this there is no doubt.
A tree grows at the top of the hill. (Who waters it?)
When the dam is built, who makes the water pour into it?
It is God who gives us life and takes care of us.
He protects us well. Of this there is no doubt.

To all the beasts and birds who play in the forest
Who gives food again and again?
God is like a mother who gives birth to us – He takes responsibility for us.
He protects us without leaving us. Don't doubt this.

All the frogs you hear who live under stones –
Who gives food to each one of them?
It is the knower of all things – Lord Adikeshava of Kaginele.

He protects all creatures. Of this there is no doubt.

Example 3: Devaranama by Purandara (sung in Vasanta raga; adi tala)

O Sarasvati, give me soon the devotional thoughts that the gods (deva) have.

You who have influence over Siva, Visnu and Hayagriva (form of Visnu, as a horse);
I prostrate myself at both your feet.
You who are the elder daughter-in-law of Lakšmi's husband (i.e. Visnu),
Please come to me, stand in my tongue and teach me
how to sing words of praise (for Him);
Goddess of all knowledge (vidyā), elder wife of Brahma,
Give me pleasure (sukha), most distinguished of all
good people.
You are the purifier and restorer of the fallen and I
believe in you as my saviour and protector;
Show yourself to me, the humble devotee of Purandara
Vitthala.

Example 1 is a typical devaranāma description of the
Supreme God, in this case Hari in the form of Krisna, and
the description is placed in the context of the God
revealing Himself to the composer, hence effecting the
composer's transition to the 'realised' state. Example 2
is typical of the type of devaranāma which takes the
theme of man's dependence upon the Supreme God. It
employs examples from nature (the beasts and birds of
the forest) and from the life of the Kannadiga peasant-
cultivator. The theme of water and God as the giver of
water predominates in this composition.

Example 3 is typical of the devaranāma addressed to
another god (deva) - i.e. not Hari. Sarasvati, consort
of Brahma, is the goddess (devi- feminine form of deva)
of the Hindu sastras ('sciences') - usually said to
number 72. My informants explained that knowledge of the
Brahman (i.e. vidyā) underlies knowledge of each sastra,
therefore Sarasvati is regarded as an appropriate devi
to approach for knowledge of the Brahma (i.e. Hari/
Visnu). Thus, in conformity with Dvaita cosmology she is
worshipped not intrinsically for herself but for the
knowledge of how to worship Hari which the gods (devas) possess. In the second charana (verse), I have trans-
lated sukha as 'pleasure'. However, the use of the term in the context of a devotional composition also implies the idea of sukha-duhkha ('sweetening the misery' of embodied existence; see chapter 1, section (c), (l)).

The themes expressed in devaranamas thus convey the basic tenets of Madhva's Dvaita Vedanta - the building up of a mental image of Hari through upasana (meditation), based upon the descriptions of Him given by devotees to whom He has revealed Himself; the relationship of ab-
solute dependence of the jīva (individual soul) upon Hari; and the role of the gods (devas) as mediators between Hari and men.

Having mentioned that the poetic organisation of vachanas is in terms of 'grammatical parallelism' (see section (b) of this chapter), it should be mentioned that both devaranama and sangita poetic organisation is in terms of metre and rhyme. This is best illustrated by reproducing one verse (charana) of the previous examples in the original Kannada. (These examples were dictated by Vidvan B.S. Vijaya Raghavan, of Mysore, in English script. I have not altered his transliteration). I reproduce the first charana of example 1 (i.e. the four lines commencing "On his head..."):

157
Maatakadalli manikada kirita
Kesturi tilaka dindyeseva lallata
Sitili kolallanoduva vorenoka
Kaustubba yedabaladalli voliyata

Each line is reckoned to consist in ten 'syllables'. A complex system exists in Kannada/Sanskrit literary poetics whereby, on the basis of the length of the vowel and the position of the syllable in relation to others and within the poetic line, a syllable is reckoned to be 'long' or 'short' and two 'short' syllables are reckoned as equivalent to one 'long' syllable. The total number of syllables in the line ('long' and 'short') is then converted, by these means, into 'long' syllables and the number of 'syllables' in the line expressed in these terms. (I would have liked to indicate long and short vowels in the above passage but three factors prevent me from doing so. Firstly, the text was collected orally from the informant: he tended to dictate all vowels as long in these circumstances. Secondly, in singing, all vowels tend to be pronounced as long by all vocalists. Thirdly, not being a scholar of Kannada language, I am unable to convert the dictated or sung vowels into the correct long and short vowels of ordinary speech).

Three types of rhyme occur in Kannada literary poetics; \textit{yatı} (first syllable of the line), \textit{prasam} (second syllable of the line) and terminal (last syllable of the line). I have underlined the rhyming syllables in the above example, which represents a typical
rhyme pattern in **devaranama** and **sangita** compositions. Terminal rhymes always employ an identical syllable. **Prasam** rhymes often employ the same consonant with different vowels, such an organisation being more highly evaluated, by native speakers, than simple identical syllables. **Yati** rhymes occur only in the second and fourth lines - in the above example - and employ different vowels.

Note that the **prasam** rhymes are identical in the second and fourth lines of the example, so that the **yati** rhymes here supply the element of variation lacking in the **prasam** rhymes in these two lines. Such a complex **yati/prasam** rhyme pattern is typical of **devaranama** and **sangita** compositions and, in discussing the 'poetic beauties' of a composition, native speakers discussed precisely this aspect as the most important feature contributing to its poetic beauty. These features of metre and rhyme are characteristic of written and Sanskrit poetry, as opposed to 'grammatical parallelism' which is characteristic of Kannada poetry in the oral tradition.

The **devaranamas** were written by composers trained in the Sanskrit literary tradition - either Brahmins or, in the case of Kanaka, men who had studied under Brahmans. The popularity of the **devaranamas** amongst non-Brahmans thus represents, in terms of literary forms, the 'brahmanisation' of the lower castes. Compared with **vachanas**, which employed the non-Brahman form of oral poetry, **devaranamas** represent the spread of a brahmanical form beyond the confines of the Brahman caste. This
parallels the spread of Dvaita philosophy, through the medium of these poems, beyond the confines of the Brahman caste.

My informants in Mysore used no other expression than \textit{sahitya bhava} to refer to the effect upon the listener of the themes conveyed by the \textit{sahitya} of a devotional composition. In discussing the poetic organisation of \textit{devaranames}, particularly the \textit{yat\=i/prasam} rhyme patterns, my informants classified the effect of this upon the listener as \textit{sahitya bhava}. In discussing the poetic organisation of \textit{sangita} compositions, which is virtually identical to that of \textit{devaranames}, some informants classified the effect of this upon the listener as \textit{sahitya bhava} whilst others classified it as \textit{ganam}.

\textbf{(a) Sangita}

\textit{Sangita} compositions are of two forms; \textit{varna} (literally, 'colour') and \textit{kriti} (literally, 'work'; c.f. Latin 'opus'). I collected 4 \textit{varnas} and 21 \textit{kritis} from Mysore musicians. In one sense, this sample actually represents a disproportionately large number of \textit{varnas}, since, in a \textit{sangita} performance, only the first item is a \textit{varna} (which is a very short piece compared with a \textit{kriti}) and most of the remainder of the performance consists in \textit{kritis}. \textit{Varnas} are, however, often played by music students and every \textit{sangita} musician knows at least
one varna for every raga which he can play, thus possessing a repertoire of several hundred varnas. My musician informants said that this is because varnas 'outline' the ragas in which they are written in a very condensed form. I shall discuss this aspect of varnas in greater detail in the next chapter, in which I discuss raga bhava.

The words of varnas express the theme of madhura bhakti: the sexual love of the gopis (female cowherds) particularly the gopi Radha, for Krishna. They express the acute suffering of the gopi in the absence of her beloved and the desire for Krishna to come to her. I present below a translation of a very popular varna which I collected in Mysore, composed (in Telugu) by Patnam Subramanya Ayyar (1845-1902), sung in ragamalika, adi tala:

Having come to you out of love for you,
It is not right for you to be indifferent towards me, my beloved.

Charming Lord Venkateshwara,
Come meet me and embrace me.

I have faith in your lotus feet.

Some Mysore musicians offered explanations for the singing of a varna at the beginning of a sangita concert. One explanation was that it 'wins over' the audience by such a display of 'impeccable sentiments of bhakti'. Another explanation was that, by thus adopting a female role in the first item of a concert, the male musician 'attracts' his audience to him.
The compositional form of the *devaranama* is termed *kirtana*; hence *devaranamas* are referred to as *devaranama kirtanas*. There is little difference between the *sahitya* of *devaranama kirtanas* and that of *kritis*. Both have the tripartite organisation of *pallavi* section, followed by *anupallavi* section, followed by the *charana* section (or sections). In my own translations of *devaranamas* & *kritis* in this chapter, I have indicated this tripartite organisation by separating the constituent sections from each other and placing the *charana*, or *charanas*, closer to the margin than the previous two sections. Occasionally, we find both *devaranama kirtanas* and *kritis* which lack an *anupallavi* section; example 2 in section (c) of this chapter - the *devaranama* by Kanaka - illustrates such a composition. Poetic organisation in both *devaranamas* and *kritis* is in terms of metre and rhyme (especially *yati/prasam* patterns). In both, we find the themes of detailed descriptions of gods, the absolute dependence of the devotee upon the god and the desire for the god to appear before the devotee and terminate or alleviate the suffering which he experiences in the embodied state.

The differences consist in: (i) the more extensive use of alliteration in *kritis*; (ii) the tendency for *kritis* to express a less fervent type of devotion than *devaranamas* (although this is not the case with the early *kritis* of Tyagaraja); (iii) the relative rarity, in *kritis*, of the theme of the *deva* as mediator between
the devotee and the Supreme God (although the example below of an early Tyagaraja *kriti* expresses precisely this theme and illustrates a thematic content characteristic of many of his early *kritis*); (iv) the use of a greater number of literary allusions, fully understood only by those with a knowledge of Sanskrit literature, in *kritis* than in *devaranamas*; and (v) the expounding of religio-philosophical ideas in *kritis* other than those of the *bhakti* systems of philosophy.

Tyagaraja's early *kritis* are often called *kirtanas*. Legends relate that, in these early compositions, he consciously copied the model of the *devaranama kirtana* and, in terms of their thematic content, these early *kritis* are certainly more closely related to the Hari-dasa *devaranamas* than to the *kritis* of Sastrī and Diksītar. This is illustrated by a comparison of the following example of an early Tyagaraja composition (in Telugu) collected in Mysore (sung in Kharaharapriya *rāga*, *misra chapu tala*), which expresses the Haridasa theme of the *devas* (gods) as mediators between Hari (in the form of Rama) and men, with the *devaranama* examples given in the previous section of this chapter and the example of a Diksītar *kriti* given at the end of this section;

Standing by His side, can't you explain the correct way of serving Him?

O Sita (Rama's consort) and Lakshmana (Rama's brother, in the *Ramayana*), on either side of the handsome prince Rama, with his beautiful face and teeth.
Are you offering Him salutations with the body? (i.e. prostrating before Him).
Are you singing His praises with love?
Are your minds filled with thoughts of devotion towards Him, having forgotten the self?
Both of you, please explain Hari to Tyagaraja.

We have no direct evidence of how Tyagaraja himself sang these early compositions; nowadays they are rendered in the same way as other kritis: viz. with improvised and ornamental passages and a great deal of melodic and rhythmic elaboration of the basic melodic material.

Whilst there is a great deal of difference between the purely musical aspect of kirtana and kriti, as rendered today, there is thus little difference between the sahitya (word content) of each type of composition. In the terminology developed in chapter 1, section (b), (4), kirtana and kriti 'compositions' are virtually identical whilst their contemporary 'realisations' are very different. These minimal differences between the two types of 'composition' account for the fact that some informants traced the origins of the kriti back to Purandara (a view shared by P. Sambamoorthy - 'Great Composers', book 1, op.cit., Pp.34-5) whilst others said that the earliest kritis were the work of the Tamil composer Sadasiva Bramhendra (1730-69). The former view takes account of the similarity of word content between kirtana and kriti. The latter view takes account of the fact that the earliest 'compositions' which are realised today in the characteristic kriti fashion (i.e. with extensive ornamentation and
improvisation) are those composed by Bramhendra.

Bramhendra composed entirely in Sanskrit. I collected three of his compositions from Mysore musicians. Two are in praise of Krishna and are essentially more literary versions of the devaranaṁas. The third advocates the repetition of the 'Rama nama' ('I praise Rama') mantra as the most efficacious means of attaining the goal of 'release' but also hints that this form of bhakti yoga achieves the same goal as īnana yoga - the yoga advocated in Sankara's Advaita darsana.

According to my informants in Mysore, Tyagaraja's compositions are so popular today because of their 'poetic beauties' (i.e. principally the subtlety of the yati/prasam rhyme patterns), because of the sentiments of bhakti towards Rama which his earlier compositions express and because of the grasp of the 'mysteries' of music as sadhana which his later compositions express, within which the opposition between Dvaita and Advaita is reconciled. In his later compositions, Tyagaraja thus pursues a set of themes employed earlier by Bramhendra as the thematic content of the sahitva - viz. worship of Hari in the form of Rama and the reconciliation of Dvaita with Advaita and bhakti yoga with īnana yoga. Tyagaraja composed mostly in Telugu language, less often in Sanskrit. Under his influence, Telugu has become the language of saṅgīta; thus non-Telugu speakers must learn at least some Telugu in
order to become successful *sangita* musicians.

Since approximately 60% of the items heard in a *sangita* concert are Tyagaraja compositions, a study of the thematic content of *sangita* compositions must essentially consist in a study of Tyagaraja's compositions. This occupies most of the remainder of this section. Since I collected only six Tyagaraja compositions during fieldwork in Mysore, I employ the sample contained in F.N. Purushothaman's 'Tyagopanishad' (Hyderabad, 1975), a collection of 128 Tyagaraja *kritis* translated into English by a native Telugu speaker. Both the cosmological ideas and advice concerning *sadhana* and the development through time of these ideas in Tyagaraja's song texts have been indicated very generally by Sambamoorthy ('Great Composers', Book 2, op. cit.) and T.V. Subba Rao (op. cit., Fp. 206-220). In order to examine the relationship of these ideas to Dvaita and Advaita cosmology and rationalisations of *sadhana*, on the one hand, and my informants' statements concerning music as *sadhana*, on the other hand, it is necessary to provide a more specific exposition, based upon the evidence of the above-mentioned sample of song texts.

The development of the cosmological ideas and advice upon *sadhana* contained in Tyagaraja's *kritis* is intimately related to the progress of his own *sadhana*. Legends relate that, when he was 18 years old, a *sanyasin* ('renouncer') called Haridas suggested to
Tyagaraja that he recite the 'Rama nama' mantra 96 crore (i.e. 960 million) times. Tyagaraja regarded this as a divine command (other legends relate that he was instructed in his sleep in the Haridasa form of worship and way of life by Purandara) and is said to have completed the task within 21 years. Sambamoorthy records the legend ('Great Composers', book 2, op.cit. Pp. 252-3) that, on completion of this task, Rama revealed Himself to Tyagaraja (thus assuring him of his attainment of 'release' and effecting his transition to the 'realised' state). Tyagaraja refers to this task and its rewards in many of his earlier kritis. For example, in his kriti "SMAHANE SUKHAMU" Tyagaraja says:

"Having been born in human form, recitation of Rama Nama is the only salvation ... Has not the selfless recitation practised by Tyagaraja filled his heart with the very name and form of Rama and awakened Love in him." (Purushothaman, op.cit., P.326)

(The convention of referring to a kriti by means of the first one or two words of the first line of the sahitva and the use of capital letters, is adopted from the Indian writers - e.g. Purushothaman, Sambamoorthy and Subba Rao. I omit a translation because this segment of the sahitva rarely makes sense on its own).

In his early kritis, such as "RTI JANMAMIDHI", we find the idea that music is an indispensable adjunct to bhakti yoga.

"If I cannot hold him, who knows real music and who revels in it, in my full embrace, till my heart bubbles with joy, what life is this, O Rama." (ibid., P.63)
Kama, viewed as a form (avatar) of Hari, is here regarded as very fond of music therefore, by worshipping Him with music, He can be induced to reveal Himself to His devotee and grant him 'release'. This idea is not peculiar to Tyagaraja. It is the rationale of kirtana as one of the 9 forms of sadhanabhakti (see chapter 2, section (d), (ii)) and the reason why, throughout India, kirtana is regarded as the foremost of the 9 forms of sadhanabhakti (stated as a fact by R.V. Joshi, op. cit. P. 98). Joshi attributes kirtana in its present "forme vivante" to the 15th century Bengali saint Caitanya (ibid.). The devarenama kirtanas similarly had their origin in the 15th century. This suggests that they were the manifestation, in Karnataka, at what was then a pan-Indian kirtana movement. Tyagaraja's earliest practice of and views upon sadhana are thus firmly in the Haridasa mould of this pan-Indian kirtana tradition.

However, in his early kritis we also find suggested the idea of music as, in some way, altering the internal state of the sadhaka and thereby, of itself, leading him towards 'release'. In his kriti "NI BHAIJANA GANA", Tyagaraja says:

"Where can I find, O Rama, your true devotees, who mellow in the melody raised in your praise?" (Purushothaman, ibid., P. 186)

The idea of music as directly efficacious in sadhana, as leading the sadhaka towards 'release' independently of its effect upon the Supreme God, develops, in his later kritis, into the idea of music as an independent
form of sadhana which is itself sufficient for the attainment of 'release' and does not require the intervention of the Supreme God. In his kriti "SVARARAGA", Tyagaraja says:

"To know the Nāda that arises from the Muladhara is itself blissful Moksa. To know the abodes of the splendorous septa avaraś is itself Moksa."

(ibid., P.334)

The septa avaraś are the 'seven notes' of the musical scale. In South Indian myth, Siva is said to have taught men the Yoga disciplines as well as music. We have noted the particular significance of Siva in laya yoga (chapter 2, section (c),(ii),(b)), laya yoga is particularly associated, in indigenous thought, with Siva. The drone-tonic (shadja) in music is said to represent Siva. The other 6 notes of the musical scale are said to have appeared out of Siva's head; a qualitative difference is thus indigenously conceived between the drone-tonic associated with Siva and the other 6 notes. This idea is also expressed in the etymology of the term shadja for drone-tonic, which is derived from sad ('six'). In laya yoga, the 7 'lotuses' of the 'subtle' body are similarly conceived. A qualitative difference is conceived between the 'abode of Siva', which is never referred to as a chakra, and the 6 'lotuses' which are referred to as chakras. In the kriti "SVARARAGA", Tyagaraja refers to this homology.

Nāda means literally 'vibration' or 'sound'. The 'absorptive' flow of prana which is raised from the muladhara chakra up the susumna nadi in laya yoga is
conceived in the form of a *bija mantra* - a vibration or sound. As I noted in chapter 2, section (c), (ii), C, in *mantra shastra* (the science of *mantra*) the most 'subtle' form of matter is conceived as a vibration or sound. In Advaita, the *saguna Brahman* - the earliest stage of 'projection' of the universe of phenomena out of the Undifferentiated Absolute (i.e. *nirguna Brahman*), hence the universe in its most 'subtle' state - is termed the *Nada Brahman* or *Sabda* (also 'vibration' or 'sound') *Brahman*. Advaita thus conceives of the earliest stage of 'projection' of the universe as identical to the earliest stage of 'projection' of the forms of matter contained within it - viz. as a vibration or sound.

In the *kriti* "SVARARAGA", Tyagaraja asserts an identity between *Nada* - the vibration or sound which is the most 'subtle' state of matter - and musical sound (the *santa avaras*). This idea develops in his later kritis into the idea of the *saguna Brahman* as musical sound. In his middle period, however, the idea is employed as a justification of music as functionally equivalent to *lasya yoga*. South Indian *ragas* are conceived in terms of their distinctive *arohana/svarohana*: this consists in a sequence of notes (*avaras*) ascending from the drone-tonic (*shadja*) up to its octave (called *arohana*) and a sequence of notes descending from the octave of the drone-tonic down to the drone-tonic (called *avaranohana*). I shall term these, respectively, 'ascent pattern' (*arohana*) and 'descent pattern' (*avarohana*).
Every South Indian raga is conceived in terms of an ascent pattern combined with a descent pattern, which is peculiar to that raga. The practice of sangeita thus consists in disciplined ascent and descent through the saptasvāras, such discipline being essential in order to preserve the identity of the raga. (See chapter 4, section (b)). The practice of lāva yoga consists in disciplined ascent and descent through the seven 'lotuses' of the 'subtle' body. In the kriti "SVARARAGA", Tyagaraja implies that that which ascends and descends, in both cases, is the same thing - Nāda, - therefore the practice of sangeita is identical to the practice of lāva yoga and thus leads to the same goal (viz. 'release').

Sambamoorthy ('Great Composers', book 2, op.cit., Pp.246-8) recounts the legend that the mythical, celestial musician Narada visited Tyagaraja in the disguise of a sanyāsī ('renouncer') and presented him with some treatises on music. One was called 'Svararnava'. In the kriti, "SVARARAGA", Tyagaraja refers to himself as having understood the 'mysteries' of 'Svararnava' and says that the work consists in a dialogue between Siva and Parvati. Since the kriti refers to this treatise, it is likely that the treatise will shed light upon the set of ideas expressed in the kriti. The whole manuscript of this treatise is not extant but excerpts from it are contained in the Valajapet Collection of manuscripts, housed in the premises of the Saurashtra Sabha, Madurai, Tamilnad. This collection contains most of the extensive library of
manuscripts on the theory of music owned by Tyagaraja. Sambamoorthy examined and catalogued the Walajapet collection and discovered that the excerpts from 'Svararnava' contain the ascent/descent patterns for the new ragas 'discovered' by Tyagaraja ('discovered' being the Mysore musicians' term for all aspects of innovation in ragas), and a Sanskrit verse which Sambamoorthy translates as:

"In the centre of the body is the prana: in the centre of the prana is the dhvani (sound): in the centre of the dhvani is the nada (musical sound): and in the centre of the nada is Sadasiva (the Supreme Lord). (Sambamoorthy, ibid., P. 247; Sambamoorthy's parentheses)

The Western scholar is likely to be sceptical about the celestial origins of 'Svararnava' and interpret the evidence in favour of Tyagaraja himself having written or dictated these excerpts. Whatever their origin, however, they support my interpretation of the sahitya of the kriti "SVARARAGA". The verse equates prana with musical sound (indeed it seems to imply that musical sound is a more 'refined' or 'subtle' form of prana); thus the verse identifies musical sound with that which is raised up the susumna nadi in laya yoga practice. The association of the verse with the ascent/descent patterns of ragas implies the identification of music with laya yoga on the basis of the disciplined ascent and descent characteristic of both.

As Tyagaraja's views on sadhana develop, so do his cosmological ideas. In his early days he is a Haridasa
and expresses Dvaita cosmology in his kritis: Hari, in the form of Rama, is the Brahman. In the kritis of his middle period, such as "DVAITAMU", we find him questioning Dvaita cosmology:

"Is dvaita easy? Or is advaita easy?" (Purushothaman, ibid., P.154)

In such kritis as "ETHAVUNARA" (ibid., P.66) and "JNANA MOSAGA" (ibid., P.123), we find him wrestling with the problem of reconciling devotion towards Rama with Advaita cosmology.

In the kriti "EVARANI", he begins to find the solution to his problem:

"How did they define you and how did they worship you, those seers among the humans? Did they describe you as Siva or as Visnu or as Brahma or did they describe you as the Transcendental One, the Parabrahman, the Supreme Self, the Avyaktha (Universal Soul)? 'Ma' is the jivaksharam in the Siva-mantra 'Namasivaya'; 'Ra' is the jivaksharam in the Narayana-mantra 'Om Namo Narayana'. I bow to those great seers, O Bountiful One, who had grasped this truth, that Siva and Visnu are one." (ibid., P.41; my own parentheses)

In terms of the insight which it gives into Tyagaraja's thought, this is a very significant kriti. However, it requires some explanation. 'Transcendental One', 'Parabrahman', 'Supreme Self' and 'Universal Soul' all refer to the Advaita conception of the Brahman. Jivaksharam means the bija syllable of a mantra (see chapter 2, section (c),(i),B and C) — viz. the most 'subtle' form of the mantra. Mara is the Hindu god of love (sometimes said to be the son of Krisna and his consort
The meaning of the sahitya of the krita "EVARANI" is therefore as follows. Tyagaraja asks how the writers of the Upanisads conceived of the Brahman; whether as one of the gods of the Trimurti (Hindu Trinity: i.e. Siva, Visnu and Brahma - here listed in reverse order) or as the Advaita conception of the Formless Absolute. He states what are the bija syllables of the mantras employed to praise Siva and Visnu (Narayana), thus implying that these syllables give a deep insight into the nature of these gods. The two bija syllables together form 'Mara' and/or 'Rama'. The listing of the Trimurti in the reverse order suggests that 'Rama' intended. However, 'Mara' is equally significant: the 'truth' conveyed by the kriti is that Siva and Visnu are merely complementary aspects of Rama and/or complementary aspects of 'Mara' ('love'). In short, Siva and Visnu together amount to Rama and love (of Rama).

Certain logical implications follow from the adoption of such a viewpoint and they appear in Tyagaraja's subsequent kritis. If one regards two members of the Trimurti, which comprises the foremost gods of the Hindu pantheon, as simply complementary aspects of a third god (Rama), then Rama Himself must be a member of the Trimurti. Rama must therefore be equated with Brahma. In Advaita, the god Brahma is usually explained as the Brahman, the Formless Absolute, erroneously conceived in theological terms in popular thought. This identification
is reinforced by the similarity of the idea of Brahma as the creator of the universe to the Advaita conception of the Brahman as the unitary source, or Great Cause, of the differentiated universe of phenomena. The idea of Siva and Vianu as complementary aspects of Rama therefore inevitably leads to the conception of Rama as the Brahman of Advaita cosmology. Tyagaraja comes to precisely this conclusion in his kriti "SITHAVARA SANGITA";

"Lord Rama, who revels in Nada and whom Tyagaraja worships, is the same as Brahman, who has the entire space as his body. All the worlds that exist in this vast space are imbued with the Cosmic Consciousness. All existence is Brahman; Brahman is all existence." (Purushothaman, ibid., P.339)

In Tyagaraja's later kritis, his two cosmological assertions - viz. Nada (musical sound) as the saguna Brahman (i.e. the first stage of 'projection' of the universe out of the nirguna Brahman) and Rama as the Brahman of Advaita cosmology - combine, for example in his kriti "NADASUDHARASAM", in the view that:

"Nada itself is Rama and Rama himself is Nada." (Purushothaman, ibid., P.165)

Thus, his final viewpoint is that Rama is Nada (musical sound) and is the saguna aspect of the Brahman of Advaita cosmology. This reconciles the Dvaita view of the Brahman as the Supreme God with the Advaita view of the Brahman as the Formless Absolute. As we saw in chapter 2, section (c),(i), Advaita cosmology equates the gods of the Trimurti with the saguna Brahman. Tyagaraja's alteration to this conception is to substitute Rama for the
gods of the Trimurti. Both conceptions encompass Dvaita within Advaita cosmology: the conception of the Brahman as the Supreme God is viewed as inferior to the conception of the Brahman as the Formless Absolute but also as a necessary 'stepping stone' towards the Nirguna, or Formless Absolute, conception of the Brahman.

Such a modification of Advaita cosmology logically implies a modification of the jnana form of sadhana: in that the form of the Brahman (i.e. Its saguna aspect) is musical sound, the Brahman can only be experienced through musical means. The 'real self' is thereby defined as that aspect of musical sound which is unchanging and undifferentiated. This implies the drone-tonic, which continues unchanging throughout the musical performance.

The same idea is logically implied in Tyagaraja's equating of the 7 'lotuses' of the human body with the 7 notes of the musical scale. The 'real self' is identified with Siva and the drone-tonic. Concentration upon the drone-tonic thus amounts to concentration upon the Brahman. As we shall see in chapter 5, this is precisely how my informants in Mysore conceived of sanasita as permitting their participation in the jnana form of sadhana.

The idea of music as sadhana of the laya and jnana forms is widely believed, in South India, to have originated with Tyagaraja. This seems unlikely as a statement
of historical fact, since we find cryptic and obscure statements on the subject in the sahitya of Bramhendra's kritis, which were written before Tyagaraja's time. More specific statements concerning the identity of musical ascent/descent with ascent and descent within the susumma nadi in laya yoga and the conception of Nāda as musical sound are contained in the Darsanopanisad, Sandilyopanisad and Dhyana Bindupanisad. See Y. Subbaraya Sharma, 'The Greatness of Devi Sri Shatadamba', Bangalore, 1971, Pp.111-112 for translations of these passages. Although these are late Upanisad texts, they preceed Tyagaraja. Thus, Tyagaraja systematised and popularised, through his song texts, ideas on the subject gleaned from earlier texts and was thereby widely considered as having been the originator of these ideas.

T.V. Subba Rao (op. cit., p.311) summarises the development of Tyagaraja's ideas on the subject of music as sadhana:

"Tyagaraja, in the first instance, like many other bhakti-singers, employs music as a useful means to promote devotion; he then speaks of it as indispensable to bhakti; he then leads you on to worship music as an end in itself capable of giving you salvation, and lastly he takes you to the highest and most perfect regions and reveals that music or the Spirit of Nāda is the first cause (of the universe) and that all else is its manifestation." (my own parentheses)

Tyagaraja composed kritis addressed to gods other than Rama; for example, to Krisna, Sita and Lakshmana (as in the example given earlier in this section), and Hanuman. The majority of his kritis are, however, addressed to Rama conceived as the Supreme God. He
differs in this respect from Sastri and Diksitār, whose most popular kritis are addressed to, respectively, Parvati (consort of Siva) and Ganapati (the son of Siva and Parvati, who is depicted with an elephant's head.) These Sastri and Diksitār kritis addressed to devas, unlike those by Tyagaraja on this theme, do not adopt the Naridasa view of worship of a deva - i.e. in order that the deva may teach the devotee the correct means of worship of Hari. From Sambamoorthy's accounts of the circumstances surrounding the composition of such kritis ('Great Composers', books 1 and 2, op.cit.) it is apparent that, in the late 18th/early 19th century, sangītā composers toured South India attending the annual festivals of deities, spontaneously composing kritis addressed to these deities during the festival and singing them in the temple dedicated to the deity during puja (communal worship). Such events led to invitations to perform at the courts of local princes and often to sāmasthana (i.e. 'tenured') posts at these courts. (In chapter I, section (b),(3), I noted Dubois' description of Brahmans singing 'sacred poems of their own composition' during puja). It would therefore appear that this institution provided the means whereby visiting musicians could announce their presence and demonstrate their compositional-improvisational skills to potential patrons.

In the case of the annual festivals of devas, such a social context would tend to produce compositions praising the deity in itself rather than emphasising
the deity's mediating role between the devotee and the Supreme God. Such kritis consist mostly in descriptions of the particular idol (muruti - literally, 'embodiment') of the deity contained in the temple at which the festival was held. They mention aspects of, attributes of and legends concerning the deity suggested by the details of the particular idol itself and the images and icons surrounding it. Such kritis are thus the product of meditation upon these at the time of year when the deity is said to be "physically present" in the idol. It could be argued that such song texts permit a degree of participation in these annual festivals for those who are unable to make the pilgrimage, and recall the festival for those who have attended it. It could also be argued that popular kritis, composed in such circumstances, themselves popularise the festival. One such kriti is Diksitar's "VATAPI GANAPATIM", in Sanskrit, addressed to the idol of Ganapati in the Tiruvarur temple (Tanjore district, Tamilnad). One suspects that the present-day popularity of the annual festival of this idol, must, to some extent, be due to the popularity of the kriti. I present a translation of this kriti (sung in Hamsadhwani raga; adi tala):
I pray to Ganapati of Tiruvarur—Revered, elephant-faced given of boons.

All living beings worship at his feet.
He is the protector of the world and all its creations.
He is praised by sages who are free from passions as the cause of all creation and the remover of obstacles.

Long ago, by the sacred sage who was born of the earthen pot (i.e. Agasthya),
He was worshipped as residing in the middle of the triangle.
He is worshipped by important gods, such as Siva,
As residing in the region of the muladhara chakra.
He is the embodiment of speech and the four-fold means of production of sound;
He has the form of the syllable "AUM" although his body has an ugly form.
Eternally, on his forehead, is the sign of the moon;
In his left hand he holds a stick of sugar-cane.
His lotus-hand holds the sacred thread and is full of seeds;
He is the destroyer of sins and has the form of a demon.
Yet Siva and Guruguha (the composer's mudra) are pleased by this form
Of Ganapati, decorated by Hamsadhwani (the raga).

In discussing such kritis with my informants, they praised the 'poetic beauties' contained in them rather than the ideas expressed. Whilst none of my informants said that they were of inferior quality because they lacked the fervent expressions of bhakti or deep musico-philosophical insights characteristic of Tyagaraja's kritis, several said that in these kritis the words are mainly a "vehicle" for the music and many agreed that a concert consisting entirely of such kritis would be deficient. In the light of these statements, it is clear that the thematic content of Tyagaraja's kritis is indigenously preferred to that of other composers and supplies the yardstick against which
the thematic content of kritis by other composers is indigenously evaluated.

These differences in thematic content between Tyagaraja's kritis and those of other sangita composers may ultimately be attributable to economic differences: Tyagaraja supported himself by begging and, later, by gifts from his disciples, whilst composers such as Sastri and Diksitar sought economic rewards by playing in the courts of princes. The indigenous evaluation of the thematic content of Tyagaraja's kritis compared with those of Sastri and Diksitar is thus, in a sense, an evaluation of the life-style of the 'renouncer' as higher than that of the samasthana vidyan (court master-musician).
CHAPTER FOUR: RAGA BHAVA

(a) Introduction (i) Problems of Data-Collection

In this chapter, I examine South Indian ragas from the perspective of how musicians and music-lovers (rasikas) in Mysore conceive of the effects upon them of ragas. In the present section, I discuss the problems involved in collecting the necessary information for such a study from informants. In the next section, I examine their fundamental distinction between the effects of ragas: varna versus rasa.

At the beginning of my fieldwork in Mysore, I found that sangita musicians would discuss with me such aspects of their music as the general principles of improvising in a raga or specific concerts but would not discuss with me more detailed aspects of the theory and practice of raga. They advised that I study the music under a guru (teacher) in order to learn about these.

When I asked these musician informants who, in their opinion, was the best vidwan (master musician) to study under in order to learn about such detailed aspects of musical theory and practice, most recommended Sri Rudrapatna N. Doreswamy, at that time (early 1975) 58 years old. Their reason for recommending Sri Doreswamy was that he was the oldest vidwan, resident in Mysore, who was of the guru-disciple 'lineage' descending from Vina Sheshanna and his disciple V. Venkatagiriappan who
were, in succession, the senior vina vidvans at the
court of the Maharaja of Mysore. Sri Doreswamy was then
a Reader and Head of the Vina Department of the Govern-
ment Fine Arts College, Mysore. The musicians who re-
commended him stressed, however, that it was because of
his musical 'lineage', who were renowned as the best
exponents of the 'true Mysore style' of vina and as
accomplished Sanskrit scholars well-versed in the theory
and 'mysteries' of music, and not because of his academic
status, that I should seek to become his pupil. The
Principal of the Mysore Government College - the vocalist
Sri V. Ramaratnam - who was of higher academic status
than Sri Doreswamy, was considered by these musicians
to be a very good performer but they regarded Doreswamy's
musical 'lineage' as greater authorities on musical
theory and 'correct' musical practice than that of Sri
Ramaratnam.

Doreswamy trained in vocal music under Salem
Doreswamy Iyengar then Chikka Rama Rao but, in his early
twenties, his voice suddenly failed and he thereafter
studied vina under Venkatagiriappa for 12 years; (in the
life-histories of Mysore instrumentalists, such initial
vocal training and sudden voice failure are very common).
At first, Doreswamy refused to participate in daily
sessions with me to discuss the theory and practice of
sangita. He said that I would not understand the theory
and practice of the music unless I could perform it. I
therefore underwent initial training in vina under him,
in daily sessions.

At first he conducted these sessions exactly as he would in the case of an indigenous student-performer. As I progressed as a performer, I persuaded him to allow a period at the end of every daily session in which to discuss the theory and practice of the music and this period became progressively extended. For the last three months of my stay in Mysore, I attempted to formulate the content of these discussions into comprehensive statements about various aspects of the music, put these statements to him in our daily sessions and noted his replies and amendments to them. He did not permit me to record these sessions on tape. He had a very good knowledge of English and had read Sambamoorthy's 'South Indian Music' in 6 volumes (op. cit.) and various articles by Western musicologists on South Indian music. His opinion of the latter was that Westerners who study South Indian music think that they have grasped its principles but, in reality, have fundamentally misunderstood it. He attributed this to the fact that they either did not study it under a guru of did not fully grasp what their guru was attempting to tell them. Therefore he demanded that I read back to him every entry which I made in my notebook during these last three months of daily sessions.

Whilst my musician informants in Mysore obviously 'elected' Doraswamy as their spokesman on the details of musical theory and practice, I was not content with
what could be criticised as being only one man's view of the music. After three months of training under Doreswamy, during which time I attended many concerts with him, I went to other musician informants for corroboration of the details of musical theory and practice which I was beginning to obtain from Doreswamy. Whilst I continued such interviews with other musicians for the remainder of my stay in Mysore, I was never successful in obtaining genuine corroboration of or disagreement with statements made by Doreswamy. If I approached a topic from the direction of "It has been said to me that 'x' is the case; Do you agree?" my informants would ask who had told me this. On hearing that it was Doreswamy, they would then reply that it must therefore be correct. Often, in such circumstances, the other musicians were anxious to know what Doreswamy had said on a particular topic and I found myself in the role of disseminator of his knowledge and opinions. The alternative approach - "What is the case concerning 'x'?" - drew the negative response of "Ask your guru". It was apparent that the only available means of obtaining genuine corroboration of or disagreement with Doreswamy's statements would be to move to another part of South India, become the pupil of another musician and develop the guru-disciple relationship with him in the same way as I had done with Doreswamy. Only during the last three months of my stay in Mysore had I developed my relationship with Doreswamy to the point where I could receive replies to questions on any aspect of the music so that,
clearly, the collection of comparative information within another guru-disciple relationship could be attempted only in a subsequent period of fieldwork.

Music-lovers (rasikas), who had usually undergone some vocal or instrumental training in their youth, were much more willing to discuss any aspect of the music with me. Whilst these informants provided a great deal of useful information on the effects of the music upon the listener they were, however, of little assistance in my quest for the 'operative concepts' (i.e. those concepts actually employed in relation to musical practice) used by performers. Musical training, particularly of children and young people, in Mysore consists entirely in reproducing what the guru has sung or played. Only the advanced student who embarks upon a career as a professional musician is, in addition to being taught the repertoire of his guru, also taught the operative concepts which his guru employs.

In a subsequent period of fieldwork in a different part, or parts, of South India, with the performance skills and information collected in Mysore (and, most importantly, the subsequent data-analysis), a great deal of comparative information on the operative concepts employed by performers could be obtained in a relatively short time with relatively little difficulty. In the present thesis, however, the more detailed information upon which I base my analysis of such operative concepts is fundamentally that obtained from a single musician.
Whilst this is by no means a satisfactory situation, the above description of the circumstances of the data collection make it clear that Doreswamy was regarded by his fellow musicians as best qualified to speak for them and that his views on musical theory and practice were respected, indeed sought, by his colleagues. Whilst the detailed information obtained from Doreswamy cannot be regarded as valid for the whole of South India, it can thus be regarded as valid for the Mysore school.

(a), (ii) Varna and Rasa

Doreswamy translated *rāga varna* as the 'colour', 'personality' or 'individuality' of the *rāga*. The term *rāga* he translated as 'melodic entity'. In his view, a *rāga* exists as a 'melodic entity' by virtue of being distinguishable from all other such melodic entities. If we term the totality of South Indian *rāgas*, at any point in time, the *rāga system* then the most obvious characteristic of the South Indian *rāga* system is that it is a system of differences i.e. it is a relational system within which the individuality of a component (i.e. a *rāga*) is defined in terms of the relations of difference existing between it and all other constituent components. The effect termed *rāga varna* is thus related to the recognition of the *rāga*, by the listener, as a discrete melodic entity distinguishable from all other melodic entities.

Doreswamy translated *rasa* (literally 'taste') as
the particular 'emotional state' conveyed to the
listener by means of the raga. He recognised only six
such rasas which can be conveyed by ragas and conceived
of a particular raga as capable of conveying one, two or,
at most, three such rasas simultaneously. In his
opinion, if a raga is played 'correctly' then it always
conveys a particular rasa or set of rasas. For every
rasa or combination of rasas there are therefore many
ragas conveying this emotional state or combination of
such states.

On the basis of these statements, it is clear that
raga varna is an effect which depends for its operation
upon the fact that a raga is distinguishable from all
other ragas whilst raga rasa is an effect which many
ragas have in common. In this chapter, I shall argue
that, because a raga is distinguishable as a melodic
entity by the listener, it becomes associated with non-
musical items within the long-term memory of the listen-
er so that, when the listener subsequently hears the raga,
he/she recalls the non-musical items associated with it.
I shall argue that, although my informants could offer
no explanation of the basis for the finer distinctions
which they recognise between rasas, their explanation
of the basis for a more fundamental distinction agrees
with my own analysis of the correspondance between
characteristic features of a sample of ragas and the
rasas attributed to them.

Musicians and music-lovers (rasikas) only use the
terms *varna* and *rasa* in contexts in which they wish to distinguish between the two effects. In other contexts, they employ the term *bhava* to refer to either or both of these effects. For example, if they wish to know the *rasa* or *rasas* conveyed by a particular *raga*, they ask "What is the *bhava* of 'x' *raga*?", to which the reply is that it is 'a' (+'b' + 'c') *rasa*(s). If a musician fails, during the performance of 'x' *raga*, to maintain the distinction between it and 'y' *raga* then they say that he has 'destroyed the *raga bhava*'. and, when asked to specify, they say that a particular *pravoga* (melodic phrase) had the *varna* of 'y' *raga*. In discussing a particular composition or performance, they say that it conveyed the *bhava* of the *raga* very well - in this context referring to *varna* and *rasa* together.

(b) *Raga Varna* (i) Systems of Difference

In a performance of *sangita*, every musical item is said to be 'in' a particular *raga*. Usually the minimal length of such an item spans a composition together with its associated improvised sections which precede it (i.e. the *alapanā*) and follow it (i.e. the *kalpana svara*). Less often we find *ragamalika* compositions or improvised sections. D oreswamy translated *ragamalika* as 'garland of *ragas*'; such a section or composition consists in a succession of discrete units, each in a particular *raga*. Thus, at any point in a *sangita* performance what is played is in a single *raga*; South Indians have no conception of 'mixed' *ragas* - i.e. the
conception of what is being played as in two ragas simultaneously.

My musician informants assessed the total number of South Indian ragas in current use as various figures between two and five thousand. However, this figure included 'common' as well as 'rare' ragas. Common ragas are those which are frequently played in concerts. My informants said that non-vidvans prefer to listen to common ragas and that only vidvans ('master musicians') appreciate rare ragas (which are seldom played in concerts). Several explained this in terms of the vidvan's ability to recognise finer distinctions between ragas than those which can be recognised by non-vidvans.

In terms of Doreswamy's conception of the totality of South Indian ragas as constituting a system of differences (see section (a), (ii) of this chapter), these statements by informants point to the existence of a 'common' and a 'total' system of differences. The common system of differences comprises 200 to 500 common ragas. From my discussions with (non-vidvan) rasikas (music-lovers), it is clear that, even within this common system, there are many 'grey areas' in which they are not able to recognise differences between ragas. What seems important, however, is that, whilst one such informant was unable to distinguish between a particular set of common ragas, another such informant was able to distinguish between these ragas although not able to distinguish between a set of common ragas which the first informant
could distinguish between. In every such case, these informants attributed their inability to distinguish between two common ragas to their own relative unfamiliarity with these ragas. Clearly, they felt that they had the capacity to distinguish between any two common ragas, whether or not they had developed this capacity for any particular part of the common system of differences.

The total system of differences comprises between two and five thousand ragas. A vidyan (master musician) must be able to distinguish between any two ragas within this total system; indeed, the most common definition of the term vidyan which I received from informants in Mysore was "one who knows all the ragas". Those vidvans with whom I discussed this subject said that this is necessary because, at any performance which they give, they are always other vidvans present. Whilst, they said, non-vidvans would not notice a performer 'destroying the bhava' (see section (a),(ii) of this chapter) of a common raga by means of a pravoga (melodic phrase) having the varna of a rare raga, other vidvans would notice this. Indeed, many of the criticisms which vidvans made to me of the performances of other vidvans concerned precisely such destruction of raga bhava which was apparent to them but not to non-vidvans.

Whilst indigenous informants thus conceive of a system of common ragas encompassed within a total system of common and rare ragas together, not only do the estimates of the number of ragas contained within each
system vary widely between different informants but also individual informants estimated the total number of ragas in each system as between two figures, the differences between which varied by as much as 100% or more. This was the case with estimates made by vidvans as well as by non-vidvans. Whether this reflects the existence of 'grey areas' (i) between the set of common ragas and the set of rare ragas together with common ragas and (ii) between the latter and 'extinct' ragas (see section (b), (iii) below) or whether it reflects the existence of regional variations in the number of ragas in use is a question which can only be answered by further fieldwork. It may well be the case that both interpretations are valid.

During my fieldwork in Mysore, I asked many informants how they recognised particular ragas which are being played. It should be noted that although, in sangita performances broadcast by All-India Radio, the announcer informs the audience of the raga, tala and composition before it is heard, at sangita concerts the performer rarely addresses the audience and never informs them which raga or composition he is about to play or has already played. From my informants' replies, it is clear that we must distinguish between 'recognising' a raga (in the sense of being able to distinguish that raga from all other ragas) and 'identifying' a raga (in the sense of also being able to name that raga). Often, non-vidvans said that they recognised common ragas.
without being able to name them; they said that they recalled having heard the raga before although they could not remember where or when. In such circumstances, clearly they were distinguishing the raga from all other ragas although they were unable to recall the name of the raga.

Non-vidvans' statements on how they identified ragas (i.e. distinguished them from all other ragas and recalled the name of the raga) emphasised two interrelated procedures. Firstly, they said that they identify the raga being played by identifying the composition being played, which they know to be in a particular raga. Secondly, they said that, during alapenas and compositions with which they are not familiar, they recognise prayogas (melodic phrases) which are also employed in compositions with which they are familiar and that this sometimes enables them to identify the raga. They recognised such prayogas although, in most cases, they were unable to state what they were (in sol-fa notation) or sing them.

When I asked non-vidvans "What is 'x' raga?", they either gave me the 'ascent/descent pattern' of the raga (the pattern of notes ascending from the drone-tonic to its octave and descending from the octave of the drone-tonic down to the drone-tonic which is characteristic of a particular raga - see chapter 3, section (d)) or so that they could not tell me what the raga was because they did not know its ascent/descent pattern. (It should be emphasised that no two South Indian ragas have
the same ascent/descent pattern, so that the system of
differences between the rasas corresponds with a system
of differences between the ascent/descent patterns of
rasas).

These statements by non-vidvans illustrate the
apparent paradox that they conceive of rasas in terms
of ascent/descent patterns but distinguish between and
identify rasas, during a performance, on the basis of the
characteristic melodic phrases (sanchara prayogas) of
the raga (if they do not recognise the composition).
My discussions with Doreswamy on how vidvans conceive
of, perform and recognise rasas both highlighted this
problem and provided the solution to it.

Doreswamy conceptualised rasas in terms of four
interrelated musical parameters: (i) archana/avarohana
(i.e. the ascent/descent pattern of the raga); (ii) jiva
svaras (i.e. the starting, resting and finishing notes
of the prayogas - melodic phrases - employed in the raga);
(iii) sanchara prayogas or, in general conversation,
simply sancharas (i.e. the characteristic melodic phrases
of the raga - these constitute the best-known prayogas
employed in the raga); and (iv) the totality of pray-
ogas employed in performances of the raga. He constantly
referred to the ascent/descent pattern and jiva svara
pattern of a raga as 'rules' and 'outlines', contrasting
them with the totality of prayogas employed in perform-
ances of the raga, which he regarded as constituting the
raga itself.
He regarded both the *jiva svara* pattern and the set of sancharas of a *raga* as instrumental in "revealing" or "expressing" the *varna* of the *raga*: (from my field notes)

"*Jiva svaras* help to reveal the *varna* of the *raga*. The more you use them, the more intense is the expression of the *raga*...

Just as by playing *jiva svaras* you intensify the expression of the *raga*, so by playing the sancharas you thereby intensify the expression of the *raga*...

Alter the *jiva svaras* - that is, tend to play mostly notes within the *raga* which are not *jiva svaras* - and the *raga* is the same but the effect will be different. What will happen is that the *raga bhava* will not come over."

From these statements, it is clear that Doreswamy regards *raga varna* as an effect upon the listener which is quantitatively variable. He attributes this quantitative variation to the extent to which the total set of *pravargas* employed in a performance of the *raga* abides by the *jiva svara* rule of the *raga* and consists in sancharas of the *raga*.

In examining my transcriptions of performances by Mysore musicians, I have found that the *jiva svara* rule of the *raga* is broken, though not frequently. Similarly, in the sets of sancharas for particular *ragas*, I have found that a small number of the sancharas in every *raga* which I have examined break the *jiva svara* rule for that *raga*. These comparisons of operative concepts with musical practice suggest that, in a *raga*, the *jiva svara* pattern, or 'rule', represents only an approximate model (of and for) the starting, resting and finishing
notes of the pravogas employed in the raga. By this I mean that it is the best possible abstraction from musical practice and is employed as a 'rule of thumb' for musical practice by means of which the majority of the pravogas constituting the raga and constituting the sancharas of the raga can be generated. This interpretation is consistent with a general statement which Doreswamy made during our discussions on the relationship of the 'rules' contained within his operative concepts of raga to what is played in any performance of the raga:

"A raga is not only a set of rules. It is a set of rules along with the exceptions to these rules, used sparingly. As I have constantly said to you, it is like learning grammar: you must learn the rules together with the exceptions."

In the case of ascent/descent patterns, however, in every performance and set of sancharas of a raga which I have examined in detail, the pravogas incorporating note sequences which break the ascent/descent rule outnumber the pravogas which abide by this rule. According to Doreswamy, in order to abide by the ascent/descent rule a pravoga need not ascend from the drone-tonic to its octave or descend from the octave of the drone tonic to the drone-tonic and follow the sequence of notes laid down by the ascent/descent pattern. A pravoga can start and finish on any note of the raga designated as a starting or finishing note in the jiva svara pattern of the raga. At any point in ascent, a pravoga can change to descent (and 'vice versa'). Where, in the ascent/descent pattern of a raga, a note is omitted in ascent but included in
descent, this note can be included in ascent so long as the pravoga descends immediately afterwards. (To exemplify the latter procedure, I shall designate the drone-tonic as "1", the seven notes of the musical scale as the numbers "1" to "7" and the octave of the drone-tonic as "1'". Thus, in a raga having the following ascent/descent pattern:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(ascent pattern)} & \quad \text{(descent pattern)} \\
1 & \quad 1' \\
2 & \quad 7 \\
3 & \quad 6 \\
4 & \quad 5 \\
5 & \quad 4 \\
6 & \quad 3 \\
7 & \quad 2 \\
1' & \quad 1
\end{align*}
\]

pravogas containing the note sequence /1 2 3 2/ are regarded as abiding by the ascent/descent rule but pravogas containing the note sequence /1 2 3 4/ are regarded as breaking the ascent/descent rule.) Whilst these 'supplementary procedures' for the derivation of pravogas from the ascent/descent pattern of a raga thus permit a large number of different pravogas which abide by the ascent/descent rule, such pravogas nonetheless constitute the minority of the pravogas played in any performance of the raga and of the sancharas of the raga.

This fact became apparent to me whilst in Mysore and was the subject of many discussions between myself and Doreswamy. He termed pravogas which break the ascent/descent rule of the raga viseaha pravogas. Viseaha means 'extraordinary thing' in Sanskrit but has the more usual meaning, in philosophical discourse, of 'characteristic difference' (Macdonell, op.cit., P.290). On the subject of why viseaha pravogas occur in ragas, Doreswamy said:

"If we simply stuck to the ascent/descent pattern of the raga throughout a performance of that raga,
the audience would soon become bored."

On the subject of the general relationship between ascent/descent pattern and visesha pravogas, we had the following discussion:

G.G. "Why should you define ragas according to their ascent/descent patterns if these patterns are not adhered to whilst playing the raga?

R.N.D. Raga consists of the pravogas which are ACTUALLY PLAYED (Doreswamy's emphasis). The ascent/descent pattern is an outline of the raga. It distinguishes one raga from another, since no two ragas have the same ascent/descent pattern, but it does NOT tell you all the pravogas in the raga.

G.G. I still don't understand the relationship of visesha pravoga to raga. It seems to me that the use of visesha pravogas would tend to undermine the system of differences between ragas because they involve alterations to the ways in which pravogas ascend and descend, upon which the whole system of differences is based.

R.N.D. On the contrary, visesha pravogas help to bring out the identity of ragas. If two ragas are nearly identical then they can be distinguished, one from the other, by their visesha pravogas.

In another discussion, Doreswamy specified procedures whereby visesha pravogas are derived from the ascent/descent pattern of a raga. He termed these procedures langhana svara, which he translated as 'jumping a note', and varjya svara, which he translated as 'missing a note'. Notating the notes of the raga by means of the numbers 1 to 7, as in the above example, the langhana svara procedure can be exemplified as follows. If the ascent pattern of a raga includes the sequence \( /2 \ 3 \ 4/ \) then the langhana svara procedure permits visesha pravogas containing the note sequence \( /2 \ 4 \ 3/ \). (In Doreswamy's own words: "A note can be omitted in ascent if it is filled
in immediately afterwards in descent"). The term 'jumping' thus appears to imply an analogy with gravity. He said that this procedure can be applied to any note within a raga in order to generate vissaha pravogas. The vadya svara procedure consists in the omission of a note which exists in either the ascent or the descent pattern of the raga without 'filling it in' immediately afterwards. Doreswamy said that this procedure can only be applied to sa (the drone-tonic and its octaves) and pa (the perfect fifth of the drone-tonic and its octaves) and not to any of the other notes in a raga.

In examining my transcriptions of performances and the sets of sancharas of ragas in the light of these langhana and vadya svara procedures, two problems are apparent. Firstly, every performance and set of sancharas contains pravogas which can not be generated by these procedures from the ascent/descent pattern of the raga: viz. notes apart from the drone-tonic or perfect fifth (and their octaves) which are omitted in ascent and not immediately 'filled in' in descent (and 'vice versa'). Secondly, only a small number of the total set of pravogas which can, in theory, be derived from the ascent/descent pattern of the raga by means of the langhana and vadya svara procedures actually occur in performances of the raga or in its set of sancharas.

Concerning the first problem, pravogas which can not be derived by the application of the langhana and
variva svara procedures to the ascent/descent pattern of the raga constitute only a minority of the sancharas of any raga or of the pravugas employed in any performance of the raga. On the subject of such viseaha pravugas, Doreswamy made the following statements:

(i) "In a raga, any combination of notes is permitted, so long as the rules pertaining to starting and finishing and resting notes (i.e. the diva svara pattern) are maintained."

(ii) "Where 'secondary' ascents or descents occur in the ascent/descent pattern, these are always maintained intact. (In a raga such as Sri raga, which has the following ascent/descent pattern -

(Ascent pattern) | (Descent pattern)
---|---
1 2 4 5 flat-7 1' | 1' flat-7 5 4 2 flat-3 2 1

- the 'secondary' descent in the descent pattern is conceived as the portion comprising /flat-3 2 /. This rule permits pravugas in Sri raga which omit this 'secondary' descent completely, such as /2 4 5 flat-7 1 2 4 5/ but prohibits pravugas which fail to maintain this 'secondary' descent intact, such as /6 4 2 flat-3 1/ or /5 4 2 flat-3 4 5/.) This operative concept appears to correspond with musical practice, since I have not found any pravugas failing to maintain this 'secondary' descent intact in any of my transcriptions of performances in Sri raga. This statement by Doreswamy therefore qualifies statement (i) above.

(iii) In some ragas, we find notes employed in pravugas which do not occur in the ascent/descent pattern which most informants assign to the raga. This occurred in 6 of
the 42 raga's which I discussed in detail with Doreswamy during our daily sessions. He offered three separate explanations of such anomalies: (a) In the case of (natural)-6 in Sri raga and flat-6 in Ritigonga raga, he said that pravogas employing these notes occur only in old varnas (i.e. compositions) and not in present-day practice. He frequently referred to pravogas found in old varnas as "out of date"; clearly varnas are not altered in order to conform with contemporary practice in the way that kritias are. The fact that kritias are performed regularly in front of audiences whilst varnas are not is obviously related to the fact that kritias are 'up-dated' whilst varnas are not. In the latter case, the ascent/descent pattern of the raga has changed between the date of composition of the varna and the present day but pravogas conforming to the old ascent/descent pattern remain in the varna. (It should be noted that such old varnas are memorised and reproduced from memory in exactly the same way as the other compositions which the student learns.)

(b) In the case of (natural) -7 in Yadukula Kambhoji raga and flat-7 in Nata raga, Doreswamy said that pravogas containing these notes occur rarely throughout performances in these ragas; therefore they should be included "in brackets" in the ascent/descent patterns of these ragas. (c) In the case of flat-7 in Bihari raga and Hindusthan Behag raga, Doreswamy said that this note occurs in only one or two pravogas at the very end of
performances in these ragas therefore it should be included in "double brackets" in the ascent/descent patterns of these ragas. These statements by Doreswamy reveal a viewpoint in terms of which the total set of pravogas constituting the raga is regarded as derivable from the ascent/descent pattern of the raga. Where anomalies occur, this general principle is maintained by 'bracketing' these anomalies into the ascent/descent pattern.

When I tackled Doreswamy on the second problem (the fact that not all of the logically possible viseshas pravogas are actually employed in ragas), he replied that this has to be the case because many of these logically possible viseshas pravogas exist as sancharas in other ragas therefore to employ them in a performance of the raga would 'destroy raga bhava'. When I asked him the criterion which determines the assignment of a viseshas pravoga which can logically be derived from two or more different ascent/descent patterns to one or another of these ascent/descent patterns, hence ragas, as a sanchara, he replied that it depends upon the compositions in which that viseshas pravoga is employed. He explained that if a well-known composition in 'x' raga employs that viseshas pravoga then, whether or not the pravoga could also be derived from the ascent/descent patterns of 'y' or 'z' ragas, it will be a sanchara of 'x' raga. This discussion is very important because it illustrates the fact that it is through their employment in popular compositions that pravogas of a raga become sancharas of the
It should be noted that the set of sancharas of every raga contains pravogas which do not conform to the ascent/descent pattern of the raga and can not be derived from the ascent/descent pattern by means of the lanchana and varîya svara procedures. The sancharas of a raga are thus no more closely related to the ascent/descent pattern of the raga than are the total set of pravogas employed in the raga. The sanchara/non-sanchara distinction thus cross-cuts the distinctions made on the basis of degree of conformity with the ascent/descent pattern.

From the foregoing exposition of Doraswamy's conception of the relationship between the ascent/descent pattern and the pravogas of a raga, it is clear that he conceives of ragas as 'transformational systems'; by this I mean that the operative concepts which he employs are comparable with those employed by linguists in formulating 'transformational grammars'. John Lyons ('Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics', Cambridge, 1968, p.366) explains:

"Any grammar which claims to assign both a deep-structure analysis and a surface-structure analysis to the sentences it generates is a transformational grammar .... traditional grammars were transformational in this respect."

Doraswamy himself frequently employed the analogy between ragas and (traditional) grammar, comparing the relationship between the ascent/descent pattern and the pravogas
of the *raga* with the relationship between grammatical rules and the total set of sentences acceptable to language-users.

The concept of 'transformational system' is applicable to Doreswamy's conception of *raga* if we can discern what Lyons (ibid., P.248) itemises as: a deep-structure analysis, a surface-structure analysis and a systematic set of relations between the two. If the 'deep structure' /'surface structure' distinction is applicable, then the elements of deep structure must be of a different nature from the elements of surface structure. This is indeed the case, since an ascent/descent pattern consists in a sequence of notes ascending from the drone-tonic to its octave combined with a sequence of notes descending from its octave to the drone-tonic whilst what is played in any performance of the *raga* consists in *pravogas*: i.e. melodic phrases which extend below the drone-tonic and above the octave of the drone-tonic, the majority of which start and finish on notes other than the drone-tonic or its octave and occupy a pitch range narrower than an octave.

Considering the set of relations which Doreswamy conceptualised between the ascent/descent pattern (as deep structure) and what is played in any performance of the *raga* (as surface structure), these are systematic and can be expressed in terms of discrete stages of derivation or 'transformation': viz.
stage 1: From the ascent/descent pattern, conceived as a 'rule', are derived a set of pravogas (which I shall term 'set (a)') which abide by this rule, in accordance with the supplementary procedures detailed above.

stage 2: From the ascent/descent pattern, another set of pravogas ('set (b)') is derived by the application of the langhana and varjya avara procedures together with the above supplementary procedures, limited by the factors of (i) prohibition of pravogas which occur in well-known compositions in, hence are anachronous of, other rāgas and (ii) maintenance intact of the 'secondary' ascents and descents contained in the ascent/descent pattern.

stage 3: Another set of pravogas ('set (c)') is derived by the procedure of random association of the notes contained in the ascent/descent pattern of the rāga, limited by factors (i) and (ii) above.

Sets (a), (b) and (c) together account for the total set of pravogas constituting the rāga.

It should be emphasised that these transformational stages whereby Doreswamy conceives of the totality of the pravogas constituting the rāga (the surface structure) as derived from the ascent/descent pattern of the rāga (the deep structure) do not imply a temporal process. They are of the type exemplified by Piaget (op. cit., Pp. 11-18) as:

"1 + 1 'make' 2; 3 'follows hard on' 2; clearly the 'making and 'following' here meant are not temporal processes."
From a 'synchronic' perspective (i.e. viewed at any single period in time), Doreswamy thus conceives of the South Indian *rāgā* system as a system of differences between deep structures (i.e. ascent/descent patterns) intersecting with a system of differences between surface structures (i.e. the sets of *sañchāras* for each *rāgā*, which are themselves derived from the sets of popular compositions in each *rāgā*). The total sets of *prayogas* constituting *rāgas* are therefore, in his view, derived from ascent/descent patterns, on the one hand, and compositions, on the other hand.

Against this designation of ascent/descent pattern as 'deep structure', it may be argued that there is one circumstance in which the ascent/descent pattern is actually played and that this amounts to its employment as 'surface structure'. During music lessons, the teacher demands that the disciple sing or play the ascent/descent pattern once, immediately before rendering any item in the *rāgā*. Doreswamy said that this assists the disciple in producing the correct notes in his rendering which immediately follows. Since this is never done in the context of a performance, it seems to me that it does not invalidate the designation of the ascent/descent pattern as 'deep structure'.

Both Doreswamy and my non-vidyān informants characterised a *rāgā* in terms of its ascent/descent pattern, thereby demonstrating an awareness that this deep structure underlies the surface structure (i.e. the *prayogas*) of
the raga. Doreswamy could articulate the systematic set of relations between deep and surface structure whilst non-vidyana could not. However, Doreswamy conceived of prayogas, not ascent/descent patterns, as "expressing" or "destroying" raga bhava: it was the set of sancharas of a raga and its jiva svara pattern which Doreswamy related to the effect termed raga varna. If we accept that the jiva svara pattern is, as I have argued, a 'best possible abstraction from' the set of sancharas of the raga, Doreswamy's statements amount to the view that it is the sancharas of the raga which convey raga varna.

Doreswamy thus relates raga varna to the system of differences between surface structures (sets of sancharas) and not to the system of differences between deep structures (ascent/descent patterns). In ultimately attributing the system of differences between sets of sancharas to a system of differences between sets of popular compositions, Doreswamy's explanation of raga varna corresponds with those of non-vidyana, who stressed the importance of the interrelated procedures of (i) recognising sancharas and (ii) recalling the popular compositions in which they occur, in their identification of ragas.

(b), (ii) The Distribution of non-Characteristic Phrases

It should be noted that the distribution, in a performance, of prayogas which are not sanchara prayogas of the raga is not random. It conforms to a pattern
which itself can be viewed as an aspect of a more general pattern discernable in the distribution of pravogas within a performance.

Doreswamy said that, in any kriti, only a small number of the sancharas of the raga are employed therefore, in order to learn all of the sancharas of a raga, the student must learn at least 6 popular kritis in the raga. He said that varna compositions "attempt to give a very condensed, definitive outline of the raga; the composer attempts to compress all of the sancharas of the raga into a varna''.

He said that learning varna compositions thereby assists music students in learning ragas. (Obviously, in view of his statements, mentioned in section (b), (i) of this chapter, about the appearance of out-of-date pravogas in varnas, we should modify this statement by noting that older varnas are of such assistance to music students only after their guru has pointed out to them the out-of-date pravogas contained in them.)

Doreswamy said that, in the alapanas (improvised passage, having no tala - i.e. metrical framework, - percussion accompaniment or sahitya - i.e. words) which precedes a kriti, the performer must incorporate all of the sancharas of the raga. Thus, in teaching me how to play alapanas, Doreswamy simply gave me the set of sancharas for each raga and said that I must experiment with them and build them into a different, improvised passage every time I played an alapana. He said that,
in the alapana which precedes an improvised pallavi, the performer employs all of the sancharas of the raga and also departs from this set of sancharas. Significantly, whilst the alapana which precedes a kriti is of only 2 to 5 minutes' duration, the alapana which precedes an improvised pallavi is of at least 10 minutes' duration.

Doreswamy said that, in the improvised pallavi itself, the performer plays all of the sancharas of the raga and also departs from this set of sancharas, attempting to play every logically possible combination of the notes contained in the raga without destroying raga bhava. Significantly, the usual length of a kriti (without its associated improvised passages) is approximately 3 minutes whilst the length of an improvised pallavi is approximately 8 to 10 minutes or more. We find some long kritis of 10 minutes' duration; for example, the Tyagaraja kriti 'ENDARO MAHANUBHAVULU' in Sri raga, adi tale, which I collected from Doreswamy during fieldwork (tape C, side 1, track 3 of my edited collection). However, Doreswamy said that this kriti serves as a model for pallavi improvisation in the sense that, in improvising a pallavi, a performer will copy the form of this kriti and the treatment of the raga found in this kriti. A detailed examination of my transcription of the above-mentioned performance of this kriti by Doreswamy reveals prayogas which depart from the sancharas of the raga. These occur towards the end of the kriti, after approximately 5 minutes of the performance. This is
a very popular kriti, so that, in view of Doreswamy's statement that pravogas which occur in popular kritis are sancharas of the raga, this raises a problem. Significantly, however, each such departure from the sancharas of the raga occurs once or twice only, in the context of a musical climax, whilst the sancharas themselves are repeated many times throughout the kriti. Doreswamy's statements on this subject are therefore consistent if we interpret them as follows: In short, popular kritis, all of the pravogas employed are sancharas of the raga. In long, popular kritis, all of the pravogas employed frequently are thereby sancharas of the raga whilst pravogas occurring seldom are not. All such long kritis, Doreswamy said, serve as models for mallavi improvisation although he recommended 'ENDARO MAHANUBHAVULU' to me for this purpose because of its "excellence".

The length of a short kriti can be extended by the inclusion of an ornamental passage termed a chitta svara between the anupallavi and charana sections of the kriti. An example of such a kriti collected from Doreswamy during fieldwork is the Tyagaraja kriti 'SHOBHILLU SAPTA SVARA' in Jagannohini raga, runaka tala (tape A, side 2, track 4). Such a passage is set to the same talā (metrical framework) as the kriti, accompanied by the percussion instrument and sung to sol-fa syllables. Significantly, some vidvans and rasikas argued that such passages should not be inserted in Tyagaraja kritis precisely because they employ sancharas of the raga other than those employed in the
kriti itself. Performances of kritis can also be extended in duration by the inclusion of an improvised passage after the kriti. This is called the kalpana svara. It is set to the same teela as the kriti, is accompanied by the percussion instrument and is sung to sol-fa syllables. Doraisamy said that the performer models his kalpana svaras upon the later parts of rallevi improvisations and long kritis. The performer thus departs from the set of sancharas of the raga during such passages.

What all of these examples and statements illustrate is that, the longer is a musical item in a single raga played in a performance, (i) the greater is the number of sancharas of the raga employed in it and (ii) the more likely it is to depart from the set of sancharas of the raga. We would tend to accept point (i) as non-problematic on the basis that, the longer is a musical item, the more basic melodic material it must employ. However, the system of differences between ragas restricts the basic melodic material available. Beyond a certain length (which we might approximately determine as 5 minutes, although this would depend upon the amount of repetition employed) it must be argued that the performer will run out of melodic material, if we accept the proposition employed to explain point (i) above. He must therefore employ pravargas which are not sancharas of the raga if he extends the musical item beyond the limits imposed by the system of differences between
ragas. On the other hand, he must not employ pravogas which are sancharas of other ragas (i.e. 'destroy raga bhava'). Whilst the ability to do this is a skill highly valued by vidyans, it must thus be argued that it is not done simply as a demonstration of skill.

Logically, since ragas contain a minimum of 5 notes in the octave, any pravoga which contains 5 or more notes in the octave will be a sanchara of a raga. Departure from the sancharas of the raga played which do not 'destroy raga bhava' must therefore contain no more than 4 notes in the octave. Such 'non-sanchara' pravogas thus tend to involve a range of pitch movement which is greater than that found in most sanchara pravogas. In chapter 5, I argue that, in sangita, increasing range of pitch movement is employed in order to create musical climax. Thus, 'non-sanchara' pravogas tend to be employed at such climactic points in the musical item.

To conclude, the distribution of non-sanchara pravogas in a performance is not arbitrary. They tend to appear only after all of the sancharas have been employed and in the context of a musical climax.

(b), (iii): Diachronic Considerations

A question arises from the examination of how the sancharas of a raga convey the effect termed raga varna. The sancharas of a raga, at any period in time, are determined by the popularity of the compositions in that raga at that period in time. However, compositions change (resulting in different versions of the same composition at any period in time), new compositions emerge and the relative popularity of compositions alters through time. Correspondingly, the set of sancharas of any raga must change through time. Doreswamy
was perfectly aware of this fact and would often discuss with me pravogas which used to be sanchares of a raga but no longer were (for example, the case of out-of-date pravogas in old varnas, discussed in section (b), (i)) as well as alterations which had taken place to the ascent/descent patterns of ragas through time. So far, I have only considered the raga system from a 'synchronic' viewpoint (i.e. its characteristics at a given period in time). My study would therefore be incomplete without a discussion of the system from the 'diachronic' viewpoint (i.e. how it changes through time).

The fact that ragas change through time raises the question of how such change is brought about in such a way that there is any degree of conformity, at any period in time and throughout South India, to the contemporary ascent/descent pattern and pravogas of any raga. Mysore vidvans and rasikas conceived of such changes being brought about through the collective judgement of the vidvans. The vidvans are mostly men. They have been the disciples of another vidvan for anything from 7 years (the notional minimum) to 20 years or more. Their training ends when their guru reckons that they have attained vidvan status. After this, they receive no more training - they are, in the eyes of all vidvans, their notional equals.

The more famous vidvans travel extensively throughout South India giving performances. Through such contacts, the less famous Mysore vidvans keep in touch with
personalities and practices outside Karnataka. All-India Radio tends to broadcast only local vidvans in regional programmes. Network broadcasts, during my stay in Mysore, were heavily biased in favour of Madras musicians. These broadcasting patterns thus disseminate Madras practices throughout South India and the practices of the cities to the surrounding regions.

I am unable to assess precisely the extent of regional variations in the practice of ragas. However, Mysore vidvans frequently complained that Madras vidvans whom they listened to on All-India Radio employed the 'wrong' jiva svaras. On the other hand, they rarely made this criticism of live performances by visiting Madras vidvans. This suggests that conformity in raga practice tends to be greater on a regional basis than on a pan-South Indian basis. It also suggests that vidvans adapt their raga practice to the regions in which they travel to perform.

On the other hand, the Mysore vidvans frequently told me that the details of ragas (i.e. jiva svaras, sancharas etc.) are uniform throughout South India. They regarded the playing of the 'wrong' jiva svaras by Madras vidvans on All-India Radio as 'mistakes' by these performers and not as manifestations of regional variations in raga practice. Such refusal to recognise the existence of regional variations seems related to the fact that, on a pan-South Indian basis, vidvans have a strong sense of being a collective body of peers
with restricted membership and entry requirements who are capable of making a collective judgement on all musical matters. Only an innovation by a vidyan will be considered by other vidvans and the collective body of vidvans considers itself and is considered by non-vidvans as capable of passing a unanimous judgement upon whether such an innovation should be accepted or rejected. Once accepted or rejected, all members of the collective body regard themselves as obliged to abide by this decision. Whilst the discussions and decisions of the Experts' Committee of the Music Academy of Madras concerning such changes within ragas is not what South Indians are referring to when they talk about vidvans passing a collective judgement, the Experts' Committee is certainly one manifestation of such an attitude amongst South Indian musicians.

It would seem that the existence of these attitudes acts as a counterbalance to regional variation and permits the ragas to evolve through time with the minimum of dissension. This results in a relatively high degree of uniformity, at any period in time, throughout South India in the details of the ragas as performed by different schools in different regions. In this way, a performance of, for example, Bhairavi raga by a Hyderabad or Madras musician is recognised as being in Bhairavi raga by audiences in Mysore or Trivandram. In this crucial respect, raga practice is uniform throughout the different regions; regional variation is not
so great as to interfere with the pan-South Indian system of differences between r
gas.

Doreswamy said that, if two common r
gas become too alike, one of them ceases to be popular and thus becomes a rare r
g and that, if two rare r
gas become too alike, one of them disappears altogether and becomes an 'ext-
tinct' r
g. He said that if, on the other hand, a 'gap' comes to exist in the system of common r
gas, so that a new melodic entity could be inserted which would be distinguishable from all of the other melodic entities existing within the system of common r
gas, then a new r
g is 'discovered' (his own terminology) to fill this 'gap', a rare r
g becomes a common r
g because it fills this gap or an 'extinct' r
g, the ascent/descent pattern of which exists in musical texts, is revived for this purpose.

As an example of two r
gs being too similar to be both common r
gas, Doreswamy said that Saurashtra, which was a common r
g in the mid-19th century, has today become a rare r
g due to the increased popularity of Chakravakam, which was a rare r
g in the 19th century but is a common r
g today. The ascent/descent patterns of these two r
gs are:

Saurashtra  1' flat-2 3 4 5 4 6 7 1'  (Ascent pattern)
Chakravakam  1' flat-2 3 4 5 6 7 1'  

Saurashtra  1' 7 6 flat-7 6 5 4 3 flat-2 1  (Descent pattern)
Chakravakam  1' 7 6 5 4 3 flat-2 1  


In Saurashtra, flat-7 is rendered as a *gamaka* (a continuous pitch movement) between 6 and a pitch approximately half-way between 6 and flat-7. Thus, *prayogas* which abide by the descent pattern in each *raga* are distinguishable from each other only by this 'quarter-tone' "shake" (Doreswamy's own term) on 6 in Saurashtra contrasted with its omission in Chakravakam. Accepting that *jiva svara* patterns are 'best possible abstractions from' the sets of *sancharas* of *ragas*, a comparison of the *jiva svara* patterns of these two *ragas* as specified by Doreswamy gives some indication of the degree of similarity or difference between their respective sets of *sancharas*. The *jiva svara* patterns of the two *ragas* are:

Starting and resting notes:  
Saurashtra: 3 4 6  
Chakravakam: flat-2 3 4 6 7

Finishing notes:  
flat-2 3 4 6  
flat-2 3 4 6 7

(It should be noted that 1 and 5 - in those *ragas* employing 5 - are starting, resting and finishing notes in every *raga*.)

The only differences between these *jiva svara* patterns are the use of flat-2 as a starting, resting and finishing note in Chakravakam but only as a finishing note in Saurashtra and the use of 7 as a starting, resting and finishing note in Chakravakam but as none of these in Saurashtra. Such minimal differences between the two *jiva svara* patterns are indicative of minimal differences between the sets of *sancharas* of these two *ragas*.  

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*Note: The terms and notations may require contextual understanding specific to the study of Indian music and ragas.*
To illustrate the case of a new raga entering the system of common ragas in order to fill a gap brought about through changes within ragas, Doreswamy gave the example of Jonpuri raga. He said that this raga has, in the present century, become a Southern raga, being a South Indian adaption of the North Indian raga Darbari Kannada. He said that Jonpuri filled the gap existing between the common Southern ragas Bhuvana Gandhari, Amrita Vahini and Sudha Deshi. The ascent/descent patterns of these four ragas today are:

(Ascent pattern)

Bhuvana Gandhari 1 2 4 5 flat-7 1'  
Jonpuri 1 2 4 5 flat-6 flat-7 1'  
Amrita Vahini 1 2 4 5 flat-6 flat-7 1'  
Sudha Deshi 1 2 4 5 6 flat-7 1'

(Descent pattern)

Bhuvana Gandhari 1' flat-7 flat-6 5 4 flat-3 1  
Jonpuri 1' flat-7 flat-6 5 4 flat-3 2 1  
Amrita Vahini 1' flat-7 flat-6 4 flat-3 2 1  
Sudha Deshi 1' flat-7 6 5 4 flat-3 2 1

However, according to the Experts' Committee of the Music Academy of Madras ('Summary of the Raga Lakshana', Madras, 1952, P.13), in the 19th century the ascent/descent pattern of Sudha Deshi was precisely the same as that of contemporary Jonpuri. Thus, in the present century the 6th scale-degree of Sudha Deshi has changed from flat to natural. This has created a gap which has been filled by Jonpuri raga.
Boreswamy's examples illustrate the fact that, whilst rāgas change 'internally' (i.e. in their ascent/descent patterns, jīva svarā patterns, and sānchara pravōgas) and 'externally' (i.e. in their location within the rāga system as common, rare or extinct which is, as we have seen, ultimately attributable to their relations of difference with other rāgas at any period in time), a system of differences between rāgas exists at any period in time. The maintenance of this system of differences at any period in time is thus an important factor in rāga change.

However, whilst Boreswamy's examples explain how the system of differences is maintained in the face of changes which occur in individual rāgas and how changes in one rāga thereby bring about reciprocal changes in other rāgas, they do not explain the originating factor in rāga change. Since ascent/descent patterns (i.e. deep structures) are altered in order to make them conform with changes to the sānchara pravōgas of rāgas (i.e. surface structures), obviously it is in the set of popular compositions in a rāga, from which its set of sānchara pravōgas is derived, that the original change takes place. As their relative popularity alters and new compositions enter the collective repertoire, so the set of sāncharas derived from them alters. It is also the case that different compositions are popular to different extents in different regions. In accounting for regional variations in the jīva svarā pattern of a
raga, variations in the set of compositions from which the sanchara prayogas, hence the jiva avara pattern, are derived presents itself as the most likely differentiating factor. Thus, the system of differences between rages, changes through time within rages and regional variations in raga practice all appear to be attributable to the single factor of the current set of popular compositions in the raga.

(b), (iv) Associational Aspects of the Appreciation of Rages:

From my discussions of raga varna with non-vidyans in Mysore, it is clear that this effect depends for its operation upon the listener's recognition of what is played as a distinct melodic entity. Some of these informants said that, whilst listening to a performance of a raga, they recall previous performances which they have heard of the same raga. The aspects of such previous performances which they said that they recalled consisted in sensations, moods, thoughts, mental images, personalities (both performers and friends or relatives present during the performance) and the words or literary themes of the composition performed. Most of my informants, however, did not refer to specific past performances of the raga; they simply said that, every time they heard a particular raga, they recalled such things. All of my informants found it difficult to describe to me these 'recalled things', often jumping from moods and sensations to events, to mental images and to
analogies with non-musical situations in their attempts to describe them.

The set of 'recalled things' which one informant attempted to describe to me for a particular raga was usually different from that which another informant attempted to articulate. Sometimes common 'recalled things' occurred between two informants' descriptions for the same raga. Many informants said that, whilst listening to a performance of a raga, they recall the literary themes or isolated lines or phrases from the sahitya (words) of popular compositions in the raga. Several times, two informants named the same composition as a 'recalled thing' for the same raga. Many informants named particular performers as 'recalled things' and often two informants mentioned a particular past performance by a particular performer as a 'recalled thing'. Whilst certain of the 'recalled things' are thus shared with other individuals, particularly in situations in which they have attended many concerts together, for the most part the sets of 'recalled things' for a particular raga are peculiar to the individuals who experience such recall.

From these discussions with informants, it was apparent that the set of 'recalled things' for a particular individual consists in the compounded memories of all the previous times that this individual has heard this raga. (Whilst a good musical memory is obviously directly related to
easy recognition of ragas, it does not appear to be the case that a good general (i.e. non-musical) memory enhances the experience of 'recall'. My informants appeared to value vague and indistinct sensations experienced in such circumstances more highly than specific recollections). The most important finding from such discussions was that these (non-vidvans) informants rarely mentioned such sets of 'recalled things' for rare ragas; most of their reported experiences of such recall related to performances of common ragas. This correlates with the finding that non-vidvans can usually only recognise common ragas. This correlation is significant. It suggests the interpretation that, because a raga is distinguishable, by the listener, from all other ragas, it can be associated with non-musical items in the listener's long-term memory. If it is not thus distinguishable, it can not be thus associated. This would explain why non-vidvans rarely experience such recall in the case of rare ragas. Thus, the listener's ability to distinguish between ragas determines the permissible degree of resemblance between ragas and accounts for the experience of 'recall' which is called raga varna. The different abilities of vidvans and non-vidvans in this respect is directly related to the emphasis placed upon the development of musical memory in sangeita training and accounts for the existence of both a common and a total system of differences between ragas.

My musician informants agreed that only those who have been brought up in 'musical surroundings' - i.e. in
families which contain vidvans or rasikas (music-lovers), the members of which frequently attend sangita concerts - can experience raga varna. They stressed that it is unimportant whether or not the listener knows the names or ascent/descent patterns of the common ragas. They said that, so long as the listener has spent a great deal of his time "immersed" in the music, he is able to experience this effect. These informants agreed that a child who does not come from a musical family can still become a vidvan provided that he becomes "immersed" in the music; that an adult who has been "immersed" in the music all his life but never attempted to perform can still become a vidvan; but that an adult who has never been "immersed" in the music can never become a vidvan.

Thus, the varna of a rare raga can only be experienced by a vidvan whilst the varna of a common raga can only be experienced by a rasika - one who has spent a great deal of his time "immersed" in the music. Different members of society have different opportunities to "immerse" themselves in the music. A consideration of the question of which members of society have such opportunities and thereby experience raga varna leads to a consideration of where sangita is performed and for whom.

(b), (v) The Social Context of Sangita Performances

In towns and cities, concerts of sangita take place at which an admission fee is charged. These mostly take place under the auspices of gana sabhas (concert
societies): these are voluntary organisations of the Western type, in which a committee of prominent local Brahmans organises and funds the concert, which takes place in a local hall. Only the best-known (throughout South India) performers are engaged to play and the music is often relayed by loudspeaker to the crowds who stand in the street outside. One concert society was active in Mysore during the period of my fieldwork; the audiences appeared to be exclusively Brahman on the occasions when I attended concerts there.

However, most sangita concerts in Mysore take place in the houses of rich Brahmans. The householder engages the musicians, pays their fees and invites the (usually exclusively Brahman) audience. During the annual festival of Rama, rich Brahmans in towns and cities engage musicians to perform public concerts, usually in the compounds of their houses, which all 'clean' castes (i.e. not Harijans - the 'unclean' or 'outcaste' groups at the bottom of the caste hierarchy) can attend and at which no admission fee is charged. At this festival, the rich patrons compete with one another to engage the most famous musicians and thereby obtain larger audiences than their rivals. Even when such a concert is given indoors, loudspeakers relay the music to the crowds who stand in the street outside.

During other annual festivals, such as Divali, the Siva festival and the Ganapati festival, sangita concerts take place within the context of total events
within temples and ashrams, at which kirtana singing and the performance of Vedic rites by temple priests also take place. Such events take place mostly in towns and cities, Harijans are excluded but loudspeakers relay the music to those outside. At the time of my fieldwork, All India Radio (Bangalore and Mysore stations) played sangita and kirtana (i.e. devaranama and vachana) in the early morning and, less frequently, in the evening. Most of the music heard on these stations at other times was secular film music. In several Brahman temples in Mysore, relatively unknown local musicians performed sangita and kirtana every day at sunset. At Brahman weddings in Mysore, it is customary for the bride's father to engage sangita musicians to entertain the guests and, at the more opulent of these events, the music is relayed by means of loudspeakers to those outside the compound. In rural areas, there are very few sangita concerts although villagers flock to the towns and cities during annual festivals and thus have the same opportunities as urban-dwellers to listen to, or also see, sangita concerts at these times.

Thus, only urban-dwelling members of the Brahman caste have the opportunity to both see and hear sangita concerts all year round and thereby become 'immersed' in the music. The opportunities for non-Brahmans to see and hear concerts decrease the lower is their caste status. The only exception is the case of the families of the barber caste (of the Sudra group of castes) within
which the posts of temple musician are passed on patrilineally. In recent years, some Muslim musicians in South India have attained fame as nagasvaram (a type of oboe) performers but the only nagasvaram and tavil (the accompanying drum) performers in Mysore holding temple posts are members of the barber caste. The main duty of the temple musicians consists in providing musical accompaniment for the temple idol (muruti) on its annual procession through the streets. They play sangita and several are taught the ragas and compositions by Brahman musicians - a tradition which extends back at least to the beginning of the 19th century. Doreswamy said that he had taught several promising young temple musicians and arranged for them to attend sangita concerts regularly (at a local gana sabha - a concert society) in order to 'immerse' themselves in the music. It is, however, only PERFORMERS of the barber caste who have such opportunities to 'immerse' themselves in sangita. We find no (non-performing) rasika group within the barber caste; rasikas, who are able to experience raga varna, are predominantly Brahmins. Members of other castes have regular opportunities to hear sangita but rarely do they have the opportunity to 'immerse' themselves in the music to the extent necessary to enable them to distinguish between some hundred common ragas.

(b), (vi) Raga in Kirtana Performances

All castes and rural- as well as urban-dwellers
have equal opportunities to hear and see kirtana (i.e. devaranama and vachana) performances and to participate in bhajana (communal worship of the kirtana form) meetings at which kirtanas are sung. A definitional problem exists, however, on the question of whether or not kirtanas are in ragas. Certainly, whoever is the performer, the melody to which a kirtana is sung is said to be in a raga, whether a single raga or ragamalika (i.e. a sequence of different ragas). In towns and cities, we find Brahman vocalists who have trained in sangita but who specialise in singing devaranama kirtanas, although they often include short kritis, particularly early Tyagaraja kritis, in their performances. They are full-time professionals and are paid to perform in Brahman temples and at bhajana meetings in Brahman houses. When they sing kirtanas, they usually include a short alapana and repeat each line of the composition several times, rendering the line more complex with each repeat. Their audiences do not usually join in the pallavi (refrain) during their performances. They employ the same accompanying instruments as sangita vocalists: viz. the tambura (the 4-stringed drone instrument) and mridangam (double-faced hand drum). They are careful to 'preserve raga bhava' in their melodic development and spontaneous improvisation. Their audiences are predominantly Brahman.

Most kirtana singers, particularly those in rural areas, have had no training in sangita. Very few earn
their living totally by performing and their audiences
tend to be from the Sudra group of castes. They do not
have the ability to improvise in a raga and preserve
its 'melodic individuality'. Neither do they precede
songs with an alapana; nor do they perform kritis.
They employ a smaller number of repeats of the lines of
songs, although they do develop the melodic line with
each repeat. Their audiences usually join in the sing-
ing of the pallavi (refrain) after every charana (verse).
They employ different accompanying instruments from those
of Brahman vocalists. They use a portable harmonium or
ekatar (the single-string lute found throughout India)
as drone instrument and cymbals or sometimes the North
Indian tabla (hand-drum) set as percussion accompani-
ment.

Sangita vidvans and rasikas say that such non-Brahman
kirtana singers 'destroy the raga bhava' when they
elaborate the melodic line in repeats. However, all
of the regular attenders at bha.iana meetings with whom
I discussed this, several of whom were Brahmans who
attended bha.iana meetings at which sangita-trained
performers regularly sang, said that the inclusion, in
kirtana performances, of alapanas and the type and extent
of repetition and melodic development used in kritis
distracts the listeners' attention from the sahitya
(words) which are, they agreed, the essential feature
of kirtana. My Brahman informants said that they tended
not to listen to kirtana singers who lack sangita train-
ing because such performers 'destroy the raga bha va' but agreed that, whilst a listener who does not regularly hear the ragas performed 'correctly' by s ang ita-trained musicians is not bothered by such destruction of the varna of the raga, a listener who has often heard the ragas played 'correctly' is disturbed by this.

Thus, in front of a Brahman audience, kirtana s are performed in ragas, so that they have the effects upon the listener of raga varna and raga rasa (since the ragas are performed 'correctly'). However, even the Brahman kirtana audiences regard the purely musical aspects of the kirtana performance as simply a "vehicle for the sahitva". If the alapana - the exploration of the sancharas of the raga by the performer - is too long and the melodic development too complex, then the performance ceases to be what we might term 'musical declamation' and receives adverse criticism. In both Brahman and non-Brahman kirtana performances, the sahitva bha va effect must therefore be predominant.

The conclusions of the discussion in section (b), (v) of where and for whom sangita is performed were that this form of devotional music is performed predominantly for a small, mostly urban, mostly Brahman élite. Only members of this élite can 'immerse' themselves in the music to the extent necessary to experience raga varna. The above discussion of Brahman and non-Brahman kirtana performances reinforces this conclusion: because non-Brahman kirtana audiences are not disturbed by the des-
truction of the varna of the raga, this indicates that they do not experience raga varna.

(b), (vii) Powers' Analysis of Raga

The conception of raga articulated by vidvans and rasikas in Mysoore which I have presented in this section differs from the pan-Indian analysis of raga offered by Harold Powers ('An historical and comparative approach to the classification of ragas', 'Selected Reports' of the Institute of Ethnomusicology, University of California at Los Angeles, 1970, vol. 1, No. 3, Pp. 1-78).

Powers argues that scale-type and pitch-relationships, which are the aspects of raga focused upon in Sambamoorthy's 'South Indian Music' in 6 volumes (op. cit.), tell us little about what Powers terms the "melodic 'Gestalt'" of a raga (North or South Indian).

"The melodic 'Gestalt' - the svarupa of the raga - is, as we have seen, a function of the 'raga-image', the chaya, as that 'image' is displayed in the music itself. The 'image' in turn is a function of the interlocking of 'specially treated scale-degrees' - called jiva svaras in South Indian parlance, and vadi and samvadi in the North - with the 'phrases' (sancara) and 'usages' or 'motives' (prayogas) which go to make up the 'contours' of the music. These 'contours' - the North Indian term is calan - are located in the pitch continuum within certain registral boundaries which we have called 'registers' (murcchanas). There can be two, and for that matter more than two, such 'registers' within which the 'phrase-contours' (sancara-krama) can operate; and these 'registers' (within which are found the important scale-degrees and also the fixed-pitch immutable tonic, and the fifth if that scale-degree is present) in turn may lie at any level with respect to the harmonic centers, viz. the tonics at either extreme of the 'central octave', producing characteristic 'tessituras' for each raga. Put another
way, there is a harmonic octave, bounded by drone-tonics, and one or more melodic octave-species which usually are not co-extensive with the harmonic octave. Both types of octave may be sub-divided into smaller pitch-areas." (ibid., Pp. 45-6)

A problem with this approach is that the Sanskrit terms which he employs as key concepts are either those employed exclusively in North Indian music theory or, in the case of such terms as sancara (i.e. santhara) and prayoga, which are common to the terminology of both North and South, they are used in their North Indian sense. Clearly, this is an attempt to explain South Indian practice in terms of North Indian theory. Svaruna seems translateable into South Indian theory as raga varna but none of the other North Indian terms has a precise South Indian equivalent.

The data from which he derives most of his analysis of 'register' in South Indian ragas is the Tyagaraja kriti 'ENDU DAGINAD' in Todi raga, obtained from a written source (C.S. Ayyar, '108 Kritis of Sri Tyagaraja', Madras, 1955, Pp. 30-32). He concludes that:

"each of the two sections, the pailavī and the anupallavī, is based on the 'nuclear register' flat-6 up to flat-3, in different octaves. Thus there are two octave-spanning 'registers' for South Indian Todi, one from flat-6 and one from flat-3, each including the 'nuclear register' spanning flat-6 up to flat-3. The psychological effect of octave transposition of basic phrases contrasted with the half-octave transposition of overall register for their extensions is one of the strengths of this raga." (ibid., P. 24)

The first problem raised by this analysis is that such octave transposition of basic phrases between the pailavī and anupallavī sections of a kriti is characteristic of
many Tyagaraja kritis (in ragas other than Todi) and a 
large number of kritis which I collected and heard during 
fieldwork, in many different ragas, exhibit this feature. 
Doreswamy regarded this feature as an aspect of kriti 
compositional form, as opposed to raga, and conceived of 
it as related to the ganam, as opposed to the raga 
bhava, effect.

The second problem raised by this analysis is that 
other kritis by Tyagaraja in Todi raga do not exhibit 
the 'nuclear register' discerned by Powers in 'ENDU 
DAGINADO' (and I suspect that the charana - final 
section of any version of this kriti would also contra¬ 
dict his analysis). In examining my transcription of a 
performance by Doreswamy of the Tyagaraja kriti 'RAJU 
VEDALE JUTAMU', in Todi raga, rupaka tala, (tape C, 
side 2, track 3), I found a large number of different 
tessituras' ('average pitch ranges', that is, excluding 
motivic extensions) employed, few of which spanned 
flat-6 to flat-3 or 'vice-versa' and could isolate no 
'nuclear register'. I can thus only characterise the 
'register' of this composition by saying that it occupies 
a total range from flat-6 below the drone-tonic to flat-3 
above the octave of the drone-tonic. These 'registral' 
differences between the two kritis 'ENDU DAGINADO' 
and 'RAJU VEDALE JUTAMU' are comprehensible in terms of 
Doreswamy's statement that we find only a small number 
of the sancharas of the raga in any single short kriti. 
If it were desired to employ a single composition to 
characterise a raga, then a varna (composition) would be
more appropriate since, according to Doreswamy, the composer attempts to incorporate all of the sancharas of the raga into a varna. Sambamoorthy (Great Composers', book 2, op. cit., P.13) has drawn attention to this feature of short kritis with reference to those composed by Tyagaraja:

"Instead of compressing all the beauties of a raga in one and the same composition and thereby making it very weighty, he (Tyagaraja) has spread the various features of the ragas over a number of his compositions. This has enabled music students and scholars to have a fuller and detailed picture of the ragas. His numerous compositions in Todi, Bhairavi, Saveri, Shankarabharana, Kalyani, Mukhari, Arabhi, Mohana and Saurashstra will bear out this point."

Thus, a large sample of kritis in different ragas would disprove Powers' assertion of 'octave transposition' as a feature of particular ragas and a large sample of kritis in the same raga would disprove his assertion of 'Nuclear register' as a characteristic feature of ragas.

In his emphasis upon the importance of jiva svaras in South Indian music, Powers agrees with the statements made by Doreswamy. He attempts a very interesting comparison between North and South Indian ragas having the same name. His thesis is that, whilst the "melodically neutral" scale-degrees (i.e. those which are not jiva svaras in the South or vadi or samvadi in the North) may differ in their locations between Northern and Southern ragas with the same name, the "important scale-degrees" (i.e. those which are jiva svaras or
vadi/samvadi) do not. However, as in the case of his analysis of 'registers', his interpretation of his data sample raises some problems.

For example, he states that:

"the differences in scale-type between Northern and Southern Todi reside in the melodically neutral scale-degrees 4 and 7; the important scale degrees 6, 3 and 2 are flat in both Northern and Southern Todi." (ibid., P.30)

I am not competent to assess the dates of his North Indian source material. His source for the jiva svaras of South Indian Todi raga (ibid., P.18), however, is Subbarama Diksitar's 'Sangita sampradaya pradarsini', published in 1904. Doreswamy warned me against using this source (or the numerous publications in Kannada language employing this source) as a reflection of present-day practice. He said that Diksitar refers to late 19th century practice and that all South Indian ragas have changed considerably since that time.

Comparing the ascent/descent patterns of the South Indian ragas Todi, Hindola and Sri extracted by Powers from Diksitar's book (ibid., Pp.15-18) with those given to me by Doreswamy, we find little difference; in a period of 80 years or so, these ragas have not changed to the extent that their ascent/descent patterns are unrecognisable. However, comparing the jiva svara pattern for South Indian Todi given by Diksitar and reproduced by Powers in the above quote with that given by Doreswamy, which was:

```plaintext

```
Starting and resting notes: flat-3 4 flat-6
Finishing notes: flat-3 4 flat-6 flat-7

we find a great deal of difference. Doreswamy said that the *amsha svaras* (the most 'prominent' notes: see section (c), (i) of this chapter for a discussion of the *amsha svara concept*) of this *rava* are flat-3 and 4. Thus, 4 is no longer a "melodically neutral" scale-degree whilst flat-2 is no longer an "important" scale-degree. Whilst flat-7 has not changed completely from "melodically neutral" to "important", it can certainly no longer be regarded as "melodically neutral". The differences between the two *jiya svara* patterns are much greater than could be accounted for by regional variation between Madras and Mysore practice; they clearly indicate change through time.

This historical comparison would appear to invalidate Powers' argument. It may be the case that his North Indian sources are of the same age as his South Indian ones, in which case we can argue that both North and South Indian Todi were identical in terms of their "important" scale-degrees in the late 19th century. However, Powers' whole argument is based upon the premise that the pattern of "important" scale-degrees of a *rava* is more durable through time than its scale-type. These comparisons of late-19th century practice with present-day practice in South India suggest the opposite: viz. that the ascent/descent pattern, which incorporates scale-type, is more durable than the *jiya svara* pattern.
of a Southern raga.

(b), (viii) Social Function

Raga varna is a musical effect restricted to the small, rasika elite who are predominantly members of the Brahman caste. Raga varna supplies what we may term an 'in-group' function. It consists in recall, by individual members of the rasika group, of experiences which took place within this group. The greater the number of concerts that a group of rasikas have attended together, obviously the more 'recalled things' they have in common when a raga is played, therefore the greater the extent to which this experience of recall is a shared experience between members of this group. Such shared experiences contribute towards the solidarity of the rasika elite; indeed, they contribute towards the transformation of a 'collectivity' of concert-goers into a 'group' - manifesting internal cohesion and mutual identification in opposition to outsiders. This fact is obviously recognised by rich Brahmans who organise and finance both private and public concerts of sangita (see section (b), (v) of this chapter). The guests whom they invite comprise mostly relatives and business/professional associates and their families (even in public concerts, special areas close to the performers are reserved for invited guests). The solidarity and survival of both kin-groups and economic networks is thereby maintained partially by these means.

Raga varna contributes towards 'in-group' solidarity
(a function in respect of society) and supplies 'recall' (a function in respect of individuals). However, since it is not indigenously conceived as replicating any reward of the practice of sadhana, it may justifiably be argued that a discussion of this musical effect is out of context in this thesis, which examines the rationale of devotional music as sadhana. There is, however, a consideration which has, up to this point in the thesis, necessitated an examination of this effect: viz. in any performance of devotional music in which the ragas are played 'correctly', the raga varna effect is always present, therefore the nature of this effect and the mechanism whereby it operates must clearly be understood in order sharply to distinguish it from the raga rasa effect, which is of central concern in this examination of devotional music as sadhana.

(c) Raga Rasa (i) Indigenous Concepts

In the Indian theories of literature, drama and dance, 9 rasas (literally, 'tastes') are recognised. These are: sringara (love); vira (bravery); karuna (pathos); adbhuta (thrill); sventa (peace, calm); hasya (fun); bhayanaka (horror, fear); bibhatsa (revulsion, abhorrence) and raudra (fierceness, anger). According to Doreswamy, bhayanaka, bibhatsa and raudra are not expressed by musical means. He said that hasya (fun) is expressed by musical means in secular music, but never in devotional music. The 5 above rasas which can be expressed by musical means he termed the 'main' rasas.
Ananda (joy, bliss) and bhakti (devotion) he termed 'minor' rasas, explaining that: (from my field notes)

"Ananda comes under aringara rasa and vira rasa. Bhakti itself comes under karuna rasa. In bhakti rasa, the devotee tries to forget himself and tries to be one with the deva (deity). So he invokes the deva's sympathy through pathos. Therefore bhakti always implies karuna rasa."

In that ananda is thus regarded - as a rasa which has the characteristics of both aringara and vira - I shall consider it as a separate rasa. Doreswamy always referred to such rasas as having ananda rasa and not as having aringara and vira rasas together. In that bhakti and karuna rasas are regarded as the 'opposite sides of the same coin', I shall consider both together as a single rasa - bhakti-karuna. Doreswamy referred to the rasa of such rasas as bhakti, karuna or bhakti-karuna, employing these terms interchangeably.

Two discussions which I had with Doreswamy on the distinction between raga varna and raga rasa assist in further clarifying the distinction at this point in my argument. Firstly, he said that anyone unfamiliar with raga music, such as a European or any non-Indian, would experience the rasa, or rasas, of a raga the first time that he heard it but would not experience the varna of the raga until he had 'immersed' himself in raga music for many years. Secondly we discussed the following statement by P. Sambamoorthy concerning Vasanta raga:
"Ideas of (1) loneliness, (2) forest life, (3) communion with nature, (4) far away from the bustle of town life and (5) on a boat in mid-stream can be suggested by this raga." ("South Indian Music", book 4, Madras, 1975, P. 377).

Doreswamy said that these are the themes of the sahitya (words) of two popular Tyagaraja compositions in this raga. At first he said that only words can express these ideas and that Vasanta raga itself can only convey bhakti-karuna rasa. After some discussion, he said that, since most rasikas are familiar with these compositions, hearing Vasanta raga would recall to them the words or literary themes of these compositions. But he stressed that these themes are (in his own words) "not expressed by the raga itself" and that they are "simply what the listener ASSOCIATES WITH (his emphasis) the raga."

These statements by Doreswamy emphasise that raga rasa does not operate by means of the system of differences between ragas (otherwise it would take years for the listener who is unfamiliar with raga music to experience raga rasa). Clearly, Doreswamy regards varna and rasa as two separate effects of raga and not as different aspects of the same effect. If the latter were the case, there would be as many rasas as ragas or each raga would be assigned a unique combination of rasas. This is not the case, since many ragas are conceived as having the same rasa or combination of rasas.

Doreswamy said that there is a fundamental distinction between bhakti-karuna and the other five, which
he called 'lighter' rases. He conceived of this distinction as correlating with two musical distinctions: viz. (i) that bhakti-karuna rasa correlates with the more extensive use of 'flat' notes whilst the 'lighter' rases correlate with the more extensive use of 'sharp' notes; and (ii) that bhakti-karuna correlates with the more extensive use of gamakas than is the case with the 'lighter' rases.

The 'flat'/'sharp' (komal/tivra) distinction was applied by Doreswamy to the scale-degrees 2, 3, 6 and 7. By 'flat', he meant flat-2, flat-3, flat-6 and flat-7; by 'sharp' he meant (natural)-2, 3, 6 and 7. Doreswamy characterised bhakti-karuna ragas as 'extensively' using 'flat' notes in two senses: (a) that, within the total set of notes employed in them, (i.e. their scale-type) these ragas tend to employ 'flat' notes rather than 'sharp' notes; and (b) that the 'flat' notes tend to be more 'prominent' (i.e. used in more 'important' locations - i.e. as jiva svaras - in these ragas than the 'sharp' notes.

Gamakas are continuous pitch movements carried out over distances of between a 'quarter-tone' and two 'whole-tones'. In their simplest form, they are movements from one pitch to another; in their most complex form, they employ several pitches as 'turning points' (i.e. in changing from ascent to descent or 'vice versa') and pass through and 'touch' (i.e. momentarily rest upon) several other pitches. The terms 'turning point'
and 'touch' were those used by Doreswamy himself in discussing gamakas with me. Whilst rasas are indigenously conceived in terms of sets of pitches which form consistent intervals with the drone-tonic (I hereafter term this concept intervalic pitches') these pitches are rendered in musical practice either as such intervalic pitches or as continuous movements between intervalic pitches (i.e. gamakas). Doreswamy characterised bhakti-karuna rasas as using gamakas more 'extensively' than 'lighter' rasas in the sense that more of the notes of the raga tend to be rendered as gamakas in bhakti-karuna than in 'lighter' rasas. Notes (svaras) in a raga which are rendered as gamakas are termed gamaka svaras.

Doreswamy was unable to articulate any musical distinctions which correlated with the distinctions between the 'lighter' rasas. He said that he "simply knew" what the rasa, or combination of rasas, conveyed by a 'lighter' raga, was. He said that he knew this not only because he had been told this by his gurus in his youth but also because every raga had a particular emotional effect upon him as a listener (whether he himself or another musician played it) which he was able to describe as a particular rasa or combination of rasas.

P. Sambamoorthy says:

"rasas admitting of plural amsha svaras are capable of portraying more than one rasa." (Great Composers' book 2, op. cit., P.135)
**Amsha svara** means the most prominent note, apart from the drone-tonic and its octave or the perfect fifth and its octaves, employed in a particular *raga*. When I discussed with him the above statement by Sambamoorthy, Doreswamy said that *amsha svara* simply refers to the *vadi* (i.e. most prominent note) of North Indian music, that the *vadi* concept has no relevance to South Indian music and that South Indian *ragas* are to be understood in terms of the *jiva svara* rather than the *amsha svara* concept. However, for each of the 42 South Indian *ragas* which I discussed with him in detail, he was able to name the *amsha svara(s)* without difficulty (although every time I asked him what were the *amsha svara(s)* of a particular *raga*, he raised his eyebrow and said that I would not understand South Indian *ragas* in terms of the *amsha svara* concept.)

*Amsha svara*, or *vadi*, is a simpler concept than *jiva svara*: the former only distinguishes a note as 'prominent' or 'not prominent' whilst the latter distinguishes a note as 'starting and resting' (*jiva*), 'finishing' (*nyasa*) or neither (*alpa*). Frequently, Doreswamy said that *amsha svaras* are simply notes which are both *jiva* (i.e. starting and resting notes of musical phrases) and *nyasa* (i.e. finishing notes of musical phrases) in a particular *raga*. In the 42 *ragas* for which he gave me *amsha svara(s)* and *jiva svara* pattern, there are several examples which do not conform to this definition: notes which are *jiva* but
not nyasa are given as amsha whilst notes which are both jiva and nyasa are not given as amsha. What is interesting about this definition, however, is that, by means of it, Doreswamy attempts to encompass the amsha svara concept within the jiva svara concept. This suggests the viewpoint that, whilst overall note prominence (amsha) is an indigenously recognised feature of South Indian ragas, the more detailed prescriptions and proscriptions contained in the jiva svara pattern are of greater importance as 'rules of thumb' for performing Southern ragas.

Doreswamy thus conceives of the fundamental rasa distinction of bhakti-karuna/"lighter" as conveyed by differences of scale-type and differences in the amount of continuous pitch movement. Sambamoorthy states that rasa distinctions are conveyed by the number of prominent notes in the raga; this suggests the possibility that particular ragas are conveyed by particular prominent notes. The latter viewpoint appears to be supported by Doreswamy's statement that the usage and prominence of 'flat', as opposed to 'sharp', scale-degrees in a raga conveys the fundamental rasa distinction of bhakti-karuna/"lighter".

Following the method adopted in section (b) of this chapter, I wish to check these statements against musical practice. Such an examination supplies the only means available for answering two important questions. Firstly, are there any musical distinctions
which actually correlate with rasa distinctions? If so, then clearly rasa is conveyed by ragas and not conventionally associated with ragas. If not, then it can be argued that the rasa, or combination of rasas, is, like the name of the raga, associated with the raga through a learning process. Secondly, which of the above musical distinctions best correlates with rasa distinctions? Although this question can only be answered for the fundamental rasa distinction of bhakti-karuna/'lighter', the answer is likely to provide guidelines for further research into the communication by musical means of the finer rasa distinctions (i.e. those made between the 'lighter' rasas).

(g), (ii) Problems of Sampling

It is obviously only possible to check these statements against a sample of South Indian ragas. I employ, as a sample, the detailed information which I collected from Doreswamy concerning 42 South Indian ragas. With the exceptions of Ganamurti and Saurashtra, Doreswamy classified all of these ragas as 'common', as opposed to 'rare', ragas. Despite the compromise nature of this sample, which I discuss shortly, it is nonetheless representative of the types of raga commonly heard in sangita concerts in terms of rasas, scale types, types of ascent/descent and jiva svara pattern and proportion of rare to common ragas.
Due to restrictions of space in this thesis, I am faced with two alternative types of analysis of this sample: viz.

(i) The direct analysis of musical practice (i.e. analysis of all collected recordings of the raga, which could be extended to other recordings from music archives), which would be possible for only a very small number of ragas; or

(ii) The analysis of musical practice as described by Doreswamy (i.e. analysis of the scale type, jiva svara pattern and gamaka svaras which he ascribed to the raga), which would be possible for all 42 ragas.

The direct analysis of all 42 ragas, with possible inclusion of archive recordings, would not be possible within the confines of the present study.

The direct analysis of a very small number of ragas supplies far too small a sample to justify any statistical significance for its conclusions. The use of indigenous descriptions is, however, only valid if we know the relationship of the informant's verbal description to musical practice. I have examined the relationship, in a number of ragas, between the scale type, jiva svara pattern and gamaka svaras which Doreswamy ascribed to the raga and recordings of performances by Doreswamy in the raga. In all cases, Doreswamy's verbal description was the best possible abstraction from musical practice. This justifies his own viewpoint that the relationship of such (verbal)
'rules' to musical practice is that of 'rule' to 'rule + exception used sparingly' (see section (b),(i) of this chapter). His verbal descriptions are thus statistically significant statements about musical practice. Any conclusions drawn from these descriptions are therefore statistically significant.

The 42 South Indian ragas which I discussed with Doreswamy were, in the order in which we discussed them: Mayamalavagoula, Malahari, Mohana, Kalyani, Bilahari, Hamsadhwani, Junjuthi, Kedaram, Abhogi, Shankarabharana, Begada, Kambhoji, Yadukula Kambhoji, Sri, Jaganmohini, Ganamurti, Kharaharapriya, Nata, Kamavardhini, Goula, Saureshtra, Hindola, Hindusthan Behag, Bhairavi, Navarasa Kannada, Bouli, Arabhi, Todi, Vasanta, Jonpuri, Kuntalavarali, Hamsanada, Kedara goula, Shanmukhapriya, Dhanyasi, Sama, Chakravakam, Yamuna Kalyani, Bhimplas, Nata Kuranji, Ritigoula and Kannada.

For each raga, Doreswamy gave me the set of notes employed, the ascent/descent pattern, the jiva svara pattern, the amaha svara(s), the gamaka svaras, the types of gamaka employed in rendering these gamaka svaras and the bhava (i.e. rasa(s)), along with other occasional pieces of information. He dictated to me the set of sancharas of the raga and played an alapana containing these sancharas in the sequence in which he had dictated them (which I recorded on tape). For each raga, he or B.S. Vijayaraghavan, a Mysore sengita vocalist who specialised in singing kirtana, gave me at
least one composition. They dictated the words, translating each word individually then explaining the meaning of the song. They dictated a prescriptive transcription of each composition in sol-fa notation. In the case of Doreswamy, he then showed me in detail how each line of the composition was to be played on the vina (including gamakas). They also performed each composition (which I recorded on tape.)

This sample of 42 ragas represents a compromise between the ragas which Doreswamy and Vijayaraghavan considered that, as a pupil, I should learn (viz. the first 15 ragas in the above list) and my own attempts to obtain samples of as many different types of raga as possible in the time available. My main concern was to obtain information on ragas having different numbers of notes, different scale types and different types of ascent/descent pattern. I was also concerned to obtain information on the most popular ragas, such as Todi and Bhairavi. This led to some friction with Doreswamy since he considered these ragas "too difficult for a beginner" due to the complexity of the gamakas which they employ.

(c), (iii) Amsha Svara and Rasa

The first analysis which I carried out of this data sample was in order to test Sambamoorthy's assertion (reproduced in section (c),(i) ) that there is a correlation between plural amsha svaras and plural rasas.
Of the 42 ragas, 27 are ascribed a single rasa, 14 are ascribed two rasas and 1 is ascribed three rasas. In 32 ragas, the number of amsha svaras ascribed to the raga corresponds with the number of rasas ascribed to the raga; the one raga ascribed three amsha svaras - Kalyani - is ascribed three rasas, 4 ragas have more rasas than amsha svaras and 6 ragas have more amsha svaras than rasas. This high correlation prompted me to search for a correlation between particular notes as amsha svaras and particular rasas but no correlation appeared which was significant.

(c), (iv) 'Flat'/'Sharp' Svaras and Rasa

Next I tested Doreswamy's assertion that bhakti-karuna ragas are associated with 'flat' notes whilst 'lighter' ragas are associated with 'sharp' notes. I firstly tested his assertion that this correlation is manifest in terms of note prominence (i.e. that 'flat' notes tend to be more prominent in bhakti-karuna ragas and 'sharp' notes tend to be more prominent in 'lighter' ragas). Considering amsha svaras only, ragas with bhakti-karuna rasa having only 'flat' amsha svaras, ragas with 'lighter' rasas having only 'sharp' amsha svaras and ragas with both bhakti-karuna and 'lighter' rasas having both 'flat' and 'sharp' amsha svaras would corroborate Doreswamy's statement whilst other combinations would not. Within the sample of 42 ragas, only 18 ragas thus corroborated
his statement whilst 24 did not.

However, Doreswamy had said that 'flat' notes tend to be more prominent than 'sharp' notes in bhakti-karuna ragas etc., not that the amsha svaras - the most prominent notes - in bhakti-karuna ragas are always 'flat'. There were several cases in the data sample of the fourth scale-degree as amsha svara. In terms of Doreswamy's definition, the fourth scale-degree is neither 'flat' nor 'sharp'. Whilst I therefore had to reckon ragas having only the fourth scale-degree as an amsha svara as not corroborating Doreswamy's statement, clearly, if a quantitative scale of 'note prominence' were adopted, such examples might well be found to corroborate his statement in terms of their notes which are prominent but not amsha.

I therefore adopted the following 'prominence scale'. For the 8 notes being examined (i.e. the 'flat' and 'sharp' varieties of the scale-degrees 2, 3, 6 and 7), where the note did not appear in the raga I assigned it the value '0'. I assigned the value '1' to notes 'bracketed' or 'double bracketed' by Doreswamy (see section (b), (i) of this chapter) in the ascent/descent pattern of the raga and to bhashanga svaras.

(The bhashanga svara concept requires some explanation. Within my sample, the number of notes contained in a raga ranges between 5 and 9. However,
whatever the number of notes contained in a raga, the raga is assigned to a melakarta, or 'parent scale', containing 7 scale-degrees, i.e. sānta svaras (see Sambamoorthy, 'South Indian Music', book 3, Pp. 32-68 for an explanation of the system of 72 melakartas). There is a great deal of dispute amongst South Indian musicians and musicologists concerning the assignment of ragas with more or less than 7 notes to a particular melakarta. When there are more than 7 notes, the additional notes are designated as bhashanga, which Doreswamy translated as "'foreign', to the melakarta", in terms of the criterion that they are used less prominently in the raga than the other notes contained in the raga which constitute alternative scale-degree locations. For example, Saurashtra raga (the ascent/descent and jīva svara patterns of which are given in section (b),(iii) of this chapter) contains 8 notes, including (natural)-7 and flat-7. Neither (natural)-7 nor flat-7 are jīva svaras of the raga but flat-7 occurs only in descending prayogas whilst (natural)-7 occurs in both ascending and descending prayogas. (Natural)-7 is therefore more prominent than flat-7, therefore the 7th scale-degree is regarded as (natural)-7 and flat-7 is regarded as the bhashanga svara in this raga.

I assigned the value '2' to notes which are alpa in a raga (i.e. they are contained in the melakarta to which the raga is assigned but are not employed as
starting, resting or finishing notes of prayogas in that raga; (natural)-7 in Saurashtra raga is thus alpa). I assigned the value '3' to notes which are employed as finishing notes (i.e. nyasa) in the prayogas of a raga but not as starting or resting notes (i.e. jiva). I assigned the value '4' to notes which are employed as starting and resting notes (i.e. jiva) but not as finishing notes (i.e. nyasa) in a raga and assigned the value '5' to notes which are employed as starting, resting and finishing notes (i.e. jiva and nyasa) in a raga. I assigned the value '6' to notes in a raga which Doreswamy designated as amsha.

I then extracted the notes in every raga which are 'flat' or 'sharp' varieties of the scale-degrees 2, 3, 6 and 7 scoring between '4' and '6' on this 'prominence scale'. I then divided the sample of 42 ragas into 3 categories, viz.
(1) A set of 15 ragas, having one or more rasas, none of which were bhakti-karuna;
(2) A set of 20 ragas having bhakti-karuna rasa only;
(3) A set of 7 rasas having bhakti-karuna together with other, 'lighter' rasas.

My findings are that within category (1) (ragas having 'lighter' rasas only), the 'prominent' (i.e. scoring between '4' and '6' on the 'prominence scale') 'flat' and 'sharp' notes occur the following number of times:
Within category (2) (ragas having bhakti-karuna rasa only), the occurrences of the 'prominent' 'flat' and 'sharp' notes were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note</th>
<th>'Flat' Notes</th>
<th>'Sharp' Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flat-2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>TOTAL = 25 'flat' notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>TOTAL = 31 'sharp' notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>TOTAL = 21 'sharp' notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within category (3) (ragas having bhakti-karuna along with other, 'lighter' rasas), the occurrences of the 'prominent' 'flat' and 'sharp' notes were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note</th>
<th>'Flat' Notes</th>
<th>'Sharp' Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flat-2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>TOTAL = 3 'flat' notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>TOTAL = 19 'sharp' notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this examination we can conclude that there are significantly more 'flat' notes employed as 'prominent' notes in bhakti-karuna rasas than in 'lighter' rasas. Category (5), in which the occurrences of 'prominent' 'flat' and 'sharp' notes are somewhere between the proportions found in the other two categories, confirms this finding. Another significant
finding is that, in category (1), flat-2 and flat-6 do not occur as 'prominent' notes whilst, in category (2), they occur frequently. In category (3), flat-2 does not occur as a 'prominent' note whilst flat-6 occurs once only as a 'prominent' note. This suggests that the employment of flat-2 and/or flat-6 as 'prominent' notes determines the rasa of a raga as bhakti-karuna. All of these findings are confirmed when we assess 'prominent' in terms of a score between '3' and '6' on the 'prominence scale'.

I next tested Doreswamy's assertion that bhakti-karuna ragas tend to employ more 'flat' than 'sharp' notes (irrespective of 'prominence'). I examined the correlation between the total set of notes employed in a raga and the distinction between bhakti-karuna and 'lighter' rasas. I present the results of this examination below. The categories of raga and method of presentation of data are identical to those adopted in the previous examination of the relationship between 'prominent' notes and rasas.

Category (1) ('lighter' rasas only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flat-2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>8 'flat' notes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>47 'sharp' notes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Category (2) (bhakti-karuna rasa only)
Category (2) (bhakti-karuna rasa only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flat Node</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flat-2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL = 43 'flat' notes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural Node</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL = 33 'sharp' notes

Category (3) (mixed bhakti-karuna and 'lighter' rasas)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flat Node</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flat-2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>flat-6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL = 7 'flat' notes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural Node</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL = 25 'sharp' notes

The findings of this examination are identical to those of the examination of 'prominent' notes. 'Flat' notes are uncommon in rasas having only 'lighter' rasas, very common in bhakti-karuna rasas and, in rasas having bhakti-karuna along with other, 'lighter' rasas, their frequency of occurrence is somewhere between those found in the 'bhakti-karuna only' and 'lighter only' categories. Flat-2 and flat-6 do not occur in category (1) ('lighter rasas only), they are very common in category (2) ('bhakti-karuna only') whilst, in category (3) ('bhakti-karuna + lighter') they occur but not frequently.

These findings confirm Doreswamy's statements about the correlation between the bhakti-karuna/'lighter'
distinction between *rasas* and the distinction between 'flat' and 'sharp' notes. They further specify that the occurrence and prominence of flat-2 and flat-6 determine the *rasa* of a *raga* as bhakti-karuna.

During the course of this analysis, it became apparent that, within the sample of 42 *ragas*, there were several examples of *ragas* having the same set of notes but classified, according to their *rasas*, into different categories (i.e. (1), (2) or (3) above). This suggested the possibility that, by comparing these *ragas*, a consistent feature might become apparent which accounts for the attribution of different *rasas* to the same set of notes.

Three *ragas* (Junjuthi, Navarasa Kannada and Kedara Goula) employ the set of notes /1 2 3 4 5 6 flat-7/. Junjuthi has *arising rasa* (i.e. it is category (1)); Navarasa Kannada has vira and *adbhuta rasas* (i.e. category (1)); Kedara Goula has bhakti-karuna rasa (i.e. category (2)).

Three *ragas* (Kannada, Arabhi and Shankarabharana) employ the set of notes /1 2 3 4 5 6 7/. Kannada has *ananda rasa* (i.e. category (1)); Arabhi has vira and *adbhuta rasas* (i.e. category (1)); Shankarabharana has bhakti-karuna and *arising rasas* (i.e. category (3)).

Three *ragas* (Bilahari, Yadukula Kambhoji and Kambhoji) employ the set of notes /1 2 3 4 5 6 flat-7 (natural)-7/. Bilahari has vira rasa (i.e. category
Yadukula Kambhoji has bhakti-karuna and sringara rasas (i.e. category (3)); Kambhoji has bhakti-karuna and ananda rasas (i.e. category (3)).

Two ragas (Hindusthan Behag and Begada) employ the set of notes /1 2 3 4 augmented-4 5 6 flat-7 (natural)-7/ Hindusthan Behag has sringara and adbhuta rasas (i.e. category (1)); Begada has bhakti-karuna and vira rasas (i.e. category (2)).

In the case of each set of notes, we have ragas in category (1) (non-bhakti-karuna) and ragas in categories (2) or (3) (bhakti-karuna, with or without other rasas) sharing this set of notes. I compared various aspects of the bhakti-karuna and non-bhakti-karuna ragas sharing the same set of notes. A significant finding which emerged from this analysis was the greater number of gamaka svaras (i.e. notes realised as continuous pitch movements) in the bhakti-karuna than in the non-bhakti-karuna ragas within each group of ragas sharing the same set of notes.

(c), (v) Gamaka and Rasa

In describing the gamaka svaras for each of the 42 ragas in my sample, Doreswamy distinguished between two types of gamaka: kampita and varika. He explained this distinction in terms of the interrelation between the system of 19 śrutis (pitches) in the octave conceived by Mysore musicians and the system of 12 svaras (pitches produced by the frets of the vina) in the octave.
Doreswamy recognised 19 srutis (intervalic pitches, i.e. each pitch forms a constant interval with the drone-tonic,) in the octave between which gamakas are executed. 12 of these intervalic pitches are those also conceived as the locations of svaras; the other 7 he termed gamaka srutis ('gamaka pitches') and explained that they can only occur in gamakas. The 12 svara pitches are those produced by the frets and open strings of the vina (lute) and the 7 gamaka srutis are pitches roughly mid-way between those sounded by the vina frets (which are produced on the vina by means of deflecting the string, thus raising the pitch produced, on a fret which itself produces a lower pitch than that desired). The gamaka srutis can only be 'touched' or be the 'turning points' (see section (c),(i) of this chapter for the definitions of these terms) within gamakas and are never sustained, whilst the svara pitches can be sustained.

In most circumstances, the open, top melody string of the vina sounds the drone-tonic. The only exception occurs in the case of a small number of desya ('folk') ragas, such as Junjuthi. These ragas have a restricted pitch range (no higher than the 7th scale-degree above the drone-tonic) therefore the drone-tonic is shifted to the fifth fret on the top melody string of the vina (which ordinarily produces the perfect fourth above the drone-tonic) when playing these ragas and the drone instrument is re-tuned to
produce this pitch. Doreasammy said that these desya ragas are "not the true Carnatic (i.e. South Indian) ragas; simply lighter items with which to conclude a concert". The use of the term 'lighter' in this context is interesting, since these ragas all have 'lighter' rasas (i.e. they are non-bhakti-karuna). One rasika informant aptly described them as the "sweet after the meal". No nallavis or long kritis exist in desya ragas. Since they are indigenously regarded as, in a sense, outside of the main system of ragas and rarely performed, I shall therefore ignore them for the purposes of the present discussion and concentrate upon the main ragas.

Referring to the open, top melody string of the vina, which (nearly always) produces the drone-tonic as '0' fret, I list below the intervals with the drone-tonic produced by the fret pitches of the vina and the gamaka arutis. By '1st fret' etc., I refer to the intervalic pitches produced when the top melody string is fretted. I also present the values (in cyclic cents) of the 19 arutis, expressed in terms of the intervals which they form with the drone-tonic. The derivation of these values is explained in my paper 'The Mysore System of Vina Pitches' (part of a submission for the degree of M.Mus. Department of Music, University of York, September, 1977).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sruti number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value (cyclic cents)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0 fret, drone-tonic, 1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>gamaka sruti</em></td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1st fret, flat-2</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2nd fret, (natural)-2</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>gamaka sruti</em></td>
<td>249.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3rd fret, flat-3</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>4th fret, (natural)-3</td>
<td>301.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>gamaka sruti</em></td>
<td>451.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>5th fret, 4</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>6th fret, augmented-4</td>
<td>598.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><em>gamaka sruti</em></td>
<td>640.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>7th fret, 5</td>
<td>702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td><em>gamaka sruti</em></td>
<td>748.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>8th fret, flat-6</td>
<td>798.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>9th fret, (natural)-6</td>
<td>895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td><em>gamaka sruti</em></td>
<td>945.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>10th fret, flat-7</td>
<td>996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>11th fret, (natural)-7</td>
<td>1099.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td><em>gamaka sruti</em></td>
<td>1142.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conception of 12 svaras must clearly be distinguished from the melakarta conception of saapta (7) svaras. The 7 svaras are 'scale-degrees'. The 72 melakaras (heptatonic scales) are generated by different combinations of the 12 svara pitches produced by the frets of the vina by the following means. The scale-degrees 1 (sa - the drone-tonic) and 5 (pa - perfect fifth) are common to all melakaras. Two alternative locations of the 4th scale-degree (ma) exist: the perfect fourth (called *suddha ma* - 'pure' ma) produced by the 5th fret of the vina; and the augmented fourth (called *prati-ma* - 'alternative' ma) produced by the 6th fret of the vina. Three alternative locations of the 2nd (ri), 3rd (ga), 6th (dha) and 7th (ni) scale-degrees exist. The 2nd scale-degree may be located on the 1st, 2nd or 3rd fret of the vina (i.e. it may be flat-2, (natural)-2 or flat-3 in the
terminology so far employed, which is adapted from Powers' study - op.cit., section (b), (vii) of this chapter; and the 3rd scale-degree may be located on the 2nd, 3rd or 4th fret of the vina (i.e. it may be (natural)-2, flat-3 or (natural)-3. Similarly, the 6th scale-degree may be located on the 8th, 9th or 10th fret of the vina and the 7th scale-degree may be located on the 9th, 10th or 11th fret of the vina. Provided that ga (the 3rd scale-degree) is always located above ri (the 2nd scale-degree) and the same is the case for dha and ni (the 6th and 7th scale-degrees), this results in 72 logically possible melakartas.

It should be noted that this melakarta classification does not correspond with the 'flat'/'sharp' (komal/tivra) distinction employed by Doreswamy. Doreswamy termed the highest alternative location of ri (the 2nd scale-degree), which is on the 3rd fret of the vina (i.e. flat-3) a 'flat' (komal) note and the lowest alternative location of ga (the 3rd scale-degree), which is on the 2nd fret of the vina (i.e. (natural)-2), a 'sharp' (tivra) note.

Doreswamy thus employed 4 separate types of division of the octave which he systematically related to each other. These were:-

(i) a system of 19 srutis (intervalic pitches);
(ii) a system of 12 svaras (vina fret pitches);
(iii) a system of 7 svaras (scale-degrees, located
as different vina fret pitches in different melakartas) and

(iv) a system of 4 'flat' notes opposed to 4 'sharp' notes (a sub-category comprising of 3 of the 12 svaras contained in classification (ii) above).

Doreswamy defined the kampita gamaka as a continuous pitch movement between one of the 12 intervalic pitches produced by the vina frets and an adjacent gamaka sruti. Where, as in the case of the 3rd fret of the vina, this gamaka can not be obtained by deflecting the string upon the 3rd fret, it is obtained by deflecting the string upon the 2nd fret and producing both the adjacent gamaka sruti (aruti 5) and the pitch of the 3rd fret (aruti 6) by this means. The distance between a vina fret pitch and an adjacent gamaka sruti, which is not a consistent interval although it is always less than the interval between two adjacent vina frets, is indigenously termed "one sruti". Thus, Doreswamy often referred to the kampita gamaka as the "one sruti shake" (by 'shake' he meant 'continuous pitch movement', i.e. gamaka). Since the vina frets produce a set of 12 intervals which are each approximately 100 cents - the value of the even-tempered semitone in the European scale - and the gamaka srutis are roughly half-way between the two adjacent pitches produced by the vina frets, we can say that kampita gamakas cover a distance of a 'quarter-tone' in the pitch continuum.
Doreswamy defined the varika gamaka as a continuous pitch movement between any two of the 12 intervallic pitches produced by the vina frets which are employed as notes in the raga. These svaras need not be adjacent, although the physical limitations of the vina restrict the pitch range of a gamaka to approximately a major 3rd. (Vocalists also restrict the range of their gamakas to approximately a major 3rd, although they experience no such physical limitations.) For example, in a raga having the notes 1, 2 and 3, varika gamakas can occur between 1 and 3 as well as between 1 and 2 or 2 and 3. Varika gamakas thus cover a distance of at least a 'semitone' and at most two 'whole tones' in the pitch continuum and are thus carried out over larger distances in the pitch continuum (and usually pass through more intervening pitches) than kempita gamakas. Doreswamy classified all gamakas as kempita, varika or a combination of the two types.

I list below the kempita and varika gamaka svaras which Doreswamy ascribed to each raga in the sample which shares the same set of notes as another raga. In stating, for example, that (natural)-3 is a varika gamaka svara in Junjuthi raga, Doreswamy explained that this means that this note is reached by means of a continuous pitch movement from a note in the raga which is below this pitch (i.e. in this case, from 1 or 2).
In groups A and C, the greater number of gamaka svaras in the ragas having bhakti-karuna rasa than in the non-bhakti-karuna ragas is clearly evident. In groups B and D, this correlation is less clearly manifest; in both the latter groups, the ragas having bhakti-karuna rasa have only one more kampita gamaka svara than
the non-bhakti-karuna raga. Nonetheless, these findings corroborate Doreswamy's statement that bhakti-karuna-rasa correlates with the employment of a greater number of gamaka svaras than in the case with raga having only 'lighter' rasas.

(c), (vi). Discussion of the Findings

The above findings indicate firstly that, amongst the 8 'flat' and 'sharp' notes considered, some are better differentiators between bhakti-karuna and 'lighter' rasas than others. In order to compare these notes as rasa differentiators, it is helpful to quantify the extent to which they differentiate between bhakti-karuna and 'lighter' rasas within the sample of 42 raga. Such a 'factor of differentiation' can be calculated for each 'flat' note by dividing the number of times that it appears within raga having bhakti-karuna rasa only, in the sample, by the number of times that it appears within 'lighter' raga. Conversely, for a 'sharp' note the 'factor of differentiation' is obtained by dividing the number of times that it appears in 'lighter' raga by the number of times that it appears in raga having bhakti-karuna rasa only. The same procedure can be applied to the findings on 'flat' and 'sharp' notes as 'prominent' notes in raga. These procedures result in two rank orders: (i) a rank order of the 8 'flat' and 'sharp' notes as differentiators between bhakti-karuna and 'lighter' rasas calculated in terms of their APPEARANCE in raga; and (ii) a rank order
calculated in terms of their PROMINENCE in ragas. The two rank orders are as follows:

(i) Rank order in terms of appearance of notes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note</th>
<th>No. of appearances in bhakti-karuna ragas</th>
<th>No. of appearances in 'lighter' ragas</th>
<th>Factor of Differentiation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flat-2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>infinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>infinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Rank order in terms of prominence of notes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note</th>
<th>No. of times prominent in bhakti-karuna ragas</th>
<th>No. of times prominent in 'lighter' ragas</th>
<th>Factor of Differentiation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flat-2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>infinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>infinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-7</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these two rank orders, a composite rank order can be derived by adding together, for each note, the factor of differentiation calculated for the appearance of the note and that calculated for the prominence of the note. Such a composite factor of differentiation is directly comparable with Doreswamy's conception, in which the appearance of the note (i.e. 'scale-type') and the prominence of the note are assigned equal weight as differentiators between bhakti-karuna and 'lighter' ragas.
(iii) Composite rank order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Composite factor of differentiation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flat-2</td>
<td>infinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-6</td>
<td>infinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat-7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(natural)-2</td>
<td>2.425</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the composite rank order, it is clear that it is primarily the 'flat' notes which convey the distinction between bhakti-karuna and 'lighter' rasas. This rank order suggests that one property of the 'flat' notes which conveys bhakti-karuna rasa may be the dissonance which they produce in conjunction with the pitches produced by the drone instrument.

In terms of Helmholtz's theory, dissonance is directly associated with the frequency of the 'beats' produced when two pitches are sounded together: when the two pitches are within a certain, close range of proximity, these 'beats' are associated by the listener with 'unpleasantness':

"The unpleasantness seems to arise in part from the mental irritation of trying to follow a succession of abrupt and rapidly repeated changes, and in part from the purely physical irritation produced by a succession of rapidly alternating stimuli" (Sir James Jeans, 'Science and Music', Cambridge, 1937, Pp.50-51).

Helmholtz attempted to test this theory by calculating the amount of dissonance that it implied for different intervals. He first assumed a somewhat arbitrary law for the amount of dissonance produced by the beats of
two pure tones at an assigned distance apart, then calculated, by simple addition, the total dissonance produced by all the beats of all the harmonics of the pairs of notes. Since this depended on the proportions in which the different harmonics entered into each tone, Helmholtz employed those proportions found in the violin tone.

Helmholtz's calculations of dissonance were based upon that produced by two violin strings: one sounds G above middle C continuously, whilst the pitch of the other ranges from this C to the C two octaves above middle C. The resultant diagram of magnitude of dissonance is reproduced by Jeans (ibid., P. 159; fig. 53). I reproduce this as diagram (i). According to Jeans (ibid.), a better test can be made by employing the exact experimental results of Brues to give the dissonance of pure tones, but the final result is much the same as that obtained by Helmholtz.

Diagram (i) is not a good indicator of the relative dissonance of notes in sāngita because the tambura sounds tonic and perfect fifth, not simply the tonic, as in Helmholtz's calculations. This can partially be compensated for by superimposing upon diagram (i) the same set of calculations with the perfect 5th regarded as the drone. I have done this in diagram (ii). The difficulty arises in assessing the relative dissonance produced by the tonic and the perfect fifth contained in the drone. I have assessed the two
Diagram (i): Helmholtz's calculations of dissonance
[tonic only as drone]

Pitch Continuum

Diagram (ii): Helmholtz's calculations of dissonance for tonic only
as drone, with the same calculations for
perfect fifth as drone superimposed.

Diagram (iii): Magnitude of dissonance for the 12 vina
fret pitches sounded with a tambura drone.
sources of dissonance as equal and calculated the composite dissonance as half the sum of the two magnitudes of dissonance. This is not entirely arbitrary. The tambura is tuned to shadja (drone-tonic; 2 strings), the note an octave below shadja (1 string) and the perfect 5th of the latter (1 string). B. Chaitanya Deva ('Psychoacoustics of Music and Speech', Madras, 1967, Pp.37-57) measured the tonal spectrum of a tambura in this tuning, calculated the strengths of the constituent frequencies and expressed the most important of these in terms of energy ratios to shadja = 1.

The perfect fifths one and a half octaves above shadja (energy ratio to shadja = 86.47) and two and a half octaves above shadja (energy ratio to shadja = 32.65) were the strongest constituent frequencies. The strongest tonic frequency was the note one octave above shadja (energy ratio to shadja = 17.66). Since the tonics are sounded by more strings but the perfect fifths are stronger, it seems reasonable to give these notes equal weight in a study of dissonance involving the tambura.

In diagrams (i) to (iii), I have marked the location, in the one octave pitch continuum, of the vina fret pitches. In diagram (ii), I have marked the composite dissonance (calculated as half the sum of two magnitudes of dissonance) for each vina fret pitch played against the tambura drone. In diagram (iii), I have isolated the (composite) magnitude of dissonance
for each vina fret pitch, in order to facilitate their comparison.

Helmholtz's calculations are based upon assumptions concerning European listeners. It may be the case that the South Indian listener's perception of dissonance differs from that of the European listener. In the absence of comparative experimental data, I shall assume that they do not differ but this weakness of the present study must be borne in mind when interpreting the significance of the findings. Another weakness of the present study is that the proportions in which the different harmonics enter into tonal spectrum of the violin are likely to be different from those of the vina and tambura. The dissonances produced by the combinations of violin tones are thus likely to be slightly different from those produced by the combination of vina and tambura tones.

Even a precise calculation of the dissonances produced by the combination of vina fret pitches and tambura pitches may not give a completely accurate indication of those produced in vocal, violin, venu (flute) or nagasvaram performances. This is not only because of the different proportions in which the different harmonics are represented in the tonal spectrum, but also because the values of the intervals employed may differ. I have suggested (G. Geekie, 1977, op. cit., Pp. (xii)-(xv)) that the locations of some vina frets represent compromises between two intervals,
each of which is expressable as an aliquot small number frequency ratio. Vocalists and violinists may well produce these 'aliquot' intervals rather than the compromises between them which the vina produces. Further research is necessary on all of these questions. The findings of the present study should therefore be regarded as tentative.

Regarding the 8 'sharp' and 'flat' notes in terms of rank ordering of dissonance:

(a) Flat-2, flat-5 and possibly flat-3 are significantly more dissonant than the other notes;
(b) (Natural)-3 is significantly less dissonant than the other notes; and
(c) the four remaining notes are approximately equal in terms of dissonance.

This rank order of dissonance exhibits a high degree of correspondence with the composite rank order of rasa differentiation (i.e. rank order (iii) above) in both rank orders, flat-2, flat-5 and, to a lesser extent, flat-3 'stand out from' the other 5 notes. Most significantly, (natural)-3 is, of the 'sharp' notes, the best rasa differentiator; it is also significantly less dissonant than the other 7 notes.

These correspondences justify the adoption of the theory that the bhakti-karuna/'lighter' distinction between rasas is, in part, based upon the perception by the listener of variable amounts of dissonance.
produced by the notes contained in the raga in conjunction with the notes produced by the tambura.

The theory of the different magnitudes of dissonance produced by 'flat' and 'sharp' notes in conjunction with the tambura drone as a differentiator between raga itself may supply an explanation of the amount of gamaka as a differentiator between rasa.

Firstly, gamakes consist in continuous pitch movements through those parts of the pitch continuum which lie between the 12 vina fret pitches. According to diagrams (i) and (ii), these are highly dissonant parts of the pitch continuum. The more gamakes are employed in a raga, the greater is the amount of dissonance thereby produced. Secondly, Jeans' attempt to explain why "beats" are "unpleasant" (reproduced above) equates 'dissonance' with rapid change of tonal features.

Compared with notes rendered as fixed pitches, gamakes can certainly be characterised as having rapidly changing tonal features. The two hitherto unrelated rasa differentiators — viz. 'flat'/'sharp' notes and amount of gamaka — may thus be reducable to a single acoustic parameter: viz. dissonance, defined as 'rapidly changing tonal features'.

On the other hand, it may be the pitch movement itself, rather than the dissonance produced with the tambura pitches, which is perceived by the listener as that aspect of a gamaka which denotes bhakti-karuna rasa. T.V. Subba Rao (op.cit., p.33) states that the
"emotional content" of a bhakti-karuna raga is "sorrow". It may therefore be that a 'wavering' pitch movement signifies 'sorrow' to the South Indian listener, irrespective of the factor of dissonance; this theory would have to be tested by experimental means. However, if this interpretation is correct, it raises the possibility that such 'wavering' pitch movement also signifies 'sorrow' in speech intonation by native speakers of the Dravidian languages.

Ghaitanya Deva (op.cit., Pp 206-263; 'Psychophysics of Speech-Melody') has examined emotional signification by means of the intonational factors of pitch level, pitch range and 'inflection' (i.e. changes in pitch) for Telugu speakers. However, he produces three different sets of findings, each based upon a different theory of perception and related method of analysis. Only in his 'period by period analysis' based upon a theory of 'infraconscious perception', does he find that the number of 'inflections' in the speech utterance significantly correlates with emotion. Moreover, the number of 'inflections' in the utterance, which he examines, is not directly comparable with the amount of continuous pitch movement in the utterance, which we would wish to examine for the purpose of the present study.

His findings thus neither support nor contradict the theory that the listener's assignment of meaning to gamakas is consistent with his assignment of
meaning to 'waveriing' pitch movement in speech intonation. In view of the theoretical problems of perception raised in his study, it is difficult to suggest any experimental techniques for the testing of this theory. The distinctions made between the 'lighter' rasas may well be consistent with the distinctions made in the signification of these emotions in speech intonation. However, in the absence of any statements by informants of what these distinctions are, such a comparative study of the signification of the 'lighter' emotions in music and speech would encounter the same theoretical problems of perception raised in Chaitanya Devas study.

The conclusions of the present study of raga rasas can therefore only be that:

(i) the distinction between bhakti-karuna and 'lighter' rasas (i.e. 'sorrowful' and 'non-sorrowful' states) is conveyed by rasas and not simply associated by the listener with rasas through a learning process; and that

(ii) variations in the degree of dissonance and amount of continuous pitch movement are the two musical features which convey this distinction between emotional states.

However, these findings offer an explanation of the apparently paradoxical finding (in section (c), (iii) of this chapter) that there is a high correlation, in the sample of 42 rasas, between the number of rasas
and the number of *amsha svaras* ascribed to a *raga* but no correlation between specific *rasas* and specific *amsha svaras*.

If a *raga* contains two *amsha svaras*, one being rendered as a *gamaka* and the other as a fixed pitch, the listener will assign to the alternation between the two *amsha svaras* the meaning of alternation between a 'sorrowful' and a 'non-sorrowful' state (i.e. between *bhakti-karuna* and a 'lighter' *rasa*). In this situation, it is not only the interval which the note produces with the drone pitches but also how the note is rendered that signifies emotion to the listener. We would therefore be likely to find a high correlation between the number of *amsha svaras* contained in the *raga* and the number of *rasas* ascribed to it but unlikely to find a correlation between specific *amsha svaras* and specific *rasas*, other than that which we have discovered between the two very dissonant notes (flat-2 and flat-6) and *bhakti-karuna rasa*.

(c).(vii) Raga Rasa and Sahitya Bhava

In section (c),(vi), I concluded that *ragas* actually convey emotional states to the listener. This raised the question of whether the relevant musical features (i.e. dissonance and continuous pitch movement) simply operate as signs to which the listener learns to supply the relevant emotional states as referents or whether they directly alter the state of the listener. I can find evidence for both the 'signifier-specified' and 'direct affect' interpretations. This suggests that both mechanisms operate together and that the processes involved in the conveying of emotional states by musical means are therefore complex.

That dissonance produces tension in the South Indian listener is a plausible hypothesis which can be tested by experimental means. That the listener learns to supply the
meaning of 'sorrow' to this musically-induced tension is also plausible. On the other hand, we have considered the point that the listener's assignment of the meaning 'sorrow' to 'waverintg pitch movement may be consistent with (and possibly even derived from) his assignment of meaning to this feature in speech intonation. The latter point supports the interpretation that raga raga operates by means of the listener's 'programmatic' (in the musicological sense of the term) interpretation of musical patterns whilst the former point supports the interpretation that it operates by means of his 'programmatic' interpretation of musically-induced experiences.

There is, however, no evidence to support the view that even the most basic aspects of the emotional states involved (i.e. 'sorrow' and 'absence of sorrow') are created in the listener without the listener's active participation in this process in the form of the supplying of an interpretative 'programme' of meanings.

The emotional state termed bhakti-karuna does not simply consist in 'sorrow'. It also contains the more specific emotions of 'compassion' and 'love' and is associated with specific notions concerning a Supreme God and the relationship of individuals to this Supreme God. These meanings, both specific emotions and associated ideas, are, clearly, supplied by the South Indian listener; they can certainly not be explained in terms of direct musical effect.

Similarly, the explanations which my informants gave of the five, 'lighter' rasas contain specific emotions and associated ideas which are, clearly, supplied by the listener as meanings of musical patterns and musically-induced experiences. These all
related to the experience of the 'realised' state as conceived in the bhakti model of gadhana. They explained aringara as the emotion of love towards the Supreme God experienced when He reveals Himself to His devotee. They explained vira as the freedom from fear experienced when the Supreme God reveals Himself. This emotion is often associated with the Supreme God in the form of Krisna; the epithet vira ('the brave one') is often applied to Krisna, particularly in devotional song texts. Ananda specifically refers to the experience of bliss in the 'realised' state as conceived in the Vedanta darsanas (see chapter 2.) My informants explained ananda as the bliss experienced when the Supreme God reveals Himself. They described adbhuta as the "physical thrill" experienced by the devotee when the God first reveals Himself and santa as the calmness of mind experienced by the devotee after He has revealed Himself.

The bhakti-karuna/'lighter' distinction is thus interpreted by the listener as the distinction between the emotional experiences of absence and presence of the Supreme God. In considering why the listener supplies this set of meanings for the musical distinctions of degree of dissonance and amount of continuous pitch movement, the expression of the opposed emotional experiences of absence and presence of the Supreme God in the song texts (see chapter 3) presents itself as the most plausible explanation. It would thus
appear that the song texts supply the meanings in terms of which the emotional significations of *rasas* are interpreted by the listener.

This view is supported by some statements which *rasika* informants made. They said that there ought to be a close correspondence between the emotions expressed in the words of a *kriti* (i.e. its *sahitya bhava*) and the *rasa*(s) of the *raga* in which the *kriti* is composed. I asked Doreswamy about this. His view was that some 'masterpieces' certainly exhibit such a correspondence but that others do not and that it is misleading to regard such correspondence as a 'rule'. In my collected sample of *kritis*, there are as many exceptions to this 'rule' as there are instances of it. Nonetheless, the notion of such correspondence expressed by informants points to the listener's perception of the relationship between *sahitya bhava* and *raga rasa*. This supports the view of the song-texts as the source of the 'programme' of meanings supplied by the listener for the emotional states conveyed by *rasas*.

This view is also supported by the proportions in which the 6 *rasas* are represented in my sample of 42 *ragas*. Bhakti-karuna *rasa* occurs 27 times whilst the 'lighter' *rasas* occur 31 times (*sringara* 10 times; *vira* 8 times; *ananda* 8 times; *adabhuta* 4 times and *santa* once only) in the set of *rasas* ascribed by Doreswamy to the set of 42 *ragas*. Such a roughly even balance between 'absence' and 'presence' of the
Supreme God is witnessed in the themes contained in the kirtana and sangita song-texts.

(c), (viii) Raga Rasa and Kirtana

When sangita-trained vocalists sing kirtana then, since they adhere to the conventions of raga in their performances, it must be argued that they convey raga rasa. Whilst kirtana singers with no sangita training do not adhere to the more complex conventions of raga (viz. the 'rules' concerning jiva svaras, gamaka svaras and sanchara prayogas), it must nonetheless be argued that they convey to the listener distinctions between emotional states by musical means. Firstly, they employ different scale-types, involving different degrees of dissonance produced in conjunction with the drone instrument, in vocal melodies. Secondly, although they do not employ the complex, prescribed gamakas of sangita, they certainly employ 'wavering' pitch movements when rendering sustained notes at climactic parts of their performances. It must therefore be argued that, by these means, they convey to the listener at least the distinction between 'sorrowful' and 'non-sorrowful' states.

Since the kirtana song-texts are dominated by the themes of the emotional experiences of absence and presence of the Supreme God, it is logical to assume that the kirtana listener supplies these meanings to the 'sorrowful' and 'non-sorrowful' states conveyed by musical means within the kirtana performance. The
same mechanisms of emotional signification by musical means and interpretation of these emotional states in terms of the ideas supplied by song-texts thus appear to operate in both kirtana and sangita performances.

(d) Conclusions

The conclusions of sections (c), (vii) and (c), (viii) are that we should consider together sahitya bhava and raga rasa as an integrated cultural mechanism by means of which the listener is enabled to experience a desired effect within a performance of devotional music (whether kirtana or sangita). Having considered the basic practices which constitute this music-literacy mechanism and the basic indigenous ideas in the context of which these practices are enacted, in the present section I draw conclusions from these about the social functions of this cultural mechanism, both in respect of individuals and in respect of society.

In terms of my argument in chapter 1, section (c), (i), this mechanism supplies the function in respect of individuals of 'equilibration': i.e. it serves to compensate for the undesired effects upon the individual of life in society (collectively termed dukkha). In terms of my analysis of the rationale of the bhakti form of sadhana in chapter 2 section (e), (i), the nature of the 'equilibrating' effect supplied by this mechanism is the experience of 'participation': i.e. the experience of 'mergence' with 'alter'. In terms of Tyagaraja's exposition of
the rationale of kirtana as sadhana in his early song-texts (see chapter 3, section (d)), this musicological literary mechanism operates in two distinct ways: viz. (i) by influencing the Supreme God to show Himself to the devotee; and (ii) by having a direct effect upon (e.g. "mellowing") the devotee.

Considered together, these observations suggest the interpretation that this mechanism supplies a solution to the problem of the emotional isolation of the individual from his/her fellow men. In the context of the fantasy relationship with the Supreme God, the individual can experience and express strong emotions which might have disastrous personal and social consequences in the context of a relationship with another human being. As one instance of this, we can consider the prevalence in song-texts (e.g. of varna compositions - see chapter 3, section (d) ) of the theme of madhura bhakti (i.e. the adulterous love of the gopis for Krisna). My informants explained this as symbolic of the true devotee's love of the Supreme God. However, this theme is extremely popular with female vocalists in Mysore and their audiences mostly comprise married women. This suggests the interpretation that such compositions enable the projection of these strong emotions on to a supernatural being. Otherwise, they would be suppressed (which leads to a state of emotional isolation) or find expression within relationships with other individuals (which leads to undesirable personal and social consequences).
The experiencing of these strong emotions is necessary in order to influence the Supreme God to show Himself to the devotee, in terms of the bhakti view of sadhana. Such projection of strong emotions is thus positively evaluated in indigenous thought and can be viewed as supplying important social functions in respect of both the individual and his/her society.

In addition to such channeling of strong emotions, the musico-literacy mechanism also induces in the listener compassion for other human beings. The basic emotion signified is 'sorrow', but this is indigenously viewed as resulting in 'love' (bhakti). This suggests the interpretation that 'sorrow' expressed by another individual (i.e. composer and/or performer), but given a general reference to all of humanity, induces the listener to have compassion for all fellow humans. Such generation of concern for the emotional well-being of others counters tendencies towards emotional isolation. We can also argue that it has a positive effect upon the listener's relationships with other individuals, particularly those with whom he/she attends performances of devotional music. These must also be regarded as important social functions in respect of both the individual and his/her society.

In the light of this discussion of the nature of the 'equilibrating' function supplied by the bhava aspect of devotional music, it is possible to specify further the nature of the undesired effects upon the
individual of life in society which this cultural mechanism counteracts (viz. 'emotional isolation'). It is not the case that the duhkha state consists in being strongly attracted towards another being but not having these emotions reciprocated. This is, in fact, the desired result of participation in devotional music (viz. the sentiment of bhakti towards the Supreme God without the selfish desire that this sentiment be reciprocated). Rather the duhkha state consists in not being attracted towards others or concerned for their emotional well-being. Such inability to feel for one's fellow men inhibits spontaneous social interaction and prevents the individual from experiencing the benefits of such interaction. To employ a mechanical analogy, this cultural mechanism 'lubricates the moving parts' of South Indian society and thereby benefits the individual members as well as the society as a whole.
CHAPTER FIVE: GANAM

(a) Introduction

The word gana means 'song' in Sanskrit. Speaking in English, my vidvan and rasika informants referred to ganam as the 'aesthetic', as opposed to the 'emotional' (bhava) effect of the music upon the listener.

I obtained many statements from informants which related specific aspects of musical patterning and the construction of musical instruments to aspects of the practice of jnana and laya yoga. These statements elaborate the views expressed or implied in the texts of Tyagaraja's kritis concerning how music substitutes for the jnana and laya forms of sadhana, discussed in chapter 3, section (d).

In section (b) of the present chapter, I argue that these statements amount to a well-articulated indigenous conception of music as sadhana in terms of the 'purification' model of sadhana explained in chapter 2, section (e), (i).

In addition, my informants regarded certain 'ecstatic' gestures enacted by the listeners - particularly vidvan listeners - as evidence of the experiencing of ganam. From the observation of such behaviour, it was possible to isolate the musical features which elicit these ecstatic gestures and to discuss both the ecstatic behaviour pattern and the musical contexts in which it was enacted with informants. In section (c), I discuss these musical
contexts and statements made by informants.

In section (d), I combine the observations made in sections (b) and (c) into a set of conclusions concerning the ganam experience.

(b) Music as 'Purification'

(i) The Drone-Tonic

As I stated in chapter 3, section (d), the term shadja, which refers to the drone-tonic, is derived from a Sanskrit root meaning 'six'. The explanations of this term which I received from informants were based upon different symbolic associations of the number six: viz.

(a) Some informants related shadja to the six systems of Hindu philosophy (the sad-darsana). The experience of the Brahman is the source and objective of the six philosophical systems. It would therefore appear that the relationship between the drone-tonic and the six other notes is conceived as homologous with the relationship between knowledge of the Brahman and knowledge of the six philosophical systems.

(b) Many informants offered the explanation that shadja is so-called because it is "like the buzzing of a bee" (sat-pada - literally, 'six-footed', in Sanskrit). As I mentioned in chapter 3, section (b), the buzzing of the
bee is employed as a symbol of the Brahman throughout Sanskrit literature. According to my informants in Mysore, the characteristic 'buzzing' timbre of the drone-instrument employed in sangita (the tambura), which is obtained by placing silk threads between the strings and the curved bridge of the instrument, replicates the experience of the Brahman by sounding like the buzzing of a bee.

In this context, it is interesting to note that the double-headed barrel-drum (the mridangam) employed in sangita is tuned to shadja and the note an octave above. On the right-hand face of the drum, which produces the upper note, 20 or so split reeds are inserted between the skin and the rim (meettu) of the drum. These cause the drum to produce a 'buzzing' timbre when shadja is sounded - i.e. when the resonance of the instrument is not suppressed by means of the technique of 'damping' the drum skins. The North Indian tabla does not have this feature.

(c) Some informants related shadja to the six chakras of the 'subtle body' (see chapter 2, section (c), (ii), B for an explanation of the chakras and chapter 3, section (d) for a discussion of the employment of this correspondence in Tyagaraja's song-texts). The relationship between shadja and the other six notes is conceived as homologous with that between the 'abode of Siva', or sahasrara lotus, and the six chakras. In view of the myth
(mentioned in chapter 3, section (d)) that the other six notes emerged out of Siva and that pe (penchana) - the perfect fifth of shadja - represents Parvati (Siva's consort), I pressed these informants for correspondences between specific notes of the scale and specific chakras but they were unable to articulate any such correlations.

It is important to note that only one of the other six notes is identified with a deity (i.e. Parvati). The tambura has four strings, which are usually tuned to shadja (2 strings), the note an octave below shadja (1 string) and the perfect fifth of this note (1 string). In the Advaita rationalisation of laya yoga, Siva and his consort (Sakti) are identified with, respectively, the nirguna and saguna aspects of the Brahman. From this set of ideas, it seems logical to deduce that the first and fifth scale-degrees (the notes sounded by the tambura) together signify the Brahman, in both its nirguna and saguna aspects, whilst the other five scale-degrees signify the universe of phenomena which is the illusory 'projection' of the Brahman.

Some informants with whom I discussed the problem of how the drone-tonic conveys the experiences of jnana yoga stressed that the tambura does not 'refer to' or 'signify' the Brahman. They described the sound of the tambura as the "manifestation in 'gross' sound" of the Brahman. They explained that the conception of the Brahman as Nada or Sabda (i.e. as a vibration or sound - see chapter
3, section (d) refers to 'subtle' or 'unstruck' sound, of which musical sound is the 'gross' manifestation.

The way in which most of my informants conceived of the drone-tonic as conveying the experiences of jnana yoga was as follows. In a concert of sangita, the tambura sounds continuously — before, whilst and after the vocalist(s) and/or melody instrument(s), which produce the other five notes, are heard. They said that this replicates the periodic creation, or 'projection', of the universe of phenomena out of the Brahman followed by its dissolution, or absorption, into the Brahman. They related the fact that the drone-instrument sounds whilst the melody instrument(s) — and/or the voice(s) — play to the experience of the Brahman as 'pure undifferentiated consciousness' which underlies our illusory consciousness of self. Therefore, they said, by 'fixing the mind' upon the drone-instrument, which sounds shadja, the listener practises jnana yoga.

Thus, both the timbral properties of the drone-instrument and the way in which it is employed in a performance are symbolically related to Advaita cosmology and the Advaita rationalisation of jnana yoga. The characteristic 'buzzing' timbre of the drone-instrument renders it distinguishable from the melody instrument(s). The act of distinguishing the drone instrument from the melody instrument(s) is interpreted as the distinguishing of that aspect of consciousness which is the 'real self' (i.e. 'pure consciousness' — suddhabodha) from those
aspects of consciousness which are 'illusory self'. The act of 'fixing the mind' upon the drone-instrument is interpreted as the 'restraint of the modifications of the buddhi' (i.e. the restraint of kliṣṭa states of mind by the prolongation of the akliṣṭa states of 'pure' consciousness) in Jnana Yoga (see chapter 3, section (c), (ii), A). Distinguishing the drone-instrument and 'fixing the mind' upon it are thus indigenously interpreted as experiencing the 'real self' and prolonging this experience of the 'real self' - viz. sadhana of the 'purification' type.

It appears that Advaita cosmology and its rationalisation of Jnana Yoga supply an interpretative framework - a 'programme', in the musicological sense of the term - in terms of which the musical patterns are interpreted by the listener as signifying the experiences of Jnana Yoga. In terms of this explanation, if a listener were not conversant with Advaita cosmology and its rationalisation of Jnana Yoga, then distinguishing and 'fixing the mind upon' the drone-instrument would not constitute sadhana for such a listener.

However, this explanation is at variance with the statements made by some informants. They said that even a listener who is not aware of this set of symbolic associations experiences the rewards of the practice of Jnana Yoga when he listens to a sangita performance, although they agreed that a listener who is well-versed in Advaita cosmology experiences these rewards to a greater extent
than one who is not. These statements may ultimately support the explanation of music as the *jnana* form of *sadhana* operating by means of the 'programmatic' interpretation of musical patterns if it is accepted that all South Indians have some knowledge of the symbolic associations between the drone-instrument and the experiences of *sadhana* by virtue of their participation in a common culture. We might argue that every South Indian listener interprets a drone-instrument and a 'buzzing' timbre as an 'important' or 'auspicious' musical feature although he may not know precisely why this is the case, whereas a foreign listener would not necessarily interpret these musical features in this way. Further detailed research involving Indian and non-Indian listeners would be necessary in order to investigate this problem.

*Kirtana* performances by *sangita*-trained vocalists, in which the *tambura* is employed as drone-instrument, can be viewed as conveying the same experiences (of *sadhana* of the *jnana* form) as *sangita* performances. *Kirtana* performers who lack *sangita* training employ the *ekatar* (a single-stringed lute) or portable harmonium as drone-instrument. On the harmonium, the drone is continuous throughout the performance, although it lacks the 'buzzing' timbre characteristic of the *tambura*. It might be argued that the 'reedy' timbre of the portable harmonium is perceived by the South Indian listener as comparable with the 'buzzing' timbre of the *tambura*. Further research, both fieldwork and acoustical analysis, would be necessary to test this. In the present
context, what seems important is that kirtana singers use melodic figures on the harmonium to supplement the voice. On the portable harmonium, there is no timbral difference between the melody notes and the drones, since both are produced by the same set of reeds. In sangita, this timbral difference is fundamental to the interpretation of the drone-instrument as the 'real self'. Therefore it must be argued that the harmonium less clearly replicates the experiences of jnana yogi than does the tambura. Vidvans advise students of vocal music against employing the portable harmonium as accompaniment in place of the tambura. However, these vidvans who specified to me a reason for this advice pointed to the restricted set of pitches and impossibility of producing gamakas on the portable harmonium.

The ekatar also lacks this 'buzzing' timbre. The performer plucks the ekatar string, which sounds shadja, to mark the pulse of the vocal melody whilst he sings. During pauses in the vocal melody, he raises the pitch of the string by depressing it between the tuning peg and the bridge on the arm of the instrument. Usually such passages simply consist in a continuous pitch movement up to the second, third or fourth scale-degree above shadja and back again, although skilled performers can replicate parts of the vocal melody by these means. As in the case of the portable harmonium, no timbral difference is maintained between melody and drone.

In conclusion, on the ekatar the drone is not continuous throughout the performance and, on both the ekatar and the
portable harmonium, no differentiating, 'buzzing' timbre is evident in the drone. Both instruments therefore less clearly symbolically replicate the experiences of *jnana yoga* than is the case when the *tambura* is employed. If such *kirtana* performances can be conceived as conveying to the listener the experiences of *jnana yoga*, then they obviously do so to a significantly lesser extent than is the case in performances in which the *tambura* is employed. Music as sadhana of the *jnana* form is thus basically a feature of *sangita* or *kirtana* performed by *sangita*-trained vocalists and not of *kirtana* performed by vocalists with no *sangita* training.

(b)(ii): Ascent/Descent

A number of statements which my informants made related musical ascent and descent to the ascent and descent of *Sakti-kundalini* in *lava yoga* practice. These statements replicate and specify Tyagaraja’s ideas on this subject (see chapter 3, section (d)).

In order to explain my informants’ statements, it is necessary to explain the terminology and concepts which they employed. The *vidvans* employed the term *sthayi* (octave) and conceived of most *ragas* as *tristhayi* (i.e. operating within '3 octaves'). They defined these three octaves as ranging from an octave below *shadja* to two octaves above *shadja*. They termed these three octaves 'lower, middle and upper' - viz. *mandra sthayi*, *madhya sthayi* and *tara sthayi*. 
The exceptions to the tristhayi ragas are the desya ragas (explained in chapter 4, section (c), (iii)), which do not extend into the tara sthayi.

Most performances of ragas occupy a range of less than three octaves: usually from the 4th, 5th or 6th scale-degree in the mandra sthayi (lower octave) to the 4th or 5th scale-degree in the tara sthayi (upper octave). Correspondingly, despite the above precise definitions of the three sthayi, in practice the pitch ranges to which they refer are 'tele-scoped'. Musicians described passages which spanned the lower part of the middle octave as well as the upper part of the lower octave as mandra sthayi, passages which extended slightly above or below the middle octave as madhya sthayi and passages which occupied the upper part of the middle octave as well as the lower part of the upper octave as tara sthayi. I shall hereafter refer to these pitch ranges as 'tessiturae' and reserve the term sthayi, or 'octave', for the pitch ranges precisely defined above in terms of shadja and its octaves. Diagram (iv) clarifies this terminology.

Many informants (vidvans as well as rasikas) explained these three tessiturae in terms of the difficulties experienced by vocalists in singing them. They explained the middle tessitura as the range within which the vocalist can comfortably sing; the lower tessitura as the range within which the volume of sound produced by the vocalist tends to be reduced because it approaches the lower limit of his/her
Diagram (iv) : Relationship of 'tessitura' concept of sthayi to 'octave' concept of sthayi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sthayi</th>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>'Telescoped' Sthayi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[i.e. 'octaves']</td>
<td>Continuum</td>
<td>[i.e. 'tessitiae']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TARA Sthayi

MADHYA Sthayi

MANDRA Sthayi

\[\text{Shadja}^1\]

\[\text{Shadja}^2\]

\[\text{UPPER TESSITURA}\]

\[\text{MIDDLE TESSITURA}\]

\[\text{LOWER TESSITURA}\]
vocal range; and the upper tessitura as the range within which the vocalist strains to produce the notes - thereby, they said, conveying excitement to the listener. (I discuss below the element of 'strain' involved in singing in the upper tessitura). It should be noted that vocalists select an absolute pitch for shadja which suits their vocal range and that the absolute pitch of shadja varies with every performer (vocalist or instrumentalist).

All of my informants offered an idealised description of ascent/descent through these three tessituras in sanrita performances. They said that every item in a sanrita performance consists in discrete sections in each of which the melody starts in the lower tessitura, slowly ascends through the middle tessitura to the upper tessitura, then rapidly descends back to the lower tessitura. Many informants explained such musical patterning in terms of a correspondence with the slow ascent of Sakti-kundalini to the 'abode of Siva' in laya yoga practice, followed by its rapid descent back to the muladhara chakra.

These informants conceived of a causal relationship between such musical ascent/descent and ascent/descent within the spino-cerebral axis and justified this conception in terms of the symbolism of the construction and ornamentation of the vina (see diagram (v)). Knowledge of this symbolism was widespread amongst my informants - both vidvans and reṣikas. At the end of the instrument which contains the tuning pegs is a carved head (which
Diagram (v): Construction of the Vina and its relationship to the 'subtle' physiology
some informants described as that of a serpent and others described as that of a lion). This carved head is said to represent the **muladhara chakra** at the base of the human spine. At the other end of the instrument is the large wooden body, which serves as the main resonating cavity and which is carved out of a single block of wood (of the jackfruit tree). This wooden body is said to represent the human cerebrum. The block from which it is constructed is so carved that the core runs lengthwise (i.e. following the direction of the strings) and, at the end of the instrument, this core forms the extremity of the instrument. This extremity is said to represent the 'abode of Siva', or 'lotus of 1,000 petals', of *laya yoga* theory, which is located at the top of the human head. The arm (*dandi*) of the *vina* is said to represent the spinal column, the 24 frets on the *vina* arm being said to represent the 24 bones which, according to Hindu anatomy, comprise the spine.

The top melody string of the *vina* is called *saras* (from the Sanskrit root *sra* - 'flowing', 'running'; Macdonnell, op. cit., p. 340). All notes above flat-3 in the middle octave (*madhya sthāya*) are played on this string. This string is said to represent the *sukumā nādi*, the canal in the centre of the spine by means of which, according to *laya yoga* theory, *Sakti-kundalini* ascends and descends the spinal column.

On the 'table', which forms the top of the body of the instrument, on either side of the strings, are two ornate
circles. They are painted or inlaid with wood, plastic or carved ivory. Two designs of South Indian *vina* are indigenously recognised, although there are minimal differences between them: viz. the Tanjore *vina* and the Mysore *vina*. On the Tanjore *vina*, around each ornate circle is a concentric circle of approximately 40 small holes which obviously affect sound production. On the Mysore *vina*, the concentric circles of holes are omitted, so that the two circular decorations are purely ornamental. Some informants said that these circles represent the human eyes whilst others said that they represent the human nostrils or, more precisely, the terminal points of the *ida* and *pingala* *nadi* of the 'subtle' physiology (see chapter 2, section (c), (ii), B for an explanation of these terms).

As the *vina* ascends in pitch through the middle tessitura up to the highest pitches reached in the upper tessitura, the fingers of his left hand, which fret the *saraṇī* string, progress along the arm (*dandī*) towards the bridge on the wooden body of the instrument. This is said to represent the ascent of *Sakti-kundalini* towards the 'abode of Siva'. In improvised passages, some younger *vina* players ascend into the octaves beyond *tara* *sthāva*, employing the fingers only as a point of contact with the string, without the assistance of frets (which extend only as far as the note two octaves above *shadja*). This has only become possible in recent years with the introduction of amplification of *vinas* by means of the microphone pickup. Although all
vina players employ such amplification, the older vidvans criticised such ascent into the octaves above tara sthayi as "showing off" and not in the best tradition of Carnatic music. (At concerts I have attended at which this was done, however, the audiences expressed great appreciation of such passages.) As the vina player descends in pitch from the upper tessitura (or higher) down through the middle tessitura, the fingers of his left hand progress back along the dandi (arm) towards the muladhara chakra end of the instrument. This is said to represent the descent of Sakti-kundalini back to 'her' usual abode in the muladhara chakra.

A similar set of symbolic associations exists concerning the Carnatic flute, or Krisna venu - a short transverse flute with 6 holes. The 6 holes are said to represent the 6 chakras, so that ascent and descent in pitch, on this instrument, is also symbolically identified with the ascent and descent of Sakti-kundalini.

As in the case of the drone-instrument, several informants with whom I discussed this problem asserted that, whilst familiarity with this set of symbolic associations and with laya yoga theory increases the experience of the ascending-descending sequence of tessiturae as the laya form of sadhana, even the listener who is not familiar with these ideas experiences such musical patterning as sadhana. These assertions are subject to the same qualifications as those made by informants concerning the drone-instrument.
viz. whilst a particular South Indian listener may not be aware of the precise significance of such ascent-descent, by virtue of his participation in South Indian culture he is aware that a musical pattern comprising slow ascent followed by rapid descent is 'important' or 'auspicious' whilst a foreign listener would not necessarily interpret such a pattern in this way.

My informants stated that the singing of notes in the upper tessitura conveys excitement to the listener (see above). They attributed this effect to the strain involved in producing these pitches. This may be the case with untrained singers, but vidvans exhibit perfect voice control in this range. It may, of course, be argued that, when the performer sings in the upper tessitura, he thereby evokes sympathetic strain in the listener. It can not, however, be argued that strain on the part of the performer - in the case of a vidvan - is involved. The same may be argued of high pitches on the vina. The relative closeness of the frets to one another and the relatively greater distance between the unfretted string and the frets in the upper octave involves relatively greater difficulty in producing the highest pitches. Several informants related the difficulties of producing these pitches on the vina to the ecstatic sensations which they experience when they hear them. However, vina vidvans exhibit perfect control in this range, so that the listeners' ecstatic sensations might be attributable to the effect of high pitch but not to the effect of strain in note production.
Whilst the description which informants gave of the use of the drone-instrument in *sangita* corresponds with musical practice, I find that the description which they (both *vidvans* and *rasikas*) gave of the ascending-descending sequence of *tessiture* is not adequate when compared with musical practice. Figures 3, 4 and 5 in section (c) of this chapter are intended to illustrate *sangati* patterns. However, they also serve to illustrate the present problem. In figure 3, which is the complete *pallavi* section of a *kriti*, the highest pitches are reached in lines 5 and 6 of the transcription. Thereafter, the range of pitch movement increases through downward extension. The complete musical section can thus be characterised in terms of gradual increase, followed by rapid decrease, in the range of pitch movement but not in terms of gradual ascent, followed by rapid descent, in pitch. This is also the case with the musical sections transcribed in figures 4 and 5.

Figure 6 is a transcription of an *alapana*. The *alapana* can certainly be characterised in terms of gradual ascent to the highest pitches, although the subsequent descent can not be described as 'rapid'. During the period in which the highest pitches are played, there is a concentration of long *gamakas* (continuous pitch movements). During long *gamakas*, listeners tend to make ecstatic gestures irrespective of whether or not they correspond with high pitches.

Thus, in the musical sections transcribed in figures 3, 4 and 5, it can be argued that excitement is built up in
the listener by means of increasing range of pitch movement - a musical feature which is distinguishable from rising pitch. In the musical section transcribed in figure 6, the enactment of ecstatic gestures by the listeners can be attributed to the appearance of the long remakes - a musical feature which is also distinguishable from high pitch. None of these transcribed sections entirely corresponds with the idealised description supplied by informants of ascent-descent through tessituree or supports their explanation of ecstatic sensations induced by the single musical feature of high pitch.

Several statements which raika informants made also contradicted the explanation that musical ascent and descent causes simultaneous ascent and descent of 'something' in the listener's spino-cerebral axis. Most of them referred to or admitted to having some knowledge of the relationship between musical ascent-descent and ascent-descent in levy yoga and, when discussing the question in the abstract, said that the listener experiences the ascent and descent of 'something' in the spino-cerebral axis which corresponds with ascent and descent in pitch. However, when discussing their own experiences when listening to Sangita, none of them described such an experience. Rather they tended to distinguish between experiences as the pitch gradually rises and experiences when the highest pitches are reached.

They said that, as the pitch gradually rises, they feel gradually more tense and excited. They said that, when the
'highest pitches' are reached, they experience ecstatic sensations. (Later in this section, I argue that they employed the expression 'highest pitches' to refer to a 'musical climax'. Meanwhile, it should be noted that the listener can only know after the event when the highest pitches pitches have been reached. The musical element eliciting the response should therefore be termed 'relatively high pitches' rather than 'highest pitches'. However, since the latter expression was used by my informants when speaking in English, I employ it throughout this chapter.)

In attempting to describe their ecstatic sensations to me, they employed a small set of terms and analogies: viz.

(a) 'elevation'; a sensation of rising upwards; a surge of energy upwards in the body (particularly from the top of the spine to the head); a sensation of the head 'floating';

(b) 'purification';

(c) 'liberation'; 'release';

(d) 'ecstasy'; 'bliss'; 'joy'; 'aesthetic delight or pleasure'; and genem.

Of these four groups, group (d) represents simple labelling of the experience whilst groups (a), (b) and (c) represent analogies with the experiences of sadhana: (a) is an analogy
with laya yoga; (b) is an analogy with both laya and jnana yoga; and (c) is an analogy with the 'realised' state.

Informants also used the above set of terms and analogies to describe their ecstatic experiences in musical contexts which do not coincide with the highest pitches in a musical section. They conceived of certain 'ecstatic' gestures as evidencing these experiences. From observing the behaviour of the listeners during performances, it was clear that they tend to enact these ecstatic gestures mainly in three musical contexts: viz. during the 'resolving line' of a sangeiti pattern, during the 'climax' of a mridangam solo and during long gamakas in an alapanasa. They enact the ecstatic gestures when these musical contexts do not coincide with the highest pitches. Significantly, however, in all of my musical examples collected in Mysore the appearance of the highest pitches occurs together with a high concentration of long gamakas (in alapanasa) or immediately precedes the resolving line of a sangeiti pattern (in compositions).

From these observations, it would seem that the ecstatic sensations and gestures are associated with the other musical features rather than with high pitch. Whilst we might conceive of rising pitch as inducing increasing excitement in the listener through the mechanism of sympathetic strain, it is difficult to imagine how maximum excitement in the listener can be causally related to the ecstatic sensations and gestures. On the other hand, as I
argue in the next section of this chapter, we can conceive of a causal relationship between the other musical features associated with the ecstatic sensations and the nature of the ecstatic gestures themselves.

From the above discussion it is evident that, from among a cluster of musical features which tend to occur together or in juxtaposition in musical practice, my informants — particularly rasikas — isolated one musical feature (viz. ascent and descent through tesiituras) to represent all of the cluster. This musical feature exhibits a correspondence with the experience which is the reward of the practice of the laya form of sadhana — viz. ascent and descent of Sakti-kundalini. By means of this correspondence, the whole cluster of musical features is thereby related by the listener to the practice of the laya form of sadhana. The ecstatic experiences of the listener which are induced by the cluster of musical features are thereby related by him to the rewards of practice of the laya form of sadhana.

The question obviously arises, in the present context, of the extent to which kirtana performances can be said to convey to the listener the experiences of sadhana of the laya form. Since it appears that sangita communicates the experiences of the laya form of sadhana by virtue of the listener's 'programmatic' interpretation of musically-induced experiences as experiences in laya yoga, a discussion of the extent to which this happens in kirtana performances is more appropriately left until the nature of these
musically-induced experiences has been discussed more fully. I therefore discuss this topic at the end of section (c), (iii).

(c), (i) Metric-Rhythmic Organisation

A: Definitional Problems

In sections (c), (ii) to (c), (v) of this chapter, I consider all of the musical contexts in which the listeners enact ecstatic gestures. I conclude that the common factor in all of these contexts is a feature of metric-rhythmic organisation in *sangita*.

The main problem in the study of these aspects of the temporal organisation of *sangita* consists in what Grosvenor W. Cooper and Leonard B. Meyer ('The Rhythmic Structure of Music', Chicago, 1960, P.8) call the 'architectonic' organisation of music:

"That is, just as letters are combined into words, words into sentences, sentences into paragraphs, and so on, so in music individual tones become grouped into motives, motives into phrases, phrases into periods, etc."

Equating the study of rhythm with the study of grouping (ibid., P.8), Cooper and Meyer state:

"Rhythmic grouping is a mental fact, not a physical one. There are no hard and fast rules for calculating what in any particular instance the grouping is. Sensitive, well-trained musicians may differ... Furthermore, grouping may at times be purposefully ambiguous." (ibid., P.9)
Precisely this problem arose when I discussed the grouping of notes with vidvans. One context of such discussions concerned the jiva svara patterns of ragas (see chapter 4, section (b)). Jiva svaras are defined as the starting and resting notes of prayogas (melodic phrases) whilst nyasa svaras are defined as the finishing notes of prayogas. In order to assess whether or not, in any particular instance, the jiva svara rule has been broken, we must be able to distinguish 'resting' from 'finishing' notes. This necessitates being able to isolate discrete prayogas from the continuous stream of notes played in a performance. The only rule which vidvans articulate for the deduction of the jiva svara pattern from the compositions in a raga is that notes employed to start musical sections are jiva svaras of the raga and notes employed to terminate musical sections are nyasa svaras. They are here regarding the total musical section as a prayoga.

In discussing visesha prayogas of ragas, vidvans isolate the note sequence which breaks the ascent-descent rule of the raga, 'tag on' varying numbers of other notes before and after the visesha note sequence and refer to this as a visesha prayoga. In dictating to me the sanchara prayogas of ragas, Doreswamy classified as a prayoga sequences of between two and approximately thirty notes. The longer prayogas obviously comprise several rhythmic levels. In discussing these longer sanchara prayogas with Doreswamy, he would often isolate for discussion constituent parts and call these prayogas. I once asked him to define the
term prayoga; he defined it as "what SOUNDS (his own emphasis) in itself complete".

These discussions with vidvans illustrate the architectonic organisation of the music and the non-formalisation of the indigenous concepts of grouping. Cooper and Meyer supply definitive analyses of rhythmic grouping in Western art music but the justification of these analyses is (i) their status as 'cognoscenti' within the Western art tradition and, dependent upon this, (ii) their subjective judgement, as listeners, of rhythmic grouping. I could not claim such a justification for an analysis of rhythmic grouping in sangita. As an outsider, I am thus not able to specify the rhythmic groups contained within specific examples.

Another problem in discussing metric-rhythmic organisation in sangita is that the indigenous terminology and concepts constitute an adequate code by means of which vidvans can communicate about metric-rhythmic features of the music with each other but they are not adequate for the explanation of these features to Western readers. I therefore adopt Cooper and Meyer's fundamental terms and concepts for the purposes of such an explanation. Their most basic concept is that:

"Three basic modes of temporal organisation can be differentiated. They are pulse, meter and rhythm."

(ibid., P. 3)

Cooper and Meyer define 'pulse' as:
"A pulse is one of a series of regularly recurring, precisely equivalent stimuli... pulses mark off equal units in the temporal continuum. Though generally established and supported by objective stimuli (sounds), the sense of pulse may exist subjectively. A sense of regular pulses, once established, tends to be continued in the mind and musculature of the listener, even though the sound has stopped." (ibid., P.3)

Whilst pulses are by definition ungrouped, the human mind tends to impose groupings upon them:

"although pulse can theoretically exist without either meter or rhythm, the nature of the human mind is such that this is a rare occurrence in music." (ibid.)

Cooper and Meyer employ the term 'pulse' to mean both 'an isolated stimulus within a series of such stimuli' and 'a sense of regular pulses at a particular rate' conveyed by a piece of music. In order to avoid confusion, it is preferable to refer to the former as a 'pulse stimulus' and the latter as a 'pulse' or 'rate of pulse'. I have altered the following quotations from Cooper and Meyer to conform with this terminology.

They define 'metre' (anglicised spelling of 'meter') as:

"the measurement of the number of pulse stimuli between more or less regularly recurring accents. Therefore, in order for meter to exist, some of the pulse stimuli in a series must be accented - marked for consciousness - relative to others. When pulse stimuli are thus counted within a metric context, they are referred to as 'beats'. Beats which are accented are called 'strong'; those which are unaccented are called 'weak'." (ibid., P.4)
Metre is architectonic, therefore "it follows that most compositions present a hierarchy of metric organisations" (ibid., p. 5).

The definition of 'metre' depends upon the definition of 'accent' but the latter is problematic:

"One cannot at present state unequivocally what makes one tone seem accented and another not. For while such factors as duration, intensity, melodic contour, regularity and so forth obviously play a part in creating an impression of accent, none of them appears to be an invariable and necessary concomitant of accent... since accent appears to be a product of a number of variables whose interaction is not precisely known, it must for our purposes remain a basic, axiomatic concept which is understandable as an experience but undefined in terms of causes." (ibid., p. 7)

They therefore define 'accent' as:

"A stimulus (in a series of stimuli) which is MARKED FOR CONSCIOUSNESS in some way. It is set off from other stimuli... The difference between accented and unaccented beats lies in the fact that the accented beat is the focal point, the nucleus of the rhythm, around which the unaccented beats are grouped and in relation to which they are heard." (ibid., p. 8)

They define 'rhythm' as:

"The way in which one or more unaccented beats are grouped in relation to an accented one" (ibid., p. 6)

They specify two separate senses in which rhythm is independent of metre:
(i) "unaccented notes may be grouped in relation to an accented one without there being regularly recurring accents measuring metric units of equal duration" (ibid.)

(ii) "rhythm can vary within a given metric organisation" (ibid.)

In the study of both metre and rhythm, they distinguish between 'accent' and 'stress', defining the latter as "the dynamic intensification of a beat, whether accented or unaccented" (ibid., P.3).

Cooper and Meyer admit that some of these distinctions and definitions "may seem unusual or contrary to current use" (ibid., P.2). Some of their more detailed distinctions (e.g. of metre) would be inapplicable to South Indian concepts. In employing their set of definitions, firstly, I refer only to the above definitions and not to other definitions and usages within the theory of Western art music; secondly, the use of the above definitions does not imply acceptance of all of the definitions and distinctions contained in Cooper and Meyer's book as applicable to Carnatic music. As I proceed to illustrate, the above set of terms and concepts exhibit sufficient correspondence with the South Indian vidvans' concepts to enable me to employ them in explaining South Indian theory and practice.

(c), (i), B Indigenous Concepts

The South Indian concept of tala is comparable with 'metre' as defined above. Laya means 'rhythm', 'rhythmic organisation' and 'rhythmic improvisation' therefore it is
only the concept of laya in its narrower senses which is comparable with the concept of 'rhythm' as defined above. 'Pulse stimulus' and 'pulse', as defined above, have no precisely equivalent South Indian terms. However, in the South Indian concept of tala, the term aksharakala, like the term 'pulse', refers to the marking off of equal units in the temporal continuum.

We can distinguish between two metric-rhythmic contexts in Carnatic music:

(a) In alapana and tanam passages, which precede compositions and which are not accompanied by percussion instruments, vidvans conceive of there being no metric organisation. In alapana, there is rhythmic organisation and there is alternation between a sense of pulse and no sense of pulse. Different rates of pulse, in no simple ratio to each other, occur in succession. In tanam, there is rhythmic organisation and a sense of pulse most of the time, the rate of pulse being constant throughout with slight accelerando and ritardando.

(b) When a percussion instrument is playing (either solo or in accompaniment) vidvans conceive of there being pulse, rhythmic organisation and metric organisation.

Vidvans employ complex concepts of metre. They employ concepts of pulse only when a metre (tala) is in operation and express these concepts of pulse in terms of concepts
of metre. The only concepts of rhythm which they articulate concern the distinction between notes sung with the consonant and vowel and notes sung with the vowel only. This distinction is maintained in instrumental music. The 'vowel only' notes are grouped in relation to the preceding 'consonant and vowel' notes.

**Metre and Pulse**

When a *tala* (metre) is in operation, the measurement of the number of pulse stimuli between the regularly recurring accents is expressed in terms of *aksharakalas* (literally, 'units of time') - usually abbreviated by the musicians to *aksharas*. The period of time between two adjacent pulse stimuli is called 'one *akshara*' and the pulse stimulus itself is referred to as 'the beginning of an *akshara*'. The duration of one *akshara* is notionally absolute although, in my recorded examples, it varies between approximately one hundredth and one two hundredth of a minute between different musical items.

The grouping of the *aksharas* into accented ('strong') and unaccented ('weak') beats varies with the particular *tala* and tempo (*kala*) of this *tala* employed in the musical item. *Tala* is architectonic and the number of metric levels varies between different *talas*. The most common *tala* is *adi tala* therefore I use this *tala* to exemplify *tala* in general.
The complete musical item in which a tala is in operation and its constituent sections are conceived as comprising complete avartas (cycles or measures) of the tala which are isochronous. The avarta comprises a fixed number of aksharas and a fixed pattern of strong and weak beats occurring at the beginning of aksharas. Throughout most of a musical item, the strong beats are 'accented' (i.e. 'marked for consciousness') by means of the patterning of musical stimuli. At certain parts of the musical item (e.g. the 'climax' of the solo percussion section - discussed in section (c),(ii) of this chapter), they are not accented by musical stimuli. At such times, they are marked for consciousness by means of the hand movements of one of the performing vidvans.

When the strong beats are accented by musical stimuli, the listeners - particularly the vidvan listeners - usually also mark them by means of hand movements and/or back and forwards movements of the head and torso. This is called 'keeping', or 'marking', the tala. During those parts of the musical item in which the strong beats are not accented by musical stimuli, the listeners tend to enact the ecstatic gestures. These consist in closing the eyes, making irregular, rolling movements with the head and/or irregular, circular movements of the torso from the waist upwards. Basikas say that making these gestures increases the degree of ecstasy experienced at such times. They also say that they 'lose the tala' - i.e. they are unable to keep marking the fixed pattern of strong beats - at
such times. Vidvan listeners say that they never lose the tala yet they enact these ecstatic gestures to a greater extent than non-vidvans.

In tala, beats are thus 'marked for consciousness' (i.e. 'accented') by musical stimuli, by mental-musculatory stimuli (in the case of the listener who marks the tala) and by visual stimuli (in the case of the percussionist who watches the other performer marking the tala for him by means of hand movements during the 'climax' of his solo). Cooper and Meyer's flexible definition of 'accent' permits us to classify together all three types of accentuation as 'metric accents'.

Three tempi (kala) are employed for talas: 'slow' (vilambita kala), 'medium' (madhya kala) and 'fast' (druta kala). In theory, medium tempo is twice the speed of slow tempo and fast tempo is twice the speed of medium tempo. However, in all of my recorded examples, the talas played in fast tempo are somewhat less than twice the speed of those played in medium tempo and the talas played in slow tempo are somewhat more than half the speed of those played in medium tempo. Most kritis, hence most musical items, are in medium tempo. This is consistent with the indigenous conception of one akshara as an absolute unit of time contrasted with the actual variation in the duration of one akshara between musical items.

At fast tempo, one avarta (cycle or measure) of adi
tala comprises 3 aksharas. These are grouped '4 + 2 + 2'. Vidvans describe talaes in this way. Each of the three groups is called an anga (literally, 'limb'). The grouping is marked by stronger gestural accents at the beginning of the first, fifth and seventh aksharas of the svarta. In marking the tala, the listener marks the beginning of each of the other aksharas by means of smaller gestures and body movements and the beginning of the first, fifth and seventh aksharas by means of significantly larger ones.

At medium tempo, one svarta of adi tala comprises 16 aksharas. These are grouped '8 + 4 + 4'. In keeping the tala, the listener marks the beginning of every second akshara (1st, 3rd, 5th etc.) and marks the beginning of every anga by means of significantly larger gestures. The tala thus acquires an additional metric level, compared with fast tempo - viz. a grouping comprising 3 aksharas in which the beginning of the first akshara is accented whilst the beginning of the second akshara is unaccented.

At slow tempo, one svarta of adi tala comprises 32 aksharas, which are grouped '16 + 8 + 8'. In keeping the tala, the listener marks the beginning of every second akshara (1st, 3rd, 5th etc.) and marks the beginning of every anga by means of significantly larger gestures. However, both vidvans and rasikas say that, in keeping adi tala at slow tempo, they 'count' (which we may define as 'marking for consciousness by means of mental, as opposed to musculatory, stimuli') every fourth akshara. This
raises the problem of inconsistency between the indigenous theory and practice of tala.

On the one hand, vidvans and rasikas say that adi tala 'is' $4 + 2 + 2$ at all tempos. In terms of this conception, at slow tempo the lowest level metric grouping comprises four aksharas, the first being accented and the following three being unaccented. On the other hand, they say that tala 'is' the hand movements employed to mark the tala. In terms of this conception, at slow tempo the lowest level metric grouping comprises two aksharas, the first being accented and the second unaccented.

The logical interpretation of this apparent inconsistency is that tala consists in the intersection of both parameters (which I shall refer to as respectively the 'mental' and the 'musculatory'). In terms of this interpretation, at slow tempo adi tala has both a lowest level metric grouping of two aksharas and a higher level metric grouping comprising two lowest level units (viz. 4 aksharas).

Angas of talas are classified according to the number of lowest level metric units at fast tempo (i.e. units comprising one akshara) which they contain: an anudruta comprises one such unit; a druta comprises two such units; and a laghu comprises three or more such units. Adi tala is thus described as having a laghu, followed by a first druta, followed by a second druta.
Vidvans refer to the lowest level metric unit of a tala - whatever the tempo (kale) of the tala - as an 'akshara'. When asked to distinguish this concept of akshara from the concept of one akshara as a unit of absolute time, vidvans refer to the former concept by making the hand movement involved in marking this level of tala. Clearly, these are separate indigenous concepts referred to by the same term. The concept of akshara as lowest level metric unit (l.l.m.u.) is derived from the concept of akshara as an absolute unit of time (by means of the formula: 'at fast tempo, a unit comprising one akshara').

The indigenous terminology reflects this derivation (since a unit of absolute time is always referred to as an akshara but a l.l.m.u. is also referred to by means of a hand gesture). In this thesis, I shall therefore reserve the term akshara for a unit of absolute time and refer to the derived concept of akshara as 'l.l.m.u.'.

In diagram (vi), I have represented the indigenous concepts of metre and pulse by reference to the three tempos of adi tala, as discussed above.

Rhythm

All Carnatic music is sung to either:

(i) the literary text of the composition being rendered; or

(ii) the 'as ri ga ma' syllables employed in notating the
Diagram (vi)

One avarta of aditala at each of the three tempi

(a) FAST TEMPO

Avartas

Angas

Lowest Level Metric Units [L.1.m.u.s], 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,

Aksharas, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,

Temporal Continuum → etc.

Accentuation by means of hand movements

[] = smaller gesture

[] = larger gesture

(b) MEDIUM TEMPO

Avartas

Angas

L.1.m.u.s, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,

Aksharas, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16,

Temporal Continuum → etc.

Accentuation by means of hand movements

(c) SLOW TEMPO

Avartas

Angas

Counted Units ['mental'], 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,

L.1.m.u.s ['musculatory'], 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16,

Aksharas, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16,

Temporal Continuum → etc.

Accentuation by means of hand movements


music (so-called because, in ascending order, the 7 notes of the scale are denoted 'sa ri ga ma pa dha ni'); or

(iii) (in alapana), the syllables comprising the name of the deity to which the composition which follows is addressed (nowadays, this is only done in the vocal accompaniment of performances of bharata natyam - i.e. dance-mime); or

(iv) (in alapana performed in other contexts), a small set of syllables favoured by the performer himself (a favourite such set of syllables used by Mysore vocalists at my time of fieldwork was 'sa ga ri ne'); or

(v) (in tanam), a small set of syllables used only for singing tanam (e.g. 'ta nam', 'nan ta'); or

(vi) mridangam jatis. (These are vocal representations of the sounds produced by the mridangam, which are employed in notating sequences of mridangam strokes: e.g. 'tha dhi na jham' - see Dharmala Ramamurthy, 'The Theory and Practice of Mridanga', Madras, 1973, P. 39.) These syllables are chanted during parts of bharata natyam performances by the nattuvanur, or 'dance master', where they serve as cues for the performer in executing complex sequences of steps. They also constitute the song-text of the pallavi and anupallavi sections of tillana compositions. These are used as accompaniment in bharata natyam (in which case the syllables also serve as cues for dance steps) but are also performed in sangita concerts (both vocal
and instrumental).

In instrumental music, the performers say that they 'sing in their head' all of these. Some instrumentalists move their lips whilst they play and a few vina players sing aloud the literary text of compositions whilst performing them on vina. Essikas say that, if they are familiar with the literary text of a composition, they 'sing it in their head' - either throughout or during the most frequently-repeated parts - when they hear an instrumental rendering of it.

Both melody instrumentalists and percussionists conceive of themselves as representing literary text by means of instrumental sounds. In mridangam playing, this is done by approximating the sounds produced by the instrument, which are classified in terms of consonant-vowel combinations (see above), to the syllables of the literary text. According to Ramamurthy (op.cit., P.38), this technique is called thatththakara and is contrasted with the technique of konuggolu, which consists in playing the instrument in terms of mridangam jatis (see above) alone. In thatththakara, the stroke itself represents the consonant (single or conjunct) whilst the period between the stroke and the succeeding stroke represents the vowel.

On vina, the consonant is represented by means of a stroke by a right hand finger on the vina string. Doreswamy said that, ideally, vina strokes should be used only in
these locations; all other notes should be either 'hammered on' or 'pulled' by the left hand fingers in order to represent the vowel. He said that, in order that some notes be heard, it is necessary to insert extra vina strokes. Such extra vina strokes, he said, nonetheless represent the vowel.

In Sanskrit (i.e. Devanagari) and the Dravidian scripts, the diacritical marks which represent the vowel are appended to the character representing the consonant which precedes it; the vowel part is thus grouped with the preceding consonant. On vina, either a single struck note or a struck note followed by a series of 'hammered on' and/or 'pulled' notes is conceived as representing a syllable of literary text. In the former case, the stroke represents the consonant whilst the continuous pitch which follows represents the vowel. In the latter case, the struck note represents a consonant and vowel whilst the unstruck notes which follow represent the continuation of the vowel. According to Cooper and Meyer's definitions, the struck notes (or, in singing, the 'consonant and vowel' notes) are thus 'rhythmically accented' in relation to the unstruck notes (or 'vowel only' notes) since they are the focal points of the rhythm "around which the unaccented beats are grouped and in relation to which they are heard" (op. cit., p. 3).

In the musical representation of literary text, the phonemic organisation of the text thus imposes particular
rhythmic groupings upon musical notes. Whilst, as I have argued, the specification by a foreign researcher of particular rhythmic groups raises serious methodological problems, where a literary text is in operation the text itself displays one of the factors operating in the indigenous listeners' perceptions of rhythmic grouping.

Where there is no literary text, the 'sa ri ga ma' syllables employed in notation determine rhythmic grouping in the same way as literary text. For example, jatisvaras are short compositions which lack literary text. They are played by students of sangita and performed as accompaniment at bharata natyam concerts but are never performed in sangita concerts. They are notated and sung with 'sa ri ga ma' syllables. In rendering a jatisvara, the vina player ornaments the notated version but such additional notes must be 'hammered on' or 'pulled' and not struck. Similarly, when a vocalist thus ornaments a jatisvara in performance, he renders the additional notes with the vowel part of the notated 'sa ri ga ma' syllable.

The use of the consonant-vowel distinction to represent the rhythmic grouping of musical notes is witnessed in improvised passages, such as alapana. For example, when the researcher plays to a vidyan a recording of alapana played on vina and asks him to articulate the particular phrases which he hears in 'sa ri ga ma' notation, he does so in terms of the struck notes and classifies unstruck notes as ornamentations of the previous struck
note. He thus represents the struck note as a consonant and vowel and the unstruck note which follows (or unstruck notes which follow) as the continuation of the vowel. If he wishes to specify the unstruck notes in notation, he does so by means of a scribble, representing pitch movement through time, above the character representing the struck note. Music students frequently employ this device as an aide-mémoire.

It is only the consonant-vowel (i.e. phonemic) structure of the literary text which constitutes a factor in the rhythmic grouping of musical notes. The semantic and grammatical groupings inherent in the text are not conceived as factors in rhythmic grouping. Discrete semantic and grammatical elements in the text are split up, run together and often truncated in order to fit the rhythmic organisation of the melody.

(c), (ii) Solo Percussion Sections

In every concert of sangita, the mridangam player (along with additional percussionists, such as chatham - clay pot - players, who are sometimes included in the sangita ensemble) performs a solo section towards the end of the concert. This solo occurs at the end of the pallavi improvisation, in concerts in which there is no pallavi improvisation, a kriti with kaipana svara is played at this point in the concert, a lengthy (improved) kaipana svara is played after the composed kriti, after which
follows the mridangam solo. Pallavi and mridangam solo, or composed kriti, improvised kalpam svara and mridangam solo, are set to the same tala. (Although sangita compositions set to a sequence of talas exist in musical texts, during the whole of my fieldwork period in South India I did not hear such a composition played.)

Adi tala is the most frequently performed. Other frequently performed talas are: rupaka tala (3+4); tributa tala (3+2+2); eka tala (4); khanda charu tala (2+3); and misra charu tala (3+4). Occasionally, compositions in dhruve tala (4+2+4+4), methya tala (4+2+4), jhenpa tala (7+1+2) and ata tala (5+5+2+2) are heard. With the exception of these rarely heard, longer talas, the duration of an avarta of a tala ranges from about 2 to about 12 seconds. The tala of a particular composition is fixed by the composer; the performer can not render the composition in any other tala.

Every sangita ensemble contains a principal performer, who is either the most famous or oldest member and whose instructions on any aspect of the performance are obeyed by the other performers. I did not attend any performance in which a percussionist was principal performer; Dareswamy said that this is very rare. In all of the performances which I attended, the principal performer marked the tala for the mridangam player during his solo section and, particularly during the 'climax' of the solo, the mridangam player kept his eyes fixed upon the principal
performer's hand movements.

Apart from some advice upon the maintenance of the instrument from Vidvan Nagabhushana of Mysore, who frequently accompanied Doreswamy, I did not study mridangam. Lacking knowledge of the technical terminology of the instrument, I was thus unable to obtain prescriptive transcriptions from mridangam players and discuss these with them. The present study is therefore illustrated by a (descriptive) transcription of the last 70 seconds of a mridangam solo played by Sri Nagabhushana to terminate a pallavi improvisation in Shairavi raga played by Doreswamy during a concert given in Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh) on 25th December, 1975. Both musicians were particularly pleased with this performance, saying that it was the best concert they had given during my period of fieldwork and that the pallavi improvisation and mridangam solo were excellent examples upon which to base my studies.

Pallavis are composed by musicians themselves or passed down in guru-disciple 'lineages'. Doreswamy said that the pallavi employed in this performance is "an old one" which he had learned from his guru and that he did not know the name of its composer. Pallavis are preceded by long alapanas. At the start of the pallavi improvisation, Mysore instrumentalists sing the pallavi before improvising upon it with their instruments. Figure 1 is a transcription of the pallavi sung by Doreswamy in this performance. The pallavi is in adi tala, slow tempo, most
Figure 1: Pallavi in Bhairavi raga

Adi tala, slow tempo, \( \mathcal{P} = 180 \) = 1 akshara

Accentuation by hand movements [i.e. metric accents]

Shan-ka-ri ka-ru-na-ka-ri bhri-ra- vi

Shara-na-ga-ta ja-na-ti ma pu-ja Shan-ka-ri ka-ru-na-ka-ri bhri-ra- vi
Figure 2: last 70 seconds of Mridangam Solo, P=200, Lakshara

Accentuation by hand movements [i.e., metric accents]

Vina

Refrain

Climax
psllavis and kritis followed by a percussion solo which I heard in Mysore were in this tala and tempo (kala).

The pallavi comprises only a single avarta of the tala. The later part (comprising Shankari karunakari bhriravi) comprises a refrain which is regularly returned to throughout the pallavi improvisation whilst the earlier part (comprising Sharanagata janatima puja) is usually rendered once only. In vocal pallavi improvisation, the refrain is always rendered with the same melody and the literary text whilst the improvised parts are rendered with 'sa ri ga ma' syllables. In the performance transcribed in figure 1, Doreswamy sings the refrain, followed by the complete pallavi, then plays the pallavi improvisation (on vina).

The meaning of the literary text is: "Upon we creatures of passion who worship you with this hymn of praise; Siva, have compassion, sustainer of the sun." The addressing of Siva is regarded as particularly apt, since Bhairavi (literally, 'terrible' or 'fearful') is the name of one of Siva's consorts as well as the name of the raga.

In figures 1 and 2, I have ordered the transcriptions in such a way as to illustrate the metric organisation. A complete line of the transcription represents a complete avarta of the tala. Unbroken lines through the stave represent the distinctions between the angas of the tala. Broken lines through the stave represent the distinctions
between the 'counted units' of the tola. I have notated one akshara as one quaver, so that the l.l.m.u. is represented as one crotchet. I have joined together the 'tails', representing note-values, of all notes occurring within the same l.l.m.u.

In figure 2, I have transcribed the last 70 seconds of the mridangam solo by Sri Nagabhushana which followed Sri Doreswamy's pallavi improvisation. (Note that, within the 25 minutes between the singing of the pallavi and the end of the mridangam solo, the tempo has increased from 180 to 200 aksharas/quavers per minute.) In transcribing the vina, I adhere to the following conventions:

(i) Whatever the absolute pitch of shadja, it is notated as 'middle C' of European notation and its approximate location with the European absolute pitch system is indicated above the transcription.

(ii) The 'crossed note', or 'x', on the stave signifies a pitch which is not as high as that signified by the staff line or space on which it is located. Thus, 'crossed B flat', in figure 2, signifies the gamaka sruti which is sruti number 16 (see chapter 4, section (c),(v) for the precise value of the interval).

(iii) Straight lines within the stave signify continuous pitch movements (i.e. gamakas) and their direction (i.e. ascending or descending). In the 'crossed B flat' example,
this pitch is reached in a continuous movement from A.

(iv) The 'v', upright or inverted depending upon the
direction (upwards or downwards) of the 'tail' of the note
to which it is added, signifies that this note is sounded
by striking the vina string with a finger of the right
hand. The absence of this sign indicates that the note is
produced by 'hammering on' (or, within a gemake, 'pulling')
with the fingers of the left hand.

(v) When a tala is in operation, the vina player strikes
the tala strings of the instrument (which sound shadja,
the perfect fifth and the upper octave of shadja) at the
beginning of the first akshara of every ange of the tala.
Since the location of the tala strokes does not vary, I
have not notated them.

In transcribing the mridangam, I have marked only the
timing of the strokes and not the strokes themselves. The
mridangam is capable of producing a wide range of timbres
and pitches (as discussed in section (c),(i),B of this
chapter). These are classified into 7 basic strokes
(see T.R.Harihara Sarma, 'The Art of Mridangam', Madras,
however, presents a more detailed classification of 22
such 'tonal/timbral' strokes. In passing, we note that
this conception of 7 basic strokes and 22 strokes corres-
ponds with the conception of sapta svaras(7 scale-degrees)and
22 srutis (intervalic pitches) in the octave employed by vocalists and melody instrumentalists. (All schools recognise 22 logically possible srutis in the octave. In the opinion of Doreswamy's musical 'lineage', however, only 19 are employed in South Indian ragas, whilst all 22 are employed in North Indian ragas. See G. Geekie, 1977, op. cit. for a more detailed discussion of the conceptions of 19 and 22 srutis in the octave.) Lacking the necessary training in mridangam, I am unable to relate the strokes heard in the transcribed example to even the 7 basic strokes therefore, for the purposes of this analysis, a transcription of the timing of the strokes must suffice. Where strokes are significantly dynamically stressed in relation to other strokes, I have marked this with the inverted 'v', as in the vina transcription.

When I played back the recording to Sri Nagabhusana approximately one week after the performance, he pointed out the portion from the end of the first druta in the 3rd avarta of the transcription to the end of the laghu in the 7th avarta (i.e. where the vina starts to play the refrain) as the 'climax' of the solo. He agreed that it was during this part that the listeners had enacted ecstatic gestures.

Comparing the 'climax' with the preceding portion and the refrain which follows, one distinguishing characteristic is the lack of a fixed pulse in the 'climax'. In the 'climax', the lowest level metric unit is sub-divided
into 2, 3, 4 or 6 equal parts and these different rates of pulse alternate with portions in which the timing of the strokes is complex (e.g. the beginning of the 'climax') - presumably too complex to convey a sense of pulse. In the portion which immediately precedes the climax, the l.l.m.u. is regularly sub-divided into 8 equal parts - thus presumably conveying a sense of fixed pulse.

When there is a sense of fixed pulse, the listener can predict the occurrence of the metric accents by counting pulse stimuli but, when the sense of fixed pulse is lacking, this technique of prediction is not available to him. We can therefore assume that the listener will experience greater difficulty in predicting the occurrence of the metric accents during the 'climax' than during the portion which immediately precedes it.

The refrain, which follows the 'climax', has been repeated many times throughout the performance and always repeated within the same part of the avarta. The rhythmic accents contained in the repeats of the refrain thus exhibit a consistent relationship to the metric accents. We can conceive of the refrain as encoding the pattern of metric accents so that, by remembering and predicting the pattern of rhythmic accents in the refrain, the listener thereby predicts the occurrence of the metric accents. This constitutes an alternative to counting pulse stimuli as a technique of predicting the occurrence of metric accents.
Another distinguishing characteristic of the 'climax' is that, during most of it, strokes do not coincide with the metric accents. In the preceding portion, there are only two examples of this whilst, in the 'climax', there are 36 examples within the space of 60 metric accents. In the preceding portion, although Sri Nagabhushana may accent or stress other strokes, the listener can nonetheless synchronise the terminal points of his unilinear body movements with the strokes which coincide with the metric accents. This must assist the listener in predicting the occurrence of the metric accents - i.e. in 'keeping the tala' (in the indigenous terminology).

Presumably, the occasional lack of a stroke coinciding with a metric accent does not disrupt this procedure. However, when, as in the 'climax', most of the metric accents do not coincide with strokes then presumably it must be more difficult for the listener to predict the occurrence of the metric accents. If the relationship of the strokes to the metric accents were consistent throughout the 'climax' then presumably it would be relatively easy for the listener to predict the occurrence of the metric accents. However, since this relationship frequently changes throughout the 'climax', then obviously it must be very difficult for the listener to 'keep the tala' during the 'climax'.

Combining the above observations: contrasted with the preceding and succeeding portions, during the 'climax' of
the mridangam solo,

(a) the listener must experience great difficulty or impossibility in predicting the occurrence of the metric accents and

(b) even if he could predict the pattern of metric accents, most of the time this would be of little assistance to him in predicting the temporal organisation, or 'timing', of musical events.

During the preceding portion, the prediction of the pattern of metric accents would appear to assist the listener in predicting the timing, since the metric accents nearly always coincide with a stroke and often coincide with a stressed or accented stroke or a change in the pattern of strokes. Predicting the occurrence of the metric accents is thus a rational means of predicting the timing during this portion.

During the 'climax', the listener could 'pick up' and follow the pattern of metric accents by watching the hand movements of the principal performer. In that this pattern of metric accents would be of little assistance to him in predicting the timing, the listener's behaviour (viz. closing his eyes, thereby not watching these hand movements) during the 'climax' constitutes a rational response to the situation. From an overall viewpoint: since, during
the 'climax', it is virtually impossible to predict the timing, the abandonment of temporal prediction at this time constitutes a rational response by the listener to the situation.

In the view of my informants, the ecstatic gestures are (a) the "expression" of an ecstatic state (i.e. the effect, in relation to which the ecstatic state is the cause) and (b) a means of increasing the degree of ecstasy experienced (i.e. the cause, in relation to which increased ecstasy is the effect). The two views are perhaps reconcilable in terms of the interpretation that the body movements are conceived as constituting a 'gestural analogue' of the listener's cognitive state. By this I mean that, when he predicts, he enacts gestures which he conceives as appropriate in that they are regular and unilinear; when he does not predict, he enacts gestures which he conceives as appropriate in that they are irregular and 'non-unilinear' (i.e. they must be described in terms of 2 or 3 spatial parameters). Paraphrasing the indigenous viewpoints in these terms, (a) the cognitive processes of the listener result in a decision on his part to enact the relevant gestural analogue and (b) the enactment of the gestural analogue is an integral part of the listener's ecstatic experience.

Considering the overall form of the mridangam solo, in the portion which immediately precedes the 'climax', the fastest rate of pulse in the whole solo is reached
(viz. one quarter of an akshera, represented as a demi-semiquaver); this is characteristic of the form of mridangam solos. We can therefore presume that, from the experience of previous mridangam solos, the listener is aware of this relationship between maximum rhythmic density and the occurrence of the 'climax'. This suggests that the appearance of such rhythmic density operates as a cue to the listener that the 'climax' is immanent.

Concerning the extent to which performers' interpretations of the situation conform to the interpretation developed in this section, in the context of a discussion of sangati patterns (see section (c),(iii) of this chapter) Doreswamy said (from my field notes):

"not only in compositions but also in the solo section of the mridangam player...the audience has great difficulty in following the tala as what he plays becomes more complex and he uses all his skill in blurring the distinctions between the different angas of the tala".

Doreswamy suggested the comparison without any prompting from me. In that no indigenous term exists which unambiguously refers to architectonic levels of the tala lower than the anga, it is perhaps permissible to translate "angas", in this context, as "constituent units". Translated in this way, the above statement is consistent with the interpretation which I have developed.
(c), (iii) Sangati Patterns

The term _sangati_ is derived from the Sanskrit _gati_ ('gait', 'course', 'motion' - Macdonell, op.cit.,P.31) and may be translated literally as 'same motion'. _Sangatis_ are metric lines which are sung to the same words and are of the same length (viz. 1,2 or 4 _avartas_ of the _tala_). In a _sangati_ pattern, a number of _sangatis_ are arranged in a sequence, each usually being rendered twice consecutively before the next _sangati_ appears. The _sangatis_ within a _sangati_ pattern are numbered in sequence ('first _sangati_', 'second _sangati_' etc.) in notated versions of a _kriti_. Doreswamy als dictated _kritis_ to me in terms of such numbered _sangatis_.

As the _sangaties_ progress, some parts of the succeeding _sangati_ replicate the melody of the preceding _sangati_ whilst others develop it. Three consistent features of melodic development are: gradual increase in the highest pitches reached, gradual increase in the range of pitch movement and gradual increase in rhythmic density.

The composer Tyagaraja (see chapter 3, section (d)) was, according to Sambamoorthy ('Great Composers', book 2, op. cit., P.29) and T.V.Subba Rao ('Studies in Indian Music', op. cit.,P.147), the first to employ _sangati_ patterns in devotional compositions. Subba Rao (ibid.) states that, before this time, they were only employed in _pallavi_ improvisation by _samasthana_ (court) _vidvans_.

(see chapter 1, section (b), (3)). Since Tyagaraja's time, all versions of the *sangita* compositions of his predecessors and contemporaries have become embellished with *sangati* patterns (Subba Rao., ibid., p. 148).

Sambamoorthy ('South Indian Music', book 3, op. cit., pp. 151-5) presents diagrammatic models of different types of melodic development in different *sangati* patterns. I discussed this passage with Doreswamy. He was sceptical of the value of such an attempt to (in his own words) "reduce such patterns to a set of rules" and said that students would, in their compositions and spontaneous improvisations, produce very poor *sangati* patterns if they observed such oversimplified 'rules'.

Doreswamy's more detailed criticism of Sambamoorthy's models was that they do not include the 'resolving line' which concludes many *sangati* patterns. He said that such a "resolving or concluding line" (his own terms) is not a *sangati*; that both its *matu* (word-content) and *dhatu* (purely musical aspect) are different from those of the *sangatis* which precede it; and that where a resolving line is not found, it is usually the case that two separate *sangati* patterns have been merged together, so that what is, effectively, the resolving line of the first *sangati* pattern is at the same time the first *sangati* (or 'fundamental theme', in Sambamoorthy's terminology) of the second *sangati* pattern.
In a transcribed sample of 16 kritis collected from Doreswamy (G. Geikie, 'Final Report' on Social Sciences Research Council grant No. HR 2878/1, September, 1976, unpublished, Pp. 63-179), there is variation in the type and extent of melodic development found in the sangati patterns and only approximately half of them have what Doreswamy identified as a resolving line. A comprehensive analysis of the types of melodic development employed, particularly where there is no resolving line, would be desirable.

However, for the purposes of the present argument I wish to illustrate only very general features of melodic development in sangati patterns. This can be illustrated by three short sangati patterns occurring in very popular kritis (i.e. popular in Mysore), as performed by Doreswamy. The recordings were obtained with only fieldworker and performer present and without percussion accompaniment. Comparing compositions recorded in this context with the same compositions recorded in performance contexts by Doreswamy, I find that there is little difference in the composition itself, although the associated improvised passages differ greatly. Doreswamy said that the improvised passages can only be performed 'correctly' with percussion accompaniment (where a tala operates) and before an appreciative vidwan audience. Since the sangati patterns presented in this study are composed, as opposed to being spontaneously improvised, it seems legitimate
to employ them as examples of both 'fieldworker-performer' and 'concert' performance contexts.

Figure 3 is a transcription of such a performance of the complete pallavi section of a kriti (in Sanskrit) by Mysore Vasudevacharya (1865-1961) in Goula raga, adi tala (medium tempo). Figure 4 is a transcription of the complete pallavi section of a kriti (also in Sanskrit) by Muthuswamy Dikshitar (1776-1835) in Nata raga, eka tala (medium tempo) and figure 5 is a transcription of the anupallavi section of the same kriti (i.e. the section which immediately follows the pallavi section).

Eka tala comprises only one anga - a laghu comprising 4 lowest level metric units (l.l.m.u.s). At medium tempo, each l.l.m.u. comprises 2 aksharas - represented as two quavers. In the transcribed example in figure 4, each sangati comprises two avartas of eka tala whilst the resolving line comprises one avarta. In figure 5, each sangati and the resolving line comprise two avartas of eka tala. In order to illustrate the organisation of these musical examples in terms of such metric lines, I have assigned each metric line (whether sangati or resolving line) a separate staff in my notation.

During the sangatis, the listeners mark the metric accents by means of the (downward or forward) terminal points of hand and/or body movements. It should also be noted that, in these musical examples, the tala strings
Figure 3: Sangati Pattern — Adi tala, medium tempo

Accentuation by hand movements [isometric accents]

PraNa-Ma - MIA-Ham SRI Gau - Ri Su-Tam

PraNa-Ma - MIA-Ham SRI Gau - Ri Su-Tam

PraNa-Ma - MIA-Ham SRI Gau - Ri Su-Tam

PraNa-Ma - MIA-Ham SRI Gau - Ri Su-Tam

PraNa-Ma - MIA-Ham SRI Gau - Ri Su-Tam

PraNa-Ma - MIA-Ham SRI Gau - Ri Su-Tam

PraNa-Ma - MIA-Ham SRI Gau - Ri Su-Tam

PraNa-Ma - MIA-Ham SRI Gau - Ri Su-Tam

PraNa-Ma - MIA-Ham SRI Gau - Ri Su-Tam

PraNa-Ma - MIA-Ham SRI Gau - Ri Su-Tam
Figure 4: Sangati Pattern—Ekta tala, medium tempo

Accentuation by hand movements (i.e., metrical accents) B = 152 = lakshara

1st Sangati

Ma-Ha Ga-Na-Pa-Tim Ma-Na-Sa Sha-Ra-Mi

2nd Sangati

Ma-Ha Ga-Na-Pa-Tim Ma-Na-Sa Sha-Ra-Mi

3rd Sangati

Ma-Ha Ga-Na-Pa-Tim Ma-Na-Sa Sha-Ra-Mi

Resolution Line

Va-Si Sta Va-MaDe Va-Di Van-Di-Ta

2nd Sangati

Ma-Ha Ga-Na-Pa-Tim Ma-Na-Sa Sha-Ra-Mi

Resolution Line

Va-Si Sta Va MaDe Va-Di Van-Di-Ta

1st Sangati

Ma-Ha Ga-Na-Pa-Tim
Figure 5: Sangati Pattern - Ekatala, medium tempo

Accentuation by hand movements [i.e. metric accents] L = 152 = Taksheera

1st Sangati

1. Ma-Ha De-Va Su-Tam

2nd Sangati

2. Ma-Ha De-Va Su-Tam Guru-Guha Nu-Tam

3rd Sangati

3. Ma-Ha De-Va Su-Tam Guru-Guha Nu-Tam

Repeating Line

4. Ma-Ra Ko-Ti Pra-Ka-Sham Shan-Tam

5. Ma-Ha De-Va Su-Tam Guru-Guha Nu-Tam

Repeating Line

6. Ma-Ra Ko-Ti Pra-Ka-Sham Shan-Tam
of the vina are sounded at the beginning of each anga of the tala (indicated in figures 3, 4 and 5 by 'bar'lines). During the resolving line, the listeners tend to stop marking the metric accents and to enact ecstatic gestures. When (as in figures 3 and 4) an early sangati is played after the second appearance of the resolving line in order to terminate the musical section, they resume marking the metric accents.

Doreswamy conceived of the ecstatic gestures of the listener as a response to the "blurring of the distinctions between the constituent angas of the tala" (see section (c), (ii) of this chapter). Rasikas said that they tend to lose the tala towards the end of such sangati sections. However, they attributed their ecstatic experiences at such times to the appearance of the 'highest pitches' and conceived of their ecstatic gestures as the outward expression of these experiences. In section (b), (ii) of this chapter, I discussed this conception of the musical section in terms of an ascending-descending sequence of tessiture and concluded that, from amongst a cluster of musical features, the listener selects the feature which most closely corresponds with experiences in the laya form of sadhana.

The inconsistency between Doreswamy's and the rasikas' explanations of the ecstatic gestures can be related to the different terminological and conceptual tools available to each. Vidvans are familiar with the conception of
a musical section in a kriti as comprising numbered sangatis followed by a resolving line. Few rasikas are adept at analysing a musical section in these terms, even if they are familiar with this conception. Their only available conceptual tool for describing the later part of a sangati section is the conception of 'when the highest pitches are reached'. Since the latter conception points to a correspondence between musical structures and yogic experiences which is often alluded to in the song-texts, rasikas explain their ecstatic gestures in these terms.

Considering Doreswamy's explanation of the listeners' ecstatic gestures, it is obviously not literally true that the boundaries between the constituent angas of the tala are 'blurred' in the resolving line, since the tala strokes of the vina continue to mark these boundaries during the resolving line. Interpreting his statement in terms of the l.l.m.u.s of the tala, the fixed pulse of the sangatis continues and musical stimuli continue to coincide with most of the metric accents throughout the resolving lines in the transcribed examples in figures 3 to 5. Whilst the results may be the same, the techniques of 'blurring' the metric accents obviously differ between sangati sections and mridangam solos.

Comparing the resolving line with the preceding and succeeding portions of the sangati section, two distinguish-
ing characteristics are (a) the different literary text and (b) the different melody of the resolving line. To illustrate the former, I have placed beneath the stave the literary text - the textual syllables being located precisely where Doreswamy indicated, in his prescriptive transcriptions, that I should 'sing them in my head' when rendering these examples on vina. To illustrate the latter, I have inserted a line (between arrows) above the stave where a melodic motif is common to one or more sangatis and the resolving line. Where the timing of this motif differs between its appearance in the sangatis and its appearance in the resolving line, I have broken the line above the part of the motif in which the timing varies (this occurs in figure 4).

We can conceive of the pattern of rhythmic accents within a sangati as deriving from the intersection of textual accents (i.e. consonants in vocal music, represented by strokes in vina music) and what we may term 'melodic accents'. Examples of melodic accents in figure 3 occur at the beginning of the second druta and at the beginning of the 1.1.m.u. which immediately precedes it in line 1 of the transcription. These do not coincide with textual accents and they are not (in line 1) dynamically stressed. Accentuation, in these examples, can be conceived as arising from location at the turning points of melodic contours.
In the absence of an exhaustive set of criteria for determining melodic accentuation which are cross-culturally valid, it is not possible to specify patterns of melodic accents in figures 3 to 5. The only aspect of rhythmic accentuation which the foreign investigator can specify are the textual accents. In figures 3 to 5, although the distribution of the consonants in the resolving lines is in no case completely different from their distribution in the sangatis, in all cases there are parts of the metric line in which the distribution of the consonants in relation to the metric accents differs between sangatis and resolving line.

In figure 3, as the section proceeds, the melodic contours of the sangatis progressively develop. This must affect the rhythmic grouping of the metric line by the listener. For example, in lines 1 and 2 of the transcription, the melodic motif rendered as /Pra Na Ma/ seems likely to be perceived as a discrete group whilst, in lines 5 and 6 of the transcription, it seems likely that this same motif will be grouped together with the succeeding motifs into a higher level rhythmic group, or 'phrase', which spans the complete laghu of the metric line.

Again, it is problematic for the foreign investigator to attempt to specify melodic accents, hence rhythmic grouping. It is therefore problematic for me to attempt to assess whether or not the rhythmic grouping differs
between the *sangatis* and the resolving line. All that I can state is that resolving lines tend to exhibit the same rhythmic density as the *sangatis* which immediately precede them; thus the higher architectonic levels of rhythmic grouping which emerge in the later *sangatis* would also appear to be present in the resolving line of a *sangati* section.

With very occasional exceptions (such as /Pra Na Ma/ in lines 3 and 4 of figure 3), the textual accents exhibit consistent relationships, in the *sangatis*, to the metric accents. As the *sangatis* progress, the repeated pattern of textual accents thus supplies a highly stable—hence predictable—factor within the developing patterns of rhythmic groupings.

This observation suggests the interpretation that the listener employs the repeated pattern of textual accents in the *sangatis* as an encoding device: i.e. he employs it to encode, hence predict, the occurrence of the metric accents rather than predicting their occurrence by counting pulse stimuli. If this interpretation is correct then, in the early *sangatis* (i.e. before the pattern of textual accents is well enough established in the listener's memory to serve as an encoding device), the listener will tend to predict the occurrence of the metric accents by counting pulse stimuli whilst, in the later *sangatis* (i.e. when the pattern of textual accents and its relationship to the pattern of metric accents is sufficiently
established in the listener's memory for him to employ the encoding device) the listener will tend to predict the pattern of metric accents by recalling and predicting the pattern of textual accents. It may therefore be possible to test my theory of 'encoding' by experimental means with South Indian listeners.

When the resolving line appears, the pattern of textual accents changes. The encoding device is no longer available to the listener therefore presumably he must resort to counting pulse stimuli if he wishes to predict the pattern of metric accents. In terms of this argument, the fact that parts of the resolving line exhibit the same pattern of textual accents as the sancatis whilst other parts exhibit a new pattern is significant. Where the pattern of textual accents is the same, particularly at the beginning of the resolving line, the listener will presumably be liable to make the mistake of thinking that another sancati - and not the resolving line - is being played. This will also presumably be more likely to happen in instrumental performances (in which the literary text is not articulated therefore the listener can not perceive from the new line of text that the resolving line has commenced).

If, when the resolving line first appears, the listener thinks that it is another sancati, he will presumably continue with the encoding technique until the departure from the textual and melodic features of the sancatis
is sufficiently significant for him to realise his mistake. The *yati* (first syllable of the metric line) and *prasam* (second syllable) rhyme patterns of Sanskrit poetics, which are unfortunately not well represented in figures 3 to 5, thus presumably contribute to the difficulty experienced by the listener in distinguishing the first appearance of the resolving line in vocal performances, since the initial textual syllables of the resolving line are often identical to those of the *sangati*.

In a *vina* performance, if the listener does not immediately distinguish the resolving line and commence counting pulse stimuli from the stroke on the *tala* strings at the beginning of the resolving line, he can not with certainty pick up the pattern of metric accents until the beginning of the next *anuga* of the *tala* (when the next stroke on the *tala* strings occurs).

In a vocal performance, these *tala* strokes are not available to assist the listener in picking up the pattern of metric accents but the vocalist usually marks the commencement of the *anugas* of the *tala* by means of hand movements. In such circumstances, these visual signals occupy the same role as the auditory signals (i.e. *tala* strokes) in *vina* performances.

We also have to conceive of the probability that, where a melodic motif is repeated in consecutive *sangatis*, the listener employs the melodic accents within this motif.
to encode metric accents. For example, in figure 3, the same motif occurs at the end of the laghù in every sangati - thus appearing 6 times in consecutive avartas. This motif encodes the metric accent at the beginning of the last l.l.m.u. of the laghù and cues the strong metric accent at the beginning of the first druta. The same motif occurs in the resolving line but is there located in a different part of the avarta. It therefore seems feasible that the listener recognises the motif in the resolving line and mistakenly regards it as cueing the strong metric accent at the beginning of the first druta. As in the case of the vati/prasaṃ rhymes, by the time he has realised his mistake he has missed the opportunity to count pulse stimuli afforded by the appearance of the (auditory or visual) signal which indicates the beginning of the next metric line and must wait for a subsequent signal in order to pick up the pattern of metric accents. In figures 4 and 5, a melodic motif from the sangatis similarly appears in the resolving line and is there located in a different part of the avarta. The prevalence of this feature in my musical examples thus reinforces my interpretation of its significance in creating difficulties for the listener in predicting the pattern of metric accents.

The conclusions of this discussion are that, by means of both textual and melodic repetition, the listener is induced to encode patterns of metric accents within repeated patterns of rhythmic (i.e. textual and melodic)
accents. Whether or not he employs this encoding device, the listener marks and predicts the occurrence of the metric accents with the assistance of unilinear body movements. When he is not employing the encoding device, the mental stimuli which govern these musculatory movements are his own measurements of pulse stimuli (which are mostly, but not all, supported by musical stimuli). When he employs the encoding device, the musculatory movements are completely governed by his perception and recognition of a pattern of rhythmic accents supplied by musical stimuli. In employing the encoding device, the listener thus relies entirely upon musical stimuli to govern the timing of his unilinear body movements.

When the pattern of rhythmic accents changes in the resolving line, the listener must rely upon his own measurements of pulse stimuli if he wishes to predict the occurrence of metric accents. By various musical and literary devices, he is hindered from doing so. In this situation, the listener's abandonment of prediction of the occurrence of the metric accents constitutes a rational response.

If he did mark the pattern of metric accents during the resolving line, this would enable him to predict fairly successfully the timing of musical events, since the metric accents in the resolving line tend to coincide
with musical events. Thus, if the listener did not abandon the counting of pulse stimuli during the later sangatis then he would be able to predict, with a reasonable degree of success, the timing of the resolving line. The listener's difficulty in predicting the timing of the resolving line thus derives from his rational response to the textual and melodic repetition which precedes it.

As in the case of the solo percussion section, the behaviour of the listeners during the resolving line can be viewed as a gestural analogue of their cognitive state and their ecstatic experiences can be conceived as comprising a combination of the cognitive state (i.e. non-prediction of the timing of musical events) and the gestural analogue (i.e. irregular, non-unilinear movements).

The sangati section parallels the solo percussion section in that the appearance of the portion eliciting the ecstatic response is cued by the gradual build-up to a musical climax. In the mridangam solo, the immanent appearance of the 'climax' is signalled to the listener by means of rhythmic density. In the sangati section, the immanence of the resolving line is signalled by this feature and also by the reaching of the 'highest pitches' and a relatively wide range of pitch movement.

My discussion of the role of textual repetition in sangati sections raises the question of the role of
repetition in musical forms in which literary text is interspersed with 'sa ri ga ma' syllables. The two main examples in Carnatic music are the last (i.e. 'charana and svara') section of a varna composition and pallavi improvisation. In section (c), (ii) of this chapter, I discussed the role of the refrain in pallavi improvisation and concluded that it encodes the pattern of metric accents. As the pallavi improvisation progresses, unrepeated parts (rendered with 'sa ri ga ma' syllables) of increasing length alternate with repeats of the refrain and the patterning of rhythmic accents in the unrepeated parts manifests progressively more complex and variable relationships with the pattern of metric accents. Often, towards the end of the longer unrepeated parts, the listeners cease marking the metric accents and enact the ecstatic gestures. When the refrain appears, they recommence marking the metric accents.

The last section of a varna constitutes a shorter and more formalised version of the above. The charana, which comprises one avarta of adi tala or two avartas of shorter tales, constitutes the refrain which appears before and after each (unrepeated) attucadai svara (usually referred to by musicians as simply 'svara'). There are usually four svaras: the first is the same length as the charana, the second usually twice this length, the third two or four times this length and the fourth four times this length. The svaras are sung to 'sa ri ga ma' syllables and, as they progress, the patterning of rhythmic accents
manifests progressively more complex and variable relationships with the pattern of metric accents.

It is difficult to observe or assess the listeners' responses to the temporal organisation of varnas. Only one varna is ever performed in a concert by Mysore musicians. It is the first item, so that the listeners have rarely settled down or 'warmed up' and, if amplification is used, the sound engineer has rarely balanced the equipment before the varna ends.

The longer, unrepeated parts of pallavi improvisations parallel the mridangam solo in that, towards the end of both, the listener finds it difficult to predict the occurrence of the metric accents and, even if he could, this would usually afford him little assistance in predicting the timing of musical events. The listener's abandonment of temporal prediction and enactment of ecstatic gestures can thus be viewed as a rational response in both musical contexts. Also in both contexts, when the refrain, which encodes the pattern of metric accents, follows, the listener is thereby enabled to resume marking the metric accents.

Long kritis which contain multiple charanas can be viewed as a development of the varna form. Both the melody and the literary text of each charana become progressively longer and the patterning of rhythmic accents manifests progressively more complex and variable relationships with
the pattern of metric accents. Before and after each charana, the same early sangati from the pallavi section of the kriti appears as a refrain. Such kritis can thus be viewed as extensions of the varna form with the unrepeat ed parts set to (unrepeated) literary text. Towards the end of the longer charanas, listeners cease marking the metric accents and tend to enact ecstatic gestures. When the refrain appears, they tend to recommence marking the metric accents. These responses are understandable in terms of the argument developed for pallavi improvisation.

The vast majority of musical contexts in which a tala operates either conform to the above models or comprise sangati sections. Whilst there is not sufficient space in this thesis for a detailed analysis of the melodies of kirtana compositions, from the evidence of the examples of this form which I collected in Mysore it is clear that kirtanas do not exhibit the formal features of the above models or the sangati section. The poetic lines are usually repeated only two or three times each, with significantly less melodic development as the repeats progress than is found between adjacent sangatis. Different verses (charanas) are usually sung to the same melody (with minimal variations to accommodate slight differences in the number of textual syllables between the comparable lines of different verses).

At the end of chapter 3, section (c), I mentioned that
some informants classified the effect upon the listener of the \textit{yati/prasam} rhyme patterns as \textit{sahitya bhava} whilst others classified this as \textit{ganam}. This divergence of views is understandable. On the one hand, the rhyme patterns can be viewed as playing a role in the \textit{ganam} experience: viz. they help to create difficulties of temporal prediction for the listener because, in a \textit{sangati} section, they assist in concealing from him the fact that the resolving line has commenced. On the other hand, they can be viewed in relation to the literary text 'per se' — hence as an aspect of \textit{sahitya bhava}.

On the subject of the relationship between poetic and musical organisation in South Indian devotional music, an interesting point is that the poetic organisation of the \textit{vachana} (see chapter 3, section (b)) parallels the musico-literary organisation of the \textit{sangati} section. In the \textit{vachana}, we can conceive of the listener encoding syntactic relationships in the temporal organisation of the poetic line. For example, in example 2 in chapter 3, section (b), by the third or fourth line of the poem it seems likely that the listener will be able to predict that the first grammatical unit of the next line will be a noun in the locative case. It is perhaps the case that such repetition induces the listener to rely upon the patterning of external stimuli, rather than his own cognitive processes, to determine the relationships between grammatical units. The contrasting syntactic organisation of the \textit{mudra} line which follows and the subsequent complete
or partial return to the previous, 'established' sequence of grammatical units suggests the possibility of responses by the listener which are comparable with those found in sangati sections.

Sambamoorthy ('Great Composers', book 2, op.cit., p.36) states that a characteristic feature of Tyagaraja's kritis is that they are mostly in medium tempo whilst those of his predecessors and contemporaries are mostly in slow tempo. This feature seems related to Tyagaraja's employment of sangati patterns. The longer is the metric line, the longer it takes for the relationship between the repeated pattern of textual accents and the repeated pattern of metric accents in the sangatis to become established in the memory of the listener. Accepting this argument, it follows that a very good musical memory is required in order to appreciate sangati patterns in slow tempo compositions.

On this subject, Doreswamy said that non-vidvans prefer kritis in medium tempo whilst only vidvans tend fully to appreciate kritis in slow tempo. Since great emphasis is placed, in sangita training, upon the development of the student's musical memory (both short- and long-term), this statement by Doreswamy would appear to support my suggestion of an intrinsic compatibility between medium tempo and sangati patterns for the non-vidvan listener.

The same argument may assist in explaining the
decreasing popularity of longer talas since Tyagaraja's day. Again, the longer is the avarta the more difficult it is for the relationship between the repeated pattern of textual accents and the repeated pattern of metric accents in a sangati pattern to become established in the listener's memory. Longer talas are thus unsuitable for sangati patterns. Tyagaraja's introduction of sangati patterns into devotional compositions is thus consistent with the subsequent decrease in the number of new compositions in the longer talas.

(c),(iv) Alapana and Tanam

Most compositions and all improvised pallavis, in sangita performances, are preceded by alapanas. In the performances which I attended, the duration of the alapana ranged between 30 seconds and 30 minutes. The duration of an alapana is proportional to the duration of the musical item which it precedes: long kritis and pallavis are preceded by long alapanas and short kritis by short alapanas. During the alapana, only the vocalist(s) and/or the melody instrument(s) play, accompanied by the tambura (drone-instrument). There is no percussion accompaniment.

Alapanas of longer than approximately 2 minutes' duration contain a tanam passage. An item consisting in pallavi improvisation with preceding alapana, in a sangita concert, is referred to as 'alapana, tanam and pallavi', whereas an item of the same length consisting in alapana,
tanam and kriti followed by a kalpana svara is referred to simply as a 'kriti' or as 'alarana and kriti'. Thus, the term alapana, in some contexts, includes tanam but, in other contexts, excludes tanam. I shall therefore refer to the part of the alapana which is not tanam as the 'alarana proper'. The alapana proper always precedes the tanam passage and the tanam passage is always followed by the pallevi (of a kriti or pallevi improvisation).

Doreswamy conceived of the alapana proper as comprising four stages: viz.

(i) akshiptika ('introduction'), consisting in (in his own words) "a few flash pravogas to give the idea of the raga in a very brief way";

(ii) raga vardhini ('developing the raga'), consisting in three stages - in the lower, middle and upper tessitura respectively;

(iii) makarini ('climax'), in which, according to Doreswamy, the fastest note speed, greatest range of pitch movement and highest pitches are reached; and

(iv) muktavi ('ending'), consisting in (in his own words) "a slowing down and conclusion, always ending on shadja (the drone-tonic)".

Doreswamy conceived of tanam as comprising raga
vardhini, makarini and muktayi stages. He said that tanam is of recent origin - perhaps two centuries old. He said that, traditionally, tanam should be played in three tempi - doubling the first tempo then doubling it again - but that, nowadays, this practice tends not to be followed. He said that, nowadays, different performers play tanam in different tempi and that, in different items in the same concert, a performer will often play the tanam passages in different tempi. He employed a fourfold classification of tempi for tanam. From slowest to fastest these were:

gaja tanam: "like an elephant, majestic"
sava tanam: "like the trotting of a horse"
mandooke tanam: "like the hopping of a frog"
vidyut tanam: "high speed, like lightning"

The descriptions (from my field notes) were made by Doreswamy - note that the name of the animal or natural phenomenon is employed to characterise the tempo.

In alapana proper, Doreswamy conceived of there being "no rhythmic patterns". The only rhythmic concepts which Mysore vidvans employed in relation to alapana proper were (a) a distinction between notes of long duration and notes of short duration in the sanchara prayogas of the raga and (b) the classification of accented/unaccented notes in terms of the consonant/vowel distinction (discussed in section (c), (i), (b) of this chapter).
In alapana proper, in the subjective judgement of the researcher, there are five distinguishable rhythmic contexts. Since these correspond with observable differences in the behaviour of the indigenous listeners, it can be argued that they also distinguish between these rhythmic contexts. These distinguishable rhythmic contexts are:

(i) When there is a sense of pulse. At such times, indigenous listeners mark a pulse by means of slight unilinear movements, mostly of the head and torso.

(ii) When there is a sense of accelerando or ritardando - i.e. a sense of a pulse changing at a fairly constant rate. At such times, the listeners continuously adjust the rate of their movements in order to synchronise the terminal points of these unilinear body movements with the musical stimuli which they hear.

(iii) When the melody instrument(s) and/or voice are silent and only the tambura is heard. When only the tambura is heard - between musical sections and in such short periods of 'melodic silence' in alapana proper - the listeners tend to enact ecstatic gestures - i.e. closing the eyes, irregularly rolling the head and making irregular, circular movements of the torso from the waist up.

The four tambura strings are plucked in sequence at a fairly constant rate (from observing the hand movements of tambura players, I assessed this as between 50 and 80
plucks per minute). Vidvans say that the tambura should be played in such a way that it supplies no sense of pulse. Two factors which they pointed to as important in achieving this were (a) plucking the string at a point approximately two-thirds of its vibrating length from the bridge and (b) a technique of pulling then releasing, rather than striking, the string.

In the subjective opinion of the researcher, the tambura supplies no pulse. The acoustic spectrum of the instrument certainly changes through time: Chaitanya Deva ('Tonal Structure of Tambura', op. cit., Pp. 44-5) states—

"careful listening to the instrument will show that the tones of the instrument (especially some of the harmonics) are not heard continuously but in spurts"

However, these changes are irregular and tend not to mark particular points in time for the consciousness of the listener. Since there is neither pulse nor rhythm during such periods of 'melodic silence' they should, strictly-speaking, be termed an 'arhythmic context'.

(iv) Another discernable rhythmic context occurs when the voice or a melody instrument is heard but the timing of musical events supplies no sense of pulse. In these contexts, there is 'rhythm' - i.e. there are accented and unaccented notes and the unaccented notes are perceived by the researcher as grouped in relation to the accented notes - but no pulse. In such contexts, the behaviour of
the indigenous listeners suggests that they are searching for a pulse but failing to find one. They vacillate between (a) marking accented notes by means of unilinear body movements—constantly adjusting these in the attempt to make the next terminal point of the body movement correspond with the next accented note and (b) making the ecstatic gestures of irregularly rolling the head, closing the eyes and making irregular, circular movements of the torso. They never entirely adopt the one or the other response pattern.

(v) Another discernable rhythmic context occurs when there is a long gamake comprising recurrent, continuous pitch movements. Whilst it may be contended that this amounts to a 'melodic', rather than 'rhythmic', context, the distinction between gamakes and sequences of fixed pitches has a bearing upon rhythmic perception. Cooper and Meyer's definitions are based upon sequences of fixed pitches: i.e. they conceive of temporal organisation in terms of points in time which are marked for the consciousness of the listener by means of sudden and significant changes in acoustic parameters (basically, pitch and/or loudness) and intervals between such points in time.

This concurs with the South Indian vidyans' conception of temporal organisation in terms of the consonant/vowel distinction: the consonants (and their instrumental representations) are conceived as occurring at points in time
whilst the vowels (and their instrumental representations) are conceived as 'filling in' the intervals between such points in time. However, *gamakas* involve changes in acoustic parameters which are less sudden and less significant than those found in sequences of fixed pitches. Therefore it must be argued that temporal organisation within a *gamaka* is less clearly manifest to the listener than temporal organisation within a sequence of fixed pitches.

This is illustrated in diagram (vii), which is traced from a part of the electrochymograph from which figure 6 is derived. This portion of *alapana* proper played on *vina* is of approximately 4 seconds' duration. It contains three struck notes which are marked 'stroke' (these comprise the perfect 5th of *shadja* twice followed by the upper octave of *shadja*) and two *gamakas*. The first *gamaka* is a simple pitch movement from the perfect 5th up to flat-7 and back to the perfect 5th. The second *gamaka* is more complex: it consists in a movement from the perfect 5th up to the octave of *shadja* and back to approximately flat-7, followed by a relatively fast movement up to natural-7 then a relatively slow movement up to the *gamaka* sruti above natural-7, the string being damped immediately after the *gamaka* sruti is reached.

From the audio waveform, the electrochymograph isolates changes in two acoustic parameters: viz. (i) loudness and (ii) pitch of the fundamental tone produced by the *vina*. Considering loudness, the dynamic stresses produced by the
Diagram (vii)

**Struck Notes and Gamakas**

Stroke — gamaka — Stroke — gamaka — Stroke

Fundamental Pitch

Loudness

Seconds: 1, 2, 3, 4
*vina* strokes are clearly discernable as points in time in diagram (vii). In relation to these, the *gamakas* produce much less clearly discernable increases in loudness. Within the *gamakas*, a period of maximum loudness within a period of steadily increasing then decreasing loudness is evident. The period of maximum loudness occurs in the region of the 'high turning point' of the *gamaka* (i.e. where pitch movement changes from ascent to descent). Where there is no 'high turning point' - as in the later part of the second *gamaka* - the period of maximum loudness occurs at the end of the steepest part of the upwards pitch gradient. From the second *gamaka*, it is evident that the approximate region of the 'low turning point' (i.e. where pitch movement changes from descent to ascent) is the least loud part of the *gamaka*.

From these observations, we conclude (a) that, compared with struck notes, *gamakas* less clearly mark points in time for the consciousness of the listener by means of sudden and significant changes in loudness and (b) that, within a *gamaka*, the region of the 'high turning point' is significantly dynamically stressed in relation to that of the 'low turning point'. It is also evident from diagram (vii) that, the steeper is the upwards pitch gradient in a *gamaka*, the louder is the sound produced. On the *vina*, this would appear to be due to the fact that, in producing a *gamaka*, the string is pulled against the fret. This action produces friction, which vibrates the string. The faster is this action (hence the steeper is the upwards
pitch gradient), the more suddenly the friction is produced hence the louder is the gamaka.

Only two points within gamakas constitute significant and sudden changes in pitch: viz. the 'high' and 'low turning points'. Since the 'high turning points' are significantly dynamically stressed in relation to the 'low turning points', if any parts of a gamaka constitute points in time which are marked for the consciousness of the listener by means of perceptible changes in acoustic parameters, then it is likely to be the 'high turning points'.

It may be the case that, the greater is the distance in the pitch continuum covered in a gamaka, the greater is the amount of evidence supplied to the listener of the direction of pitch movement (i.e. whether upwards or downwards) and, consequently, the easier it is for the listener to perceive changes in the direction of pitch movement (i.e. to perceive the 'turning points' in the gamaka). In figure 6 (which is a transcription of a complete alapana proper) and figure 7 (which is a transcription of the first part of the tanam passage which follows), it is evident that the most common distances in the pitch continuum covered within long gamakas are half a semitone (i.e. 'one sruti', in the vidvans' terminology) and one semitone. Given such small pitch distances, it might therefore be argued that it is very difficult for the listener to perceive the 'high turning points' of these gamakas.
It is certainly the case in these musical examples that, the greater are the distances in the pitch continuum covered in a *gamaka*, the steeper are the upwards pitch gradients hence, on the *vina*, the louder are the regions of the 'high turning points' of the *gamaka* and, consequently, the more likely they are to be perceived by the listener as points in time. Again, the relatively narrow ranges of pitch movement employed in most long *gamakas* in *alapane* proper justify the assumption that they tend not to mark points in time for the consciousness of the listener.

Despite the above observations, even if it is still maintained that the listener perceives the 'high turning points' of the long *gamakas* as points in time - i.e. he perceives temporal organisation within these *gamakas* - it must be argued that (a) most of the intervals between these 'high turning points' are such that they supply no sense of pulse and that (b) even where these intervals could be conceived as supplying a pulse, this usually bears little or no relation to any rate of pulse supplied by the musical events which immediately precede the *gamaka*.

Figure 6 illustrates these observations. Figures 6 and 7 represent an attempt to obtain a very accurate indication of the timing of musical events in contexts in which the timing is not governed by an underlying metrical framework (i.e. when no *tala* operates). I obtained an electrochymograph transcription of a recording of an *alapana* and *tanam* passage using a 16 channel Siemens
'Oscillomink' in the Department of Linguistics, Edinburgh University.

As I stated in section (c),(iii) of this chapter, vidvans state that such improvised passages can only be performed 'correctly' in the context of a performance before an appreciative vidvan audience. None of my field recordings made in such circumstances were entirely free of background noises, appreciative noises by members of the audience or performing musicians etc. which might obscure parts of the transcription. I therefore employed a commercial recording which was made in a professional studio before a vidvan audience but which succeeded in eliminating such noises from the recording. The portion which I employed for the electrochymograph transcription is an alapana in Nata raga which precedes the kriti 'Sarasiruhasana Priye' by Puliyur Doraiswamy Iyer, performed by 'Mysore' V. Doreswamy Iyengar (vina) on EMI ECSD 2491, 1971. Doreswamy Iyengar studied with R. N. Doreswamy (my own guru) and the latter recalled that their guru - Venkataragiriappa - referred to the two Doreswamys as "his two eyes" and heirs to his tradition and style. The styles of the two vidvans are closely related, being contemporaries within the same guru-disciple 'lineage'.

It was not always possible, from the loudness graph alone, to discern the timing of musical events, particularly within gamakas and periods of rhythmic density. In such circumstances, it was necessary to determine the
FIGURE 6: Alapana Proper
Electrocardiograph Transcription
Pitch Estimates per Staff
timing from changes in the fundamental pitch graph. A certain amount of filtering was necessary in order to eliminate from the transcription the high, uneven harmonics occurring in the acoustic spectrum of the accompanying tambura, since these interfered with the fundamental pitch graph. No fundamental pitch registered below approximately 400 cycles per second - presumably this is due to the low proportion of fundamental pitch relative to harmonics of the fundamental contained in the acoustic spectrum of vina tones below approximately the major 2nd above shadja.

The recorded musical item comprises 80 seconds of alapana proper, 135 seconds of tanam, 210 seconds of the kriti and 70 seconds of kalpana svara. The most suitable speed for the electrochymograph transcription was found to be 2.5 centimetres per second at half speed (i.e. 5 cm p. sec. at full speed). In presenting the transcription, I have omitted the last 80 seconds of the tanam passage since this portion contains no relevant features which are not contained in the preceding portion. The 134 seconds of electrochymograph transcription analysed in this section thus occupies 6.70 metres of continuous graph. For display purposes, I have traced the relevant information from the graph (viz. fundamental pitch line - where this exists - and the points at which musical events commence - where this can be determined) on to tracing paper then reduced the size by Xerox reproduction.

In figures 6 and 7, I have reproduced the continuous
pitch of approx. 360 cycles per second (a slightly high F above middle C - in terms of the European absolute pitch system) produced by the tambura and, above this line, the pitch contours of the vina discernable from the electrochymograph. Whilst these pitch contours are not strictly necessary in presenting an analysis of temporal organisation (although they were necessary in determining it), they serve to indicate precisely where the 'high turning points' are. They also give some indication of the loudness of these 'high turning points' in relation to each other since, as I argued above, a steeper upwards pitch gradient indicates a louder 'high turning point' (although other factors - e.g. the loudness and proximity in time of the preceding stroke - also determine their loudness).

On the continuous line representing shadja, I have marked absolute time (in seconds) from the first stroke on the vina which commences the alapana. Immediately beneath this line, I have represented, by means of strokes, the points in time at which the commencement of musical events can be discerned on the electrochymograph. Where the musical event is a stroke by a right-hand finger on the vina string, I have added the inverted 'v' sign. Where the precise points in time at which musical events commence can not be determined from the electrochymograph (e.g. towards the end of the long gamaka between 108 and 109 seconds in figure 7), I have omitted the strokes and marked the approximate points of commencement of musical
events on the stave below.

On the continuous stave, I have supplied an aural transcription. The notational conventions are the same as those employed in figures 1 to 5 with the exception of timing and \textit{tala} strokes. The timing of musical events is indicated by placing the sign representing the note in the aural transcription directly underneath the stroke representing its commencement as a musical event. In the case of \textit{gamakes}, the stroke indicates the point in time at which the pitch indicated in the aural transcription is reached. In order to differentiate \textit{tala} strokes from strokes on the melody strings, I have marked all three \textit{tala} strings together and bracketed those which are not struck.

Above the stave I have indicated the intervals (in seconds) between the 'high turning points' of long \textit{gamakes}. In attempting to assess what pulse - if any - is supplied by the musical events which immediately precede these \textit{gamakes}, we again encounter the problem discussed in section (c),(i),A of this chapter (viz. the methodological problems inherent in the foreign investigator attempting to specify the rhythmic organisation perceived by the indigenous listener). We can not specify precisely which musical events are perceived as accented in relation to others. In order to assess the rate of pulse (if any) supplied by a piece of music, we must know which musical events are perceived as accented in relation
to others because it is primarily from the evidence of the timing of these accented musical events that the listener determines rates of pulse.

However, strokes on the melody strings of the \textit{vina} represent consonants and are notated as consonants in 'sa ri ga ma' notation. Whatever other notes are perceived by the South Indian listener as accented (e.g. by virtue of their durations or locations within melodic contours), it therefore seems permissible to assume that these struck notes on the melody strings are perceived as accented. An examination of the intervals between these strokes therefore supplies some indication of pulse - or the lack of it - supplied by the musical events which precede the long \textit{gamakas}. I have therefore indicated the intervals (in seconds) between these strokes (immediately beneath the row of strokes which indicate the commencement of musical events, in order to distinguish these intervals from the intervals between the 'high turning points' of \textit{gamakas}).

In order to supply continuity between the analysis of the musical events preceding the \textit{gamaka} and the analysis of the \textit{gamaka} itself, I have indicated the interval between the \textit{vina} stroke which immediately precedes a long \textit{gamaka} and the first 'high turning point' of the \textit{gamaka}. Where the \textit{gamaka} is 'pulled' from a note which is 'hammered on' the fret, I have indicated the interval between this 'hammered on' note and the first 'high turning point' of the \textit{gamaka} as well as the interval between this 'hammered
on' note and the preceding struck note (e.g. the gamaka from 43 to 44 seconds in figure 6).

Considering the intervals between the 'high turning points' of the gamakas in figure 6, where there are three or more 'high turning points' within a gamaka it is rarely the case that the two or more consecutive intervals produced are identical and in the majority of cases there are significant differences between these consecutive intervals. It must therefore be argued that the timing of these long gamakas rarely supplies a sense of pulse.

Considering the relationship between the pulse (if any) supplied by the musical events which precede the gamaka and any pulse supplied by the timing of the gamaka itself, only a small minority of the gamakas analysed in figure 6 exhibit any continuity of such 'previously-established' pulses. The one clear example of such continuity is the gamaka at 71 seconds. Following a period of accelerando (from intervals of 0.81 seconds to 0.64 seconds) from 67 seconds to nearly 70 seconds in the transcription, there occurs an interval between struck notes of 1.20 seconds, which can be viewed as twice the interval of 0.60 seconds - hence continuing the accelerando. The interval of 0.31 seconds between the struck note from which the gamaka is 'pulled' and the last 'high turning point' of the gamaka is almost precisely subdivided in a 1:2 ratio (i.e. 0.10 seconds between the struck note and the first 'high turning point' and 0.21 seconds between the two
'high turning points'). The interval between the last 'high turning point' of the gamaka and the struck note which follows is 0.29 seconds, so that we can assume a sense of fixed pulse continuing through the gamaka on to the struck note which follows it.

From listening to the recording, this example certainly (in the subjective opinion of the researcher) sounds as if a fixed pulse continues throughout. Other gamakas in figure 6 less clearly continue a 'previously-established' pulse (considered both in terms of subjective listening and in terms of the electrochymograph-derived analysis).

In the gamaka from 6 to 7 seconds, the interval of 0.51 seconds between the two struck notes which immediately precede the gamaka would appear to be replicated by the interval between the struck note from which the gamaka is 'pulled' and its second 'high turning point' (viz. 0.52 seconds) and the latter interval is almost precisely subdivided in a 1:2 ratio (i.e. 0.18 seconds between the struck note and the first 'high turning point' and 0.34 seconds between the first and second 'high turning points'). Thereafter, the intervals of 0.24 seconds between 'high turning points' might be construed as continuing the interval of approx. 0.50 seconds and subdividing this interval in a 1:1 ratio. However, it must be argued that such complexity approaches the point beyond which the listener can not discern and predict temporal organisation. From listening to this example, in the subjective opinion of the researcher the sense of pulse seems to 'disappear'
towards the end of the gamake. The same (in terms of subjective listening and objective analysis) may be argued of the gamake from 25 to 26 seconds.

The other long gamakes in figure 6 exhibit greater complexity in their temporal organisation and in their relationships to the temporal organisation of preceding musical events than the examples discussed. It must therefore be argued that they do not continue a 'previously-established' sense of pulse.

From these observations, we conclude that, given that figure 6 represents a typical example of alapana proper, most long gamakes employed in alapana proper tend to 'dis-establish' any 'previously-established' sense of pulse. Combined with the previous observations made in this section, we conclude that it must be very difficult or impossible for the listener to discern and predict the timing of long gamakes in alapana proper.

Consistent with this observation, from my observations of the behaviour of indigenous listeners during such long gamakes, I noted that:

(a) they do not enact the regular, unilinear gestures, which they employ to mark and predict the timing of musical events, during these long gamakes; and

(b) they tend to enact the irregular, ecstatic gestures
during these long gamakas.

According to the vidvans with whom I discussed these responses, gamakas are "pleasing to the listener" (a frequently-quoted phrase by these informants) in themselves and are more effective when sandwiched between sequences of fixed pitches. Several rasika informants stated that they experience ecstatic sensations when they hear gamakas.

Comparing the 5 rhythmic contexts discussed in this section which occur in alapana proper:

1. The listeners tend to enact the irregular, ecstatic gestures when they can not perceive pulse (viz. when the melody instrument or voice supplies rhythm without pulse, when a long gamaka appears and when only the tambura is heard).

2. When they can perceive pulse (either fixed pulse or accelerando or ritardando), they enact the regular, unilinear gestures by means of which they mark this pulse and thereby predict the timing of musical events.

In all of the musical contexts in alapana proper in which they enact the ecstatic gestures, their response to musical patterning can be viewed as a state of non-prediction of the timing of musical events. This can be viewed as a rational response by the listener since he can not predict the timing when he perceives no pulse.
Tanam consists in 'stretches' of progressively longer duration. During the 'stretches' there is, in the subjective judgement of the researcher, a sense of pulse. Often this pulse sounds 'ragged': that is, the intervals between the musical stimuli which support this pulse are often prolonged or shortened. At the beginning of the 'stretch', an accentuation pattern – of one strong followed by one weak beat – is perceived (by the researcher). As the 'stretch' progresses, an alternative accentuation pattern, which is identical to the established pattern but out of phase with it, appears and the patterning of musical events seems (to the researcher) at times to support the one accentuation pattern and at times to support the other.

The 'stretch' ends in a long gamaka with recurrent pitch movements identical to those most commonly heard in the preceding alapana proper. In the early stages of the tanam section, this gamaka is followed by a period of 'melodic silence' during which the tambura alone is heard. The periods of 'melodic silence' are progressively shorter as the tanam section proceeds.

During the 'stretch' of tanam, indigenous listeners mark the strong beats of an accentuation pattern by means of the terminal points of unilinear body movements (the slap of the hand against the thigh and/or the forward extremity of movements of the head or torso). When an alternative accentuation pattern appears, at first they continue to mark the established pattern. When the patterning of musical events more clearly supports the alternative
accentuation pattern for a certain length of time (a few seconds), they change the phase of their gestural accentuation to make it correspond with the alternative accentuation pattern. In a long 'stretch' of tanam, they often change phase in this way more than once.

At certain points within a 'stretch' of tanam, many indigenous listeners appear to 'lose' (i.e. be unable to mark the strong beats of) the accentuation pattern. They appear to have difficulty in marking a pattern of strong beats then they cease marking any such pattern by means of unilinear body movements and tend to enact irregular, ecstatic gestures (viz. rolling the head and/or making circular movements of the torso). After a few seconds, they 'pick up' an accentuation pattern and again mark the strong beats by means of unilinear body movements. When the long gamaka appears at the end of the 'stretch', they enact the ecstatic gestures. During the periods of 'melodic silence' which follow, they continue, but progressively reduce the scale of, these irregular, ecstatic gestures.

Doreswamy described tanam as (from my field notes):

"Alapana with some rhythmic patterns. The phrases will have an odd number of svaras - 3, 5, 7 etc. - and the last note will have a specific accent. Special syllables are used for singing tanam - /Anantananta/ and /Tomta/ - no other jatis are used. On vina, strokes are used instead of syllables. Special striking and fingering techniques are adopted for playing tanam on the vina. The tala strings are sounded at regular intervals to enhance the effect."
Figure 7 supplies a transcribed musical example against which to compare Doreswamy's description. It is also a very typical example of tanam in terms of the features with which I am presently concerned. Underneath the stave of the aural transcription, I have indicated the accentuation pattern which is established at the beginning of the 'stretch' and what, in the subjective judgement of the researcher, the alternative accentuation patterns appear to be.

Towards the end of the first 'stretch', a 'raggedness' appears in the pulse. At 90 seconds, after the stroke on shadja, we can either regard what follows as the prolongation or shortening of an interval between two musical stimuli which support the pulse. This depends upon whether we regard the tala stroke or the stroke on the melody string which precedes it as indicating a strong beat. Thereafter, the patterning of vina strokes would appear to support either accentuation pattern. On the transcription, I have therefore marked neither as a continuation of the established pattern.

It is evident from his behaviour that the indigenous listener attempts to interpret the 'stretch' of tanam in terms of a repeated accentuation pattern throughout and changes the phase of his gestural accentuation in order to sustain this interpretation if musical stimuli more clearly support, for a certain length of time, an alternative accentuation pattern. In terms of Cooper and Meyer's
terminology, the listener attempts to discern 'metre'. The performer, on the other hand, does not conceive of the production of such musical patterning in terms of metre. Regarding Doreswamy's above description as expressing the performers' conception of tanam, it is clear that they conceive of tanam in terms of a sequence of dissimilar rhythmic groups, each comprising odd numbers of beats with the accent on the last beat in each group. Following such a 'rule of thumb', the performer will produce a sequence of musical stimuli which will at times support the accentuation pattern marked by the listener and at other times support an alternative accentuation pattern which is the same as, but out of phase with, the one marked by the listener.

We might ask why, given such ambivalence of the phase of the accentuation pattern, the listener does not simply double the rate of his gestural accentuation - thus marking the perceived pulse without grouping the pulse stimuli into strong and weak beats. In the example in figure 7, this would involve marking a pulse of between 300 and 333 beats per minute. From subjective experience of marking pulses by gestural accentuation, this is too fast a rate for the listener to maintain. The listener is thus forced to group pulse stimuli and thereby to choose between alternative groupings.

At the beginning of each 'stretch' of tanam,
(i) \textit{tala} strokes and strokes on the melody strings support the strong beats of the accentuation pattern which the listener marks by gestural accentuation;

(ii) 'hammered on' notes support the weak beats; and

(iii) 'pulled' notes, of themselves (i.e. when neither struck nor sounded together with the \textit{tala} strings), support neither strong nor weak beats.

We can conceive of each of these as a probability relationship which is discerned by the indigenous listener. At the beginning of the 'stretch', these probability relationships may be described as high.

As the 'stretch' progresses,

(i) both types of stroke frequently occur on the weak beats of the accentuation pattern which the listener marks by gestural accentuation and, occasionally, in locations which are neither strong nor weak beats;

(ii) 'hammered on' notes occur on strong beats or in locations which are neither strong nor weak beats; and

(iii) 'pulled' notes (of themselves) occasionally occur on weak beats and, less frequently, on strong beats.

The three probability relationships discerned by the listener at the beginning of the 'stretch' thus become lower as the 'stretch' progresses.

When the three probability relationships are high,
then (a) it is easy for the listener to interpret the 'stretch' of *tanam* in terms of a repeated accentuation pattern and (b) the listener can predict with a high degree of success which category of note (viz. 'stroke', 'hammered on' or 'pulled') will appear at particular locations within this accentuation pattern: the pattern thus enables fairly successful temporal prediction.

As the three probability relationships become lower, then (a) it becomes more difficult for the listener to interpret the 'stretch' of *tanam* in terms of a repeated accentuation pattern - one difficulty being that musical stimuli equally well support the pattern marked by the listener and an alternative pattern which is out of phase with it - and (b) prediction of the occurrence of categories of note (viz. 'stroke', 'hammered on' and 'pulled') by means of the prediction of the occurrence of the strong and weak beats of an accentuation pattern is progressively less successful.

We can thus conceive of the listener abandoning gestural accentuation, thereby abandoning temporal prediction, when the three probability relationships are so low that the assistance in predicting temporal organisation which an accentuation pattern affords is nil. We can thus interpret the listener's irregular, ecstatic gestures during the 'stretch' of *tanam* as evidence of his abandonment of temporal prediction and regard this behaviour as a rational response to such a situation.
This interpretation is consistent with Doreswamy's above statement on the production of tanam sections. We can conceive of the typical 'raggedness' of the pulse as contributing towards the listener's difficulty of temporal prediction since (a) this renders it more difficult for the listener to discern an accentuation pattern (as in the example at 90 seconds in figure 7 discussed above) and (b) it renders the marking of an accentuation pattern a less successful means whereby the listener can predict the timing of musical events (since the musical event often occurs just before or just after the gestural accent enacted by the listener).

The listeners' behaviour during the long gamakes at the end of each 'stretch' of tanam can also be regarded as a rational response to the situation. These gamakes employ the same pitch contours as those most extensively employed in the preceding alapana proper. In that (i) they are continuous pitch movements and that (ii) they tend to operate within a relatively narrow range of the pitch continuum, then it must be argued that the listener experiences relative difficulty in discerning and predicting their temporal organisation. Abandonment of temporal prediction can thus be viewed as a rational response on the part of the listener.

These are only three examples of long gamakes in figure 7 and we can discern from the electrochymograph the precise timing of only two of these (viz. from 93 to 94
seconds and from 131 to 132 seconds). Any conclusions drawn from such a small sample must therefore be regarded as tentative. In comparison with the long gamakas in figure 6, the timing of the long gamakas in figure 7 is less complex and it seems likely that the intervals between the 'high turning points' of these gamakas more clearly supply a sense of pulse than do most of the examples in figure 6. The example from 93 to 94 seconds can be regarded as continuing a pulse in the region of 0.36 to 0.40 seconds (i.e. 150 to 167 beats per minute) which has been supplied throughout the later part of the preceding 'stretch' and accelerating this pulse to 0.32 seconds. The example from 131 to 132 seconds might be regarded as continuing the established pulse (of 0.36 to 0.40 seconds) and decelerating this pulse to 0.48 seconds and possibly 0.50 seconds. Whilst they might thus continue a previously-established pulse, these examples alter this pulse (by speeding it up or slowing it down).

It must be argued that it is difficult for the listener to 'follow' (i.e. adjust the rate of his gestural accentuation in order to make his gestural accents coincide with the musical stimuli which support) an accelerating or decelerating pulse in a long gamaka because the loudness diminishes as the gamaka progresses. Combining this observation with the above observations upon these gamakas, we can conclude that the listener must experience great difficulty in discerning and predicting their temporal organisation, though possibly not quite so much difficulty
as he experiences during most of the long *gamakes* in the preceding *alapana* proper. Abandonment of temporal prediction during these *gamakes* can thus be viewed as a rational response by the listener.

The melodic motif comprising four notes (viz. perfect 5th, perfect 4th, major 3rd and perfect 4th) which first appears immediately before the second long *gamaka* (i.e. just before 6 seconds) in figure 6 frequently occurs in this location throughout figures 6 and 7. There are several examples, however, of a long *gamaka* not preceded by this motif and of the motif not followed by a long *gamaka*. There is thus a high probability, but no absolute certainty, that the motif will be followed by a long *gamaka*. It seems likely that the indigenous listener quickly discerns this high probability relationship and thereby recognises the motif as a cue which indicates that a long *gamaka* is very likely to follow.

Moreover, it seems likely that, once the relationship between the cue motif and that which it signals as immanent is established in the memory of the listener, only the first part of the cue is required for this purpose, the remainder being redundant. It might be argued that this happens at 63 seconds in figure 6 and at 93 seconds in figure 7. Such employment of a 'refrain' and 'truncated refrain' is typical of *alapana* proper and *tanam* sections.
To summarise the argument of section (c),(iv) of this chapter: I have compared all of the musical contexts in alapana proper and tanam in which indigenous listeners enact ecstatic gestures. All of these contexts have in common the element of extreme difficulty or impossibility for the listener in discerning and predicting the timing—a situation to which the non-prediction of the timing and its gestural analogue (viz. irregular, circular movements) can be regarded as a rational response.

\(\text{(c), (v) Tension and its Release}\)

In sections (c), (ii) to (c), (iv) of this chapter, I have considered all of the musical contexts in which indigenous listeners enact the ecstatic gestures. My findings are that, in all of these musical contexts, the listener experiences difficulty in predicting the timing of musical events and that the irregular, circular body movements may be viewed as evidence that the listener has temporarily abandoned temporal prediction.

However, when I discussed with Doreswamy the listeners' ecstatic gestures, he regarded them as (i) indicating that the listener has 'lost the tala' (i.e. is no longer able to mark the strong beats of a repeated metric pattern); and (ii) indicating the release of the 'tension' that has been built up in the listener by means of the patterning of preceding musical events: (from my field notes)
"The artist tries to build up to a climax and resolve back to the normal tempo. The audience attains a state of tension while the climax is being worked up to. They feel comfortable and relieved when the resolution takes place. In compositions, these patterns of climax and resolution have already been framed. But, in alapana, the artist has to cautiously do this, so as to create the desired effect and impression on the audience. If there is no resolution after the climax, the audience will not be able to experience the desired effect."

In terms of the argument developed in this chapter, it could be argued that such 'tension' is causally related to the difficulty of temporal prediction. This might explain the enactment of the ecstatic gestures in alapana proper and tanam, but neither in sangati patterns nor in the mridanga solo would it be adequate.

It is difficult to correlate observed behaviour with internal states such as 'tension' and 'relaxation'. However, the sudden transition between the two states (viz. release of tension) often corresponds with involuntary motor responses which are observable: e.g. the exhalation of breath, dropping the shoulders, slackening the jaw. From my observations of the behaviour of indigenous listeners, these motor responses are most evident in musical contexts in which the musical element which elicits the ecstatic gestures is cued (i.e. in the mridanga solo, the sangati pattern and when a long gamaka in alapana proper or tanam is preceded by a cue motif). This can be regarded as consistent with the basic
assertions in Doreswamy's above statement: viz. (i) that 'tension' is related to musical climax and (ii) that alapana is in some way different. Concerning (i), in the mridangam solo and the sangati pattern the musical element which elicits the ecstatic response is cued by the build-up of a musical climax. Concerning (ii), in alapana proper and tanam the 'cue element' is not a musical climax; it is a particular melodic motif.

In considering why the motor responses which indicate release of tension should be most evident when the musical element which elicits the ecstatic gestures is cued, an explanation is possible if we follow Meyer ('Emotion and Meaning in Music', Chicago, 1956) in regarding such 'tension' as 'suspense':

"Suspense is essentially a product of ignorance as to the future course of events...From the outset ignorance arouses strong mental tendencies towards clarification which are immediately effective...The longer doubt and uncertainty persist, the greater the feeling of suspense will tend to be...The greater the buildup of suspense, the greater the emotional release upon resolution." (op.cit., Pp. 27-8)

In terms of Meyer's ideas, we can regard the 'cue element' as arousing particular expectations in the listener as to the future course of musical events: viz. that the 'ecstatic element' will appear. The longer the delay between the recognition of the cue and the appearance of the 'ecstatic element', in the mridangam solo and the sangati pattern, the longer doubt and uncertainty persist
concerning when the 'ecstatic element' will appear and the greater the buildup of suspense in the listener. In alapana proper and tanam, there is additionally the doubt and uncertainty as to whether the 'ecstatic element' (i.e. a long gamaka) which usually follows the cue motif will, in any particular instance, appear. Since a sangati pattern often lacks a resolving line (i.e. is followed by another sangati pattern), we can conceive of such doubt and uncertainty as to whether or not the 'ecstatic element' (i.e. the resolving line) will appear as also being present in the case of sangati patterns. The 'ecstatic element' thus constitutes the 'resolution' (in both Meyer and Doreswamy's terminology) which ends doubt and uncertainty and thereby releases the built-up suspense, or 'tension'.

In terms of this interpretation, the two aspects of the ecstatic gestures which Doreswamy recognised (viz. indicating the losing of the tala and indicating the release of tension) have a common origin (viz. the listener's expectations concerning the future course of musical events). In the one case, the listener has certain short-term expectations concerning the metric-rhythmic organisation of musical events (viz. that the timing of the next few musical events will or will not be predictable). In the other case, the listener has certain longer-term expectations concerning the form of the musical item: viz. when the metric-rhythmic organisation will enable prediction of the timing of musical events (i.e. before
the 'cue element' appears) and when it will not (i.e. at some point after the appearance of the 'cue element').

I have employed Meyer's ideas - which he has developed as an interpretation of the rationale of Western art music - to clarify these aspects of Carnatic music. The assumption that all of the ideas contained in Meyer's book (op. cit.) are applicable to Carnatic music would, however, be misleading. He regards the 'intellectual aesthetic response' (i.e. 'ganam' in South Indian theory) as simply feeling or 'affect', which he defines as 'emotion-felt', (i.e. 'bhava' in South Indian theory) raised to the level of consciousness:

"some listeners, whether because of training or natural psychological inclination, are disposed to rationalize their responses, to make experience self-conscious; others are not so disposed. If intellectual activity is allowed to remain unconscious, then the mental tensions and the deliberations involved when a tendency is inhibited are experienced as feeling or affect rather than as conscious cognition." (ibid., P.31)

In South Indian aesthetic theory, the 'emotional component' (bhava) may be defined as 'what the raga does to the listener' whilst the 'intellectual-aesthetic component' (ganam) may be defined as 'the listener's response to what the performers do with the raga' (viz. construct musical forms).

Whilst the probability of occurrence of formal elements, delay in the fulfilment of expectations and
suspense in the listener are interrelated variables in both Carnatic and Western art music, these features are related to other areas of musical experience in different ways in the two musical traditions. We therefore cannot expect all of Meyer's ideas to be applicable to Carnatic music.

(d) Conclusions

In section (b) of this chapter, I examined a set of indigenous beliefs concerning the operation of music as sadhana of the 'purification' type. I concluded that these beliefs evidence the listener's 'programmatic' interpretation of musical patterns and musically-induced experiences as experiences in sadhana. In section (c) of this chapter, I examined these musically-induced experiences and concluded that they amount to the listener's rational response to a musical situation (viz. the difficulty of predicting the timing of musical events).

In conceptualising the relationship between these two sets of conclusions, it is useful to adopt Meyer's distinction between 'referential' and 'absolute' meaning in music. Meyer defines 'referential' meanings as "meanings which in some way refer to the extramusical world of concepts, actions, emotional states and character" (op. cit., P. 1). He distinguishes three types of referential meaning: viz.
(1) "Image processes": "music may give rise to images and trains of thought which, because of their relation to the inner life of the particular individual, may eventually culminate in affect". (ibid., p. 258);

(2) "Connotations": "those associations which are shared in common by a group of individuals within the culture. Connotations are the result of the associations made between some aspect of the musical organisation and extramusical experience." (ibid., p. 258); and

(3) "Moods": "the listener may become aware of how the musical passage 'feels' in relation to his own designative emotional experiences and the observed behaviour of others...music depicts those modes of behaviour, conventionalized for the sake of more efficient communication, which were called 'designative emotional behaviour'...just as communicative behaviour tends to become conventionalized for the sake of more efficient communication, so the musical communication of moods and sentiments tends to become standardized. Thus particular musical devices...become formulae which indicate a culturally codified mood or sentiment...a mood arouses image processes already associated in the experience of the individual with the particular mood response, and these image processes are the stimuli which actually give rise to affect." (ibid., pp. 266-9)

Meyer's definition of 'image process' corresponds with the aspect of musical experience termed 'raga varna' in South Indian aesthetic theory. His definition of 'mood' corresponds with 'raga rasa' and his analysis of the mechanisms underlying the communication of mood in music (ibid., p. 258) arrives at similar conclusions to those of chapter 4, section (c) of this thesis (in particular: "because moods and sentiments attain their most precise articulation through vocal inflection, it is possible for music to imitate the sounds of emotional behaviour with some precision" -ibid.; c.f. my suggestion of correspondences between the communication of emotional states in speech intonation in the Dravidian languages and in raga rasa).
Furthermore, Meyer regards moods as giving rise to 'affect' (i.e. 'emotion-felt') through the medium of image processes: these two types of musical meaning are conceived as interrelated in their operation. Similarly, in South Indian aesthetic theory, *raga varna* and *raga rasa* are together classified as *raga bhava* and whilst *vidvans* are, in certain contexts, precise in drawing a distinction between the two, *rasikas* tend not to make this distinction when discussing their experiences of listening to *ragas*.

The type of referential meaning discussed in this chapter clearly corresponds with Meyer's definition of 'connotation'. In his analysis of the mechanisms underlying the communication of extramusical connotations, he concludes:

"Once the beliefs of a culture are understood, most associations appear to possess a certain naturalness because the experiences associated are in some sense similar. No matter how natural a connotation may seem to be, it undoubtedly acquires force and immediacy through cultural experience." (ibid., p. 262-3)

Meyer defines 'absolute meaning' as:

"meaning (which) lies exclusively within the context of the work itself, in the perception of the relationships set forth within the musical work." (ibid., p. 1)

His analysis of the mechanisms underlying the communication of absolute meaning is most succinctly expressed in
the statement: "one musical event...has meaning because it points to and makes us expect another musical event." (ibid., P.35).

Applying Meyer's set of terms and concepts to the *ganam* aspect of musical experience, we can state:

(i) Unilinear body movements evidence the assignment of absolute meaning (in metric-rhythmic terms) to musical stimuli; the ecstatic gestures evidence the abandonment of such assignment of absolute meaning.

(ii) The ecstatic gestures are enacted (a) during periods of 'melodic silence' when the *tambura* alone is heard and (b) in other melodic contexts which are collectively referred to by *rasikas* as "when the highest pitches are reached".

(iii) The listener assigns to his ecstatic response pattern the extramusical connotations of the experiences of the 'realised state' in the *lava* and *jnana* forms of *sadhana*.

(iv) Such assignment of extramusical connotations is reinforced by similarities between the form of the musical organisation or experience eliciting the ecstatic response pattern and the form of the associated extramusical experience. These are (a) that the employment of the drone instrument within a musical performance to supply a fixed point of reference in the *pitch* continuum corresponds with the conception of the 'real self' in *jnana yoga*.
as that aspect of consciousness which does not vary through
time; (b) that the region of the 'highest pitches' in a
musical section always corresponds with or immediately
precedes the appearance of the musical element which
elicits the ecstatic response pattern - this corresponds
with the conception of the 'real self' in **lava yoga** as
experienced when the sensation of **Sakti-kundalini** reaches
the highest point in the spino-cerebral axis of the pract¬
titioner; and, it would appear, (c) that the listener's
abandonment of concentration upon the timing - i.e. the
alternation in time between dualistically-conceived
musical elements (such as: pulse stimuli and the intervals
between them; strong and weak beats; and accented and
unaccented notes) - corresponds with the 'transcendence'
('of dualities') aspect of the 'realised state' (discussed
in chapter 2, section (e),(i)).

Whilst none of my informants directly associated the
enactment of the ecstatic gestures with the 'transcendence'
aspect of **sadhana**, such a similarity between the two
experiences is evident from the observations upon the
**ganam** aspect of musical experience made in this chapter.
Correspondences (a) and (b) above are consciously artic¬
ulated by informants and referred to in Tyagaraja's song-
texts. **Vidvans** and **rasikas** refer to these correspondences
as 'mysteries'. The use of such a term when discussing
(in English) these perceived similarities would appear
to suggest an indigenous viewpoint that recognises the
existence of similarities without necessarily specifying
what they are. To what extent vidvans and rasikes recognise correspondence (c) above should be examined in detail through further fieldwork. It is, however, conceivable that different individuals are to different extents aware of this correspondence.

In terms of my argument in chapter 1, section (c), (1), the ganam aspect of musical experience supplies the function in respect of individuals of 'equilibration' - thereby counterbalancing the undesired effects upon the individual of life in society. From the discussion of ganam in this chapter, this is obviously the case in the sense that the listener associates the experiences evidenced by the ecstatic gestures with the experiences of the 'realised state' which themselves supply such equilibration since they comprise experiences unmediated by thought (as I observed in chapter 2, section (e), (iii)).

The same 'equilibration' function appears, however, to be supplied through the mechanism of absolute musical meaning. The patterning of musical stimuli elicits the learned response patterns of prediction followed by non-prediction of the timing of musical events. The ecstatic response pattern evidences a state in which musical experience is unmediated by the thought-processes of formulating and testing predictions concerning the timing. In relation to the response pattern of marking a repeated pattern of strong beats, the ecstatic response pattern can thus be characterised as 'unmediated by thought'. It can
therefore be viewed as counterbalancing thought which is, in intellectual-aesthetic terms, the undesired effect upon the individual of life in society (as conceived in both Dvaita and Advaita Vedanta).

Throughout my discussion of _ganam_, I have considered only the terminology and concepts employed by informants in Mysore - particularly R.N. Doreswamy. Sambamoorthy ('A Dictionary of South Indian Music and Musicians', Vol. 2, Madras, 1959, Pp. 176-7) employs a slightly different terminology. From his very general exposition of the underlying concepts, however, they appear to be identical to those employed by my Mysore informants. I discussed Sambamoorthy's terminology with Doreswamy before leaving Mysore.

Sambamoorthy explains _ganam_ as:

"music performed; includes vocal music and music of stringed and wind instruments like the Vina and Venu (flute)." (ibid., P. 176)

Doreswamy said that this is a definition of _sangita_ - the music which elicits the _ganam_ response from the listener. That Doreswamy meant by _ganam_ - viz. the response pattern peculiar to _sangita_ - is termed _gana rasa_ by Sambamoorthy, although he clearly distinguishes _gana rasa_ from _rasa rasa_ and refers to the latter as _nava rases_ (i.e. the 'nine rases' discussed in chapter 4, section (c), (i):
"In addition to the \textit{nava rasa}s, \textit{Sringara}, \textit{Heaya}, \textit{Karuna}, \textit{Raudra}, \textit{Vira}, \textit{Bhayanaka}, \textit{Abhuta} and \textit{Santa}, there is such a thing as \textit{Gana rasa}, which is the exclusive domain of music. \textit{Gana rasa} is pure aesthetic pleasure experienced by listening to a performance of music." (ibid., P.175)

Doreswamy insisted that Sambamoorthy's terminology is wrong. It should, however, be noted that \textit{ganam}, or \textit{gana rasa}, is very rarely mentioned and never discussed in detail in the literature on South Indian music. I mentioned this to Doreswamy and he explained that the details of this topic are passed on from guru to disciple. He regarded this as appropriate since, he said, the eliciting of the \textit{ganam} response is an artistic skill which only the guru can teach and not a subject upon which 'rules' can be written and published in books. It is understandable that different guru-disciple 'lineages' should employ different terminologies in the absence of any terminology standardised by published literature on the subject. I mention Sambamoorthy's terminology simply to enable the reader to relate my discussion of \textit{ganam} to the available literature on the subject.
(a) Conclusion

In this thesis, I have examined the motivations and rewards felt by persons who participate in performances of devotional music in Mysore. These motivations and rewards are expressed in terms of indigenously-conceived similarities between musical experiences and experiences in sadhans. A detailed study of the theory and practice of sadhans, of song-texts, of musical practice, of the observed behaviour of the listeners and of statements made by participants reveals that these motivations and rewards may be defined, in Kluckhohn's (op.cit.) terminology, as the capacity of the music to "promote the maintenance of their equilibrium on the part of individuals". My conclusion is that devotional music adapts the individual to cope more successfully with his own reactions to life in society.

(b) Summary of the argument

In illustrating this conclusion, I have examined in detail the relationship between South Indian aesthetic theory and the musical behaviour and experiences to which it refers. In chapter 2, I outlined the set of religio-philosophical ideas and meditational practices in terms of which this aesthetic theory is expressed. The aesthetic theory conceives of the experience of devotional music
in terms of three components: *sahitya bhava*, *raga bhava* and *ganam*.

(b), (i): *Sahitya bhava*

The aesthetic theory specifies that the experience of the literary themes of devotional compositions leads the individual towards the experience of the Supreme God. In chapter 3, I examined this conception of *sahitya bhava*. The song-texts express the suffering of the devotee in the absence of the God and contain descriptions of the God revealing Himself. These literary themes are conceived as evoking in the listener an emotional state called *bhakti-karuna*. *Bhakti* is devotion towards the God; *karuna* is pathos and compassion evoked by contemplation of the misery (*duhkha*) induced in the individual by life in society in the absence of the God. *Karuna* thus motivates the listener to experience the Supreme God whilst the cultivation of the sentiment of *bhakti* is regarded, in the *bhakti* systems of philosophy, as the only means of influencing the God to reveal Himself.

The devotee's emotions are channeled into a relationship with the Supreme God which is characterised by (a) the dependence of the devotee upon the Supreme God and (b) giving of oneself to the Supreme God with no consideration of His reciprocating. In considering the relationship between this component of the aesthetic theory and the experiences of the listener, it appears that the
relationship with the Supreme God is regarded by the listener as an appropriate channel for emotions which can not be experienced or expressed in society 'as it really is'. The relationship with the Supreme God appears to supply an adaptive mechanism whereby the experience and expression of these emotions, which are important for the maintenance of the equilibrium of the individual, can take place. The thematic content of the song-texts can thus be viewed as arousing and channeling emotions in the listener which can not easily find an outlet in everyday life in society and thereby adapting the individual to such everyday life.

(b), (ii) Raga bhava

The aesthetic theory specifies that the experience of the raga supplies the listener with a 'taste' (rasa) of the emotional states of desire for and/or experience of the Supreme God. Following Meyer (see chapter 5, section (d)), I have termed this the communication of 'moods' by musical means and have classified this feature as an aspect of the 'referential meaning' of devotional music.

Although I am unable, at this stage, to specify all of the 'formulae which indicate a culturally codified mood or sentiment' (in Meyer's terms) involved in such communication of different rásás, in chapter 4 I was able to specify differences between musical formulae which communicate the distinction between the emotional states
of absence (bhakti-karuna) and presence ('lighter' rasa) of the Supreme God.

Following Meyer's argument (see chapter 5, section (d)), we can only regard such musical formulae as communicating moods to the listener and not as themselves giving rise to emotional states in the listener. The communication of moods gives rise to such emotional states through the intermediary mechanism of what Meyer terms 'image processes'.

We can conceive of image processes as operating in two distinct ways in devotional music. Firstly, the listener specifies the communicated mood, on the basis of his stock of knowledge of the thematic content of the song-texts in general, as an emotional state experienced in sadhana. Image-processes associated with song-texts are thereby brought into operation. Secondly, the listener recognises the melodic formulae employed in a piece of devotional music as constituting a performance of a particular raga. Image-processes associated with previous performances of this raga are thereby brought into operation - this aspect of musical experience is termed raga varna in South Indian aesthetic theory.

The song-texts themselves arouse and channel emotions which the listener can rarely experience or express outside of the performance context whilst the image processes associated with previous performances of the raga recall such emotions experienced in past performance contexts.
Together, song-text and raga supply an adaptive cultural mechanism whereby such emotions can be channeled.

(b) (iii): Gamen

The aesthetic theory specifies that the experience of the form of gangita performances is similar to the experience of the attainment of the 'realised' state in the_jnana and laya forms of sadhana. In chapter 3, section (e), (i), I observed that the latter experience is indigenously characterised as 'purification' (viz. experience of the 'real self') and 'transcendence' (of the 'dualities of thought').

In chapter 5, I examined the_gamen experience in terms of the observable responses of the listener, which are indigenously conceived as evidencing the experiencing of_gamen, to musical organisation. I concluded that the listener's behaviour is explainable in terms of his rational response to a feature of musical organisation: viz. the abandonment of prediction of the timing of musical events when such prediction becomes difficult. I argued that the listener supplies experiences in_sadhana as extramusical connotations of this response to musical organisation. The listener supplies such connotations from his stock of knowledge of the song-texts in general, which express these associations.

The extramusical associations are reinforced by...
correspondences between the form of the musical organisation or experience eliciting the ganam response and the form of the extramusical connotation. These correspondences are:

(a) between the drone instrument supplying the fixed point of reference in the pitch continuum and the 'real self' supplying the fixed aspect of consciousness of self in the jnana form of sadhana;

(b) between the region of the 'highest pitches' in a musical section and the experience of the 'real self' attained when psycho-physiological sensations reach the highest point in the spino-cerebral axis of the practitioner in the lava form of sadhana; and

(c) between abandonment of temporal prediction in music and the 'transcendence of the dualities of thought' which is a feature of all forms of sadhana.

In the indigenous rationalisation of sadhana, the identification of the notion of self with thought-processes (i.e. the 'dualities of thought') is conceived as the undesired effect upon the individual of life in society. Transcendence of thought-processes is therefore prescribed as the means of avoiding this undesired effect. Translated into Kluckhohn's terms, it is the dissociation of the notion of self from thought-processes which promotes the "maintenance of their equilibrium on the part of individuals".
From the conclusions of my discussion of *gana*, it appears that, by means of the combination of absolute and referential musical meanings in *sangita*, the listener is enabled to carry out such a dissociation of the notion of self from thought-processes within the musical performance. It is not simply the case that musical experience constitutes an analogue of such dissociation. Rather, because musical experience constitutes an analogue of such dissociation and is invested by the listener with referential meanings concerning the experience of self, such manipulation of the listener's notion of self within the musical performance is rendered possible.

In chapter 1, section (a), I argued that, from a survey of anthropological literature on the subject of ritual, the view emerges that ritual is a social institution which contributes to the maintenance of the equilibrium of individuals by inducing in them a temporary conceptualisation of reality which is the logical antithesis, or reversal, of the 'everyday' conceptualisation based upon thought. In terms of this view, *sangita* constitutes a form of ritual activity. *Sangita* thus constitutes ritual activity not only in the sense that its literary content refers to supernatural beings or powers but also in the sense that its purely musical content enables such manipulation of the listener's conceptualisation of reality.

Precisely why the adaption of the individual to the conditions of life in society should necessitate such
dissociation of the notion of self from thought-processes is a question which is beyond the scope of this thesis and is possibly best answered from the viewpoint of psychology. In chapter 1, section (a) and in chapter 2, section (e), (ii), I argued that this phenomenon is not peculiar to southern Indian society. It appears to have a wider distribution, so that an explanation in universal-human, rather than in particular-societal, terms may be appropriate. Since it might be argued that a monograph produced within an academic discipline should point towards areas of enquiry for other academic disciplines, I end this monograph with two types of answer to the above question which may be relevant.

Firstly, it might be argued that the close identification of the individual's notion of self with his thought-processes entails two problems for the individual.

(a) The individual's notion of self, or 'self-image', is subject to change brought about by changes in thought-processes. Since the latter changes are influenced by events in social life, close identification of the notion of self with thought-processes renders the individual's notion of self vulnerable to the vicissitudes of social life.

(b) In order to avoid problem (a), the individual may evolve rigid thought-processes in order to preserve a satisfactory notion of self. However, it may be argued
that the vicissitudes of social life necessitate flexible thought-processes in order that the individual may cope with changes in his circumstances. The preservation of a satisfactory notion of self by these means may thus reduce the individual's ability to cope with such changes - i.e. his efficiency in formulating and implementing strategies for survival.

In terms of these arguments, the dissociation of the notion of self from thought-processes both assists in the preservation of a satisfactory notion of self and increases the prospects of survival for the individual and his/her dependents.

Secondly, an answer may be possible in terms of Aldous Huxley's conception of the nature of consciousness-alteration by means of what he terms 'spiritual exercises' ('The Doors of Perception', Harmondsworth, 1959, Pp. 21-2). From the proposition that "the function of the brain and nervous system and sense organs is in the main ELIMINATIVE and not productive", he argues (a) that such reduction of sensory perception is causally related to survival and (b) that languages and systems of thought encode such a reduced awareness of sensory stimuli. In terms of these ideas, it might be argued that the perceptual frameworks (viz. raga and tala) which the listener imposes upon musical stimuli entail his reduced perception of these musical stimuli. By inducing the listener to abandon these perceptual frameworks, it could be argued that sangita
brings about an increase in the quantity of musical stimuli perceived by the listener during such periods of abandonment. Such an argument might explain why the performer departs from the set of sanchara pravogas during performances of a raga (see chapter 4, section (b)) as well as the ganam experience. Both features of sangita might be explainable in terms of the desired associated increased awareness of sensory stimuli on the part of the listener. Such an argument is possibly justified by the conception of the Brahman as infinite and thought-processes as limiting in the indigenous rationalisation of sadhana.
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GLOSSARY

It has not been practical to employ diacritical marks in the main text of this thesis. Indian words used in the main text are therefore transliterated in their most common non-diacritic form (as dictated by informants or employed in relevant literature).

Most of the Indian terms employed in this thesis are of Sanskrit origin. Where the term is a Sanskrit word, I have indicated this in the glossary by "Sk". Where there is reasonable certainty that the term is derived from a Sanskrit word, I have indicated this by "cf Sk". The absence of these prefixes indicates a Kannada or Telugu word.

The system of transliteration from Devanagari and Kannada scripts is explained in diagram (viii). Whilst Macdonell's system (op.cit., P.xii) usefully represents pronunciation, its use of italics and diacritical marks other than dots or lines renders it impossible to execute on a standard typewriter. I have therefore employed the National Integration Language Series system, which does not employ italics, and simplified the diacritical marks for the typewriter.

The meanings given in this glossary cover only the usages in this thesis.
Diagram (viii) System of transliteration employed in glossary

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acharya (Sk ṛccharya): teacher, title of the head of a monastery.

ācit (Sk ācit): lacking the attribute of consciousness

dabhuta (Sk abdhuta): wonder; physical thrill

Adikesava (Sk ādikesava): name of Visnu

ādi tala (Sk ādi tala): most common metre in South Indian music - comprising 4 + 2 + 2.

Advaita (Sk ādvaita): non-duality; philosophical system based upon this principle.

Agama (Sk āgama): text on laya yoga.

ājna chakra (Sk ājna cakra): part of the 'subtle' body, located on the level of the mid-forehead.

ājnana (Sk ājnana): ignorance

ākāsa (Sk ākāsa): the 'element' (bhūta) 'ether'.

ākliśta vṛtti (Sk ākliśta vṛtti): state of mind which leads towards bondage in the cycle of rebirths.

ākṣhara, ākṣhara-kāla (Sk ākṣhara-kāla): unit of time

ākṣhānti-kāla (Sk ākṣhānti-kāla): the introductory part of an ālānana proper

ālānana (Sk ālānana): improvised section, in a sāngīta item, which precedes the kriṭi.


ālānā svara (Sk ālānā svara): scale-degree in a rāga which is not prominent - i.e. on which nra-vṛttes do not start, rest or finish.

āṃśa svara (āṃśa svara): most prominent scale-degree in a South Indian rāga.

ānāhata cakra (Sk ānāhata cakra): part of the 'subtle' body, located on the level of the mid-chest.

ānanda (Sk ānanda): bliss, ecstasy.

ānāga (Sk ānāga): constituent unit of a tala.

ānīṣṭha (Sk ānīṣṭha): undesirable, displeasing.

āntaryāmin (Sk āntaryāmin): the inner guide

āṇu-drute (Sk āṇu-drute): constituent unit of a tala comprising, at fast tempo, one ākṣhara.
| **anupallavi** (Sk anupallavi): | the second section of a kriti. |
| **Anuvyakhyana** (Sk anuvyakhyana): | philosophical text by Madhva. |
| **an** (Sk an): | the 'element' (bhuta) 'water'. |
| **aparoksa** (Sk aparoksa): | situation of the Supreme God revealing Himself to His devotee. |
| **anavarga** (Sk anavarga): | liberation; eternal existence in the presence of Hari. |
| **arcana** (Sk arcana): | form of devotion consisting in adoration of Krishna. |
| **archana** (Sk archana): | pattern of notes ascending from shadja to its octave which, together with its avarchana, characterises a particular raga. |
| **asana** (Sk asana): | posture, seat. |
| **saahram** (Sk saahram): | hermitage, 'retreat' for the pursuit of sachana. |
| **asatika** (Sk asatika): | accepting the authority of the Vedas. |
| **asuddha** (Sk asuddha): | impure, unclean |
| **aswa tanam** (Sk aswa tanam): | the tempo for tanam which is faster than gaaja tanam but slower than mandooka tanam. |
| **ata tala** (ata tala): | metre comprising 5 + 5 + 2 + 2. |
| **Atharva Veda** (Sk atharva-veda): | the fourth Veda. |
| **Atmabodham** (Sk atmabodha): | philosophical text of the Advaita school, attributed to Sankara. |
| **atman** (Sk atman): | notion or experience of 'real self'. |
| **atmanivedana** (Sk atma-nivedana): | form of devotion consisting in complete submersion in Krisna. |
| **avarchana** (avarchana): | pattern of notes descending from the octave of shadja to shadja which, together with its archana, characterises a particular raga. |
| **avarta** (Sk avarta): | complete cycle or measure of a tala. |
| **avatar** (Sk avatar): | incarnation (of a deity). |
| **avidya** (Sk avidya): | ignorance (of the 'real self'). |
Avyaktha (Sk avyakta): Universal Soul; Advaita conception of the Brahman.

Badarayana (Sk badarayana): author of the Vedanta-sutras.


Baul (baul): mendicant singer of devotional songs in Bengali language.

Bhagavad Gita (Sk bhagavad-gita): poem, in which Krisna explains bhakti yoga, forming an episode in the Mahabharata.

Bhagavan (Sk bhagavan): worshipful (as a term of address).

Bhagavata Purana (Sk bhagavata-purana): philosophical text of the bhakti schools.

bhejana (Sk bhejana): adoration, worship.

bhakta (Sk bhakta): devotee

bhakti (Sk bhakti): devotion

bhakti-karuna (Sk bhakti-karuna): devotion, pathos/compassion.

bhakti yoga (Sk bhakti-yoga): devotional form of sadhana.

bharata natya (Sk bharata natya): dance/mime performed to sangeita accompaniment.

bhashanga svara (Sk bhashanga svara): note employed in a raga which is not contained in the melakarta to which the raga is assigned.

bhava (Sk bhava): feeling, emotion, sentiment

bhayanaka (Sk bhayanaka): horror, fear, dread.

bhoga (Sk bhoga): enjoyment.

bhumatva (of Sk bhuhu): abundance, infinitude.

bhuta (Sk bhuta): 'element', in Samkhya physics.

bhutasuddhi (Sk bhuta-suddhi): the technique of absorption of the elements, employed in laya yoga.

bibhatsa (Sk bibhatsa): revulsion, abhorrence, disgust.

bija mantra (Sk bija-mantra): type of mantra consisting in one syllable with nasalised vowel.

bindu (Sk bindu): (specifically) the diacritical mark indicating nasalisation in Indian scripts; (in general) any diacritical mark.
bodha (Sk bodha): consciousness.
Brahma (Sk brahma): name of a deity.
Brahman (Sk brahman): entity discussed in the Upanisads; interpreted in later philosophical texts as 'Supreme Being' or 'Supreme Impersonal Spirit'.
Brahman (Sk brahman): the priestly caste in Indian society.
Brahmanas (Sk brahmana): philosophical texts which debate the significance of the Vedas for the purposes of sacrifices.
Brahma-sutra-bhasya, B.S.B. (Sk brahma-sutra-bhasya): philosophical text by Madhva in the form of a commentary upon the Brahmasutras.
Brahma-sutras (Sk brahma-sutra): Vedanta-sutras - philosophical text by Badarayana which summarises the general views of the main Upanisads.
buddhi (Sk buddhi): consciousness of the self as manifested through thought-processes.
caitanya (Sk caitanya): consciousness.
Caitanya (Sk caitanya): 15th century A.D. Bengali saint.
calan (Sk calana): (in Powers' usage) the 'contours' of a (North Indian) raga.
Carnatic (music) (Sk karnataka sangita): pertaining to sangita.
Carvaka (Sk carvaka): philosophical system which denies the authority of the Vedas.
chakre (Sk cakra): discus; part of the 'subtle' body employed in laya raga.
charana (Sk carana): verse; name of the final section of a kriti.
chaya (Sk chāyā): (in Powers' usage) the 'image' of a (North Indian) raga.
chitta svara (chitta svara): ornamental passage added to a kriti - by the original or a later composer.
cit (Sk cit): consciousness.
citta (Sk citta): consciousness of the self as manifested through thought-processes.
crore (cf Sk koti): ten million.
dandi (Sk danda): arm, of a lute (vina).

darsana (Sk darsana): philosophical system.

Dasakuta (Sk dasa-kuta): Haridases who lived as mendicant singers.

dasya (Sk dasya): form of devotion towards Krisna consisting in the attitude of a servant towards his master.

dasya raga (Sk dasya raga): raga of 'folk' origin - i.e. adapted to raga music from music which is not conceived in terms of ragas.

deva, devata (Sk deva, devata): deity.

Devanagari (Sk devanagari): standardised Sanskrit script based upon Hindi script.

Devara Dasimayya (devara dasimayya): 10th century A.D. composer of vachanas.

devaranama (Sk devara-nama): kirtana composition of the Haridasa school.

devi (Sk devi): goddess.

Devi bhakti (Sk devi bhakti): worship of Siva's consort.

dha (Sk dhaivata): abbreviation of dhaivata - the 6th scale-degree.

dharma (Sk dharma): duty, correct conduct.

dhatu (Sk dhatu): purely musical aspect of a devotional composition.

dhruva tala (dhruva tala): metre comprising 4 + 2 + 4 + 4.

dhvani (Sk dhvani): sound.

dhyana (Sk dhyana): meditation.

Dravidian (Sk dravida): language-group comprising Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil.

drata (Sk druta): constituent unit of a tala comprising, at fast tempo, 2 aksharas.

druta kala (Sk druta kala): fast tempo.

duhkha (Sk duhkha): misery, suffering.

Dvaita (Sk dvaita): duality; philosophical system which posits the separateness of the self and the Supreme God.
ekadasi (Sk ekādasi): eleventh; eleventh day of the moon, on which Visnu is worshipped.

eka tala (Sk eka tāla): metre comprising 4.

ekatar (Sk ekātāra): single-string lute.

ettugadai svara (ettugadai svara): unreported part in the final section of a varna composition.

ga (Sk gandhara): abbreviation of gandhara - the 3rd scale-degree.

ga.ia tanam (Sk ga.ia tanam): the slowest tempo for tanam.

gamaka (gamaka): continuous pitch movement.

gamaka sruti (gamaka śruti): interval formed with the drone-tonic which is only employed in gamakas.

gamaka svara (gamaka svara): scale-degree in a raga which is rendered as a continuous pitch movement.

ganapati (gaṇapati): name of the elephant-faced deity Ganesha, son of Siva.

gana rasa (Sk gana rasa): (in Sambamoorthy's terminology) gana.

gana sabha (Sk gana sabha): concert society.

Gaudapada (Sk gaudapada): author of Mandukyakarika.

Gayatri mantra (Sk gaṇatvī mantra): verse in Rg Veda lll, lxii, 10 - employed in the sandhya rite.

ghatam (ghatam): large clay pot employed as a percussion instrument in sanṣīta.

gopi (Sk gopi): cowherdess.

Govinda (Sk govinda): disciple of Gaudapada and guru of Sankara.

guna (Sk gūna): fundamental constituent of matter.

guru (Sk guru): teacher.

Hanuman (Sk hanumat): monkey-faced deity, ally of Rama in the Ramayana.

Hari (Sk hari): name of Visnu-Kśiṇa.
Haridasa (Sk hari-desa): servant of Hari - singer-saint expounding Madhva's philosophy.

Harijan (Sk hari-jaṇāya): 'unclean' or 'outcaste' groups at the bottom of the caste hierarchy.

hasya (Sk hasya): fun.

hatha yoga (Sk ḥaṭha-yoga): physical discipline of meditation.

ida nadi (Sk ida nādi): canal leading from the right nostril to the base of the spine - recognised in laya yoga theory.

Indra (Sk indra): chief of the Vedic gods.

ista (Sk īsta): desirable.

Isvara (Sk īśvara): ruler, Supreme God.

Isvara Krisna (Sk īśvara kṛṣṇa): author of Samkhyakarika.

jade (Sk jāda): inert, inanimate.

Jaimini (Sk jaimini): author of Mimamsa-sutra.

jānaga (Sk jān-ga): priest of the Lingayat sect.

japa (Sk jāpa): murmured prayer.

jati (jāti): syllable onomatopoeically denoting a mridangam stroke.

jatisvāra (jātiśvāra): compositional type employed in bharata nātyam accompaniment.

jhenna tala (jhampa tāla): metre comprising 7 + 1 + 2.

jīva (Sk jīva): 'soul' - that aspect of consciousness which endures through the cycle of rebirths.

jivāksharam (Sk jivākśhara): bija syllable of a mantra.

jīvanmukti (Sk jīvanmukti): state of 'liberation' during embodied life.

jīva svāra (Sk jīva svāra): (specifically) a scale-degree of a raga upon which melodic phrases may start or rest; (in general) a scale-degree of a raga upon which melodic phrases may start, rest or finish.

jñāna (Sk jñāna): knowledge, true or superior knowledge.

jñāna yoga (Sk jñāna yoga): mental discipline of meditation.
kala (Sk kāla): tempo.

calpana svara (Sk kalpana svara): improvised section which follows a kriti.

Kama (Sk kāma): name of a goddess, consort of Indra.

kampita gamaka (kampita gamaka): a gamaka involving pitch movements of approximately half of an even-tempered semitone.

kamya karma (Sk kamya karman): rite performed to secure enjoyment in subsequent lives.

Kanaka Dasa (Sk kanaka dāsa): 16th century A.D. composer of devanāmas.

Kapila (Sk kapila): mythical founder of the Samkhya system of philosophy.

karana ajnana (Sk karana ajnana): causal ignorance - source of the illusory consciousness of the universe of phenomena.

karma (Sk karman): rite; the (delayed) effect of this rite upon the fate of its performer.

karma yoga (Sk karma yoga): the quest for 'liberation' through the performance of Vedic rites.

karuna (Sk karuna): pathos, compassion.

kevala (Sk kevala): the 'realised' state in Yoga philosophy.

khande chāpu tāla (khande chāpu tāla): metre comprising 2 + 3.

kinnahra (Sk kinnara): celestial being; lute-like instrument described by Abbé Dubois.

kirtana (Sk kirtana): form of devotion consisting in singing the praises of Krisna; form of devotional composition.

kliṣta (Sk kliṣta): afflicted, wretched.

komal (Sk komala): 'flat', of lower pitch.

konugolu (konugolu): technique of playing the mridangam without imitating literary text.

Krisna (Sk kṛṣṇa): incarnation of Visnu.

kriti (Sk kṛti): compositional form peculiar to saṅgīta.

kundalini (Sk kundalini): (female) snake.
**laghu** (laghu): constituent unit of a *tala* comprising, at fast tempo, 3 or more *aksharas*.

Lakshmana (Sk lakṣmana): name of the younger brother of Rama.

Lakṣmi (Sk lakṣmi): consort of Visnu, goddess of prosperity and beauty.

**langhana svara** (Sk langhana svara): omitting a scale-degree in ascent then including it in descent immediately afterwards.

**laya** (Sk laya): absorption, dissolution.

**lava yoga** (Sk lava yoga): psycho-physiological discipline of meditation.

**lila** (Sk līla): play, childish exploit.

**lingam** (Sk linga): Siva's phallus (as an object of worship).

Lingayat (Sk lingayat): member of cult or caste-like group devoted to Siva.

**ma** (Sk madhyama): abbreviation of madhyama - the 4th scale-degree.

**madhura bhakti** (Sk madhura bhakti): love of the gopis - particularly Radha - for Krishna.

Madhva (Sk madhva): originator of the Dvaita Vedanta system of philosophy.

**madhya kāla** (Sk madhya kāla): medium tempo.

**madhya sthāyi** (Sk madhya sthāyi): middle octave.

Mahabharata (Sk mahābhārata): epic dealing with the wars of the Bharata kings.

Mahadeviyakka (mahadeviyakka): 13th century A.D. composer of vāchanas.

**makarini** (makarini): the climax of an *alapana* proper or *tanam* section.

**makuta** (Sk mukuta): ornate headdress.

**manas** (Sk manasa): mind, consciousness of the self as manifested through thought-processes.

**mandooka tanam** (Sk mandūka tanam): the tempo for *tanam* which is faster than *aswa tanam* but slower than *vidyut tanam*. 
Mandra athayi (Sk mandra athayi): lower octave.

Mandukyakarika (Sk mandukya-karika): Gaudapada’s commentary upon the Mandukya Upanisad; the earliest text of Advaita Vedanta.

Manipura chakra (Sk manipura cakra): part of the ‘subtle’ body, located on the level of the navel.

Mantra (Sk mantra): syllable, word or sentence regarded as efficacious in altering the self and/or the external world.

Mantra sastra (Sk mantra sastra): the science of mantra.

Mantra yoga (Sk mantra yoga): discipline of meditation employing mantras.

Mara (Sk mara): the god of love.

Maratha (maratha): caste-group of the kshatriya (‘warrior’) varna, dominant in many parts of western and southern India.

Math (Sk matha): monastery.

Mathya tala (Sk mathya tala): metre comprising 4 + 2 + 4.

Matu (of Sk mati): literary aspect of a devotional composition.

Maya (Sk maya): illusion.

Meettu (mettu): leather rim on the right-hand face of a mridangam.

Melakarta (melakarta): heptatonic parent-scale to which a raga is assigned.

Mimamsa (Sk mimamsa): school of philosophy which posits that the Vedas are the only valid source of knowledge.

Mimamsa-sutras (Sk mimamsa-sutra): philosophical text by Jaimini.

Miara charu tala (miara charu tala): metre comprising 3 + 4.

Moksa (Sk moksa): release or liberation from the cycle of rebirths.

Mridangam (Sk mridanga): double-sided barrel-drum employed in sangita.

Mudra (Sk mudra): signature, stamp.

Muktayi (muktayi): the ending of an alapana proper or tanam section.
mukti (Sk mukti): release or liberation from the cycle of rebirths.

muladhara chakra (Sk muladhara ekra): part of the 'subtle' body, located at the base of the spine.

murechana (Sk murchana): (in Powers' usage) the 'register' of a North Indian raga; (in Sambamoorthy's usage) a scale derived by modal shift of tonic from another scale or one of the ten types of ornamentation.

muruti (Sk murti): embodiment, idol.

Muthuswamy Diksitar (muthusvami diksitar): sangita composer (1776-1835).

Nada (Sk nada): vibration, sound, musical sound; nasal sound represented in Indian scripts by a semicircle.

nadi (Sk nadi): canal, river, vein, artery.

Nagaraja (Sk nagaraja): serpent-king - name of Siva.

Nagasvaram (Sk naga-svara): double-reed wind instrument.

Narada (Sk narada): mythical, celestial musician.

Narayana (Sk narayana): name of Vienu.

nastika (Sk nastika): rejecting the authority of the Vedas.

nattuvanur (nattuvanur): dance-master.

nava rasa (sk nava rasa): the 9 rasas of Hindu aesthetic theory.

ni (Sk nisada): abbreviation of nishada - the 7th scale-degree.

nirguna Brahman (Sk nirguna Brahman): the Brahman in its true form - viz. beyond attributes.

nirvikalpa-caitanya (Sk nirvikalpaka-caitanya): undifferentiated consciousness.

nitya-karma (Sk nitya-karman): necessary rite, failure to perform which results in bad fortune in subsequent lives.

Nyasa avara (Sk nyasa avara): scale-degree of a raga upon which melodic phrases may finish.

Nyaya (Sk nyaya): philosophical system consisting in rules of logic.
pa (Sk pācana): abbreviation of panchama - the 5th scale-degree.

nādasevāna (Sk nāda-sevāna): form of devotion consisting in touching the feet of (an idol of) Krisna.

pāllavī (of Sk pāllava): the first section of a kriti; refrain; melodic line employed as the basis of an improvised section.

Pāṇḍava (Sk pāṇḍava): descendents and allies of Pāndu, in the Mahābhārata.

Panduranga Vīthala (pandurāṅga vīthala): name of a god whose temple is situated in Pandharpur (southern Maharashtra), worshipped by the Haridasas.

pāpa kārma (Sk pāpa kārmaṇa): bad fortune, or stored-up retribution, to be suffered in subsequent lives.

Parabrahmaṇa (Sk para-brahmaṇa): the ultimate form of the Brahman in Advaita thought - viz. nirguṇa Brahman.

paratāntara (Sk paratāntara): dependent.

Pārvatī (Sk pārvatī): name of a goddess, consort of Śiva.

Pātanjali (Sk pātanjali): author of the Yoga-sūtras.

Patnam Subbrahmanya Ayyar (patnam subbrahmanya ayyar): sangita composer (1843-1903).

niṅgale nādi (Sk niṅgale nādi): canal leading from the left nostril to the base of the spine - recognised in āyava yoga theory.

Prakṣaṣatma (Sk prakṣaṣatma): philosopher of the Advaita Vedanta school.

prākṛti (Sk prākṛti): the root principle of matter.

pralāya (Sk pralāya): the state of dissolution of the universe.

praṇa (Sk praṇa): energy which sustains the body functions.

prāṇayāma (Sk prāṇayāma): suspension of breathing.

praṇāṇa (Sk praṇāṇa): the fivefold difference between the three classes of eternal entity, as conceived by Madhva.
prarabdha karma (Sk prarabdha karmā): karma which remains to be worked out after death.

prasada (Sk prasāda): grace, favour, help.

prasam (Sk prasā): rhyming second syllables of poetic lines.

pratika (Sk pratīka): symbol — signifying and leading towards that for which it stands.

pratime (Sk pratī madhyama): note forming an augmented 4th with the drone-tonic.

pravoga (Sk pravoga): (in South Indian usage) a melodic phrase; (in Powers' usage) the 'usages' or 'motifs' in North Indian ragas.

premabhakti (Sk premā-bhakti): devotion towards Visnu practised after release is guaranteed.

preman (Sk premān): love, affection.

prthivi (Sk prthivi): the 'element' (bhūta) 'earth'.

puja (Sk puja): worship

punya karmā (Sk punyā karmā): good fortune to be enjoyed in subsequent lives.

Purandara Dasa (purandarā dāsa): composer of devaranāmas (1484-1564).

Purandara Vittala (purandarā vittala): name of the god Panduranga Vittala; mudra of the composer Purandara Dasa.

purusa (Sk purusa): individual soul, jīva.

Radha (Sk rādha): mythical cowherdess enamoured of Krisna.

rāga (Sk rāga): melodic entity.

rāga bhava (Sk rāga bhava): the (emotional) effect of a rāga upon the listener.

rāgamalika (Sk rāga-malika): a musical item consisting in a succession of discrete sections, each in a different rāga.

rāga rasa (Sk rāga rasa): emotional state conveyed to the listener by a rāga.

rāga vārdhini (rāga vārdhini): the development stage of an alāpana proper or tanam section.

rāga varna (Sk rāga varna): the individuality of a rāga; the image-processes evoked in the listener by a rāga which he/she has recognised.
rajas (Sk rajas): a constituent of matter, characterised by the property of 'energy'.

Rama (Sk rama): name of a Hindu deity.

Ramanuja (Sk ramanuja): 13th century A.D. philosopher of the Visistadvaita Vedanta school.

Ramayana (Sk ramayana): epic text, attributed to Valmiki, relating the deeds of Rama.

Ranga (Sk ranga): name of Visnu-Krisna.

rasa (Sk rasa): taste, sentiment.

rasika (Sk rasika): person of taste, informed listener (to aangita).

raudra (Sk raudra): fierceness, anger, wrath.

Rg Veda (Sk r-veda): the first Veda.

ri (Sk rishna): abbreviation of Rishabha - the 2nd scale-degree.

Rukmini (Sk rukmini): Krisna's consort.

rupaka tela (Sk rupaka tola): metre comprising 2 + 4.

sa (Sk sadja): abbreviation of shadja - the 1st scale-degree or drone-tonic.

Sabda Brahman (Sk sabda brahman): the saguna Brahman conceived in the form of a vibration or sound.

Sadasiva Bramhendra (sadasiva brhmendra): sengita composer (1739-69)

sadhsana (Sk s-a-drasana): the six systems of Hindu philosophy which accept the authority of the Vedas.

sadhaka (Sk sadhaka): worshipper, practitioner of sadhana.

sadhana (Sk sadhana): pursuit of meditational disciplines with the objective of gaining release from the cycle of rebirths.

sadhana bhakti (Sk sahansa bhakti): devotion towards Visnu practised in order to obtain the guarantee of release from the cycle of rebirths.

saguna Brahman (Sk saguna brahman): the Brahman conceived with attributes - i.e. the first stage of 'projection' of the nirguna Brahman as the illusory universe of phenomena.

sahasara padma (Sk sahasara padma): the abode of consciousness of the real self (viz. at the top of the head) in laya yoga theory.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sahitya</strong> (Sk sahitya)</td>
<td>literature; the text of a <strong>sangita</strong> or <strong>kirtana</strong> composition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sahitya bhava</strong> (Sk sahitya bhava)</td>
<td>the (emotional) effect upon the listener of the words of a <strong>sangita</strong> or <strong>kirtana</strong> composition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sakhyas</strong> (Sk sakhyas)</td>
<td>form of devotion towards <strong>Krisna</strong> consisting in having the attitude of a friend towards Him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sakti</strong> (Sk Sakti)</td>
<td>name of <strong>Siva</strong>'s consort; active power or female energy; <strong>saguna Brahman</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sakti-kundalini</strong> (Sk Sakti-kundalini)</td>
<td>the 'absorptive' flow of prana up the susumna nadi in <strong>lava yoga</strong> practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sakti Visistadwaita</strong> (Sk Sakti Visistadwaita)</td>
<td>system of philosophy adhered to in <strong>Lingayat matha</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>samadhi</strong> (Sk samadhi)</td>
<td>the final stage of <strong>sadhana</strong>, as conceived in the <strong>Yoga school of philosophy</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>samasthane vidvan</strong> (samasthane vidvan)</td>
<td>musician retained at a princely court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sama-Veda</strong> (Sk Sama-veda)</td>
<td>second Veda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Samhitas</strong> (Sk samhitas)</td>
<td>collective term for the 4 Vedas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Samkhya</strong> (Sk Samkhya)</td>
<td>philosophical system attributed to <strong>Kapila</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Samkhya-karika</strong> (Sk Samkhya-karika)</td>
<td>early text of Samkhya philosophy written by Isvara <strong>Krisna</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Samkhya-Yoga</strong> (Sk Samkhya-yoga)</td>
<td>Samkhya and Yoga philosophy considered together as an integral system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>samsara</strong> (Sk Samsara)</td>
<td>bondage in the cycle of rebirths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>samskara</strong> (Sk Samskara)</td>
<td>trait generated in the individual by the experience of present and previous lives which binds him to the cycle of rebirths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>samarati</strong> (Sk Samarati)</td>
<td>active state of the universe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>samvadi</strong> (Sk Samvadin)</td>
<td>most prominent note, other than the vadi, in a North Indian raga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sancera</strong> (Sk Sancera)</td>
<td>(in Powers' usage) 'phrase'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
san<e>ch</e>ra-kr<e>ma</e> (Sk san<e>ç</e>ara-kr<e>ma): (in Powers' usage) the phrase-contours of a North Indian raga.

san<e>ch</e>ra pr<e>v</e>oga (Sk san<e>ç</e>ara pr<e>v</e>oga): characteristic melodic phrase of a raga.

sandhy<e>a</e> (Sk san<e>d</e>hya): daily prayers and ablutions performed by adult Brahman males.

sanv<e>a</e>ti (Sk sanv<e>a</e>ti): one of a sequence of metric lines employing the same literary text, found in sangita.

sang<e>i</e>ta (Sk san<e>g</e>ita): the 'art' form of devotional music in southern India.

Sankara (Sk San<e>k</e>ara): name of a philosopher who popularised the Advaita Vedanta system.

san<e>k</e>irt<e>ana</e> (Sk san<e>k</e>ir<e>t</e>ana): devotional music.

sa<e>n</e>ta (Sk san<e>t</e>a): peace, calm.

san<e>ny</e>as<e>in</e> (Sk san<e>ny</e>asin): (world) renouncer.

santa swara (Sk san<e>t</e>a swara): the 7 notes of the musical scale.

Sarada (Sk Sar<e>da</e>): form of the goddess Parvati or Sarasvati.

sarani (Sk sarani): the top melody string of the vina.

Sarasvati (Sk Sar<e>sa</e>vati): name of a goddess, consort of Brahma.

sastra (Sk sastra): Hindu scientific work or discipline.

sat (Sk sat): being, existing.

sat-chakra-bheda (Sk sat-<e>c</e>akra-bheda): the piercing of the 6 chakras.

Sat-cakra-nirupana (Sk sat-cakra-nir<e>pu</e>pana): text on lava yoga.

sat-nada (Sk sat-nada): bee

sattva (Sk sa<e>t</e>ta): a constituent of matter, characterised by the property of 'intelligence'.

shadja (Sk sa<e>d</e>ja): drone-tonic.

siddhi (Sk siddhi): magical power.

siddhi yogin (Sk siddhi yogin): practitioner of yoga for the purpose of acquiring magical powers.

Sita (Sk Sita): name of a goddess, consort of Rama.
Siva (Sk सिवा): name of a god.

smarana (Sk स्मरणा): form of devotion consisting in constantly reminding oneself of the presence of Krisna.

Smartha (Sk स्मर्ता): name of a Brahman sect, followers of Advaita Vedanta.

sravana (Sk स्रवणा): form of devotion consisting in hearing the accounts of the exploits of Krisna when He was a child.

Sri Chakra (Sk सृष्टि चक्र): symbol comprising merged upright and inverted triangles, representing the union of Siva and His consort.

sringara (Sk स्रिङ्गारा): love (often of a sexual nature).

Sripadaraja (Sk स्रीपदराजा): name of a 16th century A.D. Haridasa.

Srivaisnava (Sk स्रीवाईस्नावा): name of a Brahman sect, followers of Visistadvaita Vedanta.

Sridiva (Skस्री-विद्या): form of worship of Siva's consort.

sruti (Sk स्रुति): pitch; musical interval formed with the drone-tonic; musical interval of approximately half of an even tempered semitone.

sthayi (Sk स्थायि): octave.

sthiti (Sk स्थिति): maintenance, preservation.

sthula (Sk स्थूला): 'gross', as opposed to 'subtle'.

sthula deha (Sk स्थूला देहा): 'gross', or physical, body.

suddha (Sk सुद्धा): pure.

suddhabodha (Sk सुद्धा-बोधा): pure consciousness.

suddha ma (Sk सुद्धा मध्यमा): perfect 4th (scale-degree).

Sudra (Sk सूद्रा): the 4th group of castes, in the varna conception.

sukha (Sk सुखा): happiness, pleasure.

sukha-duhkha (Sk सुखा-दुःखा): sweet misery, alleviation of suffering.

sukasa (Sk सुकसा): 'subtle', as opposed to 'gross'.
sukma deha (Sk suksamma deha): 'subtle' body.
sunya (Sk sunya): absolute vacuity.
sunyavada (Sk sunya-vada): school of Buddhism which posits absolute vacuity as ultimate truth.
susumna nadi (Sk susumna nadi): canal in the spino-cerebral axis utilised in lava yoga.
svadisthana chakra (Sk svadisthana chakra): part of the 'subtle' body, located on the level of the penis.
svarana (Sk svarana): dream
svara (Sk svara): musical note or scale-degree.
Svararnava (Sk svara-arhavā): musical treatise supposedly presented to Tyagaraja by Narada.
svarupena (Sk sva-rupena): (in Power's usage), the 'melodic Gestalt' of a North Indian raga.
svatantra (Sk svatantara): independent.
svamiji (Sk svamini-ji): honorific title used for famous renouncers.
Syama Sastri (Śyama Sastri): early 19th century sangita composer.
tabla (tabla): North Indian hand drum.
tala (Sk tala): metre, metrical framework.
tamas (Sk tamas): a constituent of matter, characterised by the property of 'mass' or 'obstruction'.
tambura (tambūra): drone-instrument employed in sangita.
tanam (cf Sk tana): improvised passage following alapana proper and preceding the nālavi.
Tantra (Sk tantra): esoteric text on lava yoga.
tara sthāvi (Sk tāra sthāvī): upper octave.
tavil (cf Sk tavas): drum employed in accompanying the nagasavaram.
tējas (Sk tejas): the 'element' (bhūta) 'fire'.
thatthakara (cf Sk tatēka-ka): technique of replicating literary text by means of mridangam strokes.
tillana (tillana): composition, the text of the pallavi and anupallavi sections of which comprises mrdangam jatis.

tivra (Sk ṭīvra): 'sharp' (of a scale-degree) - i.e. (in Western terminology) natural 2, 3, 6 or 7.

trimurti (Sk tri-mūrti): the Hindu trinity -viz. Brahma, Visnu and Siva.

triputa tala (Sk tri-puta tala): metre comprising $3 + 2 + 2$.

triathayi (Sk tri-atthayī): operating within the range of 3 octaves.

turiya (Sk tūriya): fourth; state of consciousness in which, according to Advaita Vedanta, the 'real self' is experienced.

Tyagaraja (tyagāraja): sangita composer (1767-1847).

upadhi (Sk upādhi): adjunct, that which conditions.

Upanisad (Sk upaniṣad): text concerning the nature of the Brahman.

upasaka (Sk upāsaka): worshipper.

upasana (Sk upāsana): worship.

Vacaspati Miśra (Sk vacaśpati mīśra): a philosopher of the Advaita Vedanta school.

vachana (Sk vacana): devotional composition of the Lingayat sect.

vadi (Sk vādīna): the most prominent note in a North Indian raga.

vairagya (Sk vairagya): detachment, indifference to worldly objects.

Vaishesika (Sk vaiśēśika): philosophical system attributed to Kanada.

vandana (Sk vandana): form of devotion consisting in prostrating oneself before an image of Krisna.

varika pamsa (varika pamsa): pamsa covering a distance of at least a semitone in the pitch continuum.

varjya svara (Sk varjya svara): procedure of omitting a note in ascent or descent without 'filling it in' immediately afterwards.

Varkari (cf Sk varcas): 16th century bhakti cult in Maharashtra.
**vārṇa** (Sk varṇa): colour; vowel; form of sāṅgīta composition; one of the four hierarchically ranked groups of castes - viz. Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra.

**vāyu** (Sk vāyu): the 'element' (bhūta) 'air'.

**Veda** (Sk veda): sacred knowledge handed down in textual form.

**Vedanta** (Sk vedānta): Upanisad; a philosophical system based upon the Upanisads.

**Vedanta-sutras** (Sk vedānta-sūtra): philosophical text by Badarayana, summarising the views of the Upanisads.

**Vedic** (Sk vaidika): relating to the Vedas.

**Venkateshwara** (Sk veṅkatesvara): form of Visnu; idol of Visnu in a famous temple in Tirupati (Tamilnad).

**venu** (cf Sk vēna): flute, Krishna's flute.

**vidhi** (Sk vidhi): injunction.

**vidvan** (cf Sk vidvāna): man of knowledge.

**vidyā** (Sk vidyā): knowledge.

**vidyut tanam** (Sk vidyut tanam): the fastest tempo for tanam.

**vijnana** (Sk vijnana): the faculty of knowing.

**Vijnanavāda** (Sk vijnana-vāda): school of Buddhism positing knowledge alone as having a real existence.

**viksala** (Sk vikṣala): false notion.

**vilambita kāla** (Sk vilambita kāla): slow tempo.

**vina** (Sk vīna): Indian lute; South Indian 7-stringed lute of the 'Mysore' or 'Tanjore' variety.

**vīra** (Sk vīra): bravery.

**Virasāiva** (Sk vīra-sāiva): name of a cult of Siva worshippers in 12th/13th century Karnataka.

**visesha pravacca** (Sk viśeṣa pravacca): a melodic phrase which does not conform to the ascent/descent pattern of the rāga.

**Visistadvaita** (Sk visista-advaita): qualified or modified non-duality; a philosophical system based upon this tenet.
Visnu (Sk viṣṇu): name of a god.

Visnu-Krisna (Sk viṣṇu-krṣna): the god Visnu in the form of Krisna.

vīṣuddha chakra (Sk viśuddha cakra): part of the 'subtle' body, located on the level of the throat.

vṛtti (Sk vṛtti): state of mind.

Vyāsa (Sk vyāsa): a form of Visnu, reputed editor or compiler of the Vedas, Upanisads and Epics.

Vyasakuta (Sk vyāsa-kūta): monk-scholars of the Haridasa cult.

Vyasaraja (Sk vyāsa-raja): name of a 16th century Haridasa scholar/composer.

Yasur-Veda (Sk yasur-veda): the third Veda.

yāntra (Sk yāntra): diagram employed in meditation.

yāti (Sk yāti): rhyming first syllables of poetic lines.

yoga (Sk yoga): meditational discipline.

Yoga (Sk yoga): the philosophical system of Patanjali.

Yoga-sutras (Sk yoga-sūtra): philosophical text by Patanjali.

yogin (Sk yogin): practitioner of yoga.