Intermediality in Medieval Indian Literary Culture:

Understanding the Musicological Canon, *Ragamala* Paintings and

Bhakti Compositions[1]

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Abstract: *This paper attempts to discuss the formalistic and social epistemologies in medieval Indian literary culture that include scripto-centric, phono-centric and body-centric representations. The first section deals with introductory remarks and defines and locates intermedial translation. The second looks at the knowledge systems that go into the construction of intermediality. In the third section, an exploration of* Ragamala *paintings, an intermedial form from medieval elite public sphere, has been undertaken. The fourth section takes a look at the intimate relationship between Bhakti compositions, the musicological canon and* Ragamala *paintings. Finally, certain theoretical issues about the musical aspect of intermediality have been discussed.*

1. Introduction

Roman Jakobson describes three methods of translating a verbal code. The first one is "intralingual" that is translation within the language such as rewording, interpretation and commentary. The second one is "interlingual" or translation from one language to another.

He further states that there is no such thing as absolute synonymy in both methods, but they can be applied with the help of meta-language or borrowings. The third way of rendition is "intersemiotic" translation that could also be called transmutation. Jakobson further reiterates that there is a problem of equivalence in these three translation methods, as some information can be difficult to render when a target language has different grammatical categories from the source language. However, he simultaneously adds that any cognitive experience can be expressed in any language. We need to note that Jakobson not only presenting complex dependencies between linguistics and translation, but also points out the importance of the verbal code. There is a need for clarification here. Intersemiotic translation is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs from non-verbal sign systems (or vice versa). What has been discussed as intermediality in recent days is closely linked to the concept of intersemiotic translation. Though intermedial studies developed within the discipline of comparative literature to start with, subsequently in the American school of comparative literature it assumed the term inter-art studies while in Germany and Nordic countries it developed as part of media studies. The term intermediality was used by Aage Ansgar Hansen-Love as a terminological extension to Kristeva's term "intertextuality," which itself was inspired by Bakhtin's concept of 'dialogue'. It attempted to suggest the interconnectedness at thematic and formalistic levels, deriving readings not just from a text per se but from the interconnectedness to other texts. Similar to intertextuality, which contests authorial and textual uniqueness and deconstructs a text's autonomy and independence, intermediality too incorporates these ideas and extends further into the domain of interdisciplinarity. In fact, Kristeva emphasised that it is not just texts, but all signs are defined and understood in relation to other signs. It is in this sense that Hansen-Love was able to connect sign systems with media. Accordingly, intermediality has become one of the important turns of the twentieth century, similar to cultural, linguistic and spatial turns.

Intermediality has also tried to shift the emphasis from textuality in a narrow sense to representations in general and to the public sphere, whether it is reading or performing. A fruitful theoretical frame for the promotion of interdisciplinary cross-fertilisation is intermediality theory, in particular the category of intermediality as developed by scholars like Rajewsky, Wolf (2005, 2011), and Kattenbelt.

2. Formalistic and Social Epistemologies of Intermediality

The theoretical formulation of intermediality, like literary theory, was essentially developed in the west and was extended to non-western cultures. As this mode of understanding literature has been there for more than 100 years and as attempts to look at intermediality from the point of view of Indian poetics are practically absent, there is an urgent need to initiate such studies. The attempt should bring formalistic and social epistemologies together in the study of intermediality. Rather than using a binary categorisation of textual and visual, we can use textuality, sonority, and visuality as the categories and designate them as scripto-centric (manuscript), phono-centric (orality) and body-centric (performative) systems of representation. Accordingly, at the construction and sustenance levels, we can notice that not only scripto-centric, phono-centric and body-centric representations overlap with each other (see Figure 1), but also the social epistemology gets fused into each other's representational formats. The very fact that caste, *gharana* (family, lineage), spatiality (language and region), religion and ecological aspects like season, time of the day, etc. get firmly embedded in the construction of intermediality in Indian representations, the need to study the social epistemology of intermediality gets underscored. In addition, the linguistic, musical and performative aspects of intermediality are not all that uniform at universal levels as has been claimed. Discussions on print and translation claim advantages of easy linguistic transfer and larger universal isogloss of communication for print culture. But oral and performative

formats, loaded with social epistemologies, may not be all that universal. Not only are musical and performative isoglosses relatively smaller, but also mutual compatibility between any two nonlinguistic mediums is relatively small. Moreover, the print mode-centred translation, the print public sphere, the formalistic cleavage, and the dominance of literary theory and translation studies have constrained intermediality on the one hand and interdisciplinarity on the other. At the same time, due to lack of interest and the complexity involved in studying them, intermedial studies have largely remained within the periphery.

A.K. Ramanujan provided seminal insights into the study of translation process in medieval India. Though the concept of translation in the sense that European theories postulate is conspicuously absent in medieval India, Ramanujan designates an indexical relationship between the purported 'original' and its translations and calls them "tellings." In addition, he further reiterates that tellings constitute a creative crystallisation of conventions from a pool of signifiers available in the culture. Although Ramanujan does not make any mention of orality and performance representations or intermediality, tellings do encompass an overlapping relationship between scripto-centric, phono-centric and body-centric formats of representation. In fact, the conventions of signifiers could not only come from classical, popular and folk traditions but also could be consumed differently by different publics in multiple ways. Furthermore, the nature of the divide between the classical (elite) and folk was radically different from the binary opposition that has been conceived within contemporary discourse. Sarangadeva's *Sangita-ratnakara,* an early canonical text composed in 1230 C.E. on Indian music mentions both elite and folk styles, *Marga* and *Desi*, and treats them as complementary to each other. The continuous and mutual exchange between *Marga* and *Desi* is well known and does not require a detailed discussion.

In order to map intermediality in medieval Indian literary culture, we need to take a closer look at how the literary culture and its publics operated and their social epistemologies. The general schema of precolonial representations included an overlapping of scripto-centric, phono-centric and body-centric systems of representation, each of them having a public of its own (roughly corresponding to home, temple and outside) with complex overlapping. However, during the colonial period, they were restructured into two-way spheres, "print" and "visual," and a canonical and academic oriented approach of understanding them was developed. Such changes had far-reaching consequences for precolonial schema of the representation system and its publics. First, print and visual cultures were linked to two newly emerging public spheres that had emerged as a consequence of the new educational system. Consequently, the three-fold, hybrid and overlapping precolonial publics, the court, temple and outside, which were still actively present, were marginalised and denigrated. Secondly, hybridity associated with the precolonial representation system was intended to cater to the needs of heterogeneous and divergent communities that were a characteristic of pre-colonial publics. In contrast, the newly emerged print public sphere was one of not only literates but was also homogeneous and convergent in nature. Let us take a look at an example of medieval Indian literary work (*Kavya*) in different public spaces, namely the home, the temple and outside and the incorporated intermediality to understand how despite being composed in the scripto-centric manuscript format, it was consumed.

In medieval Indian literary culture, texts are divided into *Parvas*/*Kanda*s, which are further divided into subdivisions, namely *Sandhi*s (joints). It is actually *Sandhi* in the form of an episode that is usually recited or performed or sculpted/ painted in representations. Thus, *Sandhi*s forms the smallest modular unit of the *Kavya* system. These modular stories are arranged in different patterns to constitute a *Kavya*. In the domain of the home, the text is

usually read aloud to oneself or in front of the family members after worship in the morning. In phono-centric (recitation) system it transforms into *Kavya-vachana* (*Gamaka-vachana*, recitation of *Kavya* to tune of *Raga*s) that usually takes place in temples in which a chosen episode from a text is sung to the tune of *Raga*s of classical music and interpreted by the singer himself for an expert interpreter. Such recitations usually start with introductory and invocatory verses of the *Kavya*, followed by the synoptic verse (*Sucana-padya*) and then the entire episode and conclude with verses of *Mangala* (well-being) and *Phalashruti* (benefits). The people from castes who are customarily allowed to enter the temple have the potential to become its audience. Thus, as the temple public becomes diversified (from home to temple), interpretation strategies are improved to cater to the needs of the sensibilities of the changed public. Interestingly, body-centric systems too contain a similar synoptic verse that is narrated at the beginning of the performance and follow a pattern similar to that of phono-centric system. In this case, the text moves into open space (*Bayalu*, "open field;" *Bayalata*, "folk-play") and as anyone can become its audience, further diversification of its public space takes place.[2] Accordingly, in addition to the music and costume, acting and dialogues get incorporated to enhance the process of interpretation. On the other hand, sculptural and painted representations of episodes from the *Kavya*s, located on the exterior walls and pillars of the temple and depicted at a human vision level, provide certain key narrative visual elements that are representative of the episode on which the viewers can mentally rebuild the episode for themselves. In a sense, these key narrative visual elements constitute the counterpart of the synoptic verse for sculpture and painting. However, in the absence of scripted and verbal texts, it is the viewer's mental text(s), through a dense intertextuality (knowledge of multiple versions and their social epistemologies), that facilitates a mental reading of the episode. This process is closer to the aesthetic experience discussed in Indian poetics, the *Rasanubhava*.

Kavya-vachana performances usually start with *Raga Nata* and conclude with *Madhyamavati* or *Suruti* in Karnataki style of music and with *Raga Yaman Kalyan* and *Bhairavi* respectively in Hindustani style. Interestingly, the performance starts with a late evening *Raga* and ends with an early morning *Raga* suggesting the performance was conceived as a dusk to dawn activity. In most of the Indian languages, folk plays, *Kirtan*, *Jagaran*, *Qawwali*, etc. are performed through the use of this convention. Thus, *Raga*s bring forward important and crucial social epistemology to the temporal and thematic development of the narrative, whether it is being read, sung, or performed. At the same time having a potential for highly diverse public sensibilities, the body-centric system tends to possess a very complex intermedial format involving text, music, dance, costume, etc. Thus, while the phono-centric system subsumes the scripto-centric system, the body-centric system subsumes both phono-centric and scripto-centric systems. With regard to the overlapping of scripto-centric, phono-centric and body-centric systems, it can be safely assumed that their reach is directly proportional to the diversity of the publics in which they are located. A scripto-centric system's reach subsumes literacy, while a phono-centric system is devoid of such a literacy constraint. However, dialectal and linguistic boundaries might act as constraints for its efficacy, but bi-dialectal and multilingual capabilities of the publics might help an easy negotiation of such constraints. On the other hand, a phono-centric system has to incorporate elaborate interpretative mechanisms into its format to cater to the diverse sensibilities of its pubic on the one hand and to facilitate the understanding of the archaic languages of the text on the other. However, a body-centric system with a public of a high degree of diverse sensibilities tends to become a complex intermedial representation involving text, music, dance, costume, etc. Sculptural and painted representations, on the other hand, operate at a cognitive/mental level of the viewers. Having a set of limited clues, they allow the viewer to

imagine and create an intertexuality with the viewer's cultural repertoire about the episode narrated in the representation. As we move away from the scripto-centric system and go to the phono-centric and further into body-centric systems, we are in fact increasingly encountering social epistemology associated with caste, gender, religion etc., as these categories not only constitute the monopolistic archives of knowledge about the respective systems but are also the custodians of knowledge of music, theatre, sculpture, and painting. At the construction and sustenance levels, we can further notice that not only scripto-centric, phono-centric and body-centric representations overlap with one another, but also the social epistemologies get fused into artistic representations. More importantly, while print culture has brought in significant changes in the literary forms in Europe, several medieval Indian intermedial forms are still alive and continue to exist within the print public sphere. Figure 1 schematically shows the isoglosses of these overlapping medieval intermedial publics.[3]
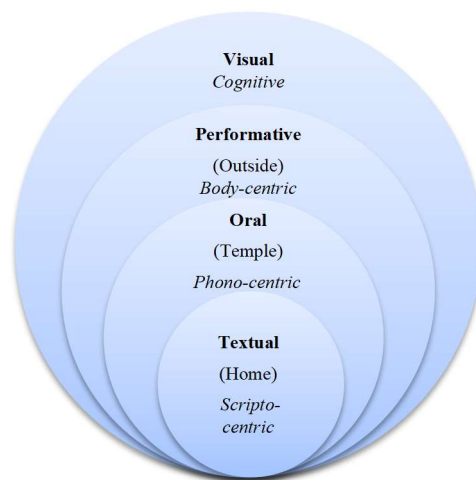
Figure 1. Schematic Diagram Showing the Processes and Overlapping of Different Intermedial Publics

The above discussion and the figure, however, may appear to privilege scripto-centric system to be the primary system, and the phono-centric and body-centric systems to be its derivatives. But the reality is contrary to it and needs to be problematised further. There are

several instances of Indian narratives in which the phono-centric and body-centric representations take a radically different thematic pattern compared to their scripto-centric counterparts. In certain cases, the body-centric versions might predate the scripto-centric versions. The episode of Kirata Shiva and Arjuna, fighting for a wild boar, from the *Mahabharata* is an interesting example of this kind. Scholars think that this episode is an interpolation into the text. Interestingly, the sculptural version pre-dates the textual version, the earliest version being reported from a panel from Virupaksha temple, Pattadakal dating back to 740 C.E. Above all, the version of the episode represented in the panel is different from the version that we find in the Sanskrit versions of the *Mahabharata* of Vyasa and *Kiratarjuniyam* of Bharavi. In fact, this deviant version of the episode continues to be in currency not only in the sculptural and painted versions but also in vernacular (c.f., Pampa's *Vikramarjuna-vijayam* in Kannada, 932 C.E.) and oral versions up to the nineteenth century.[4] Similarly, many stories from *Panchatantra* differ from their literary counterparts. Patil has pointed out that the sculptural versions not only differ from the literary versions but also predate the literary versions, both in India and in Indonesia. All these suggest that scripto-centric, phono-centric and body-centric representational systems have their own formalistic and social epistemologies that are specific to their respective publics and though they keep overlapping to a certain degree, they also remain autonomous to some extent. Figure 2 schematically suggests the dependent and autonomous aspects of scripto-centric, phono-centric and body centric systems in medieval Indian literary culture.
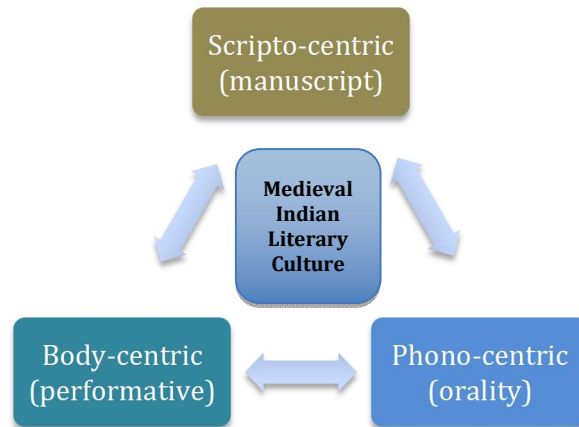
Figure 2. Schematic Diagram Showing the Dependent and Autonomous Aspects of Scripto-centric, Phono-centric, and Body-centric Systems in Medieval Indian Literary Culture

3. *Ragamala* Painting as Intermedial Representation and its Social Epistemology

Any discussion of Indian intermediality is incomplete without bringing *Ragamala* paintings into focus. The genre called *Ragamala* paintings literally means a garland of *Raga*s, or musical melodies. It is a case of perfect intermediality of medieval Indian literary culture involving scripto-centric, phono-centric and body-centric systems within an elite public. *Raga* refers to a "musical composition or mode," and each *Raga* has its temporal dimension as to which time of the day it should be sung (daily cycle) and also seasonal association (annual cycle) and its own presiding deity. While the first cycle subsumes temporality, the second one subsumes ecological and spatial dimensions. Accordingly, from the ecological perspective, the six-way calibration of seasons in India, spring (*Vasanta*), summer (*Grishma*), monsoon (*Varsha*), autumn (*Sharad*), early winter (*Hemanta*) and winter (*Shishira*), corresponds to the six ragas *Hindola, Dipaka, Megha, Bhairava*, *Shri* and *Malkouns* respectively. In addition, they also have their respective presiding deity, mood, flora and fauna, heptatonic scale etc.[5] Figure 3 schematically shows the seasons and the *Raga*s associated with them. In fact, they resemble the ecocentric types like *Tinai*s (poetical modes)

of *Sangam* literature in Tamil. While the Sangam modes are landscapes, the musical modes are seasons.
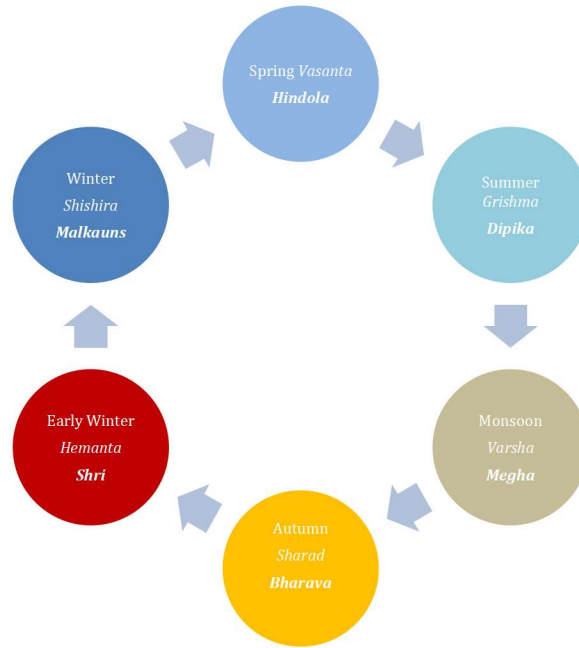
Figure 3. The Six Seasons and the *Raga*s Associated with them

The daily time cycles of various *Raga*s are shown in Figure 4.[6] The schema in the figure accounts for thirty-nine *Raga*s. The total number of *Raga*s, be it in Hindustani or Karnataki style, is a matter of debate, and different canonical texts list the numbers as well as names of the *Raga*s differently. In addition, these seasonal and temporal prescriptions are only heuristic devices and are not rigidly followed in practice.

Figure 4. The Time Cycle of *Raga*s

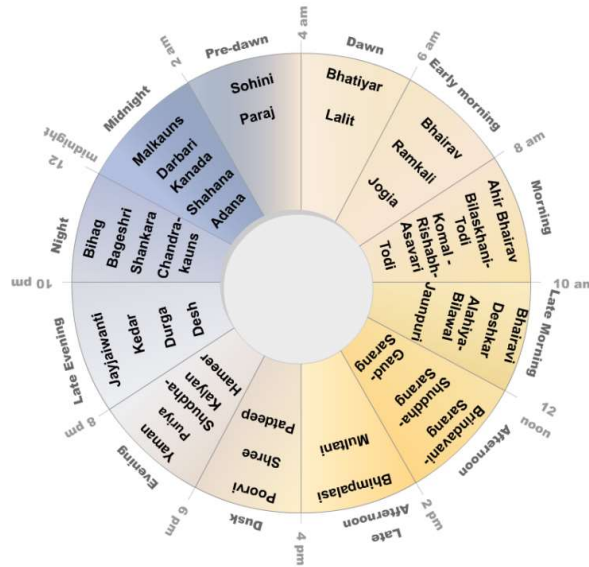The folio format in which the *Ragamala* has been put together suggests a thematic exposition of *Raga*s in terms of a family and usually constitutes 36 or 42 folios in a ledger. At one level, *Raga*s have been conceived as a family with a male *Raga* as the head of the family and having wives (*Raga-patni*s) and sons (*Raga-putra*s). For example, *Raga Bhairava* (male) has been claimed to have five wives and eight sons. According to *Sangita-darpana* of Damodara, *Bhairavi*, *Bilawali*, *Punyaki*, *Bangli* and *Aslekhi* are *Bhairava's* wives. In Mesakarna's schema, *Pancham*, *Harakh*, *Disakh*, *Bangal*, *Madhu*, *Madhava*, *Lalit* and *Bilaval* are his sons.[7] The number of *Raga*s continues to grow after the 16th century. However, both temporal and ecological clues get represented in the paintings. At another level, stylistically and medium wise, *Ragamala* paintings appear to be a spinoff from Persian miniature paintings. However, they appear to have successfully localised the conventions to suit the sensibilities and tastes of the local public. In addition to the depiction of local flora and fauna, that provide visual clues, "*Dhyana*" or "*Dhyana-shloka*" (contemplation), a verse either in Sanskrit or Braj, is inscribed either in *Devanagari*, or *Naqsh*, or Telugu script for verbal clues. This scripto-centric part of *Ragamala* painting, though confined to a small strip

at the top of the painting provides hints to the viewer to understand the painting and its accompanying music. There are also instances where the verse may be absent, suggesting the absence of scripto-centric counterpart in the painting. As the *Raga*s subsume a presiding deity of the Hindu pantheon, an iconographic representation of the presiding deity could also be found in the painting.

Historically speaking, *Ragamala* paintings appeared several centuries after the classification of *Raga*s appeared in the canonical texts on music. A musical treatise from western India, *Sangitaopanishat-saroddhara* written in 1324 C.E. by a Jain philosopher Sudhakalasha, provides highly valuable information regarding the *Dhyana-shloka*s and contains the first pictorial descriptions of the *Raga*s anticipating the later *Raga-dhyana*s and the painting that could be found subsequently on the folios of Jain *Kalpasutra* manuscript of Jayasimhasuriji of Indore. Ebiling suggests that the *Ragamala* paintings probably came into existence around 1450–1550 C.E. The depiction of six multiarmed male deities, labeled as *Raga*, and thirty-six female figures as *Ragini* on the back of twelve Jain *Kalpasutra* folios from Gujarat, dateable to 1475 C.E. are the earliest specimens of *Ragamala* paintings that have survived. These Jain connections, both to textual and painting traditions, deserve further research.

Deccan is one of the regions from which *Ragamala* paintings have been reported extensively. Zebrowski observed that probably the earliest *Ragamala* paintings were executed in Ahmednagar during the period 1580–1600 C.E. Thus, the spatial distribution of *Ragamala* paintings is spread over royal and Muslim courts from the regions of Deccan and North-Central India and is differentiated by various regional schools. It has also been observed that a majority of the extant *Ragamala* paintings that have been reported are found

to be either in Deccani style or mixed with it. At the same time, there is a conspicuous absence of *Ragamala* paintings from the region in which the Karnataki style of music has its dominant presence. Accordingly, no *Ragamala* painting has been reported from South India. This suggests that it is North India and Deccan that have shown keen interest in this music-centred intermedial representation form. Furthermore, the association of *Raga*s with seasonal and temporal considerations is not all that well defined in the Karnataki style of music. Interestingly, though the story of music in India is traced back to the Vedas, and Matanga's *Brihaddeshi* (6th–8th century C.E.) is the first text to talk about *Raga*s, the earliest definitive canonical text is actually Sarangadeva's *Sangita-ratnakara,* composed in 1230 C.E. in Devagiri in Deccan. The text is composed in Sanskrit and applies equally well both for Hindustani and Karnataki styles of music. Another noteworthy aspect of *Ragamala* paintings is that they visibly carry features associated with Hinduism, both in terms of people present in paintings and deities. In addition, more and more women could be seen represented in the paintings compared to men. Despite all this, *Ragamala* paintings need to be understood as a part of Hindu−Muslim syncretic tradition, as not only both Hindu and Muslim painters painted them, but also due to elements of Indo-Saracenic architectural style on the structures in the paintings.

A variety of hybridity has gone into the construction of *Ragamala* paintings. While the use of paper, the technique of miniature, architectural details, floral design and the names of some of the painters point towards a Persian origin, several other details like the colours, iconography and musical conventions come from the local cultural world. There are also suggestions that by the 15th century Indian music underwent changes to accommodate Persian elements. Ramamatya's *Svara-mela-kalanidhi*, written in the Vijayanagara court in 1550 C.E.

has been claimed to have accommodated aspects of Persian music. Similarly, the occurrence of the term *Raka* in Persian has been suggested to be a contribution from Indian music.

In order to understand the nature and intricacies of *Ragamala* paintings, let us take a closer look at some of the paintings. For the sake of uniformity, I have chosen instances of *Ragini Bhairavi* for discussion. Figure 5 gives a *Ragamala* painting of *Ragini Bhairavi* from the Manley *Ragamala* album, an album of paintings in gouache on paper now preserved in the British Museum.[8] It is originally from Amber, Jaipur (Rajasthan) and was executed during 1610−20 C.E. The painting depicts a woman (Gouri) worshipping a *Shiva-Linga* along with an accompanying female worshipper, probably an attendant. While the worshipper looks like singing in praise of Shiva with cymbals (*Tala*) in her hands, the attendant is helping her, fetching a garland in her hands. The worshipper sits in a pavilion of crystal, amidst a lake, which is filled with lotuses and water birds. At the base of the *Linga* are various ritual vessels, while a minuscule bull, the vehicle of Shiva, is shown curled up on the steps of the pavilion.[9] There is a *Dhyana Shloka* in Sanskrit written in Devanagari script which could be read as follows:[10]

> *sarovrasthā sphtiksya-maṃḍape saroruhai sankaram-arcayaṃtī*
>
> *tala-pratobhedai pratipanna-gītaiḥ gorī suciṃ nārada-bhairavīyaṃ*

This verse could be roughly translated as follows:

> In a crystal pavilion located amidst a pond, Gouri, bathed and clean, is worshipping Shankara, singing *Narada Bhairavi*[11] to different beats.

Figure 5. *Ragamala* Painting of *Ragini Bhairavi* from the British Museum

It is a problematic issue that no *Ragamala* painting has been reported from South India that constitutes the region of Karnataki style of music. The southernmost point in Deccan from which *Ragamala* painting has been reported is from Wanaparthy in Karnool district of Telangana, executed in 1755 C.E., under the patronage of a local Hindu feudal lord.[12] The painting can be seen in Figure 6.
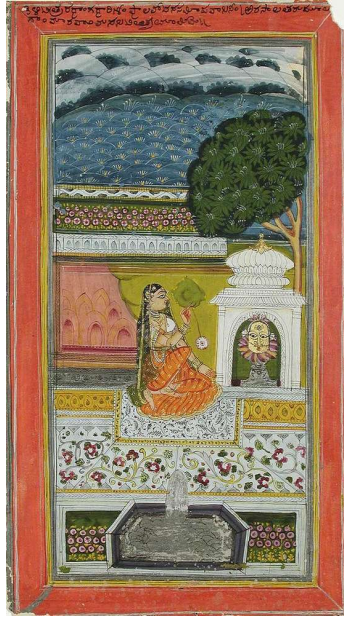
Figure 6. *Ragamala* Painting of *Ragini Bhairavi* from Wanaparthy

What is interesting about this painting is that *Dhyana Shloka* is in *Jagati* metre, a Vedic meter, and in Telugu-Kannada script.[13] The verse is as follows:

> *kēḷī citra rathāṃga-dhariṇīṃ*
>
> *phāla-lōchana samīpa vāsainīṃ*
>
> *arasāla-tarumūla (vāsa)nāṃ*
>
> *mārav(ḥa)ṃ manasi-ciṃtayāmiyēṃ*

A tentative translation of the verse is as follows:

> Holding various armours in different postures,
>
> in proximity to the one who has an eye on his forehead,
>
> living under a mango tree,
>
> is the goddess who excels as the god of love, Mara, I think of her.

It is not necessary that all *Ragamala* paintings should necessarily have *Dhyana Shloka*s in them. Sometimes there may be mention of only the name of the *Raga* and sometimes there may not be anything mentioned at all. This suggests that the phono-centric and body-centric components of *Ragamala* paintings are more important than the scripto-centric counterpart. Let us look at some of the *Ragamala* paintings in which Braj has been used. In these cases, the *Dhyana Shloka*s could be found in metres such as *Doha* (two-line meter) and *Chaupai* and *Savaiya* (both are four-line meters). Chandra (92) discusses a *Ragamala* painting of *Ragini Bhairavi* in Rajasthani style from the late 16th or early 17th century.[14] The following *Doha* verse is on the painting:

> *ānandita saṃjoga-sira siva devani ke deva*
>
> *mānasarovara tīra taki karati bhairavi seva.*
>
> *rāganī bhairavī bhairo kī dohā*

The translation of the verse is as follows:

> Delighted by the vision of her union with Shiva the god of gods,
>
> *Bhairavi* attends upon him on the banks of the *Manasa* Lake.
>
> *Ragini Bhairavi* of *Bhairava*

Another painting of *Ragini Bhairavi* in Rajasthani style from Jaipur and executed in the 17th century C.E. has two *Dhyana Shlokas*, a *Chaupai* and a *Doha* (Chandra 93-94).[15] The two verses are as follows:

bhairavī rāganī copaī

rājakuvāri bhairavī rāṇī, deśī-rupa bhairau lalicāṇī

bhāi magna sava surati visārīt rāṣi manoratha śiva matha āī

vauhauta bhāti kai pūjā lāī

līyai tāla kara sujasa sunāvā mana ehīva bhairava pāvā

eha nimata iota gāḍu ḍhārai pīya saneha nahī naika visārai

Doha: mānasarovara vimala jala panṣī karata kilola

tihā taṭa sobhī siva bhavaṇa rājita rucita amola

The translation of the two verses is as follows:

Princess Bhairavi was tempted by the sight of Bhairava's beauty.

Becoming absorbed (in his love), she forgot everything

and came to the temple of Shiva with a vow in her heart,

and brought with her many articles of worship.

Holding the cymbals in her hands she is singing the glories of Bhairava,

believing all the time that she had secured him.

With this purpose she is pouring out water from the pitcher

and does not forget even for a moment the love of her beloved.

Doha: On the banks of the *Manasa* Lake, full of crystalline water,

where the birds are sporting, is situated the ornamented and priceless temple of

Shiva.

There is another *Ragamala* painting of *Ragini Bhairavi*, once again in Rajasthani style, from Jaipur and belonging to the 19ᵗʰ century. (Chandra 96-97).[16] The *Dhyana Shloka* here is in the *Savaiya* metre.

bhairvā kī rāga savayā

phūle jahā puṇḍarīka indīvara aise sarovara madhya suhāvai

sundara rūpa singāra kiyai yaha gāvata tāla vajāvata bhāvai

prema sau dhyāna dharai śiva kau, phalase kuca nākita hātha lagāvai

yā vidhi bhāva vaṣāniye bhaironkī, rāginī bhairavī nāma kahāvai

The translation is as follows:

(The temple) is beautifully situated in a pond full of water lilies and lotus blossoms.

She, having decorated her beautiful person, appears there singing melodiously and beating time.

Meditating upon Shiva with love, she touches her fruit-like breast with her hand.

This is the attitude of the *Ragini* of *Bhairava* known as *Bhairavi*.

The common features that we notice in the *Dhyana Shloka*s like the reference to *Manasa* Lake, the lotus blossoms, music, and musical instruments create a pool of conventions intermedially, both in words and visually. The conventions described in the verse could also be found in the paintings to a considerable degree. In fact, the lake, lotus blossoms, shrine, musical instruments, devotees, dawn and the bluish sky and trees are

common in about thirty-one *Ragamala* paintings of *Ragini Bhairavi* that are there in my archive. To understand the significance of the relation between textual and visual representations, let us take a look at the trees that appear in these paintings. The mango tree and banana plant constitute an integral part of *Ragamala* paintings of *Ragini Bhairavi* and let us look at the cultural significance of the mango tree to understand the social epistemology of its representation in the paintings.

The depiction of a mango tree, sometimes blooming with flowers, suggests spring, when the *Ragini* is to be sung. Although the painting in Figure 5 does not show a mango tree, a blooming mango tree could be clearly seen in Figure 6. In a majority of the 31 paintings that I have seen a mango tree has been depicted. Interestingly, the *Sthalapurana* in Kanchipuram in Tamil Nadu states that the name of the presiding deity, Ekambareshvara, signifies the Lord of the mango tree. Another version of the *Sthalapurana* says that Parvati, in order to expiate herself from a sin, performed penance under the mango tree located in the premises of the Ekambareshvara temple on the bank of the river Vegavati. There is a song composed in Sanskrit by the famous composer of the Karnataki style of music Muthuswami Dikshitar (1775-1835) in *Raga Bhairavi* which refers to the Mango tree as the abode of Shiva and Uma.

> *cintayama kaṃda mula kandaṃ*
> *cetaḥ śrī somaskandaṃ*

The translation of the verse is as follows:

O mind, meditate on the root (or the origin of everything) at the base of the

mango tree, where Shiva is in the company of Uma and Skanda.

Hence, the mango tree brings in mythological, seasonal, and temporal dimensions into

the text, music and visuality of *Ragamala* painting of *Ragini Bhairavi*. Temporally speaking,

though *Ragini Bhairavi* is claimed as the *Raga* meant for singing during the autumn *(Sharat)*

season in canonical texts*,* it could also be sung during other seasons. However, its usual

singing time is at dawn. Although the darker sky represented in several paintings suggests

that it is either predawn or dawn, the time-cycle given in Figure 3 suggests a late morning

time for *Ragini Bhairavi*. Such mismatches are common in the conventions of Indian music

which overwrites practice over canon.

Dawn and the singing of *Ragini Bhairavi* have interesting intertextuality with Indian

poetics. In Sanskrit and vernacular poetic traditions, *Suryodaya-varnanam*, the description of

sunrise, is considered as one of the eighteen descriptions essential for a *Mahakavya*. The

conventions date back to the time of *Kavyadarsha* by Dandin. In this regard *Ragini Bhairavi*

itself could be explored as a connecting link between the medieval Indian cosmopolitan

literary culture, music and *Ragamala* paintings. In order to understand the cultural

significance of such a link, I would like to take up a comparison between *Suryodaya-*

varnanam (the description of sunrise) from medieval *Kavya* literature*,* a song from *Sangīta*

Saubhadra, a Marathi *Sangit Natak* (musical play) written by Annasahab Kirlosker in 1882*,*

and the *Ragamala* painting of *Ragini Bhairavi*.

Suktisudharnavam by Mallikarjuna, a Kannada Jaina poet (1350 C.E.), is an

anthology of poems of eighteen descriptions in which each canto provides examples of

poems of a specific description. The synoptic verse 9.1 (*Sucana-padya*) of the ninth canto, *Suryodaya-varnanam,* prescribes the following constituents for the description of sunrise:

(1) Water lilly (*kumudaṃ*), (2) fish (*mīn*), (3) setting of the moon / fading moonlight (*candramaṃ-candrikeya-kaḷeyarataṃ*), (4) gradual dimming of lamps (*jyōtinasyaṃ*), *nayaguṃde manaṃ pankhēruhaṃ* (5) cool early morning breeze (*taṇṇelar*), (6) brightness of the dawn (*avasara-tūryaṃ*), (7) chariot (*rathāṃga-dvayaṃ)*, (8) dawn's light (*sāndhya-mayūkhaṃ*), (9) increasing of mist (*perce marbuṃ*), (10) early morning sleep (*susila-marapu*), (11) birds' twitter (*pakṣi-svanaṃ*), (12) *Ragini Bhairavī* (*bhairavi-rāgumgurvaṃ bīre*) and (13) movement of people (*pānthar-naḍeye*).

The prescriptions for sunrise given in this 14th century text that is remarkably in agreement to the description of sunrise in the song *Priye-paha* from the modern Marathi musical play, *Sangita Saubhadra.* However, instead of *Bhairavi, Raga*s *Deshkar* and *Bhoop* have been used.[17] In the link given below, we can listen to the song sung by renowned singer Prabhakar Karekar. The lyrics of the song and translation are given below:[18]

priye paha ratrica samaya saruni yeta ushah kaal ha

thanda gar vata sutata dipa teja manda hota
digvadane svachcha karita aruna pasari nija maha

pakshi madhura shabda kariti gunjrava madhupa variti
virala parna shakhi hoti vikasana ye jalaruha

sukhdukha visarunia gele je vishva laya

sthiti nija tee sevaya uthte ki techi aha

The translation is given below:

Behold my dear beloved, look the aura arrives on the horizon, night has gone.

She comes hither, cold wind of early morning, night lamps loose burn slowly.

The sun spreads lustre, clearing faces of direction.

Birds chirp sweetly, bees hover on sweet nectar.

The leaves are withering revealing the branches, the lotus is blooming.

Water haunts get enriched, world that has forgotten

Sorrows and worries in sleep.

What is striking is the astonishing agreement between prescriptions from medieval canon of poetics and the nineteenth century modern musical play. This demonstrates astonishing continuities not only across time but also across genres, like the elite cosmopolitan and vernacular conventions of *Kavya*, nineteenth century modern theatre and *Ragamala* paintings. Table 1 shows that seven out of thirteen prescriptions for sunrise from *Suktisudharnavam* have been maintained intact in *Priye-paha* from *Sangita Saubhadra*. The canonisation of music and literary canons was yet to crystallise when this play was written in 1882 and *Ragamala* paintings were virtually unknown to the scholarly world.

Table 1. Table Showing the similarity of details in the description of sunrise in the Kannada Text *Suktisudharnavam* and the Marathi play *Sangita Saubhadra*

No	Description: English	*Suktisudharnavam* (Kannada)	*Priye-paha* (Marathi)
1	Lotus	*kumudaṃ*	*vikasana ye jalaruha*
2	Fish	*mīn*	-
3	Fading moonlight	*candramaṃ-candrikeya-kaḷeyarataṃ*	-
4	Dimming of lamps	*jyōtinasyaṃ*	*dipa teja manda hota*
5	Cool morning breeze	*taṇṇelar*	*thanda gara vata sutata*
6	Brightness of the dawn	*avasara-tūryaṃ*	*aruna pasari*
7	Chariot	*rathāṃga-dvayaṃ*	-
8	Dawn's light	*saṃdhyā-mayūkhaṃ*	-
9	Disappearance of mist	*marbuṃ*	-
10	Early morning sleep	*susila-marapu*	*uthte ki techi aha*
11	Birds' twitter	*pakṣi-svanaṃ*	*pakshi madhura shabda karici*
12	*Ragini Bhairavī*	*bhairavi-rāgamuṃ*	*Deshkar* and *Bhoop*
13	Movement of people	*pānthar-naḍeye*	-

Despite the temporal continuities we noticed above, there are innovative changes that keep occurring and make performative traditions a continually evolving system. To demonstrate this point, let us take a look at one of the video versions of *Priye-paha*.[19] The context of the song is as follows: Krishna and Rukmini have been having an argument all night, and Krishna attempts to put an end to it by singing the song. In Indian plays and cinema songs signify shift in moods and are highly stylised in nature. The song starts after 2.43.4 and when Krishna sings the line "*thanda gara vata sutata*" he takes a shawl in his hand and puts it around Rukmini's shoulder gently. This suddenly transforms the mood of argument into a romantic one. There are six different videos of this song by different troupes on YouTube and each one of them has done the sequence differently. However, the issue of innovation brings

to the forefront the point that while textuality is a relatively static component, the performative components, music, costume, dialogue, proximics and kinesics, are not only fluid but also dynamic in nature and help in transforming intermediality to a continually creative and innovative system.

In a different sense, the continuity we noticed above demonstrates not only the continuity of knowledge about literary conventions, but also intermediality and the overlapping of literary, musical, and painting systems. For instance, the reference to the lotus pond (implying the sacred Manasa Lake of Kailasa) with blooming lotuses in it and the use of lotus for worshiping Shiva in *Dhyana Shloka*s, paintings and theatre song is a remarkable continuity in medieval Indian knowledge system. It also demonstrates that intermediality need not necessarily depend on textual sources for its sustenance and transmission. These correspondences clearly establish a complex hybridity between scripto-centric, phono-centric and body-centric systems on the one hand and the role of social epistemology in sustaining the system.

4. Musicological Canon, *Ragmala* Paintings and Bhakti Compositions

Similar to *Ragamala* paintings that created intermediality between scripto-centric, phono-centric and body-centric representations, is the case of Bhakti movements in Indian languages. The components of Bhakti were constructed by making use of a variety of materials, *Marga* and *Desi*; Sanskritic, vernacular, folk and tribal; classical, popular, and folk and most importantly intermediality. Hence there is a need to take a closer look at Bhakti and its intermediality. In the past two hundred years, Bhakti studies have been essentially textual studies. An attempt to decentre the textual bias and to advocate using music and performance to study Bhakti has been undertaken here.

The time of onset of Bhakti compositions in Indian languages is not uniform across languages. Bhakti compositions in Tamil started in the 5th century, 12th century in Kannada and Telugu, 13th century in Marathi and 14th century in Assamese and Malayalam, and 15th century in other languages. However, there is a gap of three to four centuries between the time of composition and its canonisation. In some cases, the process of canonisation started only after attempts were made to put them into the print format during the 19th century. While it is in the 10th century the Tamil Shaivite *Tevarams* were codified and put into a manuscript format, the Kannada Virashaiva *Vachanas* were codified and put into a manuscript format in the 15th century. While in the case of Purandaradasa in Kannada, Mira in Hindi and Lal Ded in Kashmiri, their compositions remained in oral tradition till attempts were made to print them in the 19th century. All along the medieval period, these compositions were sustained by singers and performers, belonging to specific singing and performing castes, many of them itinerary professional groups. Several Bhakti sects consider pilgrimage to the locations of temples of the sectarian deity as an essential part of worship. Such pilgrimages facilitated the singers and devotees to travel together singing and performing Bhakti compositions. *Warkari*, *Nama-sankirtan*, etc. are some of the itinerary activities that involve singing and performing of Bhakti compositions. In fact, it is these itinerary castes and communities that have sustained Bhakti compositions in the absence of a scripto-centric (manuscript) tradition. This has not only brought in music and performance into Bhakti compositions, but also has transformed them into intermedial representations.

Bhakti compositions have been understood in the past two centuries essentially as printed texts, ignoring the publics in which they were produced and consumed. The established practice of understanding literary texts since the advent of colonial modernity is

either as nationalistic (national literature) or regional (vernacular literature), sectarian (religious) or caste-based or as the creation of a poet. Such attempts tend to strip Bhakti not only from the social epistemology of caste, gender, tribe, etc. but also from intermediality. Bhakti's dissemination in medieval Indian literary culture took place through singing and performing which are actually caste-specific knowledge systems. To understand Bhakti as a product of a performative public sphere, we need to go to its intermediality and the sensibilities of the performative public sphere. While women sang Bhakti poems along with their daily chores (*prabhata*, *sandhya* etc.) and seasonal activities (*hori*, *savan* etc.), the professional singers carried them into homes and folk plays.

In order to understand the complex relationship between Bhakti compositions, music, and performative traditions, I have tried to put together temporal and spatial aspects of canonical texts on music, *Ragamala* paintings of *Ragini Bhairavi* and the onset of Bhakti compositions in a comparative perspective. They together provide a distant reading of temporal and spatial aspects of the three representational formats in the form of three isoglosses.

Table 2 provides the temporal and spatial aspects of canonical texts on music. I have made use of Nijenhuis's *Musicological Literature* to arrive at this table. It provides a distant reading of canon of Indian musicological texts from the 1st century C.E. to 18th century C.E. with fifty-seven texts, some of them translations of earlier texts and some commentaries. The region from which the texts have come provides the spatiality of their composition, although most of them were composed in royal courts and hence had a particular public to which they catered. It is interesting to note that a majority of these texts were composed in Deccan, South India, Central India and Western India, although during the post-17th century period we

notice that they start appearing also in Eastern India. Curiously this order is also the historical sequence and spatiality of Bhakti movements within the subcontinent.

Table 2. Table showing the Temporal and Spatial Details of Canonical Texts on Music

No	Time	Name	Author	Place
1	1st cent.	*Naradiya-shiksha*	Narada	-
2	8th cent.	*Dattilam*	-	-
3	9th cent.	*Brihaddeshi*	Matanga	Vijayanagar
4	12th cent.	*Abhinaya-darpana*	Nandikeshvara	
5	1131	*Manasollasa*	Someshvara	Kalyana, Deccan
6	1140	*Sangita-chudamani*	Jagadekamalla	Kalyana, Deccan
7	1179	*Sangita-sudhakara*	Haripala	Gujarat
8	1199	*Gitalankara*	Bharata	-
9	12th cent.	*Gitagovinda*	Jayadeva	Mithila
10	1210	*Bhava-prakasha*	Sharadatanaya	-
11	1230	*Sangita-ratnakara*	Sarangadeva	Devagiri, Deccan *Dhyana Shloka*s
12	-	*Sangita-samyasara*	Parshvadeva	-
13	-	*Sangita-makaranda*	Narada	-
14	1253	*Nritta-ratnavali*	Jayasenapati	Warangal, Deccan

15	14th cent.	*Pancha-sara-sahita*	Narada	-
16	14th cent.	*Sudhakara*	Sihabhupala	Rajachala, Deccan
17	-	*Nrityadhya*	Ashokamalla	-
18	1324	*Sangitopanishat*	Sudhakalasha	Jain
19	1350	*sangitopanishat-saroddhara*	Sudhakalasha	Jain *Ragamala* painting
20	1428	*Sangita-shiromani*	-	Muslim Allahabad
21	1450	*Kalanidhi (Com.)*	Kallinatha	Vijayanagar
22	1450	*Sangita-raja*	Kumbha	Mewar
23	1550	*Svara-mela-kalanidhi*	Ramamatya	Vijayanagar
24	1570	*Ragamala*	Kshemakarna	-
25	1575	*Rasa-kaumudi*	Srikantha	Navanagara, Gujrat
26	1576	*Raga-manjari*	Pundarika Vitthala	Jaipur
27	1576	*Ragamala*	Pundarika Vitthala	Jaipur
28	1580	*Sangita-damodara*	Shubhankara	Bengal
29	1580	*Hasta-uktavali*	Shubhankara	Dance
30	1580	*Sangraha-sara*	Shubhankara	-
31	14th/15th cent.	*Sangita-makaranda*	Narada	-

32	1609	*Raga-vibodha*	Somanatha	-
33	1614	*Sangita-sudha*	Govinda Dikshita	Tanjore, South India
34	1620	*Chaturdandi-prakashika*	Venkataakhin	Tanjore, South India
35	1625	*Sangita-darpana*	Damodara	*DhyanaShloka*s
36	-	*Sangita-saroddhara*	Haribhatta	Translation of Damodara
37	-	-	Harivallabha	Hindi Translation of Damodara
38	16th -17th cent.	*Chatvarimshacchta-raga-nirupana*	Narada	-
39	1650	*Abhinava-bharata-sarasangraha*	Mummadi Chikkabhupala	Madhugiri, South India
40	17th cent.	*Sangita-parijata*	Ahobala	Deccan, Persian tr. in 1724
41	1724	*?*	Dinanath	Translation of Pundarika Vithala
42	17th cent.	*Raga-tatva-vibodha*	Srinivasa	Ahobalam (Deccan)
43	1667	*Hridaya-prakasha*	Hridayanarayana	Jabbalpur
44	17th cent.	*Ragatarangini*	Lochana Kavi	Mithila
45	17th cent.	-	Bhavabhatta	Bikaner
46	1730	*Sangita-narayana*	Purushottama Mishra	Parlakimidi (Deccan)
47	1730	*Alankara-candrika*	Purushottama Mishra	Parlakimidi (Deccan)
48	18th cent.	*Sangita-kaumudi*	Sanasena	Oriya Translation
49	18th cent.	*Kalankura-nibandha*	Kalankura	Oriya Translation of Damodara

50	18th cent.	*Gita-prakasha*	Krishnadasa Mahapatra	Oriya Translation
51	18th cent.	*Sangita-sarani*	Narayana	Orissa
52	18th cent.	*Shringara-chudamani*	Govinda	-
53	18th cent.	*Sangita-kaumudi*	Sanasena	Oriya Translation
54	18th cent.	*Sangita-sarani*	Narayana	Orissa
55	18th cent.	*Shringara-chudamani*	Govinda	
56	18th cent.	*Sangita-muktavali*	Harchandana Bhanja	Orissa
57	1730	*Sangita-saramitra*	Tulaja	Tanjore, South India

Table 3 provides the temporal and spatial distribution of *Ragamala* paintings of *Ragini Bhairavi*. As *Ragamala* paintings are not easily available, I have depended on the websites that have uploaded them for public use and there may be several paintings which are still not accessible for viewing. It is important to note that most of them were taken away to various parts of the world during the colonial period and have subsequently landed in museums. I have collected about 31 paintings of *Ragini Bhairavi* in the archive used here. Although the earliest available *Ragamala* Painting goes back to 1475 C.E. and the textual reference to it in the musical canon to a much earlier date, the earliest example of *Ragini Bhairavi* that I have in the archive is from 1520 C.E. A majority of these paintings actually come from Central India, Western India and Deccan in the order that has been mentioned. The temporal and spatial distribution of *Ragamala* paintings of *Ragini Bhairavi* further substantiates the point made with regard to canonical texts on music that the temporality and

spatiality of musical canon, *Ragamala* paintings and Bhakti compositions constitute a spatio-temporal area.

Table 3. Table Showing the Temporal and Spatial Details of *Ragamala* Paintings of *Ragini Bhairavi*

No	Time	Place	Style/Remarks
1	1610-29	Amber	Rajasthani, Western India
2	1640-50	Mandi	North India
3	-	Bikaner	Rajput
4	1765-80	Bundeli	North India
5	1755	Wanaparti	Dekhani
6	1800	Jaipur	Western India
7	18th cent.	Jaipur	Western India
8	18th cent.	-	Mughal
9	17th cent.		Mughal, Dekhani
10	1770-80	Murshidabad	Mughal (?), Eastern India
11	1760	Murshidabad	Mughal, Eastern India
12	1800	Amber	Rajasthani, Western India
13	1760	Hyderabad	Dekhani

14	1760	Hyderabad	Dekhani
15	1725	Bilaspur	Eastern India
16	1725	Hyderabad	Dekhani (?), Deccan
17	18th cent.		-
18	1760	Mirpura	Jaikishan (painter), North India
19	1760	Mewar	Western India
20	1765-80	Bundi	Western India
21	1725-50	Malwa	Western India
22	1725	Sirohi	Rajasthani, Western India
23	1770		-
24	1625	Bhaktpur	Nepal, North India
25	1640		Rajput
26	-	Kishangarh	Rajput, Western India
27	1680	Malwa	Western India
28	1600-25	-	-
29	1721	-	-
30	1650	-	Muhammad (painter)
31	1520-40	Mewar	Western India

Table 4 makes use of the data in Table 2 and 3 and provides an overall view of the frequency and the temporal distribution of canonical texts on music, *Ragini Bhairavi*, existence of *Ragamala* paintings and Bhakti compositions. We can also notice that not only the frequency of canonical texts on music increases radically during the post 15th century period, but also the *Ragamala* paintings. The languages of Bhakti composition suggest the spatiality of these activities. The bold letters in the bottom four rows of the table suggest three different isoglosses, the canonical texts on music, *Ragamala* paintings and Bhakti compositions, bundling together to produce a cultural area of Bhakti. However, we need to be careful in understanding this particular formulation of Bhakti here. This is not the text-centered, language-specific Bhakti that we have been discussing in literary studies. This is a Bhakti at popular and folk levels on the one hand and music and performance centered on the other that transcends both textual and linguistic constraints. It is a well-known fact that Bhakti compositions have moved across linguistic boundaries and have become trans-linguistic representations. The sectarian plurality and spatial range of compositions in *Guru Granth* and the itinerary of performing folk theatre across linguistic regions is a strong case to look at Bhakti, *Ragamala* paintings and music as intermedial representations rather that fragmenting them as textual, visual, and musical representations.

Table 4. Table Showing the Number of Canonical Texts on Music, Number of *Bhairavi Ragamala* Paintings and Bhakti Compositions on a Temporal Scale in Indian Literatures

Time	Musical Canon (No = 57)	*Ragini Bhairavi*'s Paintings (No = 31)	Presence / Absence of *Ragamala* Paintings	Bhakti Compositions
6th–11th cent.	4	-	-	Tamil
12th cent.	6	-	-	Kannada Telugu

13th cent.	5	-	-	Marathi
14th cent.	5	-	+	Assamese Malayalam
15th cent.	**3**	**-**	**+**	**Dekhani Gujarati Hindi (Braj) Oriya Bengali**
16th cent.	**8**	**1**	**+**	**Punjabi**
17th cent.	**14**	**10**	**+**	**-**
18th cent.	**12**	**20**	**+**	**-**

5. Discussion

The discussions on formalistic and social epistemologies of intermediality, *Ragamala* paintings and Bhakti compositions bring two important issues to the forefront. The first one is the relationship between text, music and painting, and the second one is their spatiality. Music is formalistically connected with metrical and linguistic structures, including the syllabic structure rules and suprasegmental features of a language. The social epistemology of music is associated with specific families, castes and communities who have a monopolistic control over those knowledge system and the ecological and temporal aspects of singing and performing. While textuality remains relatively static and continuous, musicality and performativity are continually evolving and creative aspects of intermediality. Interestingly, *Ragamala* paintings, despite belonging to the domain of the visual, have music at the centre. Not only does the term *Raga* signify music but also there are attempts to visualise emotions associated with music through colours and painting.

Historically speaking, it is during the 13th to 18th century C.E. that a variety of musical genres and canonical texts appeared in medieval Indian literary culture. This is also the time when *Ragamala* paintings came into existence. In this context, there is a need to study Bhakti in medieval Indian literatures from the perspective of intermediality and as a performance of the popular public sphere. The discussion here is to suggest that it is within the background of such a fusion of polyphonic cultural traditions and a dense archive that we need to understand the intermediality of medieval Indian literary culture.

Notes

[1]An earlier version of the paper was presented as the keynote address at National Seminar on Intermediality: From Text to Visual and Visual to Text in the School of Translation Studies and Training, IGNOU, New Delhi on March 1–2, 2016. The author fondly remembers Professor Avadhesh Kumar Singh for the invitation. His academic leadership, profound scholarship and warm friendship are something that I am going to cherish forever. I also wish to acknowledge Professor Subha Chakraborty Dasgupta for going through the paper and providing insightful comments and suggestions.

[2]In many Indian languages, the term for folk theatre subsumes openness or street within the term: *Terukuttu* (street theatre, Tamil), *Vithi-natakamu* (street theatre, Telugu), *Shreni-natak* (street theatre, Gujarati), *Nukkad* (street corner theatre, Hindi).

[3]For a detailed discussion on this issue, see Satyanath (2010, 2021).

[4]For a detailed discussion see, Satyanath (2009) and Rao.

[5]*That* of Hindustani style of music and *Melakarta Raga* of Karnataki style of music could be roughly referred as the Heptatonic scale of Western music.

[6]The figure is from Abhijit Bhaduri's blog. (Source: https://scontent-del1-1.xx.fbcdn.net/v/t1.6435-9/82950522_2801404213416888_3717761719058038784_n.jpg?stp=dst-jpg_p526x296&_nc_cat=105&ccb=1-7&_nc_sid=730e14&_nc_ohc=iNaCnfUf7-kAX-Fc-dV&_nc_ht=scontent-del1-1.xx&oh=00_AfAdDQRd0Ov8LnIweuA3OGZAB5jhCG5fZgk2xMOlQywCmg&oe=6533B04B), accessed on 30th March, 2023.

[7]The *Ragamala* paintings usually follow the schema proposed by Mesakarna or Kshemakarna, a rhetorician from Rewa in central India. In his treatise *Ragamala,* written in Sanskrit in 1570 C.E., he outlines an elaborate system of six *Raga*s, each having five *Ragini*s and eight *Raga-putra*s, except for *Raga Shri*, which has six *Ragini*s and nine *Raga-putra*s. Put together, the schema of Mesakarna creates a *Ragamala* family consisting of six male *Raga*s, thirty-one female *Ragini*s and forty-nine *Raga-putra*s, resulting in a total of eighty-six *Raga*s. Apart

from this, there is another schema called the *Hanuman Mata* that stipulates five wives for each of the male *Raga*. The numbers of *Raga*s and their names and the time at which they are to be sung is not consistent and vary from text to text.

[8]https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/35864001, accessed on 10th October, 2020.

[9]Some of these details are strikingly uniform with regard to several paintings of *Ragini Bhairavi*.

[10]My sincere acknowledgements are due to Professor J. Srinivasamurthy, former professor of Sanskrit, M.E.S. College, Bangalore for reading the Sanskrit verse and providing its meaning.

[11]The reference to Narada here could be to a canonical text on music, *Sangita Makaranda*, which could have been composed sometime between 7th–11th centuries C.E. It is in this text that the earliest reference to the concept of the family of *Raga*s, *Raga-parivara* appears. https://vmis.in/upload/Assets/Exhibition/23/ragmala/Part2.html, accessed on 10th October, 2020.

[12] Raja Sawai Venkata Reddy ruled Wanaparthy Samshtanam during 1746–63 C.E.

[13]*Jagati* is a Vedic meter of four lines with twelve syllables in each line. Acknowledgements are due to Professor J. Srinivasamurthy and Professor S. Shesha Shastry, former professor at Sri Krishnadevaraya University, Ananthapur for reading the verse.

[14]*Doha* is a couplet, with twenty-four *Matra*s in each line with the last word of the lines having an end rhyme.
Chandra (92) provides the description of the painting as follows: "The heroine is dressed in usual Rajput garments, with an *Arati* (torch light) in her left hand and a bell in the right, is worshiping the *Shiva Lingam*. Behind her, two female musicians are playing on *Mridanga* and cymbals respectively. In the background, three trees are swaying in the wind. In the foreground is depicted a lake full of lotus buds."

[15] *Chaupai* is a four-line verse, each line having sixteen *Matras*.
Chandra (93) describes the painting as follows: "In this picture a temple of Lord Shiva situated on the banks of a lake full of lotus blossoms and sporting ducks is depicted. The heroine is seated in the temple before the *Shiva Lingam* with some offerings in her hand. In front of her various requisites of *Puja* such as bell, casket, *Arghya* (water meant for offering), *Panchapatra* (vessel that contains water to be offered during worship), etc. are to be seen. Four handmaids with various articles for offering stand outside the temple. Lotus flowers seem to have been the chief decorative motif of the painter. They are growing in abundance in the lake, the heroine's skirt has lotus patterns and even the *Lingam* is decorated with them." The meaning given within brackets is by the author.

[16]*Savaiya* is a four-line verse with twenty-two to twenty-six syllables in each line with the last word of the lines having an end rhyme.
Chandra (96) description of the painting is as follows: "The heroine wearing a *Mukata* (headgear), a white *Orhani* (upper garment) and the usual ornaments is seated on the right, in a temple of Shiva situated in the midst of a lake full of lotus blossoms. A handmaid, dresses

in a *Mukata* and yellow *Orhani* stands on the other end." The meaning given with in brackets is by the author.

[17]While *Deshkar* is a morning *Raga* sung during time slot that *Bhairavi* is sung, *Bhop* is an evening *Raga*. However, scholars also point out the similarities between the two.

[18]The lyrics given here is from
https://www.aathavanitligani.com/Song/Priye_Paha_Ratricha_Samay
and the translation is from https://veerites.worldpress.com/2017/05/23/priye-paha-translated-into-english-23-5-17/.
The musical rendering of the song *Priye-paha* sung by Prabhakar Karekar could be accessed here:https://sonichits-com/video/Pt._Prabhakar_Karekar/Priye_paha.
The sites were accessed on 30th March 2023.

[19]https://youtu.be/GSEjL-FpSbo?t=21, accessed on 30th March 2023.

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