

Rāga-s of the early Haridāsa-s

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1. Introduction:

The Haridāsa movement is said to have originated in the 13th-14th century CE period. The earliest known Haridāsa-s were Naraharītīrtha (d. 1333 AD), Śrīpādarāya (1422-1480 AD), Vyāsatīrtha (1460-1539 AD), Purandara Dāsa (1484 – 1564 AD), the four sons of Purandara Dāsa (16th century AD), Vādirājātīrtha (1480 – 1600 AD) and Kanaka Dāsa (1509 -1609 AD), who all belonged to the Dvaita school of Philosophy founded by Madhvācārya. Belūru Vaikunṭha Dāsa (16th Century AD) was another Haridāsa of this period who followed the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of philosophy. Haridāsa-s were composers of Kannada devotional songs, many of which are popular to this day. However, no authentic oral traditions have so far been traced back to the original composers. The present-day melodies of most Haridāsa songs, particularly dāsara pada-s (dēvaranāma-s) and ugābhōga-s appear to be less than a century old. Scholars and musicians such as S.K. Ramachandra Rao and Sangita Kalanidhi R.K. Srikantan have opined, based on the lyrics of a few compositions of Purandara Dāsa, that the early Haridāsa-s used only ‘battīsa rāga-s’ or 32 rāga-s for their compositions.

This paper attempts to come up with a list of rāga-s that could have possibly been used by the early Haridāsa-s. This study is based on rāga names, the lyrics of Haridāsa songs, musicological references from the texts Rāgalakṣaṇamu of Śāhaji and Saṅgītasāramṛta, manuscripts of Haridāsa songs in the Thanjavur, Mysore and other libraries, manuscripts belonging to the Haridāsa tradition from Chippagiri and Gadhwā, and printed sources pertaining to the 19th and 20th centuries. The paper also attempts to show that the rāga-s used by the early Haridāsa-s did not appear to be limited to 32 and the set of ‘battīsa rāga-s’ is not the same in various musical and musicological references by composers and authors. Since no musical data is available for Narahari Tīrtha, this study is limited to

the known songs of the other Haridāsa-s mentioned above. Some suḷādi-s of an unknown composer with the nom-de-plume ('aṅkita/mudra') of 'raṅganāyaka' have also been found in the Thanjavur manuscripts along with the suḷādi-s of Haridāsa composers of the 15th and 16th centuries. The time period of this composer appears to be between the late 16th century to the late 17th century, as discussed elsewhere¹. Since the identity and exact time period of this composer are not clearly known, his songs have not been taken up in this study. However, notations of the songs have been referred to for rāga phrases in cases where the rāga-s are common to those of other Haridāsa-s which are part of the study.

2. Sources of rāga names

The following are the sources of the rāga names of the early Haridāsa-s:

- Rāga names that appear in the lyrics of Haridāsa songs
- References to suḷādi-s in Rāgalakṣaṇamu of Śāhajī (1684-1712 AD)
Saṅgītasārāmṛta of Tulaja (1729- 1735 AD)
- Suḷādi notations in TMSSML, Thanjavur manuscripts
- Rāga names for suḷādi-s in KIKS, Mysuru manuscript
- Rāga names for Dāsara Pada-s in Chippagiri manuscripts
- Rāga names for Dāsara Pada-s in Gadhwal manuscripts
- Rāga names for Dāsara Pada-s in GOML manuscript
- Rāga names for Haridāsa compositions in 20th Century publications

In order to arrive at a possible set of rāga-s that could be used by the early Haridāsa-s, the sources mentioned above were explored. The total set of rāga-s extracted from each of these sources was examined to determine if the rāga could indeed have been used by the early Haridāsa-s.

2.1. Rāga names that appear in the lyrics of Haridāsa songs

In one of Purandara Dāsa songs, the phrase 'battīsa rāgaṅgaḷa' (meaning thirty-two rāga-s) occurs. In this and other songs, he has given the names of some rāga-s. Kanaka Dāsa also has mentioned the term 'trayaśadvaya rāgaḍim' (meaning thirty-two rāga-s) in a song. In other songs, he has listed out some rāga names. There is a song by Śrīpādarāya that lists the names of three rāga-s.

¹ Some known compositions and the time period of this composer have been discussed in the paper 'Discovery of Suḷādi notations with 'Raṅganāyaka' Mudrā in Thanjavur Manuscripts' by the author.

The details of these are as follows:

Composer	Composition	Rāga Names/references
Purandara Dāsa	Aṅaneyarella Neredu	pāḍī, malhārī, bhairavī, sārāṅga, dēśī, guṇḍakriyā, gujjarī, kalyāṇī
Purandara Dāsa	Tuttūru Tūrendu Battīsa Rāgaḷanu	gaula, nāṭi, āharī, gūrjarī, mālavī, sārāṅga, phalamañjari, gaulī, dēśākṣī, ‘battīsa rāgaḷanu’
Purandara Dāsa	Naḷinajāṇḍa Taleyadūgi	māravī, dēśī, gurjarī, bhairavī, goulī, nāṭi, sāvērī, āhērī, kalyāṇī, tōḍī, mukhārī, varālī, vasanta, bhauḷī, dhanyāsī, pūrvī, kāmbojī, pāḍī, dēśākṣī, śaṅkarābharaṇa, mālava, saurāṣṭra, guṇḍakriyē, rāmakriyē, mēgha, kuruñji
Purandara Dāsa	Raṅga Koḷalanūdalāgi	nāmakriyā, mēgharañjini
Kanaka Dāsa	Pūsaraṇa Janakane	‘trayadaśadvaya rāgadiṁ’
Kanaka Dāsa	Taṅgadirananimiṣa Tārakegaḷu	bhūpālī, dēśākṣī, nārāyaṇī, gujjarī, mālavī, śrī, dēvagāndhārī, malahari, sālaga, saurāṣṭra, guṇḍakriyā, lalitā
Kanaka Dāsa	Mōhana Taraṅgiṇi (Chapter 22, Verse 32)	nārāyaṇī, dēśākṣī, gurjarī, dēvagāndhārī, guṇḍakriyā, vasanta, ārabhī, sāmanta, malahari
Śrīpādarāya	Lāli Gōvinda Lāli	kalyāṇī, ānandabhairavī, dēvagāndhārī

Taking the complete list of all the rāga names mentioned above, we get the following rāga-s:

āharī/āhērī, ānandabhairavī, ārabhī, bhairavī, bhauḷī, bhūpālī, dhanyāsī, dēśī, dēśākṣī, dēvagāndhārī/dēvagāndhāra, gaula, gaulī, guṇḍakriyā/ guṇḍakriyē, gujjarī/ gūrjarī, kalyāṇī, kāmbojī, kuruñji, lalitā, malhārī/ malahari, mālava, mālavī, māravī, mēgha, mēgharañjini, mukhārī, nāmakriyā, nāṭi, nārāyaṇī, pāḍī, phalamañjari, pūrvī, rāmakriyē, sālaga, sāmanta, sārāṅga, sāvērī, śaṅkarābharaṇa, saurāṣṭra, śrī, tōḍī, varālī, vasanta.

2.2. References to suḷādi-s in Rāgalakṣaṇamu, Saṅgītasārāmṛta and suḷādi notations in TMSSML manuscripts :

Śāhajī (1684-1712 AD) and Tulaja (1729-1735 AD) in their respective works Rāgalakṣaṇamu and Saṅgītasārāmṛta have referred to svara passages from several suḷādi-s in their descriptions of rāga-s. Some of the suḷādi-s mentioned by them have been traced to notations in the

Thanjavur Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library (TMSSML) by the present author, through microfilm copies of the manuscripts preserved in the microfilm archive of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (IGNCA), Bengaluru.

The following table contains the details of the *suḷādi* examples referred to by Śāhajī and Tulaja – where the *suḷādi* has been identified in TMSSML notations, the starting word(s) and the *mudra* of the composer have been indicated. The text *Rāgalakṣaṇamu* has been indicated as RL-S and *Saṅgītasārāmṛta* as SSA. Question marks indicate that the musical notation for the *suḷādi* has not been found. The composers of these *suḷādi*-s are Haridāsa-mentioned earlier, and an unknown composer with the *mudra* 'raṅganāyaka', as mentioned in the Introduction section.

Sl No.	Rāga	Lyrics	suḷādi	Mudra	Text
1	ārabhī	duruviṣayaṅgaḷa	?	?	RL-S, SSA
2	ādradēṣī	duritadabhayavāyke	dēhajirṇavāyitu	(kṛṣṇa)	RL-S, SSA
3	bhairavī	kamalajanadhipaṅghri/ kulajanaradhi	?	?	RL-S, SSA
4	bhūpāla	bharadihanumanata hayagu	tandeyāgi	(kṛṣṇa)	RL-S, SSA
5	chāyāgaḷa	satyarigesadācararige	?	?	RL-S, SSA
6	dēvagāndhārī	karugaḷa	hasugaḷa	purandara viṭhala	RL-S
7	gaḷa	maṇimaḷimolle mallige daṇḍe	maṇimaḷi	purandara viṭhala	RL-S, SSA
8	gaḷipantu	sādhajīvanavāda	kaṇḍenayya nisarga janakana	raṅganāyaka	RL-S, SSA
9	hindōḷavasanta	karagambhīrasālare	?	?	RL-S, SSA
10	kannaḍagaḷa	tulajaradhirmaḷāre	?	?	RL-S, SSA
11	kēdāra	bārane kouca	?	?	RL-S, SSA
12	kēdāra	āresuvalusuvāriteṇe	aṣṭarāga	raṅganāyaka	RL-S, SSA
13	malahari	tāruṇa taraṇīya (Khaṇḍikā in RL-S and suḷādi in SSA)	?	purandara viṭhala	RL-S, SSA
14	māruva	ā murāriya	?	?	RL-S, SSA
15	mukhārī	sandēhavinade saruvōt- tama	?	?	RL-S, SSA

Sl No.	Rāga	Lyrics	suḷādi	Mudra	Text
16	nādarāmakriyā	namorāghavāyate (lyrics in RL-S, no lyrics in SSA + gīta)	?	?	RL-S, SSA
17	nārāyaṇadēśākṣī	śrī nārāyaṇa dēva nīnu	?	?	RL-S, SSA
18	nārāyaṇī	lakumīmanōhara (nāmāvali)	?	?	RL-S, SSA
19	nāṭa	mandanṛkaṇṭhīrava	harinaḍeyadiralu	purandara viṭhala	RL-S, SSA
20	pūrvagaṭa	tandutaritā	?	?	RL-S, SSA
21	rītigauḷa	śrutitupatiya gativijha-lalellare	?	?	RL-S, SSA
22	śaṅkarābharāṇa	kāmitārthapradāyaka	?	?	RL-S, SSA
23	śuddharāmakriyā	beṭṭadalli pati / kuhyadahi	?	?	RL-S, SSA
24	varāḷī	koḍuvaru mukutiya	tāyi lakumi	purandara viṭhala	RL-S, SSA

In addition to the above, several suḷādi notations have been found in TMSSML manuscripts which have not been referred to by Śāhajī and Tulaja. Several of them contain notations of suḷādi-s of the Haridāsa-s mentioned earlier.

These are as follows:

Sl No.	rāga	suḷādi starting words	mudra
1	āharī	?	purandara viṭhala
2	bhairavī	noḍele manave	vaikuṇṭha viṭhala
3	bhūpāla	kāmavakāluṭalariya	gurupurandara viṭhala
4	chāyāgaṭa	yaṇiṣaṇiṣaṇi	purandara viṭhala
5	dēvagāndhārī	hejjege hejjege	purandara viṭhala
6	guṇḍakriyā	ambudhi Toṭṭilāgi	purandara viṭhala
7	guṇḍakriyā	beḷaga	gurupurandara viṭhala
8	hindōḷavasanta	kratupatiyemba	purandara viṭhala
9	kannaḍagaṭa	indrammaleyāgi	purandara viṭhala
10	manōharī	vuragaduruviri	vaikuṇṭha viṭhala
11	rāmakriyā	acyutānanta gōvinda	purandara viṭhala

Sl No.	rāga	suḷādi starting words	mudra
12	rēvagupti	ī dēvana nōḍirayya	gurupurandara viṭhala
13	śaṅkarābharāṇa	avana bhayadinda	muḍdu viṭhala
14	sāraṅganāṭa	iṅgaḍala	purandara viṭhala
15	sāraṅganāṭa	sati sabheyali	madhvapati viṭhala
16	śrīrāga	koṁbukolaḷugaḷa	madhvapati viṭhala
17	śuddhasāvērī	lakṣumiya mastakake	vaikuṇṭha viṭhala
18	vēlāvaḷi	indinadina	purandara viṭhala

Apart from suḷādi-s mentioned above, suḷādi-s with the mudra ‘purandara viṭhala’, ‘gurupurandara viṭhala’, ‘hayavadana’, ‘madhvapativṭhala’, ‘muḍdu viṭhala’ in the following rāga-s are seen in the TMSML manuscripts without musical notation (having only lyrics): kāmboḷi, śrīrāga, saurāṣṭra, āhārī, guṇḍakriyā, gujjarī, malahārī, bhairavī, mālavaśrī, kēṭaragaḷa and bauli.

Taking the total list of the rāga names mentioned above, we get the following list: āharī, ārabhī, ādradeśī, bhairavī, bhūpāla, chāyāgaḷa, dēvagāndhārī, gaḷa, gaḷipatu, guṇḍakriyā, hindōlavasanta, kannāḍagaḷa, kēḍāra, malahārī, māruva, manōharī, mukhārī, nādarāmakriyā, nārāyaṇadeśākṣī, nārāyaṇī, nāṭa, pūrvagaḷa, rēvagupti, rītigaḷa, śaṅkarābharāṇa, sāraṅganāṭa, śrīrāga, śuddharāmakriyā/rāmakriyā, śuddhasāvērī, varālī, vēlāvaḷi.

2.3. Rāga names for suḷādi-s in KIKS manuscript :

The manuscript K570 labelled ‘āyitta suḷādigalu’ in the Kuvempu Institute of Kannada Studies (KIKS), Mysuru has many ālāpa-ṭhāya notations followed by suḷādi-s for which lyrics are given. Rāga names have been assigned to the suḷādi-s though there is no musical notation for them in this manuscript. The rāga names are: nāṭi, kēḍāragaḷa, śrīrāga, madhumādhavī, saurāṣṭra, mēcabauli, āhari/āhiri, śaṅkarābharāṇa, rāmakriyā, chāyāgaḷa, vasantabhairavī, bhairavī, kannāḍabaṅgāla, kannāḍagaḷa, suddhavasanta, nādarāmakriyā, lalita, maṅgalakaiśiki, sāmanta, gujjarī, hindōla, vēlāvarī, kāmboḷi, guṇḍakriyā, dēśākṣī, nārāyaṇī, nārāyaṇadeśākṣī, hejjujjī, mālavaśrī, bhūpālī, sālagabhairavī, śuddha dēśī, nārāyaṇagaḷa, jayantasēna, sāma, bhinnasāḍja.

2.4. Rāga names for Dāsara Pada-s in Chippagiri manuscripts :

There are some manuscripts in the possession of the family of Haridāsaratnam Gōpālādāsa in Kogilu, near Yelahanka, Bangalore. These have been written by Vijaya Dāsa’s adopted son, Mohana Dāsa’s grandson, Veṅkōba Dāsa. (Vijaya Dāsa was one among prominent

Haridāsa-s of the 17th century who continued the Haridāsa tradition in Karnataka after a break of about a hundred years following Purandara Dāsa's demise). Vijaya Dāsa, his family and disciples lived in Chippagiri, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh, hence the manuscripts are labelled 'Chippagiri manuscripts'. There are seven manuscripts in all, out of which three contain the pada-s of Vyāsarāya, Svādirāya (Vādirāja of Svādi or Sōde) and Vaikuṇṭha Dāsa.

The rāga name-s found in these manuscripts were pāḍi, āharī, pantuvarālī, saurāṣṭra, tōḍī, kalyāṇī, bhairavī, sāvērī, kāmbōḍī, pūrvī, rēguptī, māyāmālāva(gaula), kēdāragaula, śaṅkarābharaṇa, madhyamāvātī, rudrābharaṇa, nāṭa.

2.5. Rāga names for Dāsara Pada-s in Gadhwal manuscripts :

Some manuscripts from Gadhwal, written by disciples of Vijaya Dāsa which are now in the possession of M.T. Prahlad in RT Nagar, Bengaluru were examined by this author. These too contain compositions of Vyāsarāya, Svādirāya (Vādirāja of Svādi or Sōde), Purandara Dāsa and Vaikuṇṭha Dāsa among other Haridāsa-s. These were consulted. The compositions in these manuscripts along with the Chippagiri manuscripts have also been published by M.T. Prahlad in his book, 'Prācīna Hastapratigalallina Haridāsa Kṛtīgalu'. According to this book, the Rāga-s of the compositions by the above mentioned saints are as follows:

pāḍī, sāvērī, madhyamāvātī, āharī, bhairavī, kalyāṇī, śaṅkarābharaṇa, kāmbōḍī, mukhārī, pūrvī, saurāṣṭra, kēdāragaula, kāmbōḍī, pantuvarālī and varālī.

2.6. Rāga names for Dāsara Pada-s in GOML manuscript :

In the GOML manuscript R1598 (veṅkaṭa viṭṭhala purandara dāsa kīrtanālu), there are many dāsara pada-s seen with the mudra of 'purandara viṭhala', 'muddu purandara viṭhala', 'guru muddu viṭhala', 'hayavadana', 'madhvapati rāya', 'ādi kēśava rāya' and 'śrī kṛṣṇa'. These dāsara pada-s have rāga names assigned to them but no musical notations are seen for these.

The rāga names seen for these songs are ānandabhairavī, baulī, dēśākṣī, gauḷīpantu, huṣēnī, kalyāṇī, kāmbhōjī, jheṇjūtī, madhyamāvātī, māñjī, mōhana, mukhārī, nādanāmakriyā, pantuvarālī, pharaju, saurāṣṭra, śaṅkarābharaṇa, varālī and yadukula kāmbhōjī.

In the list of rāga names seen in the GOML manuscript, jheṇjūtī is a modern rāga seen only in Saṅgrahacūḍāmaṇi. Mōhana makes an appearance only in Rāgalakṣaṇamu and Saṅgītasārāmṛta, belonging to kāmbhōjī mēla and lacking only 'ni'. Māñjī is also seen in RL-MV for the first time. Pantuvarālī is seen in RV as 'śuddhavarāṭī' and is described in CDP, though as not fit for composition. Paraju is seen in pan-Indian works RMala, RV etc. before making an appearance in RL-MV. Erukala kāmbhōjī is seen in RL-S and SSA in the 28th mēla, later being called Yadukulakāmbhōjī in RL-MV.

On the whole, it appears that the rāga assignment for many of the songs in the manuscript is probably recent and not close to the time of the original composition.

2.7. Rāga names for Haridāsa compositions in 20th Century publications :

In the twentieth century, many books containing Haridāsa compositions were brought out by institutions and individuals notably by Varadēndra Sāhitya Maṇḍali, Śrīman Madhwa Siddhānta Granthālaya, Institute of Kannada Studies at University of Mysore. While these books were published as a result of collation of several manuscripts and oral tradition from Haridāsa families and those ordained into the Haridāsa sect, the rāga names seem to indicate that they were of a relatively recent origin – names such as Jhenjūṭi, Aṭhāṇa, Bēhag, Māñji, Malayamāruta are seen.

3. Battīsa rāga-s in various texts

The ‘battīsa’ rāga-s or set of 32 Rāga-s have been mentioned in the following Lakṣaṇa Grantha-s (musicological works) and literary works:

- Basavapurāṇa (BP) by Pāṅkurki Sōmanātha – 14th century AD
- Nātyacūdāmaṇi (NC) by Sōmanārya – 16th century AD
- Rāgatālacintāmaṇi (RTC) by Pōlūri Gōvinda Kavi – early 17th century AD
- Abhinava Bharata Sāra Saṅgraha (ABSS) by Mummaḍi Cikka Bhūpāla – early 17th century AD
- Vivēkacintāmaṇi (VC) by Nijaguṇa Śivayōgi – 1500 AD

Basava Purāṇa and Vivēkacintāmaṇi give information of the 32 Rāga-s in the Vīraśaiva tradition. In the other three Lakshana Granthas mentioned above, the 32 Rāga-s are divided into 8 Puruṣa(male) and 24 Strī(female) Rāga-s. Though many Rāga names are common in the four works, they are also not in complete mutual agreement over the list of the 32 Rāga-s.

Many rāga-s of Haridāsa-s seen in sources mentioned above are not found in these texts!

4. Summary of findings

4.1. Total set of possible rāga-s of Haridāsa-s from various sources:

Examining the names of the rāga-s found in the various sources mentioned in the earlier sections, we have the following findings:

- Many of the rāga names assigned in the 20th century publications and in the GOML manuscript seem recent and not dating back to the time of the original compositions
- The names of the rāga-s in the Haridāsa song lyrics seem most authentic.

- The rāga names in the TMSSML, KIKS, Chippagiri and Gadhwal manuscripts, as well as those assigned for suḷādi examples in RL-S and SSA seem likely to belong to the set of rāga-s used by the Haridāsa-s.
- There are a total of 76 rāga-s from the different sources!
- There are several rāga-s which appear in the musicological text ‘svaramēlakalānidhi’ of Rāmāmātya, written in the 16th century
- Many rāga-s appear in pan-Indian texts in the 16th century or later, such as sadrāgacandrōdaya, rāgamāla, saṅgītapārijāta but none in South Indian texts
- Some rāga-s appear in South Indian texts such as saṅgītasudhā and caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā in the 17th century
- Going by the classification of ‘ghana’, ‘naya’ and ‘dēśya’ rāga-s in rāgalakṣaṇamu of the 17th century, most rāga-s are fit for ‘ghana’. The saṅgītasampradāyapradarśini interprets that as suitable for tānam in durita kāla

Consolidating the rāga names in the TMSSML, KIKS, Chippagiri and Gadhwal manuscripts, as well as those assigned for suḷādi examples in Rāgalakṣaṇamu of Śāhājī and Saṅgītasārarmṛta (which seem likely to belong to the set of rāga-s used by the Haridāsa-s) we have the following 76 names:

āharī/āhērī, ānandabhairavī, ārabhī, ārdradēśī, bhairavī, bhaulī, bhinnaśadja, bhūpālī, chāyāgaṇḍa, dhanyāsī, dēśī, dēśākṣī, dēvagāndhārī/dēvagāndhāra, gaṇḍa, gaṇḍī, gaṇḍīpantu, guṇḍakriyā/ guṇḍakriyē, gujjarī/ gūrjarī, hejjujjī, hindōla, hindōlavasanta, jayantasēna, kalyāṇī, kāmbōjī, kannāḍabaṅgāla, kannāḍagaṇḍa, kēdāra, kēdāragaula, kuruṇjī, lalitā, madhumādhavī/madhyamāvatī maṅgalakaisīkī, malhārī/malahari, mālava, mālavī, mālavaśrī, māravī/ māruva, manōharī, māyāmālava(gaula), mēcabauli, mēgha, mēgharaṇjini, mukhārī, nādarāmakriyā, nāmakriyā, nāṭa, /nāṭī, nārāyaṇagaṇḍa, nārāyaṇī, nārāyaṇadēśākṣī, pādī, phalamaṇjari, pantuvarālī, pūrvagaṇḍa, pūrvī, rāmakriyē/suddharāmakriyā/rāmakriyā, rēvagupti, rītigaula, sālaga, sāma, sāmanta, sārāṅga, sārāṅganāṭa, sāvērī/suddhasāvērī, śaṅkarābharāṇa/rudrābharāṇa, sālagaḥbhairavī, saurāṣṭra, śrīrāga, śuddha dēśī, śuddhasanta, tōḍī, varālī, vasanta, vasantabhairavī, varālī, vélāvalī, vélāvarī.

4.2. Description of the rāga-s of Haridāsa-s in lakṣaṇa grantha-s:

Among the total set of rāga-s mentioned above, we have the following rāga-s in svaramēlakalānidhi:

Category	Rāga-s
‘Uttama’	āharī, bhairavī, bhaulī, dēśākṣī, dhanyāsī, ghūrjarī, malhārī, mukhārī, nāṭī, (śuddha)rāmakriyā, varālī, mālava(gauḍa), sāmanta, śrīrāga, lalitā, hindōla, mālavaśrī, kannāḍagaṇḍa, sārāṅganāṭa

Category	Rāga-s
‘Madhyama’	guṇḍakriyā, kāmabhōjī, nādarāmakriyā, pāḍī, bhūpala(ī), kēdāragaula, vēlāva(l)ī, h(i)ejjūjī, kannaḍabaṅgāla, vasantabhairavī, rītigaula, rēvagupti, vēlāvalī
‘Adhama’ with description in SMK	sāvērī, śaṅkarābharaṇa, saurāśtra, nārāyaṇī, bhinnasādja
‘Adhama’ with no description in SMK	gaula, gaulī, kuruñjī, tōḍī, phalamañjari, dēvagāndhāra(ī), mēcabauli, maṇagalak(au)aiśiki, sārāṅgabhairavī, ārdradēśī, pūrvagaula

There are several rāga-s in the above list not seen in svaramēlakalānidhi but are seen in pan-Indian texts and later make an entry into South Indian Music through rāgalakṣaṇamu and saṅgītasārāmṛta: kalyāṇī/kalyāṇa, mālava/mālavī, māravī/māruva, megha, pūrvī, sārāṅga, sālāṅga, kēdāra, manōhara, madhumādhavī and ānandabhairavī.

There are also those rāga-s in the above list not seen in svaramēlakalānidhi but are seen in saṅgītasudhā and caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā and not in earlier South Indian texts : hindōlavasanta, ārabhī, chāyāgaula, nārāyaṇadēśākṣī, sālāgabhairavī, nārāyaṇagaula, jayantasēna and sāmārāga

Those which are seen in rāgalakṣaṇamu and saṅgītasārāmṛta for the first time are: śuddhadēśī and gaulīpantu.

Let us examine the rāga-s not seen in svaramēlakalānidhi (SMK) but which are seen in pan-Indian texts and later make an entry into South Indian Music through rāgalakṣaṇamu (RL-S) and saṅgītasārāmṛta (SSA):

- kalyāṇ(a)ī is seen in pan-Indian texts such as sadrāgacadrōdaya (SRC), rāgamāla (RM) etc. in the 16th century but the features are different from those seen in the description of the South Indian rāga kalyāṇī in caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā (CDP) of the early 17th century, which resembles the modern mōhanakalyāṇī.
- mālava – mālava/mālavī appears in pan-Indian texts such as RM, saṅgītapārijāta (SP) etc. in the 16th century and early 17th century under the 15th mēla. It is later seen in RL-S and SSA.
- māravī is seen in pan-Indian texts such as SRC, RM etc. in the 16th century. In these texts, it is said to drop ‘ri’ and ‘dha’ and take the svara-s of the present-day 15th mēla. It is later seen in RL-S and SSA, as ‘sampūrṇa’.
- mēgha is seen in pan-Indian texts such as SP, RTV (rāgatattvavibōdha) etc. in the 17th century. In these texts, it is said to take the svara-s of the present-day 22nd or 30th mēla.

- pūrvī is seen in pan-Indian texts such as SRC, RM etc. in the 16th century and SP, RTV etc. in the 17th century. In these texts, it is said to take the svara-s of the present-day 15th mēla.
- sārāṅga is seen in pan-Indian texts such as SRC, RM etc. in the 16th century and in SP, RTV etc. in the 17th century – as it takes the ‘ūrdhva gāndhāra’ described by Paṇḍarīkaviṭhala, it cannot fit into the 72 mēlakarta scheme. It later appears in Southern texts RL-S, SSA and rāgalakṣaṇa of Mudduveṇkaṭamakhi (RL-MV).
- sālaga – The mention of this rāga is puzzling as ‘sālaga’ is a modern rāga occurring only in works such as SSS and MBC. Perhaps there is an error, and the name should be ‘sālāṅga’ which is again a rāga occurring in SP and RTV taking the svara-s of the modern 16th mēla.
- kēdāra occurs in pan-Indian works such as SRC, RM and RMala of the 16th century, under the 29th mēla. It seems to enter South Indian lakṣaṇa texts through RL-S and SSA.
- manōharī is a relatively modern rāga, occurring in saṅgrahacūḍāmaṇi (Scud), SSS and MBC under 22nd mēla and as kamalāmanōharī under 33rd mēla. Perhaps, there is an error, and the name actually is manōhara, which is a rāga mentioned in the pan-Indian texts SP and RTV under the 22nd mēla.
- madhumādhavī occurs in the pan-Indian works SRC, RM, RMala etc. in the 16th century and is placed under the 29th mēla. Madhyamādi is another name for this rāga, which has developed in two streams – that under the 29th mēla and another under the 22nd mēla.
- ānandabharavī is seen for the first time in the pan-Indian work SP and later makes an appearance in RL-S and SSA under the bhairavī mēla. There is a possibility that this rāga existed in folk music for a few centuries prior to its mention by Śāhajī. ²

Taking up the rāga-s, that do not find a mention in the text Svaramēlakalānidhi of Rāmāmātya but are seen in Saṅgītasudhā and Caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā and not in earlier South Indian texts, we find the following features:

- hindōlavasanta makes an appearance in saṅgītasudhā (SSudha) and CDP of the early 17th century, the former placing it under the bhairavī mēla and the latter the āhiri mēla.
- ārabhī is seen for the first time in SSudha and CDP of the early 17th century, under the śaṅkarābharāṇa mēla, as ‘sampūrṇa’, however, not commencing tāna-s with ‘ga’ and ‘ni’. It is later seen in RL-S and SSA also.
- chāyāgaṇa makes an appearance in SSudha and CDP of the early 17th century, under the 15th mēla. It later occurs in RL-S and SSA also.

2 A paper ‘Rāga names in Śrīpādarāya’s ‘lāli gōvinda lāli’ by the author examines this possibility.

- nārāyaṇadēśākṣī is seen in SSudha and CDP of the early 17th century, under the 29th mēla. It later occurs in RL-S and SSA also.
- sālāgabhairavī – though the name ‘sālāgabhairavī’ occurs for the first time in SSudha under the mēla of śrīrāga, in SMK, ‘sāraṅgabhairavī’ is classified as an ‘adhama’ rāga with no description.
- nārāyaṇagaula has not been described, though mentioned in SMK. It occurs in SSudha and CDP of the 17th century under the 28th mēla.
- jayantasēna is seen for the first time in SSudha under the bhairavī mēla, though later works CDP, RL-S and SSA classify it under the śrīrāga mēla.
- sāmārāga makes an appearance in CDP for the first time under the 29th mēla as a ‘sampūrṇa’. Subsequent texts RL-S and SSA place it under the 28th mēla.

The features of the rāga-s which are seen in rāgalakṣaṇamu and saṅgītasārāmṛta for the first time are as follows:

- Śuddhadēśī is a rāga that occurs for the first time in RL-S, under the mēla Śrīrāga.
- Gauḷīpantu is first seen in RL-S and SSA under the 15th mēla.

In rāgalakṣaṇamu of Śāhājī, there is a classification of ghana, naya and dēśya rāga-s. Examining this classification, we can divide the set of rāga-s of Haridāsa-s gathered from various sources above into the following categories:

Ghana: āhari, ānandabhairavī, ārabhī, ādradēśī, baulī, bhairavī, chāyāgaula, dēvagāndhārī, gaula, guṇḍakriyā, gujjarī, hejjujjī, hindōla, hindōlavasanta, kāmboḍī, kannāḍabaṅgāla, kannāḍagaula, kēḍāra, kēḍāragaula, kuruñjī, lalitā, maṅgalakaiśika, malahari, mālavi, mēcabauli, mālavagaula, mēgharañjī, nādarāmakriyā, nārāyaṇadēśākṣī, nārāyaṇagaula, nārāyaṇī, pāḍī, phalamañjari, pūrvagaula, rēvagputi, rītagaula, sāmārāga, sāmanta, sālāṅganāṭa, śuddhasāvērī, śuddhavasanta, śuddhadēśī, śaṅkarābharāṇa, sālāgabhairavī, saurāṣṭra, vēlāvalī

Naya: āhari, bhairavi, kāmboḍī, kēḍāragaula, maṅgalakaiśika, mēcabauli, nādarāmakriyā, saurāṣṭra, pantuvarālī (rakti),

Dēśī: Dhanyāsī, gauḷīpantu, kalyāṇī, māruva, pūrvī, sāraṅga, tōḍī

Not classified: bhinnaśadja, bhūpāla, dēśākṣī, dēśī, jayantasēna, madhyamādi, mālavaśrī, manōhara, mēgha, mukhārī, nāṭa, śuddharāmakriyā, sālaga, śrīrāga, varālī, vasantabhairavī

Thus, we see that most of the rāga-s come under the classification of ‘ghana’. Śāhājī does not describe the features of ‘ghana’, ‘naya’ and ‘dēśya’, however, in the 20th century,

Subbarāma Dikṣitar says that ghana rāga-s are those where ‘tānam’ can be sung in the durita kāla from the ‘nābhi’. It is not clear whether this description would be applicable in the time when Rāgalakṣaṇamu was written.

4.3. Features of some of the rāga-s of Haridāsa-s seen in suḷādi notations in TMSSML manuscripts:

Some suḷādi-s of the TMSSML notations have been taken up for detailed study by the author ³. Melodic features from a few of these are presented here. An attempt has been made to describe the melodic features of the rāga-s, however a complete picture of the rāga of the time period can only emerge with a deep and vast study of several songs in conjunction with lakṣaṇa.

4.3.1. ārdradēśī:

The following are the features of this rāga as seen in lakṣaṇa:

- ārdradēśī has been classified as an ‘adhama’ rāga, taking the svara-s corresponding to the modern 51st mēla in svaramēlakalānidhi
- In caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā and later texts, it comes under the 15th mēla.
- Illustration of suḷādi phrase ‘dēhajīrṇavāyitu’ by Vyāsātīrtha seen in Rāgalakṣaṇamu of Śāhajī and Saṅgītasārāmṛta of Tulaja

The following are the highlights of melodic features of suḷādi dēhajīrṇavāyitu in the rāga ārdradēśī :

In the suḷādi, the phrases seem close to the version of the rāga as seen in Rāgalakṣaṇamu (Śāhajī), Saṅgītasārāmṛta, Rāgalakṣaṇamu (Muddu Venkaṭamakhi) Saṅgītasampradāyapradarśini, as:

- Both ‘p d s’ and ‘p d n s’ occur
- In descent, both ‘s n d p’ and ‘s d p’ occur
- The prayōga-s ‘g g g r’ and ‘m d p m’ are also seen in a few instances.
- The unusual sañcāra-s ‘g p g d’ and ‘g p d’ are noted in the suḷādi, though ‘d d d s n s’ is not seen.

4.3.2. dēvagāndhārī

The following are the features of this rāga as seen in lakṣaṇa:

- dēvagāndhārī has been classified as an ‘adhama’ rāga, taking the svara-s corresponding to the modern 22nd mēla in Svaramēlakalānidhi

³ A book based on study of 10 suḷādi songs from microfilm copies of TMSSML manuscripts by the author is under publication by IGNCA, Bengaluru.

- In caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā and later texts, it comes under the 22nd mēla.
- Illustration of suḷādi phrase ‘hasugala kareva dhvani’ by Purandara Dāsa seen in rāgalakṣaṇamu of Śāhajī and saṅgītasārāmṛta of Tulaja

The following are the highlights of melodic features of the suḷādi hejjege hejjege in dēvagāndhārī:

- ‘dēvagāndhārī’/ ‘dēvagāndhāra’ under the 22nd mēla seems the closest to the rāga of the suḷādi as either ‘ri’ and ‘da’ are omitted in ascent or included in a devious way in the rāga scale.
- rāgalakṣaṇamu and saṅgītasārāmṛta describe rāga phrases with jaṇṭa svara-s similar to those found in the suḷādi, but the phrases ‘s g r g m’, ‘s s m m g s’, ‘n D N S g R R S’, ‘s s p p’ seen in the suḷādi do not occur in these descriptions.

4.3.3. śaṅkarābharaṇa

The following are the features of this rāga as seen in lakṣaṇa:

- śaṅkarābharaṇa has been classified as an ‘adhama’ rāga, taking the svara-s corresponding to the modern 22nd mēla in Svaramēlakalānidhi
- In caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā and later texts, it comes under the 29th mēla.
- Illustration of a suḷādi phrase seen in rāgalakṣaṇamu of Śāhajī and saṅgītasārāmṛta of Tulaja

The following are the highlights of melodic features of the suḷādi avana bhayadinda – śaṅkarābharaṇa :

- The svara setup in the suḷādi seems close to the descriptions which place the svara content of the rāga corresponding to present-day 29th mēla.
- Some of the unusual phrases occurring in the suḷādi such as ‘s m g m P p p’, ‘s m M P’, ‘d g r s n p d n s r’ and ‘s s r g r g r g d p’ do not find a mention in any of the sixteenth to eighteenth century texts.

4.3.4. guṇḍakriyā

The following are the features of this rāga as seen in lakṣaṇa:

- guṇḍakriyā has been classified as a ‘madhyama’ rāga, taking the svara-s corresponding to the modern 15th mēla in svaramēlakalānidhi
- In caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā and later texts, it comes under the 15th mēla.

The following are the highlights of melodic features of the *suḷādi ambudhi totṭilāgi* in *guṇḍakriyā* :

- In the *suḷādi*, there are phrases of ascent or devious phrases where *dhaivata* is present – ‘d s’ is seen profusely and ‘d n s’ is seen only in one instance. ‘r m’ occurs in quite a few places.
- *Dhaivata* also occurs in *vakra* phrases such as ‘r r d p p m m’, ‘m m d P m’, ‘m r m d p m g r’
- The feature of ‘*saṃpūrṇatva*’ of the *rāga* mentioned in the 17th/18th century texts such as *saṅgītasudha*, *caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*, *rāgalakṣaṇamu* and *saṅgītasārāmṛta* seems to be present in the *suḷādi*, though the *svara* phrases of the *suḷādi* with *dhaivata* in ascent are not seen in the examples given in *rāgalakṣaṇamu* and *saṅgītasārāmṛta*.

Some of the phrases that are seen in the *saṅgītasampradāyapradarśini* seem close to those seen in the *suḷādi* – such as those with ‘m d p m’, ‘d s’ *sañcāra*-s.

4.3.5. *rītigauḷa*

The following are the features of this *rāga* as seen in *lakṣaṇa*:

- *rītigauḷa* has been classified as a ‘*madhyama*’ *rāga*, taking the *svara*-s corresponding to the modern 4th *mēla* in *svaramēlakalānidhi*
- In *saṅgītasudha*, it is said to take the *svara*-s corresponding to the modern 22nd *mēla*, whereas in *caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā* and later texts, it comes under the modern 20th *mēla*.
- Illustration of a *suḷādi* phrase seen in *rāgalakṣaṇamu* of *Śāhajī* and *saṅgītasārāmṛta* of *Tulaja*

The following are the highlights of melodic features of the *suḷādi nōḍidenauvana* in *rītigauḷa*:

- The phrases of the *suḷādi* ‘*nōḍidenauvana*’ could be close to those in *rāgalakṣaṇamu* and *saṅgītasārāmṛta* which say that the *rāga* belongs to the 20th *mēla*

Some examples given in these two texts of *svara* phrases – ‘n n n g r s n n n g g m g r g m g r g r’, ‘p n n s’, ‘s s g g m’, ‘p d p m’, ‘p d p m m g r’ etc. seem to be close to the phrases occurring in the *suḷādi* but some of the unusual phrases such as ‘m n d n’, ‘n s g r s’, that occur in the *suḷādi* are not seen in these texts.

4.3.6. śrīrāga

The following are the features of this rāga as seen in lakṣaṇa

- śrīrāga has been classified as an ‘uttama’ rāga, taking the svara-s corresponding to the modern 22nd mēla in svaramēlakalānidhi
- In saṅgītasudha, caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā and later texts, it comes under the modern 22nd mēla.

The following are the highlights of melodic features of the suḷādi kombu koḷalugaḷa – śrīrāga :

- In the suḷādi, the phrases ‘p n s g r s’, ‘n s g r s’, ‘n n g r s’, ‘m p s s n p’ are noted, that are seen to occur rarely in the later period.. Another interesting feature is that all segments of the fourth section end with ‘p p m r’ and all segments of the fifth section end with ‘p p m r s’.
- The phrases of the suḷādi seem close to the version of the rāga as seen in rāgalakṣaṇamu and saṅgītasārāmr̥ta as ‘r g r s’ and ‘n s g r s’ are seen in the examples given in these texts.
- However, it is noteworthy that there is no occurrence of dhaivata in the suḷādi notation at all, whereas rāgalakṣaṇamu and saṅgītasārāmr̥ta include a single example of a phrase with dhaivata. The phrases found in notations of several songs in SSP – ‘p d n p m r g r s’ and ‘p d n p n p m r g r s’ are not seen in the suḷādi at all.

4.3.7. sārāṅganāṭa

The following are the features of this rāga as seen in lakṣaṇa

- sārāṅganāṭa has been classified as an ‘uttama’ rāga, taking the svara-s corresponding to the modern 29th mēla in svaramēlakalānidhi
- In saṅgītasudhā, caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā and later texts, it comes under the modern 15th mēla.

The following are the highlights of melodic features of the suḷādi ‘hīṅgaḍala madhisudhire’ in sārāṅganāṭa :

- In the suḷādi, it was seen that the svara-s ‘ni’ and ‘ga’ are used sparingly and occur mostly in descent in some instances. Phrases without ‘ni’ and ‘ga’ are also seen in descent i.e., ‘s d p’ and ‘p m r’. ‘ni’ is also seen in ascent in one instance – in the phrase ‘D N S R’ in the first section

In the notation of the *suḷādi*, it is not clear which *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* have been used. But the phrases and the usage of ‘ga’ and ‘ni’ appear closer to the description in *rāgalakṣanamū* and *saṅgītasāramṛta*, which place *sālaṅganāṭa* under the 15th *mēla*

4.3.8. *sāvērī*

The following are the features of this *rāga* as seen in *lakṣaṇa*

- *sāvērī* has been classified as an ‘adhama’ *rāga*, taking the *svara*-s corresponding to the modern 29th *mēla* in *svaramēlakalānidhi*. It is pentatonic, dropping ‘ga’ and ‘ni’.
- In *saṅgītasudhā*, *caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā* and later texts, it comes under the modern 15th *mēla*.
- In *rāgalakṣanamū* and *saṅgītasāramṛta*, this *rāga* is called ‘*śuddhasāvērī*’ but is placed under the 15th *mēla*.

The following are the highlights of melodic features of *suḷādi* ‘*lakṣumīya mastakake*’ in *śuddhasāvērī* :

- In the *suḷādi*, there is a profusion of repeating *svara*-s in each section. The usual *sañcāra*-s noted in modern *śuddha-sāvērī* such as ‘r m m p d’, ‘d s s r’, ‘R r m r r s’ etc. are seen. The *prayōga* ‘d r s’ is noted in a few instances.
- The notation of the *suḷādi* ‘*lakṣumīya mastakake*’ mentions the name of the *mēla* to which the *rāga* belongs as ‘*śaṅkarābharāṇa*’.
- The *suḷādi* phrases have no ‘ga’ and ‘ni’ and seem similar to those found in *rāgalakṣanamū* and *saṅgītasāramṛta* but the name of the *mēla* in the manuscript seems to suggest that the *rāga svarūpa* of the *suḷādi* was close to the older version of the *rāga*.

4.3.9. *kalyāṇī*

The following are the features of this *rāga* as seen in *lakṣaṇa*

- *kalyāṇī* is not mentioned by *svaramēlakalānidhi*, but is seen in pan-Indian works like *sadrāgaścandrōdaya*.
- *caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*, *saṅgītapārijāta* and *rāgatattvavibōdha* (RTV) describe the omission of ‘ma’ and ‘ni’ in ascent in this *rāga*.
- This version of the *rāga* is described as ‘*Śuddhakalyāṇī*’ in *rāgalakṣanamū* and *saṅgītasāramṛta* with examples of phrases omitting ‘ma’ and ‘ni’

The following are the highlights of melodic features of kalyāṇī in the aṣṭarāga suḷādi ‘sārasa nayana’ : (only 7 rāga-s seen in the notation):

- In the suḷādi, in the kalyāṇī section, we find that ‘ma’ and ‘ni’ are both omitted in ascent, but ‘ni’ does not occur at all even in descent.
- This version of the rāga does not seem to have a corresponding description in any of the texts mentioned above.

4.3.10. kēdāra

The following are the features of this rāga as seen in lakṣaṇa:

- kēdāra is not mentioned by svaramēlakalānidhi, but is seen in pan-Indian works like sadrāgacandrōdaya.
- In rāgalakṣaṇamu and saṅgītasārāmṛta it is said to take the mēla of śaṅkarābharaṇa both these texts quote a portion from the kēdāra section of the aṣṭarāga suḷādi while illustrating the rāga features.

The following are the highlights of melodic features of kēdāra in the aṣṭarāga suḷādi ‘sārasa nayana’ : (only 7 rāga-s seen in the notation):

- In rāgalakṣaṇamu and saṅgītasārāmṛta the descriptions of the rāga lacking ‘dha’ and omitting ṛṣabha in ascent match very well with the suḷādi phrases.
- The svarūpa of the rāga of the suḷādi seems to be close to that seen in rāgalakṣaṇamu (Śāhājī), saṅgītasārāmṛta, rāgalakṣaṇamu (Mudduveṇkaṭamakhi) and saṅgītasampradāyapradarśini.

5. Conclusion

While Haridāsa songs, particularly dēvaranāma-s, are quite popular, the original rāga-s used by the composers cannot be determined with certainty. There is a popular view that Haridāsa-s used only 32 rāga-s in their songs, based on the occurrence of rāga names in some song lyrics. Manuscript notations of suḷādi songs from TMSSML and KIKS, references in Rāgalakṣaṇamu of Śāhājī and Saṅgītasārāmṛta of Tulaja and lyrics of all known songs of Haridāsa-s containing rāga names provide interesting information about rāga-s that possibly could have been used by the composers. An examination of these reveals that the number of such rāga-s is much more than 32. It is also noteworthy that while ‘32 rāga-s’ have been mentioned by various authors in different time periods, the actual rāga names vary from one author to another. The suḷādi notations from TMSSML manuscripts also give clues about the possible features of the rāga-s used. However, only

a detailed study of a large number of songs from musical notations of TMSSML would give a clear picture of the features of these rāga-s.

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