

Tyāgarāja (1767-1847), the foremost composer of Karnāṭaka music, sublime singer and Rāma-bhakta, is hailed as Sad-guru. The extant Tyāgarāja canon consists of about six hundred *Kīrtānas* and two musical plays. Graphic descriptions, poetic fancies, apt similes, illustrations and analogies, humour and satire, wordly sayings and wise observations make the corpus of Tyāgarāja's songs a veritable gold mine. His songs are widely known and learnt, and Karnāṭaka music recitals are dominated by his creations. All the earlier creative efforts led to Tyāgarāja and all that was created after Tyāgarāja in the immediately following period or in the present century, is after his model. In this respect, Tyāgarāja's stature in Telugu is comparable to Kālidāsa's in Sanskrit.

Teacher, scholar, critic and musicologist, V. Rāghavan (1908-79) was a recipient of many honours including the Padma-bhūshan and the Fellowship of the Sangeet Natak Akademi and the Sahitya Akademi. Author of over 900 research papers and 110 books, Dr. Rāghavan's interests, in the words of Dr. S. Rādhakrishṇan, "are not confined merely to Sanskrit literature and criticism. They are as wide as Indian culture itself." Dr. Rāghavan has condensed an immense mass of relevant material into the manageable proportions of a compact but enlightening memoir in what has turned out to be his swan-song.

K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, teacher, scholar, critic and poet, and former Vice-President and Acting President of the Sahitya Akademi, has contributed a Foreword, commending this book "for its hard unity of form and content, and for its vivid evocation of Tyāgarāja as composer and singer a guru who tuned the Telugu language into d



Library

IIAS, Shimla

894.814 092 4 T 952 R



00080705

Inset on the cover is a sketch of Tyāgarāja by Sri Pramod Ganapatye based on the portrait at his *samadhi* in Tiruvayyāru, obtained by the kind courtesy of the Sangeet Natak Akademi.

SAHITYA AKADEMI
REVISED PRICE Rs. 15-00



TYĀGARĀJA

V. Raghavan

894.814
092 4 T 952 R

*Makers of
Indian
Literature*

894.814
0924
T952R



22
23

24

25

1
:
2

TYĀGARĀJA

The sculpture reproduced on the endpaper depicts a scene where three soothsayers are interpreting, to King Śuddhodana the dream of Queen Maya, mother of Lord Buddha. Below them is seated a scribe recording the interpretation. This is perhaps the earliest available pictorial record of the art of writing in India.

From Nagarjunakonda, 2nd century A.D.

Courtesy : National Museum, New Delhi.

MAKERS OF INDIAN LITERATURE

TYĀGARĀJA

V. Raghavan

Foreword by
K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar

The rates of the Sahitya Akademi publications
have been increased w.e.f. 1 May 1992 vide
Govt. of India letter No. JS(K)/91-545
dated 11 February 1992.



Sahitya Akademi

Sahitya Akademi

Rabindra Bhavan, 35, Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi-110 001

Sales Office : 'SWATI', Mandir Marg, New Delhi-110 001

Rabindra Sarobar Stadium, Block V-B, Calcutta-700 029

29, Eldams Road, Teynampet, Madras-600 018

172, Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya Marg, Dadar, Bombay-400 014



Library

IIAS, Shimla

894.814 092 4 T 952 R

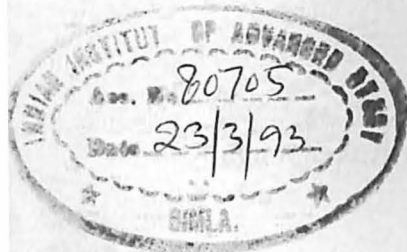


00080705

© Sal

First Published 1983

Reprint 1989



894.814 092 4
T 952 R

SAHITYA AKADEMI
REVISED PRICE Rs. 15-00

Published by the Sahitya Akademi
and printed at DECENT OFFSET, A-73, Naraina, Phase-I, New Delhi-110 028

Publisher's Note

On 25 February 1979, the Sahitya Akademi elected Dr. V. Raghavan as its Fellow. Dr. Raghavan accepted the honour, but before the formal investiture could take place he passed away on 5 April 1979.

Dr. Raghavan had been associated with the Sahitya Akademi in various capacities since its inception. He was the member of the General Council and the Executive Board, and Convener of the Sanskrit Advisory Board. He was the founder-editor of *Sanskrita Pratibha*, the Akademi's journal in Sanskrit, and was the guiding spirit behind two of the Akademi's prestigious projects: the Critical Edition of Kalidasa's Works (four volumes published) and the Anthology of Sanskrit Literature (seven volumes published). He was serving the Akademi to his very last: he was seeing through press the papers presented at the first international seminar on the *Ramayana*, organised by the Sahitya Akademi (later published as *The Ramayana Tradition in Asia*) and completed writing this monograph, in Smt. Sarada Raghavan's words, "a few days before his demise". Thus this monograph happens to be Dr. Raghavan's last piece of writing.

It was found that the manuscript was not divided into chapters and ended rather abruptly. Obviously Dr. Raghavan intended revising it. Yet, even the first draft from a master-scholar has its value and Prof. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar was requested to read it. Prof. Iyengar's response was most encouraging. He saw "hard unity of form and content" in the manuscript and gave headings to the three main parts. And the Sahitya Akademi

decided to publish the manuscript as it was left by the eminent author.

The Sahitya Akademi presents this monograph as a tribute both to the great poet-composer, Tyāgarāja, whose contribution to Telugu literature, Karṇāṭaka music and Indian culture is lasting, and to the master-scholar Dr. Raghavan whose life is an inspiring saga of ceaseless striving and scholarly integrity. The Akademi is grateful to Prof. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar for his learned Foreword.

Foreword

An unexorcizable melancholy hovers over this excellent monograph on Tyāgarāja, one of the scholarly compositions which Dr. V. Raghavan left behind at the time of his tragic passing on Sri Rama Navami day four years ago. He had just returned home, after giving a moving talk on the Glory and Grace of Rama at the Samskrita Academy, Madras; and the end came suddenly. Even the Sahitya Akademi Fellowship, to which he had been earlier elected, had to be awarded posthumously.

Dr. Raghavan was doubtless one of the great Sanskrit savants of our time, but he also doubled this distinction with the crown of a musicologist of rare understanding and dedication. His monumental work—the 206-page Introductory Thesis to *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja*—has held the field for over quarter of a century. He was closely associated for decades with the Madras Music Academy, and worthy of all praise was his ministry in the cause of Karṇāṭaka music as evidenced by his numerous publications and learned papers in this elected area. Indeed, Sahitya Akademi could not have chosen a more qualified scholar or more seasoned writer than Dr. Raghavan for preparing the monograph on Tyāgarāja for the ‘Makers of Indian Literature’ Series.

What is immediately striking in the present effort is the way Dr. Raghavan has condensed an immense mass of relevant material into the manageable proportions of a compact but enlightening memoir. The Karṇāṭaka Music Tradition and Tyāgarāja’s place in it—Tyāgarāja’s Life—Tyāgarāja’s Achievement: almost like the *pallavi-anupallavi-charanam* structure of a typical

Tyāgarāja *kṛitī*, Dr. Raghavan's book itself is cast into a tripartite mould, and the orchestrated effect is similarly richly satisfying.

The Karṇāṭaka music tradition was pioneered by Annama-charya (15th century), Purandaradasa (16th century) and Kshetraya (17th century). Bhadrachala Ramadasa, the Advaitic sannyasi Siva-Narayanananda Tirtha and Margadarsi Sesha Iyengar were augmenting influences. The seminal pattern of the *kṛitī* or *kīrtana* having been evolved already, it was for Tyāgarāja to handle it with uncanny excellence and become "the foremost composer of Karṇāṭaka music". There were his two great contemporaries too, Syama Sastri and Muthuswami Dikshitar, and the tradition has been held aloft by their successors till the present day. But Tyāgarāja remains truly central to the Karṇāṭaka music tradition, and is rightly acclaimed and venerated as 'Sad-guru'.

But if the 'form' that Tyāgarāja's musical compositions took was the 'kṛitī', the content was religious devotion or *bhakti*, following the hallowed *bhajana* tradition consecrated anew by Sri Bodhendra and Sridhara Venkatesa (18th century); and further stimulus was provided by the Maharashtrian tradition of *sankīrtan*, which had its vogue in the Court of the Maratha Kings of Thanjavur. In short, the Karṇāṭaka music tradition—a composite of the highest art and science of music, as also of the profoundest religion of *bhakti*—was to become the well of ambrosial waters, made perennial by the flow of underground streams equally from Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. It is not the tradition of a locality or of a small region, but of all South India, and for all India, and all humanity.

Tyāgarāja's own compositions—about six hundred have happily survived the ravages of time, and there are also the two musical plays, *Naukacharitam* and *Prahlada-bhakti-vijayam*, both drenched in *bhakti*—embody in the fullest measure the unity of music (exemplified in both the theoretical side of art and the inventive side of the raga-compositions), spiritual fervour (directed, no doubt, towards Rama, but also characterised by a high sense of religious liberalism), and splendid poetic utterance. Dr. Raghavan reminds us that quite a few of the songs are devoted to the *art* of music—its origins and nurture and devel-

opment, its role and philosophy and efficacy. When it is cultivated with proper voice-culture, tunefulness and a mind cleansed of distractions and prepossessions, music becomes a means of *bhakti*, and *bhakti* is a much shorter road than *jñāna* to Realisation. For Tyāgarāja himself, Valmiki was both the Guru of Rama-bhakti and the Poet-mentor beyond all praise. But Tyāgarāja's 'Rama' is rather more than the limited hero of the action of the *Ramayana*. Rama is all the Trimurtis, and transcends them too as the Illimitable Para Brahman. And such being the *sūti* of the Tyāgarāja musical canon, each *kṛiti* becomes a recordation of all the nine Rasas, and *bhakti* becomes verily the ultimate Rasa.

By aspiration and realisation, Tyāgarāja was the *bhakta* in excelsis, and by self-dedication he was also the sublime singer for the salvation of humanity. Who is the blessed and happy warrior? Tyāgarāja answers: "He who sings of the Nama with perfect music (*susvara*)"! But to sing Tyāgarāja's songs, too, a like discipline of the mind and heart is necessary. *Raga*, *thala*, *sahitya*, mood, tone—these have to be mastered, of course. But there is even greater need for the disciplining of the self, the tuning up of all the faculties into the music of love and adoration of Rama. And this calls for the consecrated labour, the sustained *sādhana* or *nāḍopāsana*, of a whole life-time. One may sing before a *sabha*, or a Patron, or a Conference, or even a microphone—but a *kṛiti* of Tyāgarāja is always sung only to the Prince of Ayodhya who was the incarnate Lord, the complete Avatar, the Supreme Being.

When we talk of a tradition, we visualise something akin to a perennial river like the Ganga. We have some notion of its Himalayan origins, and we can form a mental picture of its winding majestic sweep across the Indian sub-continent. But we also know that the Ganga at Haridwar or Kashi is quintessential Ganga. Tyāgarāja is the sheer Kashi of the Kārṇāṭaka music tradition. A little sealed brass-pot of Ganga water from Kashi can be all Ganga in miniature for the devout. Likewise a single *kṛiti*—say 'Rama-bhakti' in *Suddhabangala* or 'Kshirasagara' in *Devagandhari*—can be, for the truly devout, the veritable microcosm of all the infinitudes of Kārṇāṭaka music.

In writing of Tyāgarāja's 'Life', Dr. Raghavan relies mainly on the internal evidence of the *kṛitis* themselves, and much in-

deed is insinuated or revealed by this marvellous poet among composers. The songs when pondered with reverent care tell us all we need to know of Tyāgarāja's sore trials in life; of his heart's adorations, of his soul's dark nights, of the unfailing ecstatic dawns; of his rambles in the *Ramayana* of Valmiki and other *Ramayanas*, the *Upanishads* and the *Gita*, the *Bhagavata* and the other Puranas; of his unswerving adhesion to Nāma-Siddhanta; and of his concern for the salvation of all humanity. Dr. Raghavan writes too, with appropriate illustrative citations, of the structure of Tyāgarāja's *kritis*, the role of the *sangathis*, and the reason for the plurality of *charanas*; of Tyāgarāja's *padhya-gadhya* dual mystery; of his originality as a poet judiciously exploiting the graces of alliteration and repetition, of the fertility of the thematic content of the songs and their linguistic virtuosity, and of the flow, elegance, ease, cadence and conversational pointedness of the *sohitya*; and above all of the Rama-ambience, the brooding Guru-bhakti for Valmiki, and of the whole articulation being seraphically free from the remotest taint of the ego. It was with Guru's Grace alone, Tyāgarāja thought, that Enlightenment could come ('Guruleka' in Gaurimanohari):

Unless Guru's Grace
clears heart's jungle
of anguish,

Despite all worth
no way to
Enlightenment.

Transient health, wealth,
wife, progeny, kith or kin,
engenders pain;

Only Guru's love-anointed anodyne
of soul-knowledge frees the mind
from bondage.

It was with Guru's Grace, Tyāgarāja felt convinced, that he was able to hymn such a variety of significant fragments of the Rama story and evoke with such telling particularity the manifold splendour of Rama's power and personality.

I commend Dr. Raghavan's monograph—what has turned out to be his meritorious swan-song—for its hard unity of form and content, and for its vivid evocation of Tyāgarāja as composer and singer and bhākta and Sad-guru who tuned the Telugu language into divine poesy.

K.R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

'Sydney House'
278/E, Narasimhan Avenue
Teynampet P.O., Madras: 600 018

25 August 1983

22
23

24

25

26

Contents

Publisher's Note	5
Foreword by K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar	7
1. Tyāgarāja and the Karnāṭaka Music Tradition	15
2. Tyāgarāja's Life	36
3. Tyāgarāja's Achievement	47
Bibliography	77

14.

15.

16.

17.

18.

1

TYĀGARĀJA AND THE KARṆĀṬAKA MUSIC TRADITION

While the *Rāga* is the basis and core of all Indian music, in the South Indian (*Karṇāṭaka*) school, the composition had come into greater prominence, especially in the last three and a half centuries. Although the shift of emphasis from *Rāga* to composition or song is an abridgement of the *Ālāpa* or the elaboration of pure *Rāga*, on a closer look at the matter, it would be clear that the composition, as it grew in importance, did so only as an embodiment of the *Rāga*. It is well-known that in an effort to learn a rare or controversial *Rāga* or render it in *Ālāpa* or discuss its characteristic *Svaras* and *Prayogas*, the composition in that *Rāga* is sought and used. The compositions had always loomed large and according to the chapter on them, the *Prabandhādhyāya*, in music treatises, there were in vogue numerous varieties of compositions, bearing diverse structural and technical features. The musician-cum-composer was called *Vāg-geyakāra* (*Ubhayakāra* or *Bayakāra* later), *Vāk* standing for the literary text and *Geya* for the musical setting; and the equipment and qualities set forth for him place him far higher than the *Gāyana* or the performing musician (e.g. *Sangītaratnākara* III. 2-9).

The songs of the Saint-Singers have a place in the evolution of the regional languages and a place in the history of the growth of literature in those languages.

For the heritage of the music of South India, the *Gītāgovinda* of

Jayadeva continued to exert its all-round influence in love-themes, devotional singing and the structure of songs or song-poems. But more intimately and nearer in time to the emergence of the Karnataka music, there was Annamāchārya (1408-1503) of Tirupati, Sanskrit scholar, devotee of Śrī Venkaṭeṣa, poet and composer in Telugu; he and his son and grandson were prolific composers, authors actually of thousands of songs, *Kīrtanas* or *Saṅkīrtanas*. The songs are also called *Padas* and as the path-maker in the composition of the *Pada*, Annamāchārya is rightly praised by his grandson as 'Pada-kavitā-mārga-pitāmaha'. He even wrote a treatise on the characteristics of the music-composition, *Saṅkīrtana-lakṣaṇa*. His songs fall into two main classes, those based on the style of *Madhura Bhakti*, depicting God as Lover and the devotee as the Beloved (the *Śṛṅgāra Padas*) and the religious-spiritual songs (the *Adhyātma Sankīrtanas*). It is necessary to mention the contributions of Annamāchārya and his son and grandson as Tyāgarāja was indebted to them for many of his own ideas and expressions, not to mention the overall ideology of music as part of the worship of God. Tyāgarāja derived as much from Purandaradāsa (16th century) and his *Padas* in Kannada, which are structurally in diverse forms but in theme solely of the *Adhyātma* class. The prolific contribution of this Kannada Saint indeed over-shadowed that of Annamāchārya and Purandara came to be venerated as the *pitāmaha* of Karnataka music. According to tradition Tyāgarāja's mother had a large repertoire of Purandara's *Padas*. The third figure contributing as richly as the above two to Karṇāṭaka music is Kshetrājña or Kshetrayya (17th century), the author of an equally enormous number of songs in Telugu adopting exclusively the modes of *Madhura Bhakti*, depicting the individual soul in an endless variety of the Beloved (*Nāyikā*) and the moods of love towards Lord Krishna (*Gopāla*) the *Nāyaka par excellence*. Kshetrājña wrought so to say a unity of the area of Karṇāṭaka music moving from Golconda in the Deccan to Tanjavur in the *Choladeśa* and Madurai in the *Pāṇḍyadeśa*. The Kaveri delta, where Tyāgarāja emerged, was full of the *Padas* of Kshetrājña of which 1000, out of a total output of 4100, were composed by the king of *Śṛṅgāra Padas* at the court of King Vijayarāghava Nāyak of Tanjavur. As we shall see, a few of Tyāgarāja's songs are couched in the Kshetrājña-style. Of the

same period and connected with the Golconda Muslim Court was Bhadrāchala Rāmadāsa (Gopanna by his personal name) who was imprisoned in the Golconda fort for using up the revenues of his division for the service of Lord Rāma and His temple at Bhadrāchalam. Singing his songs on Rāma in the torture he had to undergo in the prison, and expressing his faith in Rāma as the great saviour, Rāmadāsa indeed furnished the prototype for the *Rāmabhakta* from the banks of the Kaveri, who mentions in his songs Rāmadāsa and recalls how Rāma came to his rescue ('Kshīrasāgara-śayana', Devagāndhārī, and 'Emidova balkumā', Śaranga).

Like Kshetrajña, another Telugu musician to bring Andhra and Tamilnadu into one musical unit is the Advaitic Sannyāsin Śiva-Nārāyaṇānanda Tirtha whose pilgrimage extended from Pūri to the banks of the Kaveri, where his long dance-drama composition on the model of the *Gītāgovinda*, the *Krishnalīlōtaraṅgiṇī* gained a vogue and a Krishna festival was inaugurated by him. Tyāgarāja has echoes from his songs also, referred to popularly as *Taraṅgas*.

Music performances, as seen from the treatises on the art, set much store in the beginning of our era in the elaborate exposition of a *Rāga*, in *Ālāpa*, and *Thīya*, two unbound forms, and in *Gīta* and *Prabandha*, two bound forms, the former of which was more grammatical, and the latter, the actual predecessor of the *Kīrtana* or *Padu*. The *Prabandha* continued to be composed up to the time immediately preceding Tyāgarāja. The *Śṛīngāra Pada* on the model of those of Kshetrajña had come into their spring-time. The type of composition called *Varṇa* (or *Svarajati*) in which, in addition to words, *svara*-sequences were also set, and the rendering was of the *Tāna*-style, (hence qualified as *Tāna-varṇa*) helpful to give a grasp of the entire contours of a *Rāga*, was in much vogue, some of the senior contemporaries being amongst the great *Varṇa*-composers. Although the *Varṇa* continues to be composed to this day, its structure is not very much different from that of the *Kīrtana* and the method of its rendering got assimilated to that of the more artistically elaborate *Kīrtana*.

We may note just one more composer-predecessor of Tyāgarāja and his two contemporaries, that is Śeṣha Rāmānuja, known to the musical world as Mārgadarśi Śeṣha Iyengar. His title 'Mārgadarśi' shows how his compositions paved the way for the *Kīrtana* taking shape.

What is this form *Kīrtana* as it crystalised over the period surveyed above? As its name shows, it is the singing of the glory of the Lord and devotion to Him. It is thus, thematically, the successor of the old *Caryā-gīta* and its successor the *Adhyātma-gīta*. Someśvara, the Chalukya King of Kalyān, describes in the music section of his thesaurus, *Mānasollāsa* (written in A.D. 1131) a variety of music compositions including the *Caryā* or *Adhyātma-gīta*. (GOS. Vol. III. pp. 46-7). He describes also the composition which is a praise or prayer or obsecration to God as *Stava-mañjarī* (*ib.* pp. 46-7). Annamāchārya, referred to above as the 'Pitāmaha' of this kind of composition, defines the *Adhyātma-samkīrtana* as the vehicle of spiritual knowledge and values, the discrimination as to the body, soul and God, and *Dharma* and *Adharma*.

Deha-Ātma-Īśa-vivekotsāhambunu
Loka-Veda-Dharmādharmādi-Ūhāpohambulu
galaya Hari-samkīrtanambul Adhyātmambul.

Tyāgarāja follows this same conception of the *Kīrtana* in his songs 'Sogasugā' (Śrīrañjanī) and 'Rāgaratnamālikache' (Rīti-gaula); the song should embody the true utterances of the *Upa-nishads* and inculcate real devotion, and detachment from material things, and carry the teachings of the *Vedas*, the six *Śāstras*, *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* ('Nigamaśīro'rthamuga Igina nija-vākkulato. . . sadbhakti-virati. . . Kritiche bhajjiyīñche' and 'Nai-gama-śaṣṭaśāstra-purāṇa-āgamārtha-sahitamaṣa').

The music composition, the *Prabandha*, called also *Vastu* and *Rūpaka*, had, as we see in the texts like the *Sangītaratnākara* (IV), four parts of *Dhātus*—*Udgrāha*, *Melāpaka*, *Dhruvā* and *Ābhoga*. It is also mentioned in the same text that some compositions omit one or two of these four parts and were therefore

called *Dvi-dhātu* or *Tri-dhātu*. In the oldest music composition which is still sung, the *Gītagovinda*, we have the *Dhruvā* or *Dhruvapada*, the words with which the song opens and which form the refrain; and after the *Dhruvā*, seven feet (*Charaṇas* or *Padas*) follow. In the Hindustani composition, there are three parts now known as *Āsthāyi* (i.e. *Śhāyi*), *Antarā* and *Ābhoga*. The first is evidently the same as the *Udgrāha* of the old texts. *Udgrāha* is that with which we start or take up the piece, the *Eduppu* in Tamil. In course of time the standard form of a composition became three, with the exception that there were still many with only two parts, a beginning line or two followed by a series of feet. The names of these three parts changed into *Pallavi*, *Anupallavi* and *Charaṇa*. In the *Sungītaratnākara* (IV. 34), the word *Pallava* occurs and it refers to a part of the *Udgrāha*. It is this that led to the adoption of *Pallava(i)* for the opening part *Udgrāha*. The second part *Anupallavi* may be taken as corresponding to the *Āntarā* and the *Charaṇa* or *Charaṇas* to *Ābhoga*. In a three-unit composition, we may see the rationale of the structure, an opening idea, a development of the idea and an elaboration of the idea with other contributory ideas, similes, illustrations and incidents that demonstrate or justify the leading idea of the song. It is this *Pallavi*, *Anupallavi* and *Charaṇa*, and sometimes without the middle part, that figures in the compositions of Tyāgarāja's predecessors, Annamāchārya, Purandaradāsa, Kshetrājña, Rāmadāsa, Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, Śeṣha Iyengar and numerous composers of *Padas* and *Varṇas* in the times immediately before Tyāgarāja. This is the *Kīrtana* or *Kṛiti* which Tyāgarāja handled with such excellence that made him the foremost composer of Karṇāṭaka music. All the earlier creative efforts led to Tyāgarāja and all that was created after Tyāgarāja, in the immediately following period or in the present century, is after his model. In this respect, we may compare Tyāgarāja to Kālidāsa. It is his songs which are most widely known and learnt and Karṇāṭaka concert programmes are dominated by his creations. It is because of this that he is referred to as 'Sad-guru'.

We have traced the musical heritage of Tyāgarāja. We must now

see the background and heritage of his devotion, *Bhakti*. In Coladeśa, the *Bhajana* movement gained a new momentum with the Advaitic Sannyāsin who adorned the Kāmakoti Pīṭha, Śrī Bodhendra of the 18th century and his contemporary Śrīdhara Venkaṭeśa, popularly and reverentially called Ayyāvāl. Bodhendra's *samādhi* at the village of Govindapuram is a place of pilgrimage to the votaries of the *Bhajana-sampradāya*. This movement was further built up by Venkaṭarāma who came to be venerated as Sadgurusvāmin and after him, the village of Marudānallūr became an active centre for this *sampradāya*. *Bhajana-maṭhas* then grew up in numerous places all over the Kaveri delta and they and the *Bhajana*-tradition are still in force not only all over the Tamil country but in all those cities in the North where Tamilians have migrated.

The *Bhajan* is sung individually and in congregation and it has a framework or set programme or sequence (*paddhati*) that had developed over the years. Although, as we see in the songs which it includes, this *paddhati* goes to Annamāchārya with whose *Tōḍaya-maṅgalam* songs the *Bhajan* begins, the Maharashtra tradition of *Sankīrtan* coalesced with this Tamil tradition during the period of the Maratha Kings of Tanjore and made its own contribution through the songs of the Marathi Saints.

The essence or basis of this *Sampradāya* is the recital or repetition of the Name of the Lord (*Nāma-Kīrtana*) and faith in the efficacy of the Name as the redeemer (*Tāraka*). The doctrine was expounded in a number of treatises which include the writings of Bodhendra and Śrīdhara Venkaṭeśa. Although the Name of the Lord, as cultivated by the *Smārtas* and Advaitins who specialised in this pursuit, was of any Deity, Śiva or Vishnu or Devī or their different forms, it is the Name of Rāma that is most prominent among the followers of this school. The worship of Rāma and the spiritual significance of His Name come down from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāma-Upanishads* and a mass of Rāma-literature. A senior contemporary of Tyāgarāja was Upanishad Brahman of Kanchipuram, the founder of the *Math* known after his name in that holy city. Upanishad Brahman was an Advaitin, a devotee of Rāma, a musician and a contributor to the Nāma-siddhānta school and its philosophy as seen in his work *Upeyanāmaviveka*.

While, on one hand, we have in the Tyāgarāja Manuscripts,

collected by Walajapet Venkataramaṇa Bhagavatar, a treatise called *Devatā-nāma-mahatmya* obviously studied by Tyāgarāja, we have, on the other hand, in the same collection, a *Srīmukham*, a message, from Upanishad Brahman asking Tyāgarāja to come to Kanchipuram. Venkataramaṇa Bhagavatar, pupil of Tyāgarāja, says in his song in Begada ('Sri Rama Brahmamu') that Tyāgarāja and his forebears belonged to the *Nama-siddhanta* tradition of Sri Bodhendra. ('Yativarulaku Bodhendradula viracitamagu Nāma-siddhanta-matamun anusarincina murdhan-yuḍu'). In more than one piece, Tyāgarāja refers to Rama as the treasure of his family and of himself as a 'Bhāgavata' from the womb ('garbha'). ('Nivegani', Bilahari; 'Pāhi mām Hare', Sausrashtra). In a number of other pieces, he mentions his having been devoted to Rāma and Rāma-Nama from his early years. As we shall see later, Tyāgarāja's compositions themselves are a contribution to this *Nāma-siddhanta* and its tenets and practice.

Rāma Bhakti and *Rama Nāma* were thus in the very blood of Tyāgarāja. His formal initiation in *Rama-nama-japa* was probably given by the Sannyāsin Rāmakṛṣṇananda whom he salutes in his *Naukācaritra*. On such an initiation one receives a red rosary-like thick silk thread (*Sūtra*). In the *Rāma-upanishad* already mentioned and in the *Kūlisantaranopanishad*, the Lord's Name meant for *Japa* is given as *Rāma Nāma*. The Name 'Rāma' is indeed the saviour *par excellence*, *Tāraka*. (*Rāma uttara-tapani*). The texts lay down a procedure for this repetition of the *Rāma Nāma*. The *Rāma rāhasyopanishad* says that it should be repeated ninety-six crores of times ('Shaṇ-ṇaviti-koṭi-nama'). According to tradition, Tyāgarāja completed this vow of repeating *Rama Numa* ninety-six crores of times and thereby got the vision (*sākshātkāra*) of Rāmachandra. This must be true and nothing else or less could Tyāgarāja have done.

That Rāma and *Rāma Nāma* formed his heirloom is mentioned by Tyāgarāja in a number of songs: 'Kuladaivata', 'Kuladhana' in 'Rāma nī samānam', Kharahara Priya, 'Palukavemi', Purna Chandrika, and 'Innāllu', Nārāyaṇa Gaula. He was devoted to Rāma from his young days ('Chinnanāḍe yanusarin-chu' in 'Pāhi mām Rāmachandra', Kapi; also in 'Nannubrova',

Abhogi; 'Ā nandam ānanda' in Bhairavi; and 'Ninne nera' in Pantuvarali). Rāma was a treasure earned by his ancestors through their austerities ('munu māvamsamuna galugu peddalu tapamulanu jēsī yārjinchina dhanamu', in 'Neevegāni', Bilahari). He was born with Rāma Nāma on his lips ('Pāhi mām Hare', Saurashtra).

The meaningfulness of the repetition of Lord's Name is that this establishes or plants in the mind of the devotee the image of the Lord. According to the teachers of this school, there are two aspects to the Name of the Lord, one as *Nāma* (Name) and another as *Rūpa* (Form), the former as means (*Upāya*) and the latter as the object to be gained (*Upeya*); and the Name itself is considered as the *Rūpa (Upeya Nāma)*. One of Tyāgarāja's inspirers, Upanishad Brahman, expounded this doctrine in his *Upeya-nāma-viveka*. To Tyāgarāja, *Nāma* and *Rūpa* cannot be separated. The contemplation of the one brings on the other. In 'Smarane sukham', Janarāñjani, he says that the constant exposure to the sound of *Rāma Nāma* fixes the form of the Deity in the heart and fills it with love. The drinking of the nectar of Name forms the steps to reach the Lord ('Nāmāmrita-pānamu yānu sopānamu dorikenu' in 'Venkaṭeśa', Madhyamadi). He even says that it is the letters of the Name repeated by him that had taken shape as Rāma ('Nā japa varṇa rūpamā' in 'Nājivādhāra', Bilahari).

His faith in Rāma Nāma as the greatest Name and the most effective redeemer finds expression in 'Urake', Sahāna, where he calls it *Mantra-rāja* and in several pieces which refer to Rāma as the *Tāraka Nāma*. In some pieces Tyāgarāja describes *Rāma Nāma* as the essence of the Vedas ('Vedasāramāu nāmadheyamau' in 'Talachinantane', Mukhāri) and as that which has been described in the Vedas ('Evarikai', Devamanohari). Tyāgarāja says that *Rāma Nāma* was always on his lips ('Tyāgarājuni jihvapai rājillu varamantra-rāja manu' in 'Urake', Sahāna; and 'mā rasanamuna nī rāmamu mārūmāru balkanu daya ceyumu', 'Sri Raghuvara', Devagandhari). This repetition of *Rāma Nāma* was not mechanical; it was done with the contemplation of Rāma's image fixed in the mind and it was uttered with love. The joy he derived from such practice of *Nāma-japa* was indescribable. In 'Intasaukhyamani', Kapi, he asks: 'Is it possible to describe the bliss one derives from chanting *Rāma Nāma*?' This

ceaseless *japa* and the intense love of Rāma with which it was done bore the desired fruit. He had the vision of Rāma as mentioned by him in some of his songs: 'Kanukoṇṭini', Bilahari, 'Kanu gonu saukhyamu', Nāyaki, and 'Bhavanuta', Mohana.

According to the Umayalpuram pupils, Tyāgarāja is said to have taken up the vow to recite *Rāma Nāma* ninety-six crores of times when he was twenty years and completed it in twenty-one years and fifteen days. It is at the end of this that Rāma gave him *darśana*. In the same school, it is said that on his getting this vision, Tyāgarāja sang his song in Athana 'Ela nī dayarādu' and that it was his first song. It is neither necessary to identify the first song composed by Tyāgarāja nor possible to support any such supposition. 'Ela nī dayarādu' has no evidence to suggest that it was his first song. In fact its very opening has a meaning against such a supposition.

There are some more points in Tyāgarāja's treatment of this doctrine of *Rāma Nāma*. According to the tradition of this school, it was Śiva who spoke to Pārvatī of the greatness and power of *Rāma Nāma* and it is also said that into the ears of everyone dying in Kāśī, Śiva is imparting the *Rāma Nāma*. It is on the basis of this belief that in the signature (*mudrā*) of most of his songs the word 'Tyāgarāja-nuta' is given and the reference here is not only to the author who sang of Rāma but also to Śiva who expatiated on the glory of Rāma. He mentions in express terms the belief in Śiva extolling Rāma and His Name in several pieces: 'Rāma Raghukula', Kapi; 'Nityarūpa', Kapi; 'Vāḍera', Pantuvarali; 'Sāramegani', Pantuvarali. In 'Kana kana ruchira', Varali, Tyāgarāja calls Śiva the witness (*Śikṣhī*) for the efficacy of *Rāma Nāma*.

Next in importance to Śiva's association, is that of the episode of Vālmiki being initiated in *Rāma Nāma* by Nārada. Tyāgarāja speaks of this also in 'Sāramegani', Pantuvarali. It forms also the basis of the story that goes with it, namely that as Vālmiki was an illiterate hunter and could not utter the word 'Rāma' in its proper order, he was asked to repeat it as 'Ma-Ra' with which he was familiar and which meant 'tree' or 'die', so that in the continuous chanting of it, the proper form 'Rāma' would naturally come. It is in the well-known song 'Evarani nirṇayanchirira', Kharahara Priya, that Tyāgarāja makes an elaborate statement on the Name 'Rāma' being the essence of

the Names of Śiva and Nārāyaṇa, that is, by combining the 'Ma' that is the life of the *Śiva-mantra* and the 'Rā' which is the life of the *Nārāyaṇa-mantra*. That 'Ma' and 'Ra' form the vital letters in the two *mantras* is shown by the fact that if 'Ma' is dropped in 'Namah Śivāya' it becomes 'Na Śivāya' meaning 'it is not for good'; and similarly if 'Rā' is taken out of 'Namo Nārāyaṇāya', it becomes 'Na ayanāya' meaning 'it is not for salvation'. ('Śiva mantra munaku Mī-jīvamū Mādhava mantra munaku Rājīvamū ī vivaramū delisina ghanulaku mrokkedā'). This idea is set forth by Upanishad Brahman in his *Upeya nāma viveka*.

In the above anecdote of Vālmīki getting the *Rāma Nāma* as 'Ma-Rā', it is implied that in whatever manner, direct or indirect, one utters the Name, he is saved. The *Bhāgavata Pūrāṇa* enunciated this idea and illustrated it with the story of Ajāmila. Śrīdhara Venkaṭeṣa, one of the teachers of the *Nāma-siddhānta*, gave expression to the idea. But Tyāgarāja took a different line on this. In the song 'Telisi Rama' (Purnachandrika), Tyāgarāja emphatically says that *Rāma Nāma* should be recited with the knowledge that Rāma is the Supreme Being. Even if one utters it with the proper order of the letters, if he recites it mechanically, without realising its high meaning, his 'Rāma' would refer to a beautiful woman and lead to lust. The exaltation of the efficacy of the Name as destroyer of all sins in stories like that of Ajāmila, Tyāgarāja says, should not blind one to the fact that *Nāma-japa* requires all ethical equipment in the reciter. ('Paraloka sādhaname', Pūrvi Kalyāṇi).

If one does the *japa* of *Rāma Nāma* with this knowledge, one will see the whole universe as Rāma ('Nī japamulu vala ī jagamulu nīvai rājīllunaya' in 'Intakanna', Bilahari). It is love of Rāma that would help one to develop the taste for the sweetness of *Rāma Nāma*: 'Rāma nīyeḍa prema rahitulaku nāma ruchi delusunā' (Kharahara Pṛiya). This love is comprehensive, not exclusive; it makes no distinction of one form of divinity from another. Tyāgarāja again and again affirms that he has worshipped his Rāma without any *mata-bhedu*. In fact, the *Nāma-Siddhānta* lays down ten drawbacks in the recitation of the Name (*Nāma-aparādhās*), one of which is to see Śiva and Vishnu as separate. ('Śiva-Mādhava-bhedamu jēyagarādu' in 'Bhaktuni Charitra', Begada; 'matābhedaṁmuleka sadā' in 'Itara-

daivamula', Chāyātarangiṇī).

Tyāgarāja's songs are thus complete with all the basic tenets of the school of *Nāma-siddhānta* and take their place along with the writings of Śrīdhara Venkaṭeśa and Bodhendra.

Tyāgarāja was a flower that blossomed in the *Bhajana* tradition from which music cannot be separated. The times were also such that the whole place abounded in musicians. Tyāgarāja's own family had enough musical background. One of the stalwarts of the time was Soṇṭi Venkaṭasubbiah, who was a court-musician at the time of King Tulaja of Tanjavur on whom he composed a *Varna* in Bilahari. He was patronised also by Chinniah Mudaliar at Manali near Madras where he composed many songs. In a Sanskrit work called *Sarvadevavilāsa* describing the city of Madras (about A.D. 1800), its temples, Temple-trustees and the music-*sadas* they held from time to time, it is said that Soṇṭi Venkaṭasubbiah's music would make barren trees sprout. It was his son Soṇṭi Venkaṭaramanayya who is remembered as Tyāgarāja's *guru* in music, although Tyāgarāja's songs have no mention of his name. In the Walajapet Manuscripts, there is a codex carrying, among others, many *Rāga-Tānas* of Soṇṭi Venkaṭasubbiah and Soṇṭi Venkaṭaramanayya. In the *Bhajana-paddhati* some introductory songs are sung on the promulgators of the tradition, Bodhendra and Sad-gurusvāmi of Marudanallur; these were composed by Soṇṭi Venkaṭaramanayya, a fact which shows the close link of musicians and the *Bhajana*-tradition referred to earlier. Venkaṭaramanayya's compositions bearing the *mudrā* 'Gopālakrishna' were difficult to negotiate and hence came to be called 'iron nuts', quite the opposite of the productions of his pupil which, as the pupil himself says, were in 'Drākshāpāka', in sweet ease and grace!

This milieu of the Chola deśa, of the cultural background of the Kaveri-Agrahara, had a profound effect on Tyāgarāja. He felt inspired and elevated by it. The environment provided the 'Ādhāra-sruti', so to say, to the song of his life. With a sense of patriotism as it were, he exclaims 'Ī mahilō sogasaina cholasīmayandu' ('this Chola-land, the beautiful land in the

world'). His own native place, the great *Kshetra* Pañchanada (Tiruvayyāru), where he lived and the sacred associations of the place, gave him a feeling of exaltation. In 'Muripemu', Mukhari, Tyāgarāja says that Rāma himself should be proud of a place in the beautiful Pañchanada Kshetra, worthy of being coveted by Śiva, on the banks of the Kaveri over which the matchless maid southern breeze blows and where holy persons perform *homas* and chant *Vedas*: 'Īḍulēni malaya-mārutamuchē gūḍina Kāveritaṭamandu bhūsurulagnihotrulai vēdaghoshamulachē nutiyimpa—jūḍa—Śivuḍu gōru yōgyamaina sundaramagu puramu'.

Tyāgarāja had his genius and a fine voice. But he was also grounded strongly on the theoretical side of the art and the inventive side of his *Rāga*-creations had a solid basis in his proficiency in the *Rāga*-system. This is borne out not only by his compositions, his many new *Rāgas* (*vinta rāgas*) and his deft treatment of the *Rāgas* in *Vivādi melas*, but also by the variety of music manuscript material found in the Walajapet manuscripts. The collection includes the compositions of Jayadeva (the *Ashṭapadi*), Purandaradāsa, Kshetrarāja, technical compositions by Govinda Dikshita, *Alaṅkāras*, *Saṅchāris*, *Tāṇas*, *Lakṣhaṇa Gītas*, and *Āroha-Avaroha* of a large number of *Rāgas*.

There is also among these manuscripts a treatise on music called *Saṅgītāmṛtacandrikā*. Usually the story is told that Sage Nārada appeared before Tyāgarāja and gave him a music treatise called *Svarārṇava*, composed as Śiva's teachings on the art to Pārvatī, and referred to by Tyāgarāja in his well-known song 'Svararāgasudhārasa', Śankarābharana. The story is needless, as the text known as *Svarārṇava*, a part of a larger work called *Svararāgasudhārasa*, can be identified in known Sanskrit Saṅgīta literature. In his song of salutation to the *Āchāryas* of music ('Vidulaku', *Mīyāmālava Gaula*), Tyāgarāja shows his acquaintance with a large number of gods, demigods, sages etc., associated with Sanskrit texts on music. This list includes the two historical authorities Śārṅgadeva, who wrote the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and Someśvara, who was the Chalukya King of Kalyāṇ who wrote the *Mānasollāsa* (A.D. 1131). Actual echoes and adoptions of expressions from Śārṅgadeva are found in Tyāgarāja's songs.

The close relation between religion or spiritual life and music was touched upon. All our saints sang their compositions and all our composers have been religious persons. While the saint-singers' songs have only stray side-remarks on music or use occasionally the imagery of music, and while other music composers make only casual references to the art and its sacred character or role, it is in Tyāgarāja that we find a full exposition of the subject and a whole group of songs, comprising a considerable number, devoted to the art. These songs are of five kinds—on the nature of the beginnings and development of the art of music, manifestation of musical sound in the body, its cultivation, its role and its philosophy.

Tradition as embodied in ancient texts traces music to the *Sāma Veda* and in more than one song, Tyāgarāja mentions this sacred association. In 'Sāmaja-vara-gamana' in Hindola, he describes music as the nectar born out of the *Sāma Veda* ('Sāmanigama-ja-sudhāmaya-gṇa'). *Praṇava* (OM), the Primordial Sound, has been held to be the ultimate source of *Nāda* which expresses itself in the concrete form of the seven *Svaras*: 'Veda-śiro-mātrja-sapta-svara' in the same song. The song in Chenchu Kambhoji ('Vara-rāga-layajñula'), he describes the *Nāda* that emanates from the body as the embodiment of the divine *Praṇava* ('Divyamau Praṇavāṅkārame').

Coming to the plane of a Personal God, Tyāgarāja identifies Śiva (Sadāśiva) as of the very form of *Om̐kāra*, *Nāda* and *Svara* ('Rāgasudhārasa' in Āndolikā). The Vedāntic conception of *Praṇava* as the nearest symbol or image of Godhead is also the doctrine of the votaries of music, the *Nādupāsakas*. Therefore the latter, with the *Yogins* and *Bhaktas*, adore the Deity, Śiva, Rāma etc. as abiding in *Om̐kāra* (*Om̐kārapañjara-kira*, *Om̐kāradhāma*, *Om̐kāra-sadana*). Based on this idea and derived from it are two remarkable songs of Tyāgarāja, one in which he speaks of the sacred tradition of Śiva being the essence of the *Sāma Veda*, the fountain-head of music and of the seven *Svaras* as emanating from Śiva's five faces, Sadyojāta etc. and thus *Nāda* itself as Śiva's body. ('Nādāt anum anīṣam Śaṅkaram namāmi' in Chittarañjanī). In several pieces, Tyāgarāja calls his Rāma the

very embodiment of *Nāda*, 'Nādātmaka', 'Nāda-rūpa', and 'Nāda-Brahmānanda-rasākṛiti'. The expression 'Nāda Brahman' must be noted. According to *Vedānta*, there are two aspects or forms of Godhead, *Para* and *Apara*; the former is Brahman and the latter, *Śabda* or *Nāda* Brahman. If the Chittarañjanī piece expresses the idea in an abstract manner, the song in Ārabhi delineates in poetic imagery Śrī Rāma as the very nectarine Rasa of *Nāda* taken the human form of Rāma ('Nāda-sudhāra-sambilanu narākṛitiyaye').

'The ambrosia of *Nāda*, which is the basis of *Veda*, *Purāṇa*, *Āgama* and *Śāstra*, has taken the human form in Rāma: His bow is the *Rāga* and the seven notes the seven tinkling bells on the bow; the bowstring has three strands which are the three styles of *Dura*, *Naya* and *Deśya*; the steady pace or tempo is the arrow; the charming variations on the musical phrases (*San̄gatis*) are the words uttered appropriately in apt contexts. . . .'

Another aspect to the greatness of music is that it was through music and its constant practice that the very Gods, Brahṁā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and others attained to their resplendent position. ('Nādopāsanache Śaṅkara Nārāyaṇa Vidhulu velasiri' in Begada). Tradition associated different Deities and sages with the promulgation of different aspects of the art and the different texts and treatises on the art. To all these teachers of music, Tyāgarāja pays his obeisance in a song set in the appropriate Rāga of Māyāmālavagaula ('Vidulaku mrokkeda Saṅgītakovidaluku mrokkeda'); the *San̄gīta kovidās* figuring here are: Śiva, Lakṣmī, Gaurī, Sarasvatī, Brahṁā, Viṣṇu, Nārada, Indra, Bharata, Kaśyapa, Chandikeśvara, Ānjaneya, Subrahmaṇya, Gaṇeśa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Agastya, Tumburu, Nandikeśvara and the two historical figures Someśvara and Sārṅgadeva. Śiva is always engrossed in the music of the *Vīṇā* ('Mokshamugaladā' in Sāramati) and Krishna, of the Flute (in several pieces) and in Rāma, both philosophy (*Gītā*) and music (*Gīta*), (*Gītārthamu* in Surati), are seen.

In some songs, Tyāgarāja expounds the process of the manifestation of Sound (*Nāda*) in the human system, following *Yoga* and the Sanskrit texts on music like the *San̄gītaratnākara*. In 'Mokshamugaladā', Sāramati, he refers to the manifestation of the *Nāda* of *Prāṇava* in the interaction of the internal heat and breath within one's body (*prāṇānala-samyoga*); and of the fur-

ther concrete expression of this *Nāda* in terms of the seven *Svaras*. It emanates from the regions of the navel, heart, throat and nostrils; it is the essence of the *Gāyatrī* which is the essence of the Vedas ('Sobhillu', Jaganmohini). The *Nāda* produced in the body is divine and is of the form of *Praṇava* ('Varārāga', Chenchukambhoji). For a full statement of this, we have one of Tyāgarāja's major compositions, the well-known one in San-karabharana, 'Svara-rāga-sudhārasa'. The *Nāda*, whose experience is very bliss, arises in the basic plexus (*Mūlādhāra*) and from the different points in the body, it manifests itself as the seven notes; this, as well as the spiritual end of music, are dealt with in the treatise called *Svarārṇava* imparted by Śiva to Pārvatī.

How should this divine art be cultivated and cherished, so as to enable one to realise its fruits? In several pieces, Tyāgarāja speaks of how one should practise music. In a well-known major song of his, 'Kaddanu vāriki' in Toḍi, Tyāgarāja exhorts the votary of the art to cast off sleep and get up in the still hours of early dawn, take the beautiful *Tambura* (*Śruti* or drone), and to practise with a pure mind, intoning the *svaras* at their correct places, without swerving from the tradition, and with devotion. It may be seen that Tyāgarāja emphasises here voice-culture, tunefulness, and a clean mind, free from obsessions and distractions. 'Su-svara', the basis of appeal in music is mentioned by him in other songs also. ('Sogasugā', 'Sītāvara', 'Sukhi eva', 'Eḷa dorikitivo'). In the last-mentioned piece, he even says that his getting Rāma is itself the fruit of his 'su-svara' music. In his Aḷhāṇa-piece 'Śrīpapriya', on God as a lover of music and as moving in the *Svaras*, he describes each *Rāga* as a divine damsel dancing with tinkling anklets, which incidentally alludes to the story of Nārada seeing the maimed damsels in heaven and being told by the Lord that they are the *Rāgas* which Nārada had mutilated by his bad singing. In 'Sobhillu Saptasvara Sundarula' in Jaganmohini, he describes the seven *Svaras* as seven resplendent beauties. Not only does Tyāgarāja refer to the finer points of music, but expresses also how keen is one's enjoyment when the *Vina* is played or a song is sung appropriately to the rhythms of the softly played *Mridanga*. 'Who is that blessed soul who delights you with his singing to the delicately played *Mridanga*?' ('Sogasugā' Sriranjani). Banging on

the *Mridanga*, which is its main feature today, has this criticism in Tyāgarāja. 'What is the pleasure of thumping the *Mridanga* without knowing the rhythms and their varied patterns?' ('Svararaga', Sankarabharana). He twice compares music to the honey-laden lotus which one should enjoy like a bee ('Nāda-sarasīruha-bhringa' in 'Śrī Nārada', Kanada), like a swan and not like a crane or frog by the side of that lotus ('Svararāga').

From the earliest times music has been cultivated as an effective accessory of religious and spiritual pursuit. Its role as a *Sādhana* for *Bhakti* has been exemplified by the lives and practice of *Bhaktas* and men of self-realisation, and also expatiated upon by authorities like the *Bhāgavata*. Nothing lower than this could be the aim of this art. Tyāgarāja also expatiates on this aspect and in several compositions, declares that the knowledge or practice of music without devotion (*Bhakti*) would not lead one to the good and wholesome path ('Sangītajñānamu bhakti vinā sanmārgamu galade', Dhanyasi). 'There is no salvation for those who are not endowed with real devotion coupled with knowledge of music' ('Mokshamu galadā nī sadbhakti-saṅgītajñānavihīnulaku', Sāramati). Those who have by nature devotion and music together are really liberated souls ('Sahajabhaktito rāga-jñāna sahitudu muktudura' in 'Svararāga', Sankarabharana). If music is wedded to the singing of God and his glories, it would bring to one the bliss of becoming God-like ('Saṅgīta-śāstra jñānamu sārūpya saukhyadamē', Sālagabhairavi); nay it bestows on one several other precious things, affection, devotion, love for the good souls, the Lord's grace, the fruits of austerities and even fame and wealth (*Charaṇa* of the same song). In a song in the auspicious Śrī Rāga (Nāma kusuma mulache), Tyāgarāja visualises Lord Rāma as seated on the jewelled pedestal of *Nāda* and *Svara* and His feet being worshipped with the singing of His Names as if with so many flowers. If one does so, the birth as man would be the best birth. God and His glory are therefore the only fit theme of song; if it is otherwise, it is as good as not being sung at all. ('Saṁayamu delisi', Asaveri). The song on Rāma is the only song ('Rāma Kodaṇḍarāma', Bhairavi). Asking in an appealing Kanada piece 'who is the blessed happy person,' ('Sukhi eva'), he answers, 'he who sings of the Name of Rāma with perfect (*Susvara*) music.'

The realisation of Self or the Godhead and release from the

mundane bond (*sākshātkāra* and *mukṭi*) are of course gained by Knowledge (*Jñāna*). But this awakening by cultivation of the scripture, understanding it, reasoning about it, meditating upon it and practising concentration etc. through *Yoga*—all these take a long time and it takes several lives for one to get release. This is a long and arduous path. But music which takes one away, as nothing else could do, from one's immediate mundane pre-occupation and stress, and puts him in repose and equilibrium, opens up the inner fountain of the soul's own bliss; and the more frequent and deep such absorption, the more stable is the realisation of the bliss of the Self. Sage Yājñavalkya declared in his *Smṛiti* that he who knew the true way of playing the *Vina* is a master of the music-notes and rhythm, reaches liberation (*moksha*) without strain. Echoing this, Tyāgarāja says in his 'Svararāga', repeatedly quoted above: 'To a philosopher (*Śāstra-jñāni*), one who strives through the path of knowledge, *Moksha* comes after several births; but one blessed with innate *Bhakti* and the knowledge of melody (a *Rāga-jñāni*) is a released soul here and now.' The burden of the song 'Mokshamu galadā' is the same thesis that music and absorption induct one into a state of *jīvanmukti*, living and yet unbound. This is the essential truth, the *Sāra* and hence the *Rāga* of this song is also *Sāramati*. This is *Nāda-Yoga*, more potent than *Rāja-Yoga*, *Jñāna-Yoga* etc. This power of music by which the knots of the heart (*hridaya-granthi*s) fall apart is itself the bliss of Brahman: 'One delighting in *Nāda* and music attains *Brahmānanda* (*Nādaloluḍai Brahmānanda mandave*', *Kalyanavasanta*). 'If one floats not on the ocean of bliss called music and is not rocked on its billows, he is a veritable burden to earth' (*Ānanda-sāgara*', *Garuḍadhvani*). 'Drink the ambrosia of melody and delight, O mind' exclaims Tyāgarāja in another song in *Andolika* (*Rāgasudhārāsa pānamu jesi rājillave, manasā*'). All these are not mere reproduction of tenets from texts but they came out of Tyāgarāja's own personal experience. For he says more than once of himself as Tyāgarāja who knows this, practises this truly, revels in *Susvara* (*Sitāvara*', *Devagāndhārī*), and also understands *Rāga* and *Laya* in their true nature (*Bhāvinchi rāga layādula bhajiyinchē Śrī Tyāgarāja*', *Ānandasāgara*); and that his songs are the quintessence of music (*Sāramanī Tyāgarāja saṅkīrtanam*' in (*Chintistunnāḍē*', *Mukhari*).

On the positive side it must be said that Tyāgarāja had not only a high sense of his art, but also a realisation of his mission and his capacity to discharge it. He was a self-conscious artist. In more than one song, he says that, he, Tyāgarāja, as against the imposters, was endowed, on one side, with true devotion and on the other, with correct knowledge of the subtleties and beauty of music. If we take a close look at his signatures (*mudrās*) at the end of his pieces, we find that, he always gives himself some epithet or other, which, like a button, when pressed, gives us glimpses of his endowment and equipment and the virtues of head and heart that he possessed. In the well-known Kalyani song in which he repudiates worldly possessions and affirms his *Vairāgya* and faith in the value of *Bhakti*, he calls himself 'Sumati Tyāgarāja', the wise one who had a proper sense of the values. On the same idea, we have the '*Nishkāma Tyāgarāja*' ('Kaṭṭujesināvu', Athana) and '*Rāgarahita Tyāgarāja*' ('Śrī Rāma Śrī Rāma', Sahana). He was pure ('*Nirmala Tyāgarāja*' 'Amba ninu nammiti', Ārabhi) and free from defects ('*Nirdosha Tyāgarāja*', 'E Rāmuni', Vakulabharanam). He was real Bhāgavata ('*Parama-bhāgavata*', 'Nivu brōvavale', Saveri) and one whose devotion was sincere and unmotivated ('Tyāgarāju *nirupādhi-kuḍai* archinchu', 'Tulasi bilva', Kedāragaula). He was a true servant of the Lord ('*Nijadāsuḍaina Tyāgarājuniki*', 'Karmame', Saveri and 'Kaḍatēra', Toḍi). He knew the science and art of music as taught by Śiva to Pārvatī ('*Śvararāga*', Sankarabharana). Playing a pun on the name 'Sugriva' of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he asks Rāma that he, Tyāgarāja, too must be protected as he too was a 'Su-griva', possessed of a fine voice ('*Nāmorālagimpavēmi*', Devagandhari). Tyāgarāja revelled in 'Susvara' ('*Sitāvara*', Devagandhari). His songs were precious, the essence of devotion (Sāramani Tyāgarāja saṅkīrtanamu) and as people sang them for their salvation, the lord of death, Yama, became anxious that he was losing his victims ('*Chintistunnāḍe yamuḍu*', Mukhari). He sang his songs for the salvation of humanity ('Tyāgarāju kaḍatēra tārakamani jēsina śata rāga-ratnamōlikace', Riti-gaula).

After the disturbances caused by confrontations within t h

family and the carping critics around, which gave birth to a number of songs of plaint and complaint, Tyāgarāja had crossed the boisterous billowy shores and reaching the calm waters, put anchor in the Lord. He was a true man and a whole personality 'Nijamaina Tyāgarāja' ('Rāmabāṇa', Saveri and 'Endu kaugilinturā', Śuddha Deśi). All doubts and vacillations were at rest ('Niśṣaṅka-sarasa-Tyāgarāja' in 'Dēva Rāma Rāma', Saurāshtra). In addition to self-confidence and strength, he felt the exultation of fulfilment which imparted a buoyancy and cheer to him. He could call himself now 'Sarasa Tyāgarāja'. He could look upon the whole world with benign eyes and beatific spirit, 'jagamella sudhādrishticē brochuvāru', as he describes the great souls (Mahānubhāvas) in 'Endarō mahānubhāvulu', Śrī. He was a super-aesthete of life, 'Rasikāgrēsara' ('Grahabalamēmi', Revagupti) and one whose lustrous appearance (*Rājillu* Tyāgarāja in many songs) bespoke the inner plenitude of serenity and joy.

There is a song in Todi 'Dāśarathē nee riṇamu teerpa nā taramā' in which Tyāgarāja expresses his gratefulness to Śrī Rāma for spreading his fame in distant parts of the country (āsa deera dūradēsamulanu prakāśimpa jēsina). Rāma was his true patron, the foremost connoisseur (*Rasikaśiromaṇi*) who understood and enjoyed Tyāgarāja's music. In his visits to the different places, he was gratified to find people who admired his compositions and it gave him the sense of self-satisfaction and achievement. This explanation of song 'Dāśarathe' does greater justice to the composer than to narrate for it an anecdote of a north Indian musician calling on Tyāgrāga. Tyāgarāja not only attracted pupils but some noted musicians and composers of the times, paid visits to him. According to the *Sampradāya Pradarśinī*, Shaṭkāla Govinda visited Ettayapuram in 1633 and then went to Tiruvayyaru. A younger contemporary of Tyāgarāja who walked in Tyāgarāja's footsteps, was devoted to Rāma (at Bhadrāchalam) and composed songs of as many types as those of Tyāgarāja, is Tūmu Narasimhadasa (born, 1790); there is a verse of praise on Tyāgarāja that he uttered on the occasion.

Among the pupils of Tyāgarāja who systematically learnt his compositions, there were three important ones, the Umayālpuram Brothers, Krishna Bhagavatar and Sundara Bhagavatar, Tillasthānam Rāma Ayyangar and Venkataramana Bhagavatar

of Ayyampettai, who later migrated to Walajapet and came to be better known as Walajapet Venkataramaṇa Bhagavatar. These pupils came from places near about Tiruvayyaru. Some other pupils whose names are known are Tanjore Rama Rao, Manambuchavadi Venkatasubbayyar, Lalgudi Ramayyar, and Vina Kuppayyar whose son Tiruvotriyur Tyagayyar was named after the great musician. Some of these became reputed composers of *Kritis* and *Varnas*. Of these pupils, the first-mentioned three, of Umayalpuram, Tillasthānam and Ayyampet-Walajapet had each his special features by reason of the versions (*pāṭha*) and the stock of songs handed down by them. These are the three chief schools. Of these three again, the Walajapet Bhagavatar became, so to say, the Boswell of Tyāgarāja; the compositions of Tyāgarāja in his collection are the largest. Direct lineage of the *Guru-Sishya-paramparā* of the musicians who spread Tyāgarāja-Kritis in the Tamil, Telugu and Kannada areas could be traced. The annual celebration of the day of Tyāgarāja's passing away at Tiruvayyaru in the south and the work of Venkataramaṇa Bhagavatar in the north brought to its due prominence the greatness of Tyāgarāja in modern times.

Comparable to the one cited above, the thanks-giving Kṛiti 'Dāśarathe', there is one which evidently belongs to the last phase of Tyāgarāja's life and work. It refers to the composer having discharged the mission faithfully and to his satisfaction, that Rāma had assigned to him—'munu neevanaticchina panula āsagoni ne manasārāga nidānamuga salpinānu.' Two other pieces, obviously of his last period, are 'Giripai', Sahana and 'Paritāpamu', Manohari, in which Tyāgarāja says that Rāma appeared in his vision and promised him salvation in five days. In accordance with the tradition to which he belonged, Tyāgarāja entered in his last days the fourth *Āśrama* of *Sannyāsa*. He attained his *Siddhi* on Pushya Bahula Panchami in Prabhava, 6th January 1847. The celebration in honour of this day, the *Āradhanā* as it is called in the case of Sannyāsins, is a great occasion for musicians and lovers of music to gather at the spot of his interment on the bank of the Kaveri at Tiruvayyaru and in places all over India and even outside the country where South Indians live. There are devout circles and individuals who observe with recitals of his songs the day of his passing away, the Bahula Panchami, the fifth of the dark fortnight, every month. The image of Tyāgarāja

became enthroned in the hearts of the devotees in the full stature and dimensions of a Saint-composer. He is reverentially mentioned as *Svāmigal*, and his songs as the *Tyāgōpanishad*. When a song of his is sung and the last line mentioning the composer's name (*mudrā*) is reached, the devout singer raises his palms in obeisance to *Swāmigal*. Mentally, if not physically, the whole audience does the same thing.

TYĀGARĀJA'S LIFE

Tyāgarāja belonged to a family of Telugu Brahmans domiciled in the Kaveri delta. He was born in the great centre of Śiva-worship and music, Tiruvārūr, where there is the big Temple of Śiva in the form called Tyāgarāja. God Tyāgarāja was the patron-deity, so to say, for the Maratha Rajahs of Tanjāvūr, the Deity being the object of numberless songs, *Padas* and musical plays of the rulers like Shahaji and poets and composers of the Tanjāvūr court. It was after this presiding Deity of Tiruvārūr that Tyāgarāja was named. So when the composer later put in his songs the signature 'Tyāgarāja', it carried a double significance, his own personal name and also Śiva, who according to the texts and traditions, expounded to Pārvatī the greatness of *Rāmabhakti*. Tyāgarāja's father was Rāma Brahman, one of the five sons of Girirāja Brahman, the last of the five sons of Pañchanada Brahman. That the great grand-father was known as Pañchanada shows that the family had been living in Pañchanada-kshetra, the holy place of Tiruvayyāru. Although Tyāgarāja's father Rāma Brahman was originally living at Tiruvārūr and had to shift to a place nearer the royal headquarters, Tiruvayyāru, whatever the reasons for this migration—Tyāgarāja's maternal grandfather Viṇa Kālahastyayya was probably living in Tiruvārūr. It is the custom in Hindu families that women are confined at their mothers' houses and this would explain Tyāgarāja's birth at Tiruvārūr and his later coming to his paternal home at Tiruvayyāru. If Girirāja was the name of Tyāgarāja's grandfather, he could not be the Girirāja kavi of the court of King Shahaji of Tanjāvūr, who is too early for Tyāgarāja's

grandfather.

Tiruvayyāru, seven miles from Tanjāvūr, the seat of the Rulers, was full of scholars and musicians who had been drawn to the Tanjāvūr court. Tiruvayyāru, the Kaveri banks, and the Agrahāras nestling on them were a cultural haven where families of those well-versed in *Śāstras*, *Bhaktas*, *Bhāgavatas* and *Sannyāsins*, poets, musicians and composers had settled. These families included, besides local ones of the Tamil country, those drawn from Āndhra, Karṇāṭaka and Mahārāshṭra. Rāma Brahman belonged to a family of *Vaidika* Telugus of the Murigināḍu group settled in the Kaveri delta. Telugus have a house name (*Inṭi-pēru*) and Tyāgarāja's family had the name Kākarla. In his song 'Dorakunā', Bilahari, Tyāgarāja refers to himself as the son of Rāma Brahman; he pays his respects to Rāma Brahman at the beginning and end of his *Prahlāda-bhaktivijayam*. His *Naukācaritram* mentions his house-name Kākarla. 'Brahman' was the name-suffix of the family. Tyāgarāja took to *Sannyāsa* at the end of his life and those who pass away as Sannyāsins are referred to as having become one with Brahman, the Supreme Being, *Brahmībhūta*. When Tyāgarāja came to be mentioned as Tyāga Brahman, the devout people and admirers of his music have been probably having in mind the latter spiritual meaning rather than the former, the family-suffix.

Tyāgarāja's mother was known as Sītamma. When he later sang his song 'Sītamma māyamma Śrī Rāmuḍu mā tandri', Lalitā, Tyāgarāja referred not only to his favourite Deities Sītā and Rāma as his parents but to his physical parents also.

Tyāgarāja was born in the cyclic year Sarvajit, Chaitra 27th, Sukla Saptamī, Pushya, Monday, that is 4th May 1767.

Some other details which have been handed down about his family are: He married Pārvatī who died issueless; he then married her sister Kanakammāl and had a daughter Sītālakshmi. The daughter was given in marriage to Kuppaswāmi of Ammal Agrahāram and a son Tyāgarāja was born to them. This Tyāgarāja married Guruvammāl and when he died issueless, the direct line of Tyāgarāja became extinct.

Although Tyāgarāja lived within the last two hundred years, no authentic account of his life is available. The only accounts that have come down are what the pupils of Tyāgarāja, Tanjore

Rāma Rao and Wālājapet Venkaṭaramaṇa Bhāgavatar and the latter's son Krishnaswami Bhāgavatar wrote, preserved among the collection known as the 'Wālājapet Manuscripts'; and an account in the lives of musicians and composers prefixed to Subbarāma Dikshitar's *Sanḡīta Sampradāya Pradarśinī*. This last-mentioned account was actually written by Rādhākṛishna Iyer, Principal of the Maharajah's College, Pudukkottai, and a musicologist.

It is clear that the most difficult part of writing on Tyāgarāja is his life and the actual happenings which should have been many and important for one such as Tyāgarāja was. Already the above-mentioned accounts are of the hagiological type, marked by piety, miracles and anecdotes. In the circumstances, we have to turn to the songs of the composer and glean from that internal evidence such data as are revealed or presupposed by them. In addition to the pieces giving details of his parentage already noted, there are some which have a general, as well as specific, biographical bearing.

Because of his greatness, a personality like Tyāgarāja gets enveloped by a maze of anecdotes and legends, which have a tendency to keep growing. For some of these stories, enthusiasts seek the songs themselves as support and relate their composing to some happenings in Tyāgarāja's life. A few examples might be cited to show that the texts of these songs do not support such stories. In one of the group of five long compositions called the *Pañcharatnas*, the one in Rāga Śrī 'Endarō mahānubhāvulu' is said to have been composed when the Kerala musician Shaṭkāla Govinda Mārār called on Tyāgarāja. The song is an omnibus obeisance paid to all the blessed souls, sages, devotees and scholars and experts in the arts. This is quite a natural expression of respect, and need not require any fancied explanation. Similarly in the song 'Nīdhichāla', Kalyani, Tyāgarāja affirms his *Vairāgya*, aversion to material gains and his prizing Rāma's presence over everything else. It is not necessary to suppose that King Serfoji invited him to his court or some persons pressed that Tyāgarāja might seek royal patronage and Tyāgarāja gave this song as his reply. Actually the feeling contained in the song is an old sentiment found in stories in the *Purāṇas* and other texts to emphasise the *Vairāgya* of saintly musicians, their resolve to sing of God only and to

shun the shade of the palaces. For the Tirupati song 'Teradīyaka rādā', Gaulipantu, they tell a story that at the moment of Tyāgarāja's arrival there, the priest at the *sanctum* drew the curtain before the Lord, preventing the *darśana* of the Lord and this brought forth the song from Tyāgarāja. The song is on the curtain of *madā* and *matsara*, arrogance and intolerance, which obscure the vision of the Lord. 'Nājivādhāra', Bilahari, has nothing to do with the revival of a dead child nor 'Munduvē-nuka', Darbār, with any robbers attempting to waylay Tyāgarāja and Rāma and Lakshmaṇa guarding him in the front and the rear; it simply embodies the most common prayer to Rāma, indeed a Telugu version of the Sanskrit śloka 'Agrataḥ prish-ṭhataḥ chaiva pīśvatas cha mahābalau/ākaraṇapūrṇa -- dhanvānau rakshetām Rāma-Lakshmanau//'.

A very large number of his songs of the lyrical type give vent to the composer's mental anguish, caused by the uncongenial domestic situation, unsympathetic kinsman and hostile members of the society and the music profession. There is a song ('Anyāyamu sēyakurā', Kapi) in which Tyāgarāja prays to Rāma, 'Would you not save me from the harassment of my elder brother' (Nā pūrvaja bādha tīrpa lēdā), which is clearly autobiographical. 'Nādupai' in Madhyamādi is similarly autobiographical; it speaks of the general impression abroad of the domestic conflict and the false accusation of Tyāgarāja as insisting on the partition of the ancestral house for the purpose of living separately so that he could celebrate freely festivals for Rāma. Further support to the confrontation with the elder brother is to be had in the song 'Munnu Rāvaṇa', Toḍi, where Tyāgarāja cites the example of how the Lord, Rāma, came to the rescue of Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa from the humiliations they were put to by their elder brothers Vālin and Rāvaṇa.

While Tyāgarāja criticised with biting sarcasm the imposters passing off as *Bhaktas* and so-called musicians devoid of knowledge or character, he also invited trouble from those who reviled at him and his music. 'Paluka vēmi', Pūrṇachandrikā, represents to Rāma that people laugh at him (Tyāgarāja) and torment him (himsinchiri). The jealousy, antagonism and incessant harassment from the agnates ('dāyādula poraina' etc.) figure in 'Nāyeda vanchana', Nabhomani; 'Etula gāpāḍuduvo', Ahiri, and 'Tolinē', Śuddha Bangala. There are at least fifty

pieces in a plaintive style, in which Tyāgarāja gives vent to his dejection that the Lord is not coming to his rescue. Some of these are due to the suffering and ridicule he had to put up with from his compeers and those around him, e.g. 'Sarivārilonā' Bhinna Shadja; 'O Rājivāksha', Ārabhi. In 'Endukō ī manasu', Kalyani, Tyāgarāja reports to the Lord that those whom he had helped had turned hostile to him, would slight him and shun his company ('Prārabdhamiṭṭlunḍaga', Svaravali).

While all this is there, the story told of Tyāgarāja's elder brother Japyēśa as having ill-treated Tyāgarāja, taken his Rāma-idols and thrown them into the waters of the Kaveri and several of Tyāgarāja's songs of anguish as due to this last-mentioned incident are exaggerations and are the outcome of a common tendency of legends about great men to set off whose greatness a villain is considered necessary and has to be painted dark. When the floods subsided, the story continues, Tyāgarāja searched the sands of the river for his idols and that 'Nēnendu veda kudurā' etc. were the product of his anxious search. Here again the higher reference of the song to the difficulty of seeing God is dragged down by this anecdote.

Neither the elder brother at home nor the detractors outside could make Tyāgarāja waver in his dedication to Rāma and the daily activity which he had laid for himself in pursuit of his objective. One familiar with the scene of an *agrahāra* and a temple-town on the Kaveri like Tiruvayyāru can easily visualise Tyāgarāja getting up before dawn, in the *Brāhmamuhūrta* as it is called, spend sometime in prayerful contemplation and then leave for the river for bath and the religious routine of *sandhyā-vandana* etc. He would then do the *pārāyaṇa* of texts, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and/or the *Bhāgavata*. Tyāgarāja, like all votaries of this way of life, was vowed to voluntary poverty and the adoption of *Unccha-vritti*, going round the houses nearby and receiving handfuls of rice. One doing this *Unccha-vritti* ties his upper cloth round his head, with a free part flowing on the back, both these being a protection against the sun. Over his shoulders hangs across a strap to whose end, at the level of the hip, is tied a small vessel in which the householders offer their handfuls of rice. He may carry a Tambura on one hand for the *Śruti* and the *chipla* or wood-made Tāla accompaniment, or metal cymbals alone on both hands. The important thing is that he keeps on

singing the Lord's praise either in the form of a song or in the form of strings of the Names of the Lord (*Nānāvali*). He does not look at the houses or its inmates, tarries in front of the houses for only the briefest time, and unmindful of response or no response nor of what has been offered in the vessel hanging at his hip, he moves on. The *Unccha-vritti* is a daily act; it means that there should be no storing or accumulation of possession. So when the required quantity has come into the vessel he returns home, leaves the collection to the housewife and enters upon his daily *pūjā* at his domestic shrine. In his case, Tyāgarāja was, as already mentioned, a hereditary worshipper of Rāma and his Rāma-idols had come to him from his father. For Tyāgarāja, the *Pūjā* of his Rāma-idol was one of the two important parts of his devotion, the other being his songs on Rāma, *Archana* and *Kīrtana*. The *Pūjā* was also the basis and inspiration of a large number of his songs

It is God and sincere devotion to Him that imparts sanctity to holy places or holy waters (*Kshētra* and *Tīrtha*). By themselves, they are not fruitful. In his songs 'Kotinadulu', Toḍi, and 'Naḍachi naḍachi', Kharahara Priya, Tyāgarāja discounts the value of mere long journeys to these distant places without the realisation that all sanctity is in God who is close in one's own heart. This does not mean that Tyāgarāja did not regularly visit the temple at Tiruvayyāru or bathe in the Kaveri running through that place, or did not sing of the Deities in the temples with ardent devotion. He did not however undertake pilgrimage as a major religious activity as the Nāyanārs, Ālwārs, Aruṇagirinātha, or his own contemporary Muthuswami Dikshitar did. Life however occasioned his visits to a few shrines as his songs on the deities there show. But we do not know the circumstances which took him there. Tyāgarāja's itinerary had the famous Tirupati as the northernmost *Kshētra*; his two pieces 'Tera tīyaga rādā' in Gaulipantu and 'Veṅkaṭeśa ninu' in Madhyamādi are on Śrī Venkaṭeśa; in the former song, he prays to the Lord of Seshachala to remove the screen of arrogance and intolerance which hide one from the light of the inner lamp. In the neighbourhood of Madras, in the north, there is the historically

famous Tiruvotriyūr and on Goddess Tripurasundarī here, he sang 'Kanna Talli', Sāveri, 'Sundari ni', Kalyāṇī, 'Sundari ninu', Ārabhi, 'Sundari nannindarilō', Begaḍa, and the best known of this pentad 'Darini telusukoṇṭi', Śuddhasāveri, and mentions in it the much-coveted Friday-*durśana* of the celebrated Goddess. On another side of Madras, there is a suburb called Kovūr (Gopura) with a shrine to Śiva Sundareśvara whose Trustee (*Dharmakarta*) was a patron of music named Sundareśa Mudaliār. Tyāgarājā visited this temple-village and sang five pieces on Śiva here. As important as Tirupati is Kanchipura where Tyāgarājā sang of both Viṣṇu Varadarāja and Devi Kamakshi ('Varadarāja', Svarabhūṣaṇī, and 'Vināyakuni', Madhyamādi). There are two pieces of his on Śaṇmukha and these refer to Brahmapura or Śīrkālī in Choladeśa ('Nivaṇṭi daivamu Saḍānana', Toḍi, and 'Varaśikhivāhana', Supradīpa) in Sanskrit. Near his birth-place Tiruvārūr is the sea-side town Nagapattanam where the shrine of Goddess Nīlayatākshī, consort of Śiva Kāyārohaṇa, is a celebrated one. On this Goddess he sang two pieces 'Karmamē balavantamaya', Saveri, and 'Evaru teliya', Toḍi. The southernmost sacred places visited by Tyāgarājā are the holy Śrīraṅgam and Lālguḍi or Tapastīrthapura. Tyāgarājā offered another set of five songs at the feet of Raṅganātha, of which three are often sung 'O Rangaśāyi', Kāmbhoji, 'Chūtāmu rāre', Ārabhi, and 'Rāju veḍala', Deśya Toḍi. From the two latter pieces, it is evident that Tyāgarājā visited Śrīraṅgam during the festival of Raṅganātha when the *Utsava-mūrti* was being taken in procession. Lālguḍi or Tapastīrthapura is a nearby Śiva shrine, Śiva here bearing the name Saptarishīśa and Devī, Mahitappraviddhā or Praviddha Śrīmatī. If he calls Śrīraṅgam as 'Bhūloka Vaikuṇṭha', he calls this Śiva shrine 'Bhūloka Kailāsa' ('Īśa pāhi mām', Kalyani). On the Goddess here he sang three pieces. Of the five pieces sung in Lālguḍi, two are completely in Sanskrit. One of the disciples of Tyāgarājā was Rāma Iyer of Lālguḍi who might have been responsible for Tyāgarājā's visit to Lālguḍi. (This disciple later adorned the Mysore Court and came to be known as Pallavi Rama Iyer).

The distinction of the largest number of songs on a single sacred place and the Deities in its temple, belongs to Tiruvayyāru where Tyāgarājā lived. This is also the largest group of songs on a Deity other than his *Iṣṭadēvata*, Śrī Rāma. Enjoying

the beauty and the exalted feeling of river Kaveri flowing in this place, Tyāgarāja waxes poetic and eloquent on the place Pañchanada and river Kāverī. On Śiva Praṇatārtilhara in the temple here, where he worshipped daily, he sang six *Kīrtanas* and on Goddess Dharmasamvardhanī, no less than ten. One of these Śiva-*kīrtanas* is on the Deity in the festival procession ('Mucchata', Madhyamādi) and the Sāraṅga composition is fully in Sanskrit. One of the compositions on Dharmasamvardhanī ('Vidhi-Śakrādulaku', Iman Kalyani) gives a grand description of the Friday evening *darśana* of the Goddess.

While Rāma remained his 'favourite deity' (*Ishṭadēvatā*), Tyāgarāja was free from sectarian feelings. A follower of the time-honoured *Smārta* tradition of adoring all deities as forms of the same one Supreme Being, as seen in the *Panchayatana* or *Shanmata* worship—Tyāgarāja sang of Śiva or Viṣṇu in different manifestations and of Devī and Kumāra with the same fervour and in the same terms as he used in his addresses and appeals to Rāma. This religious liberalism, if we can say so, is a heritage coming down from the henotheism of the *Rigveda* and flows as a natural outcome of the Upanishadic doctrine of the One Supreme Impersonal Brahman taking many personal (*Saguṇa*) forms for blessing the seekers. Apart from demonstrating this urbanity of worship by these songs on different forms of Divinity, Tyāgarāja expressly states that his devotion and adoration of Rāma was free from any invidious distinctions as to the superiority of one faith over the other, i.e. *mata-bhēda*. The *Bhajanasaṃpradāya*, of which Tyāgarāja was a votary, enunciates the eschewal of bigotry as one of its basic requirements. Tyāgarāja reiterates this doctrine in more than one piece and in more than one way. His Rāma is the God praised by Śiva and Śiva is worshipped by Rāma; Devī is Rāma's sister and Kumāra his nephew. The texts speak of ten defects which can vitiate the faith in the repetition of the Lord's Name, *Nāma-japa*, and one of these ten *Nāma-aparādhas* is to make any distinction between one form of divinity and another, *mata-bhēda*. Tyāgarāja affirms this in his Rāma-songs; in 'Itara daivamula', Chāyātaraṅgi, he tells Rāma that he has been worshipping Him without *mata-bhēda* and that only such a Rāma-*bhajana* would bring salvation ('Matabhēdamuleka sadā madini marula gonnanu rā'). In 'Sukhi evaro', Kanada, he speaks of the happy devotee

of Rāma who sings of Him, not only with sweet music, but without making any *daiva-bhēda* (Daivabhēdamu lēka nitya-maina susvaramu gānamuto). In the song important in the context on hand, the 'Bhaktuni charitra', on the conduct or characteristics of a true devotee, Tyāgarāja includes this tenet of being free from the distinction between Śiva and Vishnu (Śiva Mādhava bhēdamu jeyagā rādu). In 'Vinatāsuta-vāhana', Jayantaseña, he condemns those who waste their time in disputations about the different faiths. It is in this way that one should understand Tyāgarāja's song on Hanumān, Garuḍa and the Tulasī plant which he calls forth as 'Mother' (Ammā and Jagaj-jananī). There are indeed four songs on Tulasī. In the same spirit, he could sing 'Rāma is the only Deity' ('Rāma eva daivatam' in Sanskrit and Rāga Balahamsa) and 'There is only one, Rāma' ('Uṇḍēdi Rāmuḍu okaḍu', Harikambhoji) and also tell Śiva Sundarēśvara at Kovūr that he, Tyāgarāja, has not seen another God like Him ('Ī vasudha nīvaṇṭi daivamu nendu gānarā', Sahana); similarly Kumāra at Sīrkālī that it is difficult to find another God like Him ('Nī vaṇṭi daivamu Shaḍānana nē nendu gānara', Toḍi); and Devī at his own place as the refuge of his family (Tyāgarāja kula śaranyē) and as Herself being Śiva and Rāma ('Karuna jūdavamma', Toḍi).

The belief in the one ultimate *Brahman*, devoid of all attributes (*Nirguṇa*) is not only not inconsistent with the practice of devotion to a personal God with name, form and qualities (*Saguṇa-mūrti*) but it is also necessary; *Bhakti* eventually leads to the attainment of *Brahma-jñāna* or *Brahma-sākashātkāra*. Tyāgarāja was born in a Smārta family and was a student of an Advaitic Sannyāsin Rāmakrishṇānanda; and when his last days were approaching, he became himself a Sannyāsin. The cultivation of *Bhakti* of this type has a continuous tradition from Śāṅkara himself and goes to the Upanishads themselves; and it was widely prevalent in *Chola-deśa* where, as already stated, the school of *Bhakti* specialising in the repetition of the Lord's Name (*Nāmasiddhānta*) and *Bhajana* (singing of the glory of the Lord singly or in congregation) was built up by a galaxy of *Bhaktas* and *Sannyāsins* beginning with Bodhendra, a Sankaracharya of

the Kamakoti Pitha. The *Bhakti*-yoga of the *Bhāgavata* is itself of this character, a harmonious synthesis of it with *Jñāna*-yoga. In the case of the worship of Rāma and His Name, it has been said in several texts and by several teachers that *Rāma-bhakti* is to be cultivated with a sense of oneness of oneself and the Deity. Upanishad Brahman of Kanchi with whom Tyāgarāja had contacts says that the *Japa* of *Rāma-nāma* should be done only like this: 'Sva-abhēdēnaiva bhāvayēt', and 'Brahmaiva aham', 'Rāmo ham asmi iti'. The Upanishad *Rāmatāpanī* says that RĀMA means the Supreme Being *Para Brahman*, the *Sat-chid-ānanda* in which Yogins revel, an idea which as we have seen, is embodied by Tyāgarāja in his Purnachandrika song, 'Rāma eni Para Brahmanunaku pēru'. The song 'Paramātmuḍu' in Vāgadhiśvari is on this Brahman which pervades the whole universe, everything great and small, good and bad.

In a couple of pieces Tyāgarāja expresses the mind oscillating between the dualistic and the monistic approaches, of the worshipper and worshipped—*dvaita* or *bheda* and oneness of the two—*advaita* or *abheda*. He asks Rāma himself 'What path shall I follow?' ('Edāri sancharinturā?' Balahamsa). More pointedly, he asks in a Ritigaula song 'Which conduces to happiness, *dvaita* or *advaita*?', 'Dvaitamu sukhamā, advaitamu sukhamā?' Asking Rāma to clear this dilemma, he ends on a note of non-difference. There are two pieces on *Tattva*, the ultimate Truth and *Jñāna*, its comprehension. In 'Tattvameruga taramā', Garuḍadhvani, he asks about the possibility of realising the great Truth declared in the *Mahāvākya*, of the Upanishad, affirming *advaita*, namely *TAT TVAM ASI* (Tattvamasi yanu vākyārthamu, Rāma, nivunu para tattvameruga taramā). His 'Jñānamosagarādā', Shadvidhamargini, prays for that knowledge (*Jñāna*) that one oneself is the Supreme Soul, the Individual soul, the fourteen worlds, all kinds of beings and the sages. Tyāgarāja affirms in 'Karuṇa ēlāgaṇṇē', Varali, that the true *Bhakta* is one who realises that the *Paramātman* and *Jivātman* are one (Paramātmuḍu jivātmuḍu okaḍai baraguchundu bhakta parādhīnuni). Again he regrets that he has not realised yet that you and I are one. Real happiness results only on the realisation of the identity of 'I and you' ('Nike dayarāka', Nilambari). Express mention of the Vedānta of non-difference, 'bheda-rahita-vedānta', is seen in 'Enduku peddala', Sankarabharana. Similarly realisation of *Advaita-sāmrājya* in

‘Rāma Sītārāma’ in Balahamsa. Like ‘Tat Tvam Asi’, the other great affirmation of non-difference is ‘So Aham’ (I am He) and the realisation of this, Tyāgarāja declares, is the greatest bliss (‘Intakanna ānandamemi’ in Bilahari) ‘SO‘HAM ainade chālu’ and ‘SO‘HAMU sukhamu’ (‘E vara maḍugudura’, Kalyani). Concomitant with this Self-realisation is the state of one becoming liberated while yet embodied, *Jīvanmukti* and this *jīvanmukti*, which Tyāgarāja mentions often is the end of not only Bhakti and Jñāna yogas but also of the Nādayoga which he sings of in several *kīrtanas*. By his final *Sannyāsa*, Tyāga *Brahmam* became *Brahmam* in reality, *Brahmī-bhūta* as it is said of the self-realised ones.

TYĀGARĀJA'S ACHIEVEMENT

We may now devote some attention to the music aspect of Tyāgarāja's *Kritis*. The evolution of the *Kriti* and its structure have already been dealt with. It was noted that in contrast to the *Divyanāmas*, the *Kritis* as such have shorter texts. Among the *Kritis* themselves, such a further division is possible. Sometimes a distinction is made between the very names *Kīrtana* and *Kriti*, the former meaning the *Divyanāma*-type and the latter the more purely artistic creations. Such a distinction is there although such an absolute classification becomes untenable. Some especially have fewer words, thereby affording great scope for the play of melody and display of its variations. Striking examples are 'Koluvaivunnāḍe', Bhairavi, 'O Rangaśāyi', Kāmbhojī, 'Chakkani rāja mārḡa', Kharahara Priya, 'Mārubalka', Śrīrañ-janī, 'Nājivādhāra', Bilahari, 'Dārini', Suddhasaveri, 'Giripai', Sahana, 'Nēnendu vedagudurā', Hari Kambhojī, 'Nagumōmu', Ābheri, 'Rāma nī samāna', Kharahara Priya. These variations are called *Saṅgatis*. They were known as such when Tyāgarāja himself composed, for he mentions them by name in his *Kriti* on the *Kriti*. Indeed this can be traced to the old *Rūpakālapī* mentioned by Śārāgadeva. Such variations are also found in the technique of *Pallavi*-singing. Particularly in dance, when the words of a *Varṇa* or more especially a *Pada* are intended chiefly for *Abhinaya*, the line is sung several times, everytime adopting a variation. The last-mentioned is most relevant, as here, we have the three factors, variations in melody, variations or turns possible in the meanings of the words and their sentiment and appropriateness of the above two in respect of the *Rāga* and the

theme. It was from these that Tyāgarāja took this art of variation and grafted it on to the very opening of his song. In Sanskrit *Alaṅkāra Śāstra*, *Pallava* is used in the sense of elaboration, and this is perhaps the history of the name *Pallavi* which came to be applied to the opening phase, which is the basis of the further unfoldment of the song and also to the technique of *Pallavi*-singing. Now, the originality of Tyāgarāja consists in grafting this art to the *Pallavi* and thereby achieving an extraordinary effect. The song bursts on you so to say like some fireworks; it rises before the listener like the waves of the sea, from the small one surging increasingly into larger and larger ones. In the pieces like 'O Rangaśāyi', these *Saṅgatis* go up to more than a dozen. Especially in medium tempo renderings, this cascade sweeps you as it were. However, these cannot be overdone. It is believed that the particular set of *Saṅgatis* have come down from the composer himself; there is no doubt about it. Now the performing musicians make their own additions and the use of *Saṅgatis* for *Saṅgati*'s sake, sometimes by the facility of the voice and encouraged by the listeners' approbation of the originality of the singer. But Tyāgarāja himself, in his reference to the *Saṅgati*, qualifies it and gives its function, both of which must be noted. Tyāgarāja says '*Sarasa saṅgati sandarbhamu*': The *Saṅgati* should be 'sarasa' and it should be in place, both of which emphasise the dual qualities of their natural enjoyability and appropriateness in the context. *Saṅgati* came to stay as an essential feature; the creations of his own contemporary Muttuswāmi Dīkshitar, which are in no need of them or at least did not contemplate them, have come to be rendered with *Saṅgatis*.

To make the *Saṅgatis* at the *Pallavi* meaningful, Tyāgarāja, as already explained when speaking of the architectonics of his *Kṛiti*, opens his composition with a compact statement which would allow elaboration in successive waves of the theme. Their significance can be correctly grasped if we remember the dance-*padas* and the *Rasa*-doctrine, according to which the dominant sentiment, the *Sthāyi-bhāva*, of *Śrīṅgāra*, is developed through its *Sañchāri-bhāvas* and according to the type of *Nāyaka* and *Nāyikā* depicted in the piece. Taking a telling near-parallel from Tyāgarāja, 'Mānamu lēdā', we may utter the refrain 'Have you no sense of self-respect?' first in a straight bland manner, then make it plaintive, then add more *Kāku* to it and also add a

sting to it as if pulling up the person concerned, as indeed its *Rāga*, Hamīr Kalyaṇī, would admit according to its own characteristic quality. This would indeed be appropriate to both the melodic *Bhāva* and the textual *Bhāva*. But such a correlation cannot be concretely demonstrated in every case, not at any rate in the twelve or more *Saṅgatis* of some pieces. Just as *Saṅgatis* have come to stay, and their overdoing too, so also the overdoing of their explanation. One of the outstanding musicians of modern times, a composer and a *Harikathā* performer, always took up 'Nēnenduvedagudarā' and interpreted each *Saṅgati* as meaning the different actions of Tyāgarāja when he dug the sands of the Kaveri river to find his Rāma Idol said to have been thrown there, according to the story, by Tyāgarāja's elder brother; with every turn in the musical phrasing, the performer turned a sod of sand and cast it this side and that! Another outstanding musician took *Saṅgati* to the limits of *reductio ad absurdum* when he said, I suppose with a grin, that the opening long syllables and the *Kārvai* they might admit, at the beginning of the *Pillayār Gīta* (Invocation to Gaṇeśa) *Lambodara*, could suit the context and suggest the pot-belly of Gaṇeśa!

Sound echoing the sense is a common feature of the writings of gifted poets. Poetic theory accepts it. *Saṅgati* is a pronounced form of it. But there are in several *Kritis*, *prayogas* or *sañchāras* of the *Rāga*, distribution of the *sthāyis*, the upward or downward course, by which also Tyāgarāja effects some appropriateness of meaning. We can see this in a conspicuous manner in a few examples: In 'Kshīṇamai tiruga', Mukhari, the idea is that all the distinctions and achievements are exhausted or come to nothing in the end; this is the *Pallavi*. In the *Anupallavi*, the distinctions achieved are illustrated by scholarship in Sanskrit, *Nāṭakas* and *Alaṅkāra Śāstra*, austerities etc., coming back to the refrain 'all these are short-lived glories and man has to return after enjoying the brief spell of enjoyment.' Now the *Anupallavi* referring to the so-called *high* achievements of man is in higher sweep of the *Rāga* and the *Pallavi* which refers to all these crumbling down in the *lower*. In 'Vāchamagōcharamē', the *Anupallavi* referring to Rakshasas like Maricha and Rāma's destructive power gives another example of this.

Apart from this, the harmony between the musical setting

and the meaning of the text is patent in some compositions. These are pieces of emotional quality, of states of feeling in Tyāgarāja when he uttered these words of request, plaint or complaint, anguish or the feeling of exaltation and exultation. Of songs starting off with the direct address of 'O', the following three 'O Jagannātha', Kedāra Gaula, 'O Rāma-ramaṇa', Kedāra, and 'O Rājivāksha', Ārabhi, have this quality. The complaint and anguish are prominently brought out in 'Nāmo-rālagimpavemi', Devagandhari, with its take-off in the *Tāra Sthāyi*. Similarly the two accusative songs 'Mānamuleda', Hamir Kalyāni, and 'Mariyāda gādayya', Bhairava. Stateliness and dignity of bearing are reflected in the Rāga and its pace in 'Mērusamāna', Mayamalava Gaula, and 'Rājuveḍala', Deśya Toḍi, both of which are on the gait and movement of the Lord. The happiness of those immersed in *Rāma-Nāma* is there in the Kanada Raga and its pace in the Pallavi 'Sukhi evaro'. Two different feelings are appropriately brought out from the same Toḍi 'Endudākināḍo' (on the Lord hiding himself from Tyāgarāja) and 'Ninu vinā sukhamu gāna' (on the Lord being the sole source of happiness for Tyāgarāja). The tempo, *Laya*, is important for the *Rasa*; it cannot be pushed in these even into the medium. However all this aesthetics, this sensitivity in rendering such pieces, is far away from the so-called concert-effect and tempo, augmented by the percussionists (two or even three) on one side and the advance claps of the audience on the other, with which they are put out and get completely drowned!

Most of the songs of Tyāgarāja have many *charaṇas*, particularly because of the ideas and the requirements according to his plan of developing them. Sometimes, the *charaṇas* are quite a number. But all of them are in the same *Dhātu* or musical setting and therefore the performing artist sings only one or two *charaṇas* the first and the last, often only the final one in which Tyāgarāja gives his name. The musicians do not even know the other *charaṇas*. This skipping cannot be done in the *kritis* of Muttuswāmi Dīkshitar because of the difference in the musical setting.

It is to his compositions again that we must turn for getting an idea of Tyāgarāja's scholarship and the breadth or depth of his learning and the extent to which he might have undergone formal education in Sanskrit and the *Śāstras*. If we can picture to ourselves his times and the environment in which he lived, it will not be difficult to understand what he learnt or how he grew into knowledge and how he developed his ideas and character. The *Agrahāras* were open university towns in which one with ears open gained one's all-round knowledge quite easily. The *Veda pāṛāyaṇa* and *Veda-ghoṣa*, the teaching and cultivation of Sanskrit and the *Śāstras*, the public expositions (*Pravachanas*) of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the temples, the festivals, the periodic *Sadas*, to all this one gets continuously exposed.

Tyāgarāja studied Sanskrit. None in his time and in the milieu in which he was born failed either to study the *Kāvya*s or do his *pāṛāyaṇa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. There are several songs of his completely in Sanskrit and in his two plays, he has composed a few Sanskrit *Śloka*s too. All his Telugu songs are replete with Sanskrit expressions. He uses rare words and also combinations, compounds or synonyms coined by himself which are normally difficult to construe except by one who has a good grounding in Sanskrit and Sanskrit lexicography. There are of course some grammatical lapses here and there and use of stock vocabulary in descriptions, praises or prayers addressed to God in the song-literature of the composers of the time and the predecessors. There are also vernacularisms in the Sanskrit. What is noteworthy is that Tyāgarāja's *Sāhitya* displays much originality, happy and graceful diction and turns of expression, fancies, similes and all those qualities which entitle him to be called a poet. He was certainly a tone-poet but he was also, on the literary side, a poet endowed with gifts of imagination and expression.

Song-compositions are in metrical patterns (*padya*) and free prose (*gadya*) and have rules of alliteration. Among his Manuscripts, in the Walajapet collection, there is a treatise on prosody. His two plays, *Naṭkācaritram* and *Prahlāda Bhakti Vijayam* show that Tyāgarāja was quite at home in metrical composition,

the former employing forty-two verses and the latter one hundred and thirty-eight and among the metres used for these verses are: Anuṣṭubh (Śloka), Śārdūla, Kanda, Sīsa, Dvipada, Champakamālā, Utpalamālā, Utsāha, Gita, Dandaka; and also rhythmic prose (Chūṛṇikā). Tyāgarāja's songs also are in both forms, *paḍya* and *gaḍya* and the alliterations and sound-effects he produces in both forms are striking for their variety and effect, and in some of them, he sustains himself through the whole song. He can play on words effectively. As a composer who not only expressed the different facets and moods of his devotion, but also conveyed his trials and troubles, expounded his ideas on religion, philosophy and ethics, and criticised the world and the worldly ones around, Tyāgarāja was equal to the task he put himself to. Indeed among the composers of his times, he was a poet.

We may take some examples: 'Rāja' meaning 'moon', besides 'king', is common, but 'Abja' in the sense of 'moon' ('Rākāb-jamukha' in 'Lāvanya Rāma') is rare. 'Abdhi', 'Vāridhi', 'Payodhi' are common synonyms for 'sea'; but 'Śara' for 'water' and 'Śaradhi' for sea are rather rare. One comes across also 'Vana' for 'water', 'Vanadhi' for 'sea' and also 'Vanaja' and 'Vanaruha' for 'lotus'. Of monosyllabic words 'Vi' in the sense of 'bird', with special reference to the Lord's mount 'Garuḍa' is quite common: 'Vi-rāja-turaga' and 'Vi-vāha' (in 'Nee dayarāvalē-gāka', Toḍi); but the latter is particularly out of the way and is likely to produce confusion with 'Vivāha' meaning 'marriage'. Even so is his use of the synonym 'Ghaṭakarna' for 'Kumbhakarna' which at first sight would be puzzling ('Raghuvīra', Huseni). Equally out of the way but showing Tyāgarāja's command of the language, is the word 'Bha' meaning 'star' in a variety of combinations which would baffle the general reader or listener: 'Bha-rāja' and 'Bheṣa' for 'moon' (in 'Matī matiki', Mohana; in 'Mēlukōvayya', Bauli; and in 'Sri Nārada', Kanada). 'Kavi-vāsara' (in 'Sundarini', Kalyani) is used for 'Sukravāsara'. Also 'Mandajanaka' for 'Sun', 'Manda' meaning 'Saturn'; 'Vāri-vāha-vāha-tanaya' for Vālin, son of Indra who rides on the cloud. For tough synonyms and *Samāsas*, we have 'Upavalāri' for 'Upa-Indra' meaning Vishṇu (in 'Upavalāri-māyāvilāṣini', 'Sivē Pāhi', Kalyani).

Playing on words, *Slesha*, could be illustrated by the follow-

ing: 'Tārādhīśa-vadana' meaning, 'with face like the moon' and 'Tārādhīśa-damana' meaning 'subduer of Vāli (in 'Pālaya Śrī Raghuvīra', Devagandhari); 'Sugrīva' meaning the 'monkey-King' and also 'Tyāgarāja' who has 'a beautiful voice' (in 'Namo-rālagimpa', Devagandhari); and the word 'Vibhīshaṇa' in the same piece. With some sarcasm at the unworthy Brahmans, he puns on the word *Drija* meaning both 'Brahman' and 'Bird' and asks Rāma why he punished the 'crow' and is not punishing the 'fallen Brahman'! Conveying two meanings by splitting a compound in two different ways, the same sound-group yielding thus two different words is what is called *Bhaṅga-slesha* of which Bāṇa was a past-master. Tyāgarāja also could do things like this and produce some striking examples: 'Rākshasa-jana' and 'Makaraksha-samora'; 'Śrī Daśaratha' and 'Śrī-du-sarathi(dhi)'; 'Himakara' and 'Ehi Makara-haraṇa'; 'Tyāgarāja-nuta' and 'Nī-tyāga-aṅgaraja-dhara'; 'Janaka-jāmatā' and 'Janakajā-mātā'; 'Kanaka-ṇṇādhara' and 'Kana-Kaṇṇa' (these two in 'Anupama guṇāmbudhi', Athana); 'Kamalāhita' (favourable to Lakshmi) and 'nata-Kamalāhita-dhara' (saluted by Śiva who wears the moon who is *not* favourable to *Kamalā* or *lotus*) in 'Śrī Raghuvāra', Bhairavi, and 'Pāhi Pāhi', Saurashtra.

Certain types of alliteration and repetition of syllables are part of the characteristics and requirements of composition. The most prominent among these is the consonance of the second letter of the lines. In his song in Śriranjani, 'Sogasugā mridanga', where he defines what a *Kṛiti* is, Tyāgarāja mentions the features *Yati* and *Vīrama*. At regular *yatis* or the fall or the rhythmic beat or the *Tāla-āvarta*; such consonance has its own charm. At the end of the line or the piece, the closing word or part of a word is made to dovetail itself into the opening word of the *Pallavi*; this kind of effect could be added in other parts of the composition also. The first mentioned, basic to all song-composition, is seen in all the *Kritis* of Tyāgarāja. For the others, the following may be seen: Nidhi-Sannidhi; Vidulaku-kovidalaku; Dāntunikaina-Vedāntunikaina; Dari-Sundari-Tripurasundari; Dehi-Vaidehi; Savamu-Putrotsavamu; Mānamu-Abhimānamu; Kaṇṇa-Krekaṇṇa; Kulamā-Vyākulamā; Mitri-Saumitri; Śodhanulaku-Yaśodhanulaku.

Command and ability in utilising the resources of the language are also evident in the sustained use, over a whole compo-

sition, of a word with all kinds of affixes. The best example of this is Tyāgarāja's song debunking astrology. Asking 'What is the power of planets?' and replying 'Rāma's blessing is the real power or strength', Tyāgarāja says in the song in Revagupti:

Graha balamēmi Śrī Rāma-*anugraha* balamē balamu.

Graha balamēmi Tējōmaya *vigraha* munu dhyāninchuvāriki

navagraha

Graha piḍala pañchapāpa mulanāgrahamulu gala Kāmādiri-
pula *nigrahamu* jēyu, etc.,

bringing in along with *Graha*, *Anugraha*, *Vigraha*, *Āgraha* and *Nigraha*. In 'Paluka vēmi' in Ārabhi, the *charaṇas* have a series of words with rhyming ends, *ōrchina*, *ārchina*, *aṅgalār-china*, *nērchina*, *dalachina*, *golicina*, *valachina*, *pilichina*; then, *delipina*, *nilipina*, *salipina*, *kalipina*; again, *gānchina*, *bhajinchina*, *vanchina*, *unchina*; then *paṭṭina*, *tiṭṭina*, *juṭṭina*, *baṭṭina*; *āḍina*, *pāḍina*, *veḍina*; *kōrina*, *jērina*, *dūrina*, *pōrina*; then, *telisina*, *galusina*, *solasina*; and then, *jikkina*, *sokkina* and *dakkina*. In 'Lakshanamulu gala', Suddha Saveri, look at the number of times the letter 'Ksha' occurs; *Lakshana*, *Pradakshina*, *Kukshi*, *Vichakshana*, *Dikshā*, *Lakshana-Lakshya*, *Pratyaksha*, *Akshara*, *Śiksha*, *Rakshaka*, *Sākshi*, *Paksha*.

From the themes and motifs of his songs, it is clear that Tyāgarāja was thoroughly familiar with all Purāṇic myths and legends about the different Deities and incarnations. Like the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* among the Purāṇas must have been a mainstay for him, not only in respect of the manifestations of Vishnu and the *līlās* of Kṛishna, but also on *Bhakti*, its tenets, role and its nine forms. One of the manuscript works in the Walajapet collection is the Telugu *Bhāgavata* of Potana. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata* are quoted by him in the *Prahlāda Bhakti Vijaya*. A full believer in the doctrine of Surrender and one who condemned *Momatā*, Tyāgarāja of course was imbued with the spirit and teachings of the *Gītā*, which to him was synonymous with Vedantic knowledge ('Gītārthamu', Surati). One of the common practices of devout people is to get by heart a number of Sanskrit *Stotras*, hymns and prayers on different deities and keep reciting them when visiting temples, on holy days or during specific parts of the

day or whenever they feel like reciting them. Tyāgarāja was no exception, as the quotation from the well-known *Stotra Mukundamālā* of Kulaśekhara, in his *Prahlāda Bhakti Vijayam*, shows. By his close contact with the votaries of the path of *Nāma-japa*, he must have been quite conversant with the concepts of that school as propounded in the treatises of its promulgators like Bodhendra and Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa. A text on the efficacy of the Name of the Lord, *Devatā-nāmanāhātmya* is part of the Walajapet collection. Major philosophical schools, beliefs and propositions are to be met with in the songs—*Dvaita*, *Advaita*, *Mukti* and *Jīvanmukti* (often); *Dhyāna*; the two theories of Lord's grace of the two Śrī Vaishṇava schools viz. the *Mārjāra* and *Markaṭa Nyāyas* which are reflected in at least five pieces (Kaligī unṭe gadā', Kīravāṇi; 'Mī valla', Kapi; 'Nī daya rāvalē', Toḍi; 'Tanayuni brōva', Bhairavi and 'Aparādhamaḷa', Vanavali) and Tyāgarāja inclines more to the former view that his initiative is just surrender and the rest, blessing, redeeming etc. is the Lord's. All this was in the air, so to say, which Tyāgarāja breathed. In 'Evarimāḷa', Kambhoji, he says that he was grown in the teachings of the Rishis (*Śruti*, *Smṛiti*, *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*) and the human authors (the *Śāstras*) (*Ārsheya paurusheya mandī chōdya meruga lēnayya*). He refers to himself in 'Aṭu kārādani', Manoranjani, as well-versed in *Veda*, *Śāstra* and *Upanishad* and as having therefore a claim on the Lord's attention.

Rāma-bhakti literature was of course the field of his special erudition. It began with the *Rāma Pūrva* and *Uttara Tāpanī Upanishads*. Vālmīki and his *Rāmāyaṇa* were his very heart. He mentions Vālmīki many times, refers to his spiritual transformation, his singing of Rāma and of himself as following in the footsteps of the Sage-poet ('Epanikō', Asaveri). Tyāgarāja's familiarity with Vālmīki is thorough and apart from the episodes and incidents in the Epic, the whole personality of Rāma, his qualities of head and heart, his soft and smiling utterances, the unfailing charm and cheer of his face, his dignified bearing, his embodiment in himself of *Satya*, *Dharma* and *Ahimsā*, Rāma as the perfection of son, brother, husband, and friend, and his exemplary rule, his unbounded compassion and concern for the people, all these and other traits of Rāma, including sometimes the very words of Vālmīki, are imbedded in Tyāgarāja's

songs. *Rāmāyaṇas* grew and so also texts on the worship of Rāma, on the true concept and meaning of Rāma and His Name and on the greatness and efficacy (*Māhātmya*) of *Rāma-bhakti*. All this Tyāgarāja knew. Of the *Rāmāyaṇas* other than Vālmiki's, the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, ascribed to Vālmiki himself comes first. 'Ī menu galgina', Varali, mentions the story of how Vālmiki was a cruel hunter and he was redeemed through *Rāma-Nāma* imparted to him by the sages. The song 'Everani nirṇayinchirā', Devamritavarshini, when explaining the Name Rāma as made up of the vital syllables of *Śiva mantra* and the *Mādhava-mantra*, actually sets forth the Name in the reverse order of the syllables, 'Ma-ra'. The explanation is well known and has already been referred to. As earlier mentioned, in 'Sāramēgāni' (Pantavarali), Tyāgarāja refers to Nārada imparting the God's Name to Vālmiki and Śuka Brahman to Parikshit (in the *Bhāgavata*). All this is from the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, where the Vālmiki-episode occurs in *Ayodhyā kāṇḍa*, (sarga 6, śloka 65 ff.) A clear and detailed reference to the *Adhyātma* is in 'Manasā Śrī Rāmachandrūni', Isamanohari, where Vālmiki is said to describe the real nature or truth of Rāma being the Supreme Being above the Trinity. Chapters 3 and 6 specified here (Mūḍunnar adhyāyamula jūchukō) are 3 and 6 of the *Bāla kāṇḍa* of the *Adhyātma*; in 3, Rāma, as He is born, appears in his form of the Supreme Nārāyaṇa and in 6, describing Sītā's marriage, Sage Nārada reveals that Rāma and Sītā are the eternal Nārāyaṇa and Lakshmī. It is wrong to take this as referring to the *Gītā* of 18 (3×6) chapters or ch. 9 (3+6) of the *Gītā*. A further episode from the *Adhyātma* occurs in 'Ī menu', in Varali, of an Apsaras cursed to become a crocodile, trying to devour Hanumān, which forms part of the Kālanemi-episode. This refers to the *Adhyātma* VI. 7, 21-25. Similarly the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* which glorifies Sītā as the all powerful *Śakti* is also seen in his compositions. 'Śrī Janaka-tanaye' on Sītā, in Kalakanthi, describes her as the destroyer of the hundred-headed *Rāvaṇa*, which is the leading theme of the *Adbhuta*. There is the tradition that Sītā left her real body in the fire and it was only a shadow-body (Chāyā-Sītā) that Rāvaṇa carried away, which Tyāgarāja speaks of in 'Mā Jānakī', Kambhoji. This is from the *Adhyātma* III. 7. 'Dēhi tava pada-bhaktim', Sahana, speaks of Sage Agastya singing of Sītā and

this may be a reference to the *Agastyāsamhitā*, an important text on *Rāma-bhakti*. A little known but an important version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the *Bhusuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa*, earlier than the *Adhyātma* and one of the sources of Tulasidāsa's *Rāma charita mānasa* and depicting the type of devotion called *Prema* or *Madhura Bhakti*, like the *Bhāgavata*. A precious idea that Tyāgarāja puts forth in the Kāpinārāyaṇī piece 'Sarasa sāma dāna bheda daṇḍa chatura' is that if, after Rāma had promised the Kingdom of Laṅkā to Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāvaṇa would surrender, Rāma would solve the problem by asking Bharata to give Ayo-dhyā to Rāvaṇa. This idea is derived from the *Bhusuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa*. Rāma, as compared with the other nine incarnations, is held to be a *pūrṇa-avatāra*, and the best of the ten forms that the Lord took. This is stated and expounded in the *Bhusuṇḍi* and *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇas*. Tyāgarāja embodies this belief in his 'Madilōṇa', Kolāhala, and 'Raghupatē Rāma', Sahana. The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* says in three places that this speciality of *Rāma-avatāra* is due to the three-fold vow of Rāma, the 'three only ones',—'one word, one arrow and one wife'. Although these three features go to Vālmiki himself, it is the *Ānanda* which brings together these three in one place and mentions them as the basis of the superiority of Rāma. Now this idea is put forth by Tyāgarāja in his well-known song in Harikambhoji 'Oka māṭa, oka bāṇamu, oka patni vratuḍē'. The description of Rāma standing, on the eve of the battle, on the Suvela hill, in 'Giripai', Sahana, is according to a prescribed form of contemplating Rāma, which Tulasidas also mentions. Tulasidas is, as already stated, saluted by him in his *Prahlāda-bhakti-vijaya*. Similarly the description of Hanumān in 'Pāhi Rāma-dūta', Vasantavarali, sitting under the Pārijāta tree and reading the *Purāṇa* at the instance of Rāma, is after the well-known *Dhyāna-śloka* on Rāma, 'Vaidehī-sahitam', etc. Indeed even the floating popular anecdotes of the Rāma-bhakti tradition find a place in his songs. In 'Enduku nirdaya', Harikambhoji, he mentions the devotion of the squirrel, which contributed its own mite to the building of the *Setu* by throwing bits of sand into the sea and for which Rāma affectionately stroked its back. In 'Kalala nērchina', Dīpaka, there is a reference to a Singari Muni who was not able to eat or enjoy what he got, as illustration of the idea that one cannot escape one's fate.

The conception of Rāma in the above surveyed Rāma-literature comprises three grades or phases: First there is the portrait of Rāma as depicted by Vālmīki with all the episodes and incidents of the Epic and the infinite excellences (ananta-kalyāṇaguṇas) of the hero. On the basis of these traits, Rāma is considered as the best of the ten incarnations and also the fullest among them, meaning that the others are but partial manifestations of the Lord. The second phase is that Rāma is himself of the form of the *Tri-mūrtis* ('Purahara-sarojabhava-keśavādi rūpa' in 'Jagadānanda', Nāṭa) and superior to the Trinity ('Muggurilo mēlaina Rāma' in 'Siggumāli', Kedaragaula). The third and highest is that Rāma is the Name of the Supreme Being, 'Rāmāyani Brahmamunaku pēru', in 'Telisi Rāma', Pūrṇachandrikā, and 'Paramāina Brahmamu' in 'Pāhi Kalyāṇa Rāma', Kapi. The last conception is based on the Upanishadic declaration that the word Rāma means Para Brahman, of the unlimited form of *Sat*, *Chid* and *Ānanda* by reason of its radical meaning that Yogins delight (from the root *Ram*) in it.

“Ramante Yogino anante satyānande chidātmani/
Iti Rāma-padenāsau Param Brahma abhidhiyate//

(*Rāmapūrvatāpani*)

All these three phases are included in Tyāgarāja's conception of his Deity *par excellence*, Rāma. It is Vālmīki's Rāma, his story and the qualities that draw his devotion and the songs in its diverse forms and moods of exultation and depression. These are expressed in endless variations and play of poetic imagination which make Tyāgarāja one among the galaxy of Rāma-poets in Sanskrit or the regional languages. In some songs, in addition to those cited above, while on the greatness of the Rāma-form, Tyāgarāja exalts Rāma above the *Tri mūrtis*; for example in 'Mummūrtulu gumigūḍi', Athana, and in 'Enduṇḍi veḍalitivō', Darbar; in the latter especially, with his poetic fancy, he points out in each of the other forms of Divinity, among the *Avatāras* or among the Trinity, some flaw or other from which Rāma is free.

Tyāgarāja is said to have composed twenty-four thousand songs but this is an idea due to his juxtaposing himself with Vālmiki whose *Rāmāyaṇa* is in twenty-four thousand verses. Tyāgarāja's pupil, Venkaṭaramaṇa Bhāgavatar describes his guru as author of hundred thousand (*śata sahasra*) *Kīrtanas*, in his song on the guru, 'Guru charanam bhaja re', Sankarabharanam. But this has to be taken in the general sense of 'numerous'. The *Kīrtanas* of his that we now have are about six hundred. Apart from *Kīrtanas* as such, Tyāgarāja composed a short musical play called *Naukācaritram* on a boating excursion of the Gopīs and Krishna on the Yamunā. This is indeed a fine creation of Tyāgarāja, a short composition which brings out effectively the idea of complete surrender to the Lord, absolute reliance on Him and abandoning everything for that purpose. The story is built very artistically and the idea of eschewal of pride, faith in the Lord and self-surrender to Him in absolute humility, is worked out through an incident invented with imagination. The Gopīs hear the music of the flute of Krishna who is coming round the streets for obtaining jujube fruits. The Gopīs join him and with music and dance come to the banks of Yamunā. There they see a boat on the waters and get into it along with Krishna. In the height of their joy in the company of Krishna, they become elated that they have Krishna for themselves. When this pride gets into their head, Krishna wants to teach them a lesson. He conjures up storm and thunder. In the downpour the boat tosses on the billowing waters and suddenly springs a leak. As the water gushes in, the Gopīs, stricken with fear, appeal to Krishna for protection. Calmly, Krishna asks them to take off their clothes and plug the holes in the boat with them. Finding no other way, the Gopīs place their full faith in Krishna and obey Him. Krishna then calls off the gale.

There are twenty-three songs in this work and following the *nāṭaka*-practice, *Rakti Rāgas* are employed; in the fourteen *Rāgas* used, the rare Rāga Ghaṇṭā figures in two pieces. The work is set in the drama-pattern, the songs being linked up through introductory verses (*padya*s) and prose (*gadya*). The theme is something that grows naturally out of the *līlās* of

Krishna in the *Bhāgavata*. It is on the model of a class of compositions called *Narukā-vilāsa* or *Nau-vihār* obtaining in the Bengal school of *Krishna Bhakti*. A Sanskrit *Naukācaritram* has come down in the Walajapet collections. This is a version of Tyāgarāja's work and prepared by a grand-pupil of his named Veṅkata.

A much longer sustained composition on a specific theme that Tyāgarāja gave is the *Prahlāda-bhakti-vijaya* on the glory of devotion as exemplified in the well-known story of Prahlāda. The Prahlāda-story is an exemplary one in the Bhakti tradition, as young Prahlāda typifies the devotee who loves God and knows none else, thereby undergoes suffering and torture from the enemies who try to kill him but who is saved from all the dangers by the grace of God who appears, destroys the enemies and blesses him. An elder contemporary of Tyāgarāja was Venkaṭarāma Bhāgavatar of Melattūr, a village nearby, where the Bhāgavata-plays in Telugu were being enacted by Brahmans. The best known play of Venkaṭarāma Bhāgavatar was *Prahlāda* and it is likely that this composer and his *Prahlāda* served as inspiration to Tyāgarāja. But the originality of Tyāgarāja was such that giving up the narrative, he concentrated on the *Bhakti* of Prahlāda and decided to bring out its glory.

The demon-father of Prahlāda, Hiranyakaśipu, and the divine-saviour of Prahlāda, Narasimha who kills the demon, are both kept out of the play. Instead, a series of episodes are projected to demonstrate the greatness of *Bhakti* and the protection that the Lord affords to the devotees.

The first is Prahlāda being tied over with serpents and thrown into the sea where the king of the seas welcomes him and gets Garuḍa to cure Prahlāda of the poisonons bites; Prahlāda asks the king of the seas to enlighten him on the means to attain Hari and is advised to worship Hari. The worship taught is *Mānasa-pūjā*.

The second sequence is Prahlāda adoring Hari and Nārada coming to him and reporting that the Lord is pleased with his devotion and has decided to see Prahlāda in spite of Lakshmi not being in favour of Hari's going.

The third presents Prahlāda singing about the glory of *Bhakti* as the only fruitful thing to do; not being able to see Hari, he swoons and Hari immediately appears and takes him.

Hari then asks Prahlāda to mention any boons that he might want. Prahlāda does not desire any boon except service to the Lord. Hari congratulates him on his resolve.

In the last sequence, Hari desires to return to Vaikuṇṭha and disappears from Prahlāda's view. Prahlāda is distressed and runs himself down. Thereupon Hari and Lakshmī give *darśana* to Prahlāda. The sight of Prahlāda in ecstasy and Hari and Lakshmī blessing him attracts the other gods and sages who throng there.

The play is thus finished in five Acts. It follows the structure of the play, with introductory verses and songs at the opening, and verses and prose passages linking up the songs. In the beginning, besides referring to his family and parentage, as he does in the *Naukācaritra*, Tyāgarāja offers salutations to a number of Saint-singers from Jayadeva to Nārāyaṇatīrtha, including in the list the Maharashtra Saints and Tulasidās. Twenty-eight Rāgas, including *Rakti Rāgas* like Ghaṇṭā, Āhiri, Pharaj and Gaulipantu, are used for the forty-five songs here.

The above analysis shows that Tyāgarāja follows here the pattern of the *Bhāgavata Nāṭakas*. He actually calls them *Nāṭakas*. Recently enthusiasts had coined for them the name 'Opera', thinking that they are putting Karṇāṭaka music on a par with the Western. It is a misnomer to call them Operas. Nor is there any evidence of these having been ever staged. They were of course sung in *Bhajana*-performances and in concerts; some of the songs here, more especially from the *Prahlāda-Bhakti Vijaya*, are being sung as *Kīrtanas*, e.g. the opening song on Gaṇapati and concluding *maṅgalam* in Saurāshṭra; all concerts end with this *maṅgalam*, 'Nee nama rūpamulaku nitya jaya maṅgalam'.

A considerable number of Tyāgarāja's songs bear allusions to or are based on episodes, incidents and characters in the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, spread over the whole length of the Epic. e.g. 'Alakalalla' and the Viśvāmitra-episode, 'Śrī Rāma pādama' and the Ahalyā-episode, 'Sarasa sāma dāna' and the Vibhīṣaṇa-śaraṇāgati-episode. But these are not narrative; the episodes are used for poetic fancies and observations on and

praise of Rāma. Some enthusiasts have imagined here a sustained design of the composer to present a regular *Rāma-nāṭaka* in songs. Some call this work *Sītārāma-vijayam* and even refer to a music-work of that name published in Madras in 1868. Some however say that it dealt with the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* story ! A copy of this last-mentioned book is nowhere traceable and nothing conclusive can be said about its authenticity; nor could we say that, although dealing with incidents and characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Tyāgarāja had any plan to compose them as part of a musical story or play. No direct addresses between characters nor any elements of dialogue or interlinking prose directions have been known with respect to these songs. Tyāgarāja's fame would suffer least if he had not sung his songs as part of a musical play.

There is the song of Tyāgarāja in Ritigaula in which he invites all devotees (*Bhāgavatas*) to congregate and sing his songs composed for the salvation of humanity. Here the composer describes his songs as 'a garland of gems of Rāgas' and 'a garland of hundred gems of Rāgas', 'Rāgaratnamālīka chē', 'Śata rāgaratnamālīka chē'. Some take hold of this and say that a corpus of hundred songs is meant here and go further and identify it as the set of compositions called *Divya-nāma-Saṅkīrtana*. Here again, there is no evidence for such an assumption. In 'Elāvātāra', Mukhari, also the expression 'Satarāgaratnamālīka' occurs, obviously in a general way.

The *Kīrtanas* of Tyāgarāja, outside of the songs in the two plays, fall into three groups; the *Divya-nāma-saṅkīrtanas*, the *Utsava-sampradāya-Kīrtanas* and *Kīrtanas* or *Kritis* as such. The first is a larger group with about 75 songs and the second, a smaller one with about 25 songs. The bulk of Tyāgarāja *Kritis* are of the third category.

The *Divya-nāma-saṅkīrtana*, as the name signifies, is primarily a string of the names and epithets of the Lord, *Nāmāvali*. Consequently they are mostly in the form of vocative address to the Lord. Upanishad Brahendra has a large body of *Divya-nāma-kīrtanas* where we find the sustained use of vocative addresses, calling upon God with His names and epithets but al-

ready this elder contemporary of Tyāgarāja had introduced in his *Divya-nāmas* advaitic metaphysical ideas. To Tyāgarāja, his songs were the vehicle of his devotional feelings and ideas of *Bhakti*. As in his *Kritis*, here also Tyāgarāja packs the lines of his *Divya-nāmas* with a good deal of such ideas. Indeed it is among them that we have the longest compositions of his, barring of course, the *Pancharatnas* in the five *Ghana Rāgas*, the one in Gaurī, 'Jaya Jaya Śrī Raghu Rāma' running to twenty-three feet (*charaṇas*). Alliterations and rhymes abound in them. Sanskrit is freely used and many rare synonyms and compounds in Sanskrit occur. The features which make them a distinct group is the structure of the pieces with only two parts, the *Pallavi* and the *Charaṇas*, i.e. without the *Anupallavi*. Sometimes there is no clear demarcation of *Pallavi* and *Charaṇa*, but only the ending part of the first *Charaṇa* is taken up by the solo singer or the group as a *Pallavi* and repeated. For example 'Vinayamu nanu', Saurashtra, in which the ending words of the first *charaṇa* 'joochuna dennaṭikō' (when am I going to see that?) is the refrain; and in 'Śrī Rāma Raghu Rāma', Yadukula Kambhoji, the ending words of the first *charaṇa*, 'Japamēmi jeseṇō teliya' (What penance so and so did, I do not know) are repeated. Also their musical setting is simple, as they are intended for congregational singing. But some of them have been more recently taken up by concert-musicians and rendered elaborately like other *Kritis*. Several of them fall into metrical or pointed rhythmic patterns.

The *Divya-nāma* is a product or essential adjunct of the *Bhajana-sampradāya*. When Tyāgarāja calls upon the Bhāgavatas to come together and sing songs of the Lord ('Rāgaratna', Riti-gaula), he is having in his mind the *Bhajana-goshṭhis* in *Bhajana-maṭhas*, as also those following the Deities in procession during the temple-festivals. It is in this kind of participation that Tyāgarāja revelled.

The *Utsava-sampradāya-kīrtanas* form a class as they follow the various activities constituting the procedure in celebrating the festival of the Deity. In the *Bhajana* tradition there are such festivals, the *Sītā-kalyāṇam* and the *Rūd.ā-kalyāṇam*, extending over a few days; also when one has a regular daily *pūjā* in his own

house, this scheme is followed. These activities are different kinds of attention shown to God as King, as a *Nāyaka*, as a child and so on. Naturally the songs have a domestic and folk-song basis. There is first the *Hecchārika* songs in which the coming of the Lord is announced. The next ones describe the Lord seated in court (*Kolu*). The third set is on the Lord's marriage and includes the *Gjurī-Kalyāṇam*, conducting *Nalugu* or the play of the newly married couple, and the *Hārati* or the waving of light before the Lord, the song here taking the form of pronouncing *Maṅgalam* for the Lord. There is then the giving of a bath to the Lord with songs called *Sobhana*, and songs called *Lāli* which put the Lord on the Swing (*Ḍolā*, *Oonjal*). Songs which ask the Lord to take rest are called *Pavvalimpu* and when He is laid on the bed, he is gently stroked with songs of *Jojo*. After His sleep, He is requested to wake up, *Mēlu kolupu* (*Suprabhāta* in Sanskrit, *Palli-ezhucchi* in Tamil). The *Maṅgalam* songs invoke blessings on the Lord (*Pallāṇḍu* in Tamil). Most of these songs are in *Rāgas* used by people in these activities like Swing, Sleep etc. Examples of Tyāgarāja's *Kīrtanas* of this class are 'Heccharika' in Yādukula Kambhoji; 'Sītākalyāṇa vaibhōgamē' in Sankarabharana; 'Nagumōmu' in Madhyamādi; 'Patik hārati' in Surati; 'Sobhānē' in Pantuvarali; 'Baḍalika dīra pavvalimchavē' in Ritigaula; 'Lāli lāli' in Harikambhoji and 'Uyyāla luga vayya' in Nilambari, the Raga of the lullaby; (there are seven songs here including one in Anandabhairavi); 'Jojo' in Ritigaula; 'Mēlukōvayya' in Bauli, the Raga of dawn; and 'Maṅgala' in Ragas used for this final activity of invoking auspiciousness Surati, Saurashtra, Ghaṇṭā, etc.

Close to the above group is one in which the acts comprised in the *puja*, the addressing and decorating the Idol (*Alaṁkāra*) ('Rāra Sītā', Hindola Vasanta, and 'Chēṭulāra śringāramu jēśi', Kharahara Priya); offering of food, milk etc. ('Āragimpavē', Toḍi) and *pan* ('Viḍamu sēyavē', Kharahara Priya); the offer of the *upachāra*s of umbrella (*chhatra*), chowry (*chāmara*) etc. ('Upachāramulanu', Bhairavi).

The bulk of the compositions of Tyāgarāja are the *Kritis* as such, each of which stands apart. Structurally, they are complete with

the three parts, *Pallavi*, *Anupallavi* and *Charaṇa*. These could be studied from the literary and musical points of view. In the former aspect again, we have not only the language and expression but also the thought-content and the skill with which it is presented or expounded. The Telugu language handled by Tyāgarāja cannot be compared with that of Kshetrājña or Annamāchārya. We should bear in mind that Tyāgarāja was born in the Tamil country where the Telugu families had lived for some generations. They had imbibed much from the local vocabulary, idiom and colloquialisms and ideas and sayings, the *Bhāshā* and *Paribhāshā* current in the Kaveri delta. For example, in 'Nidhi Chāla', Kalyaṇi, he uses the word 'Gaṅgī-sāgara' in the sense of 'toddy' and this is based on an anecdote relating to an eminent scholar of those times in the Chola country. There have been from time to time attempts to improve the colloquial forms and adopt purer literary forms but this is clearly misguided enthusiasm. A well-known Telugu poet once told me that to Tyāgarāja, the *Sāhitya*, or the words of his song, was only the external garment, as he himself calls it so when he says of Rāma 'Tyāgarāja-vāk-chēla-āvṛita' ('Nī daya chē', Yadukula Kambhoji). It is going too far to say from this that to Tyāgarāja the word or expression was external to his art. 'Vāk' here is the whole *Sāhitya*, the words, the expression and the idea and to say that one has 'clothed' or 'draped' his ideas is quite an idiomatic expression. The flow of language with natural grace and elegance, the felicity of epithets and phrases, all this combined with simplicity, would easily strike one as the marks of a gifted writer. Flow, elegance, cadence, ease, all these qualities are prominent. Tyāgarāja says ('Sogasūgā', Śrīrāṅjanī) that *Kṛitis* should be in the *Drākshāpāka* which is considered the best; and it is in this style that he has composed his songs. All the skill and resources of a poet Tyāgarāja possessed, as indicated already when speaking about his learning and his equipment. In his frequent references to Vālmiki as *Kaviśa*, he keeps before himself the dual image of Vālmiki, as the guru of *Rāma-bhakti* and the poet *par excellence*.

Graphic descriptions, poetic fancies, apt similes, illustrations and analogies, humour and satire, worldly sayings and wise observations make the corpus of Tyāgarāja's songs worthy of reading and enjoying as literature. For beauty and graphic de

scription, we may cite his song on the Kaveri river, 'Sariveḍa-lina' in Asaveri: 'This lady Kaveri gloriously proceeding to the place of her lord, the sea, fulfilling the desires of all without any difference; now speeding fast, now roaring terribly and now placid with grace; with cuckoos singing on either side, touching shrine after shrine and worshipping deity after deity, with holy men worshipping her with flowers on either side and extolling her verily as Rājārājeśvarī, she goes, look at her!'

We may take some pieces and see the play of his poetic fancy: While asking the Lord whether he (Tyāgarāja) is too much of a burden to Him ('Brōva bhāramā', Bahudāri), he points out to the Lord that He had borne great burdens, the Mandara mountain, the Govardhana mountain, this whole universe in his stomach and indeed crores of such worlds in the cosmos within Himself! In 'Mānamu lēdā', Hamīr Kalyāṇi, Tyāgarāja addresses Rāma as father of Kuśa and Lava, the two musicians and adds that he (Tyāgarāja) also is a musician, suggesting that he too deserved Rāma's affection. 'Śrī Rāmadāsa-dāso'ham', Dhanyāsi, works imaginatively on the Sāmudrikalakṣhaṇas on Rāma's hands and feet, taking them, *Chakra*, *Aṅkuśa*, *Vajra* etc., in their real meaning so that, with them, Rāma might destroy the crocodile of *Kāma*, subdue the elephant of pride, shatter the mountain of grief and so on. In 'Parāku nīkēla', Kiraṇāvali, Tyāgarāja works a fancy on Śabarī and Guha and asks Rāma why He is indifferent to him, Tyāgarāja, who has been offering things better than half-eaten fruits and bed of sylvan leaves. Tyāgarāja is now in a fix, not knowing what part or kind of service of Rāma is left for him to perform, for Āṇjanēya has monopolised Rāma's feet, Śatrughna has taken over the task of looking after the *Bhaktas* who come to Rāma, and so on, elaborating appropriately other things of Rāma which Bharata, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā have appropriated for themselves. The fertility of Tyāgarāja's imagination could be illustrated by several other songs but the one in Kaikavasi, 'Vāchāmagocharamē' is the best example of his poetic gifts. Tyāgarāja gives a fine miniature painting here: Rāma's greatness is beyond words! He could strike down Rākshasas like Mārīcha and Subāhu, but look at the consideration and compassion Rāma could show towards the meek and distressed ones. Rāma saw Sītā looking wistfully at a Chamara-deer and understood that she had taken

a fancy for the beautiful tail of the Chamara. So he sent a shaft at its tail but the Chamara deer, whose pride was in its tail, covered it with its head, preferring to give up its life rather than its tail. Rāma noted this and in his infinite compassion sent a swifter arrow at the earlier aimed one and cancelled it! Bhavabhūti exclaimed, 'Who can know the mind of the great, now harder than adamant, now softer than flower?' There is also the *Naukācaritra*, dealt with above, a brilliant product of Tyāgarāja's creative genius.

His wit and worldly wisdom, his minute observation of men and things around, his keen perception of men's follies and foibles, all these make his compositions quite lively. To these qualities may be added his seasoning his expression with popular idioms, proverbs, parables etc. e.g. 'Tiger with a cow's face'; 'Like the vessel trying to know the taste of the milk it contains'; 'With butter in hand, one worrying oneself about ghee'; 'Expecting bulls to know the taste of flattened rice'; 'If the gold is not of the requisite quality, why blame the goldsmith?'; 'If your daughter cannot bear the labour-pain why blame the son-in-law?'; 'As much fun as there is money in hand'; 'Trying to make an image of Gaṇeśa and producing one of a monkey'; 'One selling flowers will not care to sell firewood'; 'Rocking the child with one hand and pinching it with another'; 'The danger that came to the head just took off the turban'; 'Going round in the same rut like the bull in the oil mill'; 'Is it easy to take a cloth thrown on the thorns?'; 'Jumping like the grain on a frying pan'; 'Will a barren woman yield milk however much one may feed her with milk etc.?'; 'It is like the fool who lends the door of his house to his neighbour to enable him to secure his house and go to a drama, and himself keeps vigil all night for driving the dogs from his own open hut.'

Tyāgarāja can elaborate a number of illustrations and adduce a chain of analogies. Thirteen kinds of happiness are set forth to say that *Rāma Nāma* gives greater happiness than anything else ('Mēlu mēlu', Saurashtra). To say that without Rāma's grace, any gain or achievement that one may get is of no avail, he enumerates in his long and oft-sung song 'Emi jēsita nēmi', Toḍi, fifteen so-called attainments, possessions and showy activities which one gloats over. The whole song 'Samayamu delisi', Asaveri, may be seen: 'If one does not acquire *punya*, what does it

matter if that one lives or dies? It does not matter if a madman does not understand the poetry read to him. It is immaterial if blind eyes are large and remain open or closed. It is of no use if a *pānaka-pūjā* is done in the quarters of the *Turushkas*. What does it matter if one who does not give is a millionaire? Saying that he cannot suffer any longer, he asks: 'Can jasmine flower withstand a stone? a cucumber fruit an iron-belt? a parrot the *Brahmāsira*? butter, the blow of a sword?' ('Pāhi Rāma-ramaṇa', Varali). Again 'Although you may have tens of thousands of rupees, what you need is only a handful of rice. You may have heaps of clothes, but you need only one for wearing. You may own large land but for resting you want only three cubits of space. You may have hundreds of varieties of cake, but you can eat only as much as your mouth can swallow. The river may overflow with water but you can take only so much as your vessel can contain' ('Rūkalu', Deśya Toḍi). In denouncing undesirable things, his satire and sarcasm could be seen. 'The Somayāji is performing a Vedic sacrifice for reaching heaven, his wife is running after attractive paramours' ('Manasu nilpa', Abhogi).

His idea in his *Sāhitya* does not meander. He has a precise method of its unfoldment gradually and fully. He first sets forth in the opening phase, the *Pallavi*, the basic idea, affirmation or thesis; in the *Anupallavi*, the second phase, he augments the idea and in the feet (*Charaṇas*), whose number depends upon the requirements of the idea, he elaborates or demonstrates the theme with contributory ideas, illustrations, arguments and analogies. A well known song may be cited to show the effective way in which Tyāgarāja builds up his *Sāhitya*. In 'Telisi Rāma chintanatō', Purnachandrika, Tyāgarāja affirms at the opening that one should meditate on Rāma with an understanding of the significance of that Name. In the *Anupallavi*, he adds that the mind should be attentive and know that that Name is the Redeemer. In the three *Charaṇas* that follow, he explains the above; the first *Charaṇa* clarifies that if you carelessly utter 'Rāma', it would refer to an attractive woman and lead you to lust; but Rāma is really the Name of the Supreme Being and if you say it with this knowledge, you are freed from the ills of life here. In the second and third *Charaṇas*, he reinforces the above idea by two apt illustrations: *Arka* is the name of a

poisonous plant; it is also the name of the Sun-god, *Aja* means a goat, and it also means Brahmā. This technique and logical structure could be seen in many of his pieces, short or long. The three constituents of a proposition, the positive and the negative statement and the supporting illustration, *Anvaya*, *Vyatireka* and *Udāharaṇa*, are all there. It will be shown presently that when presenting feelings and mental states, his 'emotional' pieces also follow this plan. It is paralleled by the technique of *Rāga*-development, which takes off at a characteristic or essential phrase and then is amplified somewhat and then taken to full sweep.

We come now to another aspect of Tyagaraja's *Sāhitya* and the thought-content and objective that they bear. Like other Saint-singers, Tyāgarāja emphasises the essentials and condemns the adventitious, holds up sincerity and ridicules sham. He shows a flair for exhorting people to take to the true way of practising devotion. He holds radical views with reference to the important aspects of *Bhakti*, e.g. how the repetition of God's Name is to be done, the characteristics of a true devotee and so on. The true devotee 'will not utter a lie, will not approach the low people with requests, will not do injury to others, will not neglect study, will not seek the three cravings for wife, wealth and progeny, will not gloat over his gains, including those in his religious or spiritual efforts, will eschew deceit and treachery, will not be fickle-minded, and remember always that there is the eternal witness, the Lord' ('*Karuṇa ēlāgaṇṭe*', *Varāli*). 'He alone is blessed who constantly meditates on the Lord's feet, sings His Name to his heart's delight, is cheerful, seeks the company of the good, does not worry himself, realises the evanescence of things and wards off the six inner enemies which hide the truth, reposes his entire faith in the Lord, does not put on false garbs out of greed; such a one does not deceive oneself and turns his life to good account' ('*Ataḍe dhanyuḍu*', *Kāpi*). 'Bhaktuni charitramu' in *Begada*, an address to the mind, is another disquisition on the nature of the true devotee of the Lord: 'The devotee should not boast of his doing *Japa* and *Tapas*, should not be a hypocrite in speech or action, should not be wavering and lose himself in his attachments; should have a proper sense of the unreality of material prosperity, should avoid sectarian distinctions, should not make

a profession of his qualifications, should not stop from his meditation nor forget the Lord.' Mention has already been made of his songs in which Tyāgarāja points out the proper way of repeating the Lord's Name (*Nāma-Japa*), which is not a mechanical thing but something to be done with knowledge and love, something which transforms one completely. Adopting the homely analogies, used by other authors too, he ridicules spurious *dhyāna*, such as cranes do, standing on one leg and closing their eyes ('Nalina lōcana' in *Madhyamādi*), those who dip themselves in water again and again like crows, who eat leaves only like goats, inhabit caves like monkeys, and go about undressed like children ('Balamu kulamu' in *Saveri*). On the other hand, contemplation of the Lord is the real bath in *Gaṅgā*, which purifies and sanctifies one ('Dhyāname varamaina Gaṅgāsnānamē', *Dhanyasi*). The only kind of *Bhajana* which will be helpful for good in the hereafter is that which is done without the contamination of lust, avarice, delusion and other sins ('Paralōka sādhanamē', *Purvikalyani*). Mere learning, austerities, riches, mortar-built house, wife, children, miracles, all these do not constitute status for one; real status is true devotion to the Lord ('Padavi ni sadbhakti', *Sālaga Bhairavi*). The fruits of all such attainments are short-lived, as the *Mukhāri* song '*Kshīṇamai*' effectively declares. If mere learning in *Śāstras* is a leaky boat, what to say of the wide-spread reliance on astrology! Tyāgarāja answers that planets have no power; it is Rāma's grace that is the real strength ('*Grahabalamēmi*? Śri Rāmānugraha balamē balamu', *Rēvagupti*).

Sincerity, control of mind, and one-pointed devotion are necessary. It is not the appropriate dress and make-up (*vēsha*) that would bring about the result, if the body is in one place and mind is in another place ('*Kanugonu saukhyamu*', *Nayaki*). 'If one is not able to control one's mind, of what avail is worship with sweet bell and flowers? If one is stuck up in his arrogance, what can bath in Kaveri or Ganga do for him?' ('*Manasu nilpa śakti lēka pōtē*', *Abhogi*). On the other hand, if the mind is under control, *Mantra* and *Tantra* are superfluous ('*Manasu svādhīnamai*', *Sankarabharana*). For, true worship is internal. Tyāgarāja elaborates this *Mānasopūjā* in his *Ritigaula* song '*Paripālaya*': 'My body is your shrine; my firm mind your golden seat; my meditation is the *Gaṅgā* water to wash your feet; my

clinging to you is your beautiful garment; my singing of your glory is the sandal-paste for you; my remembering and reciting your Name is the lotus offered to you; I burn the fruits of all my misdeeds as incense before you; my devotion is the all-day lamp before you' and so on.

What are the pre-requisites of Bhakti, its aids and accessories and the mental state favourable and unfavourable for its development? These are called the *Sādhana*s. The *Vedānta* sets them forth as the discrimination (*vivēka*), of the mundane and the spiritual values, the perishable and the everlasting; aversion (*vairāgya*) and non-desire towards enjoyment of any fruit in the material world or the heavenly ones; tranquility of mind, self-control (*śama, dama*); refraining from more and more activity; ability to with-stand set-backs or equanimity in pain and pleasure, loss and gain and so on; poise of mind; faith (*śraddhā*); and lastly a keen desire to attain spiritual liberation (*mumukshutva*). Nārada, with special reference to *Bhakti*, adds in his *Sūtras* on *Bhakti* the un-interrupted adoration of the Lord, listening to His glory, singing of Him and especially the company and contact of great souls (*Satsaṅga*), as there is no difference between God and God-men. Every one of these is emphasised in Tyāgarāja's songs. Condemnation of material gains and desires (*artha* and *kāma*) figures in several pieces. In two songs, he says that expertise in *Kāmasāstra* is of no use. In 'Nidhi chāla', he shuns royal patronage. 'Emī jēsīte nēmi', Toḍi, debunks every kind of so-called gain or achievement of man as leading him nowhere. Avoiding low-minded people treading evil paths is the burden of 'Durmārga chara adhamulu', Ranjani. 'Manasu vishaya naṭa-ṇiṭulaku', Natakuranji, speaks of *Naṭas* and *Viṇas* whose contact is ruinous. Aversion towards all kinds of material gains is seen in 'Vanajanayana', Kedaragaula, and 'Varālandu kommaṇi', Gurjari, turns down the boons that the Lord Himself may tempt him with. How man can waste his time and bring to nothing the rare opportunity of having been born as a human being endowed with faculties is elaborated in the long song 'Poddu poyyēni', Toḍi. With his usual sarcasm, he refers to such men as bulls roaming aimlessly, eating anything on the road. *Śama* and *dama* are praised as the *Gaiṅgā-snāna* ('Nidhi chāla'). The need for *Sānti* above all is proclaimed in the well-

known song 'Śāntamulēka saukhyamu lēdu', Sāmā. Insistence on a *Guru* is the theme of 'Guru lēka eṭuvaṇṭi', Gaurī-manohari. *Sātsaṅga*, an extension of the *Guru*-requisite, receives its due emphasis in more than one piece. There is the omnibus list of the great souls to all of whom Tyāgarāja pays his respects, in the *Pancharatna Kṛiti* in Śrī Rāga, 'Endarō mahānubhāvulu.' There may be the books but real understanding will not come without the contact of the great men ('Buddhi rādu', Sankara-bharana). 'Urakē', Sahana, is a compendium of all the above-mentioned *Sādhanas*.

If one is to discourse on *Bhakti*, as performers of *Harikathā* do, there are no better handy and apt texts than these songs of Tyāgarāja. In fact, the use of Tyāgarāja *Kritis* in such contexts as the *Harikathā* affords brings out their dual excellence, the meaning and the music and the further excellence in several cases of the mutual appropriateness of the two.

The very fact that on a single subject, Rāma, he has sung so many songs, each one with a different idea, shows the infinite capacity of Tyāgarāja's genius. Tyāgarāja's songs and ideas on the Name—'Rāma' (*Rāma Nāma*) have already been dealt with. We shall see now Tyāgarāja's endless portrayals of Rāma's form (*Rūpa*): Rāma's personality as such and the over-all beauty of his form; then each limb of his from head to foot, their perfection and acts of grace or prowess each did, his face, eyes and looks, cheeks, his smile and words, his gait and bearing, his arms, bow and arrow especially and their exploits of valour; then the different episodes of Rāma in the Epic, Rāma and those near and dear to him—Rāma as son, brother, husband and friend; his easy accessibility (*Saulabhya*) and sweet disposition, Rāma as King (*Rāmarājya*—'Kārubarū' in Mukhāri), his sagacity and tact in handling persons (see especially his 'Sarasa sāma dāṇa bhēda danda chatura' in Kāpi Nārāyaṇī, earlier referred to, where Tyāgarāja says that Rāma would ask Bharata to give Ayodhyā to Rāvaṇa if Rāvaṇa surrendered and Rāma had bestowed Laṅkā on Vibhīṣaṇa); and then Rāma's qualities which bless and redeem, compassion, forgiving, his affection for the devotees and concern for those in distress. With these and several others, Tyāgarāja exhausted the personality of Rāma. His infatuation with Rāma is itself expressed in a variety of ways in two of which he says: 'were it not for these qualities, would

Sītā, Lakshmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna and Āñjanēya be always hovering, about him, revelling in love and alert in attention and service?' ('Lēkanā ninnu jūṭṭu', Asaveri) and 'you have cast a spell over me, O Rāma, and bound me from going elsewhere' ('Kaṭṭu jeśināvu', Athana). 'You have done some magic on me' ('Rāma nī pai', Kcdara).

In his definition of the *Kṛiti*, often referred to here, Tyāgarāja says that the *Kṛitis* should portray all the nine Rasas. Elsewhere I have given an analysis of Tyāgarāja's *Bhakti* as the supreme *Rasa* comprising within itself all the other *Rasas*, *Srīi-gāra* etc. following the lines of Bopadeva and Rūpa Gosvāmin, writers on devotional lyricism. The emotional element (*Bhāva* and *Rasa*) is the core of poetry. The basic emotion of devotion is like the water of the sea on which like waves other subsidiary moods rise, fall and cross; they all come out of the mind set on *Bhakti* and manifest and augment it at the same time. These moods are called the *Sañchāri bhāvas*. Much more than the variations that Tyāgarāja has worked on ideas and thought, his more abundant portrayal of the entire gamut of the feelings of his heart testifies the poetic appeal of his songs. This emotional quality of his songs relates not only to the state of enjoyment of Rāma and its exultation, but also, in fact more so, in the yearning for Him, in the moods of separation, seeking and suffering, i.e. in *Sambhoga* and *Vipralambha* or *Viraha*. In devotional pursuit, the expression of one's helplessness, repeated appeals against indifference and for His compassion, imagining all sorts of flaws in oneself and all sorts of reasons for neglect by the Lord, asking pardon,—in all these the plaintive attitude of *Dainya* is most common; and a large number of Tyāgarāja's songs—nearly sixty—depict this in a variety of ways. This frustration itself takes the form of indignation when the Lord, whom Tyāgarāja loves, does not respond. He gives vent to his grievance against the Lord and taking liberty with him, he finds fault with the Lord and displays his own irritation and anger. 'It is not becoming of you', 'This is not respectable on your part', 'Did you create me for this suffering?', 'What are my faults that prevent you from coming to me?', 'What will you lose if you appear before me?', 'Why this falsification, having once given me an assuring word and now being indifferent, saying one thing now and another at another time?', 'Let me see how long you

are going to be silent?', 'Have you no self-respect?', 'Does this rebound to your credit?', 'Why this treachery? Make good your promises', 'Are you yourself afraid of Kali?', 'Do I compare badly with the *Vānara* and *Rākshasa* (Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa)?', 'I approach you with familiarity, you confront me with your royalty!', 'In astrology they say that where two persons get united easily, there is a "Riṇa-riṇī-bhāva", a pre-natal nexus; I suppose this is absent between me and you!'. In this strain, Tyāgarāja goes on to over sixty-songs. Then cogitation and doubt. In some he recounts his flaws; in 'Duḍugugala' is a catalogue of sins; in some others he affirms his qualifications for Rāma's attention; then the tide turns; confidence and faith are regained.

Tyāgarāja not only poured forth his devotion, but defined *Bhakti* itself and described the different forms it took. The *Bhāgavata* speaks of nine forms of it, listening to the Lord's glory (*Śravaṇa*), singing of Him (*Kīrtana*), remembering Him always (*Smarana*), holding to His feet (*Pādasevana*), adoring him with *Pūjā*, obeisance (*Vandana*), service (*Dāsyā*) etc. Apart from Tyāgarāja's express declarations of his being Rāma's *dāsa* in more than one *Kṛiti* and his desire to do different kinds of service to Rāma, expressed in a number of *Kritis*, in one *Kṛiti*, Tyāgarāja presents himself as the fully equipped official peon of Rāma and as a poet, he works out fully the insignia of such a servant: 'Horripilated hair is my armour; the name "Rāma-bhākta" is my metal badge and *Rāma-nāma*, my sword', ('Baṇṭurīti', Hamsanada). Then he moves with the Lord like a friend (*Sakhya*). A further expression of the *Sakhya*-attitude is taking liberties with the Lord and indulging in playful banter and taunting Him jocularly or making fun of him (*Nindā-stuti*). In 'Sītānāyaka', Rītīgaula, Tyāgarāja asks the Lord whether He got upon Tirupati Hills, unable to stand the worrying by the *Bhaktas*; escaped to Śrīraṅgam and went to sleep there to avoid devotees and their petitions; started begging with Bali, foreseeing devotees coming to beg of Him. 'Aḍiki sukhamu', Madhyamādi, asks: 'Whoever attained happiness by seeking you? Sītā went to forest and again you sent her there. Śūrpaṇakhā lost her nose; you turned Nārada into a woman; Durvāsas wanted food and you made him lose his appetite. Devakī asked for a son and you gave him to Yaśodā.' Tyāgarāja's best *Nindā-stuti* is 'Etāvuna nērchitivō',

Yadukula Kambhoji. Tyāgarāja asks Rāma here: 'Why are you going about enacting this play? Did your wife ask of you diamond ornaments? Are your brothers and parents in need of food or your devotees have long been inviting you to perform this *Nāṭaka*?' Finally, surrendering oneself as His refugee (*Ātmanivedana* i.e. *Śaraṇāgati*): taking refuge in the Lord is the highest among these forms. There are still some other forms of devotion which too his *Kīrtanas* represent. Loving God as a child and also placing himself as His child (*Vātsalya*). 'Rāma Rāma', Sahana, in which Tyāgarāja portrays a picture of Rāma as a child is a fine example of his poetic imagination, which juxtaposes Rāma as a child with Rāma as the Great God. It is worth quoting: 'When you went to play, your play-mates asked you to go. Why? They wanted in their games to close your eyes but they found your eyes too large to be covered by their palms! They probably hid themselves, because they could not face your effulgence! They wanted you to be a witness (*Sākshī*) but you were already one.' In his desire to see Rāma, or serve Him Tyāgarāja has painted some fine pictures. The kinds of desire that he exhibits may be noted. He wants to be part of the intimate circle of Rāma, Sītā, his brothers and Hanumān. When Rāma and Sītā are in private, Tyāgarāja wants Rāma to order him to come and sing some music ('Rāmābhirāma', Dhanyasi). He expresses a desire to feast his ears with the sweet words Rāma is speaking to Sītā ('Vinanāsakoni', Pratāpavarāli). In 'Nāṭimāṭa marachitivō', Dēvakriyā, Tyāgarāja paints a rare picture of himself as standing in a corner in Rāma's presence and Rāma asking Bharata to stop waving the fly-whisk lest it should hide Tyāgarāja from His (Rāma's) view! He offers to make the bed for Rāma and keep serving him *pan* now and then. Then he clings to Him without any room for separation and feels extreme agony if separation occurs (*avirahāśakti*). The form most germane to *Bhakti* and one figuring most in songs is love such as subsists between the lover and the beloved, *Nāyaka* and *Nāyikā*, *Kāntāśakti* as Nārada calls it or *Madhura Bhakti* as it is known more commonly.

'The maid of my mind is in deep love with you, but you do not respond by taking her hand. While I have been yearning for you and serving you, your ways have become quite different. I have provided a beautiful bed but you, without accepting it and making me happy, you are giving me trouble.'

(‘Rāmabhirāma’, Darbar). ‘Having taken me by the hand, you should not now give me up’. (‘Paṭṭivīḍuvarādu’, Mañjarī). ‘O, maid of my mind! Go and bring quickly my Lord. Seek Him and bring Him by hand to me. I want to enjoy happiness with Him for long’. (‘Chani tōḍi tēvē’, Hari Kambhoji). ‘O Rāma! What else is there for me to aspire for when you take me by the hand and cast your glance? When your eyes and my eyes meet, who can know the happiness of it? If you do not take me by the hand, my forlorn condition will be that of an unmarried maiden’. (‘Rāma Rāma Rāmachandra’, Ghaṇṭā). ‘From my early days, you have taken me by the hand.’ (‘Chinna nāḍe na chai baṭṭitivē’, Kalanidhi)

The expressions in the songs ‘Chērarāvadēmīrā—mēragā-durā’, Ritigaula, ‘Nikevari bodhana’, Suddha Saveri, and ‘Sāmiki sari’, Begada, are the same as in *Sriṅgara Padas* and *Varnas*. He yearns for the good fortune of Lakshmaṇa (‘Mitribhāgyame Saumitri-bhāgyame’, Kharahara Priya) and that of Śabarī (‘Entanine varṇintuni Śabarī-bhāgya’, Mukhari). He longs even for the love that Sītā enjoyed with Rāma, tying the *māṅgalyasūtra* and taking her by the hand (‘Dayasēyavayya’, Yadukula Kambhoji). He feels elated that people have begun to talk of him as belonging to Rāma (‘Nivāḍanu nēnani lōkulu balkagā’ in ‘Sitāmanohara’, Rāmamanohari and ‘Nivāḍa nē gāna’, Saranga). The ecstasy of gaining Rāma then beams forth. ‘O, what a delight to my mind, my body thrills!’ (‘Manasukentō yānandamē meyi pulakarinchagā’, ‘Ninu vinā’, Tōḍi). ‘Unerringly I have seen Rāma. . . . My body thrilled, tears of joy rolled down my cheeks, I mumbled. . . .’ (‘Giripai’, Sahāna). ‘When I have your *darśana*, tears of joy roll down from my eyes’ (‘Dayarāni’, Mohana).

Indeed Tyāgarāja has exhausted the qualities of Rāma and His personality, and his experience and enjoyment of them!

Bibliography

BOOKS

1. *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*.
2. *Ādhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*.
3. *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa*, Banaras, 1881.
4. *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*, Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay, 1926.
5. *Bhusaṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa* (Pūrva Khaṇḍa), Visvavidyalaya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1975.
6. *Rāma-Uttara-tāpani Upaniṣad*, *Rāma-Pūrvatāpani Upaniṣad*, *Rāmara-hasyopniṣad* and *Kalisantarāṇopaniṣad*. Printed in *Vaiṣṇava Upani-ṣads*, Adyar Library, 1923.
7. *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva, 4 Vols., Adyar Library, 1943, 1953, 1954, 1959.
8. *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* of Someśvara, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 28, 84, 138 (in 3 Vols.).
9. *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, N.S. Press, 1923.
10. *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī* of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, Madras, 1901 (Telugu Script).
11. *Saṅgītasampradāyapradarśini* of Subbarāma Dikṣita.
12. Walajapet Manuscripts.
13. *Prahlādabhaktivijaya* of Tyāgarāja.
14. *Naukācarita* of Tyāgarāja.
15. *Sarvadevavilāsa* ed. Dr. V. Raghavan, Adyar Library, Pamphlet Series No. 33, 1958.
16. *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja*, (with an Introductory Thesis by Dr. V. Raghavan), The Ramakrishna Mission Students' Home, Mylapore, Madras, 1957.

BROCHURES, ARTICLES BY DR. V. RAGHAVAN

1. 'Tyāgarāja and the Rāmāyaṇas other than Vālmiki's', *Souvenir of the Music Academy Conference*, 1974.
2. 'Two Manuscripts of Tyāgarāja's Songs', *Journal of Music Academy*, 1947 (*Tyāgarāja Centenary Volume*) Pp. 133-48.
3. 'Tyāgarāja's Songs in Manuscripts', *Journal of Music Academy*, XXII, 1951, Pp. 161-64.
4. 'Some Knots in Tyāgarāja's Compositions' (Tamil) *Silver Jubilee Souvenir, Rasika Ranjani Sabha*, Madras-4, 1956.
5. 'Sanskrit Compositions of Tyāgarāja', *Souvenir of 34th Conference of the Music Academy*, 1960.
6. 'Tyāgarāja in his Signatures', *Journal of the Music Academy*, XXXVIII (*Tyāgarāja's Birth Bi-Centenary Vol.*), 1968.
7. 'Philosophic Thoughts in Tyāgarāja's Compositions', *Souvenir of the Astika Samājam*, Madras, 1974.
8. 'Tyāgarāja', *Souvenir of 20th Conference of the Music Academy*, (*Tyāgarāja Centenary Conference*), 1946, Pp. 65-70.
9. 'Sri Tyāgarāja and Nārāyaṇa Tirtha', *Sri Tyāgarāja Satavarshikotsava Sancika, Andhraganakala Parishad*, Rajahmundry, 1947, Eng. Section, Pp. 87-8.
10. 'Tyāgarāja and Ramadāsa' (Tamil), *Dinamani* (Weekly), 18th Jan. 1968, (Pongal No.); also in *Journal of the Music Academy*, XXXIX, 1969, Pp. 106-11.
11. 'Tyāgarāja and Annamāchārya', *Souvenir of the 41st Conference of the Music Academy (Tyāgarāja Birth-Bi-Centenary No.)*, Madras, 1967; also in *Journal of the Music Academy* XXXIX, 1968, Pp. 100-5.
12. 'Upanishad Brahma Yogin—His Life and Works', *Journal of the Music Academy*, XXVII, XXVIII.
13. 'The Tattvasamgraharāmāyaṇa of Rāmabrahmānanda (Upanishad Brahman)', *Annals of Oriental Research* X, i, 1952-53, Pp. 1-55.
14. 'Upeyanāmaviveka (Namarthaviveka) by Upaniṣadbrahmayogin', ed. in *Adyar Library Bulletin*, XXIX, i-iv, 1965, Pp. 203-58.

Titles in Makers of Indian Literature Series

<i>A.N. Krishnarao</i>	G.S. Amur
<i>A.R. Rajaraja Varma</i>	K.M. George
<i>Anandaram Dhekhial Phukan</i>	Maheshwar Neog
<i>Appar</i>	G. Vanmikanathan
<i>B.M. Srikantayya</i>	A.N. Moorthy Rao
<i>Baba Farid</i>	Balwant Singh Anand
<i>Banabhatta</i>	K. Krishnamoorthy
<i>Bankimchandra Chatterjee</i>	S.C. Sengupta
<i>Basaveshwara</i>	H. Tipperudraswamy
<i>Bhai Vir Singh</i>	Harbans Singh
<i>Bharatendu Harishchandra</i>	Madan Gopal
<i>Bharati</i>	Prema Nandakumar
<i>Bhavabhuti</i>	G.K. Bhatt
<i>Bhima Bhoi</i>	Sitakant Mahapatra
<i>Buddhadeva Bose</i>	Alokeranjan Dasgupta
<i>Chanda Jha</i>	Jayadeva Misra
<i>Chandidas</i>	Sukumar Sen
<i>Chandu Menon</i>	T.C. Sankara Menon
<i>Dr C.R. Reddy</i>	D. Anjaneyulu
<i>Dattakavi</i>	Anuradha Potdar
<i>Dayaram</i>	B.J. Sandesara
<i>Fakirmohan Senapati</i>	Mayadhar Mansinha
<i>Ghalib</i>	M. Mujeeb
<i>Goverdhanram</i>	Ramanlal Joshi
<i>Gurazada</i>	V.R. Narla
<i>H.N. Apte</i>	R.B. Joshi
<i>Haba Khatoon</i>	S.L. Sadhu
<i>Hali</i>	Malik Ram
<i>Ilango Adigal</i>	M. Varadarajan
<i>Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar</i>	Hiranmay Banerji
<i>Jaishankar Prasad</i>	Ramesh Chandra Shah
<i>Jayadeva</i>	Suniti Kumar Chatterji
<i>Jibananandadas</i>	Chidananda Dasgupta
<i>Jnanadeva</i>	P.Y. Deshpande
<i>Kabir</i>	Prabhakar Machwe
<i>Kalhana</i>	Somnath Dhar
<i>Kamban</i>	S. Maharajan
<i>Kazi Nazrul Islam</i>	Gopal Haldar
<i>Keshavsut</i>	Prabhakar Machwe
<i>Kshetravyya</i>	B. Rajanikanta Rao
<i>Kumaran Asan</i>	K.M. George
<i>Lakshminath Bezbaroa</i>	Hem Barua
<i>Mahakavi Ullloor</i>	Sukumar Azhicode
<i>Maharshi Devendranath Tagore</i>	Narayan Chaudhuri

<i>Manik Bandyopadhyay</i>	Saroj Mohan Mitra
<i>Manikkavachakar</i>	G. Vanmikanathan
<i>Manilal Dvivedi</i>	Dhirubhai Thaker
<i>Manmohan Ghose</i>	Lotika Ghose
<i>Meghani</i>	V.J. Trivedi
<i>Michael Madhusudan Dutt</i>	Amalendu Bose
<i>Mir Taqi Mir</i>	Ish Kumar
<i>Mira Bai</i>	Usha S. Nilsson
<i>Nammalvar</i>	A. Srinivasa Raghavan
<i>Nanalal</i>	U.M. Maniar
<i>Narmadashankar</i>	Gulabdas Broker
<i>Nazir Akbarabadi</i>	Mohammad Hasan
<i>N.C. Kelkar</i>	R.M. Gole
<i>Panje Mangesh Rau</i>	V. Sitaramiah
<i>Pothana</i>	D. Venkatavadhani
<i>Pramatha Chaudhuri</i>	Arun Kumar Mukhopadhyay
<i>Prem Chand</i>	Prakash Chandra Gupta
<i>Radhanath Ray</i>	Gopinath Mohanty
<i>Rahul Sankrityayan</i>	Prabhakar Machwe
<i>Raja Rammohun Roy</i>	Saumyendranath Tagore
<i>Ramalingar</i>	G. Vanmikanathan
<i>Sachal Sarmast</i>	K.B. Advani
<i>Sarala Dasa</i>	Krishna Chandra Panigrahi
<i>Sarojini Naidu</i>	Padmini Sengupta
<i>Shah Latif</i>	K.B. Advani
<i>Sri Aurobindo</i>	Manoj Das
<i>Sudhindranath Datta</i>	Amiya Dev
<i>Surdas</i>	Usha S. Nilsson
<i>Surya Mall Mishran</i>	Vishnu Dutt Sharma
<i>Swami Brahmanand Tirth</i>	J.C. Sathe
<i>Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay</i>	Mahasveta Devi
<i>Tiruvalluvar</i>	S. Maharajan
<i>Toru Dutt</i>	Padmini Sengupta
<i>Tukaram</i>	Bhaichandra Nemade
<i>Tyagaraja</i>	V. Raghavan
<i>Vallathol Narayana Menon</i>	B. Hridayakumari
<i>Vedam Venkataraya Sastry</i>	Vedam Venkataraya Sastry (Junior)
<i>Veeresalingam</i>	V.R. Narla
<i>Vemana</i>	V.R. Narla
<i>Vidyapati</i>	Ramanath Jha
<i>Vrindavanlal Verma</i>	Rajeev Saxena
<i>Zinda Kaul</i>	A.N. Raina

