AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE NŖTTAŚĀSTRA FROM THE VIṢŅUDHARMOTTARA PURĀŅA

A thesis submitted to

Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune.

For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

in

Indology

Under the

Board of Arts and Fine Arts Studies



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Under the guidance of **Dr. Manjiri Bhalerao**

Shri Balmukund Lohia Centre of Sanskrit and Indological Studies March 2022 CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled An Analytical Study of the

Nṛttaśāstra from the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa which is being

submitted herewith for the award of the Degree of Vidyavachaspati

(Ph.D.) in the Shri Balmukund Lohia Centre of Sanskrit and

Indological Studies of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, is the

result of an original research work completed by Smt. Vidula

Hemant Pharate under my supervision and guidance. To the Best of

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled An Analytical Study of the

Nṛttaśāstra from the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa completed and

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During my PhD journey, I was fortunate enough to receive valuable help from some senior scholars, friends in academia and my family. I am forever indebted to each one of them. The following is just an attempt to express my humble gratitude.

First and foremost, I am sincerely grateful to my guide Dr. Manjiri Bhalerao, an Indologist of repute, for her continuous guidance in my PhD study and related research, for her patience and motivation. Her vital inputs and constructive supervision have been extremely pivotal at every stage of this research and writing of the thesis.

Further, I sincerely thank Dr. Ambarish Khare, Assitant Professor of Sanskrit and co-ordinator at Shri. Balmukund Lohiya Centre for Sanskrit and Indological Studies. He has been quite instrumental in finalizing the topic. Moreoever, I am totally obliged to him for taking the time to examine the Sanskrit verses written in the thesis, despite of his busy schedule. His support in every small and big difficulty was crucial in completing this task.

Besides, I am grateful to Dr. Manjusha Gokhale, Dean, Board of Arts & Fine Arts, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth for her vaulable suggestions and encouraging support.

I am deeply thankful to my Guru, senior Kathak exponent Smt. Shama Bhate. She made me realize how diverse the study of art is and supported me wholeheartedly for a PhD. Next, I wish to express my earnest gratitude to revered scholar, Art historian and Archaeologist Dr. Arvind Jamkhedkar for his insightful remarks and hard questions that extensively helped me widen my research from various perspectives. Apart from that, I am grateful to senior Sanskritist and the scholar of Buddhist studies Dr. Shrikant Bahulkar. I humbly mention that his words on maintaining the standard of research made me more conscious and serious about the planned project.

Today, I am reminded of Late Dr. Shripad Bhat, former Dean, Board of Arts & Fine Arts, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth. His constant encouragement was pivotal in my decision to pursue PhD.

When the proposed subject was decided, it was essential to get the primary sources. I sincerely thank Dr. Amruta Natu, Assistant Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental

Research Institute, as her efforts led to the acquisition of a copy of the manuscript of Nṛttaśāstra chapters which has been referred to in some places in the present study. My well-wisher, Mrs Sneha Karmarkar's assistance, was crucial in getting Dr. Puru Dadheech's Hindi translation of the 'Nrttasūtra' from Indore.

Some senior scholars helped me generously to increase my knowledge of the text under research. I thank Sanskritist Dr. Nirmala Kulkarni for enlightening me with references to a few important texts and the scientific information about the critical edition. I am also grateful to Dr. Deepak Kannal, an Art historian and practising sculptor, former Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts, MSU, Baroda for enhancing my understanding of the Citrasūtra. Moreover, I am indebted to him for his help in obtaining the latest volumes of the critically edited Nāṭyaśāstra published by Oriental Institute, Baroda, which have been used extensively in the present study. I am also obliged to Dr. Shreenand Bapat, Registrar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for his guidance in understanding the scope of Sanskrit literary tradition. It was crucial at the initial stage of this study.

I humbly appreciate the support of Sanskrit scholar Dr. Ranjana Date, who gave her precious time, especially to read and explain the meaning of the content in the Rahasya *mudrā* chapter of the text as this is one of the most critical parts in this study. Apart from this, I am also grateful to her for checking the summary of the verses written in the thesis. I wish to extend my special thanks to Sanskrit scholar Smt. Sunila Gondhalekar, Asistant Professor, Shri. Balmukund Lohiya Centre for Sanskrit and Indological Studies. Her help in checking some inferences related to Sanskrit grammar and semantics were greatly valuable. Besides my deepest appreciation goes to my dear friend Dr. Gauri Kale-Deshpande, an Art history researcher and a well-known Bharatnatyam dancer. After reading the analysis part of dance concepts noted in the thesis carefully, some of the significant suggestions pinpointed by her facilitated making this work as precise as possible.

This task could not have been completed without the support of my close friends and acquaintances in academia. I am grateful to my friend and Archaeology researcher Shri.Digvijay Patil for his timely help in getting some crucial sources from the library of Deccan College, Pune. I am also thankful to my dearest friends, Art historian and researcher Saili Palande-Datar and Shilpa Abhyankar-Bhide, Kathak dancer, teacher and disciple of Guru Shama Bhate for giving time for various intensive interactions that helped me improve my understanding of the subject and

Purandare for his kindest help in getting some essential sources as well as in the printing of the thesis. Also, I am much obliged to my dear friends Smt. Manisha Puranik for photo assistance and Smt. Vibha Oke, an incredible artist, for creating a beautiful illustration of Śeṣaśāyin Viṣṇu. Besides, I acknowledge the help from renowned Numismatist Shri. Amol Bankar for providing me with the needed references regarding Kashmir numismatics. Similarly, I would like to express my thankfulness to senior Historian Dr. Shrikrishna Jugnu, who was curious about the ongoing work and shared some important sources. I am sure that these contributions will be helpful in the future study of this subject as well.

In the end, I would like to express my gratitude to the library staff of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and Deccan College, Pune. With their prompt assistance, this work was able to move forward. I would also like to thank Dr. C. Sunanda Yadav (Head, Dept. of PhD) and other staff members of the PhD Department of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth and the Department of Indology at Shri. Balmukund Lohiya Centre for Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Pune, for their relentless cooperation.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank my family. With their patience and strong backing, I was able to complete this work. Special appreciation to my husband, Shri. Hemant Pharate, for believing in me and staying firmly behind me throughout this journey. I am grateful to my parents Mrs. Mangal and Shridhar Deshpande, for their blessings that enabled me to fulfil this task. Lastly, my warm thankfulness to my close friend Geeta Pande and sister Gauri Khanzode for keeping my spirit at some difficult turns of this journey.

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ABSTRACT

In the early medieval period, Kashmir arose as the domain of Pāñcarātra of Vaiṣṇava. The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa believed to be written in Kashmir, or North Punjab is a testimonial of this critical phase in the religious development of the region. The third *khaṇḍa* of the Viṣṇudharmottara documents the Art, Iconography and worship related to Vaikuṇṭha Viṣṇu, the principal deity of the Pāñcarātra. However, while doing so, the writer/s of the Viṣṇudharmottara *khaṇḍa* III tries to re-interpret the traditional fields of knowledge from the sectarian position and makes them an intrinsic part of the Vaiṣṇavite world. In this context, the exposition of Performing Arts in the text is a curious case to fathom.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Gaekwad's Oriental Series:	GOS	
Mahābhārata:	Mbh	
Nāṭyaśāstra:	NS	
Nṛttaśāstra:	NrS	
Rājataraṃgiņī:	RT	
Sangītaratnākara:	SR	
Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa:	VDP	

Chapter I: Introduction

I.1. Research Topic

The proposed research focuses on the Nṛṭṭtaśāstra¹ in the third *khaṇḍa* of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa documented in fifteen chapters starting from chapter number twenty to thirty-four containing seven hundred and fifty verses except for chapter thirty-three which is in prose format. The section gives information about the technical aspects of dancing, including preliminaries, movements of various body parts, sitting and standing postures, histrionics, emotions and sentiments and the origin of *nṛṭṭa*. The text shows its close association with Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra.²

Another fascinating aspect of this section sets in chapters thirty-two and thirty-three, which consist of ritual hand gestures. Apart from this, the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa *khaṇḍa* III contains a few significant references to the religious association of *nṛtta*. The study of these references is also a part of this research.

Traditionally, the Viṣṇudharmottara is considered a part of the Viṣṇu Mahā-purāṇa. It is revealed through the dialogue between sage Markaṇḍeya and king Vajra. Since this *purāṇa* mentions the theology, iconography and worship of Vaikuṇṭha Viṣṇu, it is known to be associated with the Vaiṣṇavism of Pāñcarātra. In general, scholars have considered the 5th century AD to 10th century AD as a probable period and based on the geographical references found in the text southern Kashmir or northern Punjab has been considered as its provenance.³

I.2. Research Inquiry

The main objective of this thesis is to know the artistic significance of the Nṛttaśāstra and its religious underpinning by studying all the fifteen chapters. For this, an attempt has been made to comprehend and interpret the characteristics of different aspects related to dance given in the Nṛttaśāstra with an inter-disciplinary approach. Ultimately, the study tries to prove that the Nṛttaśāstra is an attempt to transform the

¹ Shah in the second volume of her critical edition of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa *khaṇḍa* III has suggested that the section of chapter 20 to 34 may be called as the Nṛttasūtra following the colophon of the 34th chapter, (1961) 35. However the section is primarily called as the Nṛttaśāstra in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa *khaṇḍa* III see VDP III.2.7, 73.47, 83.8. Based on these references we propose that it should be called as the Nṛttaśāstra. We have presented all the references later in the analysis.

² Hazra (1958) 200, Kane (1971)69.

³ Rocher (1986) 252.

nṛtta tradition related to the Nāṭyaśāstra into a Vaiṣṇava tradition with context to the temple religion of the Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇavism.

I.3. Scope and Limitations

I.3.1. Scope of the Research

Often the *purāṇas* are composed in the form of compilation. This element is also seen in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa *khaṇḍa* III. However, it is not right to underestimate the importance of *nṛtta* portion documented in chapters twenty to thirty-four by considering them as a mere documentation of a particular art or copied information from an already established text. Realizing its importance, the primary purpose of this thesis is to uncover the layered and multidisciplinary nuances. Earlier scholars have briefly presented their observations mainly related to artistic peculiarities. But even more complex is the nature of what is left to be understood, researched and explained. This thesis discusses and interprets the *nṛtta* tradition as seen in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa *khaṇḍa* III in more depth and comprehensively. There are three chief perspectives applied in this research.

1. Artistic Evaluation: It is mainly done in two ways; firstly by understanding various aspects of *nṛṭṭa* mentioned in chapter twenty to thirty-four on individual grounds and secondly by comparing them with the Nāṭyaśāstra. For the earlier purpose, four volumes of Nāṭyaśāstra with Abhinavabhāratī published under Gaekwad Oriental Series (Vol. I: 1992; Vol. II: 2001; Vol. III: 2003; Vol. IV: 2006) have been used as it covers a wide range of variants, including of those found in Newari manuscript.

The study has also tried to examine whether some new thoughts have been instilled while considering the technicalities proposed by Bharata along with the notable additions made in the text. Apart from this, variants of relevant words, terms or verses in Nāṭyaśāstra have been inspected where necessary. This comparison can be helpful to understand the changes that have taken place in the presentation of Nāṭyaśāstra concepts related to dance and its textual documentation. This study not only shows the similarities or differences between the verses in the subjected fifteen chapters in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa khaṇḍa III with Nāṭyaśāstra but also goes beyond the statistical comparison and discusses their reasons. Attempts have also been made to analyze the connotative subtleties by considering the interdisciplinary art traditions. Other important Saṃskṛta sources, examples from iconography, etc.,

have been used for this purpose. Apart from this, the entire Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa has also been scrutinized regarding other art and religious material recorded in it to understand internal integrative nuances of the fifteen chapters of Nṛttaśāstra.

The critical edition of the third *khaṇḍa* of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa published by Oriental Institute, Baroda (1958) is considered as the primary source. We have attempted to verify the word/term alternatives and variants suggested in it. Similarly, the conceptual interpretations done by the creator of this edition Dr. Priyabala Shah have also been verified in this study. Likewise, we have referred to the Hindi translation and observations put forth by Dr. Puru Dadheech on the contents of, as he calls it Nṛttasūtra.

2. Religious significance: This work attempts to examine the religious association of the text and its effects on the dance concepts described in it. For this, significant references in this $pur\bar{a}na$ and the development of regional Vaiṣṇava tradition have also been taken into consideration.

Moreover, another most crucial purpose of this thesis is to know the religious conceptual nitty-gritty of Rahasya and Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās*. Epics, *āgama*, and *saṁhitā* literature have been referred to in terms of understanding their religious side.

The regional context is considered necessary in the entire study. Thus, regional iconographic evidence has also been referred to in some places for better understanding.

3. Historical perspective: To carry out the above things, we have tried to look at it with context to the then socio-political situation, covered further in this chapter. Since the concerned *purāṇa* is mainly connected with Kashmir and its surroundings and early-medieval Kashmir was immensely throbbing in terms of art, literature and religion, an attempt has been made to draw some conclusions by examining the written and material evidence available. These findings are expected to help in creating the historical background for the presented study.

Above perspectives convey the inter-disciplinary nature of the proposed study.

I.3.2. Limitations

1. Period under Consideration: There are many texts written based on Nāṭyaśāstra. For the present study, however, Saṃskṛta sources up to the 10th century AD have been consulted. Abhinavagupta's commentary is taken as the upper end. Abhinavabhāratī is the culmination of the glorious work on the Nāṭyaśāstra in Kashmir. Abhinavagupta

has referred to many scholars who have preceded him. The importance of his writing is exceptional if we look at many years of continuous thought tradition associated with Bharata's dramaturgy that he is carrying forward. As the main emphasis of this thesis is on comparison with the Nāṭyaśāstra, Abhinavagupta's commentary has been consulted to apprehend the concepts mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra and the Nṛṭṭaśāstra. Therefore, the period premise of this work is from the Nāṭyaśāstra to Abhinavabhāratī, focusing mainly on the phase that starts from 5th/6th century AD. It includes secular as well as religious literature.

The period of *āgamas* or *saṃhitās* is a complex issue. The things presented in that literature are referred to as much as they need to be used for the theoretical understanding and analysis of religious attribution.

- 2. Textual Bracket: Dance or drama texts other than the Nāṭyaśāstra or mediaeval texts are not included (in some instances its references are given in the footnote), nor are Buddhist, Jain textual or material evidence are part of the study. However, the connection has been checked in few essential places. The study of the Śaivite aspect has been done with the help of textual references only. The comparison with Nāṭyaśāstra will be mainly textual.
- **3. Practical Aspect:** Also, it is not part of this study to compare the stated aspects of the Nṛttaśāstra with the presentational elements of today's 'classical' dance styles. Today's dance styles are primarily based on medieval developments. Rarely there can be a mention made in the thesis.

Similarly, no comparison will be made of the technical execution of the Rahasya and the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās* given in both the concerned chapters with their versions found in other religious sources.

Prakash Pandey has given some of the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās* in his Mudrāvimarśa (1990). A *tantra* practitioner himself Pandey could interpret the gestures practically based on his inherited knowledge. For us, however, there are limitations. Still, the primary attempt has been made to get the idea of its practical aspect. Thus it is important to mention here that the practical interpretations displayed in the plates are not given as absolutely correct or full and final versions of these *mudrās*. Attempts have been made here to present only those Rahasya *mudrās* which have maximum clarity. Studying about all the Rahasya and Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās*, however, can be the next step in the research presented as already mentioned in the future scope at the end of the conclusions.

The research methodology and relevant theories mentioned in the next chapter will shed more light on the overall orientation of the proposed research topic.

I.4. Importance of Research

Considering its place in the Vaiṣṇava purāṇa, the most crucial feature of this work is to find and study the religious threads of the Nṛttaśāstra as seen in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa khaṇḍa III. The relationship between art and religion is complex. The dynamics are multi-dimensional. And the changes that take place in it have a constant socio-political context. As this happens, the interrelationships that transpire in these areas, the interactions, both explicitly and implicitly, need to be understood. Although behind-the-scenes events or dialogues that may not have been recorded from the texts realistically, the Nṛttaśāstra-like examples can uncover such facts as they are the results of this camaraderie. Texts like the Nṛttaśāstra can be considered as external produce of this process. The study refers to other essential contemporaneous texts related to art and religion and assesses their potential impact on the proposed text and also examines the conceptual parallels. It is a humble attempt to understand this dialogue.

It is worth mentioning here that this is the first detailed study of the Rahasya and the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās*. Case studies of these *mudrās* have been done in terms of their religious complexities. Further, we have attempted to make some observations by knowing why such hand gestures should have been included in the text related to dance.

At the end of this study, an attempt has been made to make some inferences in terms of period, author and provenance of the section of the Nṛttaśāstra in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa *khaṇḍa* III by examining the historical setup and internal evidence obtained from it.

No art is different from that society. It is formed through the integration of the community. Therefore, an attempt has been made to treat the Nṛttaśāstra with the same totality and the context of space and time.

I.5. Thesis Structure

Chapter II Survey of the Literature:

After introducing the research topic, the next chapter reviews the previous works related to the Nṛttaśāstra.

Chapter III Methodology:

The subsequent chapter discusses the methodology of research and some relevant scholarly theories.

Chapter IV Analysis of chapters 20 to 31 and 34:

The fourth chapter is the central part of this thesis. In the beginning, the contents and religious attribution of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa are discussed. The preliminary features of the third *khaṇḍa* are then deliberated, and a summary of the content in chapters twenty to thirty-one and thirty-four of the Nṛttaśāstra is presented. Hereafter, the chapter-wise analysis has been presented.

Then, the involvement of dance in the rituals as appeared in the third *khaṇḍa* is noted with references followed by some important observations.

Chapter V Analysis of chapters 32 and 33:

The fifth chapter is devoted to the Rahasya and the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās*. Firstly it gives a summary of hand gestures listed in these two chapters followed by the analysis.

In the end, comments on the possible time, author and provenance of the concerned text are given.

Chapter VI Conclusion:

In the last chapter, the conclusion is presented based on the analysis of all fifteen chapters.

I.6. Art and Religion in Kashmir- A Historical Review of Performing Arts and Vaiṣṇavism in the region

It is essential to know the relevant historical background before turning to the main topic. Based on the geographical material found in the Viṣṇudharmottara *purāṇa*, it is believed that the text is written either in Kashmir or north Punjab. However, the religious content of the text unequivocally features the influence of the early-medieval developments characteristically attached to the valley of Kashmir. The reasons are pretty apparent.

In general, the time bracket of the Viṣṇudharmottara has been denoted by scholars from AD 500 to 900/1000, the period that began from the rule of Hūṇas (approximately 5th century AD) followed by Kārkota and then till the end of the

Utpala dynasty, i.e. early 10th century AD. These almost five hundred years, Kashmir grabbed the pivotal position. It remained forceful on the political fronts in north-western territories, having a close encounter with the north and central Indian regions. In the early-mediaeval political history of India, Kashmir appears evidently during the reigns of Kārkoṭa and Utpala rulers. Kings like Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (AD 724-61) and Avantivarman (accession in AD 855/6) have left an indelible mark on the history of Kashmir and India proper by their ambitious ruling policies, foreign diplomacy and liberal approach. The period saw significant religious engagements culminating in establishing two sects; Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇavism and the characteristic Kashmir Saivism. In this period Kashmir and surrounding regions witnessed the highest movement in the spread of the Pāñcarātra. The patronage of Kārkoṭa and Utpala rulers reflected in a massive escalation in temple building and image worship affiliated with Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva faiths along with Buddhism. The Viṣṇudharmottara, for many reasons, can be attributed to Kashmir's religious and political development that took place in this period.

The iconographical evidence found in the valley shows two stages of development. The external characteristics and the subject matter of the artefacts belonging to the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period demonstrate a clear inspiration of the Gandhara art. The art of the Kārkoṭa and Utpala era showcases Indian culture and aesthetics, well synchronized with texts of that period.

On this background, the development of art and religion in Kashmir can be understood in two parts. The period before Kārkoṭa and the period of Kārkoṭa -Utpala kings.

I.6.1. Pre-Kārkota

Art:

Invasions and mercantile activities are the two most critical reasons which inspire socio-cultural communication. Many times invasions stimulate trade relations, and trade becomes a significant motive for cultural synthesis. The early period of the Common Era highlighted such developments. Art of Kashmir belonging to this period demonstrates these characteristics.

The Kuṣāṇa phase could be the first cultural marker spanning approximately the 1st to 4th century AD. Rājataraṅgiṇī (hereafter RT) tells us about the growth in the urban settlements promoted by the Kusāna rulers in the valley, which was a

noteworthy feature of this Central Asian dynasty observed across their territories. Kuṣāṇa cities were the centers of fine and performing arts. Mathura and Gandhara schools emerged as the culmination of solid economic support by the substantial trade activities and opportunities created for all vocations, including artists and a contributory atmosphere for cross-cultural communication.

The end of the pre-Christian era until the termination of the Hūna rule in the valley, through the available sources in which texts and the material both are not adequate, it can be safely inferred that the valley witnessed two parallel mainstream traditions. One that was dominated by the ancient Samskrta cultural stream attached with the region, that comes to us prominently through texts, and another churned out of the Indo-Greek fusion mainly arrived from the neighbouring country of Gandhara. The geographical location of Kashmir offered it a substantial opening to the western world, the middle-east and central Asia; the north-western regions of India were exposed to the varied cultural elements introduced by the foreign entities. Yet interestingly, the core Kashmirian culture has consistently maintained its rapport with the roots approaching from the north Indian soil, which eventually grew strong. Kashmir and Punjab were the citadels to enter into the zone of what we popularly call the hub of distinctive Indian culture of North India. The valley was very well associated with this cultural environment from ancient times.⁵ The validity of this claim increases even more due to the consistent linguistic tradition as the region was the stronghold of Samskrta culture.

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⁴ RT.1.I.168.; Litvinsky (1996) 291.

⁵ Shonaleeka Kaul (2018) opines that it is wrong to detach various historical developments of Kashmir from the mainland India as Kashmir was always the part of the empirical culture of north India. For this she takes into consideration the existence of Kharoṣṭhī in the north-west regions up to Delhi, references found in RT about the matrimonial relations of rulers of Kashmir with other Indian royal families, the presence of ministers migrated from various Indian regions occupying positions in the Kashmir court and the artistic communication seen in the terracotta and stone depictions discovered in the valley.

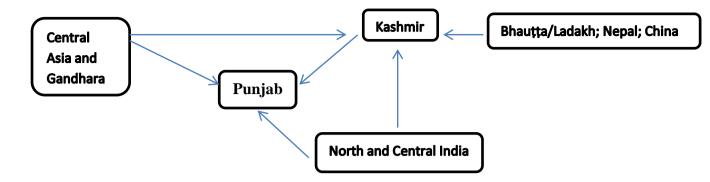


Diagram1: Three-way cultural currents coming towards Kashmir

Pāṇini lived in Śālātura, present-day Lahur in Swabi tehsil in Pakistan. Xuan Zang had visited the place just before starting his journey from Udyāna to Kashmir. In his account, he narrates one story of Kaniska's time he heard there which speaks about the communication between Kashmir and Śālātura.⁶ In the later period, the dialogue between Menander I (150-135 BC) and bhiksu Nāgasena⁷ took place in the court of Menander I in Śākala, is believed to be composed either in Samskrta or Gāndhāri prākrta.⁸ Aśvaghosa, a famous Buddhist poet from Sāket, accepted by Kaniska⁹ from the king of Pātaliputra, wrote in standard Samskrta. As a result of Buddhist council held in Kaniska's time, the literature of the Buddhist schools of Mahāsānghikas and Sarvāstivādins got converted from Gāndhāri prākrta to Samskrta or Buddhist Hybrid Samskrta. Interestingly, scholars also believe that Bharata's Nātyaśāstra (hereafter NS) is written in the Himalayan region, most probably in Kashmir only. 10

Speaking of which, NS stands in between the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period. The writer/s of the text was aware of the foreign ethnicities that were present in the society. 11 Even though the Greek theatre reached the doorstep of the Indian subcontinent, 12 the extensive discourse recorded in the NS speaks volumes about the prevalence of the local Indian theatre. Talking about the dramatic practices, the mention of Națasūtras composed by Śilālin and Kṛśāśva, found in the Aṣṭādhyāyī is

⁶ Watters (1904) 222.

⁷ Probably born in Kashmir Xing (2005)26; Jestice (2004) 621.

⁸ Rhys Davids (1890) intro xi; Oskar von Hinüber (1996) 83.

⁹ It is believed that Aśvaghosa was in the court of Kaniska II who ruled between AD 164-76, Harmatta (1996) pp. 427,429.

Shukla, Nātyaśāstra Hindi translation (1983) Vol 1.Intro.19; NS GOS (1992) I.preface22.

¹¹ NS GOS (2003) III.21.111.

¹² Varadapande (1987: 210)

the earliest known reference to the theatrical tradition in the pre-Bharatamuni period. Notably, there is no reference of Naṭasūtra in any of the later literature. Amarakośa lists Śailālina and Kṛśāśvin as the synonyms of *naṭa*. Naṭasūtra probably was the manual of instructions in the form of aphorisms of the artistic practices of *naṭas*. It points out that there were established schools of theatre prevalent in the North-western region even before the NS. Later, after the 5th/6th century AD, valley produced great scholars and theoreticians who systematised ideas in art, religion, and literature. NS was instrumental in inspiring many texts and their subjects.

The RT furnishes the references of influential courtesans, hereditary temple dancers, creative passions of kings, royal patronage to the art, folk arts-artists and their political interference etc. The first reference of temple women comes in the records of king Jalauka. The text mentions his donation of hundred women from his seraglio to the temple of Jyeṣṭharudra. These women were appointed for dancing and singing at the fixed time dedicated in honour of the deity.

Iconography:

Even though NS is considered written in the Himālaya region, the sculptural find of this period barely projects any connection with the body aesthetics narrated in the text. Foreign influence is more visible. It also appears in the specimens that shed light on the dance of the time.¹⁷ However, this does not deny the presence of the NS

¹³ Astādhyāyī. IV.III.110-11.

¹⁴ Amarakośa. II.X.12.

¹⁵ The historicity of Jalauka is doubtful.

¹⁶ RT. I.151.

¹⁷ John Siudmak forms following periods after minute study of the sculptural data found in the valley of Kashmir.

I. Early sculptures dating from late first century BCE to the second century CE: In this category there are locally produced and imported artefacts. The earlier one is attributed to the Semthan terracotta further categorized based on the subject-matter, Hellenistic and Indian. The latter is ascribed with terracotta, stone and metal objects.

II. Then there are Gandhara influenced stone and metal images spanning late 1st century AD to the beginning of the 5th century AD.

III. The formative period of sculptures that are discovered in 5th century and 6th century AD are assigned to the Bijbihara and Baramulla findings.

IV. The next rather important phase is dispensed to the first half of the 7th century AD which exhibits the post-*Gupta* influence recognised with the art of Pandrethan. This follows the Buddhist sculptures which demonstrate the emergence of Kashmir's own Classical style of sculpture.

V. Then comes another important phase of the Classical style of Kārkota period of 8th century AD, which consist Buddhist sculptures of Parihāsapura and other sites, and Brahmanical sculptures.

VI. The last phase is from the 850 AD to 1003 AD the period from Utpala and beginning of the Lohara dynasty.

For more details of the phases of sculptures of ancient Kashmir please see. Siudmak (2013).

affiliated theatrical tradition in the region. The comprehensiveness of NS indeed indicates the existence of practice at least for a century. But its echoes in other art forms, especially in the sculptures, probably have started in the later period. The picture gets pretty clear once we enter the period of Kārkotas.

Apart from this, there must be the tradition beyond Saṃskṛta dominant social layer¹⁸, which we probably can relate to the terracotta tiles (Plate 1) (3rd to 4th century AD) with plenty of indigenous themes and techniques that developed within the geographical zones the valley.¹⁹ Here we are indicating the existence of the elite and the popular category of arts.

Religion:

Buddhism was the dominant religion in the valley before the 5th century AD. However, Pāṇini's reference to the Vāsudevakas,²⁰ the people who worship Vāsudeva and the coins of Agathocles (2nd century BC) found in Ai-Khanum with representations of Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa show that the worshipping of Vaisnava heroes was already in practice in north-western regions.

Post- Kuṣāṇa Kashmir also Punjab faced the hiatus of the invasion of Hūṇas. Even if RT and Xuan Zang mention the religious intolerance of the Hūṇa rulers and the disturbance caused by their aggression on the social level, the period is still crucial for a few reasons. Interestingly, the earliest sculpture, the head of the deity most probably of Viṣṇu, is recorded from Bijbihara is ascribed to AD 500 and the earliest image of Viṣṇu with three heads, accompanied by *āyudhapuruṣas* is found in Kashmir Smast region dated to AD 457/460. The boar or Varāha emanation is coming out

Hellenistic style of *mithuna* sculpture (1st century BC to the first or second half of 2nd century AD) in which a female is standing her ankles crossed, the left foot raised and balanced on tow behind the right, Siudmak (2013: 31); a Buddhist grey chlorite gable relief panel supposedly found in Traal belonging to the 2nd or 3rd century AD in which on his right side of standing Siddhārtha, a female figure is engaged in dancing. Her left leg is raised, and together with the left hand, she is turned towards the right. The right hand is placed upwards above the head, curved according to the sectional arch, Ibid. 67-8; the tile from Harwan with portrayal of dancer and musicians (3rd century AD), Kak (1933: 110).

¹⁸ Shonaleeka Kaul (2018) infers that Samskṛta and native Kashmiri were the cognate languages creating an obvious diglossia existed in the valley throughout the 1st millennium CE.

¹⁹ Kak (1933) 109, plates XXII ff.

²⁰ Agrawala (1953)359.

²¹ Watters (1904: 203); RT. 1.I.289.

²² Three-headed image is the precursor of four-headed Viṣṇu which is noted as Vaikuṇṭha Caturmūrti in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III. For the image found in Smast region see Siudmak (2013)112-114 and to know the form of Vaikuntha see plate 2;

Chapter 85 in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III explains the making of the Vaikuṇṭha image. The chapter first tells about the characteristics of images of Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha which it calls as Caturmūrti. When these deities are been made in one single image with four faces it is named as

from his left side and the lion or Narasimha from his right, representing Aniruddha and Sankarsana respectively. Cakrapurusa is standing on his right side with folded hands and Gadādevī on his left, keeping hands on the torso. On the pedestal in between the god's legs, Bhūdevī is emerging, spreading hands on the sides. There is a Brāhmi inscription on the pedestal which describes the deity as Nārāyaṇa. It means that during Hūna rule, the worship of three-headed Visnu was already established.

I.6.2. Kārkoţa-Utpala Period

Religion:

1. In the early 7th century AD, a significant change occurred in the throne of Kashmir. The local dynasty of Kārkota established the rule. Early Kārkota rulers had strong ties with the Chinese monarchy²³ and thus must be earning good on the economic fronts backed by trade and business. However, in the Lalitāditya's reign, Kashmir politics showed its finest might, bringing self-reliance and financial stability, which boosted the significant development in art and religion. Even though later Kārkotas could not maintain their political strength, the cultural development of Kashmir didn't restrain. In the textual sources, mainly relying upon the RT, the beginning of Vaisnavism in the valley can safely be marked during the rule of Pravarasena II (AD 600). RT shows the proliferation of Vaiṣṇava worship in Kārkoṭa and Utpala period. According to the calculation, around thirty-eight Viṣṇu shrines are mentioned in RT built under the patronage received from royal persons and ministers in which about sixteen are made

Vaikuntha. There has been discussion about the interpretation of these particular verses 42B, 43 and 44A regarding what exactly the name Vaikuntha denotes in terms of its sculptural manifestation. The translation of these verses by Shah is a bit confusing. It goes like this: 'thus I have told you about the image of Caturmurti, the four-formed god. But the god called Vaikuntha should be made having one form. The lord (Caturmurti) described before should be made having four faces. When the four faces are made it becomes four aspects of god.' However, J.N.Banerjee interprets the verses as, 'if the four are combined into one, the composite image should be called Vaikuntha, and it should be four-faced by making the god four faced the one god becomes four formed', 1940:62.

Adalbert Gail analyses the references of the VDP khanda III and sums up that Vaikuntha means one body and four faces: partly anthropomorphic and partly theriomorphic (lion, boar). The Caturvyūhas are to be depicted in two ways: either as one human body with three additional half bodies emerging out of it carrying different weapons or as four distinct figures, 1983:298-99. The example of the first type of Caturvyūha is present in the Mathura Museum and the latter specimen is kept in the Lucknow State Museum originally belonging to Bhita. Both these specimens have been studied by Doris Srinivasan which she names Caturvyūha, 1979:39-54.

To make it clear at our end we again translated the verses with the guidance of Samskrta scholars Dr. Ambarish Khare and Smt. Sunila Gondhalekar. Here is the translation: 'In this way, I told the creation of an image of Caturmūrti. The one whose name is Vaikuntha should be made in a single image/Ekamūrti. It should be four-faced as mentioned earlier. Being four-faced, it becomes Caturmukha.' 23 RT, Tr. Stein (1900) Intro.p.87-88.

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in the Kārkoṭa period and around fifteen in the Utpalas. Kalhaṇa states that Avantivarman (accession AD 855/6) followed Śaiva faith for his entire life; however, he died as fervent Vaiṣṇava.²⁴ The sculptural evidence found in the valley reflects the development documented by Kalhana.

It is to be noted that the earliest four-headed Viṣṇu is attributed to the late $K\bar{a}$ rkoṭa period (the final quarter of the 8^{th} century AD) currently displayed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Plate 3).

The grey stone Śeṣaśāyīn of the second half of 9th century AD (Plate 4) is also one of the significant Vaiṣṇavite imageries found in the valley, which is notable for the proposed study in terms of understanding the art exchange related to Vaiṣṇavism.²⁶ The unique bronze *prabhāvalaya* with forms and *avatāras* of Viṣṇu with seven-headed standing Vāsudeva in the middle at the top belonging to the period of either Avanatīvarman or Śaṃkaravarman, i.e. around last quarter of 9th century AD is a significant find of refined Kashmir iconography (Plates 5 to 14).²⁷

From 10th century AD composite sculptures of Vāsudeva-Lakṣmī have been recorded in which the deity is shown in the form of half Viṣṇu and half Lakṣmī sitting on a *garūḍa* (Plate 15).²⁸ Notably, the three-headed Viṣṇu images of Punjab are attributed to the period starting from the 9th century AD.²⁹

2. The Nīlamata Purāṇa (6th/7th century AD) showcases the descriptive information of Vaiṣṇava rituals and practices in Kashmir also in Pāñcarātra context. Nīlamata credits Viṣṇu the killing of demon Jalodbhava and for creating the land of Kashmir with the help of Ananta (Balarāma), Śiva and Brahmā.³⁰ Then on the Naubandhana Mountain, Viṣṇu erects hermitage for Narasiṃha, his incarnation.³¹ The separate images of Narasiṃha in the squatting position of the *pralambapādāsana* are found in the valley and its surroundings. The earliest is noted in the second quarter of the 6th century AD displayed in the SPS Museum, Srinagar.

²⁴ Ibid.1.V.p.202.

²⁵ Siudmak (2013) 390.

²⁶ Ibid. 450.

²⁷ Siudmak (2013) 465.

²⁸ Malla (1996) Fig.42, 44, 45, 46.

²⁹ Handa (2011) 61-62.

³⁰ Cr. Ed. Ghai (1968) Vs.151ff.

³¹ Ibid. Vs.191.

Further, *nāga* Nīla describes the practices, predominantly Vaiṣṇavite, to a Brahmin Candradeva, which are supposed to be followed by the residents of Kashmir.³² The most important is the celebration of sleeping and waking up of Viṣṇu as per the rules of Pāñcarātra.³³ The honouring of *bhāgvatas* or *sāttvatas* with the gifts of grains and jewels is mentioned.³⁴ Sacred places of Viṣṇu in Kashmir are also mentioned in the text.³⁵ There is a reference of four-faced, four-armed Viṣṇu Āśramasvāmīn in the story of Bhārgavarāma.³⁶

3. The references to Pāñcarātra deities and *saṃhitās* are also noted in other religious texts associated with Kashmir. Netra Tantra (700-850 AD) mentions a three-headed Viṣṇu. ³⁷ Ratnākara in his Haravijaya (9th century AD) mentions Saṅkarṣaṇa Śāsana. ³⁸ Bhaṭṭarāmakaṇṭḥa (10th century AD) in his commentary on Sadyojyoti's Nareśvaraparīkṣā refers to Saṅkarṣaṇa Pāñcarātra and Saṁhitā Pāñcarātra. ³⁹ Saṁvitaprakāśa is the philosophical exposition on Kashmir Vaiṣṇavism written by Ekāyana Vāmanadatta during 9th to 11^{thc} centuries AD in Kashmir. Utpala Vaiṣṇava (10th century AD) in his Spanda Pradīpikā refers to various Pāñcarātra texts that were known to him; like Pauṣkara Saṁhitā, Jayākhya Saṁhitā, Viṣṇuyāmala, Sāttvata Saṁhitā, Saṅkarṣaṇa Sūtra, Haṃsa-pārameśvara, Pāñcarātra Upaniṣada, Viśva Saṁhitā etc. ⁴⁰ Moreover, the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā and Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra are considered to be composed in Kashmir. ⁴¹ Above references show the spread of Pāñcarātra in Kashmir.

4. Various non-religious texts also give us an interesting picture of the Vaiṣṇava faith followed in the valley. The most interesting reference in this is in Jayantabhaṭṭa's Āgamaḍaṃbara (9th century AD). It is a classic satire by Jayanta on the religious systems and isms that were prevalent in Kashmir. Jayanta makes an excellent scrutiny

³² Ibid. Vs.385ff.

³³ Ibid. Vs.433.

³⁴ Ibid. Vs.444; Vs.729-30; In the chapter 269 of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa I Bharata (Dāśarathi Rāma's brother) celebrates the sleeping and awakening of Viṣṇu each for five days on the occasion of his victory over *gandharvas*.

³⁵ Ibid. Vs. 1192ff.

³⁶ Ibid. Vs.1234ff.

³⁷ Netra Tantra *adhikāra* 13.3-5.

³⁸ Haravijaya 47.55

³⁹ Ed. Kaul (1926) 87, 91.

⁴⁰ Spanda Pradipikā (2000) pp.3, 9, 12, 21, 35, 41, 43 etc.

⁴¹ Schrader (1916) 96-97; Gonda (1977) 55.

of the different schools of philosophy that prevailed in his time – Bauddha, Jaina, Cārvāka, the Mīmāmsā, the Nyāya, the āgama (chiefly Pāñcarātra) and sects like Śaiva and Nilāmbara. 42 The religious rivalry comes uniquely in his drama. The fourth and final act discusses the so-called double standards of Bhagavata sectarians. Jayanta's account suggests the spread of Pāñcarātra, besides exposing the duplicity and fallen morals of the followers. Moreover, the drama confirms the historicity of the shrine of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmī, set up by king Ranāditya referred to in RT.⁴³

Art:

1. Notably, the period marks the illustrious scholarly tradition in the studies of NS. According to NS, Bharata's sons Kohala, Vatsya, Śāṇḍilya and Dhūrtila propagated the art of $n\bar{a}tya$ in the world. 44 Scholars consider these early interpreters were Kashmiris. 45 The commentators like Mātrgupta, Udbhata, Lollata, Śankuka, Bhattanāyaka, Abhinavagupta, Bhattayantra, Bhattatota and others most probably flourished from the 7th century AD onwards in Kashmir. Many of them are cited by Abhinavagupta. Abhinavagupta's literary activities can be placed between 980 AD-1030 AD. Apart from the above-cited names, the mention is also made of Rāhula, Kīrtidhara, Bhaṭṭayantra, Priyātithi, Bhaṭṭavṛddhi, Bhaṭṭagopāla, Bhaṭṭasumanas, Rudraka, Bhattaśankara, Ghantaka etc. 46 It is remarkable that all the schools of poetics viz. alankāra, rasa, dhvani and rīti originated from the work of Bharata and developed in Kashmir. Bhāmaha was the first writer of the Kavyālamkāra followed by Udbhata, then Vāmana of *rīti* and Ānandvardhana of *dhvani* School.

The above record testifies to the long literary tradition of the NS in Kashmir. It is notable that early MSS of NS with Abhinavabhāratī, also Locana, Vakrokti-Jivita and Vyakti-Viveka, etc. of eminent Kashmirian authors have been acquired from the Southern parts of India, especially from Malabar Coast. It shows the popularity and spread of the scholarship of Kashmir across India.

NS remained the most influential text on dramaturgy and allied arts. The latter accepted it as the highest authority. In secular literature, two texts reveal significant information.

⁴² Raghavan and Thakur, 1964.

⁴³ RT. IV.8-10.

⁴⁴ NS GOS (2006) IV.37.24. ⁴⁵ NS GOS (1992) I.preface23.

⁴⁶ Kane (1971) 53.

2. In Pādatāḍitaka, a $bh\bar{a}na$ (Saṃskṛta one-act monologue play, 5^{th} century AD/AD $800\text{-}900)^{47}$ composed by the Kashmirian Śyāmilaka a reference to the performance of $l\bar{a}sya$ by Mayūrsenā furnishes excellent details about the understanding of $ś\bar{a}stra$ of performing arts in the arena of connoisseurs. The author uses the term $l\bar{a}syav\bar{a}ra$, which suggests hosting the performances of $l\bar{a}sya$ by courtesans in regular turns.

Similarly, the play mentions the artistic talents of the male characters, e.g. *mṛdaṅga* player Sthāṇumitra, Upacandraka an expert in *lāsya*, Śivasvāmī a *citrācārya*, also a Brahmin Bhavasvāmī well versed in all sorts of knowledge including arts and a king of Konkan skilled in *kāvya*, Gāndharva and Nṛttaśāstra. ⁴⁹ Madayanti, who has ascribed as *cāmaragrāhiṇi* of Gaṅgā-Yamunā, also called as *pustakavācikā*, is the only reference in the play of the temple woman. ⁵⁰

3. Kuttanimata, the advice of hetaera, is a poem composed by Dāmodaragupta, the chief-minister at the court of Jayāpīḍa (AD 773/4-804/5) exploring classic Indian eroticism. While there is no direct reference to Kashmir, there can be no doubt that the poem gives a correct picture of contemporary Kashmiri life. The abundant references vouch for the wide popularity enjoyed by NS art traditions as it amply mentions NS terminologies.⁵¹ Mālatī the young aspirant hetaera is said to be wellversed in the arts proclaimed by Bharata, Viśākhila, Dantila and in the disciplines of ātodya, nṛtta, gīta also Vṛkṣāyurveda, Citrasūtra, patraccheda, bhramakarma, pustakarma and Sūdaśāstra. It is also stated that an ideal hero should be skilled in art forms like citra etc., and the knowledge of dramaturgy is one of the characteristics of a perfect prince.⁵² Dāmodaragupta even mentions the hand gestures applied by the connoisseurs in their commonly seen activities. E.g., a servant carrying betel-box offers a tāmbūla to Samarabhata in samdanśa (20th asamyuta hasta of the NS) and Samarabhata accepts it in khatakāmukha (10th asamyuta hasta).⁵³ An elaborate list of dramatic terminologies is given in the case of Samarabhata's critical appreciation of a dancer's performance in terms of her skills.⁵⁴ The most important contribution of

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⁴⁷ Schokker (1966) preface VII; for date of Pādatāḍitaka see Motichandra, Agrawala (1960) intro.5; Burrow (1946).

⁴⁸ Schokker (1966) verse 97.

⁴⁹ Ibid. Verses 32, 97, 69, 14, 53.

⁵⁰ Ibid. Verse 78.

⁵¹ Ed. Kaul (1944) Verses 477, 881, 904, 928; NS GOS (2006) IV. 29. 21-22.

⁵² Ed. Kaul (1944) Verses 534, 948.

⁵³ Ibid. Verse 758.

⁵⁴ Ibid. Verses 84-85.

Kuttanimata is its ornate record of the performance of a drama Ratnāvalī of Harsa by Manjarī and her co-actors.⁵⁵ It is the best example to understand the application of dance in the production of Samskrta drama. Manjarī's skills in various dramatic practices are narrated.⁵⁶ The comments given by Samarabhata after watching the performance of Ratnāvalī shows the critical astuteness of elites in appreciating the artistic performance.⁵⁷ He says that even the women in the harem of Nahusa couldn't acquire this skill level in drama after learning from Bharata's sons compared to this performance of Ratnāvalī. It is a direct reference to the *nāṭyāvatāra* myth of NS.⁵⁸

Kuttanimata calls Urvaśī as *devaganikā*. ⁵⁹ Manjarī is also a temple attendant belonging to the shrine of Kamaleśvara. 60 Gambhireśvaradāsī is a dancing girl committed to the temple of Śiva Gambhireśvara. 61 Another instance tells us about the group of ordinary dancers and musicians surround Samarabhata immediately after he finishes his worship at the temple of Vṛṣabhadhvaja. 62 The first act of Ratnāvalī is enacted within the precincts of the Vrsabhadhvaja temple at Varanasi.

4. RT provides substantial cultural material of early medieval Kashmir. Notably, Kalhana proclaims Śānta as the predominant sentiment of his accounts of kings. 63 There is a mention of rangapītha in Pravareśa temple, indicating the space to perform in front of the deity.⁶⁴ There is a legend of the finding of two Viṣṇu images by Lalitāditya Muktāpīda where he comes across two temple dancers. 65 They convey to Lalitāditya that they are dancing girls belonging to a temple and Śūravardhamāna is their native village. Following their mothers' instructions, they dance at that specific spot every day, executing the secret ancestral tradition that no one outside the family can learn. Kalhaṇa also has narrated the love affair between Jayāpīḍa and temple dancer Kamalā of Gauda country. Jayāpīda finds Kamalā's performance in concordance with the precepts of NS.⁶⁶

⁵⁵ Ibid. Verses 879-928.

⁵⁶ Ibid. Verses 803-808

⁵⁷ Ibid. Verses 929-945.

⁵⁸ NS GOS (2006) IV.27.

⁵⁹ Ed. Kaul (1944) Verse 999.

⁶⁰ Ibid. Verse 735.

⁶¹ Ibid. Verse 743

⁶² Ibid. Verse 756.

⁶³ RT. 1.I.23.

⁶⁴ Ibid. VII.109.

⁶⁵ Ibid. IV.265ff.

⁶⁶ Ibid. IV.423ff.

Kalhaṇa records an amusing anecdote of *domba* singer, dancer and actor Raṅga and his two daughters while describing the reign of Cakravarman (936/37 AD), which from its appearance looks authentic.⁶⁷ *Domba*, an inferior tribe of Kashmir, apart from their other occupations,⁶⁸ were also known for their singing, dancing and acting skills. *Domba* women were used to be an attraction for royal persons. So much so that even Abhinavagupta mentions the dance of a *dombikā*.⁶⁹ According to his information, the dance of *dombikā* used to be erotic, designed primarily to entertain the royal audience to win favours.

The cultural proliferation reached to the highest in the period of the later Kārkoṭas as there are names like Udbhaṭa (an *ālaṃkārika* of repute), Dāmodaragupta (author of the Kuṭṭanīmata), poets like Manoratha, Śaṅkhadanta, Caṭaka and Sandhimati ornamenting Jayāpīḍa's court. Dāmodaragupta was his chief councillor, while Vāmana was one of his ministers.⁷⁰

The end of Kārkoṭas brought severe interruption in the various developments that were taking place in the valley. However, the achievements of early Kārkoṭas helped Utpala rulers in reclaiming the religio-cultural fervour of their region. Whatever began in the Kārkoṭa period continued with great vigour, mainly during Avantivarman. *Dhvani* theorist Ānandavardhana, Śaiva philosopher *bhaṭṭa* Kallaṭa and the poets like Muktākaṇa, Śivasvāmin and Ratnākara are the few names Kalhaṇa quotes while describing the flourishing period of the renowned Utpala king.⁷¹

5. Nīlamata mentions Viṣṇu speaking on the importance of donation of the dramatic performances.⁷² Nīlamata reveals the status and respect enjoyed by the community of artists who would deliver theatrical performances in the festivals.⁷³

For the heavenly nymphs like Urvaśī, Rambhā, and Menakā, Nīlamata uses the term 'devarāmā' that is beautiful women who belong to gods. ⁷⁴ The bathing ceremony of god on the procession occasion is elaborately described, consisting of

⁶⁷Ibid. V.354ff.

 $^{^{68}}$ RT shows that *dombas* were used to earn their income by hunting, fishing as well as by singing and acting and even were serving as soldiers. Often called as $\acute{s}vap\bar{a}$ ka (one who cooks dog/ belong to the out-casted people) and paired with the candalas, the dombas proliferated during the reign of the king Cakravarman (936-37 AD). V.354, 390; VI.182; VII.964; VIII.94.

⁶⁹ NS GOS (1992) I.p.169ff.

⁷⁰ RT.1.IV.495-497.

⁷¹ Ibid. 1.V.34.189; 66.195.

⁷² Nīlamata Purāṇa Cr.Ed. Ghai (1968) vs. 223-24.

⁷³ Ibid.769, 795, 446.

⁷⁴ Ibid.664, 1441.

songs and dances performed by the auspicious women, i.e. *subhagā nartinen*.⁷⁵ It also describes the involvement of songs, dances and dramatic performances in the worship of Śeṣaśāyin Viṣṇu in the month of Āṣādha⁷⁶ and Kārtika⁷⁷ connected with the *cāturmāsya* festivities.

Iconography:

1. In the iconography, the period is known for introducing the 'Classical art of Kashmir.' Brahmanical sculptures of the classical style of the Kārkoṭa period began sometime in the third quarter of the 7th century AD. Highly developed aesthetic awareness, natural depictions, variety in dress and iconography, range of themes, vibrant appearance, and nuanced artistry are the features of classical Kārkoṭa art. The grey chlorite plaque depicting eight-armed Kāmadeva and his consorts having pleasure in their heavenly abode is attributed to the third quarter of 8th century AD.⁷⁸ In the bottom panel of the throne of the deity, a dwarf dancer and musicians are carved. The dancer dwarf is astonishingly looking at his god. His left hand is in Latāhasta, and he is standing in Catura.⁷⁹ A flutist and a cymbal player are accompanying him.

The stance of a dwarf seems widespread and seen even in the Punjab specimens collected from Dholbaha dated most probably to the Pratihāra period. 80

2. At the beginning of the Utpala period, Avantipura emerged as the centre of a new art style. It was not that artistically rich and nuanced compared to the Classical art attached with the Kārkoṭas. The idols that survived this period are mainly of the Vaiṣṇavite attribution. One specimen deserves special attention.

The most valuable specimen for our study is the panel of Viṣṇu Śeṣaśāyīn made in grey stone ascribed to the second half of 9th century AD (Plate 4).⁸¹ The six-armed Viṣṇu is partially reclined below the large canopy of serpent hoods. At the arched top three-faced tiny Brahmā is sitting on the lotus. The eyes of Viṣṇu are half-

⁷⁵ Ibid.887.

⁷⁶ Ibid.729.

⁷⁷ Ibid.424 ff.

⁷⁸ Siudmak (2013) 423.

⁷⁹ A Latāhasta is one of the *nṛttahastas*, NS GOS (2001) II. 9.198-99 and Catura is the 39th *karaṇa*, 1992.I.4.114 mentioned by Bharata.

⁸⁰ Handa (2011)Pl.176,183.

⁸¹ Siudmak (2013) 450-51.

closed. His left two hands are at ease while the third one is holding a gesture that appeared as Ardhapatāka. ⁸² The remaining two hands on the right side are also in the gesture known as Haṃsāsya. ⁸³ Four female attendants flank the deity. One is sitting on the stool, massaging one of his right hands while another rubbing his right foot, representing Lakṣmi. On the right side, precisely in front of the deity, amongst two ladies, one is holding a horn that seems to be blown anytime to wake up the god. The second is dancing. The dancer is keeping the left hand on her torso and right across the chest. She is dancing on the music of four instrumentalists sitting below the coil of the serpent. Amongst musicians, one is playing the harp, second is on the lute, third is engaged in playing the flute, and fourth is managing the rhythm, most probably on cymbals. The fifth possibly is a devotee in Anjali *hasta*. Interestingly, the serpent with multiple hoods turned towards the right, focusing on the front, perhaps enjoying the performance. The style reflected through the movement is closer to the dwarf depicted on the Kāmadeva plaque discussed above.

3. In the available temple sculptures, the most remarkable is the west doorway of the temple in Payar (second or third quarter of 10th century AD) which depicts a six-armed dancing form of Śiva on the *lalāṭabimba* (Plate 16). Two musicians are sitting on each of the sides. On the left side, a celestial nymph is playing the harp, similar to the one shown on the Śeṣaśāyīn panel. To the right, a drummer is sitting. According to Sivaramamurti, he is playing an *urdhva* type of drum. He enigmatic posture of Śiva represents Urdhvajānu, the twenty-fifth *karaṇa* of the NS with a right leg in *kuncita*, bent in knee and held in the air on the level of the torso. The main arms rest, one against the thigh and the other against the chest. Another pair carries a śūla and a *khaṭvānga*. The third pair is busy in regulating the whirling *jaṭā* or holding a garland like an object against the *jaṭā*. Sivaramamurti further refers to the Abhinavabhāratī and states that the left hand shown nearby the chest matches with the 'vakṣasthakhaṭakāmukha' written by Abhinavagupta while commenting upon the Urdhvajānu *karaṇa*. St It is the only surviving dancing Śiva in the valley.

⁸² Single hand gesture that appears in the Abhinayadarpana of Nandikeśvara.

⁸³ A single hand gesture mentioned by Bharata, NS GOS (2001) II.9.104.

⁸⁴ Sivaramamurti (1994) 296-98.

⁸⁵ NS GOS (1992) I.4.86.

Conclusion:

1. There is an imperative proposition that we can present from our study. Bhāmaha (first half of the 7th century AD) is the earliest known scholar hailed from Kashmir who knew Bharata's work. Rashmir Saṃskṛta tradition underlines one fact that took place in the post-Hūṇa period that is at the beginning of the Kārkoṭas. There is a noticeable shift in the paradigm of the NS from being a guidebook of the dramatics mainly written for the performers, which converted into a mother-text for several literary disciplines. The Brahmaṇas of Kashmir - court and otherwise initiated the movement. They were the early runners who brought sub-topics, which were only in the form of 'applied arts' with context to the production of drama dealt in the NS under the scholastic milieu.

Notably, NS itself is the dialogue between Bharata and the group of inquisitive Brāhmaṇas in which Bharata is answering the questions put forward by them. The knowledge of dramatics was getting transferred to the Brāhmaṇa scholars. Historically, the intellectuals of Kashmir pursued it comprehensively, producing great academic works on the NS. There is no unanimity on the authorship of NS as to whether it is a work of one Bharata or the community of Bharatas, the actors. Amarakośa⁸⁷ states that there was a community of artists under the appellation 'Bharata'. It enlists it under the śūdra class, which can be understood concerning the story of nāṭyāvatāra narrated in the last chapter of the NS.

It is possible that roughly till the 6th century AD, the drama tradition explained in the NS mainly continued to be the instructional manual for the performance of a play, with the limited objective as a guidebook for the actors of the school of Bharata. However, the vast potential of the text, the prospects of deliberating upon the profound principles mentioned in it, the interdisciplinary and universal nature and the popularity of the dramatic presentations probably attracted the intellectuals of the valley to the text, and the tradition arose. It flourished greatly in the later period as the text became the universal compendium for all sorts of performing arts and all kinds of performers, actors, dancers, musicians, male or female, religious or secular.

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⁸⁶ Kane (1971) 87; Bronner (2011) 110.

Based on the textual evidence before Bhāmaha it was Kalidāsa, poet and dramatist $(4^{th}/5^{th}$ century AD) who was aware of Bharata and the NS, as the sage comes as a character in his Vikramorvaśīya.

NS tells us the reason behind the $\dot{su}dra$ identity of actors in the last chapter of the $n\bar{a}ty\bar{a}vat\bar{a}ra$.

- 2. Simultaneously, the temple architecture was proliferating in high number. These two happenings are significant to understand the culture of the early-mediaeval Kashmir further in comprehending the nature of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa khaṇḍa III. Kārkoṭa-Utpala period saw some of the best temple architectures in the valley. Kings, queens, members of the royal families, ministers, merchants, etc. all such elite class people gave considerable donations to build temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu, designating deities on their names. Temples did change the cultural scene. Temple religion was collaborative and inter-disciplinary, encompassing the entire society. Temple, its precincts and the surrounding became the centres of community gatherings and cultural performances. A yearly calendar of temple festivals turned out to be the first attraction of the socio-religious life of the people living in urban societies.
- 3. With this context, we can surmise another critical observation about the Kārkota-Utpala period. The basis of this remark comes from all the textual and material evidence we have studied so far. If we observe minutely, we will find that the language of the expression in all the mediums was traversing virtually on the same plane in this period. The dance is narrated in texts, and the dance carved on the stones would be going in one direction. It is not just about the technical appearance like postures or gestures, but also about the aesthetic semantics that the artists of all mediums followed. It was a period of cultural uniformity. The origin, the motivation and the influence all were in concordance with the contemporary developments, predominantly the religious activities simultaneously inspired by the political will. We wish to state that it was the language of the NS that every art form was following and executing. The references of the technical terms used in the Pādatāditaka and Kuttanīmata shows that the dance language followed by these writers was coming from the NS. The sensitivity of connoisseurs in maintaining the NS prone conventions in the performance was notable. Apart from this, the references confirm the influence of NS beyond caste and communities.

Remarkably, sculptural evidence also showcases the explorations of the same dance grammar.

4. The principal conclusion of the entire discussion is that in the Kārkoṭa phase, various cultural streams blended and started speaking one aesthetical language, which

continued even after their decline. It was Saṃskṛta that remained as a consistent cultural parameter of which the NS was an integral part. This uniformity encompassed the entire world of art, artists and artistic expressions throbbing in the valley, impacting the surrounding regions. Echoes seen in Punjab indicate integrated cultural geography dominated by the valley politics, religion, and arts. Importantly the development was in synchronization with the Indian aesthetical sensibilities where the NS was speedily grabbing the ultimate position of a 'cultural scripture'.

The Kārkoṭa-Utpala was the period of the 'great cultural homogeneity' formed under the consistent rule of the native Hindū dynasty under whose patronage Brāhmaṇical religions flourished and manifested unequivocally through the art and literature of the time. It was the unification of political will, religious establishments and artistic manifestations. The NS semantic was the major underpin.

The art and religion narrated in the text of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa khaṇḍa III have to be seen from the perspective of this culture and society. Even though the concerned text is the part of the Vaiṣṇava purāṇa, the dance that is documented in it, on the fundamental level, is the part of the vast cultural milieu of the region. It is a representation of society in terms of art conventions and aesthetic sensibilities. The above overview creates the required premise to analyze the religiocultural aspects of the Nṛṭṭtaśāstra in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa khaṇḍa III.

Chapter II: Survey of the Literature

Following is the review of the earlier scholarly attempts made in the study of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa. For over a century, Indologists and art historians have approached the text with various perspectives and methods.

For the proposed study the first important text is the critical edition of the third khanda of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa by Dr. Priyabala Shah published in the year 1958 by the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The critical edition of any part of the Visnudharmottara Purāṇa had not been released till then. Originally it was her doctoral thesis submitted in the University of Bombay in 1951, which contained only 1 to 88 chapters of the Visnudharmottara Purāna khanda III. However, the M.S. University of Baroda accepted her work for publication in the Gaekwad Oriental Series; after that, she added 89 to 118 chapters into it. For the present research on the Nṛttaśāstra, Shah's critical edition is considered as a primary source. It is based on seven MSS, of which the oldest one is from Kashmir and in Śāradā script, the one discovered by Bühler² and currently in possession of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. Although Kashmir MS held as the basis of the critical edition, which has maximum chapters, i.e. 3 to 339 amongst all other MSS, Shah completed the critical edition of the Visnudharmottara Purāna khanda III by analyzing other available MSS as well. However, she couldn't secure MSS from Nepal and Dhaka. But the learned scholar acquired and published the contents of the Nepal MS, which is vital for the present study in deciding the period of the Nṛttaśāstra. In the introduction of the critical edition, she has discussed the importance of the Visnudharmottara Purāna khanda III, its probable dating, and authorship. In 1961, Shah published the second part of her work containing an introduction, appendixes and indices.³ With concern to the Nrttaśāstra, the content of each chapter is listed, and the brief comparatives are written in footnotes in the light of parallel verses found in the Nātyaśāstra, Abhinayadarpana, Abhinavabhāratī, Hemcandra Abhidhānacintāmanī, Sangīta-ratnākara, Śrī-Hastamuktāvalī, etc. We will be referring

¹ Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa Third khaṇḍa, Vol.I:Text, Critical Notes etc. (1958) pp.47-124.

² Detailed Report of the Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, 1877.

³ Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa Third *khaṇḍa*, Vol.II: Introduction, Appendixes, Indexes etc. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1961.

⁴Ibid. pp.35-102.

to her work in the coming chapters of the thesis; one must admit that it is a significant work as it provided a better version of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa *khaṇḍa* III for future researches.

In 1969, Tadashi Shimizu attempted to date the third *khaṇḍa* of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa based on the Śānta *rasa*'s presence in the text focusing on the 30th chapter on *rasa* which occurs in the section of the Nṛttaśāstra.⁵

There are two PhD theses on the Visnudharmottara in which the portion of the Nṛttaśāstra has also been covered. Dr. Meena Jeste submitted her doctoral research to Pune University in 1973 titled 'Arts in the Purāṇas.' She has covered portions on music, dance, architecture, sculpture, painting and literature in the *purānas* like Vāyu, Agni, Mārkaņdeya, Linga, Nārada, Viṣṇu, Bhāgvata, Brahmavaivarta, Harivamśa, Matsya, Garuda, Bhavisya along with the Visnudharmottara. The main focus is on understanding the nature of art forms in *purānas*. Another essential work concerning the Nṛttaśāstra is the PhD thesis of R.P. Shashirekha on the subject 'Critical Study of Visnudharmottara Purāṇa' presented in the Bangalore University in 1988. Shashirekha took all three khandas of the text for her doctoral research and referred to the critical edition mentioned above along with the Venkateshvara Press publication and other 12 volumes of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa. Her work covers the following topics: characteristics of purāṇas and upa-purāṇas, date of the Visnudharmottara Purāṇa, alankāras and other literature-based chapters, Nṛtyaśāstra, music, painting, temple building, image-making, cosmology, other sciences like botany, veterinary sciences, i.e. the science of horses and elephants, Ayurveda, astronomy, psychiatry, etc., social beliefs, mythology and ethics. Majorly following Shah's observations on the chapters on dance, Shashirekha revisited the text by inspecting the Nātyaśāstra, Abhinayadarpana, and Sangītaratnākara as done by Shah too.

In 1990, senior Kathak exponent and scholar Dr. Puru Dadheech published a Hindi translation of subjected fifteen chapters under the name Nṛttasūtra, another relevant text for our study. He has briefly noted down the comments in the appendix along with a few of his remarks on the Rahasya and the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās*. Dadheech is the first scholar from the field of the performing arts who acknowledged the worth of the dance material found in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa *khaṇḍa* III.

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⁵ The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa *khaṇḍa* III, Ad.30 and the Nāṭyaśāstra Ad.6 – A comparative Study, in the *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies 18.1*, 1969, pp.16-21.

⁶ Nrttasūtram, (1990) pp.137-163.

Dr. Prakash Pandey attempted the practical execution of some of the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās* in his book Mudrāvimarśa published in 1990. Belonging to the family of *arcaka* of goddess Vindhyavāsini, a *tantra* practitioner himself, Pandey could interpret few gestures practically based on the technical details given in the text, which has helped to understand the visual aspect of the concerned hand gestures.

Apart from the sources mentioned above, two more texts are significant in appreciating the religious background of the *purāṇa* literature, which have provided insights into the proposed research. R.C. Hazra published 'The studies in *upapurāṇas*' in 1958. With his scholarly and minute study, Hazra presented the astute analysis about the complex characteristics of *purāṇas*, the role of politics and religion, their probable creators and period. In the year 2000, Ronald Inden wrote on the 'Imperial Purāṇas- Kashmir as Vaiṣṇava Center of the World' focusing on the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa. While discussing about the religiosity of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa in the light of the contemporaneous politics in Kashmir Inden has argued how the text serves the purpose of making Kashmir a Pāñcarātra country. Inden's work has played an important role in forming the hypothesis for this research.

We would humbly say that the present research stands on the insights gained from works done by previous scholars. We hope that the proposed research which is devoted entirely to the Nṛttaśāstra of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa will reveal some fresh significant observations given to the all-inclusive inter-disciplinary approach.

Chapter III: Methodology

III.1. Research Orientation and Methodology

Concerning the methodology, this work can be broadly considered a 'content analysis'. The critical evaluation of the Nṛttaśāstra has been carried out mainly based on art, history and religion. Attempts have been made to look at this on both micro and macro levels. It means that the technical features of the art of *nṛtta* are studied through this work. At the same time, there is an attempt to learn its religious links and the exchanges between art and religion.

III.2. Theoretical Base

Since the nature of this subject is multidisciplinary, we have tried to do this analysis with some relevant theories in mind. They are as follows.

Art historians and philosophers like Ernst Cassirer, Susanne Langer and Anand Coomaraswamy have presented a similar thread about the relationship between art and religion. They all tried to develop a fundamental thought that religion, science, art, myth and language were different but co-equal branches of human thought and the origin of arts is connected with rites. According to Coomaraswamy, all artistic operations were originally rites. Susanne Langer refers to the statement of American folklorist W.W. Newell, from his speech delivered in the International Congress of Anthropology (1894) in which he has said that 'ritual, regarded as the dramatization of myth'. Further, Langer makes three brief categories of human traditions. 1. myths, 2. rituals and 3. ethics. She puts the co-relation as myths are nothing but the stories of divinities. Rituals are the enactment of these stories. And ethics are the virtues man learns from these stories to lead an ideal life.

The information in this *purāṇa* shows its relation to the temple tradition and the rituals related to idols with the association of various art forms like dance, music, painting, etc. Against this background, the above approach becomes essential and gives fundamental insight into the whole subject and understanding of the interdisciplinary development of art and religion. With this context, the following are

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¹ Ed. Rama P. Coporamaswamy, The Essential: Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Figure of Speech or a Figure of Thought?, (2004)26; Cassirer, Tr. Susanne Langer, Language and Myth (1946) 8.

² Philosophy in a new key (1954)125.

some more perceptive theories on how art should be perceived in the temple establishment.

Dr. A.P. Jamkhedkar³ puts the advances of temple architecture and rituals in a historical perspective. He has shown based on the nuanced study of the concept and development of Indian temples that, from 5th/6th century AD, the temple came to be known as the *prāsāda*, and god treated like a king thus, the *upcāras* offered to god are an imitation of the comforts that would be provided to the king. In the process, music and dance became part of the temple rituals and courtesans as the temple dancers. Rangamandapa in the temple architecture is the physical testimony of this temple architecture in development. Interestingly, the section on Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa khaṇḍa III is known as the 'Prāsāda-laksana' and doorkeepers of gods are mentioned as 'pratihāras'.5

Additionally, Saskia Kersenboom⁶, in her outstanding work on the tradition and history of south Indian temple dancers 'Nityasumaṅgalī', states, 'temple worship highlights several roads of transformation in its cultic philosophy, in yoga practices, in rituals as well as mythology visualized in devotions and performing arts.' It is the confluence of theories quoted above. Dr. P-S Filliozat⁷, while talking about the interdisciplinary nature of *āgama* religion, says that 'it is a blend of religious concepts and cultural habits as priests and artists both were dependent upon the culture of their milieu.' The fact underlined is that the cultural aspect of *āgama* religion has come from the well-established or traditional standard knowledge bases like the one compiled in Nāṭyaśāstra. Natalia Lidova's statement is significant considering the connection of the Nṛttaśāstra with the Nāṭyaśāstra and temple dance in general. She takes drama, epics, iconic cult, and templar worship as the fruit of early Hindu culture.⁸ She opines that 'Hindu religious tradition saw the Nāṭyaśāstra chapters on dancing as ritual text.' ⁹

In short, this thesis is a critical scrutiny of the text that documents the art of nrta, with context to its place in the Nāṭyaśāstra tradition of literature and purāna of a

³ 2012: 524-25

⁴ Ch.86, 88.

⁵ Ch.85.29, 88.13

⁶ 1987: 88

⁷ 1994: xix

⁸ 1996: 118

⁹ Ibid. 50

particular sect, and the regional religious condition as seen in a specific period. The aim is to approach the Nṛttaśāstra holistically.

Chapter IV: Analysis of Chapters 20 to 31 and 34

Purāṇa, among all other features, essentially reflects contemporaneous practices focusing on the religious associations of the society. The evident attitude of negligence and apathy towards them in general, due to their 'abstruse' character and magnitude of size, has incurred only losses in understanding the layered culture of ancient India. The so-called vagueness of the purāṇas contains much detailed information and records of early medieval India's religious and cultural life. As opposed to the tightly woven Vedic society, purāṇas can be taken as a reflection of the changing religious and social order, which technically replicated in its loose constructional freedom and accessibility to all strata of society. The significance of this literature cannot be ignored. Purāṇas are important because they conserve in comprehensive approach every aspect of Hindu culture. Al-biruni, who himself made extensive use of purāṇas, says that 'by these books, people are guiding in fulfilling the rites of their religion.' They are an indispensable source to understand Hinduism today.

Etymologically, *purāṇa* means ancient, old; a thing or an event of the past; belonging to the ancient times; a tale, a legend or a traditional history. In the vast religious literature of India, it is a class of sacred texts believed to have been compiled and divided by sage Vyāsa. The scope of the subject matter of this literature can be understood through the *pañcalakṣaṇa* or the five topics they embrace. Those are the *sarga* or the creation of the world, *pratisarga*, secondary or continued creation out of the primaeval matter, *vaṃśa*, genealogy of gods and patriarchs, *manvantara*, age of Manus, and *vaṃśānucarita*, and the genealogical list of dynasties. However, they simultaneously expound the mixed character in major, which could be understood in the modern sense of inter-disciplinary injunction. They talk about popular religion and practices, myths and legends, philosophies, and arts and sciences. The *purāṇas* look at all the sciences equally. The visible sectarian attribution of them provides the contextual identity in comprehending the varied subject matter dealt within.

Traditionally there are eighteen *mahā-puarāṇas*. However, the list is disputable, and there are versions quoted in various texts, including *purāṇas* itself. In

¹ Rocher refers to the statement of Sāyaṇa 'the *purāṇas* are the Veda of women and śūdras', 1986:16.

² Sachau 1910:1.265.

the times of Al-biruni, there was more than one list of eighteen *mahā-puarāṇas* that existed. He cites the one from the Visnu Purāna.³

1. Brahma 2. Padma 3. Viṣṇu 4. Śiva 5. Bhāgavata 6. Nārada 7. Mārkaṇḍeya 8. Agni 9. Bhaviṣya 10. Brahmavaivarta 11. Linga 12. Varāha 13. Skanda 14. Vāmana 15. Kūrma 16. Matsya 17. Garūḍa 18. Brahmāṇḍa. The Persian chronicler is also aware of another list he 'heard' from his sources.⁴

According to Hazra, the establishment of eighteen *purāṇas* can be accredited to the first quarter of the 7th century AD.⁵ There are various attempts made in dating the *purāṇas*. The periods given by scholars diverge interminably and extensively.⁶ Essentially, *upa-purāṇas* are not different from the usual *purāṇa* texts. However, they are believed to be the later compositions. But few are older than the *mahā-purāṇas*.⁷ Compared to the *mahā-purāṇas*, they are more sectarian, attached with the sacred geography of the particular region, adapted to the purposes of the local cults and beliefs. Thus although the terminology denotes its secondary position, the subject matter of *upa-purāṇas* is vast and equally important. They are the records of mythology, idol worship, theism, philosophy, superstitions, devotions, festivals and ceremonies, ethics and various disciplines of science and literature. According to Hazra, the age of *upa-purāṇas* began approximately in the Gupta period, and the formation of the group of eighteen *upa-purāṇas* took place during AD 650-800.⁸

Like *mahā-purāṇas*, *upa-purāṇas* too do not have one single list. Hazra has provided thirty-three such lists having a variety of names. ⁹ Comparatively speaking, they have received far less attention. Considered as a part of Viṣṇu Purāṇa the study of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa (hereafter VDP) gets additionally essential in this context.

IV.1. The VDP

Let us have the introduction of the VDP, the parent literature of the text under research. Following is the information on the contents of the three volumes, its place in *puranic* literature and religious attribution as seen in it. This writing is essential to

³ Ibid.1.131.

⁴ Ibid.1.130.

⁵ 1940:4.

⁶ Hazra, 1940; Rocher 1986:100.

⁷ Hazra 1958:27.

⁸ Ibid.16.

⁹ Ibid.4ff.

have an encompassing outlook of the literature not just in its technical details but also in knowing its sectarian foundation to see the significance of the third *khaṇḍa* of the VDP and the place of the Nṛttaśāstra (hereafter NrS) in it.

Famously known as an encyclopedic work, the VDP carries an interesting blend of sectarian worship of Pāñcarātra, connected mythology, and sciences. The text has rich content and deserves a vital position in the wide-ranging *puranic* literature of Vaiṣṇava belief and practices.

Divided into three *khaṇḍas*, the VDP is a dialogue between Sage Mārkaṇḍeya and king Vajra containing in total 807 chapters. The first *khaṇḍa* in 269 chapters describes cosmology, geographical accounts, astronomy, genealogies of kings and sages, and mythology. It also includes the details of *śrāddha* rites, *vratas* and *stotras*. Chapters 51 to 65, is a description of the Śankaragītā, a dialogue between god Śankara and Bhārgavarāma where Śankara narrates the rules and ways to lead a life of a Vaiṣṇava devotee. These chapters are significant to understand the sectarian foundation of the text. The first volume in its ending chapters narrates a story of a *gandharva* king Śailūṣa being killed by Bharata, a younger brother of Dāśarathī Rāma to establish his rule. This *khaṇḍa* widely utilizes the Rāmāyaṇa and incorporates a large number of verses from the Upaniṣads, Mahābhārata, Bhagvadgītā and Dharmaśāstras.¹⁰

The second *khaṇḍa* of the VDP comprises of 183 chapters in which Mārkaṇḍeya narrates the conversation between Vārūṇi Puṣkara and Paraśurāma. The central topic of this volume is the polity and duties of a king. It also describes the rules and regulations of four *āśramas* in detail. The Paitāmaha Siddhānta mentioned in it is the important reference used by most scholars to define the date of the text. There are also chapters on atonement. Most importantly, this volume contains Śrī and Puruṣasūkta Māhātmya and ends with the chapters on Dhanurveda, a science of archery/weaponry.

The third *khanda* majorly contributes to the encyclopedic character of the VDP. It is a compendium of literature studies and fine arts. It involves the description of the varieties of literature, grammar, lexicography, music-instrumental and vocal, canons on painting, image-making and temple building. It continues with the theology

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¹⁰ Ibid.164, 197.

of the Pāñcarātra religion. The proposed text for research, the NrS, belongs to this *khanda*.

Moreover, the VDP is written mainly in verse, but some of its chapters or parts thereof are in prose.

IV.1.1. Place amongst other *Upa-purāṇas*

VDP is recognized as part of the Viṣṇu Mahā-purāṇa. Only once it identifies itself with the category of purāṇa, i.e. in the 5th verse of the last chapter (355th) in the third volume; rājāpi vajro dharmātmā mārkaṇḍeyena bhāṣitam | purāṇaṃ ciṃtyayannityaṃ nārāyaṇaparāyaṇaḥ | rājyaṃ ca prāśiṣannityaṃ prajā dharmeṇa pālayan. In other Saṃskṛta sources, VDP has been mentioned either as a purāṇa, upapurāṇa, śāstra or even as a tantra.

Since VDP admits its association with the Viṣṇudharma in its title itself, Al-biruni took both these texts as one and mentioned verses from the VDP under the name of the Viṣṇudharma. Various smṛtis like Madana Pārijāta, Kāla Viveka, Vratakāla Viveka, Tithi Viveka, Vrata Candrikā ascribe verses from the VDP with Viṣṇudharma and vice versa. It is to be noted that Viṣṇudharma was considered as a śāstra in many early texts beginning from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa to Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi. Based on these textual references, Hazra states that in the early period of the Christen era, smārta adherents of various sects started compiling works like Śivadharma, Viṣṇudharma, Sauradharma etc. which were neither purāṇas nor smṛtis but were śāstras, to advocate the sectarian teachings. VDP is part of the same movement. However, over time its structure encouraged sectarians to include it in the purāṇa literature either by attaching it to some other mahā-purāṇa or by giving it an independent status of an upa-purāṇa. Following is the list of the various works in which VDP is referred to with different connotative attributions.

- Nāradiya Purāṇa (9th century AD) considers VDP a part of the Viṣṇu Mahāpurāṇa.
- 2. Kālikā Purāṇa (11th century AD) *tantra*.
- 3. Vallāļasena in Dānasāgara (1169 AD) upa- purāṇa.
- 4. Hemādri in Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi (1270 AD) purāṇa.

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¹¹ Bühler (1890) Indian Antiquary, 381ff.

¹² Hazra 1958:112.

¹³ Ibid.116.

- 5. Brhaddharma Purāna (13th century AD) *upa- purāna*.
- 6. Nityācāra Pradipikā of Narasimha Vājapeyin (Later than 1400 AD) śāstra.
- 7. Mitra Miśra in Vīramitrodaya (1605-1627 AD) cites it along with the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata which suggests its authority.
- 8. Anantabhatta in Vidhāna Pārijāta (1625 AD) considers VDP a part of the Padma Purāna.

The above list shows how early Samskrta scholars differ in their opinion in attributing VDP. However, the list displays the admiration enjoyed by text for almost 900 years with wide popularity from northeast to the south of India. The reference of the Kālikā Purāṇa also suggests the particular stage VDP reached over the centuries in which it came to be known as *tantra*.

IV.1.2. The Pāñcarātra Affiliation

Upa-purāṇas serve the aims of local cults and the religious conditions of different sects. VDP is not much diverse on those fronts. The text propagates the Pāñcarātra sectarian ideas and worshipping systems as developed in the region of Kashmir.

The earliest available record of the Pancaratra thought has consisted in the section of Śantiparva of the Mahabharata (hereafter Mbh). The later part of the Śāntiparva is called Mokṣadharma, and the concerned portion is known as Nārāyaṇiya. 14 Apart from Nārāyaṇiya, the exposition of Pāñcarātra doctrine is delineated in detail in the Pāñcarātra samhitās also known as Pāñcarātra upaniṣad, Pāñcarātra tantra or āgamas. Traditionally 108 samhitās are mentioned, but scholars have enumerated 210 and suggested there may be many more. 15

The subjects of Pāñcarātrāgama generally fall into four sections.

- 1. *jñāna*: The philosophy of Pāñcarātra doctrine is dealt in this section.
- 2. caryā: It consists of the rules of conduct regarding rites, festivals and social duties.
- 3. kriyā: It provides instructions regarding making idols of the deities, constructing temples, and installing an idol in the sanctum sanctorum.
- 4. yoga: In this section, various methods of meditation, mainly to acquire special powers, is explained.

However, the sections and subjects mentioned above are not treated in all samhitās. The preference is given to the description of initiation, the importance of

¹⁴ Schrader 1916:14. ¹⁵ Ibid.6.

holding Vaiṣṇava marks, ablutions and purification rites, repentance of sins, offerings and religious festivities, sacrificial oblations, methods of remedy by chanting various *mantras*, rules of image-making, attributes of deities, installation of gods in the temple, worshipping rituals, the efficacy of *mantras* and *mudrās* etc. The philosophical discourses are combined with the above topics.

The Pancaratra philosophy generally appears as follows. The Supreme Being is known as Purusa, who is timeless and immeasurable. In the last part of the cosmic night, Viṣṇu's 'energy' Lakṣmī the Kriyāśakti becomes the cause of the material manifestation. The Sakti is instrumental in creating the existence of all beings. She has a dual aspect, kriyā and bhūti. Here Viṣṇu's transcendent aspect remains in the background. In the first stage of this manifestation, six gunas or ideal qualities of god make an appearance. These are Jñāna, Aiśvarya, Śakti, Bala, Vīrya and Teja; altogether make the body of the highest personal being usually known as 'Vāsudeva'. Three of them are connected with $bh\bar{u}ti$ and three with $kriv\bar{a}$. The pairing represents the commencement of the process of emanation. The first that comes into existence is the 'vyūha'. Each vyūha embodies Visnu himself, and all of them signify the thoughtful arrangement of a coherent whole. Including Vāsudeva, there are four of them. The duo of Jñāna and Bala is Sankarṣaṇa (Kṛṣṇa's elder brother Balarāma), Aiśvarya and Vīrya are Pradyumna (Kṛṣṇa's son) and Śakti, and Teja is Aniruddha (Kṛṣṇa's grandson). From Aniruddha, Brahmā emerges and creates the experiential world. In this creative progression, the duality of Purusa-Prakrti and Cosmic egg appears. Here Samkarṣaṇa exemplifies soul or jīva, Pradyumna represents manas or mind, and Aniruddha embodies *ahamkāra* that is the ego or self-consciousness. From each vyūha emanates vyūhāntaras or sub-vyūhas and vibhavas named after epithets of Viṣṇu. These are the earthly embodiments of vyūhas of Viṣṇu. Vyūha is the emanation, and vibhavas are the incarnations of god. Along with the vyūhas comes into existence Viṣṇu's highest abode Vaikuntha. In Vaikuntha resides god in his parā form accompanied by Śrī, adorned with his ornaments and weapons symbolizing the principles of the universe. Then there is an antaryāmin that is the non-perceptible aspect of the Supreme Being, which can be felt by the devotee and arcā, the worship of the cult images.

Moreover, Vāsudeva, the first emanation of Puruṣa and his further emanations in the form of *vyūha* deities have been represented either in the anthropomorphic or theriomorphic form in Indian iconography. The Caturmūrti or four headed Vaikunṭha

Viṣṇu (Plate 2) concept is the fruit of this development and found its earliest reference in the Kuṣāṇa period art of Mathura. However, in the early medieval period, Kashmir became a centre where the worship of Caturmūrti form of Viṣṇu, was institutionalized and popularized both in its textual tradition and sculptural manifestation. VDP is the crucial text from this point of view as it records this development in a full-fledged manner.

The *arcā* aspect of the *pāñcarātrāgama* is the core subject-matter of the VDP, especially of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III. The text propagates the theology of Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha by narrating the iconographical instructions to create Caturmūrti or four headed Vaikuṇṭha Viṣṇu flanked by the heads of Narasiṃha and Varāha on each of the sides and Kapila at the rear¹⁷ (Plate 2), building the ideal most Sarvatobhadra temple for him and rituals to install an idol of the god.¹⁸ In developing the sectarian character, VDP takes inspiration from Rāmāyaṇa, the Nārāyaṇiya of the Mbh, the Puruṣasūkta of R̄gveda and the *caryā* and *kriyā pādas* of Pāñcarātra *saṃhitās*.

Let us understand these aspects one by one.

1. Core Objective of the VDP

The epics have a strong influence on the VDP. The third *khaṇḍa* begins with 'nārāyaṇa namaskrutyam naram caiva narottamam | devim sarasvatīm vyāsam tato jayamudīrayet|' the maṅgalācaraṇa of the Mbh.

The first chapter of VDP I, called *kathā prastāvanā*, establishes the broad objective of the VDP. Vajra, a son of Aniruddha and grand-son of Kṛṣṇa, calls a conference where various kings and Brahmins are gathered at his court in the Kali age. Sage Mārkaṇḍeya is also present in the assembly. Seeing the dark future of Kaliyuga's hazardous effects, kings request Vajra to learn the 'collection of mysterious Vaiṣṇava *dharma*' from the great sages assembled there. It says 'vaiṣṇavān vividhān dharmān sarahasyān sasangrahān'. Thus Mārkaṇḍeya starts narrating the teachings of the Vaiṣṇava religion also to clear the doubts and confusion aroused in the different societies of Vaiṣṇava belief. The VDP is the revelation of Vaiṣṇava dharma made to the kṣatriya king/s by a brāhmaṇa sage. The phraseology of 'vaiṣṇavān vividhān dharmān sarahasyān sasangrahān' resembles with the

¹⁶ Srinivasan 1979: 30-54.

¹⁷ VDP III.85.

¹⁸ Ibid.109-118.

Nārāyaṇiya section of the Mbh¹⁹ where Brahmā receives the religion from Nārāyaṇa with its mysterious collection of knowledge.

Moreover, Nārāyaṇiya proclaims that Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Veda and Pāśupata are the five different philosophies. On a similar line, the VDP I declares *kṛtāntapancaka* in which instead of Vedas, it adds Śaiva, and the other four remain the same. Also, the chapters in the VDP *khanda* III 343-355 follow the Nārāyaniya.

2. Sāttvata Dharma

There are two derivations of the term *sāttvata* that can be understood from the Mbh.²⁰ 1. Vāsudeva, the son of Vasudeva, a Yādava king and the king over the people designated generally as the *sāttvata*. It is another name of the Vṛṣṇī race of which Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha are the members. 2. Another connotation explains Vāsudeva as the Supreme Being and inherent in all created beings and things. In this aspect of the deity, the *sattva* quality, the combination of strength and gentleness, dominates. Hence, *sāttvata* means the system of religion and its adherents who worship the Supreme Being in this aspect.

In the Nārāyaṇiya, *sāttvata* is also an epithet of Nārāyaṇa, the one who is the embodiment of *sattva*. The *ākhyāna* of Vasu Uparicara, a devotee of Nārāyaṇa Hari, performs *sāttvata vidhi* to worship god, which gives us an important insight. He adopts the *sāttvata* ritual and performs all the necessary and optional sacrificial acts. According to Nārāyaṇiya, the followers of *sāttvata* practices come under the Pāñcarātra sect. Similarly, it says that the texts which describe it are Pāñcarātra scriptures.

The VDP pronounces its religion as the *sāttvata*. The VDP I narrates a dialogue between Śankara and Bhārgavarāma in total sixteen chapters under the title Śankaragītā. While describing the instruction for meditation, Śankara says that *niṣads* and *upaniṣads*, *vāk* and *anuvāk*, and all four Vedas calls Viṣṇu the '*sattvastha*', the one residing in *sattva* and the lord of *sāttvatas*.²¹ The VDP *khaṇḍa* III describes the ritual of installation of an idol of Viṣṇu in the Sarvatobhadra temple.²² It says after worshipping Viṣṇu in the Sarvatobhadra temple, all the principal *sāttvatas* attain *sāyujya* (communion) with Viṣṇu. A *sāttvata* is mentioned as an authoritative person

²² VDP III.87.51-54.

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¹⁹ Adluri, Nārāyaṇīya, Ch.16.28, 50.

²⁰ Bhandarkar 1965: 4ff.

²¹ VDP I.52.17-20.

in the performance of many rituals. In the Toraṇādhyāya, ²³ various experts of religion are involved in the ceremony. The foremost importance is given to *sāttvata*, who sits in the front to the southern direction of the *kalpaka*. ²⁴ Then in the Bṛhat-snapana, ²⁵ a great bath of Viṣṇu, after preparing the *kalaśa* containing the auspicious water, a '*sāttvata-vaiṣṇava*' offers lump of soil (*mṛtpiṇḍa*). The chapter explaining the process of abandoning the *toraṇa*²⁶ says that one should worship the gods according to the process narrated by the *sāttvatas*. Moreover, chapter 115 is named the Sāttvatatejādhyāya, the worship of *sāttvatas*. It relates itself with the rituals mentioned in the Śankaragītā.

3. Śankaragītā

Chapters 51 to 66 in the first volume constitute the section of Śankaragītā. Bhārgavarāma goes to Kailāsa with a doubt in his mind wishing to be clarified by Śiva. He asks Śiva how to meditate upon him? Śankara being requested by Bhārgavarāma glorifies Nārāyaṇa as Parabrahma and the basis of the universe, admits that he meditates upon Nārāyaṇa. Further, he speaks on the following topics: Viṣṇu's manifestations as Varāha, Narsiṃha, Vāmana; Viṣṇu's various vibhūtis; praise of bhakti towards Viṣṇu; enumerations of actions which pleases Keśava such as nongiving of Viṣṇu-naivedya or Viṣṇu-nirmālya to non-Vaiṣṇava, showing respects to all deities and faiths, honouring Pāñcarātrika and so on; results of worshipping Viṣṇu by observing fast on different days of the week, on different tithis and nakṣatras; worship of Viṣṇu with the proper observance of panca-kāla viz. abhigamana, upādāna, ijyā, svādhyāya and yoga. Panca-kāla has been referred to in the Nārāyaṇiya as well. It says that the men living on Śvetadvīpa are endowed with the highest bhakti and worship him observing the panca-kāla with devoted mind, word and action.

4. Purusasūkta

In the Rgveda, X.90 rṣi Nārāyaṇa is mentioned as an author of Puruṣasūkta.²⁷ Gonda points out that, in the Pāñcarātra *saṃhitā*s the Vedic hymns, which are mentioned by the name Puruṣasūkta ranks first.²⁸ In the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā, Puruṣasūkta is interpreted in the light of the *vyūha* theory.²⁹ The VDP itself, in many chapters, shows

²³ Ibid. 98.

 $^{^{24}}$ Kalpaka means ceremony or rite and kalpakāra means author of rules on rituals or ceremonies.

²⁵ Ibid.111.

²⁶ Ibid.116.5.

²⁷ Max Műller 1872: 243.

²⁸ Gonda 1977: 111.

²⁹ Schrader 1916: 143-44.

the authority of Puruṣasūkta while expressing the supreme form of Nārāyaṇa.³⁰ In the second volume, there is a separate chapter narrating the greatness of Puruṣasūkta.

5. Pāñcarātra Myth Formation

In the final quarter of the first volume of the VDP, there is a story of a war between Dāśarathī Rāma's brother Bharata and gandhrava king Śailūṣa. The whole narrative has an undercurrent of establishing not just political but also the religious supremacy of Rāma, ultimately the rule of Visnu in the west of Kaikeya, on both the banks of Sindhu.³¹ The germ of the above story is rooted in Rāmāyaṇa's uttara kāṇḍa, sarga 100 and 101, a late addition in the epic.³² The original plot as narrated in the Rāmāyaņa is transformed into the Pāñcarātra mythology for the propagation of Pāñcarātra religion. Basic comparison between the versions in Rāmāyaṇa and the VDP clears the datum that the narrator of the VDP has given it a Vaiṣṇava, precisely the Pāñcarātra twist. Identification of Rāma, Laksmaņa, Bharata and Śatrughna with the vyūha deities, i.e. Vāsudeva, Sankarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha establishes this fact. Bharata's comparison with Kāmadeva is also a part of Pāñcarātra divinity where Pradyumna is identified with Kāmadeva and Bharata is an emanation of Pradyumna.33 Before the commencement of the war, Bharata recites Śrī and Purusasūkta and offers oblations into the sacred fire. After his victory over Śailūṣa, Bharata celebrates five days in Āṣāḍha and another five days in Kārtika, a part of cāturmāsya festival connected with the sleeping and awakening of Viṣṇu.³⁴

6. Iconographic Material

Chapters 44 to 85 contain vast information, mainly about the Vaiṣṇavite iconography. In the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, the writer/s describes the iconography of Caturmūrti and Vaikuṇṭha form of Vāsudeva having faces of Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pardyumna and Aniruddha along with their attributes.³⁵ In these four faces, the front (east) is of *saumya* nature, at the right (south) side is Narasiṃha, the face on the back (west) is of Kapila, and that on the left (north) is Varāha.

It also mentions that Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha are the manifestations of strength, knowledge, sovereignty and energy and also represents mind, world, love and work. It homologizes Narasiṃha with Saṅkarṣaṇa, Varāha with

³⁰ VDP I .89, 418; VDPII.2. 393.

³¹ Pharate, 2021.

³² Krishnacharya, 1913, 246-27.

³³ VDP I. 415.

³⁴ Ibid. 552; the mention of this festival is also made in the Nīlamata Purāṇa, verses 424ff.

³⁵ VDP III.149.

Aniruddha and Kapila with Pradyumna; similarly, Śakra, Yama, Kubera and Varuṇa with the manifestations of Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha and Pradyumna respectively.

Apart from this, the VDP *khaṇḍa* III explains the iconography of Nara-Nārāyaṇa³⁶, Padmanābha Viṣṇu³⁷, Lakṣmī³⁸ and Viśvarūpa.³⁹ Other than these, many chapters in Pratimā-lakṣaṇa describe the deities belonging to the Vaiṣṇava family.

The above discussion conveys the sectarian character of the VDP. It is the Sāttvata religion in which the quadruple form of Viṣṇu is worshipped according to the scriptures in the ideal temple that is Sarvatobhadra by the *sāttvatas*. It represents the thought of *bhakti* towards Viṣṇu as the only solace to survive in the age of Kali. Thus the VDP is the exposé of Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra /Sāttvata *dharma* made to the king that is in the lineage of Kṛṣṇa by the sage who is supposed to be a Pāñcarātra adept. It is the core theme of this literature. It explains the Sāttvata *dharma* with its primary and ancillary aspects and brings all the sciences or disciplines into its purview. Let us now take a closer look at the third volume.

IV.2. The VDP Khanda III

The third *khaṇḍa* contains 355 chapters in total. The order of the chapters is thoughtful. First comes the literature studies (Ch.2-17) followed by the Gītaśāstra and Ātodya (Ch.18, 19), the Nṛṭṭaśāstra (Ch.20-34), the Citrasūtra (Ch.35·43), the Pratimā-lakṣaṇa (Ch.44-85), followed by the Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa and the Pratiṣṭhā-kalpa (Ch.86-118). Chapters 119 to 125 deal with the results of and occasions for worshipping different manifestations of Viṣṇu. Chapters 126 to 225 mention various *vratas*. Chapters 226 to 342 contain Haṃsagītā in which Viṣṇu in his swan manifestation speaks to the sages on several topics mainly connected with the *dharmaśāstras*. Chapters 343 to 348 narrate stories elevating Viṣṇu's kindness towards his devotees and chapters 349 to 354 again presents a set of stories which glorifies Viṣṇu. Volume three ends with the hymn called Narasiṃha *stotra*. The flow of the third volume goes from the narration of various disciplines towards the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra liturgy and observances.

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³⁶ Ibid.76.

³⁷ Ibid. 81.

³⁸ Ibid. 82.

³⁹ Ibid.83.

 $^{^{40}}$ Ch. 227 to 237, 324 to 340 consist mainly of verses derived from various $\textit{smrit}\bar{\textit{is}}$ such as of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Parāśara etc. Hazra 1958: 192.

The Subject-matter in Comparison with other *Purāṇas* and Pāñcarātra *Samhitās:* Amongst the *purāṇa* texts, it is not just the VDP that contains the chapters on the topics such as literature, art and architecture. The Harivaṃśa, Vāmana, Varāha, Kalki etc. Vaiṣṇava *purāṇas* along with the Brahma and Brahmavaivarta, the Linga, the Sāmba, the Kālikā and Devī Bhāgvata concisely deal with the subjects of architecture and iconography. However, the *purāṇas* like the Matsya, Agni, Brahmāṇḍa, Nāradiya, Garūḍa, Skanda, Bhaviṣya and Vāyū treats subject considerably systematically. Especially the Agni delineates upon the arts of literature, drama and dance in separate chapters with the names like Kāvyādilakṣaṇa, Nāṭakanirūpaṇa, Sṛngārādirasa-nirūpaṇa, Nṛtyādiraṅga-nirūpaṇa, Abhinayādi-nirūpaṇa etc. It also contains information on the *chanda* and *alaṃkāra*. The VDP *khaṇḍa* III stands out in the systematic approach and clarity in putting all these topics in chapters methodically ordered and weaved in the specific religious context.⁴¹

Likewise, the sections on art and architecture, rituals of an idol installation show their parallel with the *samhitās* of Pāñcarātra. Sāttvata, Jayākhya, Pauṣkara, Hayaśīrṣa etc. contain chapters on temple architecture, iconography and rituals for image installation. It is known that many Pāñcarātra *samhitās* were widespread in Kashmir. The interchange between the contemporary traditions is quite conceivable. The conventional method of revealing knowledge through a dialogue continues in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III as well. The entire discussion begins as the answer to another fundamental question raised by Vajra.

IV.2.1. The Objective Set for Khanda III by Mārkandeya

The first two chapters are highly significant. It reveals the principal basis of the theme of the third volume that is the worship of the idol of Viṣṇu. After paying reverence with the Mbh *maṅgalācaraṇa*, the dialogue between Vajra and Mārkaṇḍeya enters into the heart of the religiosity of a true Vaiṣṇava devotee, the act of idol worship in the temple. Vajra opens with an existential question. By which means can man attain ultimate happiness in this as well as in another world? The sage replies that the wise man desirous of joy in both the worlds should perform *devatā-pūjana* that is the

⁴¹ For more comparitive information see Arts in the $Pur\bar{a}nas$, 1973.

⁴² Notably the give and take between Śaiva *āgamas* and Pāñcarātra *saṁhitās* has been shown by Sanderson 2001: 35ff.

⁴³ Schrader 1916:96-97; Gonda 1977:55; Sanderson, 2009. For various references to the Pāñcarātra scriptures in early mediaeval Kashmir literature see Spanda-pradipikā of Utpala Vaiṣṇava of Kashmir 2000:pp.3, 9, 12, 21, 35, 41 and 43 etc.; Haravijaya 47.55.

worship of a deity of two kinds, *antarvedi* and *bahirvedi*. The one done with the *yajña* is the *antarvedi*, and the one with fasting and vows is the *bahirvedi*. However, those who wish to achieve all the heavens employing i s t a (worshipping with sacrifices) and $\bar{a} p \bar{u} t a$ (meritorious work) they should build temples of gods because both i s t a and $\bar{a} p \bar{u} t a$ reside there.

Mārkaṇḍeya then talks about the reason behind why idol worship in the temple is suggested. He reconnects it with the concept of yuga/age. He says that in the Satya, Tretā and Dvāpara, people could see god/s face to face, but for Kali, the case is different, for that people should erect temples. Similarly, in Satyayuga, there was no practice of worshipping $arc\bar{a}$ or an idol of a deity. But in the Kali, the wise man should worship the $arc\bar{a}$ of god having proper form made according to the Citrasūtra. In this way, a man gets whatever he desires. If one does not follow the characteristics of $arc\bar{a}$, faces miseries otherwise receives contentment in this and the next world. Building a temple, making and worshipping of $arc\bar{a}$ and offering obeisance all these acts are meritorious.

Another reason he states that gods have bestowed *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* to humans in this world, and they fulfil all the wishes and grant permanent heaven to them. Thus people should make every effort to worship gods.

The reference of Tiṣya or Kali age of the first chapter of the first volume is continued. The fundamental concern is how to survive in this age of strife and receive the mercy of lord Viṣṇu so that one can be happy in this and another world. Mārkaṇḍeya in the first chapter of the first volume proclaims that following Vaiṣṇava dharma is the only way. Subsequently, in the third volume, he explains the ultimate method to worship an accurately made $arc\bar{a}$ of Viṣṇu in the properly constructed temple. Even though it is a non-Vedic concept, idol reverence in the temple concurs with the Vedic sacrifice. It suggests that idol worship in the temple gives you the same result as sacrifice would possibly give. Since the <code>īṣṭa</code> is the antarvedi consisting the performance of sacrifices and āpūrta is the bahirvedi entailing the upavāsa and vrata. These are two diverse paths to achieve ultimate benefits, and both reach the completion when one builds a temple for gods and performs idol worship which is the ultimate way of devotion in the Kalīyuga. By properly, it means 'based on śāstras'.

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⁴⁴ According to Kane here painting, image making, dramaturgy and poetics jointly called as the Citrasūtra. 1971:66.

This condition is significant to understand the disciplines documented in the VDP *khanda* III.

The scope of this religion in its practical aspect is vast. The chapters on dance, music or painting etc. come as a part of 'this' temple religion and get their place in the composite *īṣṭa-āpūrta* path of liberation ideal for the Kali age.

Thus the VDP *khaṇḍa* III is a detailed and complex answer to three subqueries branched out of one central question, i.e. to gain ultimate bliss in this and other world A. how to make an $arc\bar{a}$?, B. how to build a temple?, and C. how to worship an $arc\bar{a}$? The secret of Vaiṣṇava *dharma* entails the detailed answer given by the wise author/s of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III. It mainly undertakes the practical aims of religious accomplishments. Performing arts is part of this extensive deliberation. The logical background required for this is given in the second chapter, in which the interdependent pedagogy of art forms is explained.

IV.2.2. Dance in the Interdependent Pedagogy of Arts

Interestingly the last chapter of the second volume deals with the Dhanurveda that is the science of archery. The chapters on various $\dot{sastras}$ in the third volume can be understood in the continuation, although with a new context explained in the first chapter, as discussed above. Now, in the second chapter, the dialogue continues.

In the first chapter of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, Vajra asks Mārkaṇḍeya about the means to attain great happiness in this and the other world. Mārkaṇḍeya directs him to the image worship. The second chapter begins with a question by Vajra about how to make images of deities according to śāstras. Mārkaṇḍeya says to him that one has to know the canon of painting that is the Citrasūtra to understand the characteristics of image-making. Vajra then requests the sage to teach him the principles of painting. The sage puts forth another criterion by saying that without knowing the canon of dance or the Nṛttaśāstra, it is difficult to know about painting because in both the art forms world is imitated. Here comes the term Nṛttaśāstra for the first time. Vajra then requests Mārkaṇḍeya to teach him the Nṛttaśāstra. The sage says that nṛtta is difficult to comprehend for those who are not acquainted with instrumental music or Ātodya because, without ātodya, nṛtta cannot exist. Naturally, Vajra appeals to him to teach the science of instrumental music. Mārkaṇḍeya says that before knowing the vocal music or Gītaśāstra, it is not possible to learn the instrumental music because by learning Gītaśāstra one becomes knowledgeable about the rules of music. Then Vajra

shows his keenness to know about the vocal music. Mārkandeya eventually explains the types of verse and the word's grammar, which are the basics of songs. This much information is given in this chapter. Accordingly, the chapter is named Śabdādhyāya. In the third chapter, he talks about *chanda*, in the fourth about *vākyapariksā*, chapter 5 and 6 are about tantra-guna-dosa and tantra-śuddhi, in the 7th chapter, he explains the prākrtabhāsā laksana. Chapters 8 to 13 are devoted to the lexicons. Chapter 14 is about the alamkāras, 15 is about the mahākāvya laksana, 16 explains characteristics of prahelikās and 17 is about the twelve types of drama and the types of nāyaka and nāvikā. And then in the 18th chapter, Mārkandeya talks about the nuances of gīta, followed by the *ātodya* in the 19th chapter. From 20th to 34th is the section of the NrS, the text of proposed research. From 35th to 43rd is about the Citrasūtra. Then chapters 44 to 85 tell us extensively about the image-making that is Pratimā-lakṣaṇa. Chapters 86 to 88 furnish the details about Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa/temple architecture. Further chapters 89 to 94 are about the preliminaries and rituals regarding the Prāsādalakṣaṇa. Hereafter begins the Pratiṣṭhā-kalpa that is the ritual about the installation of a deity in the temple.

In this way, Mārkaṇḍeya sets forth the theory of interdependent pedagogy of literature, performing and fine arts. In the first few verses of chapter seventeen, the text mentions five characteristics of *purāṇa* that is *sarga*, *pratisarga*, *manvantara*, *vaṃśa* and *vaṃśānucarita*. And quickly it adds the nature of *purāṇa* that is the book that contains all types of knowledge, which also includes *lakṣaṇa* of *gīta*, *nṛtta*, *nāṭaka* and *ākhyāna*.

The theory can also be seen in following chapters which show the correlation between dance, painting, and sculpture. Here are the significant references.

1) The opening chapter of the Citrasūtra begins with the myth of the creation of the knowledge of painting by Nārāyaṇa *muni*. Further, the chapter quotes in verses 5b to 7,

```
yathā nṛtte tathā citre trailokyānukṛtiḥ smṛtā ||
dṛṣṭayas tu tathā bhāvā aṅgopāṅgāni sarvaśaḥ |
karāś ca ye matā nṛtte pūrvoktā nṛpasattama ||
ta eva citre vijñeyā nṛttaṃ citraṃ paraṃ matam |
nṛtte pramāṇaṃ yan noktaṃ tatpravakṣyāmy ataḥ śruṇu||
```

It says the eyes and sentiments, the major and minor limbs, and the hand gestures described in the *nṛtta* should also be learnt in *citra* as both are considered

magnificent. Here, the stress is given on the standard features that bring dance and painting together because both imitate three worlds and are visual art forms. Further, it is stated that in nrtta, the measurements are not described, so those are being spoken.

Another reference comes in the 43rd chapter named Śrngārādibhāvayuktādi or the details of emotions like Śrngāra etc. The chapter contains information on citrarasas. Mārkandeya says that whatever has not been spoken here should be understood from dancing, and whatever is not told in dancing is to be taken from citra.45

- 2) The concept of rasa itself is one of the integral aspects of the interconnectedness of art and literature presented in the text. Interestingly it links not just painting and dance but also takes literature and music into its purview. The Dvādaśarūpa (ch.17) states that the principal aim in all types of drama is rasa. The chapters of gīta and ātodya mention nine rasas related to musical notes and musical instruments. In the NrS, there is a separate chapter (30th) on rasa. The compound terminologies like nātyarasa, kāvyarasa and citrarasa project the universality of the concept.
- 3) The thought of interdependence also occurs in the Pratimā-lakṣaṇa chapter 83 of 'making the image of Viśvarūpa'. It is stated that in an image of Viśvarūpa, the faces of Vāsudeva, Samkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha are to be made at the base. On that, Maheśvara with the faces of Vāmadeva, Aghora and Sadyojāta is to be made. Above it, the face of Brahmā is specified. Then a general statement has been made that faces of all other gods should be made sideways and upwards. After this information, the text says that the faces of all living beings, having various forms according to the category and all the glances described by the great souls in Citrasūtra, should be shown in different parts on his head. Then it says,

```
yathā śaktyā ca kartavyās tasya devasya bāhavaḥ /
hastāni yāni dṛṣṭāni nṛtta śāstre mahātmabhiḥ //
tāni sarvāṇi kāryāṇi tasya devasya bāhuṣu /
hastāḥ kāryās tathaivānye sarvāyudhavibhūṣaṇāḥ //
```

⁴⁵ Kramrisch 1928: 10, interprets the connection between dance and painting stated in the VDP khanda III. According to her both are the expressive art forms so the concept of movement is common in both of them. The life movement, that is $cetan\bar{a}$, is expected to be seen in the work of a painter to make it alive with rhythm and expression as it takes place in dancing. Imagination, observation and the expressive force of rhythm, these aspects bring dance and painting on one platform.

It means that according to the capacity, god's hands should be made following the Nṛttaśāstra deliberated by the high-souled people. Similarly, other hands should be decorated with all kinds of weapons and the sacrificial staff.

This is how the NrS comes as one of the links in the series of disciplines that helps to understand the nuances of image-making. Factually, it can be said that at the core of the society there is a pedagogical system handled and run by the defined channels under the patronage of kings or elites and educational organizations. The disciplines or śāstras survive through the transmission by such organized channels. To bring a fundamental change in the tradition, one must target the texts serving as guidebooks for training and education. The textual material is the instrument of teaching, a vehicle to spread the sectarian message. The VDP khaṇḍa III sets its direction for a higher goal by taking control over such śāstras. The second chapter in khaṇḍa III, clears the strategy by referencing the interdependent pedagogy of arts as the right way to learn the making of a proper idol of Viṣṇu, a part of the sectarian endorsement. The theory creates the rational and logical path to treat all the śāstras one by one.

The NS itself is one of the exquisite models of the thought of interdependence of art forms. Ancient Indian drama was the assemblage of various disciplines. The author/s of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III chooses to follow the well-established tradition in a sorted yet systematic way.

Thus, with context to Vajra's question and the theory of the interdependence of arts, Mārkaṇḍeya begins discussing each discipline in order. In this way, after *gīta* and *ātodya*, the sage imparts the knowledge of Nṛttaśāstra in chapters 20 to 34.

IV. 3. The Text of the Nṛttaśāstra

The NrS is based on the NS from which a large number of verses have been retained except chapters 32 and 33, which contain various hand gestures under the title of the Rahasya and the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrā*. Together with these two the NrS is the text of 15 chapters consisting of 750 verses except chapter 32 in prose.

The critical edition of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III of Shah, published by Gaekwad Oriental Series (no.130, 1958), Baroda is the primary source of the proposed study. Here is the list of the chapters of NrS from the critical edition.

Chapter No.	Name	
20	Sāmānyādhyāya	
21	Śayyāsthāna	
22	Āsikā (sana)dhyāya	
23	Utsthi (punstrī)sthānaka	
24	Aṅgakarmādhyāya	
25	Upāṅgikādhyāya	
26	Hastādhāya	
27	Āhārayābhinaya	
28	Sāmānyābhinaya	
29	Gatipracāra	
30	Rasādhyāya	
31	Bhāvādhyāya	
32	Rahasyamudrā	
33	Nṛttaśāstramudrā	
34	Nṛttasūtra	

Shah, in her critical apparatus and Parul Dave-Mukherji in the intruduction, mention the details of four MSS. The birch bark MS C, with Śāradā character, is the oldest, approximately 300 years old. It is the basis of the critical edition. The MS is incomplete consisted chapters 3 to 399. The Devanāgarī MS B of 1925 Vikram era, 1868 CE is the copy of C, containing 120 chapters. MS A, approximately a hundred years old, has 118 chapters and is written in Devanāgarī. And MS D has chapters 90 to 97, approx. 150/200 years old in Devanāgarī character. A, B and D are paper MSS. It is noted that the reading of C and B is superior to A, and A has many variants than B and C. There is also MS F dated to 1758 CE written in Śāradā consisting of chapters 1 to 120. It is informed that MS F is superior to other MSS in correctness and intelligibility. Apart from these MSS, S1 and S2 are the copies of portions of the Citrasūtra. There are two more MSS. One belongs to Nepal, and another is in Dhaka. Shah has given the contents of the Nepal MS in the appendix of her critical edition.

Parul Dave-Mukherji, however, obtained the Nepal and Dhaka MSS for her work on the Citrasūtra. 46 From the introduction of her publication, the basic details of both the MSS can be acquired. MS N of Nepal is scripted in Newari, and Dhaka MS D is in Bengali character. Both these MSS are written on paper. We could not get the contents of Dhaka MS.

Dave-Mukherji considers Nepal MS N and Dhaka MS D on par with the oldest birch bark MS C. She dates MS C approximately around the middle or the end of the sixteenth century. The Newari MS N of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III has 100 chapters in total. It consists of chapters on Saṃskṛta grammar, the Citrasūtra, the Pratimā-lakṣaṇa and Pratiṣṭhā-kalpa. The primary reading of the names of these chapters shows dissimilarities in terms of chapter names and their order compared to the one provided in the critical edition. Many chapters are missing or omitted or were not part of the Nepal recension. Most notably, in the Nepal MS, the entire NrS is absent.

These MSS can be divided into two groups. C, F, A, B forms 'Group 1', which consist of the NrS. Nepal MS form 'Group 2' where the NrS is absent.

IV.3.1. Connection with the Nāṭyaśāstra

It is a known fact that the Nāṭyaśāstra (hereafter NS) became the subject of scholastic discussion as well as established as an authoritative guidebook for the performing arts in the early medieval Kashmir on both the platforms; secular and religious. The underpinning of the NS is the thoughtful measure taken by the author/s of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III. In this regard, it is essential to consider the growing religious significance of NS with cotext to the *āgama* temple tradition. As temple institutions became popular, it received a religious value and developed as the standard compendium for the temple dance offerings over the centuries.

Comparatively, Śaiva *āgamas* clearly proclaims the authority of Bharata's precepts in performing the dance rituals in temples, on this front, Pāñcarātra remains obscure.⁴⁷ Also, the three jewels, Sāttvata, Jayākhya and Pauṣkara, are silent about it. The reasons could be:

⁴⁷ In the introduction of the critical edition of Pādma *saṃhitā* Seetha Padmanabhan and Dr. V. Varadachari mentions the verse from Utsava Saṃgraha, Adyar Library, MSS, Vol2.pp15 which says, *āgamaṃ bharataṃ śilpaṃ vaidya jyotiṣam eva ca* paṃca śāstrāṇi saṃyogāt pāñcarātram iti smṛtam //

⁴⁶ The Citrasūtram of the Viṣṇudharmottara *purāṇa*, IGNCA, New Delhi, 2001. Dave-Mukherji have utilized the Nepal MS for her critical edition of the Citrasūtra.

- 1. These samhitās might have been written before temple worship became popularized.⁴⁸
- 2. In the NS, the origin of *nrtta* is credited to Siva. No wonder in the later period Saiva *āgamas* could have been found their organic relationship with the NS and vehemently proclaimed an authority of the NS in the ritual system. However, the texts of Kashmir Saivism, like Mrgendra, Netra or Vijñāna Bhairava etc., do not mention the name of Bharata. But siddhānta texts like Raurava, Suprabheda, Ajita and Kāmika etc. clearly accepts the authority of Bharata and contain an elaborate ritual of 'suddha nrtta' which is to be performed as per the precepts laid down by sage Bharata. 49 For Vaiṣṇavas, however, it was not easy to connect their tradition with the NS, which could demean their patron deity. However, the last chapter of the NrS makes a solid effort to reset the course of tradition with the sectarian tool.

Moreover, the references from RT and presence of *nrtta* in various temple ceremonies as explained in the Nīlamata Purāna show the growing importance of NS in the religious matters. The VDP khanda III itself is the biggest testimony.

There is no explicit mention either of Bharata or the NS in the NrS, but the content of thirteen chapters (20 to 31, 34) out of fifteen has clear cut replication, condensation, and interpretation of verses from the NS. Shah observes that the NrS has majorly followed the versions of MSS bha and ma of the NS (named in the editions of Gaekwad Oriental Series).⁵⁰

The following chart shows the original chapters of the NS from which the content of the NrS is derived.

The Pādma samhitā curiously shows attempts towards developing new types of dances/nrtta for the Vaisņavite rituals, 1982: Vol II. Ch.5 Nityotsava-samārādhana-kāla-vibhāga mentions nṛttas like Vaijayanti, Vilāsa, Kartari, Visnukrānta, Ālidha, Bhadramāli, Tārksyapaksa, Svastikahrdaya, Cārī, Pracārī, Sūcī, Savarta, Paribhadraka, Saumya, Visamasūcī, Khetak, Avakuncita, Katibandha, Alamkāra, Pistakuttita, Ullānghi, Vāmajānu, Āsuri, Apavestita, Vāsaveśvara, Sancāri, Nikutti, Kuttima, Ghatita, Śāyibhāva, Vijrumbhita, Mandala, Kuncitardhendu, Patāka, Sarvamangala, Kantakuttita, Sarvatobhadra, Mārgacārī and deśīmandalas like Āveśtita, Parivarta, Nirdhūta, Samapūrva, Vaiśamapūrva, Karkari, Vikala etc. There are particular sets of nṛtta and svara assigned to the particular deity. E.g. for Viśvaksena - Svastika nṛtta and Rṣabha svara, for Gaṇeśa - Hasti nṛtta and Pancama svara, for Durgā - Sarvamangala and Dhaivata svara, Viṣṇukrānta and Madhyama svara for Khageśa etc. However the samhitā is ascribed to the later period. Scholars have divied Pāñcarātra samhitās into two groups 1. Those were written when temple construction and worship of idols were vet to be popularized. E.g. Jayākhya, Pauskara, Ahirbudhnya, Laksmī Tantra, Pārama and Sanatakumāra etc. 2. Group of Pārameśvara and Īśvara samhitās. Pādma samhitā is considered to be written much later.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ed.Bhatt (1961)I.19. ⁵⁰ 1961:47.

Chapter	Name of the chapter in NrS	NS chapter names
No. of NrS		
20	Sāmānyādhyāya	Nāṭyotpatti, Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇa,
		Sāmānyābhinaya, Prakṛtivicāra,
		Maṇḍapavidhāna, Raṅgadaivatapūjana,
		Pūrvaraṅgavidhāna, Āhāryābhinaya,
		Uttamāṅgābhinaya, Bhāvavyanjaka,
		Vācikābhinaya-chanda-vibhāga,
		Cārīvidhāna, Maṇḍalavikalpana,
		Kakṣyā-Pravṛtti-Dharmi Vyanjaka,
		Vṛttivikalpana, Siddhivyanjaka
21	Śayyāsanasthāna	Gatipracāra
22	Āsikādhyāya	Gatipracāra
23	Utsthi (punstrī)sthānaka	Cārīvidhāna, Gatipracāra
24	Aṅgakarmādhyāya	Uttamāṅgābhinaya, Śārirābhinaya
25	Upāṅgikādhyāya	Uttamāṅgābhinaya
26	Hastādhyāya	Hastābhinaya
27	Āhāryābhinaya	Āhāryābhinaya
28	Sāmānyābhinaya	Sāmānyābhinaya, Citrābhinaya
29	Gatipracāra	Gatipracāra
30	Rasādhyāya	Rasādhyāya
31	Bhāvādhyāya	Bhāvavyanjaka

The information in the verses of NS is presented in the condensed form in the NrS. Here is an example.

```
svabhāvasaṃśritaḥ pādaḥ tryaśraḥ pakṣagato'paraḥ |
kiñcidañcitajaṅghaś ca vaiṣṇavaṃ sthānam ucyate ||
sthānenānena kartavyas saṃlāpas tu svabhāvataḥ |
```

These are the 2A, 2B, and 3A verses from the 23^{rd} chapter of the NrS. The source from the NS⁵¹ found in the Cārīvidhāna chapter, verses no. 52 to 54.

⁵¹ NS GOS (2001)II.10.

dvau tālāv ardhatālas ca pādayor antaram bhavet | tayoḥ samutthitas tv ekas tryasraḥ pakṣasthito paraḥ ||

kiṃcidañcitajaṅghaṃ ca sauṣṭhavāṅgapuraskṛtam / vaiṣṇava sthānam etadd hi viṣṇur atrādhidaivatam ||

sthānenānena kartavyaḥ saṃlāpastu svabhāvajaḥ | nānākāryāntaropaitair nṛbhir uttamamadhyamaiḥ //

We will see in more depth the relationship of the NrS with the NS in the analysis of each chapter.

IV.3.2. The Name Nṛttaśāstra: References

The term Nṛttasūtra appears in the colophon of the last 34th chapter. Shah suggests that the entire section of fifteen chapters may be named as the Nṛttasūtra. However based on some noteworthy internal evidence we propose that the section should be known as the Nṛttasāstra. The references are as follows.

- 1. Chapter 2 verse 7: As already noted the first reference comes in the 2nd chapter with context to the theory of interdependence of art forms. It is clear that the Nṛṭṭtaśāstra mentioned here is described in chapters 20 to 34 because the topics in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III come in the same order following the disciplines mentioned by Mārkaṇḍeya.
 - 2. Chapter 73 verse 47: Maheśvara is noted as god of Nṛttaśāstra.
- 3. Chapter 83 verse 8: Hands of Viśvarūpa is said to be made according to the Nṛttaśāstra. Nowhere else the information of *nṛtta* is spoken in the VDP thus the reference most probably is about the *hastas* mentioned in the 26th chapter of Hastādhyāya.
- 4. Most importantly in 34th chapter the last verse (number 32) comes as this: etad uktaṃ tava nṛttaśāstraṃ samāsato lokahitāya rājan/nṛttena yatnaḥ puruṣeṇa kāryo lokadvayaṃ jetumabhīpsatā vai//

51

⁵² The Venkteshvara Press edition has 'Nṛttaśāstravarṇana' in the colophon of the 34th chapter. R.P.Shahirekha calls it as the Nṛtyaśāstra, Ch.IV.129 and Jeste notes that 'the *adhyāya* 34 in Viṣṇudharmottara is called Nṛttaśāstravarṇanam', Ch.2.81. Hazra mentions the details of the chapters 20 to 34 under the subtitle 'dancing and acting', 1958:186 and Kane uses the general term 'dramaturgy', 1971:66.

Apart from this, the sciences of painting or dance in textual tradition must have been existed independently and some references to it can be found in Samskrta literature. 53 The mention to Nrttaśāstra is also found in these texts. Of course, it is difficult to comment on whether it is addressed to our text or not. Since the term also has a generic attribution.

The Nrtta:

To understand the meaning attached to the *nrtta* we have to begin with the NS. The origin of *nrtta* is narrated through a myth in NS. In chapter four of Tāndava-lakṣaṇa, Bharata recounts the mythology of the creation of nrtta. After watching the performances of samavakāra of Amṛtamanthana and dima of Tripuradāha in Himālaya, composed by Brahmā and presented by the troupe of Bharata, lord with three eyes, Siva remembers his performance of angahāras and karanas⁵⁴ which he once performed at twilight.

mayāpīdam smṛtam nṛttam saṃdhyākāleṣu nṛtyatā | nānākaraṇasamyuktai aṅgahārai vibhūsitam //⁵⁵

In the same chapter, verse 251 gives information that this incident occurred at the time of Dakṣa's yajña. It further says that nṛtta is meant to create beauty; it is loved by all and, most importantly, eulogized as auspicious.⁵⁶

Then, Siva asks Tandu to perform *nrtta* along with songs which came to be known as Tāndava.⁵⁷

devena vāpi samproktas tandutāndavapūrvakam | gītaprayogam āśritya nrttame tat $pravartvat\bar{a}m \mid |^{58}$

⁵³ Kuttanimata 1944: Verse 123 refers to Citarsūtra, Pādatāditaka 1966:p.94 and Kādambari of Bāna

^{1916:}p.150 refers to Nṛttaśāstra.

54 Karaṇa is the coordinated movement of hands and feet i.e., hastapādasamāyogo nṛtyasya karaṇaṃ bhavet and the combination of such 6 to 9 karanas form one angahāra (verse 33). According to Kapila Vatsyayana Karana technically is a final pose of the sequence of movements, 1968:19; Dr. Mandakranta Bose defines it as the fundamental component of a dance sequence and angahāra as the primary choreographic sequence, 2007:13. According to Dr. Padma Subrahmanyam it can be stated that karana is part of the dance movement and the end of the dance is also done by a karana pose. It is a component in the continuous movement, DVD of Bhāratīya Nātyaśāstra, Vol 1.3, 1.4.

⁵⁵ NS GOS (1992) I.4.13.

⁵⁶ Ibid.I.4.264-266,268.

⁵⁷ Dr. Padma Subrahmanyam opines that Tandu could be a divine entity or a human *guru* of Bharata, DVD Bhāratīya Nātyaśāstra Vol.1.3. She also identifies some of the sculptures on the śikhara of Dharmarāja-ratha at Mahabalipuram as Śiva teaching dance to Bharata and Tandu receiving instructions from Śiva to teach Bharata. ⁵⁸ Ibid.I.4.267.

It is also said that Tāṇḍava has been created for the performance of *nṛtta*. ⁵⁹ Also, the objective is the adoration of gods.

devastutyāśrayagatam yad aṅgam tu bhavedi ha \mid māheśvarairaṅgahārair uddhatais tat prayojayet \mid ⁶⁰

The explanation given by Abhinavagupta is significant. He says that karaṇa is the $kriy\bar{a}$ of nrtta, which equals nrtta and karaṇa expressing the corresponding meaning. Thus, that which is based on the karaṇa and $angah\bar{a}ra$ is nrtta.

On this line, the concept of *nṛtta* is discussed in NS. The same notion seems to have been continued in the NrS as well.⁶² The NrS is about the technicalities of *nṛtta*. Although the mythology of the origin of *nṛtta* found in our text is different.⁶³ It will be discussed at the right place.

The auspiciousness connected with *nṛtta* and consequently to *karaṇas* throughout the religio-cultural tradition is significant. It is clear from the *āgamas* and *saṁhitās* that in the later period, the *nṛtta* practice in the NS was also adopted in the rituals and festivals associated with the temples.⁶⁴ Also, the Pāñcarātra *saṁhitās* do mention the term *nṛtta* for most of the times.⁶⁵ Supportive to this, the references to temple dancers are also noted in the RT and the Nīlamata Purāṇa.⁶⁶

The art and religious connotations associated with *nṛtta* can be understood in all these references.

IV.3.3. Summary: Chapters 20 to 31 and 34

Chapter 20: Sāmānyādhyāya

The name of the first chapter of the NrS in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III is the Sāmānyādhyāya. It consists of sixty-two verses. The topics handled in this chapter are - the characteristics of *nāṭya* and *nṛṭta*, *nāṭya-maṇḍapa*, *pūrvaraṅga*, *nāyakas*, the

⁶⁰ Ibid.I.4.311.

⁵⁹ Ibid.I.4.261.

⁶¹ Ibid.I.p.90.

⁶² Historically, in the textual tradition, Dhananjaya (last quarter of 10th AD) in his Daśarūpaka presents for the first time the different categories of *nṛtya*, *nṛtta*, *and nāṭya*. He says that '*avasthānukritir nāṭyam*' i.e. the *nāṭya* is an imitation of situations, *nṛtya* is based on the emotional states i.e., *bhāvāśrayam* and *nṛtta* is based on the rhythm and time i.e., *tālalayāśrayam*, Ed. Haas (1912) 3-5.

⁶⁴ Rauravāgama, śuddha-nṛtta vidhi, I.19.7.

⁶⁵ Jayākhya, Pratiṣṭhā *vidhi* 20.273,356, 382; Sāttvata, Pratiṣṭhā *vidhi* 25.52, 176; Pauṣkara, Navanābhārcana 19.126, Pavitrārohaṇa 30.110; Ahirbudhnya, Bhagavadārādhanā *vidhi* 28.49,57, 72.

⁶⁶ RT. Tr.Stein. (1900) reference to the *rangpīṭha* VII.109; donation of women to temple for dancing and singing services I.151, dancing girls belonging to the Viṣṇu temple IV.265ff, Kamalā, a temple dancer of Gauda country IV.423ff; Nīlamata Purāṇa Tr. Ghai (1968) 887.

four types of *abhinaya* that is *āngika-vācika-āhārya-sāttvika*, occasions of drama, kinds of *recaka*, *cārī*, *maṇḍala*, *aṅgahāra*, *karaṇa*, types of *nṛtta*, *piṇḍi*, *vṛtti* and *pravṛtti*, two dramatic practices, i.e. *nāṭya* and *loka*, and *siddhi*, the success of the theatrical performance. Here is the summary of the chapter.

1. The Characteristics of *Nāṭya* and *Nṛṭṭa*: The first verse of the NrS is about the underlying principle of *nāṭya*. It says that drama is the imitation of others (except oneself), *parasyānukṛṭirnāṭyam*. And the *nṛṭṭa* is an adornment of the *nāṭya*. The word 'sanskāraka' has been applied along with the context of 'śobhāvivardhana', which means that which brings refinement.

Further, Mārkaṇḍeya divides nṛtta into two, nāṭya and lāsya. The performance of nāṭya is depended on these two. Next, two more types of both are stated, $\bar{a}bhyantara$ and $b\bar{a}hya$. The differentiation is that the $\bar{a}bhyantara$ stands upon the defined rules, i.e. lakṣaṇa, while the $b\bar{a}hya$ does not. Consequently, the $\bar{a}bhyantara$ type of performance is declared auspicious. In the continuity to this, the appropriate places for the performance are stated. $L\bar{a}sya$ can be presented inside the maṇḍapa or in the open-air, depending upon one's own will. But the performance of $n\bar{a}tya$ should only be inside the maṇḍapa.

- **2. Types of** *Maṇḍapa*: Next, the chapter mentions two types of play-houses; *āyata* that is rectangular or oblong and *caturaśra* or a square-shaped playhouse. The measurement of the square-shaped play-house is thirty-two *hastas*, and of the second category, it is double of the previous that is the sixty-four *hastas*. The caution is given to select the right size of the *maṇḍapa* as it causes the auspicious or inauspicious results. So it is said that the play-house should not be too small or too big as the previous can create noise and the latter will affect the '*nāṭyageya*' that is the recitatives or *pāṭhya* of *nāṭya* and the songs will not be easily heard by the audience.
- 3. $V\bar{a}$ studevat \bar{a} - $p\bar{u}$ jana and the Preliminaries of the Play: The NrS states that at the beginning of $n\bar{a}$ tya, the worship of gods, jarjara and deities presiding over the playhouse should be performed. After this, the performance of $n\bar{a}$ tya initiates with Nāndī or the benedictory verse sang in the preamble of drama. Then the curtain opens up, and each character enters on the stage. It is said that the entrances and exits are to be administered through proper instructions based on the progression of the drama.

Then at the end of the benediction, the Puṣpānjali and the worship of Brahmā takes place.

Further, it says that the application of *gadya* and *padya* is to be done according to the character. For the *nāyaka*, it is *catuṣakala*, and for *madhyama* (the middle type of character), it is *trikala*. For *adhama* (inferior type of character), the *dvikala* is stated. In this way, one can increase or decrease the *kalās* and sing in the *madhyama svara* according to the character.

- **4. Types of the Male Characters:** Gods are Dhīrodhhata (brave but haughty), demons are Uddhata (arrogant), kings are Dhīralalita (firm or brave and elegant), and those whose lives are dependent on the king are Dhīra (brave). Then sages are Dhīrapraśānta (steady and calm), their disciples are Praśānta (calm). Brahmins are Dhīrodātta (firm and noble-minded), and the merchants are Udātta (noble).
- **5. Four Kinds of** *Abhinaya*: *Nāṭyakarma* has four kinds of *abhinaya*; Āhārya, Sāttvika, Vācika and Āngika. Further, the text mentions few details of the Āhārya, the external appearances of the characters i.e. appropriate costumes etc. It is said that for Dhīroddhat or the costumes for the characters of gods should not be brawny. The costume for Uddhata characters like demons should be Uddhata, according to their arrogant nature. For kings, the costume is expected to be *lalita* or elegant. The dress for *pratināyaka* or the character of an adversary of the hero is also of Uddhata kind. It is stated that other characters' costumes should be made as per their *deśa* and *karma*, that is, as per their regional and professional background. Additionally, it is said that the theatrical property like the horse etc., is to be made using material like leather, wood etc.

Next, the constituents of Sāttvika *abhinaya* are listed. They are *aśrū* (tears), prapāta (falling down), romānca (having goose-bumps; feeling of thrill or horror), sveda (sweating), spandana (palpitations) and varṇa-vinyāsa (unsteady speech). The characteristics of vācika are not mentioned. The topic ends just by saying that the vācika belongs to the voice.

6. Occasions of Drama: It is stated that the joyful places or occasions are ideal for the drama presentation and those of anguish or grief are not. The later rule has slightly been discounted by saying *kiñcidvā kārayettathā*.

7. Types of *Recaka, Cārī, Mahācārī* **and** *Maṇḍala*: Further, the text states that there are four types of *recakas* but lists only two; *kaṭi* (waist), and *pāda* (feet). Consequently, the term *anghri* come after *pāda*.

Then the categories of $c\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}$ and $mah\bar{a}c\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}$ are specified. It says that the $sukum\bar{a}ra$ or the delicate movements of limbs and the speech activity forms the $c\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}$. And the stimulated disposition of the same creates the $mah\bar{a}c\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}$. From $c\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}$ appears the $mah\bar{a}c\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}$.

Further, it says that the coalition of *cārīs* produces ten *maṇḍalas*. It lists ten Ākāśiki (aerial) and ten Bhaumī (earthly) *maṇḍalas*.

Ākāśiki: Atikrānta, Vicitra, Lalitasancara, Sūcīviddha, Daṇḍapāda, Vihṛta or Vikṛuta, Alāta, Vāmabaddha, Salalita and Krānta.

Bhaumī: Bhramara, Āskandita, Āvarta, Samasarita, Eḍakākriḍita, Aḍḍita, Śakaṭāsya, Ardha or Ardhyārdha, Piṣṭakuṭṭa and Cāṣagata.

8. Aṅgahāra and Karaṇa: Mārkaṇḍeya lists following aṅgahāras: 1) Sthirahasta 2) Ākṣiptaka 3) Udghaṭṭita 4) Aparājita 5) Mattakrīḍa 6) Viṣkambha, 7) Svastika-recita 8) Vṛścikāpasṛṭa, 9) Talamanda 10) Avasarpita 11) Mattalli-skhalita 12) Bhramara 13) Pārśva-svastika 14) Madavilasita, 15) Vikṣipta 16) Gatimaṇḍala 17) Vaiśākha-recita 18) Parivṛṭtaka-recita 19) Udvartaka 20) Parichinna 21) Recaka 22) Balāhaka 23) Sambhrānta 24) Āṅgika 25) Rati-krīḍa 26) Alātaka 27) Vidyutbhrānta 28) Parāvṛṭta 29) Pārśvaccheda 30) Ākṣipta-recita 31) Saumya 32) Karita 33) Sūcīviddha 34) Apaviddha 35) Vilāpa 36) Ardhanikuṭṭita.

Then the sage narrates a few characteristics of *karaṇas* and enumerates their names. The characteristics are: The appropriate application of movements of hands and feet by the performer is important. All the *aṅgahāras* originate from the *karaṇa*. The combined action of hands and feet forms *karaṇa*. The combination of two *karaṇas* makes the 'Nṛtta-mātrikā'; three makes a 'Kalāpaka'; four a 'Khaṇḍaka' and five makes a 'Sanghātaka'. In this way, when six, seven or eight *karaṇas* are put together, it creates an 'Aṅgahāra'. The sage says that he will speak the names and actions of *karaṇas*, although he lists only the names. Also, in the end, he says that there are hundred and eight *karaṇas*, but the list seems incomplete. The following list offers the names of ninety *karaṇas* acknowledged by Shah. However, her

identification cannot be entirely accepted and thus we have submitted a few comments in the analysis section:

- 1)Tala-puspa 2)Apa-viddha 3)Līna 4)Svastika-recita 5)Mandala-svastika 6)Urūvrtta 7)Nikuttaka 8)Sūcīviddha 9)Karichinna 10)Ardha-recita 11)Vaksa-svastika 12)Unmatta 13)Svastika 14)Prstha-svastika 15)Dik-svastika 16)Alāta 17)Ardha-sūcī 18)Kati-sama 19)Āksipta-recita 20)Ksipra 21)Ardha-svastika 22)Sancita 23)Bhujanga-trāsita 24)Urdhva-jānu 25)Nikuncita 26)Mattalli 27)Ardha-mattalli 28)Recaka-nikuttaka 29)Pāda-viddha 30)Tadid-bhrānta 31)Valita 32)Ghūrnita 33)Lalita 34)Danda-paksa 35)Bhujanga-trāstarecita 36)Nūpura 37)Recita 38)Bhramara 39)Catura 40)Bhujangāncita 41)Chinna 42)Vṛścika-recita 43)Latāvṛścika 44)Chinna-vṛścika-recita 45)Vyamsita-vṛścika 46)Sūcīviddha 47)Lalāṭatilaka 48)Kuncita 49)Cakra-mandala 50)Uro-mandala 51)Āksipta 52)Latā-lasita 53)Argala 55)Bhramita 56)Vilāsa 57)Vānara-pluta 58)Parivrtta 60)Pārśvakrānta 61)Nikuncita 62)Atikrānta 63)Avakrānta 64)Dolāpāda 65)Vivartita 66)Nāga-prakrīdita 67)Vipluta 68)Garūda-pluta 69)Ganda-sūcī 70)Pariksipta 71)Pārśvajanuka 72)Grddhāvalinaka 73)Līna 74)Visnukrānta 75)Aja-pluta 76)Ākrānta 77)Mandita 78)Mayūra-lalita 79)Nata 80)Sarpita 81)Dolapāda 82)Harinapluta 83)Prenkholita 84)Nitamba 85)Skhalita 86)Kari-hasta 87)Prasarpita-tala 88)Simha-vikridita 89)Vṛṣabha-kridita 90)Gangāvataraņa.
- **9. Sukumāra and Āviddha:** Here the categories of *vṛtta* based on their contrasting natures are given. Mārkaṇḍeya refers to the tradition and states that it is said that *vṛtta* is of two types, Sukumāra and Āviddha. The Āviddha is of *uddhata* or aggressive nature, thus intended for men. Sukumāra is precisely the opposite of it thus, it is meant for women.
- **10.** *Piṇḍi*: *Piṇḍi* is group formations constituted in the *nṛtta* performance. The NrS very briefly says that the *piṇḍi* consist of the shape of *devacinha* or the symbol of a deity.
- **11.** *Vṛṭṭṭis*: There are four such *vṛṭṭis*; Bhāratī, Sāttvatī, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭi. Bhāratī is speech dominated, the sentiment of Vīra controls Sāttvatī, Ārabhaṭi is of Raudra nature, and Kaiśikī contains the prominence of Sṛṇgāra and Hāsya.

12. *Pravṛṭṭi*: Four *pravṛṭṭis* are mentioned; Avanti, Dākṣinātya, Māgadhi and Pāncālamadhyamā. The variations are based on the imitation of attire, language and conduct or mannerisms of people living in the respective regions. It is said that the nomenclature *pravṛṭṭi* is derived from the *vṛṭṭi* since they are administered by the latter.

13. Types of *Dharmī*: There are two such categories; Nāṭyadharmī and Lokadharmī.

14. *Siddhi:* There are two *siddhis*; Daivī or divine and Mānuṣī or humane. The Mānuṣī is attained by *vyāyāma* and Daivī through the divine favours.

The final verse is significant. It says that the perfect nrtta comprises rasa and $bh\bar{a}va$ and follows the $t\bar{a}la$, $k\bar{a}vya$ -rasa and the $g\bar{\iota}ta$. Such nrtta offers pleasure and increases the dharma.

Chapter 21: Śayyāsanasthāna

The twenty-first chapter of the NrS is about the śayyā-sthāna or the lying down positions. These are the incidental positions that an actor usually performs according to the scenes of drama. There are six of them; Sama, Ākuncita, Prasārita, Vivartita, Udvāhita and Nata. Our text mentions their names following the performance instructions derived from the NS.

Sama: When the face is kept upward, and hands are relaxed and free, it is a Sama position of lying down. It is used to show the '*prasupta*' or the posture of sleeping quietly.

Ākuncita: Sleeping while contracting the entire body, keeping both knees in bed, is the Ākuncita. It is applied when someone is suffering from cold.

Prasārita: Lying down with one arm below the head and the knees are spread, it is the Prasārita. It is for a comfy and pleasurable sleep.

Vivartita: Sleeping with face downwards is the Vivartita. It is applicable when wounded by weapons, falling from above or from a high place, getting drunk due to intoxication and going insane.

Udvāhita: When the head is lifted (from the ground) above the shoulder and rested on hand with a bent elbow, it is the Udvāhita. It is for depicting the '*līlā-saṃveśana*' of a lord.

Nata: If the thighs are stretched, and both the hands are relaxed, it is the Nata used for expressing laziness, dejection and exhaustion.

Chapter 22: Āsīkādhyāya

This chapter begins with the *upaveśana sthānas*, or the act of sitting down in various situations. There are nine types of *upaveśana*: Svastha, Mandālasa, Krānta, Svasthālasa, Viṣkambhita, Utkaṭuka, Muktajānu, Jānugata and Vimukta. There are errors noted in the names of these *sthānas*. In the first verse in which all *upaveśana sthānas* are enumerated, Klānta is mentioned as Krānta and Srastālasa as Svasthālasa. From the reading of the NS, the proper names can be understood.

Svastha: When the legs are apart and bent, the chest is lifted, and hands in a relaxed manner placed on the waist or thighs it is the Svastha.

Mandālasa: When one leg is spread, the other is kept on the seat, and the side is bent; it is the Mandālasa. It is applied in expressing worry, enthusiasm, despair, separation and disappointment.

Klānta: When the chin is rested on hands, and the head is tilted on the shoulder, it creates the Klānta *upaveśana*. The Klānta is used to enact the hold by a strong person, injured by a foe, affliction and exhaustion.

In the first verse, this *upaveśana* is named *as* Krānta; however, in the practical instructions, the term Klānta is used.

Srastālasa: When the hands are drooped, the body is slackened and indolent, and the eyes are sad and worn out; it is the Srastālasa. It is applied to show the tiredness, sickness, drunkenness, fainting, anguish, delusion and fear of death.

Viṣkambhita: When legs, thighs and hands are bent, and the eyes are closed, it is the Viṣkambhita. It is used for expressing the eyes directed downwards to one's chest in the yogic and meditative state and for the natural sitting of persons of refined character.

Utkaṭaka: When the feet are kept even/sama or samapāda and do not touch the ground it is the Utkaṭaka. It is applicable to act the worshipping of ancestors, sacrifices, chanting etc., also connected to show the action of how anything has come or have been found.

Muktajānu: When one knee is touched to the ground in the above posture, it makes the Muktajānu. It is to enact cleaning of the floor and smearing of the earth.

Jānugata: When both the knees are placed on earth, it makes Jānugata. It is used in giving information to the kings and worshipping the gods.

Vimukta: Falling to the ground from above is said to be the Vimukta. It is applied when one gets hit or to show perplexing or crying out.

Seats

After upave sana, the chapter describes $\bar{a}sanas$ or the seats for the various characters. Here are the details.

Bhadrāsana (splendid seat) is for gods, and Sinhāsana (lion seat/throne) is for the king.

The Rupyāsana or the silver seat is assigned to the *sāṃvatsara* (astrologer) and *purodhasa* (royal priest).

The Vetrāsana (cane seat) is for *amātya* (chief minister/councillor) and *mantri* (ministers).

The Maṇḍāsana is given to the commander-in-chief and the crown prince. Muni, brāhmaṇas, brahmacāri has given bṛṣī (roll of twisted grass). It is said that the rest should take their seats according to their rules.

Local men, important citizens, merchants and other leading persons are given the $p\bar{t}thik\bar{a}$ (wooden bench).

For courtesans, sons and servants the *masūraka* (kind of pillow/bolster) and Bhumyāsana (seat on the floor) for the rest is mentioned.

Further it is specified that at home, one may use any seat except the Sinhāsana. Also the text says that one cannot share a seat with a spiritual teacher, neither on an elephant, chariot or rock slab. One cannot always sit with his spiritual teacher on a wooden bench. It is considered wrong.

Chapter 23: Utsthi-sthānaka

The name of this chapter is '*utsthi-sthānaka*', and it describes the characteristic of standing postures. Vaiṣṇava, Sama-pāda, Vaiśākha, Maṇḍala, Pratyāliḍha and Āliḍha are stated to be the six male *sthānakas*.

Vaiṣṇava: One leg naturally kept, and the other is slanted and situated on the side, and the thigh is also bent a little, it is called Vaiṣṇava *sthānaka*. One can have a natural conversation in this position.

Sama-pāda: If both the legs are equally situated in their natural posture with the difference of one $t\bar{a}la^{67}$ and they have natural beauty, then there is a Sama-pāda $sth\bar{a}naka$. Rudra, Brahmā and other gods are its presiding deities. It is applied in the acting of accepting the blessing of Brahmins, hopping of birds, the bridegroom in the nuptial ceremony, being in one's place or the war-chariot or in air-planes ($vim\bar{a}na$) also to show the ascetics and for persons engaged in a vow.

Vaiśākha: If the legs are placed at a distance of two and a half *tālas*, the thighs are *ancita*, and the feet are *pakṣasthita* it makes a Vaiśākha *sthānaka*. Skanda is the presiding deity. It indicates the vehicle pulled by horses, exercise, departure, arrival and a bow.

Maṇḍala: With the difference of three *tālas*, the Maṇḍala *sthānaka* can be made. The waist and knees are in *sama* or harmony, and the legs are *pakṣasthita*. It is used to show thrashing by a bow or thunderbolt, elephant carriage and riding or lifting in *nrtta*.

 \bar{A} lidha: When in the Maṇḍala $sth\bar{a}naka$ the right leg is stretched at a distance of five $t\bar{a}las$ it is an \bar{A} lidha. Rudra and $K\bar{a}$ li are the presiding deities. The usages are - lifting at all times, furious feet movement in the war, impersonating the lion, aiming at the enemy, sword fight, and circular movements. Also, in the intensifying angry conversation, the fuming exchange between the wrestlers, relating the enemies and casting of weapons.

Pratyāliḍha: When the right leg is kept back at its place, and left is stretched out, it creates the exact opposite of Āliḍha i.e. the Pratyāliḍha *sthānaka*. *Dānava* or the demon is the presiding deity. The weapons are to be aimed in the Āliḍha and released in the Pratyāliḍha.

Female Standing Postures

There are three *sthānakas* in this category; Āyata, Avahittha and Hayakrānta.

Āyata: Where one foot is naturally placed/in *sama*, the other leg is slanted sideways by a distance of one *tāla* and the face is bright, the chest has risen equally, and the hands are resting on the hips in Latāhasta it is the Āyata *sthānaka*. It is used in the performance of Puṣpānjali in the *raṅgāvataraṇa*.

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⁶⁷ Distance between stretched middle finger and a thumb is *tāla*.

Avahittha: When one leg is diagonal; another one is placed in *sama* at the distance of one $t\bar{a}la$, and the lower back is erected it is the Avahittha $sth\bar{a}naka$, ideal for expressing $vil\bar{a}sa$ (amorous pastime), $l\bar{t}l\bar{a}$ (amusement), $l\bar{a}vanya$ (beauty and charm) and $\dot{s}rng\bar{a}ra$ (eroticism), also for looking towards the path of a bridegroom.

Aśvakrānta/Hayakrānta: When one leg is placed in *sama*, and other is balanced in *ancita*, and the distance between the feet is not defined in $t\bar{a}las$, whether in $s\bar{u}c\bar{t}viddha$ or $\bar{a}viddha$ it is Aśvakrānta. It is executed in holding a branch, cluster of flowers, talking in a sitting position with wavering eyes and natural conversation.

Chapter 24: Angakarma

The name of the chapter is Angakarma. It consists 65 verses. It describes the types of movements of head, neck, face, chest, sides, belly, waist, thigh, shank and feet, ending with a few details on $c\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}$.

The chapter begins with the pronouncement by Mārkaṇḍeya, which says, 'First I speak the actions of the head, know them.'

Śira/Head Movements

Ākampita: Keeping the head in its natural and simple state and moving up and down once it is a Ākampita. It is used for giving signals, advice, and an enquiry also in everyday conversation.

Kampita: And when the Ākampita is repeatedly done, it becomes Kampita. It displays fury, threat, reasoning and pledge.

Dhuta: Shaking of the head slowly is Dhuta. It is used in dejection, perplexity and refusal.

Vidhuta: The trembling head on both sides is the Vidhuta. It is used in the suffering from cold, troubled by ageing, the drunkenness and the one affected with fever.

Parigarhita: The head moving in a circular motion is the Parigarhita. It represents achievement, wonder, pleasure and sportiveness.

Udvāhita: The head turned up for once it is an Udvāhita. It is used to display the growth, seeing something, pride and observing (something) upwards.

Adhogata/Avadhūta: The head is thrown down rapidly for once, it is the Avadhūta. It is for messaging, chatting, signs and invoking.

Ancita: When the neck is faintly bent sideward, it is Ancita. It is to show unconsciousness, agitation, absorbed in thoughts and sadness.

Nikuncita: When the shoulders are lifted, and the neck is Ancita it makes the Nikuncita. It should be used for haughtiness and amorous pastime.

Parāvṛtta: When the head is rolled back it is Parāvṛtta. It is used for looking behind.

Utkṣipta: If the head is positioned looking upwards, it is the Utkṣipta. It should be used in the act of great and divine accession.

Adhogata: Having the face downwards is known by the learned people as Adhogata. It is used to express modesty, obeisance and sorrow.

Parilolita: When the head oscillates on all sides it is the Parilolita. It is applied to show the disease, fainting and boozing.

Grīvā/Neck Movements

After this, the chapter states seven types of neck movements: Ancita, Recita, Mukta, Vivṛtta, Catura, Prasārita and Stabdha. Firstly it describes the performing instructions followed by its usages.

Ancita: When the neck is bent slightly on one part it is Ancita. It is used in *vilāsa*, the amorous pastime etc.

Recita: The rolling neck is Recita. It is applied in circular motion.

Mukta: When Recita neck rotates, it becomes Mukta ideal in showing fainting etc.

Vivrtta: When the neck is turned round, it is Vivrtta. It is used for elegance etc.

Catura: The pleasant and lovely neck is Catura applied in a pleasant attitude.

Prasārita: The stretched neck is Prasārita. This type is involved in the act of seeing (something).

Stabdha: The immovable neck is Stabdha. It is used to express cold, sickness and constant nature.

The text also adds that all these neck movements follow the action of the head.

Asya/Mouth Movement

Hereafter, six actions of the mouth are mentioned in the chapter. They are Vibuddha/Viruddha, Vinivṛtta, Nirbhugna, Bhugna, Vivṛtta and Rju. The performing instructions are followed with the usages.

Vibuddha/Viruddha: In this type, the mouth is turned away. It is used to express resistance and to say 'not at all', etc.

Vinivṛtta: The mouth is shut in the Vinivṛtta. It is applied to depict envy, jealousy and fury.

Nirbhugna: When the face is bent (*avabhugna*) and turned downwards, the same turned upwards makes the Nirbhugna mouth. For severe and profound looks, Nirbhugna is used.

Bhugna: When the face is bent or curved inwards, it is a Bhugna type of mouth. The usages include bashfulness and the natural state of an ascetic.

Vivṛtta: When the mouth is slightly turned or ceased (*nivṛtta*), it is Vivṛtta. It is applied in the enactment of joy, anguish, fright etc.

Rju: When the mouth is kept naturally, it is the Rju. It is used in portraying the natural state.

Urah/Chest Movements

Five chest movements are described in the chapter; Ābhugna, Nirbhugna, Prakampita, Udvāhita and Sama.

Ābhugna: When the chest is maintained straight, it is Ābhugna. It is applied to enact killed by weapons, also injured and suffered from heartache.

Nirbhugna: If the chest is firm, the back is bent and the shoulders are raised it is Nirbhugna. The usages are stupefaction, a state of perplexing, self-respect and despair.

Prakampita: The upward chest (breathed in fully) is the Prakampita. It can be used to express laughing, crying, labour, illness and terror.

Udvāhita: When the chest is elevated, it is Udvāhita. It is applied in showing the actions of (something) going up and yawning.

Sama: When the chest is kept *caturastra*, it is Sama. The type is used in displaying the *sauṣṭhava*.

Pārśva/Lateral Movements

There are five lateral movements; Samunnata, Nata, Prasārita, Vivartita and Apasṛta. Instructions are given at the beginning, and then the uses are stated.

Samunnata: When the waist, torso, arms and shoulders are upstretched, it is Samunnata. It is used to show the action of getting closer slowly.

Nata: Where the waist is bent down in the side, it is the Nata. This type is applied in showing the departure.

Prasārita: If the sides have spread both ways in their directions, it is the Prasārita. The Prasārita is used to express extreme joy.

Vivartita: When the back is twisted, it is Vivartita. The Vivartita is performed to show the movement of turning back.

Apasṛta: When the back moves away, it is Apasṛta. This type is used to show fear.

Udara/Belly Types

There are three types of the belly; Kṣāma, Nimna and Pūrṇa. Only usages of these types are mentioned.

Kṣāma: For mirth and yawning.

Nimna: For ailment, penance, tiredness and afflicted by hunger.

Pūrṇa: To take a breath, health and to show voluptuousness.

Kaṭī/Waist Movements

There are five types of *kaṭī* or waist actions in *nṛṭṭa*; Prakampita, Vicchinna/Chinna, Nivṛṭṭa, Recita and Udvāhiṭa.

Prakampita: When the waist repeatedly moves fast in an oblique direction, it is Prakampita. It is used in the gait of the lower type of a person, also a dwarf and a hunch-back.

Chinna: The waist that rotates round in the centre is called Chinna. This type is applicable to show the exercise, arriving at and turning back.

Nivṛtta: Reinstating the waist from back to the front is the Nivṛtta. It is used to show the movement of turning about.

Recita: The waist that rotates in all directions is called the Recita. The usage of it is Recita.

Udvāhita: When the waist is uplifted firmly, it becomes Udavāhita. It is executed in showing the graceful walking of women.

Uru/Thigh Movements

The actions of thighs are divided into five types; Kampana, Valana, Stambhana, Udvartana and Vivartana.

Kampana: The front part of the feet is positioned steadily and repeatedly moving the heel up and down on the ground is the Kampana thigh. This type is adopted in performing the *gati* of inferior characters.

Valana: When the knees slowly move in it is Valana. It is applied to enact the free walking of women.

Stambhana: When the movement is finished it is Stambhana. The usages are included reacting to something terrible and despair.

Udvartana: When the valita thigh is whirled it is Udvartana. The type is applied in exercise and Tāndava.

Vivartana: When the heel is moved inside, it is Vivartana. It is used to show the disordered walking around.

Janghā/Movements of Shank

There are five kinds of shank movements; Āvartita, Nata, Kṣipta, Udvāhita and Parivṛtta.

Āvartita: The crossing over of left and right legs is Āvartita. It is applied in the performance of walking around a jester.

Nata: When the knees are bent, it is Nata. This type is adopted in sitting and standing postures.

Kṣipta: The movement of jerking out the shank is Kṣipta. It is used in the exercise and Tāndava.

Udvāhita: The lifting of the thigh creates the Udvāhita. This one is executed in showing the *āviddha-gamana* that is walking haughtily with uneven steps.

Parivṛtta: Carrying the shank inverse is the Parivṛtta. This type is performed in Tāṇḍava etc.

Pāda/Actions of Feet:

Hereafter the five actions of feet are mentioned. They are Uddhāṭita, Sama, Pārṣṇirecita-sancara, Ancita and Kuncita.

Uddhāṭita: Standing on the toes of the feet and banging the heel on the ground is Uddhāṭita. It is used to express the feeling of fondness of (someone/something) and elegant movements.

Sama: When the feet are kept evenly (*sama-sthāna*) on the ground in their natural state, it is Sama. It is always applied in natural acting.

Pāṛṣṇirecita-sancara: The lifted heel is the *agratala-sancara*. It is applied in thrown down or upon, circular motion, roaming, and thrashing. In the *lalita*/elegance, the *recita* foot is made. It is applicable in the movement of gracefulness in/ of *udvartita*.

Ancita: When the tows are lifted, it makes *ancita*. It is used in various types of *bhramana*.

Kuncita: When the middle of the feet is bent, it is the *kuncita pāda*. It is adopted in the Atikrāntā $(c\bar{a}r\bar{i})$ and the *abhigamana*.

Cārī:

The chapter ends with the classifications made out of the combinations of *cārī*.

The movement of a single foot is a $c\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$. Both the feet moving together makes a karana. The combination of karanas creates a khanda. Such two, three or four khandas form a mandala.

In the final verse of the chapter, Mārkaṇḍeya says, that I have talked about the aṅgas. Hereafter I shall speak on the upāṅga-karmas. Thus ends the chapter on aṅgakarma.

Chapter 25: Upāngikādhyāya

The chapter contains seventy-five verses. The topics dealt with are glances attached to the sentiments, to the $sth\bar{a}y\bar{\imath}$ $bh\bar{a}vas$ and other glances, actions of eyelids, eyebrows, cheeks, nose, teeth, and lips along with their usages.

The Rasa, Sthāyi and other Dṛṣṭis

The first verse enumerates **eight** *rasa* **glances**; 1) Kāntā, 2)Bhayānaka, 3)Hāsya, 4)Karuṇa, 5)Adbhuta, 6)Raudra, 7)Vīra and 8)Bībhatsa.

Nine *Sthāyi-dṛṣṭis*: 9)Snigdhā, 10)Hṛṣṭā, 11)Jihmā, 12)Kṛddhā, 13)Bhītā, 14)Lajjitā, 15)Dṛptā, 16)Vismitā and 17)Saumyā.

Other *Dṛṣṭis*: 18)Malinā, 19)Ākekarā, 20) Śrāntā, 21)Abhitaptā, 22)Viplutā, 23)Viṣaṇṇā, 24)Śankitā, 25)Trastā, 26)Śokā, 27)Nimīlitā, 28)Vibhrāntā, 29)Kuncitā, 30)Śūnyā, 31)Mukulā, 32)Vitarkitā, 33)Madirā, 34)Lalitā, 35)Glānā etc.

The text says that these are the names of the thirty-six *dṛṣṭis* however enumerates only thirty-five.

Glances of Sentiments

Kāntā: The sidelook with contracted brows and romantic feeling is a Kāntā.

Bhayānakā: When the eyelids and the edge of the eye-lashes are wide open, and the pupils are in motion, it is a Bhayānakā.

Hāsyā: When the eyelids are little contracted, and the eyeballs are rolled it is a Hāsyā glance.

Karuṇā: When the upward eyelids fall downwards with tears, and pupils vanish it is a Karuṇā.

Adbhutā: When the edges of eyelashes are contracted slightly, and the eyeballs are somewhat enlarged, the eyes are evenly blown, it is the Adbhutā.

Raudrā: Wide open and frowning eyes are Raudrā.

Vīrā: When the pupils are even, and the eyes are opened in the middle it is a Vīrā.

Bībhatsā: When the pupils are thrown in the corner of the eyes it is Bībhatsā.

Śāntā: When the eyes are fixed downwards in the meditative state it is the Śāntā.

Sthāyi-dṛṣṭi

Snigdhā: The sweet, smiling and fully expanded eyes in the middle are known as the Snigdhā.

Hṛṣṭā: When the eyes are wide open in the middle and shaking, looking from the edges is the Hṛṣṭā.

Jihmā: When the eyeballs are positioned downwards and are mysterious, engrossed and engaged in observing it is the Jihmā.

Kṛddhā: When the contracted brows are made crooked, and the pupils are fixed it is a Krddhā.

Bhītā: When the eyelids are contracted, rugged, and the pupils are distorted, it is a Bhītā.

Dṛptā: When the eyes are wide open and cast forth the *sattva* it is the Dṛptā.

Vismitā: When the eyes are evenly expanded in the corners, it is a Vismitā.

Saumyā: When the pupils are kept uniformly, it is Saumyā.

Lajjitā: When the pupils are contracted and held steady, it is the Lajjitā.

Sancāri dṛṣṭi

Malinā: When the eyelids are quivering, it is the Malinā.

Ākekarā: When the eyelids are contracted it is the Ākekarā.

Śrāntā: When the eyes are raised a little it is the Śrāntā.

Abhitaptā: Gloomy eyelids and pupils are the Abhitaptā.

Viplutā: When the eyes are disturbed, sunk in, and shaking it is the Viplutā.

Viṣaṇṇā: When the pupils are somewhat numbed it is Viṣaṇṇā.

Śankitā: The flickering pupils make the Śankitā glance.

Trastā: When the pupils are unpleasant, quivering and frightened, it is the Trastā.

Viśokā: When the eyes are puffed up and do not blink, it is the Viśokā.

Vibhrāntā: When the eyes are unstable, and the pupils are whirling it is the Vibhrāntā.

Kuncitā: When the eyes are contracted, and the eyeballs are faintly in *ancita*, it is the Kuncitā.

Śūnyā: When the pupils and eyelids are steady, there is total absence of agitation, and the sight is even it is the Śūnyā.

Mukulā: When the corners of the eyelashes are trembling and closing like a bud, it is the Mukulā.

Vitarkā: When the eyelids and eyelashes are turned up, and the pupils are steady, it is the Vitarkā.

Madirā: When the eyes are wide opened, and the pupils are turned, it is the Madirā.

Lalitā: Full-blown, elegant and grinning eyes are Lalitā.

Glānā: When the eyelashes are cut off, and the eyes are tearful and closed it is the Glānā.

Usages of Rasa, Sthāyi and Sancāri Glances

Rasa:

Kāntā and Bhayānakā: Casting (amorous) side look is the usage of Kāntā. In slaying, the Bhayānakā is used.

Hāsyā and Karuṇā: The performance of Hāsyā and Karuṇā sights are to be done for the Hāsya and Karuṇa sentiments respectively.

Adbhutā and Raudrā: The Adbhutā glance is to be performed in the act of Adbhuta (sentiment), and Raudrā is intended for Raudra (sentiment).

Vīrā and Bībhatsā: In Vīra (rasa), the Vīrā *dṛṣṭi* is to be done and the Bībhatsā in the awful feeling.

Śāntā: Śāntā sight is stated for Śānta (rasa).

Sthāyi

Snigdhā: It is used to look with affection.

Hṛṣṭā and Jihmā: Hṛṣṭā is for excitement and for envy it is Jihmā.

Kṛddhā and Bhītā: Kṛddhā is specified to show the anger, and in terror it is Bhītā.

Lajjitā and Dṛptā: In bashfulness it is Lajjitā, and in enthusiasm, the Dṛptā is applied.

Vismitā and Saumyā: The Vismitā is used in amazement, and for gentle-looking it is Saumyā.

Sancāri or Vyabhicāri

Malinā and Ākekarā: Malinā is used in separation (*viraha*) and Ākekarā in sexual union (*sambhoga*).

Śrāntā and Abhitaptā: In tiredness (śrānta), the Śrāntā sight is to be done, and the Abhitaptā is in the despair (nirveda).

Viplutā and Viṣaṇṇā: The Viplutā is to be applied in poverty (*dainya*) and hopelessness (*viṣāda*) the Viṣaṇṇā.

Śankitā and Trastā: Śankitā is used to show doubtfulness (*śankita*) and in fright (*trasta*) the Trastā.

Viśokā and Nimīlitā: The Viśokā is executed in the knowledge (*jñāna*) and in the act of touching it is Nimīlitā.

Vibhrāntā and Kuncitā: To show perturbation (*vibhrama*) the Vibhrāntā and for looking meticulously the Kuncitā is used.

Śūnyā and Mukulā: For anxiety it is Śūnyā, and for the actions of the nose (smelling) it is Mukulā.

Vitarkā and Madirā: In argument, the Vitarkā sight is used and in intoxication the Madirā.

Lalitā and Glānā: In the wanton dalliance of women the Lalitā glance is used and in languidness the Glānā.

Puta/Movements of Eyelids

There are nine types of the movement of *puṭa* or eyelids; Utsedha/Unmeṣa, Nimeṣa, Prasārita, Vivartita, Ākuncita, Sama, Sphurita, Vihita/Pihita and Tāḍita.

Nimeṣa: When the eyelids are joined, it is Nimeṣa.

Unmeşa: When they are separated, it is Unmeşa.

Prasārita: When the eyelids are expanded, it is Prasārita.

Vivartita: When they are raised, it is Vivartita.

Ākuncita: The contracted eyelids make Ākuncita.

Sama: The natural state of eyelids known as Sama.

Sphurita: The throbbing eyelids are the Sphurita.

Pihita: When the eyelids are shut, it is Pihita.

Tāḍita: When the eyelids are wilting at their roots it is a Tāḍita.

Usages of Movements of Eyelids

Ākuncita: In smelling, touching and (seeing) unfavourable things.

Prasārita: In astonishment and Vīra/heroism.

Sama: In Śṛngāra.

Tāḍita: In the infliction of injury.

Sphurita: In the love and anger of women.

Pihita: In situations like cold, winds, heat and rain.

Vivartita: In anger.

Nimeşa and Unmeşa: These types are to be done in one's own business.

Tārakā/Pupil Movements

The movements of *tāraka*/pupils/eyeballs are nine; Valana, Bhramaṇa, Calana, Sampraṇāśana/Sampraveśana, Vivartana, Pātana, Niṣkrama, Udvarta and Prākṛta.

Bhramaṇa: When the pupils are whirling repeatedly between the eyelids it is a Bhramana.

Valana: The movement of eyeballs going oblique is the Valana.

Calana: The shaking eyeballs represent a type of Calana.

Sampraveśana: Pulling the eyeballs inside is the Sampraveśana.

Vivartita: When the eyeballs are moving sideways, it is Vivartita.

Pātana: Relaxed state of eyeballs is the Pātana.

Nişkrama: The movement of eyeballs as if coming out is the Nişkrama.

Udvartana: The averted eyeballs are Udvartana.

Prākrta: The natural state of pupils is a Prākrta.

Usages of Pupil Movements

Valana: in Hāsya/comic sentiment.

Bhramaṇa: in mada/intoxication.

Calana: in Vīra/heroic sentiment.

Sampraveśana: in Bībhatsa/odious sentiment.

Vivartita: in Śṛngāra/erotic sentiment.

Pātana: in Karuṇa/ pathetic sentiment.

Nişkramana: in Bhayānaka/terrible sentiment.

Udvartana: in Vīra /heroic sentiment.

Prākṛta: To be used in remaining *bhāvas*/emotional states.

Dṛṣṭi/Sights

The actions of eyes are Sama, Sācīkṛta, Anuvṛtta, Ālokita, Ullokita and Avalokita.

Sama: When the pupils are equal and gentle, it is a Sama sight.

Sācīkṛta: When the pupils are hidden in the eyelashes it is Sācīkṛta.

Anuvrtta: Execution of form through sight is the Anuvrtta.

Ālokita: A sudden look is the Ālokita.

Ullokita: The upward look is the Ullokita.

Lokita: Looking in all directions is the Lokita.

Vilokita: Looking from sides, it is a Vilokita.

Avalokita: Looking back is the Avalokita.

Bhrū/Movements of Eyebrows

Here the NrS explains the applicability of eyebrows. It says that the eyebrows should be applied following the sights, as the way eyes proceed with reference to various sentiments and emotions. The movements of the eyebrows should be done following the sights.

There are seven movements of eyebrows; Utkṣepa, Pātana, Bhrukuṭī, Catura, Nikuncita, Recita and Svābhāvika.

Utkṣepa: The elevated eyebrows are Utkṣepa.

Pātana: The dropping of eyebrows is Pātana.

Bhrukutī: The throwing up the roots of the eyebrows is the Bhrukutī.

Catura: Spreading the brows elegantly with the bit of inhaling is a Catura.

Nikuncita: When one or two eyebrows are contracted gently, it is a Nikuncita.

Recita: When one eyebrow is raised charmingly, it is a Recita.

Svābhāvika: The natural position of eyebrows is Svābhāvika.

Usages of Movements of Eyebrows

Only four usages are given.

Utkşepa: In *līlā*/amusement.

Pātana: In compassion.

Bhrukuțī: In a fury.

Catura: In Śṛngāra.

Ganda/Characteristics of Cheeks

The *lakṣaṇa* or the characteristics of cheeks are mentioned hereafter.

Kṣāma: The emaciated cheeks are known as the Kṣāma.

Fulla: The blossomed cheeks are Fulla.

Pūrna: The fuller cheeks are Pūrna.

Kampita: The shaking cheeks are to be known as Kampita.

Kuncita: Cheeks that are integral to the corner of the mouth and accompanied by the

thrill of the hair is Kuncita.

Prākṛta: The natural state of cheeks is Prākṛta.

Usages of Characteristics of Cheeks

Kṣāma: The Kṣāma is to be done in sorrow.

Fulla: In delight, the Fulla cheeks are to be applied.

Pūrṇa: In the state of contentment the Pūrṇa is to be used.

Kampita: In rage, Kampita is to be applied.

Kuncita: In laughter and thrilling of the hair by touch are the usages of Kuncita.

Prākṛta: For the enactment of natural state the Prākṛta is to be applied.

Nāsikā/Actions of the Nose

Natā, Mandā, Vikṛṣṭā, Sochhavāsā, Kūṇitā and Svābhāvikī, these nasal actions are performed in the play.

Natā: A bent down position of the nose is Natā.

Mandā: When the nostrils are sunk, it is Mandā.

Vikṛṣṭā: The upward contraction of the nose is Vikṛṣṭā.

Sochhavāsā: When it is filled with air, it is Sochhavāsā.

Kūnitā: Shrinking of the nose is Kūnitā.

Svābhāvikī: The natural state of the nose is Svābhāvikī.

Usages of Actions of the Nose

Natā: In pleasurable actions, the Natā is to be done.

Mandā: In grief, the Mandā is to be applied.

Vikṛṣṭā and Sochhavāsā: In sharp smell the Vikṛṣṭā and for the pleasing fragrance the Sochhavāsā is to be done.

Vikūṇitā: The Vikūṇitā is used in abhorrence.

Svābhāvikī: In the remaining (states) the Svābhāvikī is to be done.

Danta/Actions of Teeth

The actions of teeth are Kuṭṭana, Khaṇḍana, Chinna, Cukkita and Samatā. These are to be done subject to the rubbing of the tongue, upper and lower lips.

Kuṭṭana: Forceful cutting is a Kuṭṭana.

Khandana: (Teeth) striking against each other is known as the Khandana.

Chinna: Lowering the teeth is Chinna.

Cukkita: Piercing with the teeth is the action of Cukkita.

Usages of Actions of Teeth

Kuttana: In illness, Kuttana is to be done.

Khandana: In destroying Khandana is to be applied.

Chinna: In anger and joy Chinna is to be used.

Sama: In the rest of the emotional states, Sama is to be applied.

Adhara/Actions of Lower Lips

The actions of lower lips are Vivartana/Vivartita, Kampa/Kampana, Vimarśa/Visarga, Vigūhana/Vinigūhita, Saṃdaṣṭa and Samudga/Samudgaka.

Vivartita: When the lower lip is crooked at the corner of the mouth, it is the Vivartita.

Kampana: When the lower lip is trembling, it makes the Kampana.

Visarga: Coming out the lower lip is the Visarga.

Vigūhana/Vinigūhita: When the lower lip is entering within it is the Vinigūhita.

Samdaşta: Biting of lips with teeth is the Samdaşta.

Samudga: When both the lips in a united manner move upwards, it is the Samudgaka.

Usages of Actions of Lower Lips

Vivartita: In jealousy.

Kampita: In a fury.

Visarga: In *bhayānaka*/terrible occasions.

Vigūhana: In drawing to and fro.

Samdaşta: In intoxication, *vīra* (heroic) and *raudra* (fierceness).

Samudga: In sympathy.

In the rest of the states, the natural position of the lower lip should be used. Here ends the core matter of this chapter. Lastly, Mārkaṇḍeya says to Vajra, upāṅgakarmābhihitaṃ tathaitan mayā samāsena narendracandra | kāryaḥ prayatno 'tra sadā budhena yasmād upāṅgāśrayam eva nṛttam //

Chapter 26: Hastādhāya

The chapter consists of ninety-seven verses and describes the technique and usages of asaṃyuta-hasta (single hand gestures), saṃyuta-hasta (gestures of both the hands) and nṛttahasta, the hand gestures of nṛtta.

It is said that there are twenty-two *asaṃyuta-hastas*; 1.Patākā, 2.Tripatākā, 3.Kartarīmukha, 4.Ardhacandra, 5.Arāla, 6.Gurutuṇḍa, 7.Muṣṭi, 8.Śikhara, 9.Kapittha, 10.Khaṭakāmukha, 11.Sūcyārdha, 12.Padmakośa, 13.Mṛgaśīrṣa 14.Lāngūla, 15.Kolapadma, 16.Catura, 17.Bhramara, 18. Haṃsāsya, 19.Haṃsa-pakṣa, 20.Saṃdanśa and 21.Mukula.

Then Mārkaṇḍeya tells the names of thirteen *saṃyuta-hastas*. 1. Anjali, 2.Kapota, 3.Karkaṭa, 4.Svastika, 5.Khaṭakāvardhamāna, 6.Utsaṅga, 7.Niṣadha, 8.Dolā, 9.Puṣpapuṭa, 10.Makara, 11.Gajadanta, 12.Avahittha and 13.Vardhamāna.

Then he enumerates the *nṛṭṭta-hastas*. They are 1.Caturastra, 2.Āvṛṭṭta, 3.Laghumukha, 4.Arāla-khaṭakāmukha, 5.Āviddhavakra, 6. Saṃvyākhyā, 7.Recita, 8.Ardharecita, 9.Avahittha, 10.Pallavita, 11.Nitamba, 12.Keśavardhana, 13.Latākhya, 14.Karihasta, 15.Pakṣodyota, 16.Garuḍa-pakṣa, 17.Daṇḍa-pakṣa, 18.Urdhvamaṇḍalaja, 19.Pārśvamaṇḍalaja, 20.Pārśvordhvamaṇḍala, 21.Uromaṇḍalaka, 22.Muṣṭi-svastika, 23.Padmakośa, 24.Alapallava, 25.Ulvaṇa, 26.Lalita and 27.Valita.

Asamyuta-hasta

1. Patākā: When all the fingers are spread together, and the thumb is contracted, it is Patākā *hasta*.

Usages: To receive and restrain the blow, in prowess, when the fingers are in motion (in this *hasta*), it represents wind and rain, the *hasta* in upward direction represents

zeal and in downward direction it represents umbrella etc., to show the beating of rhythm on *puṣkara* (kind of a drum) the fingers are to be moved evenly, in the upward movement of wings, in *recitaka*, to throw (something) upwards and to hold.

2. Tripatākā: In Patākā, when the ring-finger is curved it makes Tripatākā.

Usages: In the invitation, enactment of a crown, to represent the small birds the fingers are to be moving, the ring-finger is to be used in wiping off the tears, placed on the head shows the auspicious bathing, in covering the ears, in facing the earth, in the acting of serpents and bees.

3. Kartarīmukha: When in Tripatākā, the forefinger is viewing at the back, it is known as Kartarīmukha.

Usages: In showing the place for walking as well as the split and the fall.

4. Ardhacandra: When the ring finger is with the thumb, it is Ardhacandra *hasta*.

Usages: In showing the waxing moon, palm tree, the girdle, hips, face and the ear-ornaments.

5. Arāla: When the portion of the forefinger is bent, and the rest of the fingers are detached, raised and bent around, it is Arāla.

Usages: Dignity, purity, pride, gathering of hair, eliminating the sweat and showing the anger.

6. Śukatuṇḍa: In Arāla when the ring-finger is curved it makes Śukatuṇḍa.

Usages: The wise men should always apply this gesture in saying 'not me' and 'not you' etc.

7. Muṣṭi: When tips of all fingers are placed in the middle of the palm, and the thumb is positioned on them, it is Muṣṭi.

Usages: In stroke, exercise, violently pressing the breast, holding a stick and grasping a spear and a sceptre.

8. Śikhara: In Muşti, when the thumb is upstretched, it is a Śikhara.

Usages: Holding of the reins, elephant-goad and a bow.

9. Kapittha: When the thumb is placed inside of the Muşti, it is the Kapittha.

Usages: In the acting of *cakra* and arrow.

10. Khaṭakāmukha: When in the Kapittha, the ring-finger along with the little-finger are elevated and bent, it is the Khatakāmukha.

Usages: In sacrifice, holding of an umbrella, in pulling and fanning, holding a garland and gathering the clue.

11. Sūcīmukha: In the Khaṭakāmukha, when the forefinger is spread out it is the Sūcīmukha.

Usages: To show night and day, and the eyes of Śakra and Maheśa.

12. Padmakośa: When in the above gesture, the fingers and thumb are in an upward direction, wide apart and bent, like a claw of a swan it is a Padmakośa.

Usage is missing in the text.

13. Ahiśira: When in the Patākā gesture, the thumb is sunk in the middle, it is the Ahiśira.

Usages: In an offering of water and suggestion.

14. Mṛgaśīrṣa: When all the fingers are facing downwards, and the thumb and little fingers are raised it is the Mṛgaśīrṣa.

Usages: In suggestion, cutting, also in shaking.

15. Kāngūla: The middle and forefinger along with the thumb are positioned like a *tretāgni*, the ring-finger is bent and little-finger is raised it is the Kāngūla.

Usages: Representing the fruits.

16. Kolapadma: When the fingers revolve in order on the edge of a hand and scatter, it is the Kolapadma.

Usages: In negation, saying 'no' and showing nothingness.

17. Catura: Where the fingers are obliquely spread, the little finger is kept upwards, and the thumb is placed on the middle finger; it is the Catura.

Usages: In the eloquence of speech and recitation. Also, in representing colours, when kept upwards, it signifies the white colour; in the semi-circular position, it implies the red, in a circular way it suggests the yellow, in compressed position the blue, in natural state black and the rest of the colours.

18. Bhramara: When the middle finger is connected with the thumb, the forefinger is curved, and the rest (ring and little finger) are kept apart and stretched up; it is the Bhramara.

Usages: To hold a lotus and to show an ornament worn around the ears.

19. Haṃsāsya: When the forefinger, middle finger and thumb are connected, and the rest of the fingers are stretched, it is a Haṃsavaktra.

Usage: In tenderness, ease and gentleness.

20. Haṃsapakṣa: The little-finger is raised, the thumb is bent and (rest of the fingers) are kept oblique like a lump it is the Hamsapaksa.

Usage: In association with cheeks, meal, laying hold of, touching, anointing the body and rubbing the person.

21. Saṃdanśa: If the forefinger and thumb are joined together in the Arāla, the palm is bent it is the Saṃdanśa. There are three types of Saṃdanśa; Agraja, Mukhaja and Pārśvakṛta.

Usage of Agraja: Holding, extracting an arrow.

Usage of Mukha- samdanśa is missing.

Usage of Pārśvakṛta: In painting, harming the breasts, in a sacred thread and steadfastly gazing the head.

22. Mukula: In the Padmakośa, when the tips of fingers are assembled, it is a Mukula.

Usage: In worshipping gods, offerings and signifying the lotus.

Samyuta-hasta

1. Anjali: When two Patākā hands are joined, giving the hemispherical shape, it is the Anjali.

Usages: (In paying homage to) gods, teachers and paternal ancestors.

2. Kapotaka: When the sides of hands are joined, it makes the Kapotaka.

Usages: Representing the cold, fear and the attainment of humility.

3. Karkaṭa: The fingers of one hand come forth from the fingers of the other hand; it is the Karkaṭa.

Usage: In yawning.

4. Svastika: When two Arāla are joined at the wrist like Vardhamānaka, facing upward, sides are inclined, it is the Svastika.

Usages: To show the extended over, in the acting of seasons, sky, clouds, sea and earth.

5. Khaṭakāvardhamānaka: When one Khaṭakāmukha *hasta* is kept on other Khaṭakāmukha *hasta*, it creates Khaṭakāvardhamānaka.

Usages: In Śṛngāra and salutation.

6. Utsaṅga: When Arāla *hasta* is reversed and facing upwards in Vardhamānaka, it is the utsaṅga.

Usage: In accepting the touch.

7. Niṣadha: When the Mukula of one hand is covered by the Kapittha of the other, it is the Niṣadha.

Usages: In thrown down or upon and in pressing (something).

8. Dolā: Two Patākā hands are hanging down makes the Dolā *hasta*.

Usages: In meditation, in the act of giving and in eating.

9. Puspaputa: When both hands are joined at sides, it is the Puspaputa.

Usage: It should be acted in *karaṇa* stated earlier.

10. Makara: When two Patākā hands are placed on each other facing downwards, it becomes Makara *hasta*.

Usages: In the enactment of a lion, tiger, deer etc.

11. Gajadanta: When in Sarpaśīrṣa, the elbows and shoulders are bent, it makes the Gajadanta.

Usages: In destroying the mountain.

12. Avahittha: Make Śukatuṇḍa of both hands, bent and place it facing the chest and slowly whirl it downwards; it is the Avahittha.

Usages: In the weakness of breath and indication of the limbs.

13. Vardhamāna: When both the hands in Haṃsapakṣa are kept oppositely, it is the Vardhmānaka.

Usage: To show a window etc.

Here end the *saṃyuta* hand gestures. It is stated in the text that these hand gestures emerge from various *rasas*/sentiments.

Hereafter the description of *nṛtta-hasta* begins.

Nṛtta-hasta

- **1. Caturastra:** At the distance of eight fingers from the chest, when both hands are kept in front of the Khaṭakāmukha *hasta*, and the shoulders and elbows are at the same height, it is the Caturastra.
- **2. Udvṛtta:** When both the hands are spread like palm-leaf used as a fan in Haṃsapakṣa, then they are called Udvṛtta or Tālavṛntaka.
- **3. Laghumukha:** When in Caturastra position, the Haṃsapakṣa hands are kept oblique and upwards it is a Laghumukha.
- **4. Arālakhaṭakāmukha:** When the Arāla hands get suspended from the wrist, it becomes Arālakhaṭakāmukha.
- **5. Āviddha:** When two hands, shoulders and elbows turn around in meandering fashion while palms are facing downwards whirling, it is the Āviddha.
- **6. Sūcīmukha:** When obliquely spread two Sarpaśīrṣa hands are placed in Svastika, it becomes Sūcīmukha.
- **7. Recita:** When both Haṃsapakṣa hands are roaming fast, and then the palms spread out, it creates Recita.
- **8. Ardha-recita:** When the left hand is in Caturastra and right in Recita, it is known as the Ardha-recita.

- **9. Avahittha:** When the elbows are contracted, hands are bent a little in Triapatāka; it is the Avahittha.
- **10. Pallava:** When two hands are free and loose in the wrist it is the Pallava.
- **11. Nitamba:** When the above hands come out from the upper part of the arm (towards hips), it is the Nitamba.
- **12. Keśabandha:** Hands engaged on the shoulder area elevated from the sides, is to be known as Keśabandha.
- **13.** Latākhya: When hands are obliquely stretched and placed on the sides, it is the Latākhya.
- **14. Karihasta:** When one hand in Latā-hasta is raised and moves to and from one side to another, while the other hand is in Khaṭaka, it creates the Karihasta.
- **15. Pakṣavañcitaka:** When one Tripatāka hasta is placed on the upper part of the waist, it is the Pakṣavañcitaka.
- **16. Paksodyota:** When the above gesture is made oppositely, it is the Paksodyota.
- **17. Garuḍapakṣa:** When (in Pakṣavañcitaka) the palms are turned downwards and whirled it is the Garuḍapakṣa.
- 18. Dandapaksa: When the arms are stretched out it is the Dandapaksa.
- **19. Urdhvamaṇḍala:** When the above hand is rolling in the upward direction, it is the Urdhvamandala.
- **20.** Pārśvamaṇḍala: The same movement is done sideways; it becomes Pārśvamaṇḍala.
- **21.** Uromaṇḍala: When the hands are moving in udveṣṭita and $\bar{a}veṣṭita$ (near chest) it becomes the Uromaṇḍala.
- **22. Svastika and Prakīrņaka:** When it is kept in Svastika on the wrist, it is known as Svastika, and when it is separated, it becomes Prakīrņaka.
- 23. Padmakośa: When both hands are in Padmakośa, it is Padmakośa.
- **24. Alapallava:** When the palms are raised in *udveṣṭita*, it is the Alapallava.
- **25. Ulbaṇa:** When above hands are spread up and bent, it is the Ulbaṇa.
- **26.** Lalita: When two pallava gestures are placed on the head, it becomes a Lalita.
- **27. Valita:** When two lalita hasta are placed on elbows in svastika, it creates the Valita.

Here ends the description of *nṛtta-hastas*. Then the chapter states the following points about the application of *nṛtta-hastas*.

The usages of *nṛtta-hastas* are depend upon the various connotations and sentiments which are subject to the time. One should not perform them in incidents like sickness, old age, in a vow, intoxication and anxiety.

There are four actions of *nṛtta-hasta*: Udveṣṭa, Samaveṣṭa, Viveṣṭita and Vivartita. For graceful movements, one should use *nṛtta-hastas*. Elegance or grace is the characteristic of *nṛtta*. These hands should be used by male and female dancers, in accordance with the country, time, meaning and suitableness.

Nṛṭṭta is the dependent of hands. The performance of these hands is possessed of skill and grace; thus, they should be applied in movements with efforts.

Here ends the Hastādhyāya of the NrS.

Chapter 27: Āhāryābhinaya

The chapter consists of forty-seven verses and mentions the guidelines for costumes, hair, make-up and property that have been used in a play.

The chapter begins by stating the four types of *abhinaya* i.e. Vācika, Āhārya, Āṅgika and Sāttvika. It further says that *vācika* entails speech. From verse three, the narration about the Āhārya begins.

There are four classes of Āhārya: *prasta*, *alaṃkāra*, *aṅga-racanā* and *sajjīva*. The *prasta* is the imitations created with clay, wood, cloth, leather and iron. The making of masks of gods, demons, *yakṣas*, elephants, horses, deer and birds is considered the work of *prasta*.

Garlands, ornaments and clothing are included in the *alankāra*. The preparation of major and minor limbs is manifold. It is said that it should be employed according to race, authority, region and country and known as the *aṅga-racanā*.

Skin Colours: Following information is noted in skin colors. White, red, yellow, black and green are the five fundamental colours. By mixing one, two or three colours based on imagination, the intermediate colour combinations cannot be counted in this world. Black and white are the most sought after colours in the world for mixing. Two types of complexions/skin colours are known. Five kinds of white/fair and twelve types of black/dark colours are there.

- White/Fair Colours: rukmagaurī (white/fair as gold), dantagaurī (as teeth), sphuṭacandana-gaurī (as pure sandalwood), śaradgaurī (as autumn) and candrakavadgaurī (as the moon).

- Black/Dark Colours: rakta (dark red), mudga (bean coloured), dūrvānkura (colour of dūrvā grass), pāṇḍu (grey/ash-faced), harita (greenish-black/dark green), pīta (yellowish black), priyangu (as mustard), kapi (brownish black), nilotpala (as blue lotus), cāṣa (as the bird blue-jay), raktotpala (as red lotus) and ghana (dark like a cloud).

It is said that following the colours of these objects (e.g. grass, mustard etc), individuals are to be illustrated. The mixtures of colours enhance beauty.

Now the colours of gods have been told according to their defined forms. The colours of gods that are not mentioned are said to be fair.

Vāsuki - black/dark; rest of the snakes – fair; the color of *daitya-dānava-rākṣasa* (types of demons), followers of *guhyaka* and *piśācas* resembles the appearance of water.

- Colours of Men from the Six Islands: The chapter notes that in the *varṣas* (nine divisions) of Jambudvīpa, except in India, men in all six islands should be made up of gold colour. Indian men should be coloured according to their various regions/countries.
- Regions and Colours: Pulinda, Dākṣiṇātya-mostly dark, Śaka, Yavana, Pahlava and Bālhika and men from the countries on *uttarāpatha*, i.e. Pāñcāla, Śūrasena and Magadha-mostly fair, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga-mostly dark.
- Colours according to *Varṇas*: Brahmins-moon coloured, kings-lotus coloured, Vaiśya-slightly pale and Śūdra-dark coloured.

Gandharva, apsarā and *bhūtas* have various colours. Kings, as well as happy people, are to be presented in lotus colour.

The colour of the persons, who have done evil acts, possessed by magical influence, sick, in a state of penance, labourers and the people born in various clans should be made dark.

The colour of the persons that can be seen directly should be made according to their natural colour.

Beard and Moustache: *Devas, gandharvas, siddhas, kumāras,* and those initiated (in some personal religious observances for some purpose) should not have a beard or moustache.

Divine men, *vidyādhara*, ardent lovers, monarchs should have various kinds of/colourful beards and moustaches.

Ascetics, ministers, chief priests, the middle type of persons and initiated ones should have *śuddha* (pure or white) beards and moustaches.

People who have not achieved their vows, those who are sad, ascetics, sages, and those who are bound to wear a narrow piece of cloth should have long beards and moustaches.

Dresses: The dresses of people involved in pious acts, merchants, chamberlain (supervisor of women's apartment), *brāhmaṇas* should have white cloths.

Kings and courtesans should be in splendorous/colourful clothes. Other people are dressed according to their sex and the practice in society.

Types of Crowns and Hairs: Three types of crowns are mentioned subject to gods and human beings.

For gods and kings, *kirīṭaka* is stated. For gods, it should be of seven crests, for kings of five crests and queens and princes of three crests. For the commander of an army, it should be of the single crest. Demons (*daitya* and *dānava*), *yakṣas*, *pannagas* and *rākṣasas* should have the crown made with single broad white *paṭṭa*. For *vidyādharas*, *siddhas* and *vānaras*, there should be *mukuṭa* of knots.

The hair-style of gods, demons and *gandharvas* is Kṛṣṇapakṣa. The beard and moustache of demons, *yakṣas, piśācas, nāgas* and *rākṣasas* are of green colour, and the eyes are reddish-brown.

The hair of the chamberlain should be white. The head-gears of minsters, chamberlains and chief priests should be wrapped with the head-band like a turban. The hair of *piśācas*, frantic, and persons engaged in austerities and those who have not completed their vows should be long. The heads of children should be decorated with Śikhaṇḍaka. Sages should have matted locks. The servants should be in Triśira-khaṇḍa and jesters should be bald or only in Kākapada.

The hairstyle of the rest of the people should be according to their descent.

Property: To enter secretly (on stage) is the *sajjīva*. For this, *pusta* should be used according to the different nature of men. For the representation of weapons, various *hastas*/hand gestures are to be applied.

In the same way, one can properly design these theatrical devices according to worldly practices through intellect and splendour.

Further the text mentions that no one should release weapons on stage.

In the last verse, Mārkaṇḍeya says to Vajra, "thus I have spoken about the Āhāryābhinaya in a nutshell. Now I will tell you about the Āngika."

Here ends the chapter of the Āhāryābhinaya.

Chapter 28: Sāmānyābhinaya

The chapter includes sixty-four verses and describes the instructions on the *sāmānya* abhinaya. It involves enactment of many different subjects, concepts, events, experiences, and characters etc., presented on the stage through appropriate application of limbs.

The chapter begins with the actions regarding five organs of senses and their correlated actions of five *tanmātrās* under the *sāmānyābhinaya*. Like *śabda* (sound), *sparśa* (touch), *rūpa* (form), *rasa* (flavour) and *gandha* (smell), the senses and their associated meanings are said to be acted with sentiments by the learned people.

Śabda: The eyes are turned sideways, the head bent a little, and the forefinger is positioned on the ear represents the acting of śabda/sound.

Gandha: The eyes are somewhat contracted, and the nose is puffed up; one should enact the gandha/smell with a single breath.

These meanings of five senses are threefold; *iṣṭa* (favourable/desired/pleasant), *aniṣṭa* (unfavourable/unwanted/undesired) and *madhyastha* (neutral).

Iṣṭa: In this type, the blissful movements of limbs are involved with bristling hair and such excessive actions.

Anista: In this type, head and eyes are rolled away with contracted eyes and nose.

Madhyastha: By neutral emotions, the action of *madhyastha* is to be done.

Atmastha and Parastha: Self-perceived is known as the *ātmastha*. When told or described by another person, it is the *parastha*.

After this, the acting of seasons, various natural elements, objects, personal feelings, social etiquettes, birds and animals, multiple persons, virtues, several experiences of human life etc., are listed. Let us see it one by one.

1. By placing both raised hands on the side in the Svastika position and lifting the head (in Udvāhita), one can indicate the sky of morning, night, evening and day also seasons, deep darkness, a large lake, directions, planets and constellations. It is noted that one can act on these objects by applying various glances.

- 2. In the above position of hands, chest, head and looking down objects on earth can be shown.
- 3. Through the acting of touch, the moon, moonlight, face and wind or a gust of wind on the face are represented.
- 4. Covering with a veil, one can indicate the sun, the dust, the smoke and the fire.
- 5. The heat and the heated land should be revealed by the desire of the shadow.
- 6. The afternoon sun should be shown with the Ākekara glance turned upwards. Sunrise and sunset should be displayed in the sense of wonder. The moon and the stars should be presented in the same way.
- 7. Pleasure should be acted by touching everywhere, but the hair's thrill should not be shown in this. Grief should be expressed with a look of anguish and a contraction of the face.
- 8. To express the feelings associated with the profoundness and illustriousness, the *sauṣṭhava* should be applied.
- 9. Arāla should be used at the position of the sacred thread to show necklaces, garlands etc.
- 10. To reveal the grasping of totality, the Alapadma hand should be used while rotating the forefinger and looking around.
- 11. Listening should be done by pretending to listen, and seeing should be done by acting with the eyes. It should be done in the case of *ātmastha*, *madhyastha* or *parastha*.
- 12. Lightning, meteor, the roaring of clouds and the spark of fire should be displayed with a loose body and sparkling eyes.
- 13. Cover the face to act the keeping of the bee away. By placing Padmakośa hands in Svastika, facing down, one can show the lion, the bear, the monkey etc.
- 14. By keeping Tripatāka hands in Svastika, one can salute the feet of the guru.
- 15. To display a whip, Khatakāsvastika is to be applied.
- 16. Number one to ten should be shown with fingers. The number or place of ten and hundred should be demonstrated by the Patāka gesture and the verbal acting.
- 17. The parasol, flag, banners and various weapons should be enacted while holding or accepting a staff.
- 18. Slightly inclined head and under-sighting show the fixedness of thought on one single object. The smile, meditation and pondering etc., should be indicated by forming a Samdanśa of the left hand.

- 19. While depicting the progeny, the head should be lifted (Udvāhita), and the Haṃsapakṣa hands should be raised to the right and moved around.
- 20. Making Arāla on the left side of the head can indicate having gone, renounced or given up, destroyed and wearied statements.

21. Seasons:

Sarada: All senses are subjugated, delighted faces and illuminated with assorted flowers represent the autumn.

Hemanta: The early winter season should be shown through the quivering of limbs and desiring fire by middle and low-class men.

The cold is to be acted by the lower class of characters by shaking of the head, lips and teeth, by shrivelling of the limbs, uttering a murmuring sound inaccurately.

Śiśira: The middle and higher class of characters should do the acting of cold in the performing of Śiśira as if due to altered state they are in a miserable condition.

Vasanta: Spring should be celebrated through the beginning of happy things, the desire for fun and enjoyment, and the display of various flowers.

Grīṣma: Summer should be performed by wiping sweat, falling to the ground, a touch of hot air.

Varṣā: The rainy season should be shown by acting to hear the deep sound of falling rain.

In the end, it is noted that the actions of seasons should be done according to changing joys and sorrows of characters in the play.

- 22. In their inherent or natural acting, the Vaiṣṇava *sthāna* is said to be ideal for men and Āyata or Avahittha for women.
- 23. The nature of men should be shown through *aṅgahāras* endowed with patience and modesty; and that of women by gentleness.
- 24. A hug should be with a smile and a thrill.
- 25. Joy can be shown through thrills. Anger can be revealed through fully opened eyes. The abandonment of garlands and ornaments can display irritation caused by jealousy, also demonstrated by quivering of the head due to heartbreak.
- 26. The sorrow of men should be shown by sighing while keeping the face downwards and that of women by striking the earth by hands and weeping.
- 27. There are two types of crying because ecstasy also causes tears. It can either be shown by cheerful or non-cheerful countenance.

- 28. By the movements of confusion and distress, the fear of men can be acted. Actions like searching for a saviour, crying in a higher pitch, and embracing a man indicate women's fear.
- 29. By moving the fingers in Tripatāka hand the birds like Śuka, Sārikā and other small birds can be enacted. And for peacock, Sāras, Haṃsa etc., the two types of aṅgahāras made for birds or feathers should be employed.
- 30. The invisible devilish entities like *bhūta*, *piśāca*, *yakṣa*, *dānava*, *rākṣasa* etc. can be acted as if they are tangible and visible by employing the appropriate *aṅgahāras* and indicating through tension and astonishment.
- 31. The reverence to gods can be shown by bowing down when they are present otherwise through their various insignia and auspicious imitations.

Lifting the left hand in Arāla and touching the head indicates the *abhivādana* to men and the *Kapota* hand to women.

- 32. The elites, women friends, bon vivant, swindlers etc., are to be shown with the Parimandala hand.
- 33. The height of mountains and trees is to be shown by spreading the arms upwards.
- 34. By elevated Patāka hands, the group and the army's massive gathering are indicated.
- 35. By placing Arāla on the forehead, one can show bravery, courage, pride, arrogance, generosity and haughtiness.
- 36. If Mṛgaśīrṣa hands are whirled away from the side and flung up by spreading it quickly, it represents things laid open.
- 37. When the palm is slightly spread downwards, it shows an entrance into the burrow or a house.
- 38. Persons who are love-stricken, affected by fever and due to curse have become lifeless should be acted by exhalation of breath and quivering.
- 39. The acting of the swing should be direct consisting of the action of swaying.
- 40. The acting of conversation is fourfold; Ākāśavacana, Ātmagata, Apavāritaka and Janāntika. Conversation in connection with another person is Ākāśavacana. Conversation to be heard by another person is Janāntika. Something spoken secretly and repeatedly in the ears is Apavāritaka. The Janāntika and Apavāritaka are to be performed by Tripatāka hands interposed.
- 41. Conversation in a dream should be of faltering utterances. The dialogues for older people should be wavering and interrupted, and that of children should be in charming

voice with unfinished syllables. Diseased people should talk with a deep-drawn sigh and exhaustion.

42. The acting at the time of death should be involved in the long exhalation. Death is indicated through the motionless body.

Here ends the main content of this chapter. It concludes by announcing the topics dealt with in the following two chapters, i.e. rasa and $bh\bar{a}va$. Mārkaṇḍeya says that it is impossible to speak on histrionics as the drama emulates the world.

Chapter 29: Gati-pracāra

The chapter consists of forty verses and describes various kinds of *gati* or walking or entering on stage.

It begins by defining two types of gati associated with the uttama or the superior character.

- 1. Svābhāvika: To be done by lifting the knee until the waist.
- 2. Yuddhacārī: To be done by lifting the knee until the chest.

Based on the speed, two types of *gatis* are mentioned hereafter.

- 1. **Sthira:** The steadfast type of gait is stated for the sick and hungry people, for fatigued due to penance, distressed by pain, in an unnatural condition, concealment and fervour also to love, grief and in moving about at will.
- 2.**Śīghra:** The quick type of gait is specified for those who are not being firm in themselves, shaking, terrified, perplexed, either delighted or in a hurry, also on the hearing of something ominous, in throwing or looking at something miraculous, when requiring immediate help; going after an enemy, a criminal and a prey.

Subsequently, the chapter describes the gaits associated with *rasas*.

- **Śṛngāra:** Two types of gaits are described in the erotic sentiment.
- 1. Svastha-kāmita: In a contented state of love, the lover is to be walked in the pleasant attire following the way of a lady messenger. It should be full of excellence and in accordance with the *laya* and *tāla* where hands are following the feet.
- 2. Prachhanna-kāmita: In a secret kind of love, the lover should not go with excessive ornament, should wear black attire, move softly and should be constantly doubtful of any sound. The body should be quivering, afraid and stumble frequently.
- **Raudra:** The gait of furious sentiments is also said to be threefold.
- 1. Nepathya: This type of body is soaked in blood, holding lotus-like intestines and several weapons in hands.

- 2. Anga: It consists of multiple arms and faces, various kinds of weapons, tall and stout body and abnormality.
- 3. Svabhāva: This type includes harshness, hideous speaking and an unmerciful attitude.

It is added that in the Raudra gaits, the feet should be four *tālas* apart.

- **Bībhatsa:** In the gait of odious sentiment, the earth is full of unpleasant things in the places like the burial ground or battlefield. The legs are sometimes close and sometimes far apart.

Vīra: In the gait of heroic sentiment, the feet are thrown asunder, and such type of feet movement is to be done in astonishment and cheerfulness.

Karuṇa: In the gait of pathetic sentiment, the feet are stable. There should be no elegance and proportion in it. The body is agitated and numb. The gait should be loose. There should be walking as if the limbs had been dismembered due to a resounding blow.

- **Bhayānaka**: In the gait of terrible sentiment, the walking should be quick but paralyzed as needed. The eyes should be widened after seeing some distortions.

It is followed by the information on gaits of different individuals and occasions.

- 1. The gait of ascetics should be slow-paced looking as far as a yoke.
- 2. Walking in the dark should be slow in which hands are touching around.
- 3. The unhurried feet movement displays the gait of the person who embarks on the chariot. He should suggest the speed of the chariot through the Samapāda or the equal feet. He should hold a bow in one hand and a chariot pole in the other. Its charioteer should also be busy handling the rein.
- 4. It is said that the gait about standing on the plane/vimāna should be delightful. Getting on and off the plane should be shown by eyes going up and down. Aviation should be displayed by repeating circular motion. This walk should be done in front and up in such a way that the feet fall to the ground and move in the sky/above surface.
- 5. The act of mounting or climbing is to be shown with feet gone away/apakrānta. The act of descent is to be represented with unsteady or doubtful feet movement.
- 6. Movement in water or climbing a tree should be done by moving the legs in an elevated manner. The latter also to be added with Sūcīviddha, Apakrānta and Pārśvāgata feet movements.

7. By holding a goad and a bit of bridle, an elephant and horse are shown. Other

animals should also be presented by the act of holding the reins in hand.

8. The gait of the horse carriage should be shown by using Vaiśākha sthānaka and

snakes in Svastika feet.

9. The walking of *vitas*/bon-vivant should be elegant.

10. The gait of an overseer of a women's apartment should be trembling and

obstructing.

11. The gait of emaciated, sick, and exhausted due to penance should be restrained.

12. The gait of a person going on a long journey should be dull and slow.

13. For an intoxicated person, the gait should be included of tripping on both sides.

14. In the gait, the acting of a mad person should involve talking foolishly, dirty and

bushy appearance.

15. The gait of a disabled person should be shown according to the circumstances or

actions.

16. The gait of a fat person is to be presented as if trying to carry a heavyweight body.

17. The gait of a jester is to be adorned with humour. In the natural state of this

character, the left hand holds a crooked stick.

18. In the gait of servants, their eyes are partially moving about.

19. It is noted that the gait of men in different countries should be according to their

nature.

20. The walking of beasts and animals should also be according to their nature.

Lastly, it is said that what is left should be planned according to the meaning and the

usage of sthānakas.

After this, the rhythm or the speed of the gait is stated according to the characters. It is

also said that this should be defined according to one's *sattva*.

Uttama: Endowed with calmness.

Madhyama: Of middle speed.

Adhama: Of fast speed.

The chapter ends with additional details.

1. In the Vikṛta theatre, the actor moves to and fro. The movement in the house should

be observed and used on the stage according to the theatre.

2. The gait of women should be elegant, of men should be firm or proud.

3. The costume should be according to the age and gait according to the dress. The

text should be according to the gait and acting according to the text.

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Here ends the Gati-pracāra chapter.

Chapter 30 – Rasādhyāya

There are twenty-nine verses in this chapter on *rasa*. It provides details on the presentation of nine sentiments.

In the first verse nine *nāṭya-rasas* are mentioned; Hāsya, Śṛngāra, Karuṇa, Vīra, Raudra, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa, Adbhuta and Śānta. It is said that Śānta is an independent and distinct sentiment. The Hāsya is produced from Śṛngāra, Karuṇa from Raudra, Adbhuta from Vīra and Bhayānaka from the sentiment of Bībhatsa.

After this, the colours of the sentiments are told. In it, the colour of Śānta is noted as natural, of Śṛngāra as śyāma, of Raudra as rakta, Hāsya as sita, the colour of Bhayānaka is stated kṛṣṇa, of Vīra it is gaura, the pita of Adbhuta, kapota (colour of a pigeon) of Karuṇa and the nīla is the colour of Bībhatsa sentiment.

Then the presiding deities of each *rasa* have been stated. Pramatha is the presiding deity of Hāsya, Viṣṇu of Śṛngāra, of Raudra it is the Rudra and Yama is of Karuṇa. Similarly, Mahākāla is the presiding deity of Bībhatsa, Kāla is of Bhayānaka, of Vīra it is Mahendra and Brahmā is the presiding deity of Adbhuta. Para-puruṣa is said to be the deity of Śānta sentiment.

Hereafter, the characteristics of sentiments are given. It contains information about the eight sentiments except for Vīra. First of all, Śānta is described.

Śānta: This sentiment is produced from asceticism. It is performed by accepting the cloths of a hermit, compassion for all creatures, meditation and walking on the path of salvation. The sentiment is known to have neither happiness nor sorrow, nor hatred nor jealousy and equal intellect about all living beings.

Hāsya: Hāsya is born of irrelevant talking as well as attire. There are two types of Hāsya; Ātmastha and Parastha. The first type involves laughing at oneself, while the second type includes laughing at another person.

There are three types of laughter according to the character, superior (*uttama*), inferior (*adhama*) and main (*mukhya*). A superior character's *hāsya* is in the form of a smile. It included little bloated cheeks, a graceful glance and a smile without showing teeth. Teeth are visible in the middle character's smile. The laughter of an inferior character has tears and sound.

Śṛngāra: There are two types of Śṛngāra; Saṃbhoga, i.e. sensual joy and Viraha, or Vipralambha, i.e. estrangement. It is stated that Vipralambha Śṛngāra is performed by

enactment of nirveda (disregard/despair). Then ten types of $k\bar{a}m\bar{a}vasth\bar{a}$ / states of love are mentioned. In the first state, love is shown with the eyes. The second condition involves the union of the mind; continuous remembrance is the third state. The fourth state is sleep deprivation, and the fifth is emaciation. The separation of the sensual objects comes in the sixth condition. The seventh state is the destruction of shame. Eighth is a state of insanity. Fainting occurs in the ninth state. The tenth is death.

Where the couple is full of the desired pleasures like garlands, body unguents, with all sparkle, it is the Saṃbhoga acting. Such a pair of a man and a woman personifies the Śṛṇgāra sentiment.

Karuṇa: Grief (śoka) is the root of karuṇa. Here the sentiment originates. It is said that this should be acted out through the following things; sunken limbs, breathing a sigh, wailing, discolouration of the face and dry throat.

Raudra: Raudra emerges out of anger. These are the things included in the acting; red eyes, frowning, anger, intolerance, and adventure. It also includes harassment and multiple weapons collisions.

Bhayānaka: Terrible sentiment is produced by fear. The sentiment is acted through the discolouration of the face, shuddering with fear and drying up of the throat.

Bībhatsa: Abhorrence is at the root of the Bībhatsa sentiment and is acted upon by nasal contraction and distress.

Adbhuta: The Adbhuta sentiment springs from wonder. It is acted by quivering eyes, thrills, finger movements, etc., as well as sweating.

The chapter concludes with the following points. The root of the $n\bar{a}tya$ is rasa. There can be no nrtta without rasa. So the man must be striving for nrtta that is dependent upon rasa.

Chapter 31 – Bhāvādhyāya

This chapter consists of fifty-eight verses on the characteristics of *sthāyi*, *sancāri* and *sāttvika bhāvas* associated with *rasas*.

Mārkaṇḍeya says that there are a total of forty-nine *bhāvas*. Firstly, the *sthāyis* of the eight sentiments are informed. They are as follows.

Hāsa: Hāsa is created by imitating the gestures or actions, or manners of others. It is said that it should be acted by Smita-hāsa and Hasita.

Rati: Rati is born out of accomplishment of the desired object. It is expressed through gentle acting and speaking sweetly etc.

Śoka: Grief is caused by the loss of a loved kinsman and the loss of wealth. It is expressed through the act of crying.

Krodha: Four reasons for the formation of anger; enemy, *guru*, servant and love. The anger towards the enemy is uncontrollable, the *guru* is sweating, the servant is compassionate, and in love, it is tearful.

Vismaya: Performing an extraordinary deed creates *vismaya* that is born out of joy. This *bhāva* is achieved through thrills and smiles.

Utsāha: Termination of composure and leading some business entails enthusiasm. It should be acted out through actions like madness etc.

Bhaya: Fear arises from the crime committed by oneself. This Hāsa is portrayed through confusion, tremor, terror, and collapsing.

Jugupsā: Seeing something disgusting creates Jugupsā. It is acted out through shuddering, the anxiety of the mind and contraction of eyes.

After this, the information of sancāri bhāva starts.

Nirveda: It is caused by poverty and the destruction of desired or agreeable circumstances. It is acted by sighing deeply.

Glāni: It is affected by vomiting, aversion, fatigue, and penance and acted upon by the emaciated body with dull actions, vibrations, etc.

Śankā: Cases like theft etc., raise suspicion. Its acting is done by hiding behind a cover and observing in all directions.

Asūyā: Envy is created from the offence committed by others. It is acted out through the destruction of virtues and hatred.

Mada: The use of alcohol creates a *sancāri bhāva* of Mada. There are three types of *mada* based on the characters of superior, medium and inferior categories. It is said that the acting of superior is to be done through rolling of eyes, of the middle type through nonsense talking, and of the inferior through fall and irrelevant actions.

Śrama: Strenuous efforts and travel create Śrama or fatigue. The acting of the same is done by massaging the body, exhaling and yawning.

Ālasya: Pride, sadness, and disease lead to Ālasya, or it is in nature. It is portrayed by sleeping and sitting.

Dainya: Misery is created out of poverty and mental distress.

Cintā: Anxiety is acted out from the argument or doubts that comes from the heart.

Moha: The temptation occurs when one sees a thief in an unexpected place or time also in conditions such as being unable to resist despite various difficulties. It is acted out through addiction, infliction of injury, remembrance of enmity and temptation of all senses.

Smṛti: A *sancāri* called Smṛti is formed from memories of the past. It is presented by raising the eyebrows and rolling of eyes.

Vṛṭṭi/Dhṛṭi: Vṛṭṭi/Dhṛṭi is formed from the knowledge of events or proceedings of the world. It is shown by enjoying what has been gained and shunning what has not.

Krīḍā: Agility and joy create Krīḍā or sports. It is played out in violation of the *guru's* orders or sayings.

Vrīḍā: Doing the improper actions create Vrīḍā or shame. It is shown by scratching the ground with the head down.

Capalatā: Agility is seen in activities done without thinking.

Harṣa: The gratification of wishes creates happiness. This *sancāri* is shown through happy face, thrill and excessive perspiration.

Āvega: Perplexity arises from confusion. It is expressed by the word 'ah.'

Viṣāda: Dejection is born out of the destruction of work or actions. It is acted out by the pretence of sleep and breathing out.

Autsukya: Impatience or eagerness is rooted in curiosity. It should be acted out through laziness, heaviness in the body and contemplation.

Nidrā: The *sancāri* of Nidrā is created by being awake at night, idleness and drunkenness. It is performed by rubbing the eyes, yawning and stretching the body.

Apasmāra: Epilepsy is caused by the rage of gods. It is played by falling unconscious and rising from it.

Suptatva: Waking up, dreaming creates dormancy.

Vibodha: Break in the sleep and yawning makes a *bhāva* of awakening.

Amarşa: Knowledge, courage, wealth and luxury produces impatience. This is shown by quivering the head.

Avahittha: Fear and deceit create a terrible dissimulation. It is performed by hiding the whole body.

Ugratva: Acrimony is born out of theft etc. It is shown through threatening.

Mati: Wisdom is formed from the scriptures and is shown through preaching to disciples.

Vyādhi: Defects cause ailment and can be manifested by guilt.

Unmāda: It mainly occurs because of the *vāta* or air, an element within the body or from grief. It is acted out through bad actions and talking foolishly.

Maraṇa: Disease or stroke leads to death. It is shown by the motionless state of all the senses.

Trāsa: Trouble arises from a terrible sound. It is characterized by shrinkage and shuddering of the body.

Sandeha: Doubt arises from questioning. It is shown through the vibrational frown.

Here ends the *sancāri bhāvas*. A verse about anger and fear is given before the information of the *sāttvika bhāvas* begins. It says that irritation is caused by crime. It should be shown through the act of getting angry. Also, the fear created by crime and it should be shown through the act of fear.

Sāttvika bhāvas are as here under.

Romānca: Thrill is displayed through the realization of desires and joy. It comes from cold, anger, labour and fear.

Svarabheda: Change in the voice is shown through fear and harsh tone.

Aśrū: The tears that come from grief or joy should be shown through crying.

Vaivarnya: Changing the colour of the face is the Vaivarnya. Since it is difficult to show, it has been said that it should be performed with effort.

The information of only four *sāttvika bhāvas* is given here.

Hereafter, the *rasas* and their *sthāyi*, *sancāri* and *sāttvika* sentiments are mentioned.

Hāsya: Glāni, Śankā, Asūyā, Śrama, Capalatā, Romanca, Harṣa, Nidrā, Unmāda, Mada, Sveda and Avahittha.

Śṛngāra: Except Ālasya, Jugupsā and Ugratā all other *bhāvas*.

Karuṇa: Nirveda, Cintā, Dainya, Glāni, Aśrū, Jaḍatā, Maraṇa and Vyādhi.

Raudra: Asammoha, Utsāha, Āvega, Mada, Krodha, Capalatā, Harṣa, Ugratā.

Bībhatsa: Apasmāra, Unmāda, Viṣāda, Mada, Mṛtyu, Vyādhi, Bhaya.

Adbhuta: Stambha, Sveda, Moha, Romānca, Vismaya, Āvega, Jaḍatā, Harṣa and Asūyā.

Vīra: Sveda, Vepathu, Romānca, Mati, Ugratva, Amarṣa, Mada, Svarabheda, Krodha, Asūyā, Dhṛti, Garva and Vitarka.

It is followed by some important principles related to *bhāva*. It says these and other *sāttvika bhāvas* are born out of different actions, and it is important to know that they are associated with *rasas*. In *rasas*, the predominant *bhāva* should be considered *sthāyi* and the rest as *sancāri*.

After this, types of rasas are mentioned.

Śṛngāra: *vāk* (speech) *nepathya* (ornaments and costumes) and *kriyā* (actions).

Hāsya and Raudra: aṅga, nepathya and bhāva.

Karuṇa: It rises from the threat on *dharma*, wealth and relatives.

Vīra: Three types of *vīra* sentiment are stated; Yuddhavīra (born out of the war), Dayāvīra (taken out of compassion) and Dānavīra (born out of donation).

Bhayānaka: *vyāja* (deceitfulness), *trāsa* (fear/terror) and *aparādha* (crime).

Another important rule has been stated. It says there is never a single *rasa* in poetry chosen for play. Be it *bhāva* or *rasa* or *vṛtti* and *pravṛtti*.

At the end Mārkaṇḍeya says, this is how I have described the forty-nine $bh\bar{a}vas$, their three states or $avasth\bar{a}$ and their employment in rasa.'

Chapter 34: Nṛttasūtra

It is the last chapter in the NrS containing thirty-two verses. The chapter sheds light on the story of the origin of *nṛtta* and its auspicious nature. Vajra asks Mārkaṇḍeya 'who created this *nṛtta*?' Mārkaṇḍeya then tells him a story. A summary of it is as follows.

In ancient times when both immovable and movable things/entities were destroyed in the sea, Madhusūdana was sleeping on the Śeṣa, and Lakṣmī was rubbing his feet. Then out of his navel, a lotus arose, and a four-faced Brahmā was born out of it. From the drop falling on the lotus, two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, were born who were filled with *rajas* and *tamas*. The demons snatched the Vedas from Brahmā. On this catastrophe, Brahmā says to Viṣṇu that the Vedas are his supreme eyes and supreme power. Without them, he has become blind. Hence free the Vedas from demons. Hearing this, Viṣṇu rises from the water and starts navigating the sea. The movement of his legs was charming and full of *aṅgahāras*. Lakṣmī's mind burst with love for Viṣṇu as she watches his beautiful movements. At that time, Viṣṇu went to the hell in the form of Aśvaśīra, and seeing those two demons there, he renounced the form of Aśvaśīrah and came back to his original form and killed both the demons.

Then he returned Vedas to Brahmā and said that now create the universe. At that time Lakṣmī asked Viṣṇu what exactly was happening when he was doing the elegant movement on the water? Then god told her that he has created this *nṛtta* which is a combination of *aṅgahāras*, *karaṇa* and feet movements. Devotees will worship him through *nṛtta*. He also adds that the imitation of three worlds is situated in this *nṛtta*. Then the chapter writes that Viṣṇu handed over this *nṛtta* which was full of purpose and characteristics to Brahmā. And Brahmā gave it to Rudra. By receiving such *nṛtta*, Rudra pleased Viṣṇu by perfroming *nṛtta* and so, he came to be known as Nṛtteśvara. Hara himself is also delighted being worshipped by *nṛtta*. Here again, the antiquity of dance is underlined by saying that it was created when immovable and movable were destroyed in the sea.

It is also said that all gods are satisfied with *nṛtta*. The gift of *nṛtta* is superior than flowers, *naivedya* (offering of eatables) etc. Whoever worships Viṣṇu with dance, song and instrumental music, all his desires get fulfilled, and he gets the fruit of the sacrifice.

Then, another peculiar thing is told that it is not appropriate to do business with *nrtta* like the *kuśīlavas* etc. do, and such practice should be avoided.

After this, *nṛtta* has been glorified again. It is said that it is the giver of grains, success, life and heaven; also of salvation. It destroys misery and brings luxury like gods. It is like advice to fools and good luck for women. It brings peace and welfare because Vāsudeva has created it.

Lastly, Mārkaṇḍeya tells Vajra that so far he has spoken to him the Nṛttaśāstra for the benefit of the people. Men can win both worlds through the effort by doing *nrtta*.

IV.4. Discussion and Analysis

Chapter 20: Sāmānyādhyāya

The first chapter of the NrS deals with various topics. Its contents have been taken from multiple NS chapters. Keeping the same order as it appear in the NrS, here are the chapters in which these topics are taken from NS: the characteristics of *nāṭya* and *nṛṭṭa* is taken from the Nāṭyotpatti and Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇa, *nāṭya-maṇḍapa* is from the Maṇḍapa-vidhāna, preliminaries of the play from Raṅgadaivata-pūjana and Pūrvaraṅga-vidhāna, types of male characters from Strī-punsopacāra, the four types of *abhinaya* is based on the chapters of *rasa*, *bhāva* and Āhāryābhinaya etc, occasions of

drama and kinds of recaka are taken from the Tandavalakṣaṇa, cārī from the Pūrvaranga, characteristics of mandala from Cārī-vidhāna and Mandala-vikalpana, angahāras and karanas are based on the Tāndavalakṣaṇa, sukumāra and āviddha types are taken from the chapter of Kakṣyā-pravṛtti-dharmī-vyanjaka, piṇḍi from the Tāndavalakṣaṇa, vṛtti from Vṛttivikalpana, pravṛtti and two conventions of nāṭya presentation from the Kakṣyā-pravṛtti-dharmī-vyanjaka, and the success of the dramatic performance is taken from the Siddhi-vyanjaka chapter of the NS. Now the order of the NS chapters (as in the edition of Oriental Institute, Baroda) is as follows: Nātyotpatti is the first chapter of the NS, Maṇḍapa-vidhāna is the second, and the third is Rangadaivata-pūjana. Tāndavalaksana is the fourth chapter, the fifth is the Pūrvaranga-vidhāna, at number six comes the Rasādhyāya, seventh is the Bhāvavyanjaka, the Cārī-vidhāna is the tenth chapter, and Maṇḍala-vikalpana is the eleventh chapter. The thirteenth is of Kaksyā etc., Vrtti has been explained in the twentieth chapter, twenty-first speaks about the Āhāryābhinaya, twenty-four is the Strīpunsopacāra which talks about the types of nāyakas and twenty-seventh is on the siddhi. This simple overview shows how the matter of the Sāmānyādhyāya has been derived by cross-referencing the NS.

First, it establishes the distinguishing grounds of *nṛtta* and *nāṭya*. Then it turns towards the types of *nṛtta* followed by the appropriate play-houses for the performance. Subsequently, it mentions the preliminaries of the drama touching the ritualistic elements such as worshipping the Jarjara, stage deities followed by the Puṣpānjali and the benediction. While talking about the kinds of benediction with context to the conduct of male characters, the writer/s gives types of male characters. It is quite a departure from the ongoing topic of the Pūrvaranga. Then the chapter enters into the *abhinaya* section and connects the previous point of male characters with the codes of costumes while speaking about the *āhārya*. By leaving this point here, it detours to instructions on the occasions of *nāṭya* presentation. Then again, it goes on to mention the *nṛtta* constituents one after another probably with context to the Mārkandeya's previous statement that 'I will speak on *āngika abhinaya* later' to the Mārkandeya's previous statement that 'I will speak on *āngika abhinaya* later' to the Mārkandeya's previous statement that 'I will speak on *āngika abhinaya* later' Arana, *aṅgahāra*, Āviddha-Sukumāra, *piṇḍi* etc. However, without going into the depths of these technical elements of *āngika*, only their names are given. Notably, some of

⁶⁸ Verse 20.

these, like recaka, cārī and the movements of major and minor limbs, are also dealt with in later chapters. Therefore, Mārkandeya's above statement can also be taken from that point of view. After this, the verses on vrtti-pravrtti and Natyadharmi-Lokadharmī are given which denote the style, regional specifications and the conventions of dramatic performance. Finally, the parameters to gauge the success of the drama are stated.

Let us then look at some observations in the chapter. This study has been done in three ways; a text-based analysis including its placement in the VDP khanda III, comparisons with NS, and contemporary socio-religious and cultural contexts. The discussion will take place in the same order as the topics that come in the NrS.

1. The classification of *nrtta* mentioned in the chapter is curious. Our text says the nāţya and lāsya are the classes of nṛtta. An actor recreates the world on the stage. However, the dance brings the required splendour and the element of transcendence into a drama. With *nrtta* enters the refinement, in other words, the grace and beauty in the *nātya*.

However, Shah says that it should be Tāṇḍya and lāsya. 69 Dadheech seconds her. Though, in the entire chapter, the reference of $n\bar{a}tya$ is maintained and nowhere the word Tāndya occurs. In the NS Siva transmitted the knowledge of karanas to his gaṇa Taṇḍu. Thus the term Tāṇḍava or Tāṇḍya came into existence. Lāsya is one of the daśarūpakas or the ten types of dramas in the NS. Moreover Bharata, for the gentle dance, uses the term Sukumāra, which is opposite of the Tāndava conceptually and practically too. Abhinavagupta also says that by doing such karanas as Vidyutbhrānta, Garudapluta etc., one can create the uddhata or aggressive movements. By Talpuspaputa or Līna, one can make a *lalita* or delicate dance. It means that based on the innate features of karanas and the difference in the way they are presented; the types are established.

Dr. Mandakranta Bose opines that by the time of the VDP, *lāsya* had come to be recognized as a feminine style of dance.⁷¹ The reference noted previously of *lāsyavāra* organized for the courtesans in Śyāmilaka's Pādatāditaka (5th century AD) is significant to support this observation. ⁷² Also in the Kuttanimata (8th century AD), the term *strīlāsya* has been used. However there were male *lāsya* performers as well

⁶⁹ 1961:37.

⁷⁰ 1990:3.

⁷¹ 2007:136.

termed as lāsaka as found in Pādatāditaka. From the available sources, it can be said that the NrS probably is the first known text on dance which presents gender based segregation of *nrtta* in the post-Bharata tradition.

Notably, the word *nātya* is used here for Tāṇḍya; because the dance that was included in the citra preliminaries of the play was a dance of karana and angahāra which Tandu taught to Bharata. Therefore, since Tandya became a part of the *nātya*, it is possible to ponder that the *nrtta* that occurs in the play is came to be recognized as nrtta for nātya, originated by Śiva. So here probably, nātya means Tāndya. Moreover, Pārvatī is the creator of Sukumāra, which in the later period came to be known as Lāsya. So naturally, it is considered as another type of *nrtta*. Abhinavagupta refers to Kohala's verse which can be significant for the concerned point.

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saṃdhyāyāṃ nṛtyataḥ śambhorbhaktyārdro nāradaḥ purā |
gītavāmstripuronmātham taccittas tv atha gītake ||
cakārābhinayam prītas tatas tandum ca so'bravīt |
nātvoktavābhinavenedam vatsa vojava tāndavam //<sup>73</sup>
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The last line is important. Moreover, there could be some religious implications. Notably, in the entire NrS, not even once is the term Tāndava is used. In the last chapter of the NrS, Visnu has credited the origin of nrtta while Siva learns it from Brahmā.⁷⁴ Keeping the early medieval religious developments of Kashmir in mind, the tradition as seen in the NS could have been believed to be Saivite in nature. NS has been referred to as the authorised temple dance text in the contemporaneous Saiva āgamas explicitly.⁷⁵ In the early-medieval Kashmir, the religious notions related to dance of the NS were already well established. Dance practices were part of temple ceremonies vis Śaiva or Vaisnava. The sectarian rift between these two as reflected in the literature like Āgamadambara is already noted. 76 It should not be surprising if Tāndava in that sense has been found purely Śaivite. It could be the reason behind avoidance of the use of the term and replacing it simply by $n\bar{a}tya$.

2. The next point is connected with the categories Āviddha and Sukumāra.⁷⁷ These types are not stated in conjunction with *nṛtta* forms discussed above. They come after

⁷³ NS GOS (1992) I.p178.

Thus in the 73rd chapter of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III Śiva is the presiding deity of Nṛttaśāstra.
 Bhatt (1961) Rauravāgama *kriyāpāda*, *paṭala* 19 and *Ajita* (1964) *kriyāpāda* 27.269 et al.

⁷⁶ Intro. 13.

⁷⁷ Verses 54 and 55.

mentioning the names of *karaṇas* and *aṅgahāras*. But it is convenient to discuss it here.

After watching Siva's performance of recakas and angahāras, Pārvatī executes the Sukumāra nrtta, which is said to be the 'srngāra-sambhava', 78 born out of Śrngāra. In the NrS, Āviddha and Sukumāra have been attributed as the types of 'vrtta'. Shah, however, takes it as the nrtta. But there is no such variant listed. It can be asserted that there is a possibility that the writer/s of the NrS meant to be used the term vrtta only. Here the meaning of vrtta is to be taken as the plot of the play known as the itivrtta in the NS, and Bharata has also mentioned the above two as the types of dramatic productions.⁷⁹ The characteristics of the plot have been discussed in the Sandhi-nirūpaṇa chapter of the NS. Bharata says that *itivṛtta* is the body of *kāvya* or the literature chosen for the play. It is stated that the play, which entails energetic movements to portray violent actions like cutting, penetrating and provoking, comprises the application of magical powers and theatrical property. It contains more men and fewer women and is set majorly in the Sattvatī, and Ārbhaţi styles such production is known as the Aviddha play. It is associated with the characters like gods and demons that are haughty. On the contrary, the Sukumāra is a delicate type of a play that depicts human characters.

In our text, the amalgamation of connotations has taken place, which most probably can be understood as the reflection of contemporary notions. When Sukumāra comes with the Tāṇḍava, it denotes the delicate or *lāsya* form of dance, but when it comes with the Āviddha, it probably represents a type of a play. However, Āviddha also is one of the core characteristics of Tāṇḍava. It has been echoed in Sukumāra and Āviddha attributed to the female and male-dominated types of plays, respectively.

3. Further, the mention of Ābhyantara and Bāhya is made as to the varieties of Lāsya and Tāṇḍava, which is quite interesting. ⁸⁰ Ābhyantara and Bāhya are generic terms used in various contexts within the artistic and religious spheres.

According to the NS, \bar{A} bhyantara is that which is in concurrence with the \bar{s} astra, and thus it is auspicious. Comparatively, the opposite tradition is known as the

⁷⁸ NS GOS (1992) I.4.303.

⁷⁹ NS GOS (2003) III.21.2; III.26.25; II.13.59ff.

⁸⁰ Verse 3

Bāhya.⁸¹ By śāstra, it means abiding by the principles and rules of the NS itself. Moreover, in the Punsopacāra chapter of NS, the Ābhyantara and Bāhya have been connected to two kinds of character employment. Here the Ābhyantara means characters with dealings with the king, and Bāhya is with the general people.

Here, an inference is proposed that can be understood by simultaneously considering contemporary cultural and socio-religious developments. Suppose we relate the above dichotomy with the temple establishment, contemporary to the VDP. In that case, the Ābhyantara can be interpreted as a ritualistic performance and Bāhya a non-ritual or, in general terms, a secular or literature based/poetic performance. Although the secular and religious performances mentioned in the various literature written in Kashmir, which has been discussed previously, clarifies that NS is accepted as the authority in both spaces. However, the application of the text within the ritual framework certainly had a sacred status.

On the contrary, the objective of secular arts was to have pleasure. Ābhyantara and Bāhya likely denote these parallel practices too that the *lāsya* and Tāṇḍava or the *karaṇas-aṅgahāras* performed in religious and non-religious spaces. The study shows that when the temple came to be known and treated as the *prāsāda*, gods started receiving similar treatment to the kings. Subsequently, temple dancers came as the counter part of the courtesans of the royal court. The proposed connotations related to Ābhyantara and Bāhya are thus reflected in the performing arts tradition as well. The NrS itself makes a strong suggestion. In the continuity of the verse about the types of Ābhyantara and Bāhya, the chapter adds about Tāṇḍava that take place inside the *maṇḍapa* and *lāsya* in or outside of it. NS, however, never specifies such performance space distinction.

Additionally, the same matter can be thought from the viewpoint of *antarvedi* and *bahirvedi* types of worship mentioned in the first chapter of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III. *Iṣṭa* or performing sacrifices entails the *antarvedi* and *āpūrta*, fasting or vows etc. makes the *bahirvedi*. The previous is in concordance with the Vedic religion and later with the idol worship. It is also specified in the same chapter that the establishment of a temple, installing a deity and carrying out the worship accomplishes purposes, the

⁸¹ NS GOS (2003) III.22.76ff.

⁸² Jamkhedkar:2012; The temple architecture section in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III is named as Prāsāda-laksana 86.1.

⁸³ According to Shashirekha *bāhya* denotes movements of the body and *ābhyantara* inner feelings, 1988:IV 135.

ista and the $\bar{a}p\bar{u}rta$. The \bar{A} bhyantara type of performance can be associated with the success of ista and $\bar{a}p\bar{u}rta$, the consolidation of antarvedi and bahirvedi, Vedic and non-Vedic, the appropriate worshipping method in the Kali age.

4. NS mentions three types of *maṇḍapa*; Vikṛṣṭa, Caturaśra and Tryaśra. In our text, Tryaśra is not given. Probably because in the NS, the Tryaśra or the triangular type of theatre is considered the most inferior. In general, the shape does not seem appropriate for the drama production. ⁸⁴

Further, the text mentions results of the wrong choice of the stage as it says that ' $h\bar{l}ne$ bhavati sammardo vist $\bar{l}rne$ $n\bar{a}tya$ geyayoh.' However, based on the NS, it can be interpreted as the audibility of both prose and the songs involved in the $n\bar{a}tya$. The term geya is separately mentioned; therefore, the meaning of $n\bar{a}tya$ needs to be understood as the entire presentation of the drama. $P\bar{a}thya$ and geya are the conventional antonyms which meant to be recited and to be sung respectively; both are the part of $n\bar{a}tya$.

5. Further, the chapter notes the worship of stage gods and Jarjara. In the English translation of the VDP *khanda* III by Shah, ⁸⁷ she interprets Jarjara as the older person. However, the myth of the origin of drama narrated in the first chapter of NS equals Indra's banner staff with the Jarjara. After watching the production of the first drama presented in the Indra-dhvaja festival, gods were pleased and gifted various objects to the troupe of Bharata. In this, Indra offered his banner. But after watching themselves killed by the hands of gods in the drama, the demons became angry, and they paralyzed the ability of speech and memory of actors, two most important powers of actors. So to control the situation, Indra, with his banner staff, killed them. *utthāya tvaritam śakraḥ gṛhītvā dhvajam uttamam | sarvaratnojjvalatanuḥ kinciduduvṛttalocanaḥ| |raṃgapīṭhagatān vighnān asurāṃś caiva devarāṭ |*

jarjarīkṛtadehāṃs tān akaroj jarjareṇa saḥ //⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Even today most of the stages which are actually inspired by the Greek theatres are rectangular or square.

⁸⁵ Verse 6B.

⁸⁶ NS GOS (1992) I.2.18ff; Dadheech (1990) also considers it as the 'aspaṣṭa dhvani' or an 'unclear sound'.

⁸⁷ Published by Parimal Publications in 2002.

⁸⁸ Ibid. I.1.69-70.

Here the banner staff is called the Jarjara. Indra uses this as a weapon and breaks into pieces the demons and obstacles. By watching this, gods with joy say to Bharata that you have got this divine weapon through which all the demolishers of the play have made *jarjara*/torn apart. Hence it will be known as the Jarjara.

6. The performance only commences and accomplishes the expected results once the worship of gods is duly fulfilled. The NrS verses 7 to 11 covers a section on deity worship and preliminaries concisely. By referring to the rituals of worshipping stage deities and preliminaries described in the NS, we can comprehend the NrS verses.

It is difficult to conclude whether the writers of the NrS were pointing towards the *śuddha* or *citra* Pūrvaraṅga given to the absence of the mention to *nṛtta* or *nartaki*. However, the matter certainly reflects the procedure that happens post curtain dropping that is from Utthāpani to Nāndī. ⁸⁹ The earlier and further process is not mentioned, most probably taken for granted.

The first point for further discussion is related to the mention of the $v\bar{a}stu-devat\bar{a}$. The first line of verse eight in the NrS mentions the worship of Jarjara and $v\bar{a}stu-devat\bar{a}s$.

```
pūjanam jarjarasyāpi vāstudaivatapūjanam |
evam kṛtvā tato nāṭyam nāṃdipūrvakam iṣyate ||
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The *vāstu-devatā* of the NrS means the *raṅga-devatā* only. It is pointed out by Dadheech that in the NrS the *raṅga-devatā pūjana* and the Pūrvaraṅga has been mixed up, as in the NS these are discussed and considered as the separate sections as the rituals and preliminaries to be performed before the commencement of the drama. He opines that worship of *vāstu-devatā* comes as a part of Pūrvaraṅga in the NrS. However we would like to suggest that the first line is connected to the worship of *raṅga-devatā*, and the second is related to the Pūrvaraṅga. ⁹⁰ In NS, after the *raṅga-daivata pūjana* occures the chapter of Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇa followed by the chapter on Pūrvaraṅga. It is to be noted that in the Pūrvaraṅga, only cardinal deities, Jarjara, musical instruments, *sūtradhāra*, etc. are worshipped with flowers in a dramatic way that is with involvement *of dhruvā*, *cāris* etc. And at the end, the verse has been recited for the welfare of the king and the country. It is correct that the division between worshipping of stage deities and preliminaries is evident in the NS. In this

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⁸⁹ NS GOS (1992) I. 5.22ff.

⁹⁰Ibid. p.139.

regard, the first few verses of the Pūrvaraṅga chapter in NS are essential. The sages who have gathered to learn Nāṭyaveda from Bharata say to him that 'we have now heard the origin of drama, Jarjara and the worship of gods. Now enlighten us about the preliminaries with all their characteristics.' The Jarjara pūjana thus takes place in two ways in the NS. One as a part of the raṅga-devatā rituals and secondly in the Pūrvaraṅga with an accompaniment of Śuṣkāvakṛṣṭā dhruvā sang after the Nāndī. Hence the Jarjara pūjana, which is referred to in the NrS, probably comes with context to the worship of raṅga-devatās.

Notably, the word $p\bar{u}janam$ is used, which directly connects it with the chapter named $ra\dot{n}g$ -daivata $p\bar{u}jana$. Also, it is stated that once this $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ is done, the play should start with Nāndī. The reference of the Nāndī /benediction in the second half of the verse denotes the benediction of the Pūrvaraṅga. As Nāndī is a part of the Pūrvaraṅga, not of the $ra\dot{n}ga$ -devatā worship which contains the mantras of the gods. Notably, after the above-quoted verse, the brief particulars about the Pūrvaraṅga steps that are curtain dropping down, then Nāndī followed by Puṣpānjali in honour of Brahmā are given in the verses 8B to 11.

```
puṣpāṃjaliḥ pradātavyo nāndyante brahmapūjanaṃ |
pāṭhye gīte samāsaktaḥ pātratulyaḥ parikramaḥ |
catuṣkalo nāyakānāṃ madhyānāṃ trikalo bhavet ||
dvikalaścādhāmānāṃ syān madhyame nṛpa karmaṇi |
ekādhikona sarveṣāṃ kartavyaṃ kāryayogataḥ ||
```

After Brahmā-*pūjana*, the text mentions the *parikrama* or walk-around. Another inference regarding the connection formed between the play's characters and the *kalās* can be stated. Dadheech opines that character based segregation of Nāndī defined by *kalās* is the new contribution of the NrS since in the NS such categorization is not given. However there are few references found in the NS which should be discussed.

It is said that at the end of the Nāndī the Puṣpānjali is to be offered and the worship of Brahmā is to be done. The combination of recitative and song is to be executed according to the category of characters in the walk-arounds/ parikrama. Four kalās are for nāyaka (superior character), three kalās are for madhyas (middle character), and two kalās are for adhamas (inferior character) in the madhyama

⁹¹ Ibid,p.140.

svara. According to the suitability of the undertaking, one can increase or reduce the $kal\bar{a}s$.

In the NS, the musical concepts have been associated with the three types of characters. The most significant with context to the verse of the NrS occurs regarding the suitability of *dhruvās*. In the NS, the fundamentals of *dhruvās* are mentioned. The description suggests a structured composition or a song. In the Dhruvā-vidhāna of NS, the information about the usage of *dhruvās* in the various stages of preliminaries is mentioned, which are significant to interpret the NrS verses. Following is the gist of the important matter. ⁹³

It is said that the Āṣrāvaṇā dhruvā is to be applied in the Bahirgīta once the procedure related to the tuning of instruments and vocal that is from the Pratyāhāra to Āsārita is completed. Then the Pūrvaranga takes place. Then according to the prakṛti or the nature of the character (uttama, madhyama and adhama) who is making an entrance on stage the application of appropriate dhruvā, the Prāveśiki, is to be made suggesting the movement that is gati and the parivarta that is walking-round of the character. The presentation of six parivarta is to be done with singing the dhruvā while performing parikrama or taking steps on the stage. The dhruvā here is to be made as in the case of gods, and there should be twenty-one pātas (a clap given in the $t\bar{a}la$). In the drama presentation, the dhruvā should be of tryaśra or caturaśra type. In the tryaśra, the pādapāta consist of three kalās. In caturaśra, there are four kalās. For the superior character, the *caturaśra* is applicable, and for the middle character, tryaśra. For adhama or inferior characters, it will be Khanjaka and Naţkuţa. It is the usual regulation of the movement of feet. But in case of occasional confusion, disaster and fury, it will be one or the half of the kalās. The feet movement will be of three, two, one or four kalās. There should be synchronization between instrumental and vocal music.

 $^{^{92}}$ A man, who has controlled his senses, is intelligent, proficient in various arts and crafts, who is calm in nature, is clever, generous, endowed with various $\dot{sastras}$, of profound temperament, courageous and liberal is to be known as 'Uttama' or a superior character. A man who is skilled in the manners of people, proficient in arts-crafts and $\dot{sastras}$, has worldly knowledge, sweetness is the 'Madhyama' or a middle type of a character. And those who speak harsh, badly disposed, low-spirited, has criminal mind, hot-tempered and murderous, can kill friends, can kill anyone by tormenting, are prone to engage himself in futile business, speak very little, are wicked, arrogant, ungracious, drowsy, expert in insulting revered people, greedy of women, fond of quarrel, unfaithful, doers of evil deeds, stealers of other's properties are to be known as the 'Adhama' or the inferior type of character. NS GOS (2003)III.24.2-7.

⁹³ NS GOS (2006) IV.32.399ff.

In the same way, according to the character, the speed of an entry on stage is also explained in $kal\bar{a}s$ in the chapter of Gati-pracāra; four for superior character, two for medium character and one for an inferior character.⁹⁴

The point to be made here is that the quoted verses in which the $kal\bar{a}$ is told according to the character seem to be about the character's entry after the curtain falls and not about the Nāndi. Moreoever, the change in the number of $kal\bar{a}$ may have been a mistake, or it may have been in practice.

7. Let us continue with the topic of four $n\bar{a}yakas$. The NS has four categories in this regard; Dhīroddhata includes gods and kings, Dhīralalita includes minsters, Dhīrodātta contains Brahmins, and Dhīrapraśānta comprises merchants. In the NrS, the four categories given in the NS are maintained but additionally, each of them has been given a subcategory. So the total becomes eight. In the NS, there is no kind made for the characters of demonic nature because fundamentally they cannot be called the nāyaka in the first place. But in the narration of inferior or adhama characters, NS mentions the trait of Uddhata persons which has been recognized as the separate category opposite to the Dhīroddhata in the NrS. 95 A further distinction is made between two nāyakas and their associates and followers. King is Dhīralalita, and his followers have been included in the subcategory of Dhīra only (and not *lalita*). Brahmins and merchants considered the Dhīrapraśānta in the NS which have been distinguished in two different categories in the NrS. Brahmins are superior to the merchants, so they are Dhīrodātta while the merchants are Udātta. The NrS attributes rsis with Dhīrapraśānta and their followers in the subcategory of Praśānta. 96 The divisions are made based on the popular conceptions of the nature associated with these persons.

8. Next characteristic discussed in the NrS is the fourfold *abhinaya*; Āṅgika (bodily actions or gestures), Vācika (verbal acting), Sāttvika (internal feeling or sentiment) and Āhārya (rules about costumes, make-up and stage properties). ⁹⁷ The Āhārya includes the mentions of masks, character-based costumes and the material used to

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⁹⁴ NS GOS (2001) II.12.13.

⁹⁵ NS GOS (2003) III.24.6.

⁹⁶ According to Dadheech it is a *varga-viśeṣa* categorization.

The 27^{th} chapter in the NrS is devoted to the $\bar{A}h\bar{a}rya$ completely and chapters 30 and 31 are about the rasa and $bh\bar{a}va$.

make animals like a horse. Notably, in the NS, the costumes have been associated with various characters of all three natures. Still, they never have been attributed with the categories of the four $n\bar{a}yakas$, which is the case in the NrS. It co-relates the costume directly with the types Dhīroddhata and Uddhata, and instead of using Dhīralalita and Dhīra, it mentions king $(r\bar{a}j\bar{a})$ and adversary of the hero $(pratin\bar{a}yaka)$. In his commentary upon the verse that comes at the beginning of the Āhāryābhinaya chapter of the NS, Abhinavagupta, sonnects it with the prakrti or the nature of characters by an explicit mention of Dhīrodātta, uttama, adhama etc.

The eight Sāttvika *bhāvas* mentioned in the NS are *stambha* (stupefaction), *sveda* (perspiration), *romānca* (thrill), *svarasāda* (hoarseness), *vepathu* (tremor), *vaivarṇya* (change of the colour), *aśrū* (shed tears) and *pralaya* (loss of sense or consciousness). In the NrS, there are only six; *aśrū*, *prapāta*, *romānca*, *sveda*, *spandana* and *varṇa-vinyāsa*. The *pralaya* of the NS is probably replaced by the *prapāta*, *vepathu* by the *spandana* and *svarabheda* by *varṇa-vinyāsa*. The *stambha* and *vaivarṇya* are missing in our text.

There is nothing specific about the Vācika in the NrS, probably because primarily it is an element of a play more than dance. Mārkaṇḍeya informs that he shall speak about the Āṅgika later and move on to mention the appropriate occasions for the $n\bar{a}tya$ presentation in a simplified manner.

9. In the chapter of Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇa in NS, the occasions of nrtta performance is mentioned. The Siddhi chapter explains the probable time for a play in association with the central sentiment of a play. But in the NrS, instead of nrtta the occasions of $n\bar{a}tya$ is stated by saying that perform plays at happy places or occasions and not at the places of sorrow. 102

Now, the Āṅgika portion begins where the *recaka, cārī, maṇḍala, aṅgahāra* and *karaṇas* are noted one by one.

⁹⁸ NS GOS (2003)III.21.2 nānāvasthāḥ prakṛtayaḥ pūrvaṃ nepathyasādhitāḥ / aṅgādibhir abhivyaktim upagacchanty ayatnataḥ //

⁹⁹ Ibid. p.109.

¹⁰⁰ Dadheech (1990) 140.

¹⁰¹ NS GOS (1992) I.4.265.

Shah interprets this as the occasions that occur within the drama. According to her in drama where happiness is to be expressed one should act abundantly but at sorrowful place nothing should be done. (2002) p.62.

10. Recaka: Recaka is understood as the circular movement of a limb. 103 There are four types of recakas mentioned in the NS. 104 Even after proclaiming the presence of four kinds, the NrS says only two kaţi (waist) and pāda (feet). It also adds 'anghri,' which is not the correct writing, according to Shah. She reads the line differently to establish the grīvā, kaţi, pāda and kara categories of recakas following the NS. 105 Dadheech accepts her opinion and adds to it, with a doubt, anghri as hand. 106 But the primary meanings of anghri are foot or ankle, or toes. The word also denotes the root of a tree. The meaning 'hand', however, does not appear in the dictionary. 107

11. $C\bar{a}r\bar{i}^{108}$ and $Mah\bar{a}c\bar{a}r\bar{i}$: The literal meaning of $c\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ is moving or walking or wandering about. Etymologically the term has its root in car which means to move. In NS dance style, it represents a coordinated movement of the lower body. The synchronized movement of feet, thigh, shank and waist is known as the cārī. 109 Nrtta springs out of it. The movement is accomplished by $c\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$. It is used in showing the release of weapons or in battle scenes in the drama. It is said that no part of the drama can take place without the application of $c\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$. So the $c\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$ is an integral aspect of *nrtta*. Our text does not list their names, but thirty-two earthly and sixteen aerial cārīs are defined in the NS. In earthly or bhaumi the feet are close to the ground and in aerial or ākāśiki feet are mainly off the ground which comprises lifting, extending, jumping etc.

Further, the NrS mentions the mahācārī. NS talks about the execution of mahācārī in the Pūrvaranga concerning the Āngika and Vācika abhinaya. It commences with the Rangadvāra, after the benediction and worshipping of Jarjara. 110 The verse that comes at this place in the NS tells about the associated sentiments to the cārī and mahācārī, the Śrngāra and Raudra respectively. The NrS explains that the Sukuamāra movements of limbs and speech make the cārī. Mahācārī is the opposite of it. So it says that the aroused actions of limbs and speech form the mahācārī. The words 'sukumāra and 'abhyutthita' have been used correspondingly projecting the

¹⁰³ Vatsyayana (1968) 25.

¹⁰⁴ NS GOS (1992) I.4.248ff.

¹⁰⁵ 1961:p.40.

¹⁰⁶ 1990:p.5.

¹⁰⁷ Monier-Williams (1986) 8; Apte (1890)21.

¹⁰⁸ The topic of $c\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ is repeated in the 24th chapter of the NrS with additional details.

 $^{^{109}}$ NS GOS (2001) II.10.1ff; According to Dr. Padma Subrahmanyam $c\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ is the movement of entire leg, Bhāratīya Nātyaśāstra Vol 1.3. ¹¹⁰ NS GOS (1992) I.5.124ff.

sentiments of Śṛngāra and Raudra. Since it is stated in the NS that Sukumāra the gentle dance invented by Pārvatī, is set in the Śṛngāra sentiment our writer/s associated it with the $c\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}$.

Here is another vital point for brief discussion. While talking about the $c\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$, the chapter mentions $v\bar{a}k$ /speech, $a\dot{n}ga$ /limbs and $cest\bar{a}$ /movement. These three are the pillars or the fundamental tools of acting in plays. Dance is part of the third concept. The essence/sattva is created in the actor, and through it, various psychological states and sentiments are expressed. Speech, limbs and movements are the three vehicles of expression.

12. *Maṇḍala*: The movement of a single foot is a *cārī*. Both the feet moving together makes a *karaṇa* and the combination of *karaṇas* form the *khaṇḍa*. Such three or four *khaṇḍas* creates a *maṇḍala*. Thus the first verse in Maṇḍala chapter of NS says that the variety of *cārīs* forms *maṇḍala*. It is also stated in the NrS in the same phraseology. The ten Ākāśiki (aerial) and ten Bhaumi (earthly) *maṇḍalas* listed in the NrS are the same as in the NS. Only the Āvarta is mentioned as Mārdava, Ardhyārdha as Ardha and Piṣṭakuṭṭa as the Piṣṭakubja which most probably are the scribe's errors or the change in the names that occurred with the time. However, there are no variants as such noted in the critical edition.

We are not in a position to know anything more than this in the absence of the technical details of these *mandalas*.

13. Karaṇa and Aṅgahāra: Considering the NS tradition from a larger perspective, one can note that many similar pervasive threads connect dance and drama. Although dance is a beautifying element of the play, they both stand on equal feet. For example, from rasa, bhāva, tāla etc., to costumes, these principles are the same in dance and drama. Then within the NS elements, what exactly is the distinctive identity of nṛtta? It is karaṇa the core identity of nṛtta. Then recaka, cāri, hasta etc., come as its inherent components. The whole chapter of Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇa in NS is devoted to this subject. In the NrS, however, the topic is covered only by mentioning the names of karaṇas and aṅgahāras. Karaṇa and nṛtta are synonymous, but notably, it has not

¹¹¹ NS GOS (2003) III.22.1ff.

The verses describing the combinations of $c\bar{a}ris$ are mentioned in the NrS.ch24. verse 63-65. It is referred to here to understand the definition of mandala.

been discussed much in the NrS. This lack of information is evident in the proposed text which is specifically devoted to *nrtta*.

Karanas form the core aspect of nṛtta and aṅgahāra is the combination of karanas. After watching the dramatic performances of Samudramanthana, a samavakāra and Tripuaradāha, a dima presented by Bharata's troupe, Śiva says to Brahmā to add *nrtta* in the preliminaries and make it *citra* as opposite to the earlier śuddha or pure preliminary. 113 This nrtta consisted of the karanas and aṅgahāras, invented by Śiva himself. Brahmā asks him to speak on the aṅgahāras and then the god orders Tandu to teach them to Bharata. In this way, the NS first lists angahāras then karanas and proceed to give instructions of hundred and eight karanas followed by the thirty-two aṅgahāras. Two karaṇas make one Mātṛkā; three karaṇas create a Kalāpaka, four a Sandaka, five a Samghātaka and six, seven, eight or nine karanas create an Angahāra. 114 The verses of these calculations of *karaṇas* are copied from the NS. The only difference is that the NS also mentions that two, three or four Mātrkās form one Angahara, which is absent in our text probably because the combination of six, seven, eight or nine karaṇas forms one aṅgahāra is the other way round to say the same calculation. So our writer/s probably found no need to give the Mātrkā calculation for Angahāra.

The NrS lists just the names of the *karaṇas* and *aṅgahāras*. Based on the initial reading, some observations can be made. The number of the *aṅgahāras* and *karaṇas* differs from the NS. The NrS lists thirty-six *aṅgahāras* and ninety *karaṇas*. The order is also altered than the NS. Some of the names of *aṅgahāras* and *karaṇas* are repeated; some *aṅgahāras*, as well as *karaṇas*, got slightly different names than their original counterparts; some are new representing the contemporary development. Following tables shall clear the picture.

Aṅgahāras in the order of the NrS	The number in the NS
1) Sthirahasta	1
2) Ākṣiptaka	5
3) Uddhaṭṭita	6
4) Aparājita	8
5) Mattakrīḍa	10

¹¹³ NS GOS (1992)I.4.13ff.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.31ff.

6) Viṣkambha	7
7) Svastikarecita	11
8) Vṛścikāpasṛta	13
9) Talamanda	
10) Avasarpita	Probably 31 st Apasarpita.
11) Mattalliskhalita	15 Matta-skhalita.
12) Bhramara	14
13) Pārśvasvastika	12
14) Madavilasita	16
15) Vikṣipta	
16) Gatimaṇḍala	17
17) Vaiśākharecita	20
18) Parivṛttakarecita	19
19) Udvartaka	
20) Paricchinna	18
21) Recaka	Probably 27 th Recita.
22) Balāhaka	
23) Sambhrānta	30
24) Āngika	
25) Ratikrīḍa	
26) Alātaka	22
27) Vidyutbhrānta	24
28) Parāvṛta	21
29) Pārśvaccheda	23
30) Ākṣiptarecita	29
31) Saumya	
32) Karita	
33) Sūcīviddha	3
34) Apaviddha	4
35) Vilāpa	
36) Ardhanikuṭṭita	32

The Talamanda, Vikṣipta, Udvartaka, Balāhaka, Āngika, Ratikrīḍa, Saumya, Karita and Vilāpa are not mentioned in the NS, thus these are the new *aṅgahāras* presented in the NrS. Two major observations are:

- **i. Mattalliskhalita:** The fifteenth angahara in the NS named Matta-skhalita begins with the Mattalli karana, moving round the right hand, then bending it and keeping it equal to the cheek. It follows the performance of Apaviddha, Talasansphotita, Karihasta and Katichinna. The Mattalli karana dominates this angahara in the total performance. That probably is why it has been labelled as the Mattalliskhalita by the author/s of the NrS.
- **ii. Balāhaka:** It is natural to see the effect of the religious tradition attached to the text on its content. This aspect of the NrS will continue to emerge. Perhaps an example of this can be seen here. One of Kṛṣṇa's four horses was named Balāhaka. There is a tradition of recognizing various movements in dance in the name of animals and birds. Inspired by the movements of creatures, many types or aspects appear to have been added to the dance in styalistic manner. This is how the principle of imitation works. It is a new *aṅgahāra* introduced here.
- iii. Ratikrīḍa: It is also not surprising that an aṅgahāra called Ratikrīḍa is formed. The importance of Śṛṇgāra is also evident in NS. Moreoever, in Kashmir, texts based on eroticism appear to have been composed in the early medieval period. 116

Karaṇas in the order of the NrS	The number in the NS.
1)Tala-puṣpa	1
2)Apa-Viddha	4
3)Līna	6; repeated in the NrS, no.73 in this table.
4)Svastika-recita	7
5)Maṇḍala-svastika	8
6)Urūvṛtta	Can be taken as the 98 th Urudvṛtta.
7)Nikuṭṭaka	9
8)Sūcīviddha	78
9)Karichinna	Probably the 11 th karaṇa of the NS Kaṭichinna.
10)Ardha-recita	12

¹¹⁵ Puraṇika encyclopaedia (1975) p.101; other three were Śaibya, Sugrīva and Meghapuṣpa.

¹¹⁶ The Kuttanimata by Dāmodaragupta and the Samayamātrkā by Ksemendra.

11)Vakṣa-svastika	13
12)Unmatta	14
13)Svastika	15
14)Pṛṣṭha-svastika	16
15)Dik-svastika	17
16)Alāta	18
17)Ardha-sūcī	77
18)Kaṭi-sama	19
19)Ākṣipta-recita	20
20)Kṣipra	May be the 21 st karaṇa of Vikṣiptākṣiptaka.
21)Ardha-svastika	22
22)Sancita	Probably the 23 rd of Ancita in the NS.
23)Bhujaṅga-trāsita	24
24)Urdhva-jānu	25
25)Nikuncita	26
26)Mattalli	27
27)Ardha-mattalli	28
28)Recaka-nikuṭṭaka	29
29)Pāda-viddha	Probably the 30 th of the NS Pādāpaviddha.
30)Taḍid-bhrānta	65 th is the Vidyut-bhrānta <i>karaṇa</i> .
31)Valita	31
32)Ghūrṇita	33
33)Lalita	31
34)Daṇḍa-pakṣa	34
35)Bhujangatrasta-recita	35
36)Nūpura	36
37)Recita	Probably the 37 th <i>karaṇa</i> of the NS known as the Vaiśākha-recita.
38)Bhramara	38
39)Catura	39
40)Bhujaṅgāncita	40
41)Chinna	45
42)Vṛścika-recita	46

43)Latā-vṛścika	44
At this place, the repetition occurs	
with the karaṇas of Chinna and	
Vṛścika-recita.	
44) Vyamsita	48
45) Vṛścika	47
46)Sūcī-viddha	78
47)Lalāṭatilaka	50
48)Kuncita	52
49)Cakra-maṇḍala	53
50)Uro- maṇḍala	54
51)Ākṣipta	55
52)Latā-lasita	Most probably the 56th karana named Tala-
	vilasita.
53)Argala	57
54)Vikṣipta	58
55)Bhramita	
56)Vilāsa	
57)Vānara-pluta	
58)Parivṛtta	72
59)Nivṛtta	Most probably 61 st karaṇa of Vivṛtta.
60)Pārśvakrānta	63
61)Nikuncita	26
62)Atikrānta	66
63)Avakrānta	Probably the 79 th karaṇa of Apakrānta is
	erroneously noted as the Avakrānta.
64)Dolā-pāda	60
65)Vivartita	67
66)Nāga-prakīḍita	
67)Vipluta	
68)Garuḍa-pluta	70
69)Gaṇḍa-sūcī	71

70)Parikṣipta	
71)Pārśva-januka	73
72)Gṛddhāvalinaka	74
Līna is repeated at this place.	
73)Viṣṇu -krānta	100
74)Aja-pluta	
75)Ākrānta	Probably the 51 st karaṇa of the NS named as the
	Krāntaka.
76)Maṇḍita	
77)Mayūra-lalita	80
78)Nata	It may be the 75 th of the Sannata.
79)Sarpita	81
80)Dola-pāda	Probably the 82 nd Daṇḍa-pāda.
81)Hariṇa-pluta	83
82)Prenkholita	84
83)Nitamba	85
84)Skhalita	86
85)Kari-hasta	87
86)Prasarpita-tala	It is the 88 th karaṇa of the NS named
	Prasarpitaka.
87)Simha-vikrīḍita	89
88)Vṛṣabha-krīḍita	104
89)Gaṅgāvataraṇa	108

Important Observations

- **i.** These *karaṇas* are not found in the NS: Bhramita, Vilāsa, Vānara-pluta, Nāga-prakīḍita, Vipluta, Parikṣipta, Aja-pluta and Maṇḍita.
- ii. The sixth Urūvṛtta can be taken as the ninety-eighth Urudvṛtta of the NS. The MS ma of the NS names it as the Urūvṛtta. 117

¹¹⁷ NS GOS (1992) I.p.134. variant 5.

iii. The ninth Karichinna is probably the eleventh karana of the NS Katichinna. It is possibly a scribe's error in the NrS. The similar case of replacing kaţi and kari is also seen in the Ardhasvastika *karana* of NS. Abhinavagupta takes notice of it. 118

iv. The twentieth Ksipra is probably the twenty-first karana of Viksiptāksiptaka intended to be written in a shortened form as the Ksipta but inaccurately reported as Ksipra. Although the sequence of karana in NS is not entirely followed in our text, however there are occasional continuities. The karana which come before Ksipra are nineteenth and twentieth in NS, and the next one is twenty-second. Therefore there is a chance of possible error as mentioned above.

v. The thirtieth Tadid-bhrānta is identical to the sixty-fifth karana of NS named Vidyut-bhrānta. *Tadita* is the synonym for the *vidyuta*, which means lightening.

vi. The thirty-first Valita is identified as Valitoruka, the third karana of the NS by Dadheech. 119 But Valita is anyway an independent karana in NS listed at number thirty-one. Also, the karanas of the NrS from nine to forty almost follows the order of the NS karanas beginning from eleven to forty except the two that are Ardha-sūcī and the Tadid-bhrānta. Valitoruka is absent in our text. Here the Valita karaņa is referred to in NrS.

vii. The thirty-seventh karana of Recita is probably the Vaiśākha-recita of NS, which occurs on the same number. There are few karanas in the NS containing recita in its name because of the particular movement involved. Few are listed in the NrS. E.g. Svastika-recita (no.4 in this table), Ardha-recita (no.10), Ākṣipta-recita (no.19), Bhujangatrasta-recita (no.35), Vrścika-recita (no. 42) and the Recita-nikuttaka (no. 28). Only Dandaka-recita is not mentioned in our text which is the forty-first karana in the NS. The primary reason behind our inference comes from the characteristics of this karaṇa explained in the NS. It says that 'hasta, pāda, kaṭi and grīvā are to be applied in recita and when it's accomplished in the Vaiśākha sthāna it becomes Vaiśākha-recita.' No other karana mentioned above have involved all four limbs in the recita. 120 Probably because of this, our text says it as just recita. Also, observing

¹¹⁸ NS GOS (1992) I.pp107-108. ¹¹⁹ 1990:144.

¹²⁰ NS GOS (1992)I.4.97.

the order of the karanas followed in the NrS and its co-relation with the NS, we may conclude that by recita, our text means the Vaiśākha-recita karaņa.

viii. The fifty-second karana of Latā-lasita is most probably the fifty-sixth karana named Tala-vilasita in NS. Abhinavagupta uses the expression 'lasita' while commenting upon the Tala-vilasita. 121 Dadheech identifies it with the Latā-vṛścika 122 however the Latā-vṛścika karaṇa is listed separately in the NrS at the forty-third number.

ix. The fifty-seventh Vanara-pluta possibly presents another case of religious influence. It may have been done keeping in mind the role of Hanumana in the Rāmāyana and the ape characters in general. We have a long tradition of Samskrta plays based on the Rāmāyaṇa. In the performance of such characters, it is quite natural to add their animal instincts in the acting. *Pluta* means to jump. E.g. Garudapluta karana listed at the place sixty-eight.

A similar probability can be seen in the case of the sixty-sixth karana, i.e. Nāga-prakīdita. We can think of this in the context of Kṛṣṇa's slaying of serpent Kāliyā. Keeping in mind the theatrical presentation of this heroic deed of Kṛṣṇa, the concerned karana can be applied in it. 123 It is clear from the names of the two other karaņas mentioned in NS, Viṣṇukrānta and Gaṅgāvataraṇa that there are myths behind them.

x. The fifty-ninth karana named Nivrtta is most probably the sixty-first in NS i.e. Vivrtta. Some MSS of the NS reads it as the Nivrtta only. 124

xi. The seventy-fifth Aja-pluta is also a new addition to the *karaṇas*. As it is spoken earlier, there are various karaṇas named after animals that represent the essence of the physical features of that particular animal imitated through the karaṇa. Aja means a goat; *pluta* is to leap.

¹²² 1990:144.

¹²¹ Ibid.p.120.

¹²³ Bhāsa while narrating this event in his Bālacaritam (act 4.6) writes that Kṛṣṇa danced Hallisaka on the hoods of the serpent. This shows that the practice of showing this event through dance was going on for a long time.

124 MSS kṣa, ṭha, ba, ma, ta Ibid. p.122. Variant 4.

xii. The eighty-first *karaṇa* of Dola-pāda is probably the eighty-second Daṇḍa-pāda of NS since Dolā-pāda is already listed at the number sixty-four. A scribe may have caused this error.

xiii. The eighty-seventh Prasarpita-tala is the same eighty-eighth *karaṇa* of NS named Prasarpitaka. The verse which describes the instructions of the performance is significant to understand the varied name of this *karaṇa* found in the NrS. '*ekastu recito hastau latākhyāstu tathā paraḥ prasarpitatalau pādau prasarpitakameva tat.*' The hands are in *recita* and *latākhya*, the feet are in *prasarpita* (like crawling), and so it is known as the Prasarpitaka. The core aspect of this *karaṇa* is the feet position '*prasarpitatalau*'; probably therefore, our text mentions it Prasarpita-tala copying the term from the NS.

xiv. Now about the final number of *karaṇas*. According to Shah, the forty-fourth *karaṇa* is Chinna-vṛścika-recita. But Chinna and Vṛścika-recita seem to be two different *karaṇas*. They are already mentioned at numbers forty-one and forty-two in the NrS. Therefore, they are not included in the final list. Even Dadheech has not enumerated them.

Secondly, Shah believes that forty-fifth *karaṇa* is Vyamsita-vṛścika; Dadheech has considered Vyamsita and Vṛścika as two different *karaṇas* which seems to be correct.

Then at the position of number seventy-three, there is the repetition of Līna *karaṇa*, listed at number three. Excluding the repetitions, according to our observations, a total of eighty-nine *karaṇa*s can be enumerated in the NrS.

14. The next important point that comes in the chapter is *piṇḍi*. *Piṇḍi* is the group dance formation. Four types if *piṇḍibandhas* are mentioned in NS; *piṇḍi* (lump; performing in a general group probably not in a specific shape or design), Śṛnkhalikā (making a chain like an arrangement in which dancers are holding hands of each other), Latābandha (making a creeper like formation by having arms of each other or putting arms around the waists of fellow dancers), and Bhedyaka (dancing

¹²⁵ NS GOS (1992) I. 4.148-149.

individually but in a group). 126 After watching the performances of Sukumāra by Pārvatī and aṅgahāras by Śiva, Nandi and Bhadrāmukha notes down the names of piṇḍibandha based on their characteristics. 127 NS lists seventeen piṇḍis. These are the insignia, or the banners of deities, e.g. Caṇḍikā's piṇḍi is Sinhavāhini, Kumāra's Śikhi or Balarāma's Hala etc. The terms dhvajabhūta and svacinhita are significant. Thus our text says 'devatācinākṛtakara' is the piṇḍi. That's all there is to know about piṇḍi in our chapter. The group of dancers creates these shapes on stage and performs. 128

15. In the chapter, the four *vṛttis* and their characteristics with their representation of the respective *rasas* are mentioned. In general *vṛtti* means style. In the NS, the origin of *vṛtti* is credited to Viṣṇu's various movements he executed while killing the demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha. The Bhāratī, Sāttvatī, Ārabhaṭi and Kaiśiki are the *vṛttis* or the styles. The *vāk* and *aṅga* are its chief constituents. The NrS notes that Bhāratī is speech dominated. But of the remaining three *vṛttis*, their suitability to the respective *rasas* are mentioned. In the NrS, the Sāttvatī is associated with the Vīra, Ārabhaṭi with Raudra, and Kaiśiki with Śṛngāra and Hāsya. The NrS does not say the *rasa* for Bhāratī. The beauty of dance is inherently connected with the Kaiśiki. Since the text is about the *nṛtta*, it probably mentions both the *rasas* associated with Kaiśiki.

16. *Pravṛṭṭi* denotes the practices associated with the regions, which also consider the local expression reflected in costumes, language, and mannerisms. There are four *pravṛṭṭis* mentioned in the NS; Avanti (covers central India), Dākṣinātyā (the

¹²⁶ Ibid. verse288.

¹²⁷ Ibid. verse252ff.

¹²⁸ Abhinavagupta while commenting upon the *piṇḍi* uses the terms like *ākāra-sādṛśya* or *ākṛti-viśeṣa*. ibid.p.162.

¹²⁹ NS GOS (2003) III. Chapter 20th is Vṛtti-vikalpa.

¹³⁰ Ibid.It is born out of the arrogant words of demons threatening Viṣṇu. The earth was burdened by the feet movement of Harī while he was combating and from that bhāra or weight the Bhāratī was created. The other derivation noted in the NS is that Bhāratī is associated with the Saṃskṛta recitation and is used by the Bharatas and therefore known as the Bhāratī.

¹³¹ Ibid. In the NS myth when Viṣṇu rebound his lustrous bow named Śāraṅga, which was full of unruffled sattva, the Sāttvatī vṛtti came out of it so it is appropriate for the Vīra and Adbhuta rasa. Then in fight the god moved applying various aṅgahāras with his śikhā or the tuft tied up, from this the Kaiśiki came into existence thus it is the style for Śṛngāra and Hāsya rasa which denote the gracefulness. The following fight was full of energetic body movements consisted the Cāris which created the Ārabhaṭi style suitable for the Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa and Raudra sentiments. The Bhāratī with all its previously mentioned characteristics is applicable to the Karūṇa and the Adbhuta rasa.

 $^{^{132}}$ Shashirekha thinks that here the author of the NrS has yet not taken all the nine *rasas* in to consideration, 1988:IV.141.

dakṣiṇāpatha), Pāncālī or Pancāla-mdhyamā (the region between the Himālaya to the north of river Gaṅgā which also include Kashmir) and the Ouḍramāgadhī (the northeast of India). The NrS lists all four styles. The *vṛttis* and *pravṛttis* are interconnected. A particular type is prominent in that specific region. So the NS says that *pravṛttis* are '*vṛtti-sansṛta*.' This feature is also noted in the NrS. The NS also uses the term 'deśa-veṣa-bhāṣācāra' , which has been rephrased as 'veṣabhāṣā-anukaraṇa' and 'ācārapravartana' in our text.

17. *Dhramī* signifies the particular convention of presentation. Like NS, our text tells us about two such traditions; Loka and Nāṭya. ¹³⁵ NS lists various *lakṣaṇas* which defines a performance convention of Nāṭyadharmī and Lokadharmī.

It can be said that the division applies to the *nṛtta* as well, representing the two parallel practices in society; one, the *śāstrādhārita* or the performances based on the instructions and rules that are given in the *śāstras* like the NS and the non-*śāstric* practices, which are endless. For Loka, Bharata uses the term '*svabhāvabhāvopagatam*' or '*svabhāvābhinayopetam*.'

It can be understood that the Loka is the organic socio-cultural development. On the contrary, $n\bar{a}tya$ is artificially produced. The literature, acting, dance, costumes and various properties etc. all of such elements are involved in it and are deliberately planned to make it Nāṭyadharmi or the idealistic performance. ¹³⁷

18. Lastly, the chapter touches on the aspect of *siddhi* or the success of the drama. ¹³⁸ Corresponding to NS, two kinds of *siddhis* are stated in the NrS, Daivī and Mānuṣī. ¹³⁹ The Mānuṣī is twofold; Vāṅgamayī and Śāriri. The former consist of the vocal reactions of the audience, e.g. saying '*sādhū*', '*aho*', '*kaṣṭam*' etc. and the latter the physical experience that the audience receives, e.g. laughter on jester's act or the joy through horripilation or giving away the cloths or the ring etc.

135 Ibid. verse 70ff.

NS GOS (2003)III. Chapter 27 named Siddhi-vyanjaka.

¹³³ NS GOS (2001)II.13.p.206

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.verses 71-72.

Raghavan interprets Lokadharmi and Nāṭyadharmi as the realistic and idealistic respectively. 1967:36-48.

¹³⁸ Shashirekha interprets Daivī as the inborn gift like the beauty, robust figure etc. and Mānuṣī is nothing but the quality an individual gets by repeated practice, 1988:IV.142.

In our chapter, referring to the second type, it is stated that *vyāyāma*/exercise is a feature of human achievement. The second type is not mentioned. The Daivī is considered as the divine success of the drama as stated in our text '*devaprasādaja*' or the success achieved by the grace of god.

19. The concluding verse of this chapter is quite remarkable. It says that the nrtta, which is full of rasa/sentiments, $bh\bar{a}va$ /emotions and which is in tune with the $t\bar{a}la$ /rhythms, $k\bar{a}vyarasa$ /sentiment or the essence of poetry and $g\bar{\imath}ta$ /songs would give happiness and increase dharma/righteousness. It can be stated that it clarifies the contemporary perception of nrtta.

In Dhananjaya's Daśarūpaka (10^{th} century AD), the clear difference has been made between nrtta and nrtya. In which it is explained that nrtta is based on $t\bar{a}la$ and laya and nrtya is based on $bh\bar{a}va$. At the same time, imitation of states is called $n\bar{a}tya$. It indicates that the NrS, in which rasa and $bh\bar{a}va$ are also considered necessary for nrtta, offers a different opinion than the reference found in Daśarūpaka.

In the NS, *karaṇa* is the essential component of *nṛtta*, and Bharata tells us the usages of these *karaṇa*s. Naturally, the text itself clarifies that the *karaṇa*s can be used to create the required sentiment. Also, Abhinavagupta gives the *viṣayas* for usages of the *karaṇas* in the dramatic premises and discusses how they can be used in terms of acting both, *vākyārtha*/meaning of the sentence and *padārtha*/meaning of the word. E.g. Līna can be used for *priyaprārthanāvākyārthābhinaye*¹⁴² or *prasarpitaka* for *khecarasaṃcāraviṣaye*¹⁴³ etc. It clarifies that *nṛtta* was considered one of the constituents to produce the *bhāva* and create the *rasa*.

Chapter 21: Śayyāsana-sthāna

The terminologies of these *śayana-sthānas* are self-explanatory; Sama is harmonious, Ākunchita is the contraction, Prasārita is spreading out, Vivartita is turning round, Udvāhita is lifting or pulling up, and Nata is hanging down. The usages provide essential clarity.

¹⁴⁰ According to Shashirekha the author of the NrS have used the term *nṛtta* rather loosely and forgotten the difference between *nāṭya*, *nṛtta* and *nṛtya* Ibid.IV.143.

¹⁴¹ Ed. Haas (1912)Book I.12-13.

¹⁴² NS GOS (1992)I.p.99.

¹⁴³ Ibid.p.131.

The intriguing amongst these lying down postures is the Udvāhita. The verse goes like this: aṃsopari śiraḥ kṛtvā kūrparaṃ kṣobhameva ca / udvāhitaṃ tu vijñeyaṃ līlāsaṃveśane prabhoḥ //

The usage that is '*līlā-saṃveśana*' has been interpreted as the playful mood by Dr. Priyabala Shah. However, there is one more possibility that can be explored from the religious point of view. Let's first have a look at the variants found in the NS MSS. The GOS edition of the NS volume II (2001) has given two versions of the Gatipracāra chapter. In the standard chapter, it is '*līlāyām vacane prabhoh*'. Underneath, the variant '*veśane*' is noted from MS *ja* for '*vacane*'. The second version of the chapter is with *bha* and *ma* MSS variants, which says '*līlayāviśane vibhoh*'. NrS shows similarity with MS *ja*.

Viśana or veśana means to enter. However, the 'saṃveśana' noted in our text means not just 'an act of entering' but also 'lying down'. The instructions of the practical presentation make us assume that it is the position of Viṣṇu Śeṣaśāyin; that is Viṣṇu sleeping on the coil of Śeṣa resting his head on his palm. In the Vaiṣṇava theology, mainly that of purāṇas, the creation of the world and other worldly exploits like incarnations etc. have been imagined as the $l\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$ or a sport of Viṣṇu Śeṣaśāyin. The term ' $l\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$ -saṃveśana' of 'prabho' mentioned in the NrS can be interpreted from this perspective. It offers a different connotation to the Udvāhita śayana.

Chapter 22: Āsīkādhyāya

The Gatipracāra chapter of MSS *bha* and *ma* published in the GOS NS is referred to previously to discuss the *śayyā-sthāna*. In the same chapter, the *upaveśana āsanas* are enumerated and instructed.

The standard NS contains *upaveśana āsanas*, however, in a different manner. There are eight types of it; sitting at ease (*svastha*), sitting in a reflective mood (*sacinta*), sitting in a sorrow (*śoka* and *autsukya*), sitting in fainting and intoxication (*moha, mūrchhā, glāni, viṣāda*), sitting in shame and sleep (*vyādhi, vrīḍā, nidrā*), sitting on ceremonial occasions (*utkaṭika*), sitting in pacifying the beloved woman

¹⁴⁴ 1961:47.

¹⁴⁵ GOS (2001) II.p. 174, 195.

¹⁴⁶ VDP I.2.18; Joshi (1979)64.

¹⁴⁷ Similarly the Vaiṣṇava *sthānaka* is said to be used in releasing of *cakra* and holding the bow. Here NS mentions word '*aṅgalīlā*' and the presiding deity of this *sthānaka* is Viṣṇu NS GOS(2001) II. 10.53-55.

(*viṣkambhita*) and lastly, sitting for worshipping a deity. They are majorly based on the emotional states and the scene that an actor is supposed to perform.

The version of NS MSS *bha* and *ma*, from which our text is derived, show similarities that can be observed mainly through the names given to the types and usages of each of the sitting postures.

- **1.** It is already noted in the summary that the Krānta should be taken as Klānta and Svasthālasa as Srastālasa. The later *āsana* has been acknowledged as Svasthālasa in the performance instructions too, unlike the Krānta, which is mentioned as Klānta in the performance description. However, Svastha is the separate *āsana*, and the meaning of *srasta* and *svastha* is contradictory. That is why it should be taken as the Srastālasa in the enumeration and the instructions.
- **2.** The second important question is about the Sama sitting posture; whether it should be considered a separate *upaveśana* or the part of the Utkaṭakāsana? Dadheech considers the Sama as the separate *upaveśana sthāna*.¹⁴⁸

In the second version of the Gatipracāra chapter, the verse enumerating the sitting postures comes like this: svasthaṃ mandālasaṃ klāntaṃ srastālasamathāpi ca | viṣkambhikamutkaṭikaṃ muktajānu tathāsanam // ¹⁴⁹ In our text in the first verse of the chapter which enumerates the sitting postures 'tathāsanam' is changed into 'tathā samam'. Secondly, the performance instruction of utkaṭakāsana goes like this in the NS: samau pādau samādhāya samaṃ yadupaviśyate || aspṛṣṭabhūtalaṃ caiva jñeyamutkaṭikāsanam | ¹⁵⁰ which is copied as it is in our text vis verse numbers 11B and 12A. It proves that there is no different sama upaveśana sthāna ¹⁵¹ and the confusion created due to the errors made in writing.

3. One of the usages of Viṣkambhita is different in the NrS than its counterpart of the NS. The *svabhāvasaṃsthayā caiva naṭānāmupagamyate* is mentioned as *svabhāvasaṃsthayā caiva sabhyānāmupaveśane* in the NrS, which gives altogether

¹⁴⁸ 1990:15.

¹⁴⁹ NS GOS (2001).II.p191. The variant of *viṣkambhita* is noted in the MS *na*.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.p.193.

¹⁵¹This sitting is not mentioned in the SR either. However G.H.Taralekar in his Marathi translation of SR have stated that the NrS contains Sama as a different sitting posture, see the footnote (1989)275.

different use of the referred to sitting posture. 152 This usage of natural sitting is considered as that of the following type Utkaṭaka by Dr. Priyabala Shah. 153 But from the meanings given by other scholars of NS and the implication that comes out of contextual reading, it seems that it must be connected with the previous type Viskambhita. 154

Secondly, in the usages of Utkatakāsana, the last listed is the *yathāgamana* which is different than NS. In NS, it is given yathācamana, which means sipping water from the palm as a purificatory rite. The reference of $sandhy\bar{a}^{155}$ also comes in the standard NS. 156

Two usages of Jānugata are mentioned in our text; giving information to the kings and worshipping the gods. The second is stated in the NS. However, the former seems to be the new usage that our text provides.

The NrS has a different take on the āsanas or seats according to the characters. Partially it shows similarity with the NS; however, few of the seats and the characters represent the new development reflecting the contemporary practices.

- 1. In the NS, the lion throne is assigned to both gods and the kings. ¹⁵⁷ However, in our text, seats for gods and kings are different. In the eighty-eighth chapter of the VDP khaṇḍa III, it is said that for gods, one should build a Bhadrāpīṭha.
- 2. The silver seat is not mentioned in the NS. Our text associates it with the royal astrologer and the priest. Interestingly, the new character is introduced here that of sāmvatsara. 158 The VDP khanda II devotes two different chapters to describe the characteristics of sāmvatsarika and the purohita. It vehemently says that if the livelihood of these two is cut, the king's family up to three generations will go to hell. Such was the importance of an astrologer and a priest. It has been reflected in the NrS as the new type of seat made of silver assigned to them, differing from the NS tradition.

¹⁵² In the SR it comes as *yoge dhyāne bhavedetatsvabhāvena yadāsane*. Another publication of SR has the bhatāsane. It tells us the changing usage of this particular posture over the centuries in the dramatic practices.(1989)274.
¹⁵³ 1961:48.

¹⁵⁴ Shukla Hindi tr. of the NS. (1978) II.p171; Ghosh English tr. of the NS (2016) I.XIII.196-97.

¹⁵⁵ Religious act performed by Brahmin householder men at sunrise, noon and sunset.

¹⁵⁶ NS GOS (2001) II.12.210.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. verse 216.

Ronald Inden opines that the royal $s\bar{a}mvatsarika$ is the possible author of the VDP (2000) 30ff.

¹⁵⁹ Ch.4 and 5.

In the VDP khanda III, the chapter of kālanirdeśa contains the information to determine the auspicious time for the image installation in the temple. It was one of the main jobs of an astrologer. 160

The Vetrāsana (bamboo seat) is assigned to amātya (chief-minister) and mantri (ministers). Notably, after explaining the virtues of an ideal astrologer and the priest the VDP II has the chapter on the characteristics of the minister. There is no separate mention of ministers in the NS.

3. The Mundasana of the NS is mentioned as the Mandasana in our text. The rest of the verse is the same as in the NS. According to Dr. Priyabala Shah, manda is to be understood as the herb. Dadheech thinks that it is a round-shaped seat without having a pīthikā. 161 The relevant dictionary meaning of munda is a type of herb or the lopped tree trunk. Manda too is a type of plant. According to Monier-Williams, the Muṇḍāsana is the particular posture in sitting, the closest to our concern. 162 There is also a word like Mandapīthikā which means two-quarters of a compass. With all these meanings in front of us, Shah's opinion seems correct.

4. As per the NS, for ascetics, the *bṛṣī*, *muṇḍa* or Vetrāsana are noted. Since every religious practitioner follows the precepts of their sect, the seat changes accordingly. In this case, our text mentions only the seat made of bṛṣt̄ but clarifies that one should follow the rule of their religion. 163

5. In the NS, the seats for various types of citizens are allocated based on their status comparing to the king: Sama seats for the people equal to the king, Madhyama for madhyama, Bhūmyāsana (sitting on the ground) for hīna/inferior. 164 In the NrS for local people, including the prominent persons of the society, merchants etc. the pīṭhikā is assigned. No hierarchy as such is maintained. 165

¹⁶² 1986:822.

¹⁶⁰ VDP III.96.141.

¹⁶¹ 1990:148.

¹⁶³ Abhinavagupta in detail talks about it. He says that for *lingina* (ascetics) the Mṛgājina (deer's skin), for Śākyas the brsī (roll of twisted grass), for Śaiva the Mundāsana and for Jain mendicant the vetravalkala (garment made of bamboo) is to be given. Ibid.p.172.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. verse 226.

 $p\bar{t}hik\bar{a}$ according to Abhinavagupta is the Kāṣṭhāsana or the wooden bench. Ibid.p.172.

6. The NS systematically mentions the seats for women characters like the queen, goddess, wives of priests and chief ministers, and various kinds of ascetic women. ¹⁶⁶ Between all these women characters, NrS only chooses to state the seat of a courtesan. It is simply a reflection of courtesan's increased status in society.

Chapter 23: Utsthi-sthānaka

Shah thinks that instead of *utsthi* it should be *punstrī*. Venkteshvara edition names the chapter as '*utthitādisthānakavarṇana*.' ¹⁶⁷

The number and the names of these standing postures are the same as in the NS chapter on Cārīvidhāna.¹⁶⁸

1. Vaiṣṇava: The first significant aspect of *sthānakas* is the feet distance. According to the NS for the Vaiṣṇava, it is two and a half *tālas*. Without mentioning the distance, our text directly narrates the performing instructions, similar to the MSS *bha* and *ma* of the NS. It is how it comes in our text *svabhāvasaṃśritaḥ pādaḥ tryaśraḥ pakṣagato 'paraḥ | kiñcidañcitajaṅghaśca vaiṣṇavaṃ sthānamucyate ||* and in the *bha*, *ma* MSS of the NS it comes as *svabhāvasaṃsthitastvekastryaśraḥ pakṣasthito 'paraḥ | kiñcittathāñcitā jaṅghā samunnatamurastathā || However the usage <i>sthānenānena kartavyassaṃlāpastu svabhāvataḥ* is in concurrence with the standard NS.

Conspicuously, other important usages which are very much connected with Viṣṇu, E.g. throwing of a disc, holding of the bow and the brave, noble $angal\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$ or body gestures etc. are not at all touched in our text. Besides, it does not state the presiding deity of this $sth\bar{a}naka$ that is Viṣṇu, probably because of the self-explanatory nomenclature.

- **2. Sama-pāda:** In the NS, the deity of Maṇḍala *sthānaka* is Brahmā however, in our text Rudra along with Brahmā is mentioned as the presiding deity.
- **3.** Vaiśākha: According to NS, the distance between legs in this *sthānaka* is of the three and a half *tālas*. In NrS, however, it is of two and a half *tālas* that is *dvau tālāvardhatālam ca pādayorantaram bhavet*. This variation is found in the MS *ma* of

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.verses 218ff.

¹⁶⁷ MS A of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III wrongfully writes as 'Utśyitastānakaṁnāma' which is a mistake made by a scribe. It possibly could have been 'Utthitasthānakaṁnāma', MS no.91 of 1875-76, BORI, Pune.

¹⁶⁸ NS GOS (2001) II.10.51ff.

the NS. ¹⁶⁹ The following line, *añcite yatra jaṅghe tu pādau pakṣasthitau tathā* is also similar to the variant found in the same MS that is *jaṅghe caivāñcite yatra pādau pakṣasthitau punaḥ.* ¹⁷⁰ *Ancita* is the bent thigh and knee, and the *pakṣasthita* is when the toes are turned sideways.

4. Maṇḍala: Here also the distance expected between the feet differs. In the NS, it is of four $t\bar{a}las$, while in our text, it is three.

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5. Āliḍha: The verses devoted to this particular standing posture are intriguing.

asyaiva dakṣiṇaṃ pādaṃ paṃcatālaṃ prasārayet |

ālīḍhaṃ nāma tatsthānaṃ rudrakāly atra daivatam ||

anena kāryā sthānena sarvatroddharaṇakriyā |

raudrapāda pracāras tu saṅgrāmasya nirūpaṇam ||

siṃhādyabhinayaṃ caiva śatrusan dhānam eva ca |

khaḍgayuddhe niyuddhe ca maṇḍalabhramaṇe tathā ||

uttarottarasañ jalpe roṣāmarṣasamudbhave |

mallānāṃ caiva saṃsphoṭe śatrūṇāṃ ca nirūpaṇe ||

tathābhidravaṇaṃ caiva śastrāṇām ca vimokṣaṇam |
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Firstly, in the NS, Rudra is the deity of this *sthānaka*, while in our text, it is Rudra and Kāli. The *sthānaka* is associated with warfare, as stated in the NS applied in the Vīra and Raudra sentiments. Maybe that's why Kāli was added in the deities. Few usages are analogous with the NS; however, few of them are new specifically, those mentioned in the verses from *anena kāryā* to *maṇḍalabhramaṇe tathā* are the novel contribution of NrS. The usages here suggest the Vaiṣṇavite influence. *Uddharaṇa*, which means an act of lifting, can be associated with the myths of the lifting of Bhūdevī and Govardhana Mountain, the heroic acts of Varāha and Kṛṣṇa incarnations of Viṣṇu. The mention of the lion also suggests another incarnation, Narasimha.

The remaining three lines are again copied from the NS. However, the verbal fight with the enemy reminds us of Viṣṇu's war with Madhu and Kaiṭabha.

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¹⁶⁹ Ibid. p.109.

¹⁷⁰ Abhinavagupta says 'pakṣasthita iti pārśvābhimukhāṅguliḥ and añcitā kuṭilā jānunamanājjaṅghā yatra' NS GOS(2001)II.10.p.108.

Interestingly the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā, while narrating the story of Viṣṇu's victory over demon duo, describes the Ālidha stance of Visnu.¹⁷¹

Moreover, NS associates the Āliḍha with the gait of the lion, ape and bear. The text says that one should apply it in presenting the gait of Narasimha, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. ¹⁷² Furthermore, this particular *sthānaka* is also found in the sculptural manifestation of different embodiments and forms of Viṣṇu. The *prabhāvalaya* found in Devasar (Kashmir) is significant in this regard. In this, we can see the incarnations of Varāha (Plate 9) and Narasimha (Plate 11) along with Viṣṇu killing Madhu-Kaiṭabha (Plate 8) in the Āliḍha position only. ¹⁷³ It shows that the information contained in our text is vital in many ways.

6. Pratyāliḍha: NS does not mention any specific deity of this *sthānaka*; however, in our text, it comes as '*pratyālīḍhaṃ tu vijñeyaṃ sthānaṃ dānavadaivatam*.' According to Dadheech here the Pratyāliḍha is the standing posture of *dānavas* and *devatās*. ¹⁷⁴ Shah interprets it as the *dānavas* are the presiding deities of Pratyāliḍha. ¹⁷⁵

The inclusion of demons in the context of standing postures is certainly noteworthy. In terms of dance, Āliḍha and Pratyāliḍha are complementary stances; the one who attacks is in Āliḍha and the one who defends is in Pratyāliḍha. So if Viṣṇu is walking on the demon in Āliḍha, then it is easy to visualize that the demon will go in the opposite direction by using Pratyāliḍha.

The $sth\bar{a}nakas$ for women, although discussed in the chapter on gaits in the NS are applicable in gaits as well as in the conversation that takes place in the drama in standing position. ¹⁷⁶

1.Āyata: The verse of the Āyata is quite similar to the MS *na* of the NS. The Latā hand involved in this is one of the *nṛttahastas* mentioned in the NS. The Latā hands are obliquely stretched sideways, it is a Latā (a creeper) *hasta*.

¹⁷² NS GOS (2001) II.12.155.

¹⁷¹ 1966:ch41.42.

¹⁷³Siudmak (2013)465ff; additionally RT tells us that Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa built the temple of Govardhanadhara (Kṛṣṇa in the form of a god lifting the mountain Govardhana) at Parihāsapura, IV.198. Stein has recognized the mound of this temple, RT.II.Note F.

¹⁷⁴ 1990:p.19.

¹⁷⁵ 1961:p.51;

¹⁷⁶ NS GOS (2001) II.10.160ff.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.II.9.198.

The usage of Āyata in Puṣpānjali by female dancers is connected with the *citra* Pūrvaraṅga (preliminaries) of drama where female dancers wearing the costumes like goddesses enter on stage with flowers in joined palms.

2. Avahittha: Dr. Priyabala Shah notes that this posture is different from the NS¹⁷⁸; however, in our opinion, it is not. It just has been rephrased.

Similarly, the reference to *trika* made in the performance instructions has been understood as the part between the shoulder blades by Shah. Dadheech does not translate it. According to our inference, it should be taken as the sacral region of the body. *Trika* means triad. Anatomically it has two meanings; the part between the shoulder blades (as considered by Shah) and sacrum bone. The sacrum is the triangular bone situated at the base of a spine. The shoulder blade bone known as scapula is also triangular-shaped; thus, both of them are called the *trika*. Since the term is referred to in the standing posture in which the prominence is on the lower body of the performer, an erected lower back is more important. Correspondingly, another verse given in the bracket in GOS edition of NS states that the erected *kaţi* or the waist is to be applied in this posture. Notably, in this verse, the *trika* is not mentioned. Therefore our inference seems appropriate.

Also, looking at the usages of the posture in dramatic set-up, in romance the shoulders usually will remain softer and tenderer, not erected.

Secondly, the word 'pādastalāntaranyasta' also requires a review. If we divide the word, it is pāda (a foot), tala (bottom), antara (distance) and nyasta (placed or stretched), which means a bottom of the foot stretched at a distance. However, after comparing it with the NS, this meaning does not make much of a sense. In the NS it comes like this: pādastālāntaranyasta strikamīṣatsamunnatam. In the sthānaka, maintaining the correct feet distance is essential to achieve the ideal position, which would accurately represent the various usages in the dramatic or the dance performances. In this sthānaka, the distance of one tāla is specified in the NS. Interestingly, MS C of the VDP khaṇḍa III, the oldest birch bark in Śāradā discovered in Kashmir, gives a variant of 'pādāstālāntaranyasta.' Grammatically, it may not be

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¹⁷⁸ 1961:51.

¹⁷⁹ Here is the verse: pādo viracitastryaśrastadanyospasṛtaḥ samaḥ | pādastalāntaranyasta strikamīsatsamunnatam || avahittham samākhvātam sthānametannarottama |

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.p.164; this verse has been accepted by Manomohan Ghosh in his edition and translation of NS 2016:323.

correct however, given to the expected meaning it can be taken as the writing mistake of the scribe. It is important that the distance of one $t\bar{a}la$ is quoted in it. One thing to note from this is that the word $p\bar{a}dast\bar{a}l\bar{a}ntaranyasta$ should have been in the original NrS which was later mispelled in the text and continued as such.

Lastly, the usages $vil\bar{a}sa$, $l\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$ and $l\bar{a}vanya$ are connected with the physical and natural feminine graces described in the Sāmānyābhinaya chapter in NS. ¹⁸¹

3. Aśvakrānta: Here is the concerned verse in the NrS.

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samaḥ sthito yatra pādas tadanyaḥ pādas tulāṃcitaḥ ||
tālair aniyatair eṣa sthānako hi vidhīyate |
sūcividdham āviddhaṃ vā tadaśvakrāntam iṣyate ||
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The notable point in the instructions is about the distance between the feet, which is *aniyata* or undefined. NS does not mention the distance for this standing posture. As referred to previously, these postures are also applicable in various *gatis* or entrances of characters on stage. With this reference, the Aśvakrānta needs to be understood on two levels; first, as the *sthānaka* applied in the start or end of the walking involved in *gati* and second, in the static position. Though, the name suggests its moving nature.

The context of 'aniyata' is understandable as one just cannot determine the movement of an animal. It is how the aspect of anukaraṇa or the imitation of the world works in the play conceptually and also it shows how NrS has followed NS. Thus the note of 'undefined' distance comes particularly in context to the *gati*. In this regard, the mention of Sūcīvidddha and Āviddha is significant. But before coming to that, one more feature of Aśvakrānta needs an attention.

The variant *pādastulāmcitaḥ* selected by Dr. Priyabala Shah, which she translates as 'leg curved like a balance', seems problematic. A suggestion can be made here that it should be *pādastalāmcitaḥ* the variant provided by MSS B and C of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III. The NS reading goes like *pādaḥ samasthitaścaika ekaścāgratalāmcitaḥ*. One leg is placed in *sama* while the other in *agratala* (heel lifted and the big toe is spread touching the ground), and the remaining toes are kept *ancita* or bent. Placing the feet in *agratala* is the most essential characteristic of this *sthānaka* which is missing in our text. Thus it can be asserted that technically the

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¹⁸¹ NS GOS (2003) III.22.6ff.

¹⁸² In the NS, the gait of a character riding a horse-chariot contains the instructions as *cūrṇapadeścitrairuparyupari pātitaiḥ*; there should be the movement of feet as if pounding from the height repeatedly and falling on the ground in a varied way. Ibid.p.154.

instruction of 'making a balance' which is translated for the word *tulā* makes no sense. Our text follows the MSS *bha* and *ma* of NS in which the *agratala* is not specified while the *pādastalāmcitaḥ* is present. Since a similar variant is available in the oldest of the MSS of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, it seems appropriate to accept it here. Also, the possibility of the term *pādastalāmcitaḥ* been interpreted in the same way as *agratalāmcitaḥ* in terms of presentation, can not be denied.

Furthermore, the interpretation of the last line done by Shah and Dadheech appears doubtful. Shah takes Sūcīviddha and Āviddha as two types of Aśvakrānta $sth\bar{a}naka^{184}$, and Dadheech thinks that these two are synonymous to the appellation Aśvakrānta. However, based on the NS, it can be concluded that here Āviddha refers to the aerial $c\bar{a}r\bar{t}^{186}$ and Sūcīviddha is one of the aerial mandalas consist the sequence of few defined $c\bar{a}r\bar{t}s$. The point is these two denote $c\bar{a}r\bar{t}s$. The Āviddha $c\bar{a}r\bar{t}$ begins with crossed legs followed by spreading the front leg in kuncita, the same leg in ancita falls and hits the ground. The movement of kuncita and ancita is peculiar, and the entire $c\bar{a}r\bar{t}$ ends with ancita leg hitting the ground. From this point of view, the correlation of $p\bar{a}dastal\bar{a}mcitah$ and Sūcīviddha and Āviddha can be comprehended. Moreover, the NS mentions few rules of applying these $sth\bar{a}nakas$. One of these rules says that one should end the $sth\bar{a}na$ once the $c\bar{a}r\bar{t}$ commences. Now gatis, as they signify various types of entrances (on stage), is involved of $c\bar{a}r\bar{t}$. The feet movement or the $c\bar{a}r\bar{t}$ is the most essential feature of it.

Chapter 24: Angakarma

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¹⁸³ Ibid. p.189; also in the Venkteshvara Press edition the term comes as 'pādatalācitaḥ.'

¹⁸⁴ 1961:51.

¹⁸⁵ 1990:21.

¹⁸⁶ NS GOS (2001) II.10.38.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.II.11.20 this *maṇḍala* include Sūcī, Bhrāmari, Pārśvakrānta, Atikrānta, then again Sūcī followed by Apakrānta and ending with the Pārśvakrānta $c\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$.

¹⁸⁸ The *ancita* and *kuncita* are the *pāda-bhedas* discussed in the Śarirābhinaya or Aṅgābhinaya chapter of the NS. *Ancita* is when the heel is placed on ground and toes are lifted and shrunk and *kuncita* is when heel is lifted and toes are shrunk. Ibid.II.9.265ff.

¹⁸⁹ NS GOS (2001)II.10.177-178.

¹⁹⁰ Since holding of a branch is one of the usages of Aśvakrānta, two of the Śālabhanjikās, one from Sanchi and the other from Bharhut in the collection of the British Museum and the Indian Museum of Kolkata respectively can be observed to have a probable visual discernment of this *sthānaka* in which the *agratala* is depicted https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A 1842-1210-1; https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Shalabhanjika._Bharhut,_c._100_BC._Indian_Museum,_Cal cutta_ei05-16.jpg.

To understand this chapter's preliminary context, we need to see in the NS, particularly the chapter named Aṅgābhinaya/Uttamāṅgābhinaya. 191 After listening to the details on rasa and bhāva, the sages ask Bharata about the types of abhinaya in nāṭya. In the fourfold system of abhinaya (Āṅgika, Vācika, Āhārya and Sāttvika) the Āṅgika or the various types of bodily gestures have been elucidated by Bharata in this chapter. The Āṅgika primarily is threefold; śārira (bodily), mukhaja (facial) and ceṣṭākṛta (movement exploration). Another type of threefold classification is Śākhā (branch) in which āṅgika befalls, Aṅkura (sprout) in which sūcanā or the suggestiveness comes and Nṛtta in which the performance of karaṇa and aṅgahāra is involved. Further on the primary level, various organs are divided into two parts; aṅga and upāṅga. There are six aṅgas; head, hands, chest, sides, waist and feet and the six upāṅgas; eyes, eyebrow, nose, lips, cheeks and chin. Thus, Bharata begins with the first aṅga, the types of head movements, and from this point, the concerned chapter of the NrS commences.

Śira/Head Movements

1. Here are the NrS verses for Ākampita- svabhāvādrjunordhvāpakṣepeṇākampitaṃ sakṛt / saṃjñopadeśapṛcchāsu svabhāvābhāṣaṇe bhavet / and kampita bahuśaḥ kathitaṃ yacca tadā kampitamiṣyate / roṣatarjanatarkeṣu pratijñāsu ca dṛśyate | The first hemistich of the Ākampita shows partial similarity with the one given in the bracket in the GOS edition of NS¹⁹², which goes like rjusthitasya codhvārdhaḥ kṣepādākampitaṃ bhavet. The second line, which offers the usages, matches with the standard reading of the NS.

Dr. Priyanala Shah suggests that there should be *kampitaṃ* in the place of *kathitaṃ*. However, the line is derived from the second line of bracketed reading of the GOS NS. When Ākampita is done at a fast pace, it becomes Kampita. Ākampita is that which goes towards Kampita. So the standard reading in NS says *drutaṃ tadeva bahuśaḥ kampitaṃ kampitaṃ śiraḥ*. The other bracketed version is *bahuśaścalitaṃ yacca tatkampitamihocyate*. Our text follows the later version. Even keeping these readings aside word *kathita* also gives us a proper meaning of the verse as *bahuśaḥ* is the core instruction that voices the multiplicity of, Ākampita, which finally creates the Kampita head movement.

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¹⁹¹ NS GOS (2001) II.8.

¹⁹² Ibid.II.8.20.

2. One of the usages, *matta*/intoxication, is mentioned in *vidhuta* and the last type, Lolita. But the peculiarity of both is different. NS says about the previous '*pītamātre tathā madye*' which suggests the first stage of drinking, while in the Lolita, it is the higher stage indicated with the term *madāveśa* in the NS. ¹⁹³ NrS in both the cases uses the same term, i.e. '*matta*'.

3. In the NS, there is Parivāhita though in our text, it is Parigarhita which has to be taken as the mistake probably made by the scribe. The meaning of Parivāhita is overflowing water, and *parivahana* means circulatory motion. *Parigarha* means to abuse, despise or to blame etc. Moreover, the practical implementation of making a circulatory movement of the head asserts the name Parivāhita. Thus the *maṇḍala bhramaṇāccaiva bhavettu parigarhitam* should be *maṇḍala bhramaṇāccaiva bhavettu parivāhitam* as also suggested by Dr. Priyabala Shah. The later line of verse matches with the variant noted under the MSS *cha* and *ba* of the NS. ¹⁹⁴ However, the variant differs from the standard reading that accepted in the NS GOS, which says *paryāyaśaḥ pārśvagataṃ śiraḥ syātparivāhitam*; it means when the head is alternatively turned to the sides, it is Parivāhita. This performance method is not followed in our chapter. ¹⁹⁵

4. Similarly, in the NS, the Udvāhita is named as the Ādhūta type of the head. The verse in NrS *sakṛdudvāhitaṃ cordhvaṃ tadudvāhitamiṣyate* is similar with the variant offered by the MSS *da* and *ba* of the NS. ¹⁹⁶ The accepted reading of NS (GOS edition) consists of the instruction of making the head tilted (*tiryak*), which is missing in our text. As a result, the performance of the Udvāhita differs. But it is noticeable that the head types such as Ākampita and Kampita, Dhuta and Vidhuta are interconnected. The previous types represent slow movement, but the second type occurs when the same movement is done at a fast speed. However, in the subject pair of heads (Parivāhita and Udvāhita), the logic is different. When the Parivāhita head is made oblique and raised once, it is Ādhuta or Udvāhita of NrS.

 $^{^{193}}$ Ibid. II.8.25 and 30.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.p.4.

¹⁹⁵ Notably SR also follows the same as it says *parimaṇḍalitākārabhrāmitaṃ parivāhitam* 1989:p.22.

The Dhuta, Vidhuta, Ādhūta or Avadhūta commonly means to be shaken. The shaking of head in various ways is expected in all these types. However not every time it will be the movement of kampana it also includes nodding, bowing, bobbing, dipping or wagging of head. Most importantly it depends upon the situation in the drama to which the responses are being enacted.

5. In the case of Adhogata, the name of the head movement should be Avadhūta. The NrS instructs it as ākṣiptam sakṛdeva syādardhavratamadhogatam which shows the similarity with the MS ma of the NS saying ākṣiptasramsakṛdyatsyādavadhūtamihocyate. Dr. Priyabala Shah suggests that it should be ākṣiptam sakṛdeva syādavadhūtamadhogatam which seems correct. Moreover, there is a different head type under the name *adhogata*.

6. The Nikuncita is referred to as Nihancita in the standard NS, but MSS da and ga gives variant Nikuncita. 197 The performance of Nikuncita/Nihancita is a variation of ancita not in the form of varying speed but with the added raised position of shoulders.

7. Notably, a single hemistich has been dedicated to the Parāvṛtta type of head movement. What has been said is brief yet sufficient to convey the fundamental characteristic of 'turning a head back'. Parāvṛtta means rolling or reversing; thus, the term itself becomes an instruction. Hence NrS just says parāvṛttaṃ parāvṛttaṃ prsthanirīksaņe following NS's the kāryam parāvṛttānukaraṇātparāvṛttamihocyate. 198 In the lone hemistich, it provides the performing instruction and the most crucial usage of it. It is a noteworthy example of a sūtra or an aphorism.

8. Utkṣipta and Adhogata are the contrast movements of the head. In Utkṣipta, the head stays upwards, and in Adhogata, it is downwards. The word 'sthita' is vital as it means placed or stayed at one place. So it is probably not the movement but a position that the head must acquire to project specific meaning.

¹⁹⁷ NS GOS (2001)II.p.5 ¹⁹⁸ Ibid.II.8.33.

The usages are significant. According to the NS, the Utksipta is applied in obtaining divine and great weapons, prāmśudivyāstrayogeşu. However, our text writes it as prāmśudivyārthayogeca. MS da of the NS has this variant. 199 Divyāstra and divyārtha carry distinct meanings, although the core suggestion of 'something higher or divine' is consistent, which is vital to use the elevated head, Utksipta.

9. The reading of adhomukhasthitam cāpi budhāh prāhuradhogatam is similar to the MSS pa, ca and N of NS.²⁰⁰

10. Parilolita consisted of an undisciplined and uncontrolled movement of the head to show the natural effects of illness or falling unconscious or overtly drinking. Therefore it does not have any specific performance instructions concerning the sides or the bending of the head, or the speed. It entails an imitation of the situations mentioned above.

Grīvā/Neck Movements

Three preliminary observations can be noted based on the types mentioned in our text.

- -The influence of the NS in *grīvā* -karmas is not much noteworthy.
- -The types seem more coordinated with the kinds of heads mentioned above.
- -The fresh contribution can be noted.
- 1. The NS gives nine neck movements; Sama, Nata, Unnata, Tryaśra, Recita, Kuncita, Ancita, Valita and Vivrtta. Our text has only seven; some come with new names while others are common as NS like Ancita, Recita and Vivrtta.
- 2. Notably, the Angabhinaya chapter of the NS is devoted to the movements of various facial organs in the following order; head, eyes (glances and pupil movements), eye-brows, nose, cheeks, lips, chin, mouth and in the end, the neck movements. The entire chapter is dedicated to the mukhaja abhinaya. In the concerned chapter of the NrS (24th), however, the order is different with the different body parts; head, neck, mouth, chest, sides (pārśva-karma), stomach, waist, thigh, shank, feet ($p\bar{a}da$ -karma) and lastly, the characteristics of $c\bar{a}r\bar{i}$. It is not devoted to the mukhaja abhinaya solely. The next chapter of NrS (25th) contains rasa-drsti, sthāyī-

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.p.6. 200 Ibid. 'N' represents the Nepal MS of the NS.

dṛṣṭi etc. along with the types of eyelids, eyeballs, glances, eye-brows, cheeks, nose, teeth, lips etc. with their usages.

With this background, in the NrS, the description of various necks is stated right after the head movements, probably due to one significant reason. The neck moves according to the head, *śiraḥ karmānugāmi ca*, as naturally, neck and face movements go hand in hand. This rule is taken from the NS.²⁰¹ Following this rule, the older NS neck movements are probably revisited and re-formed, not completely but partially in the NrS.

- **3.** The performance of Ancita neck is in concordance with Ancita head and the usage with Nikuncita. Recita can be understood as the neck of Parivāhita, of which *lolana* and *maṇḍala* are the characteristics. Mukta, which represents the free movement of which *bhramaṇa*, *mūrcchā* are the features, possibly it is the neck type for the head Lolita. Similarly, Prasārita can be taken as the neck for the Udvāhita head in which seeing is common usage, and Stabdha possibly is neck for Vidhuta as when one is shivering from cold, the neck automatically stiffens. The peculiar usage of Stabdha is of *avikārī svabhāvataḥ*. The neck is to be used to enact persons of steady nature.
- **4.** The case of Vivṛtta is tricky. The performing instruction includes Valita. In the NS, Vivṛtta and Valita are the different neck types. In the previous type, the neck is front-facing, and later, it is bent in the side. Even though the performances of Vivṛtta and Valita are distinct in the NS tradition, they convey similar connotations that are bent/turned/twisted round etc. Probably because of this reason, our text makes Valita as the action of the Vivṛtta.
- **5.** The type of Catura is a new creation.

Āsya/Mouth Movements

There are six *āsya-karmas* in the NS; Vinivṛtta, Vidhuta, Nirbhugna, Bhugna, Vivṛtta and Udvāhi.²⁰² The resemblance with our text is partial in terms of the names and the usages.

1. According to Dr. Priyabala Shah, the type of mouth is Viruddha and not Vibuddha. Probably, because of the performing details comtain action of the mouth turning back,

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²⁰¹ NS GOS (2001)II.8.177.

²⁰² ibid. II.8.154ff.

which also means 'to the opposite side', the suggestion has been made. Moreover, NrS refers to Vibuddha as the Viruddha while stating the usages; viruddhavāraņe kāryam maivamityevamādişu.

The performing instruction of Vibuddha/Viruddha is the same as the Vinivrtta type of the NS. The movement of turning away is noted, and the usage is similar to that of the Vidhuta kind of mouth.

However, the execution of the type Vinivrtta in the NrS is different from that of its original counterpart of the NS. The closed mouth is Vinivṛtta in the NrS. Secondly, the Vidhuta of the NS is said to be performed 'tiryag āyatam' that is by stretching the mouth obliquely, and this type is not at all present in the NrS, not even with a different name. Moreover, the word Vibuddha in this context can be understood as 'expanded.' Thus, Vibuddha/Viruddha should be taken as a type of mouth made out of combining two types given in the NS, Vinivrtta and Vidhuta.

- 2. In the performance of the Nirbhugna, one addition has been made in the NrS. Turning face downwards (avānamukha) is the only characteristic stated by Bharata. However NrS says avānamukhamavābhugnam nirbhugnam cordhvagam tu tat. The undertaking of Nirbhugna consisted of the face turned downwards followed by turning upwards. The upward movement is the new incorporation by the NrS. The usage however is consistent with the NS.
- **3.** The performance of Bhugna shows a different characteristic. NS says kiñcidāyatam and in the NrS it is bhugnam syādānatam. In the former, the face is slightly stretched, while in the latter, it is bent inwards.²⁰³
- **4.** Vivrtta: MS da of NS offers a variant Nivrtta. 204 In NrS it is noted as the characteristic of Vivṛtta; bhugnam syādānatam kiñcinnivṛttam vivṛttam bhavet. Nivrtta means turning as well as ceasing. In the NS, the separated lips (viślista ostham) are the performing instruction of Vivrtta. 205 It is difficult to determine the same in the case of the NrS. The term Vivrtta means turning or twisted round as similar to one of the meanings of Nivrtta. The turning of the face is probably involved

 $^{^{203}}$ Shah opines that the NrS gives the correct version of the performance of Bhugna 1961:58. $^{204}\rm NS~GOS~(2001)II.p.21.$ 205 Ibid.II.8.156.

in some or the other way in addition to peculiar detached lips. This specific position of the lips can be understood in terms of the usages given such as $h\bar{a}sya$, $\dot{s}oka$, bhaya etc., in the dramatic performance.

5. Rju is the new contribution in this category just as the Catura in the neck movements. Its presentation and usage are both the same. The natural position of the mouth is to be applied to show the natural state.

6. The Udvāhi, the last type in the category mentioned in the NS, is not present in our text.

Urah/Chest Movements

The chapter enters into the śarirābhinaya or the aṅgābhinaya with the chest movements. Till now, the topics were related to the *mukhaja* or the appropriate application of facial organs in acting. The remaining facial organs are described in the next chapter. After mentioning the chest movements, it continues with other aṅgas. It is to be noted that the name of this chapter is Aṅgakarma.²⁰⁶

The types of chest movements are the same as in the NS. Few changes are noted in the performing aspect.

1. The word Ābhugna means little curved or bent. The instruction *dhāryate yacca nirbhugnaṃ* can be understood by consulting the NS since the verse in our text is not entirely copied from the NS as the usual practice has been observed. NS says *nimnanunnatapṛṣṭhaṃ ca vyābhugnāṃsaṃ ślathaṃ kvacit*.²⁰⁷ The chest is contracted, the back is raised, and the shoulders are bent down and relaxed at times in between. Based on the NS reading, through *dhāryate* the NrS probably indicates the maintained or upheld back position. Notably, the Vyābhugna and Nirbhugna are the opposite terms. However, the bent shoulders are the correct performance of the Ābhugna chest in terms of the usages such as reacting to the injury caused by weapons or heart pain.

2. The instruction of Nirbhugna 'stabdham ca nimnapṛṣṭham ca nirbhugnam nāma tatsmṛṭam' is partially similar to the NS. ²⁰⁸ The vital instruction of keeping shoulders

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²⁰⁶ In few MSS of the NS the chapter is known as Śarirābhinaya or Aṅgapratyaṅga-lakṣana NS GOS(2001) II.p.92.

²⁰⁷ NS GOS (2001)II.9.224.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.II.9.226.

upright is missing in the NrS. However, Nirbhugna itself means not curved. Probably the writers may not have felt the need to explain it.

3. In Prakampita, too, only half of the instructions in NS are given in the NrS. According to the NS, when the chest is relentlessly heaving up (and down), it becomes Prakampita. The NrS does not state the specific constant breathing expected in this type.

4. The performance of Udvāhita is similar to the NS. The usage of *ūrdhvam nigami te* kāryam jrmbhitesu prayogatah also partially matches with Bharata's text which says dirghocchavāsonnatāloke. Hence, Dr. Priyabala Shah opines that it should be ūrdhvam nigami śvasite kārvam jrmbhitesu prayogatah. 209

The concerned chest movement is connected with the breathing patterns purposefully composed to express the appropriate feelings and create the expected results.²¹⁰ It can be understood through the usages listed of each chest type, also by relating the natural human reactions in various circumstances. Thus the *ūrdhvam* nigami can be interpreted as the action of inhaling, which can be applied in any appropriate occasion where one inhales and look upwards.²¹¹

5. In Sama type of chest, the performing instruction and the usage has been given in a single hemistich; caturastram samam nāma vijñeyam sausthaveşu tat. The aspects of and sausthava important. NS caturastra are says sarvairevāngavinyāsaiścaturaśrakṛtaiḥ krtam $\textit{ura} \underline{\textit{h}} \; \textit{sama} \underline{\textit{m}} \; \textit{t} \underline{\textit{u}} \; \textit{vij} \tilde{\textit{n}} \textit{eya} \underline{\textit{m}} \; \textit{svastha} \underline{\textit{m}} \; \textit{sausthavasa} \underline{\textit{myutam}} \; ||^{212}$

In the Cārī chapter, after describing the standing postures for men, ²¹³ the ways of using weapons in drama have been narrated. It is stated that the use of weapons should be presented through gestures and postures only or by the angahāras, which are opulent with the anga-sauṣṭhava. The use of weapons is the central topic; thus, the

²⁰⁹ 1958:p.62.

²¹⁰ Interestingly SR has *anil-bhedas*; *Ashokamalla* also lists *vāyū-bhedas* in his *Nṛtyādhāya*.

Besides, the usages mentioned in the NS of any aspect whether of dance, music or histrionics are not limited to that. These are guidelines based on the contemporaneous conventions. This perspective allows us to understand the variations found in the NrS. ²¹² NS GOS (2001)II.9.232.

²¹³Vaisnava, Samapāda, Vaiśākha-maṇḍala, Āāliḍha and Pratyāliḍha.

sauṣṭhava and caturastra are explained.²¹⁴ Caturastra is attained in the Vaiṣṇava sthāna with two hands moving charmingly about at the waist and navel together with the chest lifted. Here the position of the chest is samunnata, not just sama. The characteristics of aṅga-sauṣṭhava contain: keeping the body steady, not bent, at ease, not very erected and the feet not moving. The waist, ears, elbows, shoulders and head are naturally positioned in sama, and the chest is samunnata or elevated.

The *caturastra* in the *sama* chest is to be interpreted as the symmetrical posture of the upper body and probably not the entire *caturastra* position as explained for the use of the weapons; because *samunnata* seems a correct position of the chest ideal in fighting scenes as one naturally becomes alert for the vigorous movements. In such situations, the full-blown or the erected trunk is the natural reaction. Here's the thing to notice. *Caturastra* is the generic term that also denotes the shapes like rectangles, squares, quadrangles etc. These forms indicate harmony, corresponding symmetry or regularity. The term *caturastra* should be interpreted with the context of the application. The *caturastra* of Cārī chapter is for the whole body done in the Vaiṣṇava *sthāna* for enacting the movements like throwing or releasing of weapons. But at present, the context for the discussion is that of chest movements. *Sama* denotes harmony.

Sauṣṭhava is an important principle. It is stated that without the sauṣṭhava there is no beauty in nāṭya and nṛṭṭa. It presents sauṣṭhava as the broad concept which points out the affluent body and the well-balanced posture, the harmony of limbs. An actor or a dancer needs to maintain sauṣṭhava in every scene in the drama or dance movement. In that sense, the caturastra and sama contribute to creating the sauṣṭhava. Sauṣṭhava is a sovereign principle that a performing artist needs to take care of all the time while performing on stage.

Pārśva/Lateral Movements

The types of $p\bar{a}r\dot{s}va$ in the NrS are the same as in the NS. $P\bar{a}r\dot{s}va$ is the lateral area of the body, majorly the oblique muscles.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ Ibid. II.10.95ff.

²¹⁵ NS GOS (2001) II.10.94.

Dadheech translates the verse as 'caturasra va sama nāmaka (do bhedonko bhī) jāne, jo sauṣṭhava me hain' or 'know the caturastra and sama, the two divisions, in the sauṣṭhava.'1990:p.27.

²¹⁷ Ashokamalla includes *sauṣṭhava* in *deśī lāsyāṅagas*.

Torso movement is extremely important especially in dance as it contributes in defining one of the distinguishing peculiarities of a practice or the style of dance. Here we are getting only five types

1. The Nata and Samunnata are related. The usages of these types are *nataṃ tvapasṛte* $k\bar{a}ryaṃ connataṃtūpasarpite$; Nata is used in *apasṛta* that is to show gone or departed and Samunnata in *upasarpa* that is approaching near. Dr. Priyabala Shah writes exactly opposite; retreat as the usage of Samunnata and an approach that of the Nata;²¹⁹ probably based on the NS since Bharata mentions *upasarpa* as the usage of *nata* and *apasarpa* of *unnata*.²²⁰

2. The instruction of Prasārita says *prasāraṇādubhayataḥ pārśvayoḥ syātprasāritam*, which is similar to the MS *ma* of the NS. ²²¹

3. The reading of *vivartita parivartanāttrikasyāpi vivartitamiheṣyate* exactly matches with the MS *na* of NS.²²² These are the types of torso in which the shoulders will also move accordingly. The sacrum area is similarly vital since the oblique muscles are directly connected to the spine. However, the Vivartita is just turning round from your torso to look back and probably the feet are not moving. Only the upper part of the body is spiralling and not the entire body. Therefore here, *trika* probably means the shoulder area.²²³ However, it is difficult to conclude.

4. The instruction of Apasṛta - 'asya caivopagamanādbhavedapasṛtaṃ punaḥ' is similar to that of the variant of MS ma.²²⁴ The standard NS reads as nivartanāpanayanādbhavet apasṛtaṃ punaḥ. The meanings of apagamana and apanayana are comparable. The former means an exit or a departure and the latter taking away or withdrawing.

5. The usages of Prasārita and Apasṛta are recorded in a single hemistich that is prasāritaṃ praharṣādau trāse cāpasṛte punaḥ followed by the use of Vivartita 'vivartitaṃ vivarte ca kāraṇaṃ pārśvamucyate.' Both these lines are strikingly alike

however there are many in the tradition. This fact is true for every other aspect recorded and discussed in the $\dot{sastrika}$ texts.

²¹⁹ 1961:58.

²²⁰ NS GOS (2001) II.9.239.

²²¹ Ibid.p.84.

²²² Ibid.p.85.

The meaning of *trika* is taken as the part between shoulder blades by Shah 1961:59 and by Dadheech 1990: 27 as the hip; According to M.M.Ghosh and Shukla it is sacrum 2016:I.p.269 and 1978:II.p.86.

²²⁴ NS GOS (2001) p.85.

with the variant of MS *bha*, which says 'prasāritaṃ praharṣādau trāse cāpasṛtaṃ bhavet / vivartanaṃ nivarte ca karaṇe pārśvamiṣyate. ²²⁵

Udara/Belly Types:

In the NS, the types of the belly are Kṣāma, Khalva or Khalla²²⁶ and Pūrṇa.²²⁷ NS speaks about the presentational peculiarities in just a single hemistich. The slim belly is Kṣāma, the sunken is Khalva, and the blown stomach is Pūrṇa.

In the NrS, only the usages are given. The verse mentioning the uses of Kṣāma matches with the MS *bha* of the NS. ²²⁸ The details of Khalva are copied from the NS, but the name is replaced by the Nimna. ²²⁹

In the NS, the usages of Pūrṇa include inhaling, bulkiness, sickness and immoderate eating. In our text, two of the usages are different and quite contrast from the NS; $\bar{a}rogya$ and lalita. MS da and N of NS has $\bar{a}rogya$ as one of the usages. ²³⁰ Lalita is, however a new usage listed by the NrS. Both of them suggest a stomach of a happy or a privileged person.

Kaţī/Waist Movements:

The types of the waist are the same as in the NS. 231 In the standard NS, these are referred to as the waists for $n\bar{a}tya$ and nrtta. Notably, the NrS mentions only nrtta.

The performance instructions are similar to the NS. Only about the Udvāhita where the NrS says *niścitodvāhanāccaiva tathaivodvāhitā matā*, the movement of buttocks and sides are absent in our text. The NS mentions *nitambapārśvodvahanācchanairudvāhitā katī*.

The verse *recitā recite kāryā anyā līlāgataṃ striyāḥ* ²³² provides the uses of Recita and Udvāhita types of the waist. According to the NS, rotation/*bhramaṇa* is the usage of Recita. The action and the usage are equivalent. This is what the NrS means

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ GOS edition of NS has accepted the variant Khalva and the Khalla is listed in the variant, ibid.

In the NS along with these three the verse mentioning fourth type of Sama is given in the bracket. Mānasollāsa (1961) III.16.1010 and SR 1989:105 give Ksāma, Khalla, Pūrna and Rikta.

²²⁸ NS GOS(2001)p.85.

²²⁹ The SR mentions Nimna as the characteristic of Khalla; 'nimnam khallam kṣudhārte syād āture śramakarśite.'

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹NS GOS(2001)II.9.244ff.

²³² Verse 43A.

by stating Recita as both the action and the use. It is a movement of roaming about to show moving in a circular motion.

Furthermore, the usage mentioned in *anyā* $l\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}gatam$ $striy\bar{a}h$ is directing towards the use of the only remaining type of the waist that is Udvāhita. ²³³ We can identify this based on the NS. ²³⁴

Uru/Thigh Movements:

The types are similar to the NS. 235

1. The NS devotes a single hemistich to explain the technique of Kampita type, but the NrS gives a complete line. The latter says namannonamane pārantyormahipṛṣṭhebhdute yadā | sthitvā pādatalāgreṇa kampitaṃ tu tadiṣyate.²³⁶ The reading is similar to the MS ma of the NS, which offers a variant of namannonamanaṃ pārṣṇyormahīpṛṣṭhe drutabhramam | sthitvā pādatalāgreṇa tadūrdhvaṃ kampanaṃ smṛtam.²³⁷ Dr. Priyabala Shah suggests that it should be namannonamane pārṣṇyormahipṛṣṭhedrute yadā.²³⁸

It is agreeable that, in this type, the movement of heels is most important as it defines the central characteristic of the Kampita thigh. However, the word pārantya means the 'back-end; which in this context indicates the heel portion of the foot. The term comes here instead of pārṣṇi. Moreover, with reference to the verse quoted above from the MS ma, it should be the fast movement that is not stated in our text's original reading. However, the standard NS mentions that it is a repetitive movement. Besides, the kampana means shaking, which anyway is a fast/druta and repetitive But the ending part of the word (made movement. bold) pārantyormahipṛṣṭhebhdute does not carry any specific meaning thus that particular suggestion made by Shah is absolutely correct. So the word would be pārantyormahiprsthedrute.

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²³³ Dadheech takes it as the usage of Recita 1990:29.

²³⁴ Ibid. II.9.250.

²³⁵ NS GOS (2001)II.9.250ff.

²³⁶ Verse 44B and 45A.

²³⁷ NS GOS (2001)II.9.p.87.

²³⁸ Shah suggests so because it is not possible to interpret the meaning of *bhu* in $p\bar{a}$ rantyormahiprsthebhdute.

2. The technical detail of Valana is equal to that of the MS *ma* of the NS.²³⁹ There is a difference between standard reading of the NS and the NrS. In latter, the movement of Valana is expected to be done slowly. It is in correlation with the usage of depicting women walking freely and at ease.

3. The NrS states *stambhanaṃ cāpi vijñeyaṃ apavṛtta kriyākulam*.²⁴⁰ The Apaviddha of the NS is replaced by Apavṛtta. But MS *na* of NS offers this variant.²⁴¹ Dadheech interprets it as moving backwards. However, Apavṛtta also means finished or carried to the end, which is more relatable here.²⁴² It can be considered as the time when every movement stops. The usage and the vocabulary also indicate the same.

The NrS says about the usage of this thigh *bhīmordhasaviṣādeṣu stambhanaṃ saṃprayojayet*. ²⁴³ In the standard NS, it comes as *sādhvase ca viṣāde ca stambhanaṃ saṃprayojayet*. MS *ma* of the NS offers a variant of *hrīsādhvasaviṣādeṣu*²⁴⁴, which, according to Shah, should have been the correct reading in the NrS. *Sādhvasa* and *bhīma*, however project corresponding meanings. ²⁴⁵

4. The Udavartana and Vivartana both the types closely follow the NS.

Janghā/Movements of Shank

The types are the same as in the NS.²⁴⁶

1. The phraseology used for Āvartita in the technical instructions is different compared to the NS; however, the ultimate performance is the same. The NS says $v\bar{a}mo$ $dak \bar{s}inap\bar{a}r\dot{s}vena$ $dak \bar{s}in\bar{a}cc\bar{a}pi$ $v\bar{a}matah$ and in the NrS it is $\bar{a}vartitam$ tu $vyat \bar{y}\bar{a}s\bar{a}dv\bar{a}madadak \bar{s}inajamghayoh$. The only difference in these two is that in the NS, the entire movement of putting left to the side of the right and the right to the left is mentioned, while in the latter the crossing over of the legs is suggested by using the

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Verse 46A.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² 1990:30.

²⁴³ Verse 48B.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ But the question remains about the menaing of 'ardha' in bhīmordhasaviṣādeṣu. And so Shah must have suggested so.

²⁴⁶ GOS NS(2001)II.9.257ff.

different terms like *vyatyasa*. According to the variant proposed by the MS *da* of the NS, this is simply the position of Svastika.²⁴⁷

2. The instruction of Nata matches with the verse given in the NS. The similarity is noticeable; in our text, it is *jānvorākuṃcanāccaiva nataṃ jñeyaṃ prayoktṛbhiḥ*, and in the NS, it is *jānunaḥ kuṃcanāccaiva nataṃ jñeyaṃ prayoktṛbhiḥ*. Even the verse of usages is similar to the NS.

3. The performing technique and the usages of the Ksipta, is similar to Bharata's text.

4. There is an addition in the execution details of the Udvāhita shank. NS says *udvāhitaṃ ca vijñeyamūrdhvamudvāhanādiha* and in our text it comes as *udvāhitaṃ tu vijñeyamūrudvāhanakarmaṇā*. The apparent dependency of Udvāhita shank on the movement of thigh is noted additionally in the NrS.

The usage of *āviddha gaman* can be understood from the example of the gait of a female servant given in the NS, which says *madaskhalitasaṃlāpā* vibhramotphullalocanā | *āviddhagatisaṃcārā gacchetpreṣyā samuddhatam*.²⁴⁸

5. The technical instructions and the usage of Parivrtta are derived from the NS.

Pāda/Actions of Feet

In the NS the types of feet are Uddhāṭita, Sama, Agratala-sancara, Ancita and Kuncita.²⁴⁹

1. The NrS enumerates Agratala-sancara as Pārṣṇirecita-sancara. The critical edition of the VDP khanda III notes that there is a lacuna in the MSS B and C at this place in the verse. Notably, MS A of the NrS also shows that the $p\bar{a}rṣṇirecita$ is added later on, filling the blank space just before the word sancarau, which is already present in the original MS. Also, the handwriting of $p\bar{a}rṣṇirecita$ is different from the original, which indicates the later development.

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²⁴⁷ Ibid.p.88.

²⁴⁸ GOS NS (2003) III.22.229.

²⁴⁹ NS GOS (2001)II.9.265ff.

^{250 1058.65}

²⁵¹ VDP III, MS no.91 of 1875-76, BORI, Pune.

2. The performance of Uddhāṭita is the same as in the NS. Only it is Uddhāṭita at the place of Uddhaṭṭita.

The usages are written differently. The NrS says *kāryonuraktakaraṇe pracāre lalite tathā*. In the NS the application of this type is noted as *ayamudveṣṭitakaraṇeṣvanukaraṇārthaṃ prayogamāsādya* | *drutamadhyamapracāraḥ sakṛdasakṛdvā prayoktavyaḥ*.²⁵² It is to be adopted in imitation and in *druta* (fast rhythm) and *madhyama* (middle paced rhythm) paced movements. The *anukaraṇa* is replaced by *anurakta* in our text. The usages are briefly stated and show a little bit of relatability with the variant '*lalitamadhurapracāraḥ*' offered by MSS *ma*, *da* and N of NS.²⁵³

- **3.** The performance and the usage of Sama are similar to the reading accepted in the GOS NS²⁵⁴ as there are two more variations given in the bracket.
- **4.** As clarified previously, the type Pāṛṣṇirecita-sancara is mentioned as the Agratala-sancara in the instructional verses. The technique is explained in short without detailing the specific position of toes. It has been seen in the NrS that in an attempt of reworking on NS and presenting it in more compacted version, most of the time, the technical instructions have been reduced and presented in a condensed form. Sometimes it seems that the author/s is trying to select the most significant part of it. Agratala-sancara is also one such example. The NrS just takes one detail from the NS that is *utkṣiptā tu bhavetpāṛṣṇiḥ* since the raised heel (while the toes are resting on the ground) is the most significant feature of this type.

The usages need to be discussed. Our text notes *nikṣipte recite bhrānte pāde* yastāḍite bhavet | lalitaścāyameva syātpādo recitasaṃjñitaḥ | eṣa pracārasancāre lalitodvartite bhavet.²⁵⁵ Let us also go through the NS verses; todane nikuṭṭane sthitaniśumbhane bhūmitāḍane bhramaṇe | vikṣepavividharecaka pārṣṇikṛtāgamanametena.²⁵⁶ The first hemistich of the NrS partially represents the similar usages given in the first hemistich in the NS. Later two, however are intriguing. One thing to note here is that some of the threads may have been taken

²⁵² Ibid. II.9.267.

²⁵³ N represents the Nepal MS of the NS.

²⁵⁴ Ibid. II.9.268.

²⁵⁵ Verses 60 and 61A.

²⁵⁶ Ibid. II.9.274-275.

from other parallel and interdependent concepts reflected in verse. Dance is the coordinated and composite presentation of the human body. Here is an inference.

- NS says that the Agratala-sancara should be adopted in various *recaka* movements. There are four types of Recakas described in Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇa chapter of the NS²⁵⁷; *pāda* (foot), *kaṭī* (waist), *kara* (hand) and *grīvā* (neck), which already have been discussed in the first chapter of the NrS (20th of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III). The term *recita* means circular and separate movements of limbs or lifting them or moving them independently. The *recita* is the characteristic of the Recaka. Then NS speaks about the four types of Recakas, foot, waist, hand and neck. These types are referred to in the usages of the *agratala* foot in NS by the term *vividharecaka*.²⁵⁸ Probably this has been interpreted in our text meanderingly in the *lalitaścāyameva syātpādo recitasaṃjñitaḥ*.

- Secondly, the movement of Udvartita (the action of lifting the limb) is referred to in *kaṭī*, *hasta* and *grīvā recaka*. It can also be noted that *lalita* is the usage of the Udvāhita *kaṭī* discussed in this chapter previously. *Lalita*, which means gracefulness, seems an all-purpose adjective which can be given to various movements of cource maintaining the context. Here it is given to the concerned usages of Agratala-sancara.

5. The verse that mentions the technique of Ancita is different from the NS; however, the method of performance is the same. The usage is also similar.

6. The instructions of Kuncita do not give a clear idea of its performance. It abruptly says $p\bar{a}dah$ kuñcitamadhyoyam bhavetkumcitasamjñitah. NS says utkṣiptā yasya $p\bar{a}rṣṇih$ syādaṃgulyah kuñcitāstathā | tathākuñcitamadhyastha sa pādah kuñcitah smṛṭah. 160 In terms of clarity, in such cases, one has to look at NS.

Shah refers to the various meanings of the word *abhigamana*, one of the usages of Kuncita listed in the NrS. *Abhigamana* is the act of cleansing and smearing with cow dung and the way leading to the image of a deity, which is one of the five parts of the *pancakāla kriyā* of Vaiṣṇavas.²⁶¹ It is an interesting inference as the NrS

²⁵⁷ GOS NS (1992) I.4.248ff.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. II.9.275.

²⁵⁹ Verse 62B.

²⁶⁰ Ibid. II.9.277.

²⁶¹ 1961:61.

is the part of Vaiṣṇava purāṇa and abhigamana can be understood as one of the worshipping virtues of a devoted Vaiṣṇava. The five actions of Vaiṣṇava have also been mentioned in the sixty-first chapter in the VDP I.²⁶² Various such references have been discussed earlier. It is also to be noted that the udātta-gamana of NS is rearticulated as the abhigamana in the NrS.

Cārī

The verses are copied from the Cārī-vidhāna chapter of the NS. ²⁶³ The only difference is that in the NS, *maṇḍala* consist three or four *khaṇḍa* however our text states that even two *khaṇḍa* can create a *maṇḍala*.

The earthly and aerial *maṇḍalas* are mentioned in the first chapter (20th of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III) of the NrS.

In this chapter, the $a\dot{n}gas$ or the actions of major limbs like head, chest, sides, waist and feet, and the neck, face, belly, thigh, and shank are described ending with the preliminary details on $c\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$.

Chapter 25: Upāngikādhyāya

This entire chapter of the NrS is derived from Uttamāṅgābhinaya or Upāṅgābhinaya or Upāṅgāvidhāna chapter of NS.²⁶⁴

The Rasa, Sthāyi and other Drstis

In NS editions, GOS and Nirnayasagara Śānta *rasa dṛṣṭi*, is mentioned. In the former, the verse is printed in bracket. Likewise, in the critical edition of the NrS, Śānta has been put into the bracket as the last sight of sentiment by Shah as the sight is not liste din the original verse. She might have did this because its technique is described in the chapter later on after Bībhatsā.

The NS enumerates eight $sth\bar{a}yi$ glances, but in NrS, nine glances are listed in this category.

NrS glances	NS glances
1.Snigdhā	Snigdhā
2. Hṛṣṭā	Hṛṣṭā

²⁶² VDP I.61.6.

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²⁶³ NS GOS (2001) II.10.3ff.

²⁶⁴ NS GOS (2001) II.8.41ff.

3. Jihmā	Not mentioned in this category.
4. Kṛddhā	Kṛddhā
5. Bhītā	Probably replaces Bhayānvitā of the NS.
6. Lajjitā	Not mentioned in this category.
7. Dṛptā	Dṛptā
8. Vismitā	Vismitā
9. Saumyā	Not mentioned in this category.

Apart from the above-mentioned glances, NS has Dīnā and Jugupsitā, which are not listed in our text.

NS enumerates twenty in other glances, although the NrS gives eighteen. According to the NS, these are the *sancāri* glances.

NrS glances	NS glances
1.Malinā	Malinā
2.Ākekarā	Ākekarā
3.Śrāntā	Śrāntā
4.Abhitaptā	Abhitaptā
5.Viplutā	Viplutā
6.Vişaṇṇā	Viṣaṇṇā
7.Śankitā	Śankitā
8.Trastā	Trastā
9.Śokā	Vikośā/Viśokā
10.Nimīlitā	Not mentioned in this category.
11.Vibhrāntā	Vibhrāntā
12.Kuncita	Kuncita
13.Śūnyā	Śūnyā
14.Mukulā	Ardhamukulā
15.Vitarkitā	Vitarkitā
16.Madirā	Madirā
17.Lalitā	Salalitā
18.Glānā	Not mentioned in this category.

Apart from the above-mentioned glances, NS has Lajjānvitā and Jihmā, which are counted in the sthāyi glances in the NrS.

Bharata says that these thirty-six glances are subject to the various *bhāvas* and rasas. 265 Our text does not mention this. The statement underlines that if the face is the field of expression of the feelings or the emotions in the human body, the eyes are the most essential means of it. Thus not only rasa or sthāyi but also all other glances are similarly significant.

These sights are described in the Uttamāngābhinaya or Upāngābhinaya or Upāngāvidhāna chapter of the NS.²⁶⁶

Glances of Sentiments

In NS, the discussion of rasa and bhāva has come in the sixth and seventh chapters, making it easy to understand the context connected with those concepts in further chapters. In our text, however, thirty and thirty-one, these chapters are devoted to rasa and bhāva, respectively. But both the previous and the present chapters are informative of *mukhaja* and the overall Āngika *abhinaya*.

The technical instructions of eyes, in general, contain the positions and movements of eyelids, eyelashes, pupils and eyebrows. These are the combinations and permutations of these eye-parts to create the expected expressive results imitated from the natural human reactions conveyed through the eyes in various situations.

The NS states the additional complimentary characteristics like the colour or the emotional triggers of these sights; however our text only mentions the technical details. The usages come later from verse twenty-three of this chapter. Notably, the techniques and the uses of rasa and sthāyi glances related to their respective rasa and sthāyi bhāvas are noted together in the NS. But the uses of sancāri are given after the technical details. In the NrS, the uses of rasa, sthāyi and sancāri eyes with context to their respective rasa, sthāyi and sancāri bhāvas are noted separately, just after the technical information of sancāri glances. Probably the writer/s intended to present the applications of these eyes cumulatively.

1. The details of Kāntā are derived from the NS. 267 Our text does not mention its Śrngāra sentiment affiliation. Naturally, it is taken for granted.

²⁶⁵ Ibid. II.8.45. ²⁶⁶ Ibid.p.24. ²⁶⁷ Ibid.II.8.46.

2. The technique of Bhayānakā is rephrased here; however, the ultimate result is the same. Few features are rearticulated in our text since the NrS shortens the NS verse by providing only the vital part.

The NS: prodvṛttaniṣṭabdhapuṭā sphuraduvṛttatārakā | 268

The NrS: udvrttaputapaksmāgrā calattārā bhayānakā | 269

Our text mentions eyelashes instead of eyelids.

3. Two characteristics are mentioned in the technique of Hāsyā glance; 1. Slightly contracted eyelids and 2. Rolled eyeballs. The second is similar to the NS. In the first, it is a gradual contraction $kram\bar{a}d\bar{a}ku\bar{n}citaput\bar{a}^{270}$ as mentioned in the NS, and in our text, it is $ki\bar{n}cid\bar{a}ku\bar{n}citaput\bar{a}^{.271}$

4. The interesting part in Karuṇā glance is the rephrasing of the *manmatharatārakā* as the *naṣṭatārikā*. It is a sorrowful sight in which eyes are set downwards. When a person's eyes fill with water, the pupils disappear. It is beautifully captured through the phrase *naṣṭatārikā*.

5. The Adbhutā is the only sight stated in the entire line. All other types are written in single hemistich in the NrS. Here is the verse- *kiñcitkuñcitapakṣmāgrā kiñcidudvṛttatārīkā* | *samā vikasitā caiva sādbhutā dṛṣṭiriṣyate*. Dadheech considers the first hemistich as part of the previous type Karuṇā. The Ward However, compared to the NS reading, it indeed is the characteristics of Adbhutā glance. It says, *yā tvākuñcitapakṣmāgrā sāścaryoudvṛtatārakā* | *saumyā vikasitāṃtā ca sādbhutā dṛṣṭiradbhute*. MS offers the variant *kiñcidudvṛttatārīkā* and N of *samā vikasitāṃtā*. The NS offers the variant *kiñcidudvṛttatārīkā* and N of *samā vikasitāṃtā*.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.II.8.47.

²⁶⁹ Verse 6A.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.II.8.48

²⁷¹ Verse 6B.

²⁷² 1990:p.35.

²⁷³ Ibid.II.8.50.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

6. The characteristics of Raudrā are similar to the NS. NS additionally says that the eyes should be terrible, rough and red, which is absent in our text. ²⁷⁵

7. The verse of Vīrā is similar to the second line of the verse given in the NS.²⁷⁶ The first line notes additional features like glittering, fully expanded, agitated, and serious

even eyes.

8. The re-articulation of Bībhatsā sight is not sufficient to understand the actual

presentation.

The verse from the NS: nikuñcitapuṭāpāṃgā ghūrṇopaplutatārakā

saṃśliṣṭasthirapakṣmā ca bībhatsā dṛṣṭiriṣyate \parallel^{277}

The verse from the NrS: *utphullamadhyā vīrā tu kathitā samatārikā* |²⁷⁸

9. Considering the connection between the mention of Śāntā glance and the Śānta sentiment, it can be said it is a first reference to the Śāntā sentiment in the NrS. In the enumeration of *rasa* glances, Śāntā is not mentioned as similar to the NS. The verse of Śāntā glance is interpolated in NS, and the concerned verse in the NrS is derived from it. The NS says, *nāsāgrasaktānimiṣā tathādhobhāgacāriṇī* | *ākekarapuṭā caiva śāntā dṛṣṭirbhavedasau*²⁷⁹ and the NrS condenses it as *dhyānādanimiṣā śāntā hyadhobhāgavicāriṇī*. The concentration of eyes onto the nose represents the meditative pose interpreted in the same way in our text.

Sthāyi-dṛṣṭi

There are three types of *bhāvas* mentioned in the NS; *sthāyi*, *vyabhicāri* or *sancāri* and *sāttvika*. They contribute to *rasa* creation. *Sthāyi bhāvas* are the durable psychological states, and they are at the core of this process. NS compares these to the king. All other *bhāvas* take refuge in *sthāyis*. There are eight *sthāyi bhāvas*. With the *sthāyi dṛṣṭi*, the NS also mentions the affiliated *sthāyi bhāvas*. The NrS does not state them.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.II.8.51.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.II.8.52.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.II.8.53.

²⁷⁸ Verse 9B.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.II.8.54, the verse is given in the bracket.

²⁸⁰ Verse 10A.

²⁸¹ NS GOS (1992) I.p.343.

As noted many times, in this case, too, the NrS shortens and rearticulates the verses of the NS. Moreover, there are few new additions in the characteristics. The interchange of the types between *sthāyi* and *sancāri* glances is observed. Furthermore, it is noted that our text does not follow the NS order of these glances.

1. The characteristics of Snigdhā, Kṛddhā, Dṛptā and Vismitā are similar to the NS.

2. The Hṛṣṭā glance is explained differently. Our text says *utphullamadhyā pracalā hṛṣṭā paryantavīkṣiṇī*. NS elaborately writes about it, *calā hasitagarbhā ca viśattārānimeṣiṇī | kiṃcidākuñcitā hraṣṭā dṛṣṭīrhāse prakīrtitā*. ²⁸³

3. The Jihmā and Lajjānvitā are the types of *sancāri* glances which are considered in the *sthāyi*. There is a partial similarity between the Jihmā verses of the NS and the NrS.

The NrS: jihmādhogatatārā ca gūḍhaṃ magnā nirīkṣiṇī | 284

The NS: lambitā kuñcitapuṭā śanaistiryaṅnirīkṣiṇī | nigūḍha gūḍhatārā ca jihmā dṛṣṭirudāhṛtā \parallel^{285}

The performance characteristics of Lajjitā however are distinct from the Lajjānvitā of the NS.

The NrS: ākuñcitā lajjitā syāttathā niścalatārakā | 286

The NS: $ki\tilde{n}cida\tilde{n}cit\bar{a}pak$ şmāgrā patitordhvapuṭā hriyā | $trap\bar{a}dhogatat\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ ca drṣṭirlajjānvitā tu sā $||^{287}$

4. The Bhītā sight probably comes as the replacement for the Bhayānvitā of the NS. However, the execution is different.

The NrS: ākuñcitapuṭā bhītā rukṣā vyāvṛttatārakā | 288

The NS: visphāritobhayapuṭā bhayakaṃpitatārakā | niṣkrāntamadhyā dṛṣṭistu bhayabhāve bhayānvitā |

5. The Saumyā is the new contribution by the NrS in this category. Whether this would be the *sthāyi dṛṣṭi* created for Śānta is difficult to conclude. There is no such

²⁸³ NS GOS (2001)II.8.57.

²⁸² Verse 11A.

²⁸⁴ Verse 11B.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.II.8.75.

²⁸⁶ Verse 14B.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.II.8.68.

²⁸⁸ Verse 12B

type in the NS. But the text notes *śama* as the *sthāyi bhāva* of the Śānta sentiment and the *sama* or the appreciating all things alike is one of the characteristics.

Sancāri-dṛṣṭi

According to NS, *vyabhicāris* are the transitory emotions that are considered as the complimentary psychological states concerning sentiments.²⁸⁹ There are thirty-three *vyabhicāri bhāvas*, also known as *sancāri*. The applications of *sancāri* glances with their respective *bhāvas* are noted both in the NS²⁹⁰ and also in the NrS but with different approaches. At first, only the technicalities of these types are given. The NrS does not follow the NS order of these glances.

The glances of Malinā, Ākekarā, Abhitaptā, Viplutā, Viṣaṇṇā, Trastā, Vibhrāntā, Kuncitā, Vitarkā, Madirā, Lalitā, Glānā are derived, not entirely copied but rearticulated from the verses of the NS. The similarity in terms of the parallel phraseology and the likeness in presentation of these types is evident. The rest of the types need to be discussed.

- **1.** *kiñcidunnamitapurā bhrāṃtā sā tu vidhīyate*.²⁹¹ It is the verse dedicated to the type Śrāntā in the NrS. In the critical edition, Shah suggests that there should be Śrāntā instead of Bhrānta, which seems correct. Śrāntā means fatigued. The instructions of the type given in our text do not relate to the expected result of weary eyes. The NS mentions it like this, *śramātpramlāpitapuṭā kṣāmāntāñcitalocanā* | *sannā patitatārā ca śrāntā dṛṣṭiḥ prakīrtitā*.²⁹² The drooping eyes are to be performed (and not the lifted one). The exhausted or fatigued glance is expected.
- **2.** The re-articulation of Śankitā or the doubtful sight is noted in single phrase *anavasthitatārā* or the unsteady eye-balls. The NS tells us the complimentary characteristics involved in it, which results in instability.

NS: $ki\tilde{n}ciccal\bar{a}$ $sthir\bar{a}$ $ki\tilde{n}cidudgat\bar{a}$ $tiryag\bar{a}yat\bar{a}$ | $g\bar{u}dh\bar{a}$ $cakitat\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ ca $sankit\bar{a}$ drstirisyate \parallel^{293}

²⁸⁹ NS GOS (1992)I.p.349.

²⁹⁰ NS GOS (2001)II.8.89ff.

²⁹¹ Verse 16A.

²⁹² Ibid.II.8.67.

²⁹³ Ibid. II.8.70.

Sometimes the vision is moving, sometimes it is fixed, sometimes it is diagonally upwards, and sometimes it is stretched, sometimes it becomes enigmatic, or the pupil is astonished. It is the Śankitā glance. Our text wisely encapsulates it in a single word.

Notably, the expression *anavasthitatārā* also comes in the NS while explaining the Vikośā glance. After the Śankitā, our text explains the Trastā followed by the Vikośā.

3. The verse for Viśokā '*utphullā tu viśokākhyā tathā ca nimiṣekṣaṇā*' is similar to the NS. NS, however accepts the reading Vikośā, but MS *ḍa* provides a variant of Viśokā. Shah, however, suggests that it should be Vikośā since most of the NS MSS offer it ²⁹⁴

The meaning of Viśokā is an exemption from sorrow and of Viśokā it is unsheathed or uncovered. Dr. M.M.Ghosh takes the latter as full-blown.²⁹⁵ The technique and the usages given of this sight strongly suggest that it should be Viśokā only. Here is the verse from the NS.

Technique: $viko \acute{s}itobhayaput\bar{a}$ protphull \bar{a} c \bar{a} nime $\dot{s}ini$ / anavasthitat \bar{a} r \bar{a} ca $viko \acute{s}\bar{a}$ drstirisyate \parallel^{296}

Usage: Awaking, arrogance or pride, anger, fierceness etc.

The variant Viśokā occurs in the NrS because the writer/s follows the NS that contains the same variant. However, the performance instructions and the usages both recommend that the correct reading should be Vikośā.

4. In the verse of Śūnyā '*sthiratārāpuṭā śūnyā saṃkṣubdhā samadarśanā*' ²⁹⁷ the word *samksubdhā* seems unclear. Here are the translations done by previous scholars.

Shah: Looking evenly with steady eyeballs and eyelids and yet indicating a disturbance of mind. 298

Dadheech: sthira tāraka va palakon vālī, saṃkṣubdha va samadarśanā dṛṣṭi 'śūnyā ' hai $|^{299}$

NS mentions Śūnyā in following words.

 295 English translation of NS (2016) I.p.218.

²⁹⁹ 1990:38.

²⁹⁴ 1961:64.

²⁹⁶ NS GOS (2001)II.8.82.

²⁹⁷ Verse 20B.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

samatārā samaputā niṣkampā śūnyadarśanā | bāhyārthagrāhiṇī kṣāma śūnyādṛṣṭiḥ prakīrtitā ||³⁰⁰

The term 'bāhvārthagrāhinī' means seizing from the external reality. It probably means the introspective vision. The usages include anxiety and stupefaction. The former is also stated in our text. The meaning of the $samksubdh\bar{a}$ is agitated or violently shaken. But probably with the context to the name of this glance, the logical implication can be derived as 'total absence of agitation'. Therefore the \dot{sunya} glance is when the pupils and eyelids are steady, and there is total absence of agitation.

Shah's interpretation of 'yet indicating a disturbance of mind' is also fathomable from the context of the usages. An actor is in anxiety, and he cannot hide the internal disturbance caused by it. He starts contemplating with a pensive vision and forgets the outer world. This is possible in a dramatic situation.

5. NS contains both, Mukulā and Ardhamukulā. The NrS has only Mukulā. The text bhavet.301 mukulā says praspamdamānapaksmāgrā mukulā For NS. 302 'sphuritsamślistapaksmārdhā' the NrS of the says 'praspaṃdamānapakṣmāgrā.' The Nepal MS of the NS consists the variant of 'pakṣmāgrā.'

Moreover, the above characteristic of Mukulā given in the NrS may be taken from the attributes of Malinā given in the NS, which says praspamdamānapakṣmāgrā nātyarthamukulaiḥ puṭaiḥ (when the eyelashes are throbbing but not too closely). 303 The meanings of the words 'sphurit' and 'praspanda' are similar. Additionally, the Mukulā is part of the presentation of Malinā glance.

Usages of Rasa, Sthāyi and Sancāri Glances

The NS does not list the usages of rasa and sthāyi types of glances separately. Bharata concludes it in one verse; rasajāstu rasesveva sthāyişu sthāyidṛṣṭayaḥ, and then he describes the uses of sancāri glances. But he, while expressing the techniques of each rasa and sthāyi glances, also mentiones the respected rasa and sthāyi bhāvas attached to them. These are recorded separately in our chapter as their usages. The NrS

³⁰⁰ NS GOS (2001)II.8.65.

³⁰¹ Verse 21A.

³⁰² Ibid.II.8.72.

³⁰³ Ibid.II.8.66.

describes only technical details of *rasa* and *sthāyi* glances followed by the same of the *sancāri* glances. And then, the text gives the uses of all three types one by one. In the process, the NrS adds new uses under a few of them.

Rasa

In this category, the glances associated with each sentiment are described. The names of the sentiments related to Kāntā, Bhayānakā and Bībhatsā glances are not mentioned, but their usages related to the respective sentiments are stated.

The side glance is the performing characteristic of Kāntā, which is also cited as its usage. Here the actually affiliated sentiment Śṛngāra is not mentioned. However, the feeling is expressed in the name of the sight itself.

Similarly, the act of killing is the occasion where Bhayānakā sight is said to be used. And the use of Bībhatsā is stated to be done in *jugupsā*/disgust. *Jugupsā* is the *sthāyi bhāva* of Bībhatsa³⁰⁴ sentiment which is also one of the types of *sthāyi* glances mentioned in the NS³⁰⁵ which is absent in the NrS. However, the NrS assigns it as a usage for the sentimental glance of Bībhatsā.

Sthāyi

As mentioned previously, the NS, while explaining the technique of each of the sights in this category, says the affiliated *sthāyi bhāvas*. The usages of *sthāyi* glances in the NrS are nothing but the rewording of this affiliation. The NrS presents it in a format of theatrical uses.

- **1.** Rati is the $sth\bar{a}yi$ of Snigdhā in the NS. The NrS simply says $snigdh\bar{a}$ $snigdh\bar{a}valokane;^{307}$ it is a look of love or affection which ultimately connects it with the Rati $sth\bar{a}yi$.
- **2.** Similarly in the case of Hṛṣṭā the NrS says hṛṣṭā hṛṣṭa tu kartavyā. Hāsa is the $sth\bar{a}yi$ of Hṛṣṭā. 308 Hṛṣṭa means thrilling with a rapture which associates it with the $h\bar{a}sa$.

³⁰⁷ Verse 25B.

³⁰⁴ GOS NS (1992) I.p.322; in the NrS (1958) 30.26.

³⁰⁵ GOS NS (2001) II.8.62.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.II.8.56.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.II.8.57.

3. As noted previously Jihmā originally is the *sancāri* glance listed in the *sthāyi* category in the NrS. NS describes the association of *sancāri* sights with their respective *sancāri bhāvas*. The *sancāri bhāvas* of Jihmā are *asūyā* (envy), *jaḍatā* (apathy) and *ālasya* (indolence). Our text mentions only *asūyā* amongst these three as the usage of Jihmā.

4. The *sthāyi* of Kṛddhā and Bhītā are *krodha* (anger) and *bhaya* (fear), respectively. The NrS merely says *kruddhā kruddhe tu nirdiṣṭā bhītā bhīte tathā bhayet*. The NrS merely says *kruddhā kruddhe tu nirdiṣṭā bhītā bhīte tathā bhayet*.

5. Like Jihmā, Lajjitā also has been mentioned under the *sancāri* glances. *Lajjā* is the *sancāri bhāva*. ³¹² Our text states the same.

6. The *sthāyi bhāva* of Dṛptā and Vismitā are *utsāha* (enthusiasm) and *vismaya* (amazement)³¹³ correspondingly, which are stated in our text as well.

7. Saumyā is the fresh *sthāyi* glance offered by the NrS. Hence there is no specific *sthāyi bhāva* for this sight. The NrS records its usage as '*saumyā saumyāvalokane*.' The preliminary inference can be drawn that the Saumyā sight probably represents the particular effort made towards establishing the glance for the *śama sthāyi bhāva* of Śānta sentiment.

Sancāri/Vyabhicāri

The usages of glances associated with transitory states have been put majorly in the format of the dramatic uses. The primary matter is derived from the NS.

1. The associated *sancāri bhāvas*/transitory psychological states of Malinā are *nirveda* and *vaivarṇya* as stated in the NS.³¹⁵ Based on NS, it can be said that *viyoga*/separation, which has been stated as the usage of Malinā in the NrS, is majorly aligned with *nirveda*. *Nirveda* and *vaivarṇya* are respectively the *sancāri* and *sāttvika*

³¹⁰ Ibid.II.8.59,61.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.II.8.93.

³¹¹ Verse 26B.

³¹² Ibid.II.8.90.

³¹³ Ibid.II.8.60,63.

³¹⁴ Verse 27B.

³¹⁵ NS GOS (2001)II.8.89.

 $bh\bar{a}vas$ associated with Karuṇa rasa. It is said that the nirveda/despondency emerges from the separation from dear ones. 317

2. According to NS, Ākekara is to be applied to look from a distance, also to cut or divide or in separation.³¹⁸ However, according to the NrS, it is to be used in a sexual union which is an entirely different application of this glance comparing to NS.

3. It is said in the NS that Śrāntā is to be applied in the situations like *śramārta* (distressed with fatigue) and *sveda* (perspiration).³¹⁹ The NrS simply says *śrāntā śrāntasya kartavyā*.³²⁰ The word itself means fatigue.

4. The NrS mentions only *nirveda* amongst the usages of Abhitaptā glance mentioned in the NS.³²¹

5. The NrS states that *viplutākhyā tu dainye syādviṣāde tu viṣaṇṇikā*. The usages are in concordance with the NS. *Duḥkha* (sorrow/suffering) is one of the applications of Viplutā mentioned by Bharata. Viṣāda is the only application mentioned *for* Viṣaṇṇā glance in the NS. The usages

6. The usages of Śankitā and Trastā are the same as with the NS. ³²⁵

7. The appropriateness of Vikośā instead of Viśokā has already been discussed. Vibodha or awakening is one of the usages of this sight mentioned in NS³²⁶, which is interpreted in our text as the sight for $j\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$ or the knowledge.

8. The NrS does not describe the technique of Nimīlitā. There is no such glance in the NS. The technique is not given; however

³¹⁶ NS GOS (1992)I.6.18 and 22 and p.311.

³¹⁷ Ibid.I.7.29.

³¹⁸ NS GOS (2001)II.8.95.

³¹⁹ Ibid.II.8.90.

³²⁰ Verse 28B

 $^{^{321}}$ Ibid.II.8.92. the other two are *abhighāta*/infliction of injury and *abhitapta*/agitation.

³²² Verse 29A.

 $^{^{323}}$ Ibid.II.8.95 the other two are capala/unsteady, unmade/exhilaration and marana/death.

³²⁴ Ibid.II.8.91.

³²⁵ Ibid.II.8.91 and 96.

³²⁶ Ibid.II.8.96.

the usage is stated that helps to put an observation. The Nimīlitā of the NrS shares a similarity with the Ardhamukulā, one of the *sancāri* glances of the NS which is absent in the NrS. The usage of Nimīlitā is the same as the Ardhamukulā. 328 In the NS, this vision is stated to show the pleasure that comes from smell and touch. The latter is mentioned in the NrS under the Nimīlitā sight.

It is noticeable that Nimīlitā, Mukulā or Ardhamukulā etc. terms suggest the closed or half-closed eyes.

9. The application of Vibhrāntā is the same as in the NS. ³²⁹

10. The usage of Kuñcitā is shortened compared to the NS. The latter includes envy, undesirable things, and objects visible with difficulty and pain in the eye. ³³⁰ The NrS merely concludes it as $kuñcit\bar{a}$ $s\bar{u}ksmadarsane$, which is most probably based on the last two usages noted above.

11. The usage of Śūnyā is the same as in the NS. 331

12. However, of Mukulā, the case is different. As it is already noted that there are two sights; Mukulā and Ardhamukulā, in which the NrS gives only the first type. The usage, however, of Mukulā in the NrS is taken from that of the Ardhamukulā in the NS. The act of smelling is one of the usages of Ardhamukulā. *Nidrā* (sleeping), *svapna* (dreaming) and *sukha* (happiness) are the usages of Mukulā in NS. 332

13. The usages of Vitarkā and Madirā are similar to the NS. 333

14. *Dhṛti* (satisfaction/courage) and *harṣa* (delight) are the usages of the Lalitā glance in the NS. ³³⁴ NrS records a different use of the sight; it says *strīṇāṃ helāsu lalitā*. ³³⁵ It can be understood based on concepts in the NS itself. NS gives three types of physical

³²⁷ Abhinayadarpana mention Nimīlita as one of the eight sights, Verses 74-75.

³²⁸ Ibid.II.8.94.

³²⁹ Ibid.II.8.94.

³³⁰ Ibid.II.8.92.

³³¹ Ibid.II.8.89.

³³² Ibid.II.8.91.

³³³ Ibid.II.8.93 and 96.

³³⁴ Ibid.II.8.93.

³³⁵ Verse 32A.

graces of women; *bhāva*, *hāva* and *helā* and says that these emerge in women from the *sattva*. While explaining the term *helā*, NS says '*samākhyātā budhairhelā lalitābhinayātmakā*.' It has been interpreted as the application of Lalitā glance in the NrS.

15. The usage of Glānā is the same as in the NS. 338

Puta/Movements of Eyelids

The nine types of eyelids are enumerated in the NrS. NS is the source.³³⁹ The type of Unmeṣa, which is described later, is named Utsedha in the enumeration. One of the meanings of Utsedha is to drive or push upwards. Here Unmeṣa represents the opening movement of eyes. Either it is an error made by a scribe or used another word that somewhat projects a similar meaning.

The technique and usages of all these sights show the correspondence with the NS. Few points need to be noted.

1. prasāritau puṭau yatra bhavettaddhi vivartitam³⁴⁰ this line is understood as the description of Vivartita by Shah and Dadheech.³⁴¹ Shah opines that the Prasārita is not defined in the NrS.³⁴² However, with the help of NS, it can be stated that the above line talks about both the types; Prasārita and Vivartita. Here is what NS says; samāgamo nimeṣaḥ syādāyāmaḥ prasṛtaṃ bhavet and vivartitaṃ samudvṛttaṃ sphuritaṃ spanditaṃ tathā.³⁴³ MS ḍa of the NS contains a variant of prasārita for prasṛta. Expansion of eyelids is Prasārita, and the movement of raising the eyelids is Vivartita. In an attempt to accommodate two types in one hemistich, the clarity is compromised in the NrS. The meanings of the terms Prasārita and Vivartita are probably taken as descriptions of their technique and thus not explained. The usages are given of both of the types.

338 NS GOS(2001)II.8.90.

³³⁶ NS GOS (2003)III.22.4ff.

³³⁷ Ibid.III.22.11.

³³⁹ NS GOS (2001)II.8.112ff.

³⁴⁰ Verse 35A.

³⁴¹ 1990:40.

³⁴² 1961:65.

³⁴³ Ibid.I.8.113 and 114.

2. Secondly, the usages of Nimeṣa and Unmeṣa are given as *krodhe vivartitaṃ kāryaṃ nimeṣonmeṣayoḥ svakau.*³⁴⁴ NS says *krodhe vivartitaṃ kāryaṃ nimeṣonmeṣaṇaiḥ saha*³⁴⁵ which means that Vivartita, Nimeṣa and Unmeṣa all three are to be used in anger. The NrS gives a different application. The Nimeṣa and Unmeṣa are the opposite actions of opening and closing of eyes. This action continues uninterrupted in human beings; probably from this point of view, our text says that it is to be used for one's own business whether in anger or any other kind of a feeling.

3. The type of Pihita that occurs in the NS is called Vihita in two places in the NrS. There is no such variant noted in the NS. Only in the technical information the NrS writes Pihita.³⁴⁶

Tārakā/Pupil Movements

The types are similar to the NS. 347 Only at the place of Samudṛrtta the Udvarta or Udvartana is written in the NrS, and the Sampraveśana is erroneously noted as Sampraṇāśana in the enumeration. The technique of all these types is majorly based on the NS. Few alterations in the technique as well as in the usages are noted.

1. The NrS says *valanaṃ gamanaṃ tiryakcalanāccalanaṃ bhavet*³⁴⁸ and in the NS it is *valanaṃ gamanaṃ tryaśraṃ* and *calanaṃ kampanaṃ jñeyaḥ*.³⁴⁹ In the NS, the oblique movement is connected with the Valana. Following the NS Shah takes Valana as the diagonal movement and Calana as the quivering eyeballs. Dadheech, however thinks that the diagonal movement is connected to the Calana. Probably becuase of the combined term *tiryak+calanāt+calanam*. ³⁵⁰ However, it is advisable to rely on NS to understand the exact meaning of wording in the verses in the NrS.

2. The technique of Udvartana is different from the NS. The NrS says *udvartanātparāvṛttiḥ*³⁵¹ and in the NS it is *samudvṛttaṃ samunnatiḥ*. 352

³⁴⁴ Verse 40B.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.II.8.116.

³⁴⁶ Verse 37A.

³⁴⁷ NS GOS (2001)II.8.98ff.

³⁴⁸ Verse 43A.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.II.8.100.

³⁵⁰ 1961:65; 1990:42.

³⁵¹ Verse 45A.

³⁵² Ibid.II.8.101.

Parāvṛtti/turning back and samunnati/advancement are the opposite terms. There are no variants of *udvartana* or *parāvṛtti* noted under any of the NS MSS.

3. NS mentions the usages of pupils with context to the rasa (sentiment) and bhāva (emotions/psychological states). Here is the comparative chart.

Туре	NrS	NS
Bhramaṇa	mada	Vīra, Raudra
Valana	Hāsya	Vīra, Raudra
Pātana	Karuṇa	Karuṇa
Calana ³⁵³	Vīra	Bhayānaka
Sampraveśa	Bībhatsa	Hāsya, Bībhatsa
Vivartana	Śṛngāra	Śṛngāra
Udvartana	Vīra	Samudvṛtta: Vīra, Raudra
Niṣkrama	Bhayānaka	Bhayānaka, Adbhuta
Prākṛta	<i>śeṣa-bhāva</i> ; rest of the emotions	<i>śeṣa-bhāva</i> ; rest of the emotions

The usage of Bhramana is interesting in the NrS. Bhramana is the action of rotating pupils used in a drunken state. It is a dramatic application, far away from the Vīra or Raudra sentiments. But mada is one of the sancāri/vyabhicāri bhāvas. If any sentiment is made out of it, it is Hāsya.

The allied sentiments of Valana and Calana are also different from the NS. The Adbhuta/marvellous sentiment is missing in the NrS. Also, the Śānta sentiment is not included here even though the Santa glance is noted earlier in the glances related to sentiments.

In the NS, the movements of eyeballs come before the movements of eyelids. NS gives reason for this by stating that the eyelids follow the movements of eyeballs.³⁵⁴ In our text, the order is opposite, and no explanation is given.

Dṛṣṭi/Sights:

³⁵³ In the GOS edition of NS the usages of Calana is not mentioned rather that of Valana is noted twice. The first Valana has been related to the Vīra and Raudra and the later with the Bhayānaka. The variant of *calana* for the later reference is offered by the MS *da*, GOS NS II (2001) p.14. ³⁵⁴ NS GOS (2001)II.8.111.

NS lists eight types of *darśana*³⁵⁵; Sama, Sācī, Anuvṛtta, Ālokita, Vilokita, Pralokita, Ullokita and Avalokita. The NrS enumerates only six; however, in the description of technique, eight types are mentioned.

The techniques of Sama, Sācīkṛta, Ālokita and Ullokita in the NrS have similarity with the NS. The Lokita is probably a new sight which can be performed by looking in all directions. No such action is noted in the NS.

Pralokita, which is missing in our text, has an act of looking from sides. This particular movement is associated with the Vilokita in our text. In the NS, Vilokita is looking back, and Avalokita is looking downwards. However, in the NrS, the performance of the former signifies the action of looking from sides and of the latter to look back.

Bhrū/Movements of Eyebrows:

NS says that the *darśanas* are connected with *rasa* and *bhāva*³⁵⁷. In the sense that it is called *darśana-vidhi*, it should also include the eyelids, pupils and eyebrows, because simultaneous and complementary coordination of all these infused with emotions will create a sight. That is why Bharata has mentioned that eyebrows should follow pupils and eyelids.³⁵⁸ The introduction noted regarding the applicability of eyebrows in the NrS underlines the same.

For Nikuncita, NS has Kuncita and for Svābhāvika it has Sahaja. The performance method of all types is similar to the NS. Few differences can be seen in the usages.

In NS, the Samutkṣepa, a subtype of Utkṣepa is mentioned in the usage. In the first type, both the eyebrows are raised, while only one is raised in the second type. *Kopa* (rage), *vitarka* (argument), *līlā* (amusement), *helā* (amorous sport), *darśana* (the act of seeing) and *śravaṇa* (an act of hearing) are the usages for Samutkṣepa. *Vismaya* (astonishment), *harṣa* (joy), *roṣa* (fury) etc., are the usages of Utkṣepa. The NrS says *samutkṣepastu līlāyāḥ*, which means that it records the use of the subtype while it provides technical detail of the primary type.

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³⁵⁵ Ibid. II.8.107ff.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.II.8.110.

³⁵⁷ Ibid. fn.279.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.II.8.119.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.II.8.125-126.

Secondly, the usage of Pātana that is the drooping eyebrows is stated for the enactment of compassion. It is a different and quite the opposite take than the NS, which lists jealousy, hatred, smile and smelling as the usages of Pātana. 360

The usages of Bhukuṭī and Catura are the same as in the NS. ³⁶¹ Notably, the NrS does not mention the applications of Kuncita, Recita ³⁶² and Svābhāvika movement of eyebrows. ³⁶³

Ganda/Characteristics of Cheeks:

The names are not enumerated in the beginning. It starts by mentioning the characteristics of each type followed by their usages. The varieties are the same as in the NS except for the Pūrṇa. NS has Ghūrṇa however the MSS da, dha, pa and N have the variant of Pūrna.

The techniques and usages of Kṣāma, Fulla, Kampita are similar to the NS. Notable points of the rest of the types are as follows.

- **1.** The technique of Pūrṇa is rearticulated. NS uses the word *vitata*, which means wide or broad. ³⁶⁵ The NrS says *saṃpūrṇaṃ pūrṇamityuktaṃ*. ³⁶⁶
- **2.** The technique of Kuncita mentioned in NS is simple than the NrS. NS just says *syātkuñcitam saṃkucitaṃ*.³⁶⁷ The MS *ma* of the NS explains it as *saromāñca pulakitaṃ sakṛnimnaṃ nikuñcitam*.³⁶⁸ In the NrS, the technical instructions are more complicated; *sṛkkābhinnaṃ kuñcitakaṃ saromāñca tathāvidham*.³⁶⁹ The usages of the type help to understand the meaning of *sṛkkābhinnaṃ*. The thrilling of hair is a significant application. When one feels the thrill, e.g. caused by the cool breeze of air or by touch, cheeks get pressed against the mouth as the teeth tighten. In this sense, probably the wholeness of mouth and cheek is expected in terms of the theatrical application.

³⁶¹ Ibid.II.8.127-128.

anāviddheşu bhāveşu vidyātsvābhāvikam budhaḥ / NS GOS (2001) II.8.129-130.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.II.8.126.

³⁶² Shashirekha says that it is difficult to say that the author has substituted the Recita for kuncita, 1988:IV.161.

³⁶³ moṭṭāyite kuṭṭamite tathā ca kilikiṃcite | nikuñcitaṁ ca kartavyaṃ nṛtte yojyaṃ tu recitam ||

³⁶⁴ NS GOS (2001)II.8.137ff.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.II.8.139.

³⁶⁶ Verse 59A.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.II.8.139.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Verse 59B.

3. NS says that *sama* or the even cheeks is the Prākṛta and is to be used in remaining emotional states. The NrS, the characteristic of this type and its use is the same. The prākṛtaṃ tu svabhāvasthaṃ mandaṃ proktaṃ manīṣibhiḥ is the verse which mentions the technique and prākṛtaṃ tu svabhāvasthaṃ tvarthayogena yojayet is the usage. It shows similarity with the reading of the MS ma of the NS, which records the technique as prākṛtaṃ ca svabhāvasthamatha bhāveṣu yojayet and svābhāvikaṃ svabhāve is the usage of it.

Nāsikā/Actions of the Nose

The types are the same as in the NS.³⁷² Only Vikūṇitā is called as Kūṇitā in the enumeration as well as in the technical details. However, in the usage, it is referred to as Vikūṇitā only. Kūṇitā means contraction or shrinking and contracting the nose is the technique of Vikūṇitā. So it doesn't make much difference.

The performing details of Natā and Mandā are a little confusing. The NrS says natānatā tu vijñeyā mandā natapuṭā bhavet. This can be clarified from the NS. The NS writes natā muhuḥśliṣṭapuṭā mandā tu nibhṛtā smṛtā, which means when the nostrils are clinging, again and again, it is the Natā and when they are still it is a Mandā. The NrS, yet again, attempting to condense and simplify the instructions, misses the crucial portion of its performance. The instructions in it are so brief that it is impossible to say whether the presentation has changed over time or not.

The usage of Mandā is the same as in the NS.³⁷³ However, of Natā, it is different; *natā tu rucite kāryā* is what the NrS has noted.³⁷⁴ NS has various usages; *madotkaṃpasamāyukte nārīṇāmanurodhane* | *niḥśvāse ca natā kāryā nāsikā nāṭyayoktṛbhiḥ*.³⁷⁵ The MS *ḍa* of the NS has another variant; *vicchinnamandarudite socchavāse ca natā smṛtā*. The NrS has consistently shown its closeness to the variants of the MS *ḍa* of the NS. Perchance, initially it was '*rudite*', which in the process erroneously converted into '*rucite*'.

The technique of Vikṛṣṭā also shows a modification; The NS explains it as 'utphullitapuṭā' 376 which is interpreted as vikṛṣṭā kuñcitā cordhvam in the NrS. 377

³⁷⁰ Ibid.II.8.139 and 142.

³⁷¹ Ibid.II.p.19.

³⁷² NS GOS (2001)II.8.131ff.

³⁷³ Ibid.II.8.135.

³⁷⁴ Verse 65A.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.II.8.134.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.II.8.132.

There is a fundamental contrast between these two techniques. The NrS uses the term *kuncita*, which means contraction. It is an upward contraction of the nostrils. On the other hand, fully blown nostrils are projected in the NS.

The techniques and usages of Sochhavāsā, Vikūṇitā and Svābhāvikī are similar to the NS.

Danta/Actions of Teeth

The description is too brief and incomplete. NS records seven types in this category, Kuṭṭana, Khaṇḍana, Chinna, Cukkita, Lehita, Sama and Daṣṭa. In the NrS, these types are identified as *danta-karma*. NS defines it as the actions of the chin, which is to be done simultaneously with the teeth actions. The NrS refers to this concurrent applicability in a different way. The text says *jivhādharauṣṭhamardaṃ vai dantakarmaṇi kārayet.* The teeth actions are to be done with rubbing or pressing of teeth against the tongue and lips. The articulation is specific and can be understood in terms of various dramatic usages. Here the reference to the chin is absent.

Usages help to understand the actual presentation of these types, technically and with context to the dramatic premise. The literal meaning does not always help in performing these minute movements of minor body parts. The context of drama, precisely what the scene demands, is always most important. This thought has to be kept in mind constantly while considering the technical information given in the *śāstras*.

Moreover, the names themselves are self-explanatory, and this can be seen in other places as well; Kuṭṭana means threshing, pounding, grinding or beating. Khaṇḍana means chopping or cutting. Chinna is to tear or split, Cukkita is suffering from pain, and Sama is even, representing the neutral position. However, the exact manner in which these types are to be implemented depends entirely on the context of the play.

1. The NrS does not mention the types of Lehita and Daṣṭa. Moreover, the technique of Sama and usage of Cukkita are missing too. In the enumeration, the Kuṭṭana and Cukkita are written inaccurately. 380

³⁷⁸ NS GOS (2001)II.8.148ff.

³⁷⁷ Verse 64A.

³⁷⁹ Verse 67A.

³⁸⁰ Verse 66B, Kunana and Mukkita.

2. The technical information about the Kuṭṭana, Khaṇḍana, Chinna and Cukkita are more or less similar to the NS. The practice of rephrasing is continued in this case too. Thus for *dantasaṅgharṣa*, ³⁸¹ a characteristic of Kuṭṭana the NrS writes *balavacchedaṃ*, ³⁸² and for *saṃsphoṭa* ³⁸³ of Khaṇḍana the NrS says *khaṇḍanaṃ tu vighaṭṭanam*. The *gāḍhasaṃśleṣa* of Chinna comes as *chinnaṃ nikṛtameva syāt* ³⁸⁶ and *dūravicyuti* ³⁸⁷ of Cukkita are interpreted as *ccukkitam viddhameva ca*. ³⁸⁸

3. The use of Kuṭṭana is associated with a disease. NS gives additional usages like fear, cold, anger etc. ³⁸⁹ The type probably signifies the clattering teeth.

4. The usage of Khaṇḍana is noted differently in the NrS. NS lists muttering of *mantras*, studying, and discourse, and eating.³⁹⁰ According to the NrS, it is *utsāde khaṇḍanaṃ bhavet*.³⁹¹

Similarly, the NS lists the usages of Chinna as disease, fear, cold, exercise, crying and death³⁹², but the NrS mentions *chinnaṃ krodhe paraṃ hāsye*.³⁹³

Adhara/Actions of Lower Lips

The types are similar to the NS.³⁹⁴ The Visarga is mentioned as Vimarśa, and Vinigūhana is sometimes cited as Vigūhana.

1. The techniques of Kampana, Visarga, Vinigūhana and Saṃdaṣṭa are similar to the NS.

In the type Vivartita and Kampana the reading of *sṛkkāsu vakrakaraṇaṃ vivartitamiti smṛtam/ vepanaṃ cāpi vijñeyamadharasya tu kampanam* ³⁹⁵ is parallel to the variant offered by MS *ma* of NS that is *saṃkrāṃtavakrīkaraṇa ṃ vivartanaṃ iti smṛtam / vepanaṃ cāpi vijñeyaṃ adharasya tū kampanam.* ³⁹⁶

³⁸⁴ Verse 67B.

³⁸¹ NS GOS (2001)II.8.149.

³⁸² Verse 67B.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.II.8.150.

³⁸⁶ Verse 68A.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Verse 68A.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.II.8.151.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.II.8.152.

³⁹¹ Verse 68B.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Verse 69A.

³⁹⁴ NS GOS(2001)II.8.142ff.

³⁹⁵ Verse 70B.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.II.p.20

2. The technique of Samudga is explained differently, but ultimately, it conveys a

similar meaning as the NS. Bharata says that samudgaḥ sahajonnatiḥ. 397 Our text

captures the action of moving both the lips upwards as pinditābhyudgataścaiva

samudgaka iti smrtah. 398

3. Moreover, the usages of Vivartita, Kampana and Samudga are taken from the NS.

However, of Visarga, the use is opposite of the NS, which mentions that the type is to

be applied in the various romantic gestures of women.³⁹⁹ On the contrary, the NrS

says *bhayānake visargaśca*, 400 probably, because the protruding lower lip is one of the

characteristics of furious gods or demigods projected in iconography. 401

4. According to the NS, the Vinigūhana is to be applied in making efforts. 402 It is

articulated as karşanetha vigūhanam⁴⁰³, which could be understood as the efforts of

drawing to and fro or dragging or pulling something.

5. Moreover, in the NS, the use of Samdasta is given briefly as krodhakarmasu⁴⁰⁴

however, in the NrS, it is given elaborately as tatonmādavikāreṣu saṃdaṣṭaṃ

vīraraudrayoḥ. 405

The last line connects the entire discourse with nṛtta. Upāṅgas come under the

common concepts to dance and drama.

The name of the chapter is Upāngikādhyāya, is similar to the colophons of

MSS pa, da and N of the NS. 406

Chapter 26: Hastādhyāya

³⁹⁷ Ibid.II.8.144.

³⁹⁸ Verse 73A.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.II.8.146.

⁴⁰⁰ Verse 74A.

⁴⁰¹ See Siudmak (2013) the composite images of Śiva found in Kashmir assigned to the early medieval period, Plates 95, 99etc. and sandstone Candraśilā with Yakṣa Plate 98, also Narasimha faces, Plate

210 and the Varāha and Narasimha faces in Vaikuntha images Plate 212.

402 Ibid.II.8.147.

⁴⁰³ Verse 74A.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Verse 74B.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.II.p.24.

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The matter of all three categories of hand gestures is derived from the NS. 407 NS has twenty-four asamyuta, thirteen samyuta and thirty nrtta hand gestures. In our text, they are twenty-two, thirteen and twenty-nine correspondingly. Here are the charts for basic comparative understanding. First two columns show the avalaibility of technique and usages in the NrS with a check mark. The difference in the name of the type is highlighted by making it bold. Few additional remarks are noted in the last column.

Technique	Usage	Asaṃyuta-hastas	Asaṃyuta-hastas	Remarks
in NrS	in NrS	of NrS	of NS	
/	/	1.Patāka	Patāka	
✓	/	2. Tripatāka	Tripatāka	
✓	/	3.Kartarīmukha	Kartarīmukha	
✓	/	4.Ardhacandra	Ardhacandra	
✓	✓	5.Arāla	Arāla	
✓	/	6. Gurutuṇḍa	Śukatuṇḍa	In the
				technique, it is
				named as the
				Śukatuṇḍa in
				NrS. ⁴⁰⁸
/	/	7. Muṣṭi	Mușți	
/	/	8.Śikhara	Śikhara	
✓	/	9. Kapittha	Kapittha	
/	/	10.Khaṭakāmukha	Khaṭakāmukha	
✓	/	11. Sūcyārdha	Sūcyāsya	In the
				technique
				named
				Sūcīmukha in
				NrS. 409
/	×	12. Padmakośa	Padmakośa	Usage is
				missing in

 $^{^{407}}$ NS GOS (2001)II.9.verses 18 to 122- $asamyuta\ hasta,$ 128 to 181- $samyuta\ hasta$ and 184 to 209 nrtta hasta.
408 Verse 26A.

⁴⁰⁹ Verse 33A.

				NrS.
/	/	13. Ahiśira	Sarpaśīrṣa	Not
				enumerated,
				but technique
				and usages are
				given in NrS.
/	/	14. Mṛgaśīrṣa	Mṛgaśīrṣa	
/	/	15. Lāngūla	Kāngūla/Lāngūla	In the
				technique, it is
				named as
				Kāngūla.410
/	/	16.Kolapadma	Alapadma/Kolapadma	
/	/	17.Catura	Catura	
/	/	18.Bhramara	Bhramara	
/	/	19.Haṃsāsya	Haṃsāsya	
/	/	20.Haṃsa-pakṣa	Haṃsa-pakṣa	
/	/	21. Saṃdanśa	Saṃdanśa	
/	/	22. Mukula	Mukula	
×	×	×	Urṇanābha	
×	×	×	Tāmracūḍa	

Technique	Usage in	Saṃyuta-hasta of NrS	Saṃyuta -hasta of NS
in NrS	NrS		
✓	/	1. Anjali	Anjali
/	/	2.Kapota	Kapota
/	/	3. Karkaṭa	Karkaṭa
/	/	4.Svastika	Svastika
/	/	5.Khaṭakāvardhamāna	Khaṭakāvardhamāna
/	/	6. Utsaṅga	Utsaṅga
/	/	7. Niṣadha	Niṣadha
/	/	8. Dolā	Dolā

⁴¹⁰ Verse 38A.

/	/	9.Puṣpapuṭa	Puṣpapuṭa
/	/	10.Makara	Makara
/	/	11.Gajadanta	Gajadanta
/	/	12.Avahittha	Avahittha
/	/	13.Vardhamāna	Vardhamāna

Technique	Nṛtta -hasta of NrS	Nṛtta -hasta of NS	Remarks
in NrS			
/	1. Caturastra	Caturastra	
/	2.Āvṛtta/Udvṛtta	Udvṛtta	In the
			enumeration, it is
			named as Āvṛtta,
			but later, while
			explaining the
			technique, it
			comes as
			Udvṛtta. ⁴¹¹
✓	3.Laghumukha	Talamukha	NrS calls
			Talamukha as the
			Laghumukha in
			enumeration as
			well as later in the
			verse of
			technique. ⁴¹²
✓	4.Arāla-khaṭakāmukha	Arāla-khaṭakāmukha	
✓	5.Āviddhavakra	Āviddhavakra	
✓	6.Saṃvyākhyā	Probably for	It is named
		Sūcyāsya.	Sūcīmukha in the

⁴¹¹ Verse 72A. ⁴¹² Verse 73B.

			technique in
			NrS. ⁴¹³
/	7.Recita	Recita	
/	8. Ardharecita	Ardharecita	
/	9. Avahittha		The inclusion of
			Avahittha in
			saṃyuta and nṛtta
			-hasta and the
			comparison of
			techniques are
			discussed
			separately below.
			However, the
			result shows that
			the technique
			matches with the
			Uttāna-vañcita,
			the <i>nṛtta -hasta</i> of
			the NS. ⁴¹⁴
/	10.Pallavita	Pallava	
/	11.Nitaṃba	Nitaṃba	
/	12. Keśavardhana	Keśabandha	In the technique, it
			is named
			Keśabandha. 415
/	13. Latākhya	Latākhya	
/	14. Karihasta	Karihasta	
/	15.Pakṣavañcitaka	Pakṣavañcitaka	It is not
			enumerated, but
			the technique is
			mentioned. ⁴¹⁶

⁴¹³ Verse 76B. ⁴¹⁴ NS GOS (2001)II.9.195. ⁴¹⁵ Verse 81B. ⁴¹⁶ Verse 84.

	16.Paksodyota	Pakṣapradyotaka	MS bha of NS has
			the variant of
			Pakṣodyota. ⁴¹⁷
/	17.Garuḍa-pakṣa	Garuḍa-pakṣa	
✓	18.Daṇḍa- pakṣa	Daṇḍa- pakṣa	
/	19.Urdhvamaṇḍalaja	Urdhvamaṇḍala	
/	20.Pārśvamaṇḍalaja	Pārśvamaṇḍala	
×	21.Pārśvordhvamaṇḍala	Uraḥpārśvārdha-	The technique of
		maṇḍala	this gesture is
			missing in our
			text.
/	22.Uromaṇḍalaka	Uromaṇḍala	
✓	23. Svastika-prakīrņaka	Svastika-viprakīrņa	Not enumerated
			but explained. ⁴¹⁸
×	24.Muṣṭi-svastika	Muṣṭikā-svastika	Enumerated but
			not explained.
/	25.Padmakośa	Nalinī-padmakośa	
/	26.Alapallava	Alapallava	
/	27.Ulbaṇa	Ulbaṇa	
/	28.Lalita	Lalita	
/	29.Valita	Valita	

After the minute reading of the techniques and their applications in the NrS comparing to what has been stated by Bharata, few observations can be noted. These are based on four primary criteria: technique, usages, variant alternative- within the MSS of the NrS and from the MSS of the NS. There are similarities between the NS and NrS in almost all hand techniques. There is no complete similarity in the NrS with all the usages in the NS. But most of them seem to be based on the NS. Moreover, not all the uses are given in the NS are included in the NrS, but only a few or selective of them are given.

⁴¹⁷ NS GOS (2001)II.p.76. ⁴¹⁸ Verse 88.

1. The Reading of Kartarīmukha: *kāryoyaṃ parivāreṣu bhinnaśca pataneṣu ca*, this is how the NrS mentions the usages of Kartarīmukha. According to Shah, the correct reading would be *kāryoyaṃ pathicāreṣu bhinne ca pataneṣu ca.* This usage indicates the servants leading the way to take the owner to the desired location with the least hassle.

However, the original variant can also be interpreted. $Pariv\bar{a}ra$ denotes entourage or dependents or followers. Kuṭṭanimata offers an example. In it, Samarabhaṭa visits Varanasi with his friend and servants. Here comes the word $\bar{a}pta$ and $pariv\bar{a}ra$. And it is said that the servants led his way to the temple.

2. The Technique of Ardhacandra: The technique of Ardhacandra given in the NrS is different from the NS.

NS: yasyāṅgulyastu vinatāḥ sahāṅguṣṭhena cāpava | 422

NrS: anāmikā tu sāṅguṣṭhā ardhacandre kare bhavet | 423

According to the NS, the bow-like curve given to all the fingers and the thumb is the Ardhacandra. In the NrS, it is the ring finger connected to the thumb that makes the Ardhacandra *hasta*. It has been taken as erroneous writing.⁴²⁴

Interestingly on technical grounds, this particular gesture matches with another gesture that we find in later texts, Abhinayadarpaṇa and Bharatārṇava, the Mayūra hasta. Notably, both texts are believed to have been written by Nandikeśvara. The reading shows a striking similarity. Abhinayadarpaṇa says, asminnanāmikāṅguṣṭhau śliṣṭau cānyāḥ prasāritaḥ | mayūrahastaḥ kathitaḥkaraṭīkā vicakṣaṇaiḥ. These texts also contain the gesture of Ardhacandra, which is similar to the NS. Notably, the usages of Ardhacandra in the NrS show similarity with that of in the NS.

Moreover, in Rahasya *mudrās*, the Ardhacandra has been referred to as *kuñcitāṅgulirardhacaṃdraḥ*, which again suggests resemblance with the NS. 427

⁴²⁰ 1958:p.77.

⁴¹⁹ Verse 22A.

⁴²¹ Ed. Madhusudan Kaul (1944) pp.737, 754.

⁴²² Ibid. II.9.43.

⁴²³ Verse 22B.

⁴²⁴ Dadheech (2003)42.

Abhinayadarpaṇa, verse 108.

⁴²⁶ Dadheech ibid.41.

⁴²⁷ Cr.ed. VDP III (1958)32.p.110.

3. Śukatuṇḍa as the Gurutuṇḍa: The Śukatuṇḍa is one of the *asaṃyuta hastas*. The name means the beak of a parrot. *Tuṇḍa* also means a spout or a trunk. Notably, there is no such variant recorded in any of the NS MSS. The change of terms from *śuka* to *guru* suggests two probabilities.

The peacock is also known as Gurukaṇṭha in Saṃskṛta. ⁴²⁸ The colourful trunk-like neck is one of the integral characteristics of a peacock. By Gurutuṇḍa, the NrS writer/s is probably suggesting the trunk of a peacock.

The second proposition would be of the sage Śuka. According to the Mbh⁴²⁹, he was born from sage Vyāsa and a damsel Ghṛtācī, disguised as she-parrot; thus named as Śuka. The story of his great ascetic life comes in the Śāntiparva which ends just before the Nārāyaṇiya ākhyāna, which is an essential text to understand the theological origin and development of Pāñcarātra. Śuka is significant as he is well-versed in Yoga as well as in the Sāṃkhya. He goes to king Janaka of Mithilā to receive the knowledge of Mokṣa-dharma. He is considered the epitome of purity. Bearing in mind these insights, it is, though distantly, possible that our writer/s simply replaced Śukatuṇḍa with Gurutuṇḍa ⁴³⁰denoting the sage who is born from a she-parrot. Moreoever, in the technique, it is named as the Śukatuṇḍa in the NrS. ⁴³¹ Fundamentally, *hasta* is a sign language. ⁴³²

- **4. Muṣṭi**: The usage of *stanapīḍane* (violently pressing breasts) comes only in the MSS *ma* and N of the NS. ⁴³³
- **5.** The Different Techniques of Kapittha *Hasta*: Our text mentions the method of Kapittha as *muṣṭimadhyagatāṅguṣṭhaḥ kapittha iti kīrtitaḥ*, which is different from the NS. In the latter, the gesture is to be formed by attaching the tips of the forefinger and thumb in Śikhara. It possibly represents a parallel version.

⁴²⁸ Monier-williams (1986) 359.

⁴²⁹ Book XII.cccxxiv-xxxiv for the birth and life journey of Śuka.

⁴³⁰ One Śukapraśna *samhitā* has been noted by Schrader (1916):12.

⁴³¹ Verse 26A.

⁴³² *Hasta*s are used in representing a person along with any other objects, events or animals etc. To see the diversity of hand gestures in overall art tradition, see Dr. Vibha Dadheech (2003) Bhāratiya Nṛtya ki Varnamālā Hasta-mudrā.

⁴³³ NS GOS (2001)II.p.39.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.II.9.59.

6. Lāngūla and Kolapadma: NS MSS *pa, ḍa, ḍha* and N offers the Lāngūla variant which also known as Kāngūla. The reading is given in the NrS '*lāngūlaḥ kolapadmaśca*' matches with the MS N. Likewise, Kolapadma is also known as the Alapallava or Alapadma.

7. Catura: The NrS verses on this gesture goes like this.

anenaiva tathā kāryaṃ varṇānāṃ tu nirūpaṇam // urdhvasṭhena bhavechśvetaṃ rakte syād ardhamaṇḍalam // maṇḍalena bhavet pītaṃ nīlaṃ ca mṛditaṃ (? te) bhavet / svabhāvasthena kṛṣṇaṃ ca śeṣā varṇās tathaiva ca // 438

The standard NS tells about the use of Catura to indicate colours, but it does not give any specifications. ⁴³⁹ The verse that gives these details is considered interpolation and thus mentioned in the bracket in the GOS edition of NS. In the above-quoted NrS verse the usage of Catura mentions various colours which find its partial similarity with the bracketed verse in GOS NS which goes like this,

Sitam ūrdhvena tu kuryād raktam pītam ca maṇḍalakṛtena | parimṛditena tu nīlam varṇāṃś catureṇa hastena || 440

The instructions for the black and rest of the colours is the additional information that the NrS provides.

8. Svastika: The NrS verse is *maṇibaṃdhanavinyastāvarālau vardhamānaka* | *uttānau natapārśvasthau svastikaḥ parikīrtitaḥ* ||⁴⁴¹ MS *na* and N of the NS notes the variant of *vardhamānaka*. The standard reading of the GOS edition consists of '*strīprayojitau*' at the place of the word *vardhamānaka*.

9. Dolā: The NrS provides different set of usages for Dolā *hasta* compared to the NS. The NrS records *dhyānādidāne kartavyo bhakṣyādikaraṇeṣu ca.* 443 According to the

⁴³⁵ Ibid.II.p.26.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.II.p.48.

⁴³⁸ Verse 42-43.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.II.9.99.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.II.9.100.

⁴⁴¹ Verse 57.

⁴⁴² NS GOS (2001)II.9.135.

⁴⁴³ Verse 63A.

NS, the *hasta* is to be used to enact confusion, despair, stupefaction, intoxication, sickness, injury caused by a weapon etc. 444

10. Puṣpapuṭa: The usage of the *saṃyuta hasta* of Puṣpapuṭa has been noted differently. The NrS says *pūrvāṇicābhineyāni karaṇānena pārthiva*. According to Shah, this is a corrupt line and might mean all the former things should be acted by this hand. However, there is a lot of room to think that the suggestion made in the NrS might be for the Talapuṣpapuṭa, a first *karaṇa* in the group of hundred and eight *karaṇa*s described in the Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇa chapter of the NS. The gesture is a part of the performance of this *karaṇa*; *vāme puṣpapuṭaḥ pārśve pādogratalasañcaraḥ | tathā ca sannataṃ pārśvaṃ tālapuṣpapuṭaṃ bhavet |*

11. Reading of Arāla-khaṭakāmukha:

tāveva maṇidhanvantāvarālakacitau karau | jñeyāvabhinaye tvetāvarālakhaṭakāmukhau ||⁴⁴⁸

The above verse of Arāla-khaṭakāmukha mentioned in the NrS matches with the NS's MSS ka, ga and ca. The reading from these MSS goes like this;

tathaiva maṇibandhānte hy arālau vicyutāv ubhau | jñeyau prayoktṛbhir nityam arālakhaṭakāv iti ||

12. Avahittha: The gesture of *avahittha* has been given twice, first in *saṃyuta* and the later in *nrtta-hasta*. Here are the verses.

Saṃyuta: śukatuṇḍau karau kṛtvā vakṣasyabhimukhāṃñcitau | śanair adhomukhāviddhāv avahittha iti smṛtaḥ ||⁴⁵⁰

Nṛtta -hasta: añcitau kūrparābhyāṃ tu tripatākau yadā karau | kiñcita tiryaggatā vetāvavahitthah prakīrtitah ||

The first is the same as in the NS.⁴⁵¹ Notably, the second, listed in the *nṛtta-hasta* represents another *hasta* of the same category, Uttānavañcita. This type is not enumerated in the NrS. Here is how the NS explains the gesture:

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.II.9.149.

⁴⁴⁵ Verse 64A.

⁴⁴⁶ 1961:74.

⁴⁴⁷ NS GOS (1992)I.4.61-62.

⁴⁴⁸ Verse 88.

⁴⁴⁹ NS GOS (2001)II.9.189.

⁴⁵⁰ Verse 67.

añcitau kūrparāṃsau tu tripatākau karau kṛtau \mid kiñcittiryakaggatāvetau smrtāvuttānavañcita \mid^{452}

13. Karihasta: In the verse *samunnato latāhastaḥ pārśvātpārśva viloḍitaḥ / dvitīyaḥ khaṭakākhyaśca karihastaḥ prakīrtitaḥ*,⁴⁵³ the entire second line is same as in the MS *ma* of the NS.

14. The Technique of Daṇḍapakṣa: The core instruction of the technicalities of Daṇḍapakṣa is missing in the NrS. It consists of the *vyāvṛtta* and *parivartita* movement in Haṃsapakṣa gesture and the spreading of arms⁴⁵⁴, but the NrS mentions only half of the instructions by stating *tathā prasāritabhujau daṇḍapakṣāviti smṛtau*.⁴⁵⁵

15. Understanding the Svastika-prakīrņaka of the NrS: The technique of Svastika-prakīrņaka comes in the verse eighty-eight of the NrS after the Uromaṇḍala. It says, tāveva maṇibandhānte svastikā kṛtisaṃjñitau | svastikāviti vikhyātau (vicyutau) ca prakīrṇakau ||

It is similar to the NS. Only one instruction is missing. In the NS, it comes as this; tāveva maṇibandhānte svastikākṛtisaṃsthitau | svastikāviti vikhyātau vicyutau viprakīrṇakau //⁴⁵⁶ The instruction of 'vicyutau' is important which is absent in the NrS.

There is one more thing to note. Technically, the reference made to the previous gesture by the term 'tāveva' is for the gesture of Talamukha, after which Svastika-viprakīrṇa comes in the NS. So to form the Svastika-prakīrṇaka of the NrS Talamukha should be considered as the previous gesture and not the Uromaṇḍala. Since in the Talamukha, the Haṃsapakṣa is the fundamental gesture placed obliquely in the Caturastra that is at a distance of eight fingers from the chest. From this position, one needs to form the Svastika-prakīrṇaka.

But there is one more point to consider from Abhinavagupta's commentary. From the NS, we understand that in Pakṣavañcitaka and Pakṣapradyotaka, the

⁴⁵¹ NS GOS (2001)II.9.156.

⁴⁵² Ibid.II.9.195.

⁴⁵³ Verse 83.

⁴⁵⁴ NS GOS (2001)II.9.202.

⁴⁵⁵ Verse 86A.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.II.9.187.

Tripatāka gesture is involved, similarly, in Daņdapakṣa, the Haṃsapakṣa is involved. 457 While explaining the Uromandala nrtta-hasta no specific asamyuta hasta is mentioned by Bharata. 458 But Abhinavagupta specifically writes that ūrdhvapārśvoromaṇḍaliṣu haṃsapakṣāvityapare vartavanti. 459 Thus the performance of Uromandala above the head and to the sides has to be done in the Hamsapaksa, the same gesture which is involved in the Svastika-prakīrnaka. Probably that is why the writer/s of the NrS mentions its technique after the Uromandala. However, the specification of the distance from the chest is peculiar. Therefore, the context of Talamukha in the execution of Svastika-prakīrņaka is important.

NS after Uromandala, explains the Urahpārśvārdhamandala followed by the Musti-svastika. However, Shah gives the translation of Musti-svastika at the place of Svastika-prakīrnaka. However, the fact is that the technical information of Mustisvastika is absent in the NrS. The Musti-svastika is enumerated but not explained, and it is precisely the opposite for the Svastika-prakīrņaka. To make it clear, here is the verse of Musti-svastika from the NS.

hastau tū maṇibandhānte kuñcitāvañcitau yadā | khaṭakākhyau kṛtau syātām *mustikasvastikau tadā* ||⁴⁶¹

16. Padmakośa: NrS simplifies the technique of the Padmakośa, or it instead gives partial information. In the NS, the gesture is named as Nalinī-padmakośa. Following verses can shed light.

The NrS: dvāv eva padmakośābhau padmakośāv iti smrtau | 462

The NS: padmakośau yadā hastau vyāvṛttaparivartitau | nalinīpadmakośau tu jñeyau prayoktrbhih / 463 The movement of vyāvartita or vyāvrtta and parivartita which differentiates this nrtta-hasta from the samyuta hasta of Padmakośa and makes a gesture of Nalinī-padmakośa is not mentioned in the NrS.

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⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.II.9.200,201, 202.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.II.9.204.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.II.p.77.

⁴⁶⁰ 1961: 76.

⁴⁶¹ NS GOS (2001)II.9.206; Shah considers Muṣṭi and Svastika as two different hands and gives the information as Musti-two hands are on the wrists contracted and best and Svastika-The same in the shape of Svastika and placed on the wrists, Ibid. ⁴⁶² Verse 89A.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.II.9.207.

17. The Four Actions of *nṛtta-hasta/hasta-karaṇa*: Verse number ninety-four in the NrS chapter mentions the four types of actions that are to be done in the *nṛtta-hasta*. They are essential to know to have a better understanding of the gestures like Daṇḍapakṣa, Uromaṇḍala, Alapallava etc. However our text does not offer the technical details of these types.

18. The ending verses in the chapter seems to be the condensation of the NS verses 161 to 183 (the portion that comes between *saṃyuta* and *nṛtta-hastas*) and 210 to 221^{465} (the portion that comes after the *nṛtta-hastas*; concluding comments by Bharata on gestures). Here we get in-depth information about the proper use of gestures both in dance and drama; occasions where gestures are not to be applied and their use according to the country, time, suitability, and meaning along with the names of four *hasta-karaṇas* (Āveṣṭita, Udveṣṭita, Vyāvartita; Parivartita). Also, NS refers to *hasta-pracāras* for both *nāṭya* and *nṛtta*.

19. In the NrS, the use of gestures according to the country, time etc. is instructed to the male and female along with dancers, but the mention to $n\bar{a}tya$ is absent; $deśam k\bar{a}lam prayogam ca hyarthayuktimavekṣya ca | hastā ete prayoktavyāḥ strīṇām nṛṇām ca nartakaiḥ. Few more verses in the NrS are significant in this regard. These seem to be completely new.$

kāryā lalitasaṃcārā nṛtta hastassadā budhaiḥ | lālityameva vijñeyam nṛtta sya pṛatibodhanam || Verse no. 95

hastā mayaite kathitā nṛvīra sarvaṃ karāyattam idaṃ hi nṛttam / yatnaś ca kāryas tu kareṣu tasmāc cāturyalāsyābhinayopapannam | Verse no. 97

⁴⁶⁴ Āveṣṭita: Starting with the index finger, all the fingers are coming inward it is the Āveṣṭita; Udveṣṭita: The opposite of the above is the Udveṣṭita that is starting from the index finger, all the fingers going outward; Vyāvartita: When in the circular movement, starting from the little finger, all the fingers are coming inside, it is known as the Vyāvartita: Parivartita: The opposite of the above, that is starting from the little finger, all the fingers are going outward it is the parivartita movement, Ibid.II.9.213ff.

⁴⁶⁵ NS GOS (2001)II.9.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.II.9.169,211.

⁴⁶⁷ Verse 96.

The difference in the application of gestures in dance and drama is revealed in these verses. *Lalita/lālitya*, *cāturya*, *lāsya* etc. terminologies represent the distinguishing characteristics of gestural vocabulary applied in *nṛtta*.

Here ends the Hastādhyāya of the NrS. After the *hastas*, the ninth chapter on Aṅgābhinaya (GOS edition of NS) in NS continues with the information on chest, belly, and sides already discussed in the previous chapter of the NrS. But in some manuscripts of NS, the ninth chapter ends with the hand gestures only, and in those manuscripts, it is called Hastādhyāya. ⁴⁶⁸ In one place, it is named Hastābhinaya. And information on the movements of the chest, belly and sides etc., are seen as part of the tenth chapter.

Hereafter the description of histrionic begins in which the twenty-seventh chapter deals with $\bar{a}h\bar{a}rya$ and twenty-eight with $S\bar{a}m\bar{a}nay\bar{a}bhinaya$.

Chapter 27: Āhāryābhinaya

It is clear from the last verse in the chapter that this is a brief overview of $\bar{A}h\bar{a}ry\bar{a}bhinaya$ which suggests much more information is available on this topic. Indirectly, it indicates NS and brevity of the information given here compared to Bharata's text. The NrS provides data on the types of $\bar{a}h\bar{a}rya$, details about the skin colours, dresses, facial hair, hairstyles and crowns. In the end, it cursorily touches the topic of $sajj\bar{v}a$ or the theatrical properties or devices. Everything has been shortened within forty-seven verses.

On the other hand, NS devotes two hundred and twenty-seven verses to explain every minute detail of ornaments, costumes, hair, make-up and various kinds of theatrical accessories, including masks. Our text does not speak about the ornaments. The details on *sajjīva*, which is about the appearances of animals on stage, are also absent. The technical specifics of various weapons are missing. It quickly refers to masks or theatrical devices. Also, the use and technical instructions of various other objects like Jarjara, umbrella, cauri, banner-staff, and masks are not present in our text.

Moreover, the addition of new information is seen in this chapter. Few verses display its similarity to the NS. 469 Here are the remarks.

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⁴⁶⁸ MSS *ma*, N Ibid.II.pp.82and92.

⁴⁶⁹ NS GOS(2003)III.ch.21 is devoted to Āhāryābhinaya.

1. Four Types of $\bar{A}h\bar{a}rya$: pusta, $alank\bar{a}ra$, $anga-racan\bar{a}$ and $sajj\bar{v}a$ these are the four-fold $\bar{a}h\bar{a}rya$, similar to the NS. ⁴⁷⁰ In a theatrical context, pusta is model work, $alank\bar{a}ra$ is objects of adornment like garlands and ornaments, $anga-racan\bar{a}$ includes make-up or painting of body according to the characters. And $sajj\bar{v}a$ is the entrance of artificial animals on stage.

NS mentions that *pusta* is three-fold.⁴⁷¹ Sandhima represents items made by attaching the material like bamboo, cloth, leather etc.,Vyājima indicates devices made with technology, and Ceṣṭima/Veṣṭima⁴⁷² is the moving objects. In our text, the information of the last two types, Vyājima and Ceṣṭima, are not given. In the material of *pusta*, the mention of clay and iron is added.⁴⁷³ Although these mediums/raw material are not mentioned here in the NS, it is found elsewhere in the same chapter.⁴⁷⁴ Instead of bamboo, our text says *dāru* or wood. In the NS, wood and bamboo are distinctly mentioned.⁴⁷⁵

Moreover, in verses two, four and five of the NrS, *pusta* is referred to as *prasta*. The term '*pustena*' comes only once in the chapter that is in the verse forty-five. However, variants of '*prastena*' are given in the footnote under the MSS A and B of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III.⁴⁷⁶ In the critical edition, Shah suggests that this could be a scribal error. The correct word should be '*pusta*.' Considering the meaning, it is appropriate to agree with this opinion.

Secondly, she proposes that $sajj\bar{v}a$ should be $sa\tilde{n}j\bar{v}a$. It is to be noted that both the words appear to have been used in different manuscripts of NS. 477

2. Information on Skin Colours: The information on colours can be studied on two levels; one based on the information found in the NS and, secondly, in the Citrasūtra of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III. In the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, the Citrasūtra begins just after the NrS.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.III.21.5.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.III.21.6.

⁴⁷² Ibid.III. p.109.

⁴⁷³ Verses 3 and 4.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid. III.21.verses 204, 211.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid. III.21.verses 200, 205, 207, 209 etc.

⁴⁷⁶ 1958:89.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.III.p.109; MSS *na* and *dha* of the NS has the variant *sañjīva*. GOS edition of NS accepts *sajjīva*. Dr. M.M.Ghosh in his translation of NS accepts *sañjīva* 2016:II.p.546.

The NrS gives five primary colours; white, red, yellow, black and green. NS has only four; white, blue, yellow and red. The Citrasūtra enumerates five; white, yellow, black, blue, and myrobalan, i.e. green colour of $\bar{a}ml\bar{a}$.

Then the NS speaks about six derivative colours, the conventions (*nāṭyadharma*) of applying the colours on the body and the body colours of gods, demi-gods, region-specific colours of people, colours for *bhūtas*, dwarves, various tribes and castes. ⁴⁸⁰ The NrS has given this information differently.

The information contained in the following verses (11 to 16) is new and therefore noteworthy.

dviprakārā chaviryasmātsarvasyeha prakirtitā | gaurī pañcavidhā tatra śyāmā dvādaśadhā bhavet ||

rukmagaurī daṃtagaurī sphuṭacandanagauryapi | śaradgaurī candrakavadgaurī pañcavidhā smṛtā ||

raktaśyāmā bhavetpūrvaṃ mudgaśyāmā tvanantaram | tato dūrvāṃkuraśyāmā pāṃḍuśyāmā ca pārthiva ||

tataśca haritaśyāmā pītaśyāmā tato bhavet | tataḥ priyaṅguśyāmā ca kapiśyāmā ca pārthiva ||

tato nīlotpalaśyāmā cāṣaśyāmā tataḥ param | tato raktotpalaśyāmā ghanaśyāmā tathā parā ||

dravyānurupairvarṇaistu tāsāṃ vyaktirudāhṛtā | raṅgavyatikaraiḥ śobhāmadhikṛtya mahīyate ||

After mentioning the primary colours and the innumerable possibilities of colours emanating from different combinations, the NrS gives information about two general categories of skin complexion, fair and dark. Thus further, it tells about the five types of fair skin colours and twelve kinds of dark skin colours that Bharata does not mention.

Notably, there are more shades of $\dot{s}y\bar{a}ma$ than gaura. Viṣṇu and his various emanations are famous for their dark complexions, so perhaps the popularity of these colours is reflected in the NrS. Few references in the iconography section of the VDP khanda III are indicative.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.III.21.88ff.

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⁴⁷⁸ NS GOS (2003)III.21.78.

^{479 1958:40.16;} Kramrisch(1928)50.

a. Viṣṇu is stated having the colour of water-laden cloud in chapter 44.10. sajalāmbudasacchāyam pītadivyāmbaram tathā.

b. Chapter 47.1-2 says that all transformations are $kr s n \bar{a}$ and through that, the worldly life is sustained. Further, it says that the lord assumes the Kṛṣṇa form.

sarvā ca vikṛtiḥ kṛṣṇā tena saṃsārapālanam |

om krsnarūpam sa bhagavānavidhatte bhūtabhāvanah /

c. Chapter 76 mentions the colours of Nara and Nārāyaṇa as *dūrvāśyāma* (dark green as *dūrva*) and *nilotpaladala-chavi* (like the petal of blue lotus) respectively.

d. In the 85th chapter, Kṛṣṇa is also stated as having the colour of the blue lotus.

e. The colours of various subordinate Vaiṣṇava deities are also given in chapter 85.

Arjun – *dūrvāśyāma*.

Devaki – *padmapatrābhagaura* (fair as the lotus petal).

Rukminī – *śyāma*.

Draupadī – the colour of the blue lotus petal.

Pradyumna – dūrvādalaśyāma.

Vāmana – dūrvāsyāma

Trivikrama – the colour of the water-laden cloud.

Vyāsa – *kṛṣṇa* or dark-coloured.

Aniruddha and Sāmba – lotus coloured.

There are few references to these colours found in the Citrasūtra as well. The name of chapter 40 is Raṅgavyatikara. This particular terminology, which generally means mixing of colours, is also seen in the *āhārya* section of the NrS.⁴⁸¹ Similarly, in the Raṅgavyatikara, the possibility of innumerable colours formed from a combination of primary colours is discussed.⁴⁸² The concordance in words and overall content between the Citrasūtra and the NrS is prominent.

The NrS verse 9: ekadvitrisamāyogādbhāvakalpanayā tathā

saṃkhyaivāntaravarṇānām loke kartum na śakyate

The Citrasūtra chapter 40 verse 17: pūrvaraṅgavibhāgena bhāvakalpanayā tathā svabuddhyā kārayedraṅgaṃ śataśotha sahasraśaḥ

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⁴⁸¹ Verse 16B.

⁴⁸²1958: 40.17.

Like the NrS, this chapter of the Citrasūtra also says two colours of skin, śyāma/black and gaura/white. Here, it notes colours like mudgaśyāma (dark as kidney beans), raktotpala-śyāma etc. Here

It can be said here that these are the different shades created by combining different colours. Their parallel application on three levels, painting, sculpture and theatre, is important. It suggests an inherent and interdisciplinary exchange. It is one of the examples of the interdependence of fine arts mentioned by Mārkaṇḍeya in the second chapter of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III. Equally important is the religious motivation behind it.

In the NrS Āhārya, Vāsuki is mentioned to be black (*śyāma*) in colour, and the rest of the serpents are said to be fair (*gaura*). In the NS Nara, Nārāyaṇa and Vāsuki, all three are stated having a black colour.

The color of demi-gods (daitya, dānava, rākṣasa, guhyaka, piśāca, yama, ākāśa etc.) is said to be having the śyāma. Here is the verse from the NS. 487 daityāśca dānavāścaiva rākṣasā guhyakā nagāḥ | piśācā jalamākāśamasitāni tu varṇatah //

A verse based on the above verse comes in the NrS. 488 daityās ca dānavās caiva rākṣasā guhyakānugāḥ | piśācā jalasaṃkāśāḥ saṃmitās tu vivarṇataḥ ||

Furthermore, *gandharvas* and *apasarās* are said to be having various colours in the NrS. ⁴⁸⁹In the NS, *gandharvas* have varied colours, but *apsarās* wear *gaura varṇa*. ⁴⁹⁰ Kings are to be having the colour of lotus, which is the same as in the NS. ⁴⁹¹ Apart from this, two other colours of kings are also quoted in NS; *śyāma* and *gaura*. ⁴⁹²

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⁴⁸³ Ibid.40.15.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.40.21,24.

⁴⁸⁵ Verse 18A.

⁴⁸⁶ NS GOS (2003)III.21.99.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid. III.21.99-100.

⁴⁸⁸ Verses 18B and 19A.

⁴⁸⁹ Verse 24B.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.III.21.96, 103.

⁴⁹¹ Verse 23B; Ibid.III.21.105.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

3. Regional Varieties: In the VDP *khaṇḍa* I, the geography of the world is described. The Meru Mountain stands at the centre surrounded by seven islands named Jambu, Śaka, Kuśa, Krounca, Śālmala, Gomeda, and Puṣkara. In Jambudvīpa, there are various *varṣas* or the divisions of earth separated by mountains. In the south of the Himālaya, the Bhārata-varṣa is located. The NrS says that the colour of the people living only in Bhārata-varṣa should be according to their regions. The gold colour of the residents of the remaining six islands is similar to the NS.

The colours of the tribes given in our text are similar to the NS. ⁴⁹⁶ Notably, the four characters belong to four *varṇas* that is *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra* are given various colours. ⁴⁹⁷ The NS has simply divided it into two; *brāhmaṇa* and *ksatriya* are assigned *gaura*, and the rest of the two are given *śyāma*. ⁴⁹⁸

Verse⁴⁹⁹ kukarmāṇo grahagrastā vyādhitāstapaāśritāḥ | āyastakarmiṇaścaiva asitāḥ kulajātayaḥ // is more or less similar to the NS. Only at the place of kulajātayaḥ, NS mentions kujāta.⁵⁰⁰ Abhinavagupta includes dhīvara, doṃba etc., in this category.⁵⁰¹ However, kulajātay means born in a noble family, which is the exact opposite of kujāta, which mentioned having asita/dark skins. And it is already noted previously in the NrS that brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya are to be depicted in colours of moon and lotus, respectively, while śūdras are stated to have dark skin.⁵⁰²

4. Facial hair and hair-styles: NS provides four types of śmaśrū; śuddha (white), vicitra (variegated colours/charming), śyāma (black) and romaśa (bushy or having thick hair). ⁵⁰³ Bharata divides different characters into these four types. These types are not given in the NrS, but the following types can be derived from the information

⁴⁹³ Ch.13 to21.

⁴⁹⁴ The VDPI.13 does not mention Plakṣa-dvīpa instead refers to one of the mountainous boundaries i.e. Gomeda; rest of the mountains are Candra, Nārada, Dundubhi, Somaka, Sumana, Vibhraja.

⁴⁹⁵ NS GOS (2003)III.21.102; NS also says that the people living on Jambudvīpa have various skin

And the region, birth, action and age. Then he speaks about the skin colours of various tribes and people belonging to four varṇas. All this information is briefly given in the NrS.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.III.21.110ff.

⁴⁹⁷ Verses 23B to 24A.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.III.21.113.

⁴⁹⁹ 25B-26A.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.III.21.106.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.III.p.126.

⁵⁰² Verses ²3B-24A.

⁵⁰³ Ibid. III.21.115.

on varieties of beards and moustaches assigned to various characters; 1.no facial hair, 2.citra, 3.śuddha and 4.dīrgha (long beard and moustache).

The *romaśa* is most probably interpreted as $d\bar{\imath} rgha-\acute{s}ma\acute{s}r\bar{\imath}$ in the NrS.⁵⁰⁴ It is assigned for the people who have not fulfilled their vows, who are sad, and those who are performing penance, sages, and living with a rag like cloth. It is natural for these people to have bushy hair and may have been quoted from real-life examples.

5. Dresses: There are three types of dresses; *śuddha, vicitra* and *malina* in the NS. ⁵⁰⁵ The NrS does not mention anything about the last type. Along with the king, courtesans also stated to be having white attire in the NrS. ⁵⁰⁶ Notably, there is no such reference or priority noted for courtesan's clothing in the NS. It shows the increased popularity of courtesans in society and their participation in the play in the form of characters.

6. Crowns: The NrS only mentions three types of crowns⁵⁰⁷, but names of those types are recorded in NS. And they are $p\bar{a}r\acute{s}v\bar{a}gata$ or $p\bar{a}r\acute{s}vamauli$, mastakin and $kir\bar{\iota}ta$.⁵⁰⁸ Characters that are appropriate for the $p\bar{a}r\acute{s}v\bar{a}gata$ and mastakin type do not appear in the NrS.

Moreover, this chapter's information on crests/*śikhara* is another contribution that is not seen in the NS. The practice of having crests in crowns seems popular at that time as there is a reference in the Citrasūtra, too, in which the crest is considered different from the crowns.⁵⁰⁹ From an iconographic point of view, different types of crowns appear in Kashmir sculptures. The evidence shows that turreted crowns became popular in Kashmir in the 5th/6th century AD.⁵¹⁰ According to the NrS, gods should be given seven crests, king five crests and queens and princes should be given three crests. For the commander of an army, it should be of the single crest.⁵¹¹ Remarkably, there is similar information in Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā which states that the king is crowned with five crests, the prince and the queen with three and the

⁵⁰⁴ Verse 30.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.III.21.122.

⁵⁰⁶ Verse 32A.

⁵⁰⁷ Verse 33A.

⁵⁰⁸ NS GOS (2003)III.21.140.

⁵⁰⁹ VDP III.42.4-5.

⁵¹⁰ Siudmak (2013) 126.

⁵¹¹ Verses 34ff.

commander of the army with one crest.⁵¹² Scholars have noted the association of the VDP to the Varāhamihira's works. 513 Moreover, Varāhamihira uses the term *patta* for crowns⁵¹⁴ and gives measurements in *angulas* or fingers, e.g. the broadness of *patta* of a king should be of eight middle fingers, seven for queen and six for the patta of the prince. With this sense, the ekapatta for demons, yakşas, pannagas mentioned in the NrS should be considered as the broadness of one finger.

Further, the hair tied in a knot is recognized as the *keśa-mukuta* in the NS. 515 In the characters, it is said in the NS that this crown is suitable for the cāraṇa. 516 It is replaced by *vānara* in the NrS. 517 Most likely; this suggestion is for the hairstyles of monkey characters in the presentation of plays based on Rāmāyaṇa.

7. Hairstyles: Some of the observations in this regard are as follows.

i. It is stated in the NrS that the hair of gods, demons and gandharvas should be Krsnapaksa. 518 The NS does not mention the hairstyle for these entities. There can be three possible interpretations. Based on the literal menaing Kṛṣṇapakṣa can be understood as Kākapaksa as they mean black wings or wings of a crow respectively. 519 Paksa designates side-locks of hair on the temples of young men. There is plenty of textual as well as numismatic evidence for the Kākapakṣa hairstyle (Plates 17 and 18).⁵²⁰ Secondly, it is a known fact that gods or *gandharvas* etc. are beyond human qualities like getting old or sick as well as death. Bharata in the distribution of roles says that gods should be perfect in their external appearance.⁵²¹ Thus it can be said that as they will remain youthful forever so their hair should always be shown black/kṛṣṇa. With reference to this the third interpretation can be presented. The Krsnapaksa means the second fortnight of the month associated with the waning moon. As moon fades night becomes darker and darker till it reaches to

⁵¹³According to Kane the versesin the VDP II.124.15-16 are identical with the Bṛhatsaṃhitā and the VDP II.176.9-11 has been borrowed from the Brhatyātrā of the same author, 1971:72.; however according to Hazra the VDP does not refer to or utilize the works of Varāhamihira, 1958: 201 and 211.

⁵¹⁴ The chapter is named as Patṭalakṣaṇa.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.III.21.144.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.III.21.143.

⁵¹⁷ Verse 36B.

⁵¹⁸ Verse 37B

⁵¹⁹ See *kṛṣṇakāka* in Monier-Williams (1986) 306.

⁵²⁰ Sivaramamurti (1983) 9; the author of the proposed thesis has not come across any reference related to this in Kashmir.
⁵²¹ NS GOS (2006) IV.35.5.

the *amāvasyā*/new moon. So the NrS probably suggests that the side locks of gods and *gandharvas* should be as dark as such night or sky.

Similarly, the hairstyle of a jester is said to be having Kākapada, as also stated in the NS.⁵²² Kākapada means crowfoot, also marks or lines on the skin similar to the crow's foot.⁵²³ The NS and the NrS say that the jester should be bald or have a Kākapada. Either this means that the jester should have marks like crows' footprints, or his hair should be so sparse that it looks like crow's feet. However, according to Abhinavagupta, Kākapada is just like the Kākapakṣa.⁵²⁴

ii. Following the NS the Triśira-khaṇḍa or tripartite (locks on two sides and forehead) hairdo is noted for servants in the NrS. This particular hairstyle can be seen in Kumāra sculptures found in Kashmir. ⁵²⁵

iii. Another piece of different information than the NS comes in the NrS. It mentions that the chamberlain/*kancukiya* should have white hair. ⁵²⁶ The chamberlain used to be the overseer or an attendant of women's apartments, the harem. His hair was supposed to be white because he was generally an older adult whom the king trusted. ⁵²⁷

8. *Sajjīva*: As mentioned earlier, *sajjīva* in NS means the entry of animals on stage. There are references in the NS of making the skeletal frames of immobile and mobile objects like mountains, chariots, aerial cars, horses, elephants etc. But in the NrS, the characteristic is given differently. It is said that entering secretly or transversely (*tiraśca*) means *sajjīva*. It probably indicates the entrance of actors in disguise of animals or the artificially made animals entering on stage diagonally. It could mean the entry of creatures that look very real but are not real. Naturally, the technique of *pusta* is said to be used in this.

9. Weapons: Another vital part of the NS is the discussion of the different weapons used in drama. ⁵²⁹ Bharata has clarified that weapons are not meant to be used in the

⁵²² NS GOS(2003)III.21.155.

⁵²³ Monier-Williams (1986)267.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.III.21.p.134.

⁵²⁵ Siudmak (2013) Plates 26, 28, 30.

⁵²⁶ Verse 39A.

⁵²⁷ Altekar (2009) 195.

⁵²⁸ NS GOS(2003)III.21.9,162-163,206.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.III.21.164ff.

real sense. The reference tathaivāyudhahastānām kartavyā⁵³⁰ in the NrS represents the instruction noted by Bharata that the use of the weapons in the play should be 'samjñāmātra.'531

Chapter 28: Sāmānyābhinaya

Although initially this chapter is meant to be about general acting, however it is a combination of two chapters in NS; Sāmānyābhinaya/ general acting⁵³² and Citrābhinaya/ varied type of acting.⁵³³ The first nine verses are taken from Sāmānyābhinaya chapter, and all the verses after that are from Citrābhinaya with few exceptions. Notably, information about general acting is minimal, and the author seems to have paid more attention to the information about the *citra* type of acting.

Given the information in NS, the Sāmānyābhinaya chapter⁵³⁴ mainly focuses on the innate qualities of males and females according to the characters they portray, the love affairs of a king, love between a hero and a heroine etc. So the main emphasis of the chapter is the relationship between men and women and its depictions in Śrngāra. But after talking about the qualities of men and women, Bharata brings up a particular part. He explains the kind of involvement of the five senses and the tanmātrās attached to it in acting.⁵³⁵ It is where our chapter in the NrS begins. Tanmātrās are the subject of these senses which can be expressed. That is why they are part of this chapter. But in this, the dramatic characteristics of words (śabda) and smell (gandha) are given, and the other three i.e touch (sparśa), taste (rasa) and sight $(r\bar{u}pa)$ principles are not described in the NrS.

⁵³⁰ Verse 45.

⁵³¹ Ibid.III.21.224.

⁵³² NS GOS (2003)III.22.

⁵³³ Ibid.III.25.

⁵³⁴ The topics dealt in it are- twenty *nāṭyālaṃkāra* of women, eight types of sattva of men, six types of śarirābhinaya, twelve types of vācikābhinaya, seven types of vākyābhinaya, seven organs through which general acting is performed, $\bar{a}bhyantara$ and $b\bar{a}hya$ types of acting, contribution of senses in acting, three bhāvas of mind, three types of $k\bar{a}ma$, types of women based on their character, king's conduct towards women of harem, eroticism in men and women, separation and love in men and women, eight nāvikās/heroines, prohibited actions or scenes on stage in context to love and passion, the guilt of the hero due to his affair with another woman, four reasons for heroine's jealousy towards other woman and her conduct towards the hero, heroine's address to hero in romance which are to be used in a play as well as in dance, acting of divine male and female etc. ⁵³⁵ Ibid.III.22.83ff.

After this, three types of emotions of mind, desirable, undesirable and middle come in NS, also found in the NrS. However, they are written in such a way that they seem to be connected with the senses and not with the mind principle.

If we look closely, the Sāmānyābhinaya chapter of NS contains information that is common for everyone and is universal. Of course, it also has a gradational structure of good, medium and bad characters (uttama-madhyama-adhama characters) and the differentiation between women of harem and prostitutes. But overall, the topics that have been dealt with are general in terms of the aspects of love i.e. Śṛngāra. However, it is noteworthy that in the NrS, only portions related to the senses and the mind are taken from this chapter of NS. This one subject was chosen from so many different topics to be included in the NrS when the chapter's name is the Sāmānyābhinaya.

On the other hand, the scope of the Citrābhinaya is enormous. Incidents connected with man's daily life, experiences etc. are part of it, and so they are innumerable. The NS tries to structure it according to the subject. Some selected from NS are given in the NrS chapter.

It is difficult to determine whether our chapter has such an order of its own, combining sāmānya and citra ways of acting. It is a known fact that the mind and the senses play an essential role in acting. Emotions in mind are expressed through the senses and organs. Bharata says a person perceives objects of sense-organs with an attentive mind.⁵³⁶ So after talking about the five senses and the mind, our chapter starts to describe the Citrābhinaya which has a large number of organs involvements. It may be one of the reasons behind this type of structure of the chapter. In terms of making this clearer, let us see the definitions of general and varied acting given in the NS.

According to Bharata, general acting is that which consists of $v\bar{a}k$ (speech), anga (limbs) and sattva (essence). 537 And accordingly, the theatrics related to these three principles is described. For *citra* following definition has been given: angādyabhinayasyaiva yo viśeṣaḥ kvacit kvacit | anukta ucyate citraḥ sa citrābhinayassmṛtaḥ | 538 According to Abhinavagupta sāmānya acting is rasa centric

⁵³⁶ Ibid.III.22.87. ⁵³⁷ Ibid.III.22.1.

⁵³⁸ Ibid.III.25.1.

(ofcource it mainly directs towards Śṛngāra) and *citra* is *padārtha-viśeṣa*. ⁵³⁹ *Aṅga* means the application of *karaṇa* and *aṅgahāras*, also all other body-gestures explained in the entire NS. *Padārtha* can be understood as various subjects and also that which corresponds to the meaning of the word. Looking at the different events listed in the Citrābhinaya it is noticeable that the limbs or hand gestures, etc. complement and create the external manifestation of that incident or character. That event is acted out by *aṅgābhinaya*. Thus the order in our chapter is the senses, the mind and the organs.

Interestingly in Pāñcarātra the principle of *manas*/mind is associated with Pradyumna which further receives senses in the course of the evolution of Five Elements. The elements come into being from five *tanmātras*. These fundamental principles are an important part of the theology of all religions. Their connection with the acting process can be seen here.

Moreover, chapter on Citrābhinaya comes much later in NS. By then, chapters on physical (*karaṇ -aṅgahāra*, *hasta*, *cārī-maṇḍala*, *gati* etc.), verbal and *āhārya* acting have already been handled. In the Citrābhinaya, the coordinated application of all this, mainly *āngika*, is explained through different instances.

Some reading based observations are as follows:

- **1.** Some of the changes found in writing seem to have added or altered the acting of the subject matter.
- In verses 12 B- 13A, the hand, head and eyes are involved in the act of observing objects on the ground. Different from the NS, NrS has also been reported the involvement of the chest in this movement. It has happened due to a subtle change in writing. *ebhireva karairbhūyastenaiva śirasā punaḥ*⁵⁴¹ is written as *ebhireva karairbhūyah stanaiśca śirasā tathā*.
- The NrS includes the moon and the stars in the act of *vismaya* or wonder, showing the different phases of the sun. ⁵⁴²
- Feeling the touch on the body is expected in pleasure or pleasurable objects that contain the thrill of hair in the NS. 543 But in the NrS, it is clearly stated that this

⁵⁴⁰ Schrader 1916:39, 76.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.III.p.264.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.III.25.5.

⁵⁴² Verse 16A.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.III.25.9.

second part should not be done. Though, it is natural to feel the thrill on the body due to the favourable touch.

Moreover, *romānca* is one of the eight Sāttvika *bhāvas* and *sparśa* or touch is one of the causes of its creation. This has been noted in the Bhāvādhyāya of the NS. ⁵⁴⁴

- According to Shah, the 17B verse is half given. And the second line that comes into the NS is important to interpret it which is not provided in our chapter. So she interprets the verse by assuming that line. The first line of the verse as per the NrS is gambhīrodāttasamyuktānarthānsausthavasamyutān. And the second line that comes in the NS is sāṭopaiśca sagarvaiśca gātraih sausthavasamyutaih. 545 The first of NS also needs to be line the seen, gambhīrodāttasamyuktānarthānabhinayedbudhah. Possibly, it is an attempt to bring two lines together and fit them into one. Pride and conceit stated in the second line are said to be done with the sausthava. That's all that has happened that our writers valued the latter feature only and included it to explain how to project the serious yet illustrious demeanour. On the whole, a body that is still, not bent, easy, and even in shape is the sausthava. Therefore it is acceptable that the sausthava with pride and arrogance can be a different kind of bodily projection.

- There is only a mention of two types of *pakṣyāngahāras* in acting related to birds. ⁵⁴⁶ The types are not stated. Some of the manuscripts in the NS have similar variants. ⁵⁴⁷ However, it only says that birds should be acted out using different *pakṣyāngahāras*. It does not refer to the two categories of it.

Notably, there are two categories of birds that are named in NS as well as in the NrS; $sth\bar{u}la$ and $s\bar{u}k\bar{s}ma$. Birds like parrots, $s\bar{a}rik\bar{a}s$ have been categorized as micro birds while peacocks, storks and swans have been classified as macro. It seems that these birds have been grouped according to their size and ability to fly. Perhaps the reference to two types of $pak\bar{s}y\bar{a}ngah\bar{a}ras$ is connected with this.

Moreover, *aṅgahāras* mentioned in the NS do not identify *pakṣyāngahāras*. But there are three *karaṇas* named after birds; Garuḍapluta⁵⁴⁹ (eagle), Gṛdhrāvalinaka⁵⁵⁰ (vulture) and Mayūralalita⁵⁵¹ (peacock). Abhinavagupta has clearly

⁵⁴⁴ NS GOS (1992)I.7.98.

⁵⁴⁵ NS GOS (2201)III.25.11.

⁵⁴⁶ Verse 46A.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.III.p.278.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.III.25.68.

⁵⁴⁹ NS GOS (1992)I.4.130-131, karaṇa no.70.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.I.4.134-135, *karana* no.74.

stated that these should be used to act respective birds or birds in general. ⁵⁵² Probably, this has been indicated by pakṣyāngahāras. We have seen that aṅgahāras are formed only through the combination of *karanas*.

- Verse 13B mentions performing details for the act of being touched. In this sukham vāvum⁵⁵³ is replaced by mukham vāvum. Previous scholars, however, understand it in the same way as NS. 554 But by accepting the matter in the NrS, it can be interpreted as a gust of wind coming on the face.
- In the four types of speech acting⁵⁵⁵, the characteristic of 'ātmagata' is missing in our chapter. The rest of the three are explained.
- 2. On the whole, many social practices are seen through this chapter. One of the significant mentions is using the Svastika position in Tripatāka hands to pay homage to the guru. In NS MSS da and ma has this usage listed under the hand gesture Tripatāka. That verse exactly matches with the NrS. 556

Studies have shown that Syastika hands were used in ancient times to pay tribute to superior persons. 557 It was a social etiquette. Correspondingly, there are few examples from Kashmir iconography. 558 In that sense, the mention is vital.

Chapter 29: Gati-pracāra

Gait is the manner of walking, and it is common in dance and drama.⁵⁵⁹ In nrtta, the dancer finishes her $sth\bar{a}naka$ and then starts the $c\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ and the again ends her $c\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ into a sthānaka. The sthānaka and the cārī together make the gait. 560

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.I.4.140-141. *karaṇa no.80*.

⁵⁵² Ibid.I.pp.,125,126,128.

⁵⁵³ NS GOS (2002)III.25.6.

⁵⁵⁴ Shah (1958)p.91; Dadheech(1990)p.73.

⁵⁵⁵ Verse 57Bff.

⁵⁵⁶NS GOS (2001) II.9.33.

⁵⁵⁷ Jamkhedkar, JISOA Vol.11(1977-78)pp.1-9.

⁵⁵⁸ Siudmak (2013) p.67 devotees are showing respects to Buddha 2nd/3rd century AD; p.114 Cakrapuruşa in Svastika hands as a part of Vaikuntha Vişnu image mid-5th century AD; p.148 āyudhapurusa in Svastika hands in the standing image of Maheśvara/Bhūteśvara second quarter of 6th century AD.

⁵⁵⁹For gaits in Samskṛta plays see Vatsyayana (1981) 53; the historical continuity and existence of gait both in the traditional and/or śastrik performing arts and theatre of India is notable. The gat-nikas and $c\bar{a}la$, a stylistic manner of walking in Kathak, Beohar (2015) 106; the gait associated with animals and birds in Chhau and a typical entries and exits in the traditional theatres like Yaksagāna and Daśāvtāra etc. can be seen from this point of view. 560 NS GOS (2001)II.12.160ff.

The topic of gait is related to how a person walks on certain occasions or conditions and its imitation in the play or dance. It includes not only humans but also living creatures. Thus, there are innumerable walking styles in the real world, depending on age, country, time and culture etc., which are dealt with in this chapter. This issue of 'diversity pervading the world' is significant in almost every aspect of the drama. However, it has been understood that it is not possible to present or codify everything in such a way. These actions are just as natural as they are part of the cultural manners too. But a few of them may complement the theme of the plays in general, are given by Bharata that too absorbed with the style and Natyadharmī convention in dance and drama. 561 How a character will enter the stage, move from one place to another, get up from the sitting place/position in a certain way, walk and sit or stand or sleep again. Such aspects have been considered in it. That is why Bharata discusses the seats and the sleeping positions after giving information about the gaits in this chapter. In the NrS, however, only Gati-pracāra is deliberated since the seats and sleeping positions have already been discussed in the second chapter. Of course, the entire topic is handled very briefly as the practice is generally seen in the NrS. The chapter is based on the information derived from NS.

1. In the NrS, the chapter begins with the statement that there are two types of gaits, natural and warlike, of the superior character. But, Bharata has given information about the *sthānakas* and walking speeds of the superior, medium and inferior characters. ⁵⁶² He then explains the additional details of the gait of the superior characters. Thus the first verse in the NrS comes as an introductory verse. From then on, the gaits related to different subjects, *rasas* and situations are mentioned, which are not connected to the types of character but is a general list derived from the NS. Then the chapter ends with brief instructions on the application of gaits according to the type of the theatre, gender of the character and the interdependence of costume, gait, script/text used in the play and acting. Notably, there is no information on the

⁵⁶¹ NS GOS(2001)II.12.

The subject is systematically introduced in NS. After removing the $javanik\bar{a}$ or the curtain in the preliminaries, the characters first enter the stage where the gait relates first. Thus the entry of three men is named as Trigata. Beginning with this context, the details of what should be the position related to the gait of the superior, medium and inferior characters, how many steps should be taken and placed on the ground, the distance between the feet and what the rhythm should be, etc. are discussed. Then various gaits are stated in terms of different occasions, different kinds of people and creatures. The division of superior, medium and inferior characters is also prevalent in all the aspects discussed in the NS. It shows how the social ranking was drawn in the play.

speed related to the types of characters in the NrS. The aspect of speed/*laya* involved in the gait is reported differently.

The gaits in the two groups of situations are again divided into two types of rhythms. The two types of rhythms are also mentioned in the NS, but the terminology is different in the NrS. In the first type, the walking speed is automatically slowed down due to various reasons quoted, so the rhythm is called *sthira*. The second type of rhythm is $\dot{s}\bar{\imath}ghra$ or fast. It is associated with the situations in which the walking speed increases spontaneously. In the NS, *sthira* comes as a *sthita* which is of four $kal\bar{a}s$. For the second type, it is said that the speed should be $vikal\bar{a}$. The less is $kal\bar{a}$, the higher the speed. The NrS presents it in a simplified manner without touching its complexities. Notably, there is no mention of medium/*madhyama* speed in the *gati* chapter of the NrS. ⁵⁶⁶

- 2. Another small change appears in the context of the gait in secret kind of love, falling in the Śṛngāra sentiment. It contains information on what kind of clothes the lovers who secretly go to meet their paramour will wear, how they will step on the ground, their body language, etc. The NS says that it should be similar to the time of the meeting; *velāsādṛśa* concerning what time of day or night the appointment is fixed. Such visits usually take place at night or later in the day. By assuming this, it is said in the NrS that lovers must be dressed in black. The common reason is that they will disappear in the dark, and nobody will notice them.
- **3.** It is necessary to note an observation in the information about the gait of the Raudra sentiment. Almost all of this information is based on the NS. Some similar words have been used. E.g. for *piśitahasta*⁵⁶⁹ the word *bahuāyudhadhara*⁵⁷⁰ is used or Bībhatsa is used at the place of *nirbhatsana*⁵⁷¹ etc.

⁵⁶³ Verses 2B to 7A.

⁵⁶⁴ MS *bha* of NS has the variant *sthira* NS GOS(2001)II.p.133.

⁵⁶⁵ In the MS *da* come the variant of *dvikala*. Ibid.II.p.140.

⁵⁶⁶ sthita – four kalās for superior character; madhya-2 kalā for middle character; druta- one kalā for inferior character Ibid.II.12.9ff.

⁵⁶⁷ Verses 3Bff.

 $^{^{568}}$ NS GOS(2001)II.12.46; Abhinavagupta commenting on this says that there should be a veil of $\dot{s}\bar{t}ta$ color/white as moon cloth in the moonlight.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.II.12.51.

⁵⁷⁰ Verse 12A.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.II.12.53.

Apart from this, following the NS, the NrS mentions three types of gait in the Raudra sentiment: based on limb, nature and costume or ornaments or external appearance. It depicts a deformed and gross appearance with many faces, many weapons in many hands. But instead of the description of a blood-stained face/body in the NS⁵⁷², the NrS describes padmāntrāngadhara⁵⁷³ or holding a lotus-like intestine, which is distinctive. It is a part of the Raudra gait that could be presented through make-up.

This description directs our minds to Narasimha, an incarnation of Visnu. In which Viṣṇu took demon Hiraṇyakaśipū on his lap and with the weapon of his nails tore his chest. In NS, this gait is associated with demons (daitya and rakṣasa)⁵⁷⁴which is not mentioned in the NrS. It is also pertinent to note that there is no correlation between the information given herein the NrS with the creation of the Narasimha image described in the VDP khanda III.ch.78/2. The last chapter of the VDP khanda III of Nrsimha hymn narrates him drinking the blood of Hiranyakaśipū using his sharp *vajra*-like fingernails. ⁵⁷⁵

Secondly, in the NS, the gait of lions, monkeys and bears are directly linked to Visnu. 576 They are associated with Nṛṣiṃha and the characters in the Rāmāyaṇa, Hanumāna and Jāmbuvant. But this gait is to be done by lifting the legs at a distance of five *tālas*, and the gait attached to Raudra is to be done in four *tālas*. Besides, it is surprising that these gaits related to Viṣṇu do not appear anywhere in the NrS.

Another notable reference comes in the Ahirbudhnya samhitā. The description of the ferocious form of Narasimha is praised in the deity's mantra and has been directly connected with rasa. His anger has been associated with Raudra. 577 This context is important. It also mentions other sentiments, e.g. his great enthusiasm is attached with Vīra, his voice with Adbhuta and his frightening form with Bhayānaka. It can be concluded that in Pāñcarātra, the tradition of narrating the form of Narasimha has been well established corresponding to the *rasas* uttered by Bharata.

⁵⁷² Ibid.II.12.50.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.II.12.48.

⁵⁷³ Verse 11B; MS B of the VDPIII records a variant of *padmāṃtāṅgadhara*, means the end of the lotus stalk is held in the hand.

The reference to pulling out the intestine and putting it around the neck comes in the Bhāgavata Purāna, canto7.

⁵⁷⁶ NS GOS(2001)II.12.155. 577 1966:54.10ff.

With all these references, it can only be said that the concerned description may have been written inspired by the form of Narasimha (Plate 11). 578

4. In the NrS, it is said to adopt Apakrāntā $c\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$ while climbing high places.⁵⁷⁹ This action involves turning both thighs, lifting the foot in a contracted position (*kuncita*), and placing it on the ground. In NS, however, there is Atikrāntā $c\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$ mentioned at this place which does not include the movement of the thighs but only the action of foot mentioned above.⁵⁸⁰ Apakrāntā and Atikrāntā both are aerial $c\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}s$.

All these are meant to show symbolically.⁵⁸⁶ Animals such as elephants and horses are said to have signs that are *ankuśa* and the bridle and are depicted symbolically only. The same is true of the animal gait mentioned above in NrS.

5. NS mention two types of gait associated with $ka\tilde{n}cuk\bar{i}$; the gait of aged $ka\tilde{n}cuk\bar{i}$ and that of avrddha or one who is not old. Based on the characteristics, the NrS mentions only the gait of an old $ka\tilde{n}cuk\bar{i}$.

Similarly, the NS tells the motions of three persons with physical infirmities;⁵⁸⁸ of a lame person, those who are crippled in the legs, and a dwarf. In the NrS, however, the subject ends by saying that the gait of a disabled person should be

⁵⁷⁸ This motion can be used in other similar scenes which generate Bībhatsa sentiment e.g. in showing Bhīma tearing the chest of Duhśāsana.

⁵⁷⁹ Verse 24B.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.II.12.98.

⁵⁸¹ Verse 25Bff.

⁵⁸² Ibid.II.10.30.

⁵⁸³ Ibid.II.12.105.

⁵⁸⁴ 1961:54.

⁵⁸⁵ Verses 25 and 26 do not appear in Dadheech's Hindi translation of the NrS, 1990.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.II.12.107.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.II.12.113.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.II.12.132ff.

according to his natural way of walking. This information is a part of the gait of a khañja or a lame person described in the NS.

6. The last verse in the NrS chapter is given only in NS's bha and ma MSS. 589 The connection of our text with these two manuscripts is once again underlined.

Chapter 30 – Rasādhyāya

In the NS, while explaining each rasa the sthāyi (durable states), vibhāva (any cause of emotion), anubhāva (consequents/act of indicating feelings through words, gestures and sattva) and sancāri/vyabhicāri (transitory states) bhāvas of that sentiment are systematically classified. 590 It is because the theory says that rasa emerges from the combination of vibhāva, anubhāva and vyabhicāri bhāvas.⁵⁹¹ Some of these are given in this chapter of the NrS, too; not all are provided. Also sentiments are not identified with the respective bhāvas. They are described briefly one after the other.

The emergence of the Hāsya, Karuna, Adbhuta and Bhayānaka from the primary sentiments of Śrngāra, Raudra, Vīra and Bībhatsa, the colours and the deities of the sentiments are taken from the NS as it is. 592 The rest of the information is also very much in line with the NS. In some places, the original point has been kept the same but presented in different words. The info of Vīra is missing. In the last verse, the importance of sentiments for nrtta comes to the fore. With all this in mind, some observations can be reported as follows.

1. Śānta Rasa: The third volume of the VDP is vital in many ways. One of the most significant of these is found in this chapter. So far, we have seen how much the NrS is based on NS. Rasādhyaya shows that the NrS has also accepted the changes that have taken place in the tradition of the NS. In the first verse of this chapter, along with the eight rasas mentioned in the NS, Hāsya, Śṛngāra, Karuṇa, Vīra, Raudra, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa, Adbhuta, the ninth Śānta is also enumerated. And this is the key feature of this chapter. The creation of Santa and its inclusion as the ninth in the set of the eight rasas is considered a significant event in the history of Samskrta poetics and drama. The information that comes of Śānta is believed to be interpolated in the NS. The NrS

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.II.p.195. ⁵⁹⁰ NS GOS (1992)I.6.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.I.p.266.

⁵⁹² Ibid.I.6.39ff.

is one of the early and available post-NS Samskrta texts that follow the Nātyaśātrik tradition and provides material on the Śānta based on the interpolated information found in the dramaturgical corpus of the NS. Therefore, this issue is remarkable in determining the time of the NrS, which will be discussed at the right place. Only subjective treatment will be done here.

There are four significant points to study. One, Śānta has been declared as an independent sentiment, two, sthāyi of Śānta and the third and fourth points are about the colour and deity of the concerned sentiment.

- It is already noted that four sentiments are formed from the four primary sentiments. The origin of Śānta, however, does not come in this system. Therefore its independent nature has been underlined explicitly in the second verse itself. So then, the information about the formation of secondary sentiments out of four primaries begins. By accepting Santa as an independent rasa, our treatise goes directly to the group of scholars who supports the presence and inclusion of Śānta beginning from Udbhata, the *sabhāpati* of Jayāpīda to Abhinavagupta and later. ⁵⁹³

- According to the NrS, Śānta is produced from *vairāgya*. In NS, *vairāgya* is one of the *vibhāvas* of Śānta, and the *sthāyi* is not mentioned.

In the interpolated section of Śānta in the NS, śama is said to be its sthāvi. 594 But śama is not the part of eight sthāyi bhāvas listed in NS; thus, Abhinavagupta has discussed in great detail the appropriate sthāyi of Śānta. In it, he has taken note of the opinions of various scholars and presented his views on the subject.⁵⁹⁵ Udbhata's opinion is not known. But according to his critic Pratihārendu, śama should be the only sthāyi of Śānta. According to Rudraţa, samyagjñāna is the sthāyi of Śānta. According to Ānandavardhana it is *tṛṣṇā-kṣaya-sukha*. Many opinions have been discussed in Abhinavabhāratī without giving the names of the scholars. One view is worth considering. It says *nirveda* should be the *sthāvi* of Śānta. ⁵⁹⁶ But according to Abhinavagupta, nirveda is not born out of tatvajñāna. Nirveda and vairāgya both represent antipathy from the material world. Thus tatvajñāna is born out of nirveda,

⁵⁹³ The enumeration verse of sentiments given in the NrS is similar to that of given by Udbhaṭa in Kāvyālamkāra-sāra-samgraha 4.4; Abhinavagupta (10th century AD) elaborately discusses the appropriateness of accepting Santa as rasa. The other critics mentioned by him who advocated the Śānta rasa were Śankuka, Bhattanāyak and Bhattatota. In later scholars we have Rudrata (825-850 AD) and Ksemendra also (990 AD to 1065 AD), Kāvyalamkāra 15.15-16, also Ānandavardhana, Dhvanvāloka, udvota 4.

⁵⁹⁴ NS GOS(1992)I.p.326.
595 For the historical review on various propositions on *sthāyins* of Śānta see Raghavan (1940) 59-90. ⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.I.p.327ff.

and such a state of tatvajñāna ultimately attains salvation. Therefore, Abhinavagupta says that tatvajñāna should be the sthāyi of Śānta. 597 This entire discussion revolves around why nirveda cannot be a sthāvi and not vairāgva's appropriation of becoming the sthāyi of Śānta. Moreover, Abhinavagupta does not give a single opinion that advocates the qualification of vairāgya. The debate is between nirveda and tatvajñāna. That is why it is significant that the NrS advocates vairāgva as the cause of the emergence of Śānta sentiment.

There seems a religious reason behind this. In Pancaratra theology, Kapila is considered a manifestation of Pradyumna. The back face of Vaikuntha is that of Kapila. The iconographic features of Kapila are described in chapter 78/1 in the VDP khanda III. Some of the verses are worth noticing.

Verse 1A: pradyumnam viddhi vairāgyam kāpilīm tanumāsthitam

Verse 2B: padmāsanopavistas ca dhyānasammīlitekṣaṇaḥ

Verse 3B: vāyusamrodhapīnāmsah padmāmkacaranadvayah

The final verse in the same chapter is most important.

vairāgyabhāvena mahānubhāvo

dhyāne sthitah svam paramam padam tat /

dhyāyann athāste bhuvanasya goptā

sānkhyapravaktā puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ //

Verses describe Kapila sitting in the Padmāsana, meditating, with controlled breath. Most importantly, his ascetic nature/vairāgya is underlined repeatedly. The chapter is named as Vairāgyarūpa-nirmāņa. It is the influence or acceptance of Sānkhya in Pāñcarātra theology. It strongly represents the reason why *vairāgya* is unambiguously chosen to be the motivation of Śānta.

Moreover, Abhinavgupta refers to Isvara Krsna, 598 the author of Sānkhyakārika, to prove his point. In which it is said that from vairāgya occurs the prakṛtilaya from which the stage of tatvajñāna is formed and such tatvajñāna effects in salvation. Tatvajñāna increases vairāgya and strengthens it. He also refers to the opinions of Patanjali and the commentary Vyāsa-bhāsya. 599 He notes that *vairāgya* is called true knowledge by Vyāsa. According to Patanjali, virtuous vairāgya leads from tatvajñāna. Against this, Akṣapāda says that after the end of false knowledge,

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.I.p.330. ⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.I.p.328.

tatvajñāna arises, which destroys the faults, i.e. creates asceticism. So it should be called tatvajñānaja nirveda or tatvajñānaja vairāgya which is the sthāyi of Śānta. To refute Akṣapāda, Abhinavagupta says that nirveda is an attitude of hatred and a consistent sadness, and vairāgya is the termination of passions and hatred. Śānta means where there is neither joy nor sorrow. Of course, Abhinavagupta seeks to prove his point based on Sāṅkhya, in which he concludes that tatvajñāna should be the sthāyi of Śānta.

The Sāṅkhya philosophy, its effect on the dramaturgical thought tradition percolated in NS, and the emergence of these two ideas in a different way in the NrS through Pāñcarātra theology can not be mere coincidence.

Moreover, according to the NS, *nirveda* is a *sancāri bhāva*. Also, just as *śama* or *tatvajñāna* are not mentioned in *sthāyi bhāvas*, *vairāgya* too does not appear in any of the *bhāvas* discussed in the NS. ⁶⁰⁰ It can be concluded that, the NrS probably presents an opinion amid many different thoughts or views on the appropriate *sthāyi* of Śānta. Notably, it has a religious current behind it. Correspondingly, Bharata has agreed to elevate any *bhāva* to the level of *sthāyi* according to the need of the play or the context of dramatic situations. ⁶⁰¹ So if the authors of this chapter in the NrS think that *vairāgya* should be the *sthāyi* behind the creation of Śānta sentiment, then it should be noted that tradition has given them the freedom to propose the new *sthāyi*.

The next important information that we get here is about the colour and the deity of Śānta in which the natural is the colour, and the deity is Para-puruṣa. There is no information in the NS about the colour and deity of this sentiment. However, according to Abhinavagupta, the advocates of Śānta changed the text in the NS from pītaścaivādbhutaḥ smṛtaḥ into svacchapītau śamādbhutau and adbhuto brahmadaivataḥ into vīro mahendradevaḥsyāt buddhaḥ śāntobjajodbhutaḥ. In both cases, the NrS offers a different point of view.

From the interpolated information on Śānta in the NS, it can be observed that it comes in the sense of a state which embraces asceticism, a *sama*/equal approach towards the world and a desire for salvation. All other sentiments merge into it, and in that state, all worldly desires become zero. The colour has been stated as natural in the NrS to show the neutrality of that sentiment. Abhinavagupta has said that Śānta is a

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⁶⁰⁰ For *sthāyi*, Vyabhicāri and Sāttvika *bhāvas* NS GOS (1992)I.6.17ff.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.I.7.119ff.

⁶⁰² Verses 4A, 8B.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.I.pp.292-293.

svabhāva or nature and all other *rasas* are *vikāras* or disorders. ⁶⁰⁴ Our author/s might have interpreted the colour of such a state where there is neither disorder nor desire. It must be of the natural colour because this is the state of those walking the path of salvation.

The notable difference between the NS and the Rasādhyāya of the NrS is the patron deity of Śānta. According to Abhinavagupta, Buddha is the deity of Śānta, and in the NrS, it is Para- puruṣa. In the NS Viṣṇu is the patron deity for Śṛngāra as also in the NrS. Since the VDP belongs to the Pāñcarātra, it is worth mentioning here that the highest form of Viṣṇu is known as Para-vāsudeva. By assigning Para-puruṣa as the deity of Śānta, it doubtlessly indicates the Para-vāsudeva, a supreme deity of Pāñcarātra. The nature of Para-vāsudeva has been understood as the epitome of calmness in the Pāñcarātra *saṃhitās*. E.g. in the Sāttvata, 605 Jayākhya 606 and Ahirbudhnya 607 'Śāntātmā' is one of the *vibhavas* of Viṣṇu; likewise in the Lakṣmī Tantra, the two states of god has been mentioned; one is *udita*, and another is Śānta. 608 The dormant state is of Para-vāsudeva, and the active state is the *vyūha*. Śānta is, therefore, an important *rasa*. Its deity must be the highest form of Viṣṇu, so in the NrS Para-puruṣa symbolizes Viṣṇu as Para-vāsudeva. The NrS is following the established theology of the Pāñcarātra and re-articulating the tradition in its periphery.

Except for the differences quoted above, the rest of the verses are taken from the interpolated section of the NS.

2. Hāsya *Rasa*: It is said that $h\bar{a}sya$ is produced by irrelevant chatter or asambaddhapralāpataḥ. In the NS, $h\bar{a}sa$ is mentioned as a $sth\bar{a}yi$ of Hāsya⁶⁰⁹, and irrelevant talk comes as one of the $vibh\bar{a}vas$. The NrS also confirms Hāsya in irrelevant costumes, which also come in the NS as one of the $vibh\bar{a}vas$.

It follows two divisions on Hāsya which are taken from the NS. The information of $\bar{a}tmastha$ and parastha comes in prose in the NS⁶¹¹, which is only converted into verse format in The NrS.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.I.p.331.

^{605 9.17.}

 $^{^{606}}$ 1931:4.14 śāntasaṃvitsvarūpe ca vāsudevevatiṣṭhate.

^{607 1966:5.54}

 $^{^{608}}$ 1975:2.51; Lakṣmī Tantra has been dated to 9^{th} to 12^{th} century AD, Gupta (2002) Intro. XXI.

⁶⁰⁹ NS GOS (1992)I.p.306.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹¹ Ibid.I.p.307.

The second division is based on how a superior, middle and inferior character should laugh. NS gives two types of laughter to each and describes its characteristics. *Smita* and *hasita* are the two types of laughter associated with superiors. Our text mentions only the first type following the NS. The second type is not stated. However, in verse mentioning the characteristic of *hasita*, NS says that the teeth should be slightly visible. The NrS has made it the smile of a medium type of character. It states that the smile in which the teeth are visible is the smile of a medium type character. The NS, however, does not say anything about the visibility of teeth.

3. Śṛṇgāra *Rasa*: The NrS does not state the *sthāyi* or *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas* of this sentiment. The information about Śṛṇgāra starts from mentioning its two types. These are the same as in NS; *saṃbhoga* or union and *vipralambha* or separation. ⁶¹⁴ *Vipralambha's* acting includes the *nirveda*, which is again taken from the NS. Further information, however, is important and different from the NS. However, its roots are in the NS only.

Bharata himself has mentioned that there are ten stages of *vipralambha śṛngāra* and ascribes it to *vaiśikaśāstrakāra* or the creator of the science of the harlotry. Further, he adds that he will speak about it in Sāmānya-abhinaya. In the said chapter, the information is given. These are the ten stages of love of a heroine who is in the yearning of her beloved; longing (*abhilāṣa*), thinking of a beloved (*cintana*), cherished recollection (*anusmṛti*), repeating his qualities (*guṇa-kirtana*), anguish (*udvega*), lamentation (*vilāpa*), exaltation (*unmāda*), sickness (*vyādhi*), stupefaction (*jaḍatā*) and death (*maraṇa*).

Vaiśikaśāstrakāra denotes Vātsyāyana⁶¹⁷ who have mentioned ten stages of love in Kāmasūtra. There is a difference between the stages described by Vātsyāyana and that of mentioned in the Sāmānya-abhinaya chapter of the NS. Here is the Vātsyāyana's version;

cakṣuḥprītir manaḥsaṅgaḥ saṅkalpotpattir nidrācchedas tanutā viṣayebhyo vyāvṛttir lajjāpraṇāśa unmādo mūrcchā maraṇaṃ iti.

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⁶¹² Ibid.I.6.55.

⁶¹³ Verse 15A.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.I.p.302.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.I.p.303.

⁶¹⁶ NS GOS (2003)III.12.169ff.

⁶¹⁷ Abhinavagupta has also mentioned Kāmasūtra in his commentary on this part, ibid.I.p.303.

It is worth noting that the NrS probably draws on this information from the Kāmasūtra without taking into account the ten stages given in the Sāmānya-abhinaya chapter of NS. Secondly, in the Kāmasūtra, these stages are related to the $n\bar{a}yaka$ who is in love with another's wife or a woman who is dependent on others. The steps described in the NS are related to the $n\bar{a}yik\bar{a}$. There is no information about this in the NrS.

However, the third of these states, 'constant remembering of the beloved', differs from the Kāmasūtra. It is most probably a reference to the third stage of *anusmṛti* given in the NS.⁶¹⁹ It seems that our author/s wrote the stages by consulting Kāmasūtra in major along with NS.

Apart from this, the characteristics of acting of *saṃbhoga śṛngāra* are taken from NS.

4. Karuṇa, Raudra, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa and Adbhuta *rasa's sthāyi* are given in the same way as NS. The characteristics of how to act in these sentiments are also similar to those of NS.

5. In the last verse in this chapter of the NrS, while explaining rasa as the root of drama, it is said that even nrtta cannot exist without rasa. The twentieth chapter, which deals with karanas and angaharas, also concludes that nrtta filled with rasa, bharanava a and karanava a is the source of happiness and merit. It is clear from these references that the author/s of the NrS believed that nrtta is the medium to express bharanava a and also a source of ultimate rasa experience.

The dance tradition as a whole seems to be roughly divided into two parts; the NS and the NS-based post-NS textual tradition. The introduction of some new ideas seems to have taken place in later texts. The issue of the difference between *nṛtta* and *nṛtya* also needs to be looked at from this perspective. This distinction is not seen in the NS. As it is noted previously, Dhananjaya (last quarter of 10th century AD) gives us the divisions and connotations attached with the terms *nṛtta* that thrives on the *tāla*

⁶¹⁸ Shah 1961:99.

⁶¹⁹ These two types of ten love stage also appear in later texts on eroticism. Apart from Nāgasarvasva written by Padmaśrī (1000-1500 century CE), other texts on erotic science like Ratirahasya (by Kokkoka AD 830-960), Anaṅgaraṅga (by Kalyāṇamalla post 10th century AD), Panca-śāyaka (by Kaviśekhara Jyotiriśa) etc. have listed the ten stage as similar to that of Kāmasūtra. Nāgasarvasva, however, presents the stage given in NS. It has to be said that this subtle change noted above is seen only in our text.

⁶²⁰ According to Dadheech here we should take *nṛtta* as *nṛtya* because Nandikeśvara etc. scholars have understood *nṛtya* as the producer of *rasa* 1990:160.

and laya and nṛtya on the bhāvas. This theory seems to be gaining ground in medieval times.

But we have also seen that Abhinavagupta mentions the usages of karanas in acting. As discussed elsewhere, he has described śuddha-nṛtta /pure dance as a category which is characterized by 'abhinayaśūnya//absence of acting'. But he doesn't mean or seem to say anywhere that *nrtta* does not produce *rasa*. Dance or its various aspects is a vocabulary or technique which can be applied in multiple ways. 622 E.g. in any dramatic scene or an entry on stage, it is very natural for specific *bhāvas* to be incorporated according to the character and the occasion. It is equally natural to have a heroic sentiment produced in warlike dramatic scenes and some *uddhata* types of karaṇas are implemented. Similalry in Śṛṇgāra delicate type of karaṇas shall take place. Abhinavagupta has given some crucial points about karanas-aṅgahāras, cārī etc. and tried to convey that these pure nrtta elements can produce bhāvas. The emergence of rasa is the combined effect. He gives examples from established Samskrta plays. For example, in Bhattanārāyaṇa's Veṇīsaṃhāra, Aśvatthāmā enters in Sūcīviddha and Urdhvajānu karaņa, or Vatsarāja in Sambhrānta in the play Svapnavāsavadattā of Bhāsa and so on. He also discusses karaņa's semantic actability in his critique on the first karana, Talapuspaputa. The NrS is also in the tradition of this thought.

Often the nature of ntta is considered as emotionless. Following the same question, it would be appropriate to present some opinions here.

- 1. Nṛtta which involves the movement of the limbs and hastas etc can be called as the vocabulary or a basic neutral component. Just like 'A' is the alphabet. The same alphabet, when used in a word, helps to contributes in creating a meaning. The alphabet alone is meaningless. In the same way, when same *nrtta* movements are incorporated in a semantic way, they also create meaning and from that, emotion or rasa is created.
- 2. Another important point is that Bharta has also given some specific names to these components which are systematically presented. And some of those names have a meaning. It also appears to have been named after the movement associated

⁶²¹ NS GOS (1992) I.p.184. ⁶²² Subrahmanyam 1979: pp27.

with it. E.g. the Talapuṣpapuṭa or the Uromaṇḍala or the Gaṅgāvataraṇa etc. The name itself gives meaning to the actual movement.

- 3. Even so, there are *nṛṭṭahastas* given by Bharata separately. Combined (*saṃyuta*) and uncoupled (*asaṃyuta*) hands are fully expressive in terms of their names and formations but not *nṛṭṭahastas*, but they do help to convey meaning if they are implemented in specific situations.
- 4. Another important point is that *rasa* is a higher concept. Emotions come before that. Now it is a matter of debate as to what is the effect of the pure dance and of dancing to a song or words? E.g. in Kathak there are certain compositions known as *bol* or *tukḍā*. Similarly the performance of Jatisvaram or Tillānā in Bharatanāṭyam, these are pur dances. And then there are Varṇam or Thumri performances which consist dancing on words. Does pure dance produce *rasa*? Yes, it does.

The rasa is going to be formed in the minds of the viewers. Artistsic presentation gives pleasure, often makes emotional. Rasa can be created through the performance on a story or a poem, and also through a wordless presentation. Just as when $r\bar{a}ga$ Śankara is sung, it is expected to produce Raudra rasa from the words as well as from the $\bar{a}l\bar{a}pa$ or $t\bar{a}na$ or sargam which are purely technical. The same is true of sarana and sargana and

So the only thing that can be said here is that *nṛtta* is a neutral component and can be used in both expressional and non-expressional way. The *nṛtta* and *nṛtya* gives us this division, that's it.

Chapter 31 – Bhāvādhyāya

In the NS, after Rasādhyāya, there is a chapter on *bhāvas*. The same order appears in the NrS. Typically, this chapter is majorly based on Bhāvādhyāya in NS. In the NrS, verses number 54B to 57A are based on verses number 77 to 80 of Rasādhyāya in the NS and the rest of the matter is borrowed from the *bhāva* chapter of the NS⁶²³.

Bharata has given detailed information, which comes compactly in the NrS. In the NS, definitions of *bhāva*, *vibhāva* and *anubhāva* are provided at the beginning. Then after telling the types of *bhāva* that are *sthāyi*, *sancāri* and *sāttvika*, it begins to describe the *vibhāva*, the causes behind generating the particular *bhāva*, and *anubhāva* or the acting of each *sthāyi*. In the same way, *sancāri* and *sāttvika bhāva*

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⁶²³ NS GOS (1992)I.7.

have been informed. The NrS starts with the *vibhāva* and *anubhāva* of *sthāyi* without the initial discussion, followed by the same kind of information about *sancāri* and *sāttvika bhāva*. The NS identifies and clearly mentiones the *vibhāva* and *anubhāva* which do not appear in Bhāvādhyāya of the NrS. The NrS mentions a few of the *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas*. Some of the original words or terms are replaced with different words. Some *bhāvas* are completely missing; however, it introduces a new *sancāri bhāva*.

In the NS, both *rasa* and *bhāva* chapters come in mixed, i.e. prose and verse format. The general practice shows that *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas* are specified in prose, and to support these statements, the *anuvaṃśika*, *āryā*, i.e. traditional two-line verses in *āryā* metre are given. These *āryā* are complete in the sense that they convey *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas* in a formulaic manner. Therefore, at some places in our chapter, these *āryās* have been taken up from the NS, e.g. of *rati*, *vismaya*, *utsāha*, *nirveda*, *glāni*, *moha* etc. Here the overall format is to give *vibhāva* and *anubhāva* in a verse of two lines. However, in some places, it is condensed in a single line verse. The first hemistich contains the *vibhāva* and the second of *anubhāva*. E.g. *sancāris* like *supta*, *vibodha*, *ugratva*, *mati*, *sandeha* etc. At few places, either *vibhāvas* or *anubhāvas* are missing. E.g. *dainya's anubhāva* is not mentioned, and of *cintā*, only *anubhāva* is given. Also, some *bhāvas* are entirely missing, such as *sancāris* named *jaḍatā* and *garva* and *sāttvikas* of *sveda*, *vepathu* and *pralaya*. It is noted previously in the twentieth chapter of the NrS in which only six *sāttvika bhāvas* are enumerated; *aśrū*, *prapāta*, *romānca*, *sveda*, *spandana* and *varṇa-vinyāsa*.

Considering these collective observations, some noteworthy interpretations can be made as follows.

1. In the NS, there are five types of krodha; that which caused by enemies, teachers, love, servants and lastly from some artificial reason. In technical terms, these are the $vibh\bar{a}vas$. The NrS states only the first four reasons. The fifth reason is not given. The characteristics of all four causes are shown. But just as the fifth cause is not mentioned, its features are also not provided. These characteristics are nothing but the $anubh\bar{a}vas$ of those causes.

The *anubhāvas*, or acting of *krodha*/anger towards the enemy and the servant, is described differently in the NrS. In the NS, frowning, crooked mouth, biting lips,

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⁶²⁴ Ibid.I.7.15.

⁶²⁵Verses 5B-6.

rubbing hands, touching head and chest etc., are stated to show anger at the enemy. But in the NrS, it is briefly stated that at the enemy, the anger should be uncontrolled. This is what precisely meant by all the above anubhāvas listed in the NS.

Acting such as insulting, reprimanding, widening of eyes are shown while getting angry at the servants. In the NrS, however, it is said that the anger directed towards the servants must be merciful. It is the complete opposite of the NS, and thus, noteworthy. This has to be seen from a religious point of view. In Vaisnavas the importance given to the principle of mercy is notable. We will see more on this in the fifth point discussed further.

2. Similarly, in the case of mada, one of the sancāri bhāvas, different ways of acting are stated. This sancāri is produced from intoxication. In NS, it is said that there are three types of mada which can be shown by five ways of anubhāvas. 626 The kinds of mada are said to be young (taruna), middle (madhya) and inferior (avakrsta). The superior character produces taruna mada, the middle character madhya and the inferior character avakrsta. The anubhāvas given in the NrS are not only brief but also different from NS. 627 The anubhāva of rolling one's eyes is described as uttama in the NrS, madhyama in NS. Also, the waffle babble is the anubhāva of adhama, which is mentioned for the *madhyama* in the NrS. Also, falling and nonsensical walking come in our chapter for adhama, which comes in words like āviddha gati in the NS, concerning *uttama* and *madhyama* characters.

3. Most significant contribution in this chapter is the inclusion of a new sancāri bhāva titled Krīdā. 628 It has been said that the Krīdā arises from agility and joy and should be enacted in violation of the guru's word. In technical terminology, agility and joy are the vibhāvas and its acting detail is anubhāva. It raises some questions. Why it is that only Krīḍā have introduced as the sancāri? And what is the relevance of the anubhāva 'guruvākya parikrama?' It can be construed as follows.

Krīdā means to play or sport. We can sense that its anubhāva seems to have a somewhat negative undertone. To violate the word, order or wish of a guru is to disobey him, which also means to insult him. It is assumed that this insult will be

⁶²⁶ Ibid I.7.38. ⁶²⁷ Verses 15-16.

⁶²⁸ Verse 23.

inflicted by people lesser in age, knowledge, prestige etc. comparing to that of a guru. Many meanings can come out of this. One possibility might be as follows.

The name Krīdā and the characteristics possibly represent mischief committed by behaving arrogantly. It is reasonable to wonder why a new sancāri named Krīdā with the connotation mentioned above should have been added in the NS based material of the Vaisnava purāna. Vaisnava mythology can shed some light.

The Mausalaparva of the Mbh tells a story of the destruction of Yādavas. Intended to make fun of the sages that came to Dvārakā, Sāmba appears in the guise of a woman and pretends to be pregnant. Other Yadava youngsters ask sages to predict the gender of the baby. The sages come to know that this is a prank. As a result, they curse Sāmba that a pestle will be born from his belly. This leads to the destruction of all Yādavas. In later times, this story continues to appear in the purāṇas with minor variations. Such a version can be found in the Bhāgvata purāṇa in the first chapter of the 13th skandha. The story is as follows.

viśvāmitro'sita kaņvo durvāsā bhṛgur aṅgirāḥ | kaśyapo vāmadevo'trir vasiṣṭho nāradādayah ||krīdantas tān upavrajya kumārā yadunandanāh | upasamgrhya papracchur vinītā vinītavat ||

te veşayitvā strīveşaiḥ sāmbam jāmbavatīsutam | eṣā pṛcchati vo viprā amtarvatnyasitekṣaṇā ||praṣṭuṃ vilajjatī sākṣāt prabrūtāmoghadarśanāḥ | prasoşyantī putrakāmā kiṃsvit sajjanayişyati ||evaṃ pralabdhā munayas tān ūcuḥ kupitā nrpa | janayişyati vo mandā musalam kulanāśanam ||

In this version, this prank is called krīdā, which destroyed all the Yādavas. It is the significant event in the life of Kṛṣṇa after which both Balarāma and he gave up their worldly life. The connotation attached to the word $kr\bar{i}d\bar{a}$ in the above story is the exact one that occurres in the NrS. It may not be a coincidence that insulting a guru is its anubhāva.

4. The anubhāva of the sancāri Avahittha consist covering of the whole body and dancing. 629 It is said in the NS that the covering of one's own body or form is Avahittha. 630 The NS does not mention dance. But in the MS \bar{a} , it is told that this sancāri should be enacted through the aṅgābhinaya. 631

630 Ibid.I.7.p.368. 631 Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Verse 34.

Secondly, Avahittha is also a standing posture for women. And in the Citrābhinaya chapter of NS, it is clearly stated that in certain types of play, this posture should also be used to represent different *bhāvas*. 632

5. The types of Vīra - *yuddha*, *dayā* and *dāna* appear to be significant. As stated earlier, this portion in the chapter has taken from the Rasādhyāya of NS. According to Bharata, Dānāvīra, Dharmavīra and Yuddhavīra are the three types of *rasa-vīra*. In the NrS, Dharmavīra is replaced by Dayāvīra. This type is also found in later texts related to drama and literature.

Notably, there are some religious references associated with the types of Vīras. We have to constantly remember that the NrS is a part of a Vaiṣṇava purāṇa. It is a well-known fact that in medieval Vaiṣṇava devotional philosophy, the concept of rasa was considered extremely important. Specifically, in Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava devotion towards Kṛṣṇa is perceived from the perspective of rasa. Rūpa Gosvāmī (15th century AD) has deliberated upon the parallelism between bhakti and rasa in his Śrī Bhakti Rasāmṛta Sindhū. 636 In it, he has accepted all four types of Vīras, Dharmavīra, Dānāvīra, Yuddhavīra and Dayāvīra. In it, he has given the uddipana (stimulants/causes/vibhāva), anubhāva and vyabhicāris of each of them. According to him, when the heart of a devotee is filled with compassion, and he offers his body piece by piece to Kṛṣṇa in disguised form, the devotee is known as Dayāvīra.

It is significant to find such interlinking within the religious sphere of Vaiṣṇavas. From Dhananjaya's reference, it is clear that the tradition of considering the three types of Vīras, partially different from the NS and which is also noted in the NrS, was present in the *nāṭya* and *sāhiṭya*. The religious-cultural implication the entire concept got later in the *bhakti* period gives us some subtle yet interesting insight towards the Vaiṣṇavite context attached to it. Of course, even if the references are periodically far away from each other, it is notable to understand the value of mercy

⁶³² NS GOS(2003)III.25.47.

⁶³³ Verse 56.

⁶³⁴ NS GOS(1992)I.6.79.

Ohananjaya's Daśarūpaka Ed.1941: 106 and Bhāvaprakāśana of Śāradātanaya Ed.1968:65 (13th century AD), mention three types, *dāna*, *raṇa* and *dayā*. In Viśvanātha's Sāhitya-darpaṇa (1378 AD-1434 AD) all four types are acknowledged, namely, Dānāvīra, Dharmavīra, Yuddhavīra and Dayāvīra, 3.234.

⁶³⁶ 4.3.

in Vaiṣṇavas. The same is reflected in giving merciful treatment to servants as explained in the first point above because it is a charactristic of a Dayāvīra.

Another small but noteworthy change is that in NS above three types of Vīras are said to be proclaimed by Brahmā.⁶³⁷ However it is not mentioned in the NrS. Now some minor observations.

- **1.** There are few writing mistakes made, most probably by the scribe and Shah has given the suitable options in the bracket in the critical edition. In the verse of $\bar{a}las$, ⁶³⁸ the *sancāri*, the word *garbha* is the right choice in the place where the text is mistakenly written as *garva*. Also, *vṛtti*⁶³⁹ has been written instead of *dhṛti*, a *sancāri* which seems wrong in the overall context.
- **2.** In verse number forty of the NrS, both anger (*krodha*) and fear (*bhaya*) are stated to be created from the *vibhāva* of crime (*aparādha*). We have seen the *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas* of anger and fear given in the current chapter of the NrS. Aparādha is described as a *vibhāva* as it is also mentioned in the NS. Anger, however, is not linked to Aparādha. It seems that this verse may have been inserted later.

In the end, it can be said that the two chapters of *rasa* and *bhāva* have to be considered together. Only then the complete knowledge of each *rasa* can be obtained. In this chapter, we get the information of the *sthāyi bhāva* attached to each *rasa* which could not be found in the *rasa* chapter.

Chapter 34: Nṛttasūtra

This is the last chapter of the NrS. Looking at the content of this chapter, it falls into four parts. The first part tells the myth of Viṣṇu's killing of Madhu and Kaiṭabha. The second part speaks on the origin of *nṛtta* through a dialogue between Lakṣmī and Bhagavāna concerning the story. Then the third part is the transfer of *nṛtta* from Viṣṇu to Brahmā and from Brahmā to Rudra. And then comes the last piece in which the adoration and auspiciousness of *nṛtta* is narrated.

1. In the NS, the myth of *nāṭyotpatti* appears in the first chapter. The story here has nothing to do with that of NS. However, in NS, the destruction of Madhu-Kaiṭabha by

639 Verse 22A.

⁶⁴⁰ Verses 5, 9.

⁶³⁷ In fact he is the originator of entire Nāṭyaveda.

⁶³⁸ Verse 18A.

⁶⁴¹ NS GOS (1992)I.p.347.

Viṣṇu comes as the myth of the origin of *vṛttis*. ⁶⁴² In the NrS, however, Viṣṇu is established as the creator of the entire *nṛtta*.

It naturally reduces the significance of Śiva that we find in the NS tradition in this regard and thus the knowledge of dance is stated to be transmitted from Viṣṇu to Brahmā and then from Brahmā to Śiva. In addition to this, it is said that Śiva performs *nṛtta* as an offering to Viṣṇu which is not unanticipated as the NrS is part of a Vaiṣṇava *purāṇa*.

2. Viṣṇu tells Lakṣmī that the devotees will worship him with the *nṛtta* created by him. Apart from this, the importance of the donation of *nṛtta* has also been mentioned. This reference supports the religio-cultural tradition of temple dances presented as offerings to god and can be taken as mythological reasoning behind the ritual of *nṛtta*.

3. One aspect mentioned in the chapter sheds light on the social and cultural situation of the time. While explaining how great the donation of nrtta is, it is said that one who worships Viṣṇu with songs and instruments along with dance gets the fruit of $yaj\tilde{n}a$. Following this, it has been stated that the business of nrtta is immoral, and $kus\bar{l}avas$ etc., who do business of dance should be avoided.

In the *smṛti* literature, *kuśīlava*, *cāraṇa*, *śailūṣa*, *jāyājīva etc*. are considered as inferior in different contexts. These artist communities are counted in the *śūdra* class in Amarakośa. In the NS, however, it is said that an artist who knows the principles of instrumental music and is an expert in it is known as *kuśīlava*. The reference from Arthaśāstra is significant. It says that along with prostitutes, *vāgajīvina* (bufoons), *plavaka* (rope dancer), *kuśīlava* and *cāraṇa* (wandering bards) etc. are obliged to report about their daily earnings to the superintendent.

Also it should be understood that these communities were more connected to popular art. Since the dance performed in the temples is a ritual, the initiation and acquisition of the required defined knowledge/śāstra from a guru within the organised framework was an essential part of it. Being a ritual, it would carry a value of

⁶⁴² NS GOS (2003)III.20.2ff.

⁶⁴³ Nīlamata Purāṇa also gives similar reference, Ed.Ghai (1968) verses 224, 731, 759, 795.

⁶⁴⁴ Manusmrti 3.155, 4.214, 8.65,362, 9.225 etc.

^{645 2.8.1419}ff; Tripathi (1988) 143.

⁶⁴⁶ NS GOS (2006)IV.35.22.

⁶⁴⁷ Ch.XXVII.

auspiciousness. So to worship Viṣṇu through art, the NrS indirectly refuses to do it from anyone else as *nṛtta* in this context is considered an offering and not a vocation.

4. Another significant point that can be understood is in the context of the last verse in the chapter.

etattaduktam tava nṛtta śāstram | samāsato lokahitāya rājan ||
nṛttena yatnaḥ puruṣeṇa kāryo | lokadvayam jetumabhīpsatā vai ||

Mārkaṇḍeya concludes by saying that a man should dance/nṛtta so that he can win both the worlds. It takes us to the context of the question in the first chapter of this volume. Vajra asks Mārkaṇḍeya how a man can be happy in this world and the next. This question is the seed of this khaṇḍa III. The ending verse of the NrS is the answer to this question in its way.

5. Moreover the myth is extremely important to comprehend the religiosity of an entire NrS.

The writer/s of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III methodically approaches the established science of *nṛtta* to accomplish the goal of converting it into the religious art of Vaiṣṇavas. Crediting the origin of an act, object, or any form of knowledge to the chief god of the faith through the myth of killing demons or performing some miracle is the conventional technique followed in the ancient Indian sciences and mythology. Pronouncing the absolute authority held by śāstras through their divine origin and connecting the discourse with it is the way of ancient scholars to make their efforts genuine, official, and acceptable. This method is the natural way to merge the developments with the omnipresent flow of tradition. The mythology related to the creation of *nṛtta* offers a valid substitute to the Śaivite origin of *nṛtta* claimed in the NS. The act is indeed inspired by the 'religious need' of the time. ⁶⁴⁸ The attempt to make it appear as the whole organic creation by initiating a parallel Vaiṣṇava tradition of *nṛtta* is indeed perceptible.

Though NS narrates a similar story through which it credits the formation of *vṛttis* to Viṣṇu, it can be surmised that our text demonstrates the diversification of the tradition laid down in the NS. The author/s quite conventionally articulated the myth

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The ongoing religious rivalry in early-mediaeval Kashmir is realistically narrated in the Āgamaḍaṃbara of Jayantabhaṭṭa (contemporary to Avantīvarman's son Śamkaravarman AD 883-902) of Kashmir. We have noted it in the introduction of the thesis; also see Sanderson:2009.

of the origin of *nṛtta* as it entered the periphery of Vaiṣṇava belief to achieve its religious motive.

The myth of Madhu and Kaiṭabha was prevalent and important among Vaiṣṇavites because it is connected with the fundamental concept of the 'creation of the world.' The first *khaṇḍa* of the VDP offers an alternative version of the myth, different from the NrS. Here, Madhu and Kaiṭabha take birth from drops of the sweat of Brahmā at the time when he was absorbed in the studies of Vedas. The arrogant duo steals the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas. Thus Viṣṇu in the form of Hayaśīra goes to the netherworld and brings back the Vedas. By this act, he becomes the Jagadguru.

Further, the god bears two bodies; Viṣṇu and Jiṣṇu who fight with Kaiṭabha and Madhu, respectively. After their defeat by god, the earth becomes Medini, and god in the form of Varāha lifts her on the tusk. In the end, Madhu and Kaiṭabha both go to the Viṣṇuloka permanently.

There are no details of the fight between two rivalries, an essential element for the origin of *nṛtta*. That peculiar feature occurs in the version of the NrS, which is anyway has been taken from the NS.

Based on the references it can be said that the myth in the NrS stands upon two sources, the Mbh and the NS.

- The Myth as Narrated in the NS

After bringing down the universe into a single ocean and reducing the creation by his $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, Bhagvāna Acyuta was slumbering on the bed of the snake. At that moment, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, infuriated with pride in their power, provoked god at once for a fight. After rubbing their arms, the demons battled the eternal god Bhūtabhāvana with their fists and thighs. While doing so, the two parties also insulted each other with harsh words by which the ocean shook. Hearing to aggregating dialogue, Brahmā asks Viṣṇu whether it is the Bhāratī *vṛtti*. He then requests Viṣṇu to kill both the demons. Further, the text says that Viṣṇu with *śuddha* and *vikṛta aṅga* along with *aṅgahāra* vehemently fought the demons. His feet on the ground created tremendous

(Plates 8 and 20).

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The reference from Ahirbudhnya *saṃhitā* has to be considered as the myth also occurs in the text. Here while describing the furious appearance of Viṣṇu, the text mentions the Ālidha position adorned by him, which is one of the six male *sthānas* mentioned in NS. It shows how the religious literature of Pāñcarātra, not just *saṃhitās* but *purāṇas* too were articulating the same myth, Ed. Krishnamacharya (1966) Adhyāya 41.42; Moreover there are sculptural specimens found in early-mediaeval Kashmir

pressure on the earth from which the Bhāratī ($bh\bar{a}ra$ means weight) style was produced. By the twang of his bow named Śāraṅga, which was intensely dazzling, firm and by an excess of sattva, the Sāttvati was born. When the god moved sportively with various $angah\bar{a}ra$ and tied up his $\acute{s}ikh\bar{a}$ the Kaiśiki was made. Similarly, from multiple techniques of individual combats which were full of vigour and exhilaration and involved various $c\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}s$, the Ārabhaṭī was created.

-The Mbh Version

The version of the NrS is closer to the Mbh. There are interesting anecdotes mentioned in the Mbh that clarify the myth's importance in the Pāñcarātra tradition. The story occurs in the Śāntiparva (section 348)⁶⁵⁰ unfolded through the dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaiśaṃpāyana when the former asks for what reason Harī appeared in the form of Hayaśīra.

In the beginning, Vaiśaṃpāyana explains the creation of the world from Vaiṣṇavite point of view. It states that Brahman/principle of creation arises from the primaeval darkness and develops the idea of the universe and dons the form of Puruṣa. Such Puruṣa is called Aniruddha who is otherwise known as Pradhāna. He is Harī himself, in the *yoganidrā* thinking about the creation of the universe. At this stage, Harī recollects his attributes which gives birth to four-faced Brahmā/ Hiraṇyagarbha, representing the consciousness of Aniruddha, who commences the creation of the world. Then the actual story begins. On the primaeval lotus, Nārāyaṇa casts two drops of water.

As he puts his eyes on those two drops, two demons sprang upon the command of the lord, Madhu, made up of tamas and Kaiṭabha, of *rajas*. The duo suddenly seizes four Vedas from Brahmā and quickly dives at the bottom of the ocean. Then Brahmā, in great grief, says to the lord that 'Vedas are my great eyes, strength and refuge. Without them, how shall I succeed in my incredible creation?' He sings hymns in honour of Nārāyaṇa. In the end, he says that 'the Vedas are my eyes. Due to this, I transcend time itself. Those Vedas, which constitute my eyes, have been taken away from me. I have, therefore, become blind. Awake from this Yoga sleep. Give me back my eyes.' Then the lord with the equine head proceeds to the netherworld. Adopting a voice controlled by the rules of the science called Śikṣā, he

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⁶⁵⁰ Ed. Ganguli, 1891.

begins to utter loudly Vedic mantras. With distinct pronunciation, he reverberates through the air sweetly. The sound of his voice fills the nether region from end to end. Distracted demons leave the Vedas and approach the sound. Meanwhile, the lord as Hayaśīra takes up the Vedas and gives them back to Brahmā. Later, after not finding the Vedas where they have previously left, the demons return to the primaeval lotus. They see the great being, the original creator, staying in the form of Aniruddha of fair complexion endued with a splendour resembling the moon. Beholding the lord thus laying, the two foremost of demons roared out a loud laugh. Endued with the attributes of rajas and tamas, they said.—'This is that 'Being' of white complexion. He is now laying asleep. Without a doubt, this one has brought the Vedas away from the nether region. Who is he? Why is he thus asleep on the hood of a snake?' Beholding the two foremost of asuras prepared for the battle with him, Nārāyaṇa also set his mind to gratify their desire. Thereupon an encounter takes place between them. Nārāyaṇa slays both of them. Hence he came to be known by the appellation of Madhusūdana. Supported then by Harī and aided by the Vedas, Brahmā created all the worlds with movable and immovable things. Once more, however, Nārāyaṇa assumes the original form for the sake of causing the religion of pravrtti to flow in the universe.

Here are a few observations.

- 1. The reference to the *śayana* form of Viṣṇu to Aniruddha is significant. This mention directly associates the story with the Pāñcarātra theology.
- 2. The *guṇa* attribution of the demons is found in the NrS as well. The attribution of Vedas as Brahmā's eyes and his blindness due to laundering of Vedas occur in NrS too.
- 3. The provoking speech of demons is the source of the creation of the Bhāratī *vṛtti* explained in the NS. Interpreting the fighting movements of Viṣṇu as *aṅgahāras* is the idea introduced in the NS.
- 4. The *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti dharma* represents the two contrasting religious paths. *Pravṛtti dharma* is the path for householders living a worldly life and performing all kinds of rituals, consistent with the Vedas and also with *paurāṇika* religion. The *atarvedi* and *bahirvedi* or *iṣṭa* and *āpūrta* philosophy described in the first chapter of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III is in line with the *pravṛtti dharma*. The idol worship, temple construction, fasts, vigils, pilgrimage etc., entails the *pravṛtti mārga*. The VDP *khaṇḍa* III also is about the *pravṛtti dharma* preached for an ideal Vaiṣṇava king.

When Vajra asks Mārkaṇḍeya that if god is everywhere, then what is the need for invocation? Mārkaṇḍeya then explains the importance of idol and its worship to the ordinary person. Further, he goes on to say that one should have knowledge of both the paths, $j\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$ and $kriy\bar{a}$, because when both are done without any expectations, they lead to salvation/ $mok\bar{s}a$. Pravṛtti and nivṛtti dharma can also be thought of from the perspective of $j\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$ and $kriy\bar{a}$. On the one hand, the attainment of Viṣṇuloka and, on the other hand, salvation, these two are ultimate achievements considered in the VDP khanda III. In this, the importance of pravṛtti dharma has certainly been presented with the highest intensity.

However it also underlines one fact that even through *pravṛtti* one can achieve the ultimate union with Viṣṇu that is $s\bar{a}yujya$ which is the highest achievement for $s\bar{a}ttvatas$.

On this light the significance of the myth of Madhu and Kaiṭabha for the origin of *nṛtta* is pivotal since Viṣṇu killed the demons and eventually world came into existence by Brahmā, ultimately to bring the religion of *pravṛtti* in this world. The entire discussion directs us towards one significant characteristic of the NrS. NrS, the text which is devoted to *nṛtta*, even if it is heavily sourced from NS, the episode of the origin of *nṛtta* plays an important role. The myth becomes an ultimate solution to inscribe the Vaiṣṇava sign on the entire tradition. Myths are flexible and interpretative. One can shift the context, from one myth or text to other, from one belief to other, from Śaiva to Vaiṣṇava viewpoint. The adjustment usually ensues by giving the lower position to other gods. Gradually these perceptions get established and strengthened. When one shifts the tradition's origin within religious streams, the fundamental knowledge written under it also gets the new premise. The NrS was such an attempt to reinvent the course of the tradition. The Vaiṣṇava origin of *nṛtta* in the NrS is the Vaiṣṇavisation of the entire tradition.

IV.5. Dance as Seen in the Rituals of the Installation of an Image of Viṣṇu in the VDP *Khaṇḍa* III

The Pratiṣṭhā chapters of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III describe the ritual procedure of installing an idol of Bhagavān Vāsudeva. Here is the process in brief.

⁶⁵¹ VDP III.108.

The section begins with the chapter of Śalyodhhāra (ch. 95), which provides the knowledge of eight faults that would cause horrific results in the temple building if not taken care of properly. Gods cannot be installed in such $v\bar{a}stu$. Then the text narrates the Kālanirdeśa (ch.96), the characteristics of finalizing the auspicious time according to the planets. In the first verse of the next chapter of Dikṣā (ch.97), Vajra asks Mārkaṇḍeya 'by which procedure is the installation to be done?' The sage goes on to narrate the ritual of the initiation of yajamāna/a host. In the end, he says that the installation should be done on the seventh day from initiation. The next chapter is about the placing the four toraṇas or arched doors around the $adhiv\bar{a}sana$ -staṇḍila or the altar of $adhiv\bar{a}sana$ made for preliminary consecration of the image.

Further, the procedure of preparing *arghya*, *pādya* and *pancagavya* (ch.99) is mentioned. The next chapter is about the *arcā-śauca* or the purification of the image with 21 various substances and *mantras*. Chapter 101 describes the *adhivāsana* or the ritual of requesting a divinity to dwell in an idol with various *mantras* and offerings. Further, in chapters 102 to 106, various gods have been invoked with reciting respective *mantras*. Then chapter 107 is about the awakening of Vāsudeva. It mentions the *mantras* involved in it.

The next chapter explains the reasons for invocation in answer to the question of Vajra that when god is in everything, why should invocation be done? His answer is insightful in terms of understanding the philosophy behind idolatry. Mārkaṇḍeya says that the invocation and the worship of the omnipresent are only for self-satisfaction. He further talks on the $par\bar{a}$ -apar \bar{a} forms of god by giving significance to the material manifestation. In the end, he says that both $j\bar{n}\bar{a}na$ and $kriy\bar{a}$ paths lead to salvation.

Chapter 109 deliberates the procedure of Vaiṣṇava *homa*. The name of the subsequent chapter is Pratiṣṭhādhyāya, the process of the actual installation of god. Here ends the seven-day procedure of *pratiṣṭhā*.

It follows the information of the great bath of Śrī Viṣṇu (ch.111), the offering of *bhoga* (ch.112), the *madhuparka* ritual (ch.113), making an offering to god (ch.114), the worship of *sāttvatas* (ch.115), the procedure of abandoning the *toraṇas* (ch.116), the details of the procession (ch.117) and the worship of incarnations (ch.118).

Such is the disposition of installation and post-installation ceremonies in brief. The result of careful execution is the attainment of an ultimate unification with Viṣṇu or the place in viṣṇuloka. 652 The chanting of various Vedic, Vaiṣṇavite mantras along with the Puruṣasūkta is also mentioned. 653

Now let's go through the involvement of dance along with singing and musical accompaniment in the installation rituals:

1. A vital reference comes from the Toranadhyaya. The section speaks about the assigned places of religious masters who lead the ritual. It includes kalpaka- the writer of rules of rituals; the *sāttvata* – an archaic designation for the person who follows the bhāgavata cult, here pāñcarātrika; and a yajamāna- the host. The associates also comprise experts in four Vedas. In this, Sāmavedin takes place on the east of the adhivāsana altar facing the west. On his right, the flutist and in the south, the reciter takes place. At his north, the singer and at the back, it is noted that vādanaka-nartaka should take their positions.

In the ceremony the Sāmavedin is leading the set of artists which also include dancers because he is the master of an ancient most form of music. In the NS, Brahmā compiles Nātyaveda out of four Vedas in which he takes gīta from Sāmaveda. Sāma is the Veda of notated melodies of chants and is considered as the root of Gāndharvaveda.

One thing need to be noted here that the chapter writes nartaka and not nartakī. It directs towards the presence of a male dancer or a dance master in the ritual.

2. The whole purification ceremony (ch.100) is accompanied by the musical instruments pronouncing the word 'victory'.

Then adhivāsana, or initiating a divinity to dwell in an idol, contains the detailed preparation of a bed, making of seven-headed Ananta snake resting on it and the mantras to evoke the gods. The worship goes on by placing knees on the ground uttering 'agatah bhagavana' followed by the sound of the conch, drums and the pronouncement of the word 'victory'. At the end the text says that,

ijyāhomau tu kartavyau pratyaham tv adhivāsate | pūjanam gītanṛttaiś ca pratiṣṭhā yāvad āgatā ||

 $^{^{652}}$ The ending verses of Chs.111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116. 653 Chs.109, 110, 111.

It means that till the installation is done, the worship is to be offered with singing and dancing/nṛṭṭa. The question of who would perform has been answered in the previous chapter of arcā-śauch.

Vāditraśabdair jayaśabdamiśrair nṛttaist athā bhūpa varāṅganānām / śauce nivṛtte tv adhivāsanaṃ vai kāryaṃ surārcāsu yathābhidhāsye ||

It informs that beautiful women should dance during the period of *adhivāsana*, which, according to chapter 96 of Kālanirdeśa, would last for one year or six months or a fortnight or for twelve nights or a week or three days or one day and one night. The songs, dances/nṛtta etc., were the essential features of adhivāsana.

- 3. Then chapter 110 is Pratiṣṭhādhyāya says that on the day of installation, the lord should be awakened with conch-shell, drum and other musical instruments. Also, while placing the lord on the pedestal, the lord's name is to be spoken; loudly shouting the word 'victory' along with musical instruments and chanting of 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevay'.
- 4. In the Bṛhat-snapana at one point, it says that one, as per the capacity, one can offer thousand or eight hundred or five or four hundred or one hundred and eight or twenty-eight or eight *kalaśa*, filled with a set of herbs. These should be offered with the big sound of conch-shell, musical instruments and with 'be victorious' words of bards and the auspicious dances/*subhagānartiten*. 654
- 5. Then, *bhogadāna* or an offering of *bhoga* / various substances for pleasure takes place. After everything has been offered, the lord is to be worshipped with *tantrivādya* / stringed instruments and sounds of conch and drums. This consists of '*subhagāgīten*' that is the singing of auspicious songs.
- 6. In the Ijyādhyāya also the worship of the lord with songs, instrumental music and dancing/*nṛtta* is mentioned.
- 7. Another important ritual is designated in chapter 115 of Sāttvatatejādhyāya or the worship of *sāttvatas*. After offering gold, garments, and a vessel full of clarified butter

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 $^{^{654}}$ Nilamata Purāṇa Ed. Ghai (1968) 887 - tatorcāsnāpanam kāryam kalpaśākhāvidhānatah / puṇyāhagītaghoṣeṇa subhagānarttinena ca||

to each of the *rtvijas*, the dinners are arranged for *brāhmaṇas*. While they are having their dinner Śrī Bhagavān Māhātmya that is the greatness of the lord is to be narrated/recited. Then the host eats his oblation. The vigil is to be followed in the temple of god by participating in songs, dances/*nṛtta*, instrumental music, and listening to the sacred books.

8. Chapter 117 is about the Yātrāvidhi that is the procedure of the procession. It contains the bringing of the pitcher filled with the water to the temple with the sounds of musical instruments and dancing. The bathing ceremony is also accompanied by dances/nṛṭta, instrumental music, and songs. It also says that from the next day onwards, the performances by naṭa-narṭaka (actors-dancers), narṭaki (female dancers), malla (wrestler), and indrajālika (magician) is to be organized. Additionally, the text says that even the spectators also get the śreya or benefit of the ongoing pious activity.

This is how the dances are mentioned in the rituals of an installation of Vaikuntha Viṣṇu in the VDP *khanda* III.

The above dance references in the Pratiṣṭhā-kalpa represent the last stage of the plan of Vaiṣṇavisation of the tradition, of *nṛtta*. First, a systematic background of the implications of various disciplines has been created and explained using pedagogical logic, then the required elements are embedded in the technical-mythological data and then the ritual application is revealed.

The temple religion had two characteristics, one that would deal with the rituals inside the sanctum and the second, organizing festivals outside of it. Some of the theories mentioned in the methodology chapter are important in understanding the inter-disciplinary nature of temple ceremonies. Above references and the entire liturgical design display its close affinity with the pattern that has been documented in the *kriyāpaṭalas* of *āgama* or *saṃhitā* literature. *Āgamas*, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, contain the iconographical and architectural instructions along with few vague references to dance and music as a part of the elaborate temple ritual.

It can be inferred from the NrS and the above references that the VDP khanda III is the systematic expansion of the cultural material of $\bar{a}gamas$, especially of music and performing arts which are not explained in detail in the $\bar{a}gamas$ but are essential in the liturgical program. It targets the religious involvement of artists, like musicians,

singers, dancers, painters and sculptors, in the congregational formation of temple religion. Thus the ritual involvement of *nṛtta* becomes clearer.

An exquisite specimen of high relief black stone sculpture of Viṣṇu Śeṣaśāyin (AD 900) referred to in the introduction sums up the entire discussion (Plate 4). The six-armed deity is attended by four women. One is dancing accompanied by the group of four musicians in front of Viṣṇu who is sitted with legs spread on the serpent coil. The panel represents the core idea of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III.

Chapter V: Analysis of Chapters 32 and 33

V.1. Introduction

Chapter number 32 and 33 of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III are named Rahasya *mudrā* and Nṛttaśāstra *mudrā*. These chapters occur just before the last 34th chapter in the section of the NrS. In both the chapters, the technical instructions for the physical execution of *mudrās* have been given.

The Rahasya *mudrā* chapter is in prose and consists of gestures of syllables, Vaiṣṇava deities, their emblems, vehicles, attributes etc. along with the gestures for five elements, sun and moon and Veda-vedāngas. The *mudrās* given in this chapter are:

V.1.1. Summary of Chapter 32: Rahasya *Mudrās*

The chapter begins by declaring that 'now I shall explain the *mudrāhasta*.' The summary is as follows.¹

1. The *oṃkāra* When the left forefinger is curved on the left thumb, it is called as *omkāra*.

2. The Varnāksara:

- When all the fingers beginning with the thumb curved one by one in the middle of the palm, they form the $mudr\bar{a}s$ for \Im or a, \Im or a, a, a.

- The Mukula is अं or am and Mukula-visesa is अः or ah.
- Group of $\overline{\Phi}$ / ka syllable: When the forefinger of the other hand touches the root of the thumb, it is $\overline{\Phi}$ varga.
- Group of \overline{d} /ta and \overline{d} /ba, \overline{d} /va, \overline{d} /sa, \overline{d} /ta, \overline{d} /ya, \overline{d} /ya, \overline{d} /ya syllable: When the forefinger touches the lowest line of the thumb, it forms \overline{d} varga. When the forefinger touches above the lowest line, it creates $mudr\bar{a}s$ for \overline{d} , \overline{d}

¹ The details of *mudrās* given hereafter are not the word to word translation but a summary. The critical edition and the identification by Shah have been followed. The comments are noted in the analysis section.

forefinger is put on the first phalange of the thumb, it creates the gestures for $\overline{4}$ or $\overline{4}$ varga, and when forefingers touch the foremost or tip of the thumb, it is \overline{A} varga.

- When a middle finger touches the nail (of the thumb), it is \sqrt{ra} , $\sqrt{6}/ha$, $\sqrt{6}$
- 3. Varnāksara and the Patron Vvūha Deities:
- अ is Vāsudeva.
- आ is Samkarsana.
- अं is Pradyumna.
- अः is Aniruddha.
- 4. Anjali is for Purusa.
- 5. Insignias of *Vyūha* Deities:
- When the backside of two palms touch each other in such manner that little finger touches little finger, forefinger to forefinger and thumb to thumb it form Tārksya.²
- When in the Patāka the tips of fingers are bent it creates the Tāla $mudr\bar{a}$.
- When the thumb is extended transversely, it makes Makara $\textit{mudr}\bar{a}$.
- When fingers are bent, it is an Ardhacandra *mudrā*.
- 6. Attributes of Vișnu
- When in Śikhara, fingers are touched to the little finger and thumb is joined, it becomes śańkha.
- When fingers touch one another in two अ:कार mudrās, it is known as the Padma.
- 7. The crooked thumb is Laksmī.
- 8. Visnu on Śesa:
- When in Makara *mudrā* fingers are extended, it is called Śesa.
- When the Śikhara is placed on the Makara, it becomes Bhogaśayana.

² It is the emblem of Viṣṇu.

³ An emblem of Saṃkarṣaṇa. ⁴ An emblem of Pradyumna.

- 9. Visnu on Garuda:
- In the প্ৰ:কাर mudrā, when the middle finger is drawn-out, it is called garuḍa.
- In the $mudr\bar{a}$ mentioned above, when the extended middle finger is clasped in Śikhara, it is known as Garuḍavāhana.

10. Attributes of *Vyūha* Deities:

- When the tips of two middle fingers and two thumbs are attached, it forms cakra.
- When two Kapitthas are placed on each other and positioned under the chin, it becomes $gad\bar{a}$.
- When in Kapittha, the middle finger is curved, it creates *hala*.
- The gesture of Karkataka is musala.
- When in Kapittha, the middle finger is bent downwards, it becomes *carma*.
- When the fingers are touched at the back of the Kapittha, it forms *khadga*.
- When in Śikhara, the middle finger is bent downwards, it creates *dhanu*.
- Detaching the joined forefinger, middle finger and thumb forms śara.
- When the little finger is gathered in the Mukula, it makes *kaustubha*.
- Two separated Śikharas creates vanamālā.

11. Vibhavas of Vișņu:

- When two distinct अ:कार mudrās touch each other, it creates Nṛṣiṁha.
- In Śikhara, the little finger extended downwards makes Varāha.
- The $mudr\bar{a}$ of ξ is Hayasira.
- The *mudrā* of औं is Vāmana.
- The *vitasti*⁵ is shown by expanding the little finger and thumb is known as Trivikrama.
- Ardhacandra is Matsya.
- When the curved Patāka is shown facing downwards, it creates Kūrma.
- When the little finger is stretched in Śikhara, and the thumb is turned upwards, it is known as Hamsa.
- When Patāka is arched at the palm's centre, it forms Dattātreya.
- Kapittha is for Paraśurāma.
- For Dāśarathi, two Śikharas are joined.

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⁵ The span of twelve *angulas*.

- Patāka is for Kṛṣṇa.
- Tripatāka is for Baladeva.
- Śikhara is for Viṣṇu.

12. Five Elements:

- Patāka lying on the back is for Pṛthvī/earth.
- When the thumb is extended in the arched Patāka, it is *toya*/water.
- When the tip of the thumb rubs over the nails of fingers, it becomes *agni*/fire.
- Moving Patāka is for *vāyu*/wind.
- In an oblique Musti, when the forefinger is extended, it makes *antarikṣa*/space.

13. The Solar and Lunar Gestures:

- When two *vitastis* are joined, it makes *arka*.
- When the ring finger is half bent, it creates *candra*.

14. Other Gods:

- In Mukula, when the forefinger and middle finger are stretched, it makes Nara-Nārāyaṇa.
- When in the above gesture, the ring finger is also extended; it signifies *triguṇas* of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas as well as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara.
- Spreading the fingers of the left hand and putting the right hand on it similarly creates Kapila.

15. Veda-vedāngas:

- When four fingers are stretched, and a thumb is curved at its root, it makes the gesture of four Vedas.
- To show Rgveda little finger is extended.
- Along with the gesture mentioned above, when *anāmikā* or the ring finger is extended, it is Yajurveda.
- When four fingers are stretched along with the thumb, it makes Sāmaveda.
- When all the fingers are tied together and move towards the middle of the palm, it creates Gāyatrī.
- In the Sāmaveda gesture, when the fingers are facing downwards, it forms Śikṣā.
- When the above gesture turns to the south, it makes Kalpa.

- When the forefinger and a thumb are joined, it is Vyākaraṇa.
- In the Śikhara, when the thumb touches the middle of the forefinger, it forms Nirukta.
- Khaṭakāmukha is Jyotiṣa.
- Downward Khaṭakāmukha is Chandoviciti.

The chapter ends with a verse in which Mārkaṇḍeya says to Vajra that I have told you these Rahasya *mudrās*. Hereafter I shall speak about the *sāmānya mudrās* for your knowledge.

V.1.2. Summary of Chapter 33: Nṛttaśāstra mudrā

The 33rd chapter contains more than hundred mudrās of mixed affiliation mostly of Śaiva-Śākta, Vaisnava and Saura sects. The chapter is composed in verse format, total 126 in number. The *mudrās* cited in this chapter are: 6 1.Bhasma, 2.Linga 3. Jatā 4. Netra 5. Śaśānka 6. Govṛṣa 7. Paryasta 8. Paṭṭi 9. Dikṣā 10. Ananta 11. Dharma 12. Jñāna 13. Vairāgya 14. Aiśvarya 15. Padma 16. Sakala 17. Niṣkalarūpiņī 18. Devī 19. Śaktyākāra 20. Skanda 21. Vighnarāja 22. Śakra 23. Hutāśana 24. Virūpāksa 25. Vārunī 26. Mārutī 27. Kauberī 28. Iśānī 29. Brahmana 30. Anantabhoga 31. Vajra 32. Danda 33. Khadga 34. Patākā prasrta 35. Gadā 36. Śūla 37. Dravyarūpā 38. Vaisnavī 39. Ghṛta 40. Gandha 41. Puṣpa 42. Dhūpa 43. Dīpa 44. Naivedya 45. Puṣpa 46. Mahāmudrā 47. Amṛtā 48. Caṇḍiśa 49. Astra 50. Sadyojāta 51. Vāmadeva 52. Aghora 53. Vajra 54. Iśāna 55. Vyoma 56. Sarvātmana 57. Śiva 58. Śikhā 59. Pingala 60. Astra 61. Gāyatrī 62. Śakti 63. Namaskāra 64. Dhvaja 65. Śaśakarņi 66. Mukula 67. Pankaja 68. Āvāhini 69. Niṣṭhurā 70. Linga 71. Visarjana 72. Bhaga 73. Linga 74. Jīrna 75. Kairinī 76. Viśva 77. Vyoma 78. Astra 79. Netrapradaršita 80. nine Śaktis 81. Namaskāra 82. Ravi 83. Soma 84. Bhauma 85. Budha 86. Jīva 87. Śukra 88. Śani 89. Rāhu 90. Ketu 91. Krodha 92. Varāha 93. Bhairavī 94. Pātālabhanjinī 95. Stambhanī 96. Krodhinī 97. Bīja 98. Bhairavī 99. Stambhanī 100. Vārāhī 101. Pātālabhanjinī 102. Śankha 103. Cakra 104. Suṣirā 105. Gadā 106. Kaustubha 107. Vanamālā 108. Nārasimhī 109. Hṛda 110. Śikṣā 111. Kavaca 112. Gadā 113. Netra 114. Aśvaśiras 115. Pramadā 116. Vāsudeva 117. Samkarṣaṇa 118. Pradyumna 119. Aniruddha.

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⁶ As given in the critical edition.

Following is the summary of the technical specifications of all these *mudras*:

1. Bhasma, Linga, Jaṭā, Netra, Śaśānka, Govṛṣa, Paryasta, Paṭṭi (Verses 1 to 7)

The *mudrās* are interconnected in their execution. Starting with the Bhasma in which the hand is resting on the back, the four fingers are curved, and the thumb is joined sideways. When the thumb is diagonally raised in this gesture, it becomes Linga *mudrā*. Then when the *tarjanī* is outraised, and the remaining three fingers are positioned upon the thumb, it is known as Jaṭā or the *mudrā* of dreadlocks. In this gesture, when the raised *tarjanī* is taken closer to the corner of an eye, it creates a Netra *mudrā*. At the same time, when the extended thumb is put over the head lying on the back, it becomes Śaśānka or the moon gesture. Govṛṣa or the bull gesture is to be made by placing both hands above the head with stretched and rounded fingers. The *paryasta* means to throw or cast. When the bull gesture is made slanted with all fingers bent but covering the thumb with the middle finger, it becomes Paryasta *mudrā*. When the little finger is placed on the thumb, and all remaining fingers are raised, it creates the Paṭṭi or the three-pointed spear *mudrā*.

2. Dīkṣā (Verse 8A)

When the thumb is placed in between the little finger and $an\bar{a}mik\bar{a}$, it becomes the Dīkṣā $mudr\bar{a}$.

3. Ananta and Dharma, Jñāna, Vairāgya, Aiśvarya (Verses 8B to 12)

When the fingers are entwined in the hands lying on their backs, and thumbs are placed at the ends of small fingers, it creates Ananta. When the right hand is positioned on the back of the left hand, and their nails are joined. It becomes a Dharma hand gesture. The same gesture is made oppositely; it forms the Jñāna. When pairs of two little fingers and two thumbs are extended, it makes a $mudr\bar{a}$ of Vairāgya. This $mudr\bar{a}$ is said to be the doer of all deeds and auspicious. When both hands are attached from behind, the little finger is attached to the little finger and the thumb to the thumb, it becomes Aiśvarya $mudr\bar{a}$.

4. Padmākāra (Verse 13)

In the Padmākāra, the little finger and forefinger are connected, and the other four fingers are raised.

5. Sakala-Nişkalarūpiņī (Verses 14B to 17A)

The Sakala is attached with the previous $mudr\bar{a}$ of Padma. To form the Padma gesture, the backs of both the hands are linked, $kanisth\bar{a}$ and $tarjan\bar{\imath}$ are joined. The rest of the fingers are stretched. On this hand, when thumbs are brought to one side as

if holding a lotus stalk, it becomes the Sakala $mudr\bar{a}$. Three middle fingers are bent, and the little finger, along with the thumb, is separated. The raised right thumb is wrapped with the left thumb, and the left thumb is wrapped with right fingers, and left fingers are covered on the right fingers, and the $tarjan\bar{\imath}s$ are bent it creates Niṣkalarūpin $\bar{\imath}$ $mudr\bar{a}$.

6. Devī, Śaktyākāra and Skanda – Vighnarāja (Verses 17B to 23A)

The Devī $mudr\bar{a}$ is formed, the backs of two hands are attached, the fingers are curved so that nails are not seen, and the thumbs are placed evenly. It is noted that it should resemble the shape of a garland. Then to make the next goddess gesture, all the fingers are joined and contracted in the middle of the palm. It is Śaktyākāra.

For Skanda, hand to be turned down and the three fingers, mainly $tarjan\bar{\imath}$, $madhyam\bar{a}$ and $an\bar{a}mik\bar{a}$ are contracted. In this gesture, when the $madhyam\bar{a}$ is slightly curved, and the thumb is positioned on $tarjan\bar{\imath}$ it creates the $mudr\bar{a}$ of Vighnarāja.

7. Śakra, Hutāśana, Virūpākṣa, Vārūṇī, Mārūtī, Kauberī, Iśānī, Brahmaṇa and Anantabhoga and Vajra, Śakti, Daṇḍa, Khaḍga, Patākā-prasṛta, Gadā and Śūla (Verses 24 to 36)

When two hands are resting on the back, and tarjanī and thumb are joined, both are attached in the left makes Sakra gesture. When the nails of both hands are contracted in the middle of the palm, and the stretched thumb is laid flat, it is the Hutāśana mudrā. The hand is turned upside down, and the curved fingers are stretched; it makes the gesture of Virūpākṣa. When in the raised hands the fingers are extended it becomes Vārūnī mudrā. When the same gesture is made diagonal, it forms Mārūtī mudrā. When all the fingers are curved in the same gesture, it creates Kauberī. In the same gesture, when only the three middle fingers are drawn out, it becomes Iśānī. For Brahmana, it is Padma *mudrā*, which is said to be known by the name Anantabhoga. The joined right and left hands are separated from each other. Then the tips of the two index fingers are captured. Then the remaining six fingers are to be compressed, and the right index finger is to be placed on the right thumb and the left index finger on the left thumb. It is a Vajra mudrā. It is said that Śakti mudrā has already been mentioned. When both hands and arms are spread, it becomes a Danda gesture. The thumb is curved between the little finger and ring finger, and the pair of four fingers are extended. It makes the Khadga. Round the left index finger and place it on the

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⁷ Shah considers Brahmana and Ananatbhoga as different gestures.

thumb. Raise the remaining three fingers of the left hand. Then lift the left thumb with the fist of the left hand. Holding this thumb with the right hand, it creates the Patākā-prasṛta. Squeezing four fingers with the hand tilted and spreading the thumb makes the Gadā $mudr\bar{a}$. When both hands are connected, the little finger and thumbs together and the pair is stretched, it is a Śūla $mudr\bar{a}$.

8. Dravyarūpā, Vaiṣṇavī, Ghṛta, Gandha, Puṣpa, Dhūpa, Dipa, Naivedya, Puṣpa, Mahāmudrā (Verses 37 to 51)

When hands are stretched and (shaped) in 'svastyākāra', the middle and the little finger are extended from the tips, and the curved tarjanīs are put on the back of the madhyamā, it creates the Dravyarūpā mudrā. It is used to assign the ātmabhāva. When the hands are resting on the back, and the six fingers mentioned previously are joined equally, it becomes a Vaiṣṇavī gesture. To form a Ghṛta mudrā, one should place the two bent tarjanīs on the back of the middle finger and the two thumbs on the end of the little fingers. The left-hand lies on the back, the right is upside down, and the curved madhyamās and anāmikās are positioned on the thumbs. madhyamās cover tarjanī and kanyakā it forms gandha, the second Dravyarūpā mudrā.⁸ The Puspa mudrā is created by contracting four fingers, two madhyamās stretched and two tarjanīs placed on the two thumbs. When the hands are lying on the back, and six fingers are curved, the tips of stretched tarjanīs are joined, and the thumbs are touching the roots of tarjanīs, it becomes the Dhūpa gesture. When all four fingers are extended, and the stretched tarjanī touches the other tarjanī and so does the kanīyasī to kanīyasī at the backs, and the thumbs are raised, it is known as the Dīpa mudrā. When the joined backs of the stretched fingers of both the hands attach to the tips of the thumbs, it forms the Naivedya gesture. The gesture is known as the 'Phalakāra', which means it brings rewards. The second type of Puspa $mudr\bar{a}$ has been explained to be done with all fingers being kept together and arched. The last Mahāmudrā is called the sarvadravya-prapūranī; it is the fulfillment of all substances. When the two thumbs, anāmikās and kanīyasīs are attached, and the madhyamā s are curved on the anāmikās so does the tarjanī on madhyamās it forms the Mahāmudrā.

9. Amṛtā (Verses 52 and 53)

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⁸ According to Shah, the mention of 'second Dravyarūpā $mudr\bar{a}$ ' is attributed to the next gesture of Puṣpa, (1961:82).

When the $an\bar{a}mik\bar{a}$ and the $madhyam\bar{a}$ are entwined, the tips of the $madhyam\bar{a}$ and the two $tarjan\bar{\imath}s$ are attached; similarly, the end of the little finger is touched to the end of the $an\bar{a}mik\bar{a}$, and two thumbs are partially extended, it becomes Amṛtā $mudr\bar{a}$.

10. Caṇḍīśa (Verse 54A)

In Anjali hand gesture, when the index finger is made crooked, it becomes Caṇḍīśa mudrā.

11. Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Iśāna (Verses 55 to 62)

Sadyojāta is formed with the fist made of the right hand, and the thumb is extended and placed on the left thumb. Further, the right hand's fist is draped by the left-hand fingers. When the gesture mentioned above is made reversely, it creates the $mudr\bar{a}$ of Vāmadeva. The Aghora gesture instructions are not clear. After forming a sampuṭa, the middle fingers and thumbs are contracted. It mentions that one should form the shape of $s\bar{u}la$. When the little finger and $an\bar{a}mik\bar{a}$ are intertwined, and the rest of the fingers are stretched, it makes $ls\bar{a}na mudr\bar{a}$.

12. Vajra: another version (Verse 60 to 61A)

When both the hands are placed on their backs and both the ring fingers are contracted, both the thumb and the index finger are curled, and the little finger, ring and middle finger are placed on one side, creating Vajra.

13. Vyomna (Verses 63 to 64)

When both the forefinger and the little finger are contracted and kept in the middle of the palm facing downwards with nails touching it, the other four fingers are raised behind the back of the thumb so that it is shaped like a $n\bar{a}la$ it is the Vyomna.

14. Sarvātman (Verse 65)

When in the Muṣṭi of the left hand, the index finger is spread, and it is held with the fist of the right hand it makes the *mudrā* of Sarvātman.

15.Śiva (Verse 66)

When the right thumb is placed in Muṣṭi of the left hand, and the rest of the fingers are placed on the back of the fist, it is Śiva $mudr\bar{a}$.

16. Śikhā (Verse 67)

When the middle finger is spread, and all the fingers curved and kept as if hidden in the palm, it forms the Śikhā hand gesture.

17. Pingala and Astra (Verses 69, 70A)

When three fingers of the left hand are tilted, the little finger is kept on it, and the other four fingers are bent down with the right thumb over it, it forms the Pingala $mudr\bar{a}$. In the above gesture, when the ring finger is tied, it becomes an Astra $mudr\bar{a}$.

18. Namaskāra, Dhvaja, Śaśakarṇi, Mukula, Pankaja, Āvāhini, Niṣṭhurā, Linga and Visarjana (Verses 70 to 79A)

Anjali is positioned in the chest forms Namaskāra. In the Kapittha gesture, when the *tarjanī* is grasped by the Śikhara hand, it makes Dhvaja. When hands are lying on the back, two wrists press each other, and the fingers move with two *tarjanī*s linked to the thumb. It makes Śaśakarni *mudrā*. Folding the two hands in a circular form with fingers slightly bent is a Mukula gesture, and in this gesture, fingers are stretched, which creates Pankaja. When the two palms resting on the back and the thumbs are contracted in the middle, it makes the Āvāhini *mudrā*. For Niṣṭhurā, the thumbs are curved and wrapped by the fingers of their respective hands, and such hands are facing each other. To form a Linga *mudrā*, the raised right thumb is covered by the left thumb, and the remaining fingers of the right wrap the left's remaining fingers. Finally, the text relates the Visarjana gesture with the previously told Aiśvarya in which the backs of both hands are attached so that the little finger and thumb are joined.

19. Gāyatrī (Verses 70B to 71A)

When the hands and fingers are lying on the back, it is a Gāyatrī mudrā.

20. Śakti (Verse 71B to 72A)

When the fingers in the Muṣṭi are extended one by one from the little finger to the index finger, it makes a Śakti $mudr\bar{a}$.

21. Bhaga-Linga (Verses 79B to 80A)

Bhaga is formed when two *vitastis* are joined. When the Muṣṭi is rubbed, it makes Linga $mudr\bar{a}$.

22. Jīrņa (Verse 80B)

Rubbing one's lips on the Samdasta hand is the Jīrṇa *mudrā*.

23. Kairiņī, Viśva, Vyoma, Astra and Netrapradarśita, Śakti, Ravi, Soma, Bhauma, Budha, Jīva, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu, Ketu (Verses 83 to 95)

When like karapallava, both arms are spread and contracted in their forearm. After this, the tips of the fingers are curled in half. Then the curled index finger is placed on the thumb, and the arms are bent separately. It is the Kairin $mudr\bar{a}$, and Sūrya is its presiding deity.

Then there are four gestures noted; Viśva, Vyoma, Astra and Netrapradarśita. By holding the *padmākāra*/lotus-like shape of both the hands and placing their middle fingers pressed against each other, and held by one finger, it becomes a Viśva *mudrā*. When both hands face each other and fingers are closely connected and tied, the little finger and the index finger are placed in the middle, known as the Vyoman *mudrā*. Here it is mentioned in setting this *mudrā* on the heart, head and hair tuft. When the fist is raised, and the sound is made in the middle of the other hand with its index finger, it creates an Astra *mudrā*. When the middle and forefinger of the left hand are upraised and the little finger, ring finger and thumb are bent, it is a Netrapradarśita.

To form the Sakti $mudr\bar{a}$, two hands are resting on the back, all fingers are bent, and the thumb is placed on them, moving repeatedly. After this, the chapter lists the gestures of nine planets beginning with the Ravi $mudr\bar{a}$.

The Namaskāra is the same as Anjali but with extended hands. To form Ravi *mudrā*, the Samdamśa with *anāmikā* is told. Samdamśa is one of the single-hand gestures mentioned in the NS. Now the gestures for Soma, Bhauma, and Budha are also to be made as Samdamśa with *madhyamā*, *anāmikā* and *kaniyasi* respectively. One by one, the thumb touching the roots of the *kaniṣṭhā*, *anāmikā*, *madhyamā* and *tarjanī* form the gestures for Jīva or Guru, Śukra, Śani and the Rāhu respectively. The Ketu is to be executed by a moving *tarjanī* in the Rāhu *mudrā*.

24. Krodha, Varāha, Bhairavī, Pātālabhanjinī, Stambhanī, Krodhinī, Bīja, Bhairavī, Stambhanī, Vārāhi, Pātālabhanjinī (Verses 96 to104)

When the Śikhara is done with the left hand, it is known as Krodha *mudrā*. To form the Varāha, two hands should be put in a *sampuṭa* that is one hand kept on the other, making a hemispherical shape or a hollow bowl, and such hands should be raised upwards on the left side. It is stated to be the fulfiller of all actions and auspicious. When the right hand is enveloped by the left hand, it makes the Bhairavī. When both hands with vision are downward, it is the Pātālabhanjinī. When the ring finger is extended in the Kapittha, it creates the mudra of Stambhanī.

25. Śankha, Cakra, Suṣirā, Gadā, Kaustubha and Vanamālā (Verses 106 to 110A)

The Śankha hand gesture occurs when the index finger, middle and ring finger are attached in the middle joints at the back. It is also stated here that the gesture of the same name mentioned earlier was different. When all fingers are spread out and placed on the back of a hand, a Cakra *mudrā* is formed. As mentioned earlier, it is

also stated that this gesture is different from the one mentioned earlier. The $mudr\bar{a}$ is called Suṣirā when a fist is arranged on the lumbar region. The same is noted as Gadā $mudr\bar{a}$, which removes all obstacles. When the hands are face to face, and the fingers are intertwined with thumbs, it creates Kaustubha $mudr\bar{a}$. When the vanhi gesture of the left hand and Śikhara of the right touch each other, it becomes Vanamālā $mudr\bar{a}$.

26. Nārasiṃhī (Verse 110B to 112A)

It says when two hands from the Dravya $mudr\bar{a}$ is placed upon the thigh, and a part of it is placed on the chin, and the mouth is opened with the shining tongue as if licking it is called Mahāmudrā Nārasimhī.

27. Hṛn, Śikṣā, Kavaca, Gadā, Netra, Aśvaśirasa (Verses 112B to 117)

When the fist clutches the thumb, it is known as the Hṛn $mudr\bar{a}$. When the thumb is tied with the fist and tilted, and the index finger touches the fist, it creates Śikṣā. When two fists are attached to the side of the index finger, it makes the Kavaca $mudr\bar{a}$. When the fingers are joined by the fists of both the hands, it is a Gadā $mudr\bar{a}$. This $mudr\bar{a}$ is also said to be a gratifier of all actions and auspicious. The $mudr\bar{a}$ of Netra is to be made by spreading the rest of the fingers except the index and thumbs connected sideways. The $mudr\bar{a}$ is the divine Aśvaśirasa; when the ring finger is twisted and attached to the index finger, the middle finger is upraised, and the two thumbs are connected.

28. Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha (Verses 118B to 123A)

For the Vāsudeva gesture, the left Muṣṭi with the thumb is extended. The right Muṣṭi with the thumb is binding it. Then both the thumbs are attached and raised. When the little finger and the thumb of both hands are hidden, and remaining fingers are joined and extended, it forms Saṃkarṣaṇa $mudr\bar{a}$. The $tarjan\bar{\imath}$ s are extended and attached, and thumbs in their even places are joined; it makes Pradyumna $mudr\bar{a}$. When the fingers are curved in the shape of \dot{surpa} (a winnowing basket), and two thumbs are enwrapped under, it makes the $mudr\bar{a}$ of Aniruddha.

V.2. Analysis of Chapters 32 and 33: The Rahasya and The Nṛttaśāstra *Mudrā*

The concept of *mudrā* has been referred to with various connotations across the disciplines. For our use, however, the artistic and religious implications are important. On the religious front, *mudrās* have been the part of not just Brahmanic religions like Śaiva, Śākta or Vaiṣṇava, Saura etc. but also greatly influenced Buddhist and Jaina

worshipping systems. The Yogic postures and gestures are also known as $mudr\bar{a}$, which broadly entails the preservation of $pr\bar{a}na$ or vital energy in human body.

The thought of hand gestures in the Indian iconography and dance is developed concurrently on parallel grounds having cultural interactions. The NS is the oldest text which describes the 24 single-hands gestures or *asamyuta hasta* and 13 *samyuta* or the gestures executed with both the hands. It is to be noted that Bharata has used the term *hasta* for all kinds of hand gestures. In the NrS, however, the chapters of the Rahasya and the Nṛttaśāstra contain *mudrās* and they trigger interest for many reasons. The primary reason is that these are different gestures than the one mentioned by Bharata. Secondly, they scarcely show affiliation with the performing arts, yet they are placed in the dance text. Lastly, it is essential to understand it as a curious give and take between art and religion.

Definitions of the term *mudrā*:

- 1. Monier-Williams:⁹
- A token of divine attribute impressed upon the body.
- Position or intertwining of fingers commonly practised in religious worship and supposed to possess an occult meaning and magical efficacy.
- A mystery.

2. R.Vasudev Poduval defines '*mudrā*' as follows. ¹⁰

The $mudr\bar{a}s$ are symbols of hand that are represented by visible signs, the expression or the suggestion of an idea by resemblance or convention. They form a language and have peculiar symbolism and significance in their usage. The term $mudr\bar{a}$ is borrowed from Hindu religious vocabulary and signifies its technical acceptance and connotation of the poses given to the hands during the exposition of an idea. These $mudr\bar{a}s$ are not similar to hieroglyphics and are more expressive and powerful than the spoken language.

3. Andre Padoux:¹¹

Mudrā appears in ritual as actions that combine bodily postures or gestures and mental or spiritual elements; as bodily actions which simultaneously are moments of religious and/or mystical experience.

4. Frederique Bunce: ¹²

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⁹ 1986:822.

¹⁰ 1932: 6-7.

¹¹ 1990:66.

Iconic attributes are not limited to objects held or worn but also apply to bodily forms. Among the most important of these traits are the ritual positions held by the hands of the various deities known as *mudrās* or *hastas*. Besides, many *tāntrika mudrās* are carried by devotees, priests, or lamas participating in a specific ceremony.

Conventionally, $mudr\bar{a}$ is considered beneficial and the cause to create pleasure amongst gods. Significantly, it closes the gap between a devotee and his god as it is a channel of identifying a self with the highest one. The etymologies for $mudr\bar{a}$ are as follows.

- mudam rāti dadāti iti mudrā¹³ It offers pleasure (to god).
- $modayati\ dr\bar{a}vat\bar{\iota}\ ca\ iti\ mudr\bar{a}^{14}$ Pleases (gods); abolishes or removes the sins; it melts hearts or melts away the sins or inauspiciousness.

Tantrasāra quotes (Śabdakalpadruma) modanāt sarvadevānām drāvaņāt pāpasaṃtateḥ | tasmānmudreti sā khyātā sarvakāmārthasādhanī ||

The Svacchanda and Yoginīhṛdaya Tantra identify *mudrā* as the *kriyāśakti*. Abhinavagupta, while describing the greatness of *mudrā* (as posture), says that it is a *pratibimba* or a reflection of a *bimba* that is the soul, and it accords delight to a performer. By the 9th century AD, the use of *mudrās* in worshipping a deity undoubtedly reached its peak. Śankara in his Saundaryalahari (verse 29) says, 'my every action may be taken as your worship, my gibbering as your *japa*, my movements as *mudrā* and my strolling as the *pradakṣiṇā*. Whatever I eat and drink, be taken as your offering, my lying down as the prostration and my enjoyments only for you.'

V.2.1. Mudrās in Some Pāñcarātra Samhitās

To understand the cognizance of *mudrās* given in the NrS, we need to scan the Pāñcarātra texts since the VDP does not talk about the use of hand gestures in the rituals. *Saṃhitās* shed light on the connotations as well as technical facts on *mudrās* in the Pāñcarātra liturgy. Following are the details from some of them, out of which one

¹² 2005:Intro.xxv-xxvi.

¹³ Ed. Tripathi (1991) Introduction to Rudrayāmala I.pp28-29.

¹⁴ Ed. Dwivedi (1988) Yoginihṛdaya 1.57.

¹⁵ Svacchanda Tantra (1985) 4.357; Yoginīhṛdaya (1988)1.56.

¹⁶ Tantrāloka ānhika 32.

belongs to the $ratnatray\bar{\imath}^{17}$. The information given below offers required insight to discuss the aspects of $mudr\bar{a}s$ mentioned in the NrS.

- **1. Jayākhya Saṁhitā:** Dated to 450/500 AD, the Jayākhya is also referred to by Kashmirian Utpala Vaiṣṇava (10th century AD). The *saṃhitā* with its *tāntrika* element possibly completed before the 6th century AD. The text reveals details about the *mudrās* in the 8th *paṭala* named 'Mudrābandhanirūpaṇa'. There are forty-eight *mudrās* listed in the chapter. It says,
- Mudrās confer bhukti, the worldly enjoyments and mukti, the ultimate liberation.
- The $mudr\bar{a}s$ of $m\bar{u}lamantras$ are of utmost importance, and the rest of them come later. $M\bar{u}lamantras$ are everything, and they should be recited along with the $mudr\bar{a}s$. The process is known as $mantranav\bar{a}sa$.
- The occasions of $mudr\bar{a}s$ are $sn\bar{a}nak\bar{a}la$, $jal\bar{a}ntara$, $\bar{a}tmany\bar{a}sa$, end of the $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$, $man\dot{q}ala$, $arc\bar{a}$, $mantraviny\bar{a}sa$, at the time of sharing the water from $arghyap\bar{a}tra$ and at the end of the $p\bar{u}rn\bar{a}huti$.
- *Mudrā*s are to be used to appease the violent and calm down the obstacles.
- In the process of mānasayāga, mudrās are to be performed to invite the deities.
- **2. Ahirbudhnya Samhitā:** Composed in Kashmir, the *samhitā* is assigned to the 8th century AD.¹⁹
- In the 19th chapter of Angopānga-mantrodhhāra, the occasions of applying *mudrās* are mentioned. They are *abhiṣeka*, *dikṣāniyama*, *bhūtaśudhhi-vidhi* and *dhyāna*.
- **3. Viṣṇu Saṁhitā**: *Paṭala* seven of Viṣṇu Saṁhitā, is about the Mudrālakṣaṇa. The main aspects are -
- The *mudrās* are the well-protected secret used in the *nyāsa*.
- The *mudrā*s are for *mānasa-rūpa* that is perceiving god on the mind level.
- Persons who seek salvation can perform the $mudr\bar{a}s$; others can execute them to praise the deity. It is strictly stated that $mudr\bar{a}s$ should not be performed by other than these two groups without reason.
- Notably, it says that the application of $mudr\bar{a}s$ is meant to recognize the secret of tantra.
- *Mudrās* please gods and melt the hearts of demons.

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¹⁷ Sāttvata, Jayākhya and Pauṣkara are considered tobe the three gems of Pāñcarātra scriptures.

¹⁸ Mental appropriation or assignment of various parts of the body to tutelary deities is known as the *nyāsa*, an important *tāntrika* ritual.

¹⁹ Gonda (1977) 85.

- *Mudrās* cannot be taught or told as they are limitless. They should be applied to show reverence to gods. A person who does not know *mudrās* can perform only Anjali on the heart or forehead while worshipping Acyuta.
- Wise people should preserve the secret of *mudrās*.
- The text also describes the categories of *mudrās*.
- a. Sāmānya mudrā These are for all gods and formed with mantras to attain siddhis.
- b. *Karanyāsa* These are considered highly auspicious. If one fails to perform them, the future will not bear any fruits. Such acts will make gods angry, and all *siddhis* will be removed.
- c. $Gupta\ mudr\bar{a}$ These $mudr\bar{a}s$ are to be shown on suitable occasions. They fulfil each desire and are loved by all gods.
- d. It also says that $s\bar{a}m\bar{a}nya$, $vi\acute{s}e$, e, $a\dot{n}ga$ and $pariv\bar{a}ra$ these are the four types of $mudr\bar{a}s$.
- e. Anjali, Sādhāraṇi, Brahmānjali, Sānidhya and Sarva these are considered as *mudrā-pancaka*. Apart from this, twenty-three *mudrā*s are listed.
- **4. Parama Saṃhitā:**²⁰ The 14th chapter of Parama *saṃhitā* is about the Mudrāvicāra. Few major points are as under:
- $Mudr\bar{a}s$ please violent, melt those who watch them and appeal gods. They are to gain the favours of gods as they hold the highest secret of gods.
- Their benefits are many; one cannot talk enough about it.
- Sāmānya mudrās are for arcanā.
- They are to be used for Acyuta while visualizing his form.
- They are for wise men who desire mokşa. Others can also perform them in the devotion of god.²¹
- One should not show them in the assembly of men.
- They should be used with *mantras*, and they are *guhya*.
- Non-initiated should not display them. Such acts would make gods angry; they cannot generate any positive results.

²⁰ Based on the internal evidences Schrader thinks that the earliest *saṃhitās* are Pauṣkara, Vārāha, Brāhma which were followed by the Sāttvata, Ahirbudhnya, Pārameśvara, Jayākhya, Satnatkumāra, Parama, Padmodbhava, Māhendra, Kaṇva, Pādma and Iśvara, 1916:intro20. Gonda considers Param as one of the older works because it was quoted by Yāmuna 1977:94.

²¹ This verse is similar in Viṣṇu (7.41-42) and Parama saṃhitā (14.35). mānasaṃ rūpa saṃkalpaṃ mudrāṃ mokṣārthināṃ viduḥ itareṣāṃtu hastābhyāṃ prayogaḥ śasyate budhaiḥ

The above references from various *saṃhitā*s shed light on two significant features relevant to our purpose.

- 1. The esoteric character is proclaimed by words like *gopa*, *gupta* or *guhya*.
- 2. The categorization of *mudrās* under the names *sāmānya* and *gupta*.

Notably, the nomenclatures Rahasya and Sāmānya in the NrS projects both the aspects mentioned above.

Moreover, the interdisciplinary presence with changing context amongst religio-artistic realm is also important. Based on the above information, the following categories of hand gestures can be made.

- 1. saṃyuta, asaṃyuta and nṛtta hastas of the NS.
- 2. Ritual hand gestures are known as *mudrā*s performed by devotees.
- 3. Hand gestures of deities depicted in the iconography.
- 4. Yogic āsanas and mudrās.

The *hasta*s described by Bharata, indeed, represent highly developed gestural-symbolic language. However, post-NS, mainly in the early mediaeval period in the $\bar{a}gama$ worshipping system, which later walked through the path of *tantra*, application of *mudrās* gained a significant place. Simultaneously, in the iconography, the hands of gods holding various weapons and other attributes show the considerable influence of performing arts. From both the perspective, *mudrās* mentioned in the NrS are noteworthy.

V.2.2. Opinions by Scholars on Rahasya *Mudrā*

Hazra thinks that *mudrā*s mentioned in two chapters of the NrS are for the performance in dance, which is questionable for many reasons, which will be discussed later in the chapter.²² Shah appropriately identifies it as *tāntrika* hand gestures. She has consulted the *tantra* texts like Śāradā-tilaka, Vāmakeśvari, Jñānārṇava and the extracts of Tantrasāra and Kālikā Purāṇa given in the Śabdakalpadruma. However, she opines that it is difficult to trace the source from which the subject matter of *mudrā*s is adopted in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III.²³ It is to be noted that Shah neither refers to the Pāñcarātra *saṃhitās* nor she looks for the internal pieces of evidence in the VDP. Also Dr. Puru Dadheech precisely comments that it is a communication between *nṛtta* and *tantra* and between Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śākta *tantra*

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²² 1958:187.

²³ 1961:77.

traditions.²⁴ However, he does not get into the discussion of the layered religioartistic implications. Dr. Vibha Dadheech accepts the opinions put forth by Dr. Puru Dadheech and adds that these two chapters are meant to give a general knowledge of tāntrika hand gestures with the dance gestures. 25 Probably the famous encyclopedic character of purānas made her to form the opinion. However, these chapters's complex nature convey more than the 'general' information. According to Jeste, Rahasya *mudrās* signify gods. ²⁶ As the maximum gestures are named after gods, they symbolize the deity and their various aspects, theological and external.

Now hereafter we will try to understand the religious affiliation and connotation attached to these gestures along with the technical characteristics mainly by checking the internal evidence as found in the VDP and few Pāñcarātra samhitās as well as Śaivāgamas. The ritualistic context and the broad spiritual implication explained in those texts will be consulted. Also, the discussion of the tricky association of Rahasya and Nrttaśāstra mudrās with nrtta/dance shall take place eventually.

V.3. Rahasya *Mudrā*: Discussion and Analysis (Plates 22 to 33)

There are around 88 mudrās mentioned in the chapter.

V.3.1. Technical Aspects

1. Some Textual Remarks

The primary attempt to form these gestures by reading instructions highlights some technical characteristics.

There is logic in the technique that has been followed in finger's formation. Many times from the previous *mudrā*, the next is formed. E.g. In the set of vowel mudrās described in the beginning, in half the action of extending the fingers one by one is involved and in the next half reverse action of condensing the fingers is mentioned. Many *mudrās* are referred to earlier *mudrā*. Like Padma or Tārkṣya (Plate 25), Hayaśīra (Plate 29), Vāmana (Plate 29) and Nṛsimha are based on the vowel *mudrās* given before. Similarly, there are some *mudrās* in motion like Vāyū or Agni (Plate 31) and the paired mudrās to be done one after another like Dhanu and Sara

²⁴ 1990:161-162. ²⁵ 2003:241.

²⁶ 1973:187.

(Plate 28). Also, in summary, certain groups of *mudrās* are made based on their identification.

The information on some of them is unclear. E.g. the instructions of consonant *mudrās* are confusing since there are some recurrences, and overall ambiguity makes it difficult to comprehend its execution. Another major problem comes in the *mudrās* of symbols of gods. After Puruṣa *mudrā*, the chapter discloses *mudrās* for Tārkṣya, Tāla and Makara (Plate 26). These are the banners of Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa and Pardyumna respectively. According to ch.54 of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, the banner of Aniruddha is *mṛga* and *ṛṣya* as ch.98; both mean an antelope. Thus after telling the *mudrā* for Pradyumna's banner, there should be the *mudrā* of *mṛga*, the flag of Aniruddha. The text in the Rahasya *mudrā*, however, goes like this.

kuñcitāṃgulirardhacandraḥ | dṛśyaśikharau kanīyasyaṅgulyagralagnau saṃhatāguṣṭhaḥ śankhaḥ |

Keeping meanings in mind, probably the correct reading would be kuñcitāṃgulirardhacandraḥ / ṛṣyaśikharau kanīyasyaṅgulyagralagnau / saṃhatāguṣṭhaḥ śaṃkhaḥ. Instead of dṛṣya, it should be ṛṣya. Thus Ardhacandra and Ḥṣya will be two different mudrās.

Dr. Puru Dadheech takes the instruction dṛśyaśikharau kanīyasyangulyagralagnau for the mudrā of drsya which does not make any sense based on the scheme of mudrās. On the other hand, Shah takes it of the Ardhacandra and Śankha *mudrā*. ²⁷ So according to her, *kuñcitāmgulirardhacandrah* is for the gesture of Ardhacandra and drśyaśikharau kanīyasyangulyagralagnau samhatāgusthah śamkhah / is for Sankha.

2. Gadā Mudrā: An Interesting Interaction with the Regional Iconography

To form the Gadā mudra (Plate 27), one needs to place two Kapittha on each other and position them under the chin.²⁸ The gesture shows similarity with the peculiar Nṛṣiṁha found in the Kashmir region in which a seated Nṛṣiṁha rest his chin on hands set on the vertical $gad\bar{a}$ placed between his legs (Plate 19). One such is kept in the MET museum dated 7^{th} - 8^{th} century AD.²⁹ The famous Nṛṣiṁha installed at the

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²⁷ 1961:78.

²⁸ According to another reference of Vaiṣṇava mythology, Kapittha which means a fruit of wood apple was obtained from the churning of the sea and its deity is said to be Viṣṇu. Since then, this $mudr\bar{a}$ has become prevalent, Vibha Dadheech (2003049.

²⁹ https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/695136

Chaurasi temple of Bharmour, Chamba (HP) is another example in which his chin is rested on the front two hands of four-armed Nṛṣimha while he is seated in Pralambapādāṣana.³⁰ One specimen kept in the SPS museum belongs to the 6th century AD in which a squatted Nṛṣimha is holding a Gadā in between his legs; however, the chin is not touched to his hands and a protruding tip the tongue is visible.³¹ All are attributed to Kashmir style of iconography and the cult of Nṛṣimha.³² Interestingly in the image-making of Nṛṣimha documented in chapter 78.2 of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, 'the two hands resting on Gadā' is mentioned as one of the features. The MET specimen is the closest to the description of *mudrā* given in our text.

It could be a unique case since, in Jayākhya, 33 the Gadā $mudr\bar{a}$ is distinct and limited to the gesture formed by hands. The scenic adaptation of Gadā in the Rahasya $mudr\bar{a}$ probably is an interesting example of interdisciplinary interaction. Notably, the Nārasimhī hand gesture given in the next chapter of Nṛttaśāstra $mudr\bar{a}$ appears parallel. 34

V.3.2. The Religious Aspects

1. The 'Rahasya' of Mudrās

The nomenclature Rahasya *mudrā* has its religious significance in the Pāñcarātra thought. The first chapter of the VDP I reveals the core connotation attached to the concept of Rahasya, a secret or a mystery. According to it, the awareness of the fundamental nature of Viṣṇu is the *rahasya* of Vaiṣṇava religion. The connection with the Nārāyaṇiya of the Mbh has already been discussed previously. The references from various *saṃhitā*s also direct towards the belief that Viṣṇu in his entirety is Rahasya, e.g. the *mānasa yāga* is Rahasya, and the entire Pāñcarātra religion is the *rahasya-āmnāya*. The *mudrā*s are the mystical storehouses of this secret.

The gestures given in the 32^{nd} chapter are purely Vaiṣṇavite in terms of gods, symbols, and syllables representing the strong Pāñcarātra association. The categories and the characteristics of $mudr\bar{a}$ mentioned above from other $saṃhit\bar{a}s$ are also sufficient to understand the 'esoteric' thought behind the concept of ' $mudr\bar{a}$ '.

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³⁰ Siudmak (2013)177.

³¹ Ibid.178.

³² Nīlamata (1973) verse 191 mentions Nṛṣiṁha hermitage constructed by Hari in the vicinity of Naubandhana Mountain.

³³ Ed. E. Krishnamacharya (1931)8.41.

³⁴ Ch 33 112

³⁵ Sāttvata 1.15; Jayākhya 12.135; Pauskara36.444-446; Ahirbudhnya 20.12, 60.1.

Notably, in the Śaivite realm, too, the thought of Rahasya $mudr\bar{a}$ has been explored. Utpala in his Spanda-pradipikā refers to Kallaṭa's Tattvārthacintāmaṇi in which he explains Rahasya $mudr\bar{a}$, which denotes the knowledge of Śiva. Utpala mentions one Āgama-rahasya stotra and Rahasya stotra too. It means that the seed of any religious thought or the jnana of that principal deity is the 'rahasya' for that sect's adherents.

2. Inference of *Varṇotpatti* and the Cosmology of Pāñcarātra as Portrayed in the Rahasya *Mudrā*

There is a systematic progression found in the order of said *mudrā*s. First, it begins with Oṃkāra, the most sacred symbol of spirituality (Plate 22). After that, *varṇa mudrā*s have been told (Plates 22 to 24). Then it introduces the connection between *varṇas* and *vyūha* deities (Plate 25) followed by the gestures related to two chief manifestations of Viṣṇu also two important gods of Pāñcarātra religion that are the emanation as four-faced Vaikuṇṭha (Plates 2) and Viṣṇu Śeṣaśāyin (Plates 4, 6 and 26). Later it goes on telling the *mudrā*s for incarnations of Viṣṇu (Plates 29 and 30) and lastly narrates the gestures for the most sacred scriptures of Brahmanic religion Vedas and Vedāngas (Plate 32 and 33).

- The first hypothesis is that the gradual progression as seen in these *mudrās* and the reason it is called as Rahasya is probably that these gestures portray Pāñcarātra cosmology or the creation of the world from the Pāñcarātra viewpoint. Two possibilities can be observed.

A. The *varṇākṣara mudrās* can be the gestural manifestation of *śabdabrahma*. The Ahirbudhnya *saṃhitā* reveals essential details in this regard. Chapters 16 and 17 in the Ahirbudhnya are about the esoteric connotations attached to vowels and consonants. The former one is about the *varṇotpatti* that is the creation of alphabets. The gist is as follows.³⁸

Speech initiates with $n\bar{a}da$, and $n\bar{a}da$ grows into the *bindu*. The *bindu* is dual, $\dot{s}abdabrahma$ (sound) and $bh\bar{u}ti$. There are two kinds of sound, svara (vowels) and vyanjana (consonants). Naturally, it begins with the creation of the vowels. The order is \Im/a , \Im/a . The 'a' is the principal alphabet. From the above three come the

³⁶ 2000:51.

³⁷ Ibid.2,3,12,24.

³⁸ Schrader (1916)118.

corresponding long vowels, i.e. $\Im I/\bar{a}$, $\sqrt{\xi}/\bar{\imath}$ and $\Im J/\bar{u}$. Simultaneously, from a further combination, the conception of $sandhy\bar{a}k\bar{s}ara$ that is diphthongs of $\Im J/\bar{e}$ and $\Im J/\bar{e}$ completes. This goes on to form the consonantal combination of $\Im J/\bar{e}$ and $\Im J/\bar{e}$. Later the creation of visarga and $anusv\bar{a}ra$ construed respectively as srsti and $samh\bar{a}ra$. In the VDP khanda I, it has been stated that in alphabets, Viṣṇu is 'a'. Also, in chapter 352 of the VDP khanda III, the association of \Im with Vāsudeva, \Im I with Saṃkarṣaṇa, \Im I as Pradyumna, \Im I: with Aniruddha is reasserted. The name of the chapter is Nārāyaṇa-pūjana-prakāra varṇana.

After this, the establishment of consonants takes place with the first letter $\overline{\Phi}/ka$. The creation of consonants and their sounds symbolizes various deities or principles on multiple stages. The sound of *visarga* is Vāsudeva. This, along with $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ka$, $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ka$ represents four-fold Brahman, i.e. the *vyūha*. Similarly, $\overline{\mathbb{R}}$, $\overline{\mathbb{R}}$, $\overline{\mathbb{R}}$ with $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ha$ and $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ksa$ signifies five-fold Brahman, i.e. Saṃkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha, Pradyumna, four-armed Vāsudeva and two armed Para-vāsudeva etc. Likewise, $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ha$ denotes the world of pleasure that is *prakṛti*. $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ha$, $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ha$, $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ha$ are *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra* and *manasa* respectively. The $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ta$ varga that is the group of dental consonants represents five $j\bar{n}\bar{a}nendriyas$, and the $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ta$ varga that is cerebral embodies five *karmendriya*. The $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ca$ and $\overline{\mathbb{R}}/ka$ vargas represent *tanmātras* and *bhūtas*, respectively.

This creational activity has been considered as the bindumayī Śakti or śabdamayī Lakṣmī or Śabdasargamayī Parā of Viṣṇu. This complex description offers an insight into the *mudrā*s of vowels and consonants given in our chapter. Interestingly the sequence followed in our text shows similarity with the contents discussed above. Additionally, the representation of consonants explained in the Ahirbudhnya offers a perception towards consonant *mudrā*s in our text, albeit presented haphazardly.

According to Ahirbudhnya, 'om' is the tāraka mantra composed of letters a,u, ma. The 'a' is the waking state and gross universe with Aniruddha as the protector, 'u' is the dream consciousness and subtle universe supervised by Pradyumna and 'ma' is 'suṣupti' state and the corresponding universe administered by Saṃkarṣaṇa. The echo of 'ma' is Vāsudeva which represents the state of turīya, and the last enduring

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³⁹ Ch.56.29.

sound is the indistinguishable Śakti of god. The silence observed after that is Viṣṇu as the highest Brahman.

Thus the set of *mudrās* for *oṃ* and *varṇākṣaras* in our text carry logical sequence illuminating the esoteric meaning.

B. In the Pāñcarātra process of cosmology, firstly the four-fold emanation comes into existence known as the *vyūha* of Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha and Pradyumna. Simultaneously, the creation of *vyūhāntaras*, also *vibhavas* of Viṣṇu, originates from the principal *vyūha*. Along with *vyūha* emerges the Vaikuṇṭha, divine dwelling of Viṣṇu. Here he resides with Lakṣmī resting upon the serpent Śeṣa. At the end of the evolution from the lord's navel, Brahmā appears, and from Brahmā, the creation of the material world and Vedas takes place. And at the withdrawal of the world, he becomes Hara. ⁴⁰ The whole process of creation transpires by the *kriyāśakti* of Puruṣa, an eternal being and transcendent aspect of Vāsudeva.

In Rahasya mudrās, after syllables, the mudrās for vyūha deities have been noted followed by the same for Purusa. It signifies the earliest stage of emanation. Then the text lists the symbols of vyūha divinities (Plates 25 to 28) that are Tārksya of Visnu, Tāla of Samkarsana, Makara of Pradyumna and Ardhacandra of Aniruddha, followed by the two chief attributes of Visnu, Sankha and Padma. Then to narrate the form of Śeṣaśāyīn it tells us the *mudrā*s for Lakṣmī and Śeṣa. These gestures culminate in the Bhogasayana mudrā in which Viṣṇu is resting on the serpent coil, and Laksmī is sitting at his feet. 41 It is the next stage of the emanation. Then it encodes another form of Visnu riding on Garūda, first by giving a gesture of the bird and then the whole of Garūdavāhana, like the one of Śeṣa mentioned earlier. In Kashmir, types of Garūdavāhanas are seen in the iconography in which the lone caturbhuja Visnu or Vaikuntha or the composite form of Vāsudeva-Laksmī has been shown mounted on Garūda. 42 Then it mentions another two attributes of Visnu, Cakra and Gadā followed by the weapons of Samkarṣaṇa - Hala and Musala, of Aniruddha -Carma and Khadga and Pradyumna – Dhanu and Śara. Further, the *mudrā*s of two prominent ornaments of Viṣṇu, Kaustubha and Vanamālā are stated. At this juncture, the initial process of creation completes.

⁴⁰ The second chapter on Hiranyagarbha in VDP I is important.

⁴¹ For Śeṣaśāyī in Kashmir iconography see Malla (1996) Fig.12; Siudmak (2013) 451.

⁴² Malla(1996) Figs.8, 9, 25,28, 42, 44, 46.

⁴³ Chapter 85 of VDP III mentions these attributes.

Now follows the release of *vibhavas*. Total 13 vibhavas or incarnations of Viṣṇu are listed in the form of their *mudrās*.1. Nṛṣimha 2. Varāha 3. Hayaśīra 4. Vāmana 5. Trivikrama 6. Matsya 7. Kūrma 8. Haṃṣa 9. Dattātreya 10. Parśurāma 11. Dāśarathi 12. Kṛṣṇa and 13. Baladeva. There are two distinct *mudrās* given for Vāmana and Trivikrama however, by this time, it was already established that these were the two aspects of one incarnation of Viṣṇu. Nṛṣimha and Varāha come first on the list most probably because these are anthropomorphic representations of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Aniruddha as appeared in iconography. According to the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, the horse incarnation is also considered as the form of Saṃkarṣaṇa.⁴⁴

After this, the gestures for five elements and sun-moon are given, followed by three major gods of Vaiṣṇava religion; Nara-Nārāyaṇa, the famous triad Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Maheśa⁴⁵ and Kapila. In the Caturmūrti iconography, the backside face is attributed to the pioneer of Sāṃkhya, Sage Kapila. In the 85th chapter of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, Kapila is included in the incarnations of Viṣṇu. Also, in the 44th chapter of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, Kapila is identified as the backside face in Vaikuṇṭha Caturmūrti. Furthermore, there is a separate chapter devoted to the image-making of Kapila in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III. The list of *mudrā*s ends with the Vedas and Vedāngas, representing the beginning of the gross world.

The above discussion proposes the possibility that the Rahasya *mudrās* are revealed in agreement with the revelation of the world imagined in the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra cosmology. Conclusively 'the great creation' is the core aspect of knowing the Vaiṣṇava *dharma*. Once the world order is set, establishing and bringing the living realm under the Vaiṣṇava purview becomes possible. By knowing it, one recognizes the secret or *rahasya* of Viṣṇu. The nomenclature Rahasya *mudrā* seems thoughtfully employed.

Another noteworthy connotation got from some internal evidence seen in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III is regarding the hands of Viśvarūpa with context to the imagemaking. This has been discussed later in the chapter.

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⁴⁴ Ch.80; the above list differs from the one given in chapter 85 of VDP III.

⁴⁵ Plate 21 in the appendix.

⁴⁶ Ch. 78.1

3. The Mantra Relevance found in the VDP Khanda III

It is to be noted that at the end of the 33^{rd} chapter, the whole religious context of $mudr\bar{a}s$ has been revealed by saying,

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Darśayen mantrayuktānām parām siddhim abhīpsatām / yathāmantram yathādevam yathāvidhir atandritaḥ // mantreṣu devatā yuktā bahvyo mudrāḥ prakīrtitāḥ / tāsām mantram tu vijñeyam niyogo nṛpa iṣyate //
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It says that the person eager of utmost *siddhi* should display *mudrās* in agreement with the *mantras*/chants, *deva*/gods and the *vidhi*/ritual. The *mantras* are related to gods, so the *mudrās* should be practised after knowing the respective *mantra*. Each *mudrā* is attached to a particular deity, which is meant to be shown with the *mantra* of that particular deity in ritual. It is an important statement to understand the ritual aspect of Rahasya *mudrās* too. As we have seen Rahasya *mudrās* form three prominent images of Viṣṇu; the Caturmūrti, Śeṣaśāyīn, Garūḍārudha and probably also the Viśvarūpa. Now how far can we connect these *mudrās* with the rituals given in the Pratiṣṭhā section of the VDP *khanḍa* III?

The VDP *khaṇḍa* III mentions rituals and many mantras in various chapters. The text does not relate it with *mudrās* by any means, but in tandem presentation of *mudrā* and *mantra* is prominently quoted; therefore, understanding the *mantra* aspect is essential. Let's see the references one by one.

1. The VDP *khanda* III gives utmost importance to the Sarvatobhadra type of temple. It is the most ideal and highest abode for Vaikuṇṭha Caturmūrti Viṣṇu. In the 87th chapter of Sarvatobhadra Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa, it says that *sāttvatas* who worship Viṣṇu in this type of temple attain *sāyujya*, the communion with god. And the one who builds such a temple become sovereign of the world/*cakravartin* in the next birth. However, the king who makes this temple and worships all gods with proper rites achieves the status of *cakravartin* in all *yugas*. It also adds that the one who builds the temple's surroundings lives in heaven and ultimately gets *sāyujya* with Viṣṇu. All this underlines the great significance of the Sarvatobhadra temple and the installation of the principal god in it, which means that installing deities in this temple, worshipping them and performing all kinds of ceremonies also hold extreme importance. The chapter not even once mentioned anything about the use of *mudrās*. However, the significance of installing gods with proper rituals is mentioned.

The chapter also talks about the places of the installation of gods in the temple. The primary deity is Visnu in his quadruple form. Then it states various other deities to be installed at different places of the temple. Lakṣmī is on the right-hand side of the first mandapa. According to her position, other forms of the goddess are mentioned. Then the corner temples of Aśvaśīrah, Varāha, Nṛsimha and Trivikrama are specified. It lists small temples dedicated to 24 attributes of vvūha, i.e. the deified forms of the emblems, weapons, vehicles etc. After this, it mentions the places for dikpālas, grahas and the gatekeepers of vyūha gods. Next, the locations for installing Gāyatrī and Vedas, along with other secondary gods, are noted. We can very well notice the correspondence between the gods cited in this chapter with the *mudrās* of gods mentioned in the Rahasya chapter. It is very well thinkable that the use of mudrās could have been involved in the installation rites or the nitya worship or the naimittika/occasional ceremonies, of course with the utterances of respective mantras. Similarly, at the beginning of the 106th chapter of invoking deities, it is said that the mantra of each god should be chanted. The gods mentioned in the Rahasya gestures are also part of the deities listed in this chapter.

Secondly, chapter 109 of Vaiṣṇava-homa vidhi comprises the *dvādaśākṣari*/12 syllables *mantras* of *vyūha* deities to be chanted before offering the oblations. The text calls it the *mantras* for protection. There are 37 *mantras* in total consisting of *vyūha* deities, their attributes and doorkeepers. Have a look at the following 22, which are important.

om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya, om namo bhagavate sankarṣaṇāya, om namo bhagavate pradyumnāya, om namo bhagavate aniruddhāya, om namo bhagavate puruṣāya, om namo garuḍāya, om namostālāya, om namo makarāya, om namo ṛṣyāya, om namo anaṃtāya, om namo kaustubhāya, om namo vanamālāyai, om namo pṛthivyai, om namo śaṃkhāya, om namo padmāya, om namo gadāyai, om namaścakrāya, om namo halāya, om namo musalāya, om namaścāpāya, om namaścarmaṇe, om namaḥ khaḍagāya etc.

Then the chapter explains that during Gāyatrī homa, one utters *tad viṣṇoḥ* paramam padam, the famous Vedic chant followed by the Vaiṣṇava Gāyatrī. There is a possibility that while showing Rahasya mudrās of vyūha gods and their characteristics along with the mudrā for Gāyatrī, one would chant above mantras. In the 56th chapter of the VDP I, it is said that in all the mantras, Viṣṇu personifies Gāyatrī.

In the chapter of Bhogadāna (ch.112), the *mantras* of various offerings are mentioned. The *mantras* for the offerings of Viṣṇu's footwear, vehicle and flag are also told. They are the Viṣṇu Gāyatrī of *nārāyaṇa vidmahe vāsudevāya dhīmahi tanno* Viṣṇu: pracodayāt, idaṃ viṣṇu ra vicakrame and ketuṃ kṛṇvan correspondingly.

V.4. Nṛttaśāstra *Mudrā*: Discussion and Analysis

There are some limitations to their sectarian identification. The arrangement of these *mudrās* is not systematic. It appears that there is no logical order. It does follow the sectarian context at a few places but not consistently. Secondly, it is hard to differentiate the Śaiva, and Śākta *mudrās* since the thought of Śakti is inherent in the Śaiva philosophy as well. In the early medieval time, Kashmir was the proliferating Trika centre. The contemporary development of Kashmir Śaivism is vital to understand the *mudrās* mentioned in the concerned chapter.

Regarding the possible source of these gestures, we must admit the difficulty stated by Shah. 47 However, in a few cases, the origin has been successfully traced.

1. Nomenclatures of Sāmānya and Nṛttaśāstra Mudrā

At the end of the previous chapter of Rahasya $mudr\bar{a}$, Mākaṇḍeya says that now I will speak on the Sāmānya $mudr\bar{a}$. However, the chapter is named as the Nṛttaśāstra $mudr\bar{a}$ in the colophon.

The categories of *mudrās* given in the Viṣṇu and Parama *saṃhitā* are insightful in which *sāmānya* is one of the types, and it is distinct from the *gupta* or secret *mudrās*. Similar categories we find in our text. Viṣṇu *saṃhitā* says that the Sāmānya gestures are for all gods and should be performed with *mantras* to gain divine accomplishments or *siddhis*. Furthermore, it presents four categories of ritual hand gestures; *sāmānya*, *viśeṣa*, *aṅga* and *parivāra*. Parama *saṃhitā* says that the *sāmānya mudrās* are for *arcanā* or to be employed in the worship. The *nyāsa* gestures come in the *aṅga* category. The *viśeṣa* and *parivāra* probably denote the gestures of the attributes and the family deities. Based on the scope of *mudrās* as seen in the chapter, it can be deduced that they belong to all four categories mentioned in the Viṣṇu Saṁhitā.

Now the colophon is indeed baffling. Our discussion later in the chapter on *mudrā hasta* is relevant to comprehend this particular terminology. As in the VDP

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⁴⁷ 1961:77.

khaṇḍa III, Nṛttaśāstra has been commonly used for the section of the NrS. Probably the chapter falls in the same unit that is why the writer/s names it as the Nṛttaśāstra $mudr\bar{a}$. However, keeping the clear ritualistic context in mind, the name $s\bar{a}m\bar{a}nya$ seems more appropriate. The discussion on the problematic association of both these chapters with dance will come later in the chapter.

2. Religious Aspect

Based on the sectarian affiliation suggested by the primary reading of the names, the following groups of these *mudrās* can be made.

- 1. Śaiva-Śākta
- 2. Vaisņava
- 3. Saura
- 4. Others

There are minor categories of the gestures associated with emanations and attributes, co-related deities, rituals, and offerings within these major categories.

The following are some of the significant comments that can be noted on the selected $mudr\bar{a}s$. The observations are mentioned group-wise as mentioned above.

V.4.1. Śaiva-Śākta Mudrās

1. Bhasma, Linga, Jaṭā, Netra, Śaśānka, Govṛṣa, Paryasta, Paṭṭi (Verses 1 to 7)

It is recognized that these are the attributes of Siva. The deity is besmeared with ashes. The phallus is his aniconic representation. He has three eyes. He is known for his dreadlocks ornamented with the crescent moon. Nandi the bull is his mount.

The Śaśānka *mudrā* is ditto as the Ardhcandra of the NS. The Paryasta and the Paṭṭi are the gestures for weapons that may be implemented one after another. The execution of the last is the same as found in today's 'classical' dances. The small finger is attached with the thumb, and the remaining three are spread to display the *triśūla*, a weapon of Śiva. Interestingly, the *triśūla hasta* is absent in the conventional single hand gestures listed in the NS or the NrS. The gesture comes in the Abhinayadarpaṇa. Some of the *āgama* texts similarly accept *triśūla*. The *linga*, where the thumb is raised, *netra*, where the *tarjanī* is directed towards an eye and

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⁴⁸ 1957: Verse 165.

 $^{^{49}}$ Mālinivijayottara 7.5; In the Vīrāgama 33.29B-30A the version of Astra $mudr\bar{a}$ (not as the part of $ny\bar{a}sa$ gestures) matches with the Paṭṭi given in our text.

Govrsa signify a bull's horns; all portray the basic connotations as represented in the semantics.

2. Devī, Śaktyākāra and Skanda – Vighnarāja (Verses 17B to 23A)

These are the Śaiva parivāra mudrās. The last two are interconnected. The Skanda mudrā comes first, and the Vighnarāja is formed out of it.

3. Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Išāna (Verses 55 to 62)

Saiva religious thought is one of the most important contributions of Kashmir. Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Iśāna and Tatpuruṣa are the four aspects of Sadāśiva mainly worshipped in the Kashmir's Trika and the southern stream of Siddhanta āgama. It is the Pancavaktra emanation of Śiva. However, the Tatpuruṣa aspect of Sadāśiva is absent in this group.

Single, four and five-headed *mukhalingas* are found in the valley. ⁵⁰ The threeheaded standing Siva has been noted in the valley and its surroundings. 51 The VDP khanda III describes the making of an image of Sadāśiva in chapter 48.

4. Namaskāra, Dhvaja, Śaśakarni, Mukula, Pankaja, Āvāhini, Nisthurā, Linga and Visariana (Verses 70 to 79A)

Notably, from Namaskāra to Linga, the order and even the execution of mudrās project its substantial similarity with the *mudrā*s given in the Mudrālakṣaṇa (5th paṭala) of the Rauravāgama. The order is the same though the only difference is that in the Raurava in between the Nisthurā and Linga, Kālakanthi mudrā has been specified, and Visarjana mudrā is not given. Our text follows almost the exact instructions but in different phraseology, although few places are quite alike. The instruction 'manibandha nipidyaiva' in the śaśakarni is common in our text and Raurava.

In the Raurava, the *mantras* of all the *mudrās* have been stated one by one. It is vital since our text also emphasizes mudrā and mantra's correlation. Furthermore, other āgamas like Ajita, Mrgendra, Suprabheda, Kiraņa also contains some of these mudrās. The first three mudrās are mentioned in the Ajita and the Suprabhedāgama. Notably, the Sanatkumāra samhitā refers to these mudrās in the rituals of Śivapratisthā.⁵²

⁵⁰ Siudmak (2013). ⁵¹ Ibid. 141,148.

⁵² Śivarātra 2.199.

Āvāhana-Visarjana: Āvāhana and Visarjana are purely worshipping $mudr\bar{a}s$. Āvāhana is the process of invoking a deity to dwell in an image, and Visarjana is the ceremonial send-off. These are the parts of $upac\bar{a}ras$ or offerings that begin with the Āvāhana followed by presenting various objects like sanctified water for washing hands and feet, incenses, flowers etc., to a deity and ends with the Visarjana. These are the standard features of worship and are supposed to be performed by chanting mantras and forming a $mudr\bar{a}$ associated with the deity and the offering.

5. Bhaga-Linga (Verses 79B to 80A)

Bhaga means the female genital, which is considered an abstract or aniconic form of Umā so as linga of Śiva. In the Śaivāgamas, Umā and Śiva have been revered in their Bhaga and Lingarūpa.⁵³

Apart from above mentioned *mudrās* Caṇḍīśa, Sarvātman, Śiva and Jīrṇa can be attributed to Śaiva religious practices.

V.4.2. Saura *Mudrās* (Verses 83 to 95)

Saura affiliation's gestures probably begin with the Kairiṇi *mudrā* mentioned in verse 83. Except for the first, all three suggest their connection with the *nyāsa* body positions. Vyoma with the heart, head and tuft; Astra by making a sound with right *tarjanī* tapping on the left palm and then the last one is of the Netra. Only Kavaca is missing in this set. After this, verses from 89 to 95 give the gestures for *Saura* worship. Śaiva *āgamas* like Raurava, Amśumada, Cintya, Acintyaviśvasada, Makuṭa, Sūkṣma, Ajita and Svāyambhuva states that Sūrya-pūjā is an integral part of Śiva worship of both kinds, *ātmārtha* that is the pūjā performed in the house and *parārtha*, in the temple. These *āgamas* contain sun-worship rituals, including *mantras*, offerings, and *nyāsa*, using various *mudrās* involved. It also considers the worship of Śaktis of Sūrya and the nine planets. Now in the Raurava, eight Śaktis are mentioned, while in the *Amśumada*, there are nine. In our text in verses 88B to 91A, the solitary Śakti *mudrā* is cited representing all nine *Śaktis*. They are Dīptā, Sūkṣmā, Jayā, Bhadrā, Vibhūti, Vimalā, Amoghā, Vidyutā and the ninth is Sarvatomukhī which is absent in the Rauravāgama.

Ravi, Soma, Bhauma, Budha, Jīva, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu, Ketu

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⁵³ Kāmika *uttara-pāda* 20.38; Kulārņava Tantra 4.116.

The mudrās of nine planets initiate with the namaskāra to the Sun god. So before Ravi *mudrā*, the gesture of *namaskāra* is noted in which the term '*sānnidhyakārini*' is used. The concept is peculiar in agama worship. Sannidhya is vicinity, and sānnidhyakārini is bringing that divinity in the vicinity of its representation, iconic or aniconic, an essential ritual before performing a pūjā and the Namaskāra gesture is executed pertaining to the effect of 'sānnidhya' or 'sannidhāna' of Ravi. Thus at this place, Namaskāra is the 'Ravi-sānnidhyakārini' mudrā. And then only the mudrās of planets are given.

V.4.3. Vaisnava Mudrās

1. Śankha, Cakra, Suṣirā, Gadā, Kaustubha and Vanamālā (Verses 106 to 110A)

Just as the $mudr\bar{a}$ s of Śiva's attributes are given, so are the characteristics of Viṣṇu are listed through mudrās. The Suṣirā or a flute, however, is mainly associated with Kṛṣṇa, an avatāra of Viṣṇu. Saṃhitās like Jayākhya, Viṣṇu, Parama, Sanatkumāra present different versions of these gestures.

Notably, from the Sankha *mudrā* mentioned in verse 106 till the end of this chapter, all *mudrā*s are of Vaisnava affiliation.

2. Nārasiṃhī (Verse 110B to 112A)

The performance of Nārasiṃhī $mudr\bar{a}$ is curious. It is not merely a hand gesture; it is a pose very similar to the Simhāsana of Yoga. It is different than the Simha mudrā of Jayākhya but very similar with the Nārasimhī mudrā given in the Mudrānighnatu of the Vāmakeśvari Tantra, a noted Kula tantra of Kashmir dated to 11th century AD.54 The Simhāsana, also known as the Narasimhāsana, of the Yoga tradition, also shows a striking similarity⁵⁵.

Additionally, the closeness with the Narasimha sculptures found in the Kashmir region is remarkable (Plate 19). We have already discussed the Gadā mudrā in the previous chapter. The Nārasiṃhī can also be comprehended in the same light. The act of 'touching hands to chin' is pivotal in both the mudrās. This feature distinguishes our mudrā from the Yogic Simhāsana and brings it closer to the iconographic depiction. The stress is on the body's upper portion, majorly on the face, hands, and connection with the chin.

3. Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha (Verses 118B to 123A)

⁵⁴ 1986: 45; Mudrānighanṭu in Tantrābhidhāna (1937) 56-57.

⁵⁵ Vimānārcanākalpa *paṭala* (1926) 96; Haṭha Yoga Pradipikā 1.52; Buhnemann (2011) 59.

The chapter ends with the $mudr\bar{a}s$ of Caturmūrti, a principal deity of Pāñcarātra. These are different from the gestures of the previous chapter.

In the Jayākhya, there are no gestures mentioned of these deities in the chapter dedicated to *mudrās*. But the *mantranyāsa* of these deities refers to various *mudrās*. ⁵⁶ Before starting the gestures for Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, the text mentions an Anjali moving from one side to the right direction. The term Pramadā is used, which, according to Shah, is the original name of the *mudrā* in which above mentioned anjali gesture is to be executed. However, the reading suggests that the *anjali* or Pramadā denotes the same *mudrā* Pramadā means joy, and Pramadā is joy-giving. Anjali gives pleasure to the gods. Thus the chapter ends by paying respect to the chief deity.

V.4.4. Others

1. Ananta and Dharma, Jñāna, Vairāgya, Aiśvarya (Verses 8B to 12)

The symbolism associated with Dharma, Jñāna, Vairāgya, Aiśvarya can be studied from different textual traditions. According to the Jayākhya, *paṭala* 12.33-36, these four are the *vikāras* in which the supreme god resides in this world. These four controls the desirable path for the people who have surrendered to Viṣṇu. In the Ahirbudhnya, the concept of '*mahat*' is deliberated in the seventh *paṭala*. *Mahat* is the *avyakta*/the primordial element. This *mahat* manifests through *kāla*, *buddhi* and *prāṇa*, which are associated with the *triguṇas tamas*, *sattva* and *rajas*, respectively. In the *sāttvika* form, *mahat* is fourfold; Dharma, Jñāna, Vairāgya and Aiśvarya.

Secondly, these four are the *bhāvas* in the Yoga discipline. Pāñcarātra accepts the path of Yoga as the final union with the ultimate entity. When the mind is fixed on the performance of an action, it is Dharma, when it is focused on acquiring the knowledge of Viṣṇu it is Jñāna, by the experience of Jñāna one produces the detachment or Vairāgya and the concentrated mind on Viṣṇu is Aiśvarya.⁵⁷

In the Śaivite *āgama* practices, consecrating a temple's pavilions includes invoking and offering oblations to these four.⁵⁸ Also, in the bull-flag hoisting ceremony in festivals, the worship of *ādhāraśakti* that is Kūrma, Ananta, Dharma,

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⁵⁶ 11.38.

⁵⁷ Bhatt (1968) 96.

⁵⁸ Kāmika *pūrva pāda* 7.50-54.

Jñāna, Aiśvarya and Vairāgya is mentioned. The references have often been made to paying respects to Kūrma, Ananta and Dharma, etc. ⁵⁹

In the Vaisnava tradition also the Kūrma mudrā denotes ādhāraśakti and Jayākhya mentions it followed by the *mudrā* named Anantāsana. Interestingly, in our text, the previous *mudrā* is of Ananta.

2. Sakala-Niskalarūpinī (Verses 14B to 17A)

The concept of Sakala and Niskala appearances of god is present both in Śaiva-Śākta and Vaisnava āgama practices. 60 Sakala is divisible, emanated, and movable, and Niskala is a primaeval, indivisible, unperceivable or unanalyzable form of god.⁶¹ Also, the ritual of sakalikarana (charging the body with mantras) and niskalikarana is present in the Pāñcarātra s*amhitā* as well as Śaivāgamas. 62

In Saivism, these aspects have been considered as the parts of Siva's vidyādeha or Śakti-related body on which a ritualist invokes the presence of Niskala or a formless Siva. 63 Notably, in our text, the names of these $mudr\bar{a}s$ are given in the feminine form.

3. Śakra, Hutāśana, Virūpāksa, Vārūnī, Mārūtī, Kauberī, Iśānī, Brahmā and Anantabhoga and Vajra, Śakti, Danda, Khadga, Patākā-prasrta, Gadā and Śūla (Verses 24 to 36)

These are the *mudrās* of *dikpālas*. In the Pratimā-lakṣaṇa of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, the instructions for the image-making of eight dikpālas have been mentioned. They are Śakra (ch.50), Yama (ch.51), Varūņa (ch.52), Vaiśravaņa (ch.53), Iśāna (ch.55), Agni (ch.56), Virūpākṣa (ch.57) and Vāyu (ch.58). However, these chapters do not identify them as the guardian deities but explain their iconographic details. In *mudrā*s, the set is different. It does not contain Yama. Also, after the Iśānī mudrā, the gesture for Brahmā is told. In the tradition, he is considered the deity of the zenith. Then the chapter goes on to mention the *mudrā*s for Vaira, ⁶⁴ Śakti, Danda, Khadga, Patākāprasṛta, Gadā and Śūla etc. These probably represent the attributes of the gestures of dikpālas stated above.

They are given partially. According to the VDP khanda III, the attributes attached to the dikpālas are; Indra (a form of Vāsudeva) - ankuśa, vajra; Yama (a

63 Kāmika *pūrva-pāda 4.350-53*.

⁵⁹ Ibid. *uttara pāda* 4.20, 78; 21.4; 76.40; 80.97.

⁶⁰ Jayākhya 12.76.

⁶¹ Gonda (1976) 78.

⁶² Jayākhya 20.182.

⁶⁴ One more version of Vajra is mentioned in the verse 61.

form of Saṃkarṣaṇa) – daṇḍa, khaḍga and carma; Varūṇa (the form of Pradyumna) – padma, pāśa, śankha, ratnapātra; Kubera (a form of Aniruddha) – ratnapātra, gadā, śakti; Iśāna (the form of Śiva) – akṣamālā, triśūl; Agni – flames, triśūla, akṣamālā; Virūpākṣa and Niṛrti – daṇḍa and pāśa respectively; Vāyu – no specific attributes has been mentioned except his colour of the sky that is blue and his flowing garment. In the Nṛttaśāstra mudrā chapter, the attributes are probably different; however, it is a known fact that the iconography does change over time and with the context of religion.

The Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra⁶⁵, which is considered to be composed in Kashmir and dated approximately to 8th century AD, contains Dikpāla-yāga. In the *stotra* of this section, the attributes are as follows; Indra-*Vajra*, Agni-Śakti, Yama- *Daṇḍa*, Nirṛti-*Khaḍga*, Varūṇa-*Pāśa*, Vāyu-*Dhvaja*, Soma-Śankha, Iśāna-Śūla, Brahmā-*Sṛka* and *Sṛva* and Ananta – *Lāngala*.

Significantly, the Prasṛti *mudrā*, mentioned in the Sanatkumāra *saṃhitā* is most probably the same as the Patākā-prasṛta.⁶⁶ In the Sanatkumāra, it is stated that when all the fingers are stretched, it creates the Prasṛti. The Patākā is that in which all the fingers are extended. *Prasṛta* means a stretched out palm.

4. Dravyarūpā, Vaiṣṇavī, Ghṛta, Gandha, Puṣpa, Dhūpa, Dipa, Naivedya, Puṣpa, Mahāmudrā (Verses 37 to 49)

These are the *upacāra* or *dravya mudrā*s representing the offerings probably associated with Vaiṣṇava worship since the previous gestures are Vaiṣṇavī and Dravyarūpā. Possibly the *mudrā*s starting from the Dravyarūpā to Mahāmudrā put in such a way that they form a ritualistic order.

There are versions of Mahāmudrā found in the rituals texts.⁶⁷ In the Śaiva *āgamas* like Ajita⁶⁸, Suprabheda, the varieties of *dravya* gestures are noted. Notably, Suprabheda⁶⁹ calls it Dravyarūpiņi.

5. Krodha, Varāha, Bhairavī, Pātālabhanjinī, Stambhanī, Krodhinī, Bīja, Bhairavī, Stambhanī, Vārāhi, Pātālabhanjinī (Verses 96 to104)

Many are repeated in the chapter presenting versions of *mudrās* having the same name. After narrating the instructions of the above five, the writer/s gives *Bīja mudrās*

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⁶⁵ Ādikānda *patala* 34.

⁶⁶ *Ŗṣirātra* 2. 29.

⁶⁷ Sanatkumāra *Ŗṣirātra* 2.58-59; Ajita I.26.60.

⁶⁸ I 26 55

⁶⁹ I.9.15

of each one of them. The separate singular $B\bar{i}$ is also listed. The information is unclear in conveying the Bijas of these *mudrās*, and the language is esoteric; thus, it becomes difficult to grasp the executional details.⁷⁰

Interestingly, the first Varāha mudrā perhaps follows the iconographic representation of Varāha lifting goddess earth.

It isn't easy to ascertain the source of these *mudrās*. Krodhinī and Bhairavī are mentioned in Vijñāna Bhairava Tantra in the group of five mudrās affiliated with Krama practices.⁷¹ The remaining three are Karankinī, Lelihānā and Khecari. Stambhana is the left-hand practice of attaining siddhi to paralyze someone. Jayākhya samhitā talks about it. ⁷² Vārāhī is amongst 24 mudrās mentioned in the Ajitāgama. ⁷³ However, these are different variations.

6. Hṛn, Śikṣā, Kavaca, Gadā, Netra, Aśvaśirasa (Verses 112B to 117)

These are the anganyāsa mudrās. In the standard Śadānganyāsa 'Astra' is also included along with the remaining five gestures, which is absent in our text. The order is Hrn, Śirah, Śikhā, Kavaca, Netra and Astra. The mudrās do not follow the conventional *nyāsa* method of performance; they offer a different version.

Nyāsa is the 'cosmolization' or 'divinization of the body' performed by touching the various parts of the body, placing the associated deities or energies in them and sealing them with the appropriate mudrās usually by chanting the Bījamantras.⁷⁴

Now in our text after Hrn, the Śikṣā mudrā is mentioned. However, the instructions suggest that it is mistakenly written and should be taken as the Śikhā mudrā. The variant Śikhā is noted in the critical edition ascribed to the printed edition of Venkteshvara Press of the VDP. Given the instructions and scheme of mudrās, the variant Śikhā would be the correct selection. The Śikhā *mudrā* of Jayākhya is similar to this. ⁷⁵ One more variation of Śikhā *mudrā* given in verse 67 of our chapter is different from the one mentioned above.

Similarly, the Aśvaśīraḥ *mudrā* also needs attention. In the *nyāsa*, Śiraḥ *mudrā* has usually been displayed by putting a right palm on the head as also written in Jayākhya. However, after the Netra gesture, according to the critical edition of the

⁷⁰ Shah has also expressed the hesitance. For the meaning understood by her see 1961: 86.

⁷¹ 1918: Verse 77.

⁷² 26.44.

⁷⁴ White (2000) 630.

⁷⁵ See all the $ny\bar{a}sa$ hand gestures in Jayākhya 8.12-23.

VDP khanda III, the $mudr\bar{a}$ of Aśvaśīraḥ (a horse incarnation of Viṣṇu) is noted, and the method of performance is given differently. However, the Venkteshvara edition has printed Śiraḥ at this place which seems a correct variant at this place. Also, the Kavaca $mudr\bar{a}$ is different from conventional in which one crosses both hands and keeps on the shoulders.

The Hṛna and the Netra $mudr\bar{a}s$ are similar, as noted in the Jayākhya. The Astra $mudr\bar{a}$ is not listed in our text, instead Gadā $mudr\bar{a}$ is given which in this case should be understood as a gesture for a weapon i.e. Astra. The conventional Astra $mudr\bar{a}$ in which one encircles the head, snapping fingers of the right hand and then beats on the left palm making a sound is mentioned earlier in verse 86 in our chapter.

7. Amṛtā (Verses 52 and 53)

The $mudr\bar{a}$ has been mentioned at various places in the Śaivāgama like Kāmika, mainly connected with the offerings in the nitya $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ and the fire ritual. Notably, in our text, this one comes after the offerings $mudr\bar{a}s$ of Dravyarūpā etc., discussed above. In all $\bar{a}gama$ traditions, there is a ritual process of 'Amṛtikaraṇa', which means changing the substance into nectar. To

8. Dīkṣā (Verse 8A)

Dīkṣā consists of various connotations. It is a rite of initiation into the sect or the consecration for the ceremony. It also means undertaking religious observances for a particular purpose.

The Dīkṣā-niyama is one of the occasions of *mudrās* stated in the Ahirbudhnya.

9. Vajra: another version (Verse 60 to 61A)

This gesture comes before the Iśāna $mudr\bar{a}$ and after the Aghora $mudr\bar{a}$.

10. Śikhā (Verse 67)

This $mudr\bar{a}$ is different from the one with the same name used in the $ny\bar{a}sa$.

11. Gāyatrī (Verses 70B to 71A)

This is probably used while uttering a Gāyatrī mantra.

V.5. The Questionable Association with Dance

Based on the contents of both chapters, two opposing stands can be construed. Let's call it reason X and reason Y. X justifies the inclusion of these *mudrās* in the *nṛtta* text while Y stands against it. Understanding both sides is necessary since it can give

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⁷⁶ Pūrva pāda 4.220; 8.52.

⁷⁷ Jayākhya 15.124; 16.359.

us a perspective. Then we will also be studying the presence of these chapters on neutral grounds analyzing the broad development of art and religion.

Reason X. Mudrāhasta and Nṛttaśāstra Mudrā

The inclusion of ritual hand gestures in the dance text is indeed intriguing. The Pratiṣṭhā and the rest of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III chapters do not shed any light on the tripartite association of ritual, ritual hand gestures and temple dance or dancers.

It is to be noted that the terminology for hand gestures in dance is *hasta*. The oldest detailed analysis, types and usages of *hastas* have been presented in the NS. NS has *saṃyuta*, *asaṃyuta* or *nṛttahastas* and not *mudrās*. *Mudrās* particularly have a ritual context. Hand gestures used for ritual purposes are known as *mudrās*. After all, the gesture is a symbol; it is a neutral component that gets its meaning according to the context. Let's discuss the terminologies, *mudrāhasta* and Nṛttaśāstra *mudrā*.

The conjoined term *mudrāhasta* is intriguing as it shows a specific interaction of the connotations attached to them. Similarly, Nṛttaśāstra *mudrā* is a curious coalescence. The merger of ritual and performing arts is either purposeful or shows the efforts made by the author/s to make these chapters agreeable with the premises of *nṛtta* text. However, it would have easily been called just *mudrās*. Still, to justify their addition in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III section devoted to dance, the said merger of terminologies is created.

The performance of many *mudrās* in concerned to the NrS chapters contains the *hastas* of *saṃyuta* or *asaṃyuta* given in the NS. Like the single-hand gestures of Patākā, Śikhara, Mukula, Kapittha, Ardhacandra, Tripatākā, Muṣṭi, Khaṭakāmukha and the combined hand gesture of Karakaṭaka are referred to profusely in the instructions of Rahasya *mudrās*. Notably, in the Pāñcarātra *saṃhitā* like Jayākhya in which more than forty *mudrās* are mentioned, no reference has been made to the NS *hastas* in the instructional details. Since, to explain the actual formation of fingers to create certain *mudrā*, the author/s takes the support of *saṃyuta* or *asaṃyuta hastas* as the base gesture. It also means that one should be familiar with the NS *hastas* too to learn the Rahasya *mudrās*.

We saw that few gestures mentioned in both the chapters consist of some scenic quality. E.g. gestures like the Toya or Gadā or the Nārasiṃhī or Varāha. Comparing the last two with that of Jayākhya, they are purely gestures without any dramatic element. The scantily suggestive dramatic appearance marked in some of the *mudrās* mentioned above could be the unique contribution by its creator/s, trying to

interpret the ritual gestures from an artistic perspective. It may not be a fresh take but a distinct attempt made in amalgamating the two disciplinary idioms.

The *mudrās* like Dhanu-śara, and Bhogaśayana, and Garūḍavāhana projects a character of the movement. Notably, in the *śāstra* based dance styles, usually, any god or goddess is made by showing his chief attributes using various hand gestures. These are the identities of deities, e.g. the presentation of Śiva riding on a bull is displayed by forming Śikhara gesture of right hand placed above the Siṃhamukha of the left. Here Siṃhamukha represents the bull. Garūḍavāhana and Bhogaśayana are similarly depicted in our text in which Śikhara of the right hand is placed above the *garūḍa* and *makara* formed by left respectively. Śikhara is commonly used to represent the chief deity. Also, the movement of aiming with a bow and releasing the arrow is usually performed in dance using similar gestures mentioned in our chapter. Most of the time the *sthānas* like Āliḍha for aiming and Pratyāliḍha for release is being used. Such examples again accentuate the propriety of the terms *mudrāhasta* and Nṛttaśāstra *mudrā.*

In this regard, one curious reference made by Saskia Kersenboom offers another insight. In the Tamil temple tradition, the duties of temple dancers were also included imitating the ritual hand gestures of the priest during $d\bar{\imath}p\bar{a}r\bar{a}dhan\bar{a}$ for the benefit of the devotees who could never enter the sanctum. The terms 'suddha nṛttam' and 'kaikāttum murai' (the display of hands) were associated with this practice. ⁸¹ This reference is unusual. However, it provides a proof of the knowledge temple dancers held of ritual hand gestures beyond their traditional acquaintance of dance gestures.

Reason Y.

The Context of Vidhi, Mantra and Deva

The complex frame of *vidhi*, *mantra* and *deva* detaches the *mudrās* mentioned in the concerned chapters from the dramatic practices.

Here one more element is needed to be discussed. The Raṅgadaivatapūjāvidhāna of the NS is full of rituals in which various Vedic and non-Vedic godsgoddesses have been mentioned along with the worshipping details like the

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⁷⁸ Each style has variety of hand gestures.

⁷⁹NS GOS (2001) 10.71.

Notably, Bharatārṇava of Nandikeśvara consists of a gesture under the name Mudrāhasta, Tr. Vacapsati Gairola (2013) 3.126; the date of the text is still questionable as the text has been dated from 11th century AD and to the 16th century AD. There is also the debate whether the Nandikeśvara who wrote Abhinayadarpaṇa was the same as the author of Bharatārṇava.

81 1987:113.

installation, making *maṇḍala*, offering various substances, the consecration of *mattavāraṇī* etc. Also, the *mantras* of different gods to be chanted during offerings are given. Then it narrates the consecration process of the *jarjara* followed by the *homa*. At the end of it, the king and female dancers receive the sprinkling of sanctified water. Now in the entire process, no mention has been made of the ritual hand gestures. Besides, the NrS version of this chapter⁸² says nothing about gestures while worshipping the stage deities. This is the only time when dramatic performance would involve religious ceremonies. Once it's done, the drama commences. The earlier is to be appropriately accomplished for the success of the latter. It means that the *mudrās* revealed in both the concerned chapters of the NrS are nothing to do with the preliminary rituals of drama because the NrS follows the NS and does not change the preliminaries involved in remaking the rituals based on the Pāñcarātra system.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the gestures listed in these two chapters were initially intended for the dance application. The *vidhi*, *deva* and *mantra* context is more than evident. Nowhere in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III is it said that these should be used in dance. The Pāñcarātra *saṃhitā*s are also silent in talking about the performance of ritual hand gestures by temple dancers. The Sanatkumāra *saṃhitā* consist the gestures for *nṛtta*, *gīta*, *vādya* and *yoga*. However, our query is to know whether temple dancers were using ritual hand gestures in their performances? In the same *saṃhitā*, the performance of the *nṛtta* and the display of *mudrā* are noted within a single ritual one after another. But the text does not say that the dancer should make these hand gestures.

Also *āgamas*, Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava, in general, does not contain the apparent reference which would shed light on such practice in the early medieval period. Kersenboom's information is based on the oral evidence she gathered through the people who belonged to the traditional community attached to the temple services. And thus, it has its limitations to assign it to antiquity.

V.6. Inter-disciplinary Interactions

Was it an attempt to introduce ritual gestures in dance or to add new content to the dance vocabulary? Or was it a result of the growing popularity of *mudrās* in daily

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⁸² First chapter of NrS contains preliminaries.

⁸³ Rsirātra 2.84.

⁸⁴ Śivarātra 9.44.

rituals? Repeatedly we have to give the valid significance of what the author/s of these chapters have themselves noted. The contextual parameters of ritual, spell, and deity could be the ultimate answer. There is no indication in the entire VDP *khaṇḍa* III of its application in the artistic presentation in the temple or the sacred space.

The Śaiva āgama and Pāñcarātra saṃhitā connection is evident. The general division of the Nṛttaśāstra mudrās by the sectarian prominence shows that the last quarter of the chapter is devoted to the Vaiṣṇava gestures apart from few here and there in a scattered manner. In this sense, the primary notion suggests that it is a Śaiva incursion tendered in the subjected Vaiṣṇava upa-purāṇa. The ongoing surge of temple establishment, āgama compilation and composite nature of temple religion was the major trigger behind the religio-cultural interaction that we see in our text.

The gestural language was developing through religion on the one hand and performing arts and iconography on the other. The specific nomenclatures *mudrāhasta* or the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrā* used in our text also represent the closing gaps between the prevalent gestural languages on two scenic paradigms which were the part of an elaborate structure of worship in the temple. The dance was part of the ritual, and hand gestures were part of both disciplines. Simultaneously, the sculptures on the temple walls were carving the postures and gestures influenced by these practices. The VDP *khaṇḍa* III is an example of this interdisciplinary interaction caused by religious elements. Iconography or dance was responding to it, making themselves appropriate to contemporary development.

Subsequently, the Rahasya *mudrās* could have been penned by an initiated artist who could have a Sāttvata, probably the *nṛttācārya* attached to the Vaiṣṇava temple. This could be his method of interpreting the esoteric gestures of Pāñcarātra for the community of Vaiṣṇava temple dancers. Probably, in that sense, too, it is called the *mudrāhasta*. So would be the case of the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās*, which possibly is the work of more than one person. The complexity in the possible sources and the multiplicity of sects is evident. Understandably, only such a person could add these chapters in the section of the dance who was holding the dual identity of artist/ art scholar and religious adherents, hence having the authority.

V.7. The Fundamental Purpose of Ritual and Dance Hand Gestures

We have already seen the characteristics of ritual hand gestures described in various scriptures. Also, from the instructions given in our text, some inferences can be made.

- The nature of $mudr\bar{a}$ is esoteric, not just at its religious core but also in its actual manifestation. The combinations and permutations of fingers in $mudr\bar{a}$ is complex, not easy to learn. The bends, joinings are twisted and not direct. $Mudr\bar{a}$ is a cryptic code.
- Generally, it is hard to associate the meaning behind the names of the $mudr\bar{a}s$ with the shape that it creates with hands. The name has the concept at the core. $Mudr\bar{a}s$ hold the secret conceptually and subtly, so it is complicated to form the logical connection between the concept and the gesture. Every finger represents a principle. That is why they are secret, and one needs to have an initiation to learn them. The initiated absorb the concept and imbibe them externally. $Mudr\bar{a}$ or $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ etc., are an outward projection of internal ideas. They are the two sides of one coin.
- On the contrary, dance gestures are descriptive and direct. Many times the name of the *hasta* and the shape it creates display co-relation. E.g. Padmakoṣa, Mukula, Sūcī, Khaṭvā, Puṣpapuṭa etc. Drama or dance is for the masses, so the content needs to be reachable and easily understandable. If *mudrā* is a religious interpretation of a neutral gestural symbol, *hasta* of dance is the secular interpretation. Now in our text, few examples seem to move between these two. Few examples are significant. *Mudrā*s with similar names have been interpreted differently in the text than their *tantra* counterparts. Compare the Dhenū of Mṛgendra and Govṛṣa, Netra of Ajita with the hand gestures of the same name in our text, similarly Nārasiṃhi in our text and Jayākhya etc. Some also try to express the scenic characteristic. E.g. In the gesture of Vighnarāja, the mention is made to the tooth suggesting the broken tooth of Gaṇeśa. Also, the co-relation formed between the Bhaga and Linga *mudrā*. It can be said that Rahasya and Nṛttaśāstra *mudrā* is a unique interpretation that presents the curious incorporation of two traditions. Still, it is hard to determine its application in dance performance.

V.8. The Role of Tradition

For learning the practical aspect tradition plays an important role. Tradition conveys and transmits not just the practice but also the connotations attached to it. The pedagogy in religion and the $\dot{s}\bar{a}stra$ based dance traditions follow the peculiar teaching method. The pupil of religion would be initiated and taught by his guru. Also in the performing arts, the system of education is popularly known as the guru- $\dot{s}isya$ $parampar\bar{a}$. The 'style' is the vital aspect of a dance tradition that a disciple learns

from a *guru*. About *mudrās*, one could only learn them from a *guru* since it involves intricate designs of fingers, the curves, various joining and bending, the intermingling and the complex meanings that they carry. That is why it isn't easy to understand these *mudrās* practically by reading the instructions, as there may be multiple versions of a single gesture. Still we have attempted few of them specifically the Rahasya *mudrās* just to gage the practical possibilities.

V.9. Period, Provenance and Author of the NrS

Dating *purāṇas* has always been a challenging task. Various scholars have discussed the limitations and issues related to it.⁸⁵ It is a known fact that one cannot ascribe a single date or a period to any *purāṇa* as a whole. Since it is created by adding to it at different times, it is considered a continuous process. Therefore, different parts, chapters, verses in the same *purāṇa* can have different periods.

Here are some dates of the VDP specified by various scholars.

- 1. Stella Kramrisch: The VDP not earlier than 5th century AD and the Citrasūtra 7th century AD. ⁸⁶
- 2. Hazra:87
- -The age of *upa-purāṇas* began approximately from the Gupta period. The formation of eighteen *upa-purāṇas* was completed from 550 AD to 850 AD.
- -By the 8th century AD, the present VDP attained great popularity as a highly authoritative work in all parts of India.
- -the VDP cannot be placed earlier than 400 AD and later than 500 AD.
- 3. P.V.Kane: 575 AD to 650 AD⁸⁸
- 4. Tadashi Shimizu: The VDP *khaṇḍa* III 10th to the first half of the 11th century AD.⁸⁹
- 5. Ronald Inden:⁹⁰

The VDP *khaṇḍa* II: Before Kārakoṭa king Candrāpīḍa's death, i.e. 712/3 to 720/21 AD.

The VDP *khanda* III: During Lalitāditya i.e. 724/5 to 760/1 AD.

⁸⁷ 1958:14, 209, 212.

⁸⁵ Hazra(1940);Rocher(1986)100.

⁸⁶ 1928:4-5.

⁸⁸ 1961:72

⁸⁹ 1969: 421.

^{90 2000:82}ff.

6. Parul Dave- Mukherjee: 500 to 900 AD. 91

Considering the availability of the NrS in the MSS of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, the internal evidence, religious-historical background, and its relation to other chapters and texts, some observations can be made as below.

1. Absence of the NrS in Nepal MS: Let's see if the inferences can be drawn based on the dissimilarity between the contents of the Group 1 MSS, from which the critical edition has been redacted and Group 2, in which there is Nepal MS. ⁹²

The NrS is absent in the Group 2 MS of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III. Dave-Mukherji opines that Nepal and Dhaka MSS represent a separate branch of transmission of the archetype. She considers one MS [c] copied from the archetype of Dhaka and Nepal MSS. The absence of NrS supports her claim.⁹³

In the second chapter of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, Mārkaṇḍeya deliberates upon the master plan of the volume. This chapter seems to be present in Nepal MS as well. Since the theory of interdependence of arts proclaimed by him consists of all the topics dealt with in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, it is hard to believe that dance was not part of the scheme of the subject matter of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III. However, considering the nature of *purāṇas*, it may have been composed and written in phases. According to Inden, the VDP *khaṇḍa* II was created before Candrāpīḍa's death, i.e. 712/3 to 720/21 AD and the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, during Lalitāditya, i.e. 724/5 to 760/1 AD. The Nepal manuscript may be a branch representing the version of the text without the NrS. The NrS may have been added later on.

Notably, along with the entire NrS, the chapters on the $alamk\bar{a}ra$, the $prahelik\bar{a}$, the twelve types of play, the vocal and the instrumental music are also absent in the content list of the Nepal MS. It can be inferred that these chapters and the NrS were written in phases with short intervals between them. The last three $g\bar{t}ta$, $\bar{a}todya$, and nrtta might have been compiled at one time since they are intrinsically related.

⁹¹ 2001: intro xxxiii.

⁹² In the absence of the Dhaka MS we will only consider the Nepal MS, the content of which has been presented by Shah in the appendix of her critical edition.

⁹³ Ibid. Intro. xxix. Dave-Mukherji opines that MSS C and MSS N (Nepal) are independent witnesses to the archetype and MS N is chronologically on par with C. She groups the MSS of Nepal and Dhaka. Here we are only considering the contents of Nepal MS.

2. The Pādatāḍitaka (5th century AD) and the Kādambari do mention the term Nṛttaśāstra. ⁹⁴ Bāṇa (c. 606–647 CE) attaches it to Bharata and Śyāmilaka uses various terminologies from the NS. There must be an independent text of Nṛttaśāstra in use adapted from the dance portions of the NS. ⁹⁵ It is possible that such text got its place in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, inserted with the mentioned Vaiṣṇava elements.

3. Presence of Śānta Rasa: The addition of Śānta as the ninth *rasa* has been considered a milestone in the Saṃskṛta poetics because Bharata mentions only eight; śṛṃgārahāsyakaruṇā raudravīrabhayānakāḥ | bībhatsādbhutasaṃjño cety aṣṭau nātye rasāh smrtāh || ⁹⁶

The close relationship of Kashmir in the study of NS has already been cited. The earliest reference to the nine *rasas* known to us from the region comes in Udbhaṭa's Kāvyālaṃkāra-sāra-saṃgraha. Udbhaṭa lived in 8th century AD and was the *sabhāpati* of Kārkoṭa king Jayāpīḍa. In his text, nine *rasas* are enumerated as follows.⁹⁷

śṛṃgārahāsyakaruṇavīraraudrabhayānakā |bībhatsādbhutaśāntāśca nava nāṭye rasā smṛtā ||

Post-Udbhaṭa, the tradition of recognizing nine *rasas* is relatively consistent. Rudraṭa (825-850 AD) identifies it. The contribution of Ānandavardhana (9th century AD, contemporary of Utpala king Avantivarman) is considered being instrumental to the extent that there is a tendency of believing that Śānta in the NrS cannot be assigned before Ānandavardhana. Moreover, Kṣemendra also (990 AD to 1065 AD) recognizes the Śānta and Abhinavagupta (10th century AD) elaborately discuss the appropriateness of this new addition. From his commentary Abhinavabhāratī, we get to know that the commentators of the NS like Śankuka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka and Bhaṭṭatota have also accepted the Śānta as *rasa*.

Amongst modern scholars, V. Raghavan thinks that probably Udbhaṭa made the required changes in the NS. ⁹⁹ According to Kane, Śānta was added to the NS during 400 AD to 750 AD. ¹⁰⁰ Kavi thinks that the development took place during 450

⁹⁴ Ed. Schokker (1966) verse 53; Ed. Nirnayasagar (1916) 150.

⁹⁵ There are two independent MSS of Citrasūtra found in Varanasi.

⁹⁶ NS GOS (1992) I.6.15.

⁹⁷ Ed. Banahatti (1925)4.4.

⁹⁸ Tadashi Shimizu dates VDP III on this criterion.

⁹⁹ 1940:13.

¹⁰⁰ Op.cit.13.

to 550 AD, i.e. post-Kālidāsa and pre-Māgha. 101 Scholars have taken Kālidāsa as the lower end since the poet mentions the number of *rasas* as eight in the Vikramorvasīya. 102

However, it should be noted that the even before Udbhaṭa earliest evidence of Śānta comes in the Jain literature of Anuyogadvāra *sūtra* (5th century AD), where all nine *rasas* are mentioned. It says that an 'absence of mental perturbation characterizes the ninth Pasānto or Praśānta *rasa*; as arising from composure of the mind divested of all passions and as marked by tranquillity'. It directs our attention towards the presence of Śānta in the scheme of *rasa* quite before Udbhaṭa. Thus the probable period of Śānta addition in the NS can be accepted from 4th/5th to the first half of the 8th century AD.

Following are the references of nine *rasas* mentioned in the various chapters of the VDP *khanda* III.

1. Chap.15 Verse 14 in Mahākāvyalakṣaṇam:

śṛṃgārahāsyakaruṇā raudravīrabhayānakaiḥ | bībhatsādbhutaśāntākhyaiḥ rasaiḥ kāryaṃ samanvitaṃ ||

2. Chap.17 Verse 61 in Dvādaśarūpa:

śrṛṃgārahāsyakaruṇavīraraudrabhayānakāḥ | bībhatsādbhutaśāntākhyā nava nāṭyarasāḥ smṛtāḥ ||

3. Chap. 30, Page 101 in Rasādhyāya:

hāsyaśrṛṃgārakaruṇavīraraudrabhayānakāḥ | bībhatsādbhutaśāntākhyā nava nāṭyarasāḥ smṛtāḥ ||

4. Chap. 43, Verse 1 in Śrmgārādibhāvayuktādi:

śṛṃgārahāsyakaruṇavīraraudrabhayānakāḥ | bībhatsādbhutaśāntākhyā nava citrarasāh smṛtāh||

The similarity between the verse given by Udbhaṭa and in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III is prominent. However, the base verse belongs to the original source that is the NS. Just the Śānta sentiment is included and said that there are nine *nāṭyarasas* instead of eight. Also, in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, the verses in Dvādaśarūpanirmāṇa and Rasādhyāya are ditto. It can be concluded that Udbhaṭa is the earliest known scholar whose writing provided a Saṃskṛṭa verse enumerating the nine *rasas* based on the NS.

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¹⁰¹ NS Vol.1 (1992) Intro.4.

muninā bharatena yaḥ prayogo bhavatīṣvaṣṭarasāśrayo niyuktaḥ / lalitābhinayaṃ tamadya bhartā marutāṃ draṣṭumanāḥ salokapālaḥ || II.18.

¹⁰³ Patwardhan-Masson (1969) 37-38.

Secondly, the propensity of the VDP in following the original textual sources is evident. In the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, NS is one of the most utilized texts. It is already noted in the analysis of concerning chapter that the characteristics of Śānta mentioned in the Rasādhyāya of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III are taken from the NS's interpolated section on the Śānta. It can be inferred that by the time the NrS was compiled in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, the Śānta part had already been added in the NS. The period of this compilation can be assigned roughly from the 7th century AD to the 8th century AD, in which Kārkoṭas were in form, and cultural homogeneity in terms of the correlation between literature and fine arts became the characteristic of the art in this era. ¹⁰⁴ Perchance, Udbhaṭa and the writers of our text followed the equivalent version of the NS in which Śānta *rasa* is already introduced.

The NS commentators that Abhinavagupta consults in his commentary on the Śānta section are mainly from the 8th and 9th centuries. At one place, Abhinavagupta says, '*itihāsapurāṇābhidhānakośādau ca nava rasāḥ śrūyante*', which suggest that the nine *rasas* were already accepted in the *purāṇa* literature. It is possible that by the time of Abhinavagupta, all the three *khaṇḍas* of the VDP and the the NrS containing the verses of Śānta *rasa* had become popular in Kashmir and its surrounding regions. ¹⁰⁶

- **4.** Moreover, in the Āhāryābhinaya chapter, we have seen that the types of crowns are in concordance with the Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira. It substantiates the inference that NrS most probably was written after the 6th century AD.
- **5.** *Tāntrika* Element in the NrS: After studying all major *purāṇas* and *upa-purāṇas*, Hazra observes that *tāntrika* elements in these texts are interpolated. The Matsya, Varāha etc., absorbed the *tāntrika* material not later than the 8th century AD. The *mantras, nyāsa, mudrās* etc., of Padma have been added not earlier than 900 AD. The chapters on *mudrās* in Agni interpolated after the 9th century AD. The scholar also

 $^{^{104}\,\}mathrm{This}$ has been discussed in the introduction of the thesis.

¹⁰⁵ NS GOS (1992) I.p.333.

Agni Purāṇa also mentions all nine sentiments. Hazra estimates the date of *purāṇa* between 700 and 900 AD.

¹⁰⁷ He very peculiarly states that 'the Vedic rituals in the *purānic* chapters dating earlier than the beginning of the 9th century AD were not retained to the same extent in the chapters of later dates but were often replaced by popular elements.'

thinks that the VDP is free of *tāntrika* elements, ¹⁰⁸ which seems doubtful. The *mudrās* mentioned in Rahasya and Nṛttaśāstra *mudrā* chapters have their origin in *tāntrika* practices of not just Pāñcarātra but also of the Śaiva-Śākta beliefs as the *mudrās* are the essential parts of *āgama* religious practices. Also, the names like Stambhana, Kairiṇi, Niṣṭhurā, Pātāla-bhanjini, Bīja and *nyāsa* etc. hand gestures clearly show the *tāntrika* character. Moreover, *nyāsa* is the principal identifier of *tantra* practices, of which hand gestures are listed in the concerned chapter.

6. Iconography of Vaikuṇṭha: According to Sanderson, the section of the iconography in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III is not written before the second half of the ninth century as the text talks about the four-faced image of Viṣṇu. Iconographic evidence in Kashmir shows that four-faced Viṣṇu is a later development, preceded by three-faced images. But it seems that this development was completed by the end of the 8th century AD 110, and by 855 AD, Kārkoṭas were replaced by Utpala Avantivarman. In the iconographic representation, the back face is attributed to Kapila, who is considered a form of Pradyumna. This homology between Kapila and Pradyumna has been clearly stated in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III's section on iconography. Ithe Rahasya *mudrā* contains the gestures for Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha and Pradyumna and also that of Kapila.

7. Religious Background: Moreover, it has been noted that during Kārkoṭa and later in Utpala reign, Vaiṣṇava temple religion and that of the householders flourished simultaneously. It is well known that *mudrās* were part of both types of rites. But Nīlamata (626-855 AD) does not even once mention the performance of *mudrā* while describing various rituals that are followed by the devout *pāñcarātrika*. On the other hand, three jewels of Pāñcarātra that is Sāttvata, Jayākhya and Pauṣkara contain either the separate section on *mudrās* or they mention them while unfolding various rituals. Hazra at one point says that the Pāñcarātra practices of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III are inspired by the *saṃhitās* that were present in the religious circle. Sanderson shows

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¹⁰⁸ 1958:217.

¹⁰⁹ 2015:5.

¹¹⁰ Siudmak (2013) 390.

¹¹¹ Chapter no. 78/1 of Vairāgyarūpanirmāņa.

Sanderson shows that Pāñcarātra *saṃhitās* were in use in Kashmirian *smārta* rituals, 2015:8-9; also the later chapters in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III can shed some light on the religion of Vaiṣṇava householders. 113 1958: 202, 216-17.

the give and take that took place between the Śaivāgamas and the Pāñcarātra *saṃhitās*.¹¹⁴ We have already seen that some of the *mudrās* in the 33rd chapter indicate their similarity to the Śaivāgamas. Early mediaeval Kashmir authors had direct knowledge of many such *tantra* and *āgama* texts.¹¹⁵

The rivalry of Vaiṣṇava with not just Śaiva but also with other sects has colourfully narrated in the Āgamaḍaṃbara by Jayanta in the 9th century AD. It is noted in RT that Avantivarman who lived a life of a Śaiva believer died as the Vaiṣṇava devotee listening to the Bhagvadgītā and thinking of the abode of Viṣṇu (i.e. Vaikuṇṭha) while breathing his last. Kalhaṇa also informs that on the political front, the period after Avantivarman was disturbing. It should be noted that Āgamaḍaṃbara has been composed in this period. The insertion of the two chapters on *mudrās* in the non-*tāntrika* text of performing arts and their varied nature probably reflects the disordered socio-religious situation, especially as occurred in the post-Avantivarman Kashmir.

Secondly, along with Pāñcarātra, the Śaiva-Śākta practices of Trika and Kaula with their *tāntrika* rituals were also gaining the impetus. These practices consist of *mudrās* with various connotations attached to them. The *mudrās* mentioned in the 33rd chapter of the NrS can be seen in this light too. Remarkably, by the time of Kālikā Purāṇa (10th/first half of the 11th century AD), VDP came to be recognized as a *tantra* text. All these references fairly create the background for the late addition of *mudrā* chapters in the the NrS.

Moreover, the $mudr\bar{a}$ chapters are not in accordance with the premises of the NrS and didn't refer to in the rituals of idol installation. It adds to the possibility that these are inserted in the later period.

5. Use of the Term *Nṛṭṭa*: The NS talks about the *nṛṭṭa*, and there are certain connotations attached to it which makes it different from the *nṛṭṭa* and, of course, from *nāṭya* too. Texts like the Kuṭṭanīmata and Nīlmata Purāṇa refer to *nṛṭṭa*. The division such as *nāṭya*, *nṛṭṭa* and *nṛṭya* is the later development and considered as a significant aspect of Nāṭyaśāṭrik dance history. Historically this division is attributed to Dhananjaya's Daśarūpaka dated 10th century AD.

¹¹⁴ 2001.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.p.3, early Kashmir authors include Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇakaṇṭha (lived after first decades of 10th century AD), his son Rāmakantha, latter's pupil Vidyākantha et al.

Based on above references, some suggestions can be made about the possible period of the NrS.

- 1. The NrS chapters 20 to 31 and 34 can be dated approximately during 7th century AD to the first half of the 8th century AD. The periodical bracket from Lalitāditya to Jayāpīḍa seems potent.
- 2. The chapter of Rahasya $mudr\bar{a}$ could have been added roughly in the early or middecades of 900AD and Nṛttaśāstra $mudr\bar{a}s$ probably after a brief gap but not later than the 10^{th} century AD.

Author/s of the NrS: Divine and Human

VDP is a dialogue between sage Mārkaṇḍeya and king Vajra. It divulges through the conventional question-answer format. The NrS is part of this continuous discourse. Likewise, NS is revealed through a similar structure where sages such as Ātreya and others approached Bharata during the intermission in studies. They asked Bharata, who was surrounded by his sons that how did the Nāṭyaveda originate? Whom is it meant for, how many limbs does it hold, its scope, and how is it applied? And then, the extensive deliberation by Bharata initiates. It is the beginning of the first chapter of the NS. Notably, in the first few verses in the thirty-six chapter of NS, which narrate the myth of the descent of drama on earth, the names of sages present in this assembly are given. Total forty-five sages are listed, including Ātreya. Mārkaṇḍeya is one of the sages present in the conclave. It means that traditionally he is also the one who listened to the NS directly from Bharata. It gives a required legitimacy to the NrS in terms of Mārkandeya as its divine narrator.

The NrS is a work adapted from the NS directly. It does not contain any analysis or discussion, or comment on the concepts laid down by Bharata. The focus is to bring together the *nṛtta* portion of the NS in condensed format within the milieu of Vaiṣṇava *dharma*. The attempt is to redirect the course of an established tradition. Kashmir was the centre where the NS was extremely popular and accessible to everyone. In the case of the NrS, it could have been compiled by the well-informed person/s; however, it gives the impression that it is not a scholarly work.

We have already discussed the two phases of the creation of the NrS.

Phase1. Chapter 20 to 31, 34

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¹¹⁶ NS GOS (2006)IV.36.1ff.

Phase2. Chapter 32 and 33

The first phase is feasibly accomplished under the supervision of two experts; 1. $p\bar{a}\bar{n}car\bar{a}trika$, specifically $s\bar{a}ttvatas$ and 2. NS conversant/s. It is very much possible that both of these affiliations can be present in the same person.

The origin of *nṛṭṭa* myth is credited to Vāsudeva, which can be taken as the Vaiṣṇava signature in an attempt at textual reformation. This mindset is typical in *purāṇa* writers who credit the origins of the fundamental concepts to the patron deity. Besides, we have seen various references attributed to the religo-cultural aspect of Vaiṣṇavas inserted in different chapters of the NrS. There is ample scope to say that it is done by the Pāñcarātra adherent/s, specifically *sāttvata*/s¹¹⁷ who was well-informed of the contemporaneous Pāñcarātra practices at one end and the NS on the other. The VDP *khaṇḍa* III in many chapters expresses respect towards *sāttvatas*. Thus, in a broad sense, the writer/s of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III and the NrS was the *sāttvata*/s who did probably not belong to the performing arts background himself but was acquainted with the NS. He seems well-informed about the new developments in the tradition, with context to the Śānta *rasa* and at the same time holds an authority to amend the tradition, in context to the myth of the origin of *nṛṭṭa* and other sectarian insertions. It seems that the author/s of the NrS was more of a flag bearer of his religion than being a scholar of performing arts.

The chapters on *mudrā* explain the actual method of forming these hand gestures. This particular feature indicates that the practitioner/s must have written these chapters. But it also shows the knowledge of the *hasta* in the NS referred to in it. Of course, it is difficult to say whether these hand gestures are entirely new or borrowed from other sources. Few possibilities are already cited.

The 33rd chapter, however, has the majority of Śaiva and Śākta *mudrās* along with the gestures related to sun worship. In comparison to Śaiva-Śākta *mudrās*, the

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¹¹⁷ If Hazra's opinion is considered these were the *smārta* Vaiṣṇavas. Further he refers to the Jayākhya Saṁhitā which mentions three categories of *pāñcarātrikas*. 1. *yatis, ekantins, vaikhānasas, karmasāttvatas* and *śikhins* 2. *āptas* (those who join the order wholeheartedly), *anāptas, ārambhins, sampravartins* 3. *yogins, japa-niṣṭhas, tapasas, śāstrajñas, śāstra-dhārakas*. Hazra eruditely says that the composite character of *purāṇas* is due to the second category of Pāñcarātrikas because according to him this group shows the sectarian zeal to glorify the respective deities along with an attempt to establish the *varṇāśarma-dharma* and the authority of Vedas, (1936) 204.

Ronald Inden however thinks that the VDP is the combined outcome of the Pāñcarātra adepts and an imperial king of Kashmir and his court as he think that it was the text made for an imperial king who expected to become an ideal Pāñcarātrika king. Based on the internal evidences he concludes that the VDP is created by a person who was performing three responsibilities; a royal preceptor, a high priest and the chronologer, (2000) 40.

¹¹⁸ Ch.116.5, 98, 111.

Vaiṣṇava are less in number. Looking at the flow of this chapter in general, it ends with Vaiṣṇava *mudrās* which have once again accentuated their importance as being in Vaiṣṇava *purāṇa*. Considering all the points discussed so far, it can be said that this chapter possibly was created by a composite agent.

The Provenance of the NrS

Scholars have concluded that the VDP is written in Kashmir or the northernmost part of Punjab. 119

However, the intrinsic relation of NS with the NrS suggests that the latter must have been added in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III within the boundaries of the Kashmir valley since, in the early medieval times, the NS was probably one of the most discussed and studied texts in Kashmir. Even the chapters of *mudrās* with all its sectarian characteristics can be ascribed to the religious developments in Kashmir.

¹¹⁹ Hazra (1958) 114.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

1. Major Observations and Suggestions on Variants and Interpretations:

Chapter no.	Topic	Word/Verse	Suggestions/Remarks
Chapter 23: Utsthi-sthānaka	Aśvakrānta - Female sthānaka	pādastulāṃcitaḥ	pādastalāṃcitaḥ from MS B and C
Chapter 24: Aṅgakarma	Ākampita – a type of <i>śiraḥ</i>	kampita bahuśaḥ kathitaṃ yacca tadā kampitamiṣyate	Follows NS bahuśaścalitam yacca tatkampitamihocyate
Same as above	Kampita – a type of <i>uru</i>	namannonamane pārantyormahipṛṣṭhebh dute yadā sthitvā pādatalāgreṇa kampitaṃ tu tadiṣyate	Suggested in Cr. Ed. pārṣṇyormahipṛṣṭhedrute Our suggestion: pārantyormahipṛṣṭhedrute
Same as above	Usage of Stambhana – a type of uru	bhīmordhasaviṣādeṣu stambhanaṃ saṃprayojayet	Suggested in Cr. Ed. hrīsādhvasaviṣādeṣu Our suggestion: sādhvasa and bhīma similar meaning.
Chapter 25: Upāngikādhyāya	Valana and Gamana: Types of tārakā	valanaṃ gamanaṃ tiryakcalanāccalanaṃ bhavet	Our suggestion: Should be understood as given in the NS: valanam gamanam tryaśram and calanam kampanam jñeyah
Same as above	Usage of Mandā: a type of <i>nāsikā</i>	natā tu rucite kāryā	Originally it would have been <i>rudite</i> following the MS <i>da</i> of the NS.

Chapter 26: Hastādhyāya	Kartarīmukha: a single hand gesture	kāryoyaṃ parivāreṣu bhinnaśca pataneṣu ca	Suggested by Shah: pathicāreşu. Our suggestion: based on Kuṭṭanimata's reference of āpta and parivāra.
Chapter 32: Rahasya <i>mudrā</i>	Aniruddha's banner.	kuñcitāṃgulirardhacan draḥ dṛśyaśikharau kanīyasyaṅgulyagralag nau saṃhatāguṣṭhaḥ śankhaḥ	Our suggestion: rṣyaśikharau kanīyasyaṅgulyagralagnau / Aniruddha's banner.
Chapter 33: Nṛttaśāstra mudrā	Nyāsa gestures. Hṛn, Śirah, Śikhā, Kavaca, Netra and Astra.	Śikṣā mudrā	Our suggestion: It should be Śikhā based on the scheme of <i>mudras</i> . Also the Venkteshvara Press edition notes Śikhā.

2. New Contributions Including Vaiṣṇava Elements (marked in bold):

Chapter No.	Aspects
20	Aṅgahāras: Talamanda, Vikṣipta, Udvartaka, Balāhaka , Āngika, Ratikriḍa, Saumya, Karita, Vilāpa. Karaṇas: Bhramita, Vilāsa, Vānara-pluta, Nāga-prakīḍita , Vipluta, Parikṣipta, Aja-pluta, Maṇḍita.
21	līlā-saṃveśana: the usage of Udvāhita laying down posture.
22	Seat for <i>sāṃvatsara</i> .
23	A new type of $gr\bar{v}\bar{a}$ by the name Catura, Rju as the new mouth movement, $uddharana$ as the use of Aligha.
24	Abhigamana as the usage of Kuncita pāda.

25	Saumyā as the new <i>sthāyi-dṛṣṭi</i> , Lokita a new sight.
27	New information on skin colour combinations – various colours of $\dot{s}y\bar{a}ma$ and $\dot{s}ikhara/c$ rests, cloths for courtesans.
29	Raudra gati: padmāntrāṅgadhara may have been written inspired by the form of ferocious Narasiṃha.
30	Vairāgya as the sthāyi bhāva and Para-puruṣa as the deity of Śānta.
31	Krīḍā as new sancāri bhāva and the mention of Dayāvīra.
32 and 33	Rahasya <i>mudrās</i> and their possible association and interpretation with reference to the Pratiṣṭhā chapters in the VDP <i>khaṇḍa</i> III, Pāñcarātra scriptures and iconography.
34	Origin of nṛtta.

- **3.** The VDP *khanda* III and the writing of the NrS show multiple triggers. First comes from the on-going textual study and growing religious importance of NS, second from the rising temple establishments and ritual activities inside the temples and third in concurrence with the second, the writing of temple ritual manuals.
- **4.** The dance matter in the VDP *khaṇḍa* III has been presented in two ways which ultimately contributes in the spread of Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇavism.
- a. As one of the aspects in the series of disciplines that helps to understand the nuances of image-making.
- b. In the temple rituals.
- **5.** The VDP *khaṇḍa* III is an attempt to present the otherwise homogenous theme of the NS in a properly divided arrangement under the umbrella of one sect. As a result, the focus has shifted from drama to religion. The VDP *khaṇḍa* III is the compilation of such śāstras.

- **6.** The pedagogical linking gives appropriate access to fulfill the religious motive. Once the promulgators agree to use the traditional knowledge for the cause, the need to produce an altogether new content ends, and the task becomes easy. The Vaiṣṇavite elements in the NrS are the results of this contemplation. Once the sectarian mark is stamped on the adapted text, it remains forever in that structure whether in liturgy, mythology or literature. Then the newly adapted sectarian form of that discipline disconnects from its source and the original context, at least to some extent.
- **7.** Studies of variants have shown that the NrS is most closely related to NS MSS ma followed by bha, da, and N.
- **8.** It is also a question of whether the NrS could free itself from the context of drama while writing about different aspects of *nṛtta*. From the analysis, particularly of the chapters 20, 27, 28 and 30 it can be noted that the author/s of the NrS couldn't detach *nṛtta* from the NS tradition as they couldn't leave the context of *nāṭya* entirely as it is an inherent premise of the NS. But they certainly seem to have tried to connect many aspects of it with *nṛtta*. The common conceptual threads between drama and dance proved helpful here. Therefore, topics related to drama are also a part of this section. Bringing entire theatrical tradition of Bharata into a Vaiṣṇava tradition of art is a part of the broad goal.

However various references show that the creators of the VDP khanda III fundamentally were intended to focus on the nrtta. Simply because $n\bar{a}tya$ is not the part of temple ritual but nrtta is, thus more important.

- **9.** A clear connection between *rasa* and *nṛtta* is an important aspect of this text in terms of the division and connotations attached with the concepts of *nṛtta* and *nṛtya* as seen in the later tradition.
- **10.** In addition to NS, the Bṛhatsaṃhitā and the Kāmasūtra have also been noted as possible sources. Similarly, the potential gives and takes with Pāñcarātra and Śaivāgamas have been noted in the discussion of *mudrās*.

- 11. The chapters on the Rahasya and the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās* are the significant contribution of the VDP *khaṇḍa* III, which provides a distinct ritualistic connotation to the NrS and connects dance with *āgama* methods of worship. The Rahasya and the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās* are rare examples of one of its kind in terms of their inclusion in the dance text. These two chapters reflect crucial developmental stage in the relationship between dance and *tantra*.
- 12. The texts like NS usually convey information in two ways: 1. systematic data about technical aspects, rules and instructions, and 2. its mythology. It can be said that the NrS is an instance recorded in a Vaiṣṇava $pur\bar{a}ṇa$ which shows how religious aspiration shapes the tradition with the help of the established $ś\bar{a}stras$. It has been done on same two levels as mentioned above.
 - 1. By incorporating the religious elements in technical data.
 - 2. Through mythology.

For pure $\dot{s}\bar{a}stra$ texts probably it is difficult to do such alterations since fundamentally and as generally believed they are or expected to be secular in nature. But the $pur\bar{a}nas$, as well as the $\bar{a}gamas$ can because they represent the theology and ritual of a specific sect. Comparatively, $\bar{a}gamas$ are more tight and conservative, but $pur\bar{a}nas$ are loose and comprehensive. $\bar{A}gamas$ are more evident in their religious attribution. Since the objectives of $pur\bar{a}nas$ are different, such development can take place in them relatively easily. Such is the case of the NrS.

13. Lastly it can be said that the inter-disciplinary references found in the text reflect a thought, that once knowledge or discipline is associated with the worship of Viṣṇu, it is uplifted to the highest level. It becomes as effective as the sacrifice and offers salvation, and beneficial to the mortal life and life after death. So the purpose is to make the branches of knowledge a part of Viṣṇu centric world and bring idolatry at par with the sacrifice and the knowledge of Viṣṇu as imperative as the Vedas. It is an integrated plan and traditional $\dot{sastras}$ of nrtta, $g\bar{t}ta$, citra etc. are the components of it. Therefore, re-writing the NS was not the only objective of the NrS but bringing it under the Vaiṣṇava sect was!

VI.1. Scope for Further Research:

The next step in this study is to verify the information with dance texts other than NS. It includes a large number of mediaeval texts.

Furthermore, the information in this thesis can be used to know the performing aspect of the NrS. It can include both recreations of various movements and verification concerning today's dance styles. Unfortunately, we do not find the instructions of new *karaṇas* or *aṅgahāras* in this text, but if we do, it will shed light on its performance aspect. Significant efforts have been made in modern times to reconstruct *karaṇas*. This new information will undoubtedly be valuable in that regard.

The Rahasya and the Nṛttaśāstra *mudrās* can be studied at various levels as they hold great potential. Both of these can play an essential role in the study of the relationship between dance and *tantra*. Apart from this, the relevance of these hand gestures can also be examined in terms of iconography. Moreover, the execution of these *mudrās* and their use in the rituals can be a separate topic of research.

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Harvan terracotta tiles depicting a dancer, musicians and a hunter, 3rd century AD. Courtesy: Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



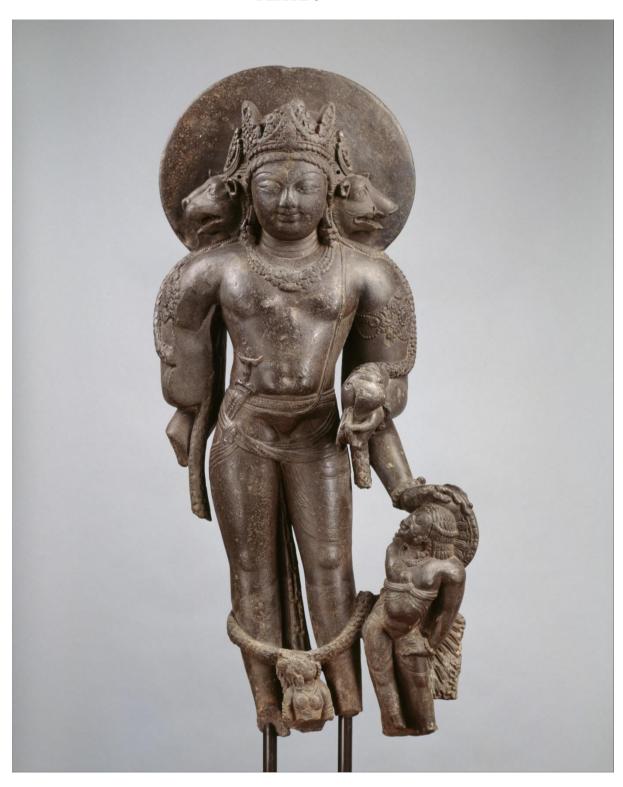
Terracotta tile from Darad Kut, Huthmura. Courtesy: Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

PLATE 2





Vaikuṇṭha Viṣṇu, Chlorite schist, 875-900AD, Kashmir. Source: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



Vaikuṇṭha Viṣṇu, last quarter of 8th century AD, Kashmir. Courtesy: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts



Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu, 9^{th} century AD, Kashmir (line drawing after Siudmak 2013). Courtesy: Vibha Oke, Pune.



A decorated *prabhāvalaya* depicting Vaiṣṇava deities generally known as Devsar halo,

Second half of 9th century AD, Bronze, Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Śeṣaśāyin, Devsar Halo. Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Hayagrīva, Devsar Halo. Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Viṣṇu killing Madhu and Kaiṭabha, Devsar Halo. Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Bhū-Varāha, Devsar Halo. Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies.



At upper position seven headed transcendental form of Viṣṇu and below Yoga Viṣṇu sitting on the lotus, Devsar Halo.

Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Narasiṃha killing Hiraṇyakaśipu, Devsar Halo. Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Vāmana, Devsar Halo. Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Trivikrama, Devsar Halo. Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies.





Three-headed Viṣṇu sitting on lotus, Devsar Halo. Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Vaikuṇṭha-Lakṣmi riding on *garuḍa*, Phyllite, 11th C AD, Courtesy: The Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



Śiva in Urdhvajānu *karaṇa*, second or third quarter of 10th century AD, Payar. Source: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Sātavāhana king Yajñaśrī Sātakarņī in Kākapakṣa hairstyle, Silver. Source: Internet.



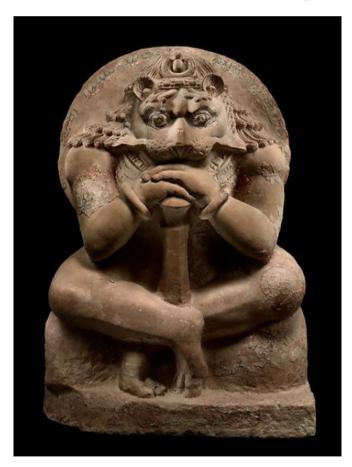
Yakşa in Tri-śikhaṇḍaka hairstyle, Sātavāhana period, Andhra Pradesh. Courtesy: National Mission of Monuments and Antiquities.



Kumāra in Tri-śikhaṇḍaka hairstyle, Stone, 8th-9th Century AD, Kashmir Courtesy: Los Angeles County Museum of Arts.



Squatting Narasimha, Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. Source: Kiki Mathawan, Travel the Himalayas.



Narasimha with head resting on the mace,
Dolomitic limestone, with remains of plaster decoration with polychrome,
7th-8th century AD, Afghanistan or Northern Pakistan.
Courtesy: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Viṣṇu crushing the demons Madhu-Kaiṭabha, Phyllite, 8th Century AD, Kashmir. Courtesy: Source: The Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



The Brahmanical Triad: Brahmā, Śiva, Viśṇu, Stone, 8th–9th century AD, Kashmir. Courtesy: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



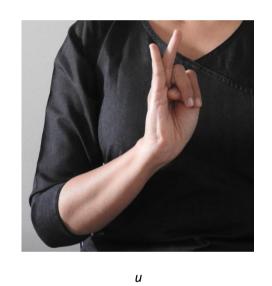
Viśvarupa, Stone, 6th century AD, Kashmir. Courtesy: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.





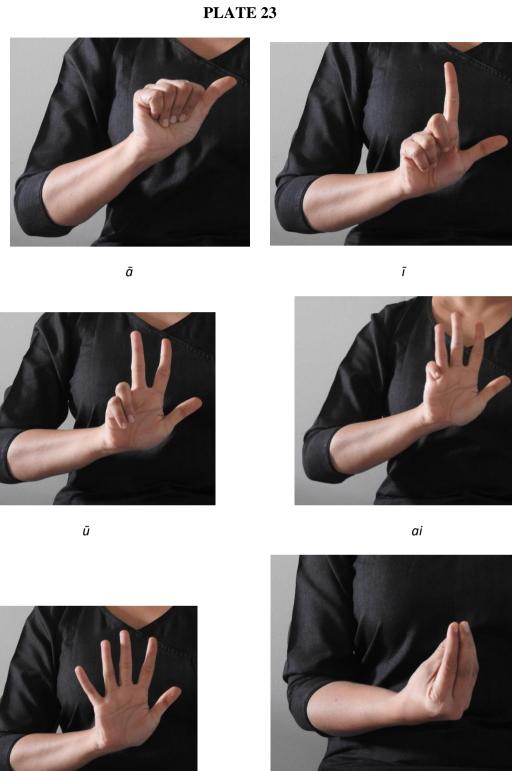
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Vāsudeva



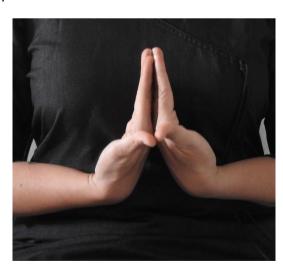
Saṃkarṣaṇa



Pradyumna

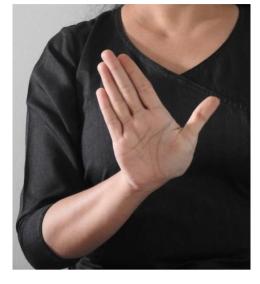


Purușa



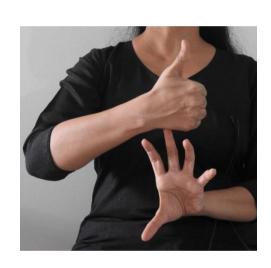
Tārkṣya





Tāla Makara





Śeṣa Bhogaśayana





Cakra Gadā









Carma Khadga



Śara and Dhanu





Kaustubha Vanamālā







Hayaśira



Vāmana



Trivikrama



Kūrma



Haṃsa



Dattātreya



Paraśurāma



Dāśarathī



Krṣṇa



Baladeva



Vişņu



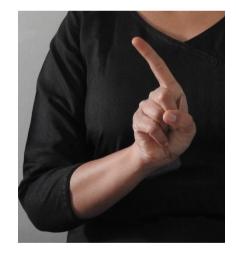


Pṛthvī Toya





Agni Vāyu





Antarikşa Arka



Candra



Nara-Nārāyaṇa



Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Maheśvara



Kapila



Veda



Ŗgveda



Yajurveda



Sāmaveda



Gāyatrī



Śikṣā



Vyākaraņa



Jyotişa



Chandoviciti