

A GLIMPSE INTO THE SANSKRIT AND OTHER FORMS OF DRAMA IN MEDIEVAL GUJARAT

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The region known as Gujarat received this designation during the rule of its first Caulukya monarch, Mūlarāja I. Their capital was then known as Aṇahillapāṭaka, Pattana, or Aṇahillapura, and now as Pāṭana in North Gujarat. Aṇahillapura was, for nearly 250 years, a prosperous city and a seat of learning, culture, and trade. Caulukya was the golden period of the history of Gujarat.

Siddharāja Jayasimha (A.D.1095 -1144), the greatest of the Caulukya monarchs of Gujarat, expanded the kingdom's frontiers by his conquests of Mālavā in Madhya Pradesh and Mevād in west Rajasthan, the Lāṭa territory had been already incorporated in south Gujarat. In Dharā, when he noticed the great *bhaṇḍāras* of manuscripts and an atmosphere of learning, he felt its dearth in Gujarat. He took steps to encourage men of different sects, *brāhmaṇas* as well as Jainas, to write on the various aspects and in different categories of Sanskrit literature. In his kingdom flourished Jaina scholars and *brāhmaṇa* pandits. Among them had prominently stood a great Jaina pontiff, Ācārya Hemacandra.

Siddharāja Jayasimha was an enlightened king and during his time many temples were built which were enriched by figural sculptures showing postures which accorded with the *karaṇas* of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He built a great reservoir in the environs of the capital and aptly called it 'Sahasraliṅga', because a thousand Śivaliṅga shrines encircled its banks. He also built *vidyāpīṭhas* for the students and the teachers, both of whom lived there free. Any learned man wanting to pursue his studies could stay there as long as he wished, and free of sustenance worries.

The king was in the habit of touring in the city, often *inognito* for finding out as to how the people fared and what they said. Once, disguised as a lay man, he entered one of the temples, named Karṇameru. There, a Sanskrit play was being staged. He took his seat by the side of an ordinary man who was engrossed in watching the play. After a while, to his surprise, that man rested his hand on his shoulder. He did this again and again, offered betel nuts and camphor to his neighbour, the king, who responded by accepting these.

After the play, the king asked his attendants to find out all about the man. The next day, to his court, he summoned the man and told him : "My neck is aching from the weight of the hand that you rested on it last night." But the man, with quick wit as he was, replied : "If Your Majesty does not feel the weight of the whole earth, reaching the verge

of ocean, what pain can it feel from the weight of my arm, that of a mere lifeless man of straw, who subsists by trade?" The king was delighted by his answer and gave him gifts¹. In this instance we notice the great king watching a performance in the company of the common people, *in cognito*, and his keen interest in the play.

Sanskrit Drama

During Siddharāja's times and those of his successors, several plays were composed in Sanskrit and Prakrit by Jaina *munis* and *brāhmaṇa* pandits, some of whom were residing in Aṇahillapura, the capital. Hemacandrācārya, the doyen of scholars, had a learned *śiṣya-maṇḍala* (group of disciples). His chief disciple Rāmacandra composed about 11 Sanskrit plays.

The first play written in Gujarat was in A. D. 868 by a Jaina writer Śīlācārya. The play in Sanskrit, named the *Vibudhānanda*, is included within the poet's larger work, the *Caṭṭpannamahāpurisacariya* (the life-stories of 54 great men), in Prakrit prose and verse. This one-act Sanskrit play resembles an *Utśṛṣṭikāṅka* type of the ten Rūpakas mentioned by Bharata, which ends with the death of the hero. Its peculiarity is that its *prastāvanā* begins with a character called Nāndī who recites the Nāndī-śloka and, after his exit, enters the *Sūtradhāra* with the usual stage-direction "nāndyaṅte". In Sanskrit plays, the Nāndī is sung from behind the curtain.

The *Vibudhānanda* deals with the story of a minister named Vimalamati, who hopes to bring his king Mahābala, who is engrossed in worldly pleasures, to the path of righteousness. Knowing that the king was fond of witnessing plays, he arranges to stage a play in which the king Rājaśekhara gets his daughter Bandhumatī married to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince named Lakṣmīdhara. But, as ordained by fate, Lakṣmīdhara dies of snake-bite soon after marriage. And Bandhumatī immolates herself as a *sati* after her husband. The King Rājaśekhara, greatly distressed by this untoward happening, renounces the world and embraces *pravrajyā* (renunciation). The enactment of this play had the desired effect on King Mahābala, who, after seeing it, renounces the world, thus fulfilling the intention of the minister. The play emphasises the fact that the fate is blind, cruel, and to defy it is fruitless : and there is no escape from death².

In Gujarat, several types out of the ten Rūpakas, had been written. The next play that we come across is by the Kashmirī poet Bilhaṇa who visited Pāṭaṇa and was patronized by King Karṇadeva's minister Sampatkara (*Sāntū mantri*). Bilhaṇa wrote a *nāṭikā* entitled *Karṇasundarī*. It depicts the marriage of Karṇasundarī, a *vidyādhari* in the play, who, however, was the guise for the princess of Karṇāṭaka, named Mayaṇalladevī (*Mailaladevī*), to whom was born the great Siddharaja Jayasimha. The *nāṭikā* might have been inspired by Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*. This *nāṭikā* was staged in the temple of Ādinātha in Pāṭaṇa at the time of the *yātrā-mahotsava* during Śāntyutsava, as mentioned in its

prastāvanā. It was composed in c. A. D. 1070.

Rāmacandra (A. D. 1089-1173), the accomplished *literti* and disciple of Ācārya Hemacandra, wrote the following eleven plays : the *Nalavilāsa*, the *Raghuvilāsa*, the *Yaduvilāsa*, the *Satya-Hariścandra*, the *Nirbhayabhīma-vyāyoga*, the *Mallikā-Makaraṇḍa-prakaraṇa*, the *Rāghavābhyudaya*, the *Rohiṇimṛgāṅka-prakaraṇa*, the *Vanamālā-nāṭikā*, the *Kaumudimitrānanda*, and the *Yādavābhyudaya*.

Among these, we find that he has tried his hand on the different types of Rūpakas, such as the *Nāṭaka*, the *Prakaraṇa*, the *Nāṭikā*, and the *Vyāyoga*. (He considers 12 Rūpakas with *Nāṭikā* derived from *Nāṭaka* and *Prakaraṇī* from *Prakaraṇa*, two more than Bharata's). He chooses his themes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *purāṇas*, and also from the life of common people. Although he was a Jain *muni*, he has chosen to depict a sentiment like *śṛṅgāra*. Some critics apparently criticised him for writing plays depicting erotic sentiments, for a Jain *muni* was expected not to indulge in that class of writings. But he was a man of independent thinking, who loved his freedom of expression. In his *Nalavilāsa-nāṭaka*, he prayed to Lord Jineśvara:

स्वतंत्रे देव ! भूयासं सारमेयो पि वर्त्मनि ।
मा स्म भूवं पश्यत्तत्रिलोकस्यापि नायकः ॥

"I would any day prefer the free life of a street dog to the sovereignty of the three worlds that is dependent on others³." Indeed, he had preferred to die a tragic death by biting his tongue than to succumb to the punishment inflicted by the then ruling cruel king Ajayapāla, who is said to have ordered him to sit on a hot tin-plate for opposing his enthronement.

Out of the 11 plays of Rāmacandra⁴, the seven-act *Nalavilāsa* stands out in deviating from the usual story of Nala-Damayantī and making it stage-worthy. It is noteworthy for its *garbhāṅka* (a play within a play) which depicts *Karuṇa-rasa* at its best. This *garbhāṅka* is in the sixth Act. In the beginning of the sixth Act, there is a *svगतोक्ति* (soliloquy) of Nala which gives the information that, after his abandonment of Damayantī in the forest, his father appearing in the form of a serpent, transforms him (Nala) into an ugly man and that he is serving as a cook at the palace of Dadhiparṇa, the king of Ayodhyā. The King, who came to know about his mastery in some special arts, invites him to witness a play to be staged by some actors from Vidarbha. Nala comes, hoping to get some news of Damayantī, whom he earlier had abandoned in the forest but now very much regrets his deed.

The *garbhāṅka* begins with the entry of the *sūtradhāra* who announces the title of the play to be performed as *Nalānvesaṇa-prabandha* (the *prabandha* of the search of Nala). As he hears the voice of Damayantī from the *nepathya*, he makes his exit after reciting the

śloka that my *namaskāras* to that fortunate man who has never suffered the pangs of separation from his beloved.

Then enters Damayantī and two servants named Gāndhāra and Piṅgalaka of a *sārthavāha* (roving merchant) named Dhanapati. Seeing Damayantī alone in the forest, they ask her to go with Dhanapati, the *sārthavāha*. But Damayantī, unable to bear the separation, reaches a *cakravāka* bird, a female elephant, a bear, and a peacock and inquires each one of them the whereabouts of Nala, her husband. She shouts in the forest, "O, come my dear" ! and, on hearing the echo, she thinks Nala has replied. She runs after her own shadow taking it to be Nala. Her delicate feet are pierced by thorns and to take shelter from the burning sun, she goes to an *āmrakuñja* (mango-grove) where she sees a lion, and she rushes towards it to be devoured, but Gāndhāra, one of the servants, prevents her. She tries to strangle herself by a creeper, unable to bear her pain but Piṅgalaka saves her. Exhausted, Damayantī swoons and falls. The two men decide to hand her over to the *sārthavāha*, and the *garbhāṅka* ends.

The play-act had been staged so effectively that the king Dadhiparṇa rushes to the *raṅga* to touch the feet of Damayantī taking her to be the real one. And he and others censure Nala in very strong terms. Nala himself, in the form of Bāhuka, is so much touched by the sufferings of Damayantī caused by his abandonment, that he wishes he were dead so that the unbearable wailings of his beloved would not be heard; he wishes that he were blind so that he would not have to see the pitiable plight for which he was responsible, and wishes to be engulfed in the earth. His mental state becomes so unbearable that he, too, rushes to the stage, forgetting that it was only a play. The poet has so effectively depicted *Karuṇa rasa* by this *garbhāṅka* that it touches the hearts of the spectators and makes them forget that they are witnessing only a play. The *garbhāṅka* appears in a very few Sanskrit plays, among which this is less known though in no way less important or of lesser merit than others⁵. It is enough to show how touching the whole play is. In the earlier acts of this seven-act play, the *Nalavilāsa*, the *kathā* (taken from the *Mahābhārata*) begins with Nala seeing a portrait of Damayantī. He falls deeply in love with her, and feels an intense desire to meet her. Then comes the episode of Damayantī-svayamvara. She garlands Nala signifying her choosing him as her husband.

Rāmacandra's another notable play is the *Raghuvilāsa* in which the "Rāma-kathā" is depicted according to the Jaina version and not the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. Even in following the Jaina tradition, he has made some changes to suit his dramatic vision. Raghu in the play is not to be taken as an ancestral individual name but as a Paitrka cognomen. In the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, several examples are quoted from the *Raghuvilāsa* which is noteworthy. This play seems to have been popular at the time, because its abridgement, the *Raghuvilāsa-nāṭakoddhāra*, was also made; in it most of the prose dialogues are substituted by verses.

Some plays had been written on certain historically significant events. Among these may be mentioned the *Mudrita-Kumudacandra-prakarāṇa* (c. 2nd quarter of the 12th century), dealing with the doctrinal debate between the supporters of the two Jain sects, the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara. In the court of Siddharaja Jayasimha, the Digambara dialection Kumudacandra and the Śvetāmbara Devasūri held the religious debate on whether “a woman can attain salvation or not” and whether “a clothed one” can attain release or not. This 16 day long debate on doctrinal divergencies of the sects was woven into a five-act play by Yaśaścandra, a protégé of the king of Sapādalakṣa. Importance of this play lies in its depiction of the religious and social conditions of Gujarat at that time. From the *prastāvanā* of the play, it is clear that the poet wrote four more plays, but nothing is at present known about them.

The *Moharājaparājaya* is an allegorical play, written some time between A. D. 1173 and 1176. It was staged during the *yātrā-mahotsava* in the Kumāra-vihāra in the town of Thārāpadra (Tharād) in North Gujarat. Its author, Yaśaḥpāla, was a minister of king Ajayapāla who was not favourably disposed to Jainism. The theme of the play is to depict the marriage of Kumārapāla (who preceded Ajayapāla) to Kṛpāsundarī, the daughter of the allegorical King Vivekacandra of the Puruṣamanonagara, which had been attacked by Moharāja (the King of Delusion) as a spy (*cara*) named Jñānadarpaṇa announces, and that the king had fled his kingdom and taken refuge in the *tapovana* (hermitage) of Hemacandra. All characters have allegorical appellations except King Kumārapāla of Pattana, Hemacandra, and the Viduṣaka. All other characters are symbolic of the good or bad qualities in the human beings. The purpose of the play was to extend the sway of Jainism in the kingdom by making the king embrace that religion under the influence of which he would banish some of the vices in the State, such as gambling, meat eating, *sunā* (butcher), theft, drinking, *vyabhicāra* (prostitution), etc. These abstract qualities appear as characters and they lament that the former kings had permitted them to stay, but now this monarch wants them to leave except at the mansions of the *gaṇikās* (courtesans). In the end, Moharāja is conquered with the help of the armour in the form of the *Yogaśāstra* and the “*Vītarāgastuti*” (prayer to Jina), the unseen Vidyā (knowledge), and returns the kingdom of the Manonagara to its king Vivekacandra. The play provides a fine example of the social and religious conditions of Gujarat of that time.

In the 13th century, Gujarat had been attacked from the south by the Yādava king Siṅhaṇa and from the north by the Muslim army at the same time. But Vastupāla, the illustrious prime-minister of King Viradhavala of Dhavalakakka (Dholkā), defeated both the invaders. To commemorate this famous victory, Jayasimha Sūri of Bhṛgukaccha wrote a play named the *Hammīramadamardana* some time between A. D. 1221 and 1229. Since the play was penned by a contemporary writer, it contains useful historical material. It has five acts, the first two of which depict how Vastupāla succeeds in breaking up the alliance between the Yādava King and the Lāṭa prince Saṅgrāmsimha

with the help of his secret agents. This gives some idea of the secret service of the times as in the *Arthasāstra*. In some ways, the play betrays some resemblance to the *Mudrārākṣasa*, but it also differs from it in several ways. The play ends with a note of *adbhuta*, since in the end Śiva himself appears to bless Vastupāla. It was performed during the *yātrā-mahotsava* of Bhīmeśvaradeva by the order of Jayantasimha, son of Vastupāla.

Another notable play is the *Prabuddha-Rauhiṇeya* by Rāmabhadra Sūri⁶. This six-act play was performed during the *yātrā-mahotsava* in the temple of Ādinātha, built by two Jaina brothers named Yaśovīra and Ajayapāla at Jhalor. The *vastu* or theme of the play is taken from some contemporary incident of the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. It depicts the story of a clever thief named Rauhiṇeya who evades capture inspite of vigorous efforts made. But finally he is caught. A clever trick is used by the minister for making him confess his crimes. A hall was transformed to look like Indrabhavana and the *gaṇikās* dressed like *apsarases* stood there to serve and question Rauhiṇeya, who is brought there in a heavily drunken condition. When he was somewhat sober, he found himself surrounded by beautiful damsels who tell him that they are so happy to have him among them and they dance and sing in joy. He felt he was really in heaven! Now, Rauhiṇeya had been earlier advised by his father never to listen to the words of lord Mahāvīra. Once, while passing through a place near which Mahāvīra was delivering a sermon, he closed his ears. But a thorn pricked his foot and he was forced to hear a few words of the sermon- "that gods never perspire, they do not tire, never wink, and their feet do not touch the ground." And Rauhiṇeya in his present situation realizes that what he sees is merely a trick of the minister to make him confess his crimes. When asked what *puṇyas* (merits) he accrued that brought him there, he says he has done nothing but good and noble deeds all his life !

The trick of the minister having failed, he informs the king to release Rauhiṇeya as nothing could be proven. The king orders that he should be brought before him. When the king tells him that he is set free, he is unable to believe. He realized that, if a few words of Mahāvīra could save his life, then, by surrendering himself to the Jina, he could be free from this wretched cycle of life and death for ever. He surrendered all the wealth he had amassed by stealing. Thus, he took to the path to Enlightenment⁷.

Apart from the *Nāṭaka*, the *Nāṭikā*, and the *Prakaraṇa*, the other Rūpaka type that had been employed in Gujarat is the *Vyāyoga* which is a one-act play. Three *vyāyogas* so far have been found. The *Nirbhaya-Bhīma-vyāyoga* of Rāmacandra, the *Pārthaparākrama* of Prahalādanadeva, and the *Śaṅkharābhava* of Harihara. In these *vyāyogas*, of Gujarat and elsewhere, usually Bhīma or Arjuna are the heroes. But in *Śaṅkharābhava* of Harihara, the hero is the famous minister Vastupāla, a contemporary, who has been chosen as the main character.

The *Nirbhaya-Bhīma* deals with the story of how Bhīma kills Bakāsura, who wants one

person from each family every day for his meal. The episode took place while the Pāṇḍavas were in exile. They heard the wailing of the mother and wife of a *brāhmaṇa* who was to be the victim of the demon. Bhīma consoled them, saying that he will substitute himself for the *brāhmaṇa*. In the end, after the demon had been killed, the play ends with the *Bharatavākya* of the *brāhmaṇa* blessing Bhīma.

The *Pārthaparākrama* was composed by Prahalādandeva, the younger brother of the Paramāra King Dhārāvarṣa of Ābū, in V. S. 1226 (A. D. 1170) while he was still an heir-apparent. The play was performed during the *Pavitrakāropana* festival in the Acaleśvara temple on Mt. Ābū by the order of the king. Its *kathāvastu* (plot) is taken from the "Virāṭa-parva" of the *Mahābhārata* when the Pāṇḍavas were to remain *in cognito* in the last year of their exile and had sought employment with king of Virāṭa. The Kauravas attempted to drive away the cows of Virāṭa and Arjuna defeated them, and brought the animals back. This *vyāyoga* is noteworthy from the viewpoint of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* conventions. After the *nāndī śloka*, usually it is the *sthāpaka* who first enters and recites two *ślokas*, and then enters a *naṭa* who addresses him as *sūtradhāra*. Here, however, it is the *sthāpaka* who enters first. But in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, the first entry after the *nāndī* is made by the *sūtradhāra*, who performs the *jarjara pūjā*, etc. as a part of the *pūrvaraṅga*, alongwith *pāripārśvika* and the *viduṣaka*, and after their exit enters the *sthāpaka* who resembles the *sūtradhāra* in every way and performs the *sthāpanā*⁸. The author claims to depict *Dīpta rasa* in the play. The play ends with the *Bharatavākya* sung by Indra instead of the *nāyaka* (hero) as was the convention in the earlier Sanskrit plays.

Kavi Harihara was a *brāhmaṇa* from Gauḍa-deśa. He was on a pilgrimage to Somanātha in Gujarat, and on his way had stopped at Stambhatīrtha where governed the great Vastupāla, the minister of King Viradhavala. Harihara was so impressed by Vastupāla's many fine qualities that he wrote the *Śaṅkharābhava-vyāyoga* commemorating an important event in Vastupāla's life. The *nāyaka* of the play depicts how Vastupāla defeated Śaṅkha (the chief of Lāṭa). The peculiarity of the play is that, like the *Pārthaparākrama*, the *sthāpaka* and the *sūtradhāra* are shown as unified and like the earlier-mentioned *vyāyoga*, the *Bharatavākya śloka* is sung by the *śreṣṭhi* (Vastupāla ?) with *pūjā* of Bhagavatī who blesses all through the *Ākāśabhāṣita*.

Among the *nāṭakas*, Someśvaradeva's *Ullāgha-Rāghava* is also a notable example, written by the hereditary *rājapurohita* (chief priest) of the Caulukya kings of Anahillpura - pattana⁹. Besides this play, he has several other Sanskrit works to his credit, among which is the *Kīrtikaumudī*, a *kāvya* praising his friend and patron Vastupāla. Someśvaradeva praised Vastupāla not just because of his friendship and patronage but also because he was a great warrior and an equally great patron of the learned, the builder of the temples at Śatruñjaya, Girnāra, and several other places, and a well known *literti* in his own right. In the cultural and political history of Gujarat in the 13th century,

he had played an invaluable role alongwith his brother Tejapāla. The *Ullāgha-Rāghava* has a verse at the end of each of its nine acts in praise of Vastupāla's many noble qualities, particularly his generosity.

The story of Rāma is presented in the form of *nāṭaka*, which was performed in the Jaganmandira of Dvārikā on the sacred day of the Prabodhinī-ekādaśī. It was performed before an assembly of learned *brāhmaṇa* pandits. The *sthāpaka* enters after the *nāndī śloka*s in praise of Śri Kṛṣṇa, and tells the *naṭī* that the play *Ullāgha-Rāghava* is to be performed before the august assembly of the *brāhmaṇa* pandits who have gathered there from many places on the occasion of the sacred *parva* (festival).

The play begins with the departure of Sītā from her home in Janakapurī after her wedding with Rāma, a scene somewhat resembling the fourth act of the *Śākuntala*, in which Śakuntalā takes leave of the *āśrama*-inmates, of course under different conditions and situation. The play is based on the *nāṭyaśāstric* rules and must have been popular among the people because of its theme. The play was written at the request of Someśvara's son. (He seems to have written one other play also, which, however, is not available).

Another peculiarity of the *Ullāgha-Rāghava* is that its fourth Act ends with the wordsउल्लाघराघवेच्छायानाटके चतुर्थोङ्कः and in the 7th Act¹⁰, two characters, Vakramukha and Kārpāṭika, are describing among themselves the Laṅkā war between Rāma-Rāvaṇa forces :

सखे ! कियदप्यन्तर्गतं मया रामलक्ष्मणयोः स्वरूपं स्वामिनो मनोविनोदाय पत्रपट्टे ..
विन्यस्तमस्ति । तद् अवलोकयतु । इति पट्टमर्पयति,

कार्पाटिकः गृहीत्वा विलोक्य च । साधु महामते ! साधु ।
छायानाट्यानुसारेण मनोहरमिदमालिखितं भवता ॥
इति वाचयति

Here, the words *छायानाट्य* and *छायानाटके* are used. Another *chāyānāṭaka*, named the *Dutāṅgada* by Subhata (A.D.1242-1244), is also known. This is said to be the first *chāyānāṭaka* proper in the Sanskrit literature. It was staged in Pāṭaṇa during the *dolotsava* in the Śiva temple by the order of the then king, Tribhuvanapāla. Subhata was also a *protégé* of Vastupāla¹¹. The *Dharmābhyudaya* of Meghaprabhācārya (A. D. 1217) seems to have been written for the puppet theatre as it is mentioned in one of its stage-directions. It has been called a *chāyānāṭaka*¹².

Muslim Period

Plays continued to be written and staged during the Muslim Period also. Noteworthy among them was the *Gaṅgadāsapratāpavilāsa* of Rājakavi Gaṅgādhara (A. D. 1449). It depicts the theme of the defeat of Sultān Muhammad of Ahmedabad and his ally, the chief of Idar, by Rājā Gaṅgādasa of Chāmpāner. The play is a landmark in the cultural history of Gujarat, because the actors who staged this play came from far off Vijayanagara. It was staged in the *sabhāgrha* of the Mahākālī temple in Chāmpāner at the foot of Pāvāgaḍha. The play ends with the appearance of Mahākālī who gives a flower to the king as a token of her blessings.

In this brief survey of the Sanskrit Drama Tradition in Medieval Gujarat, the attempt has been made to demonstrate the variety of the Rūpakas that were composed and also staged. It is not possible to give a detailed account of the 35 odd plays in this brief survey.

Geya Rūpakas

At this time, two different streams of dramatic literature are clearly noticeable. One more or less followed Bharata's Mārgī Daśarūpaka tradition : The other was the popular tradition of the second generation of plays for which, during the Caulukya period, c. 11th to 13th century, no definite name was given. For, we find Hemacandra calling these second generation plays the "Geya-rūpakas" or *rūpakas* which were music-based. Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra enumerated these plays and called them "Anyāni-rūpakāni" 'other forms' of drama which were different from those described by them in their *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*.

The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* is among the very few works on dramaturgy and is invaluable for the study of the subject from the viewpoint of its time. Like all the later works, its main source of reference is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. But it also shows the influence of the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya (10th century), though he differs from both these works in some ways, which shows the change in the presentation style of the play at this time and also in the theoretical aspects of drama. For example, he believed that an actor cannot play a character fully unless he himself feels the emotions through which the character passes. He gives an example : "A prostitute, while giving pleasure to others, herself also gets enjoyment." Earlier writers believed that an actor need not feel the character's emotions. He also differed from others who believed that *rasa* should give *ānanda* (joy) like the Brahmānanda (eternal bliss). The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* says that *rasa* was *sukhātmake* (joyful) as well as *duḥkhātmake* (painful)¹³. The purpose of the *rasa* was not only to give joy by seeing the play but was also to hold a mirror to the tragedies in life.

His plays falling under the *Prakarana* type reflect his keen observation of the life around him among the people. Further, he adds two more types in the ten *Rasāśrya Rūpakas*, making the total number 12, as noted earlier, the two being the *Nāṭikā* and the *Prakarāṇikā*. Significantly, the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* does not include *Ṣaṭṭaka* (written in Prakrit) as it is concerned only with the Sanskrit *Nāṭya* tradition.

Hemacandrācārya also mentions 12 types of Geya Rūpakas¹⁴ or Geya Kāvya and defines them as *padārthābhīnayātmaka* which broadly expressed the *bhāva* of a *pada* and were music-oriented. Besides these Geya Rūpakas, he has mentioned 12 *rūpakas* proper which were *rasāśrya* (based on *rasa*). He also called these latter Pāṭhya Rūpakas, which were recitational.

Hemacandra as well as Rāmacandra call the Bhāvāśrya Rūpakas as *anyāni rūpakāni*, other forms of Rūpakas¹⁵. The author of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* (13th century) called them *nāṭyābhīdhaḥ* plays based on dance. It was Viśvanātha from Bengal (14th century) who, in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, called them Uparūpakas (minor forms of drama), the denomination which later became popular and was widely used.

Thus, we see that there were two parallel traditions of drama : One Mārgā, as Bharata's tradition came to be called, which was *rasāśrya* (based on *rasa*) and it was *vākyārthābhīnayātmaka* (depicting detailed *abhīnaya* of each sentence). The other tradition came to be called Deśī which was *bhāvāśrya*, broadly depicting the sense of a *pada* through *bhāva* (emotions), and was called *padārthābhīnayātmaka*.

There are also clear indications that even the Mārgā tradition of Bharata, on which the later authors like Dhanañjaya, Hemacandra, and Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra had based their works, had undergone some changes as the plays written during their times indicate. They include long narrative passages which would appear rather uninteresting when read¹⁶. But, in a stage-production, in the style prevalent during those times, they could be very engrossing and entertaining. Long soliloquies or descriptive passages, instead of being spoken in merely *Vācika abhīnaya*, if acted with *Āṅgika abhīnaya* with appropriate dance, movements, hand-gestures, *aṅga-bhaṅgis* (body-bends), facial expressions with *netrābhīnaya*, and accompanied by appropriate music, they could be highly interesting, entertaining, and absorbing. And hence, the criticism of some scholars that the Sanskrit drama was declining in quality during the medieval times hardly has any substance. Such criticism merely shows the lack of historical perspective in which the latter Sanskrit plays must be viewed. I would cite the example of Kerala's surviving Sanskrit dramatic tradition, called *Kūṭiyāttam*. The term seemingly is of later origin, because in some of the old manuals written for the actors and the stage presentation, called the *Āṭṭaparakāra*-s, and the *Kramadīpikā*-s, the term used is *kūthu*, which in Sanskrit could be translated as *nāṭya*, used for the *prayoga* of the actor's Art with its technique of four-dimensional *abhīnaya* — *Āṅgika*, *Vācika*, *Āhārya*, and *Sāttvika*. We see

in Kūṭiyāṭṭam a clear departure in the *prayoga*—performance-technique of the Sanskrit plays as the emphasis is basically on the Kaiśīki vṛtti and Āṅgika abhinaya accompanied by Nṛtta or pure dance, Vācika-pāṭhya (recitational or sung speech), Gīta, (singing), and Vādyā (instrumental music). Kūṭiyāṭṭam is a living tradition, indeed of more than a thousand years standing.

Now, how were the plays written during the Caulukya time performed? This can be discerned from a long description of the staging of a Sanskrit play, given by Ācārya Hemacandra in his *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpurūṣacarita* (TISSPC), Parva 5, Sarga 2 (Śantinātha parva)¹⁷. Two brothers, Anantavīrya and Aparājita, of whom the latter was the king of Śūbhanagara in the Jambūdvīpa, possessed two highly skilled actresses named Barbarikā and Kirātī who were like jewels on earth. Nārada muni visits their court, but feels slighted as he is not properly received, because the brothers were engrossed in the play that was being enacted by Barbarikā and Kirātī. Enraged, Nārada goes to the court of the *gāndharva*-chief Damitāri. He praises the actresses he saw at the court of the earthly king. Damitāri immediately orders his messengers to bring those actresses to him. The brothers decide to go themselves to the court of Damitāri, disguising themselves as actresses Barbarikā and Kirātī, and present themselves. Damitāri, impatient to see the play acted by them, ordered them to start the performance at once. “Damitāri looked at the slave-girls *cetyāvapaśyat*¹⁸, with a gentle glance. Merit that has been heard of, even through popular report, causes devotion on the part of connoisseurs. Damitāri instructed them to perform a play¹⁹. Verily, the desire to see something new cannot endure delay. Then the two, in the roles of actresses, went on the stage immediately and delivered the preliminaries of their parts, beating of the drum, etc. The stage-director (*raṅgācārya*) made the stage-*pūjā* with handful of flowers and the troupe of female singers and other sat down in the proper directions. An actor recited the invocation (*Nāndī*) with a musical accompaniment suited to the invocation. At the end of the invocation, he portrayed the prologue with its parts. The singers, wearing various costumes, behind the scenes, sang the introductory verse with Jāti-rāgas, etc, introducing the characters :-

विचित्रनेपथ्यधरो नेपथ्ये गायनीजनः ।
जगौ च जातिरागाद्यां पात्रप्रावेशिकां ध्रुवाम् ॥

Then they began to act a drama, an ocean of the sentiments, charming from the combination of the elements of plot, situations, component parts of the divisions (of the play), and the divisions (Sandhi) :

प्रकृत्यवस्थासंध्यंगसंधिसंबंधबन्धुरम् ।
प्रचक्रमेऽथाभिनेतुं नाटकं रससागरम् ॥

At times, there took place the representation of peace and war in Smara's empire with lovers' meetings, rivers of nectar of pure bliss, and with separations (of lovers), sources

of various painful situations, with various devices for the union of lovers by atonement for improper acts :

संप्रयोगेस्थेकान्तसुखपीयूषसिन्धुभिः ।
 विप्रयोगेऽपि तत्तद्दुःखावस्था निबन्धनैः ॥
 तत्तत्संघट्टनोपायैस्पाय परिहारतः ।
 क्वप्यभूत् स्मर साम्राज्यसंधिविग्रह कल्पनम् ॥

Sometimes even the sophisticated townsmen were made to laugh, like the villagers, by fat men, men with projecting teeth, lame men, hunchbacks, flat-nosed men, men with disheveled hair, bald men, one-eyed men, and other deformed men; by ash-coloured men; by men with buttock-bells, by musicians using arm-pit and the nose as instruments, by dancers of the ear and brow, by mimicry masters, by deceitful people, and at the same time simple-minded, such as the buffoons and the boon-companions :

विदूषकवित्प्रायैः सद्यः कपटमुग्धकैः ।
 ग्रामीणवदहास्यंतच्छेकाः पौरा अपि क्वचित् ॥

Even wicked men, softened by speeches off-stage, by reproaches to fate, by shedding tears, by unsuitable requests, by rolling on the ground, by lamentations, by leaps from precipices, by hanging from trees, by entering into fire and water, by swallowing poison, etc., by blows with weapons, by frequently beating on the heart caused by the destruction of wealth and murder of beloved, shed tears at times. Sometimes men, though quite self-possessed, were made to tremble (with anger) by biting the lips with the teeth, by redness of the eyes, by frowns, by palpitations of the cheeks, by rubbing together the fingers, by tearing up the ground, by drawing weapons, by drawing blood, by quick attacks, by fights, by blows, by trembling of the limbs, by shedding tears caused by kidnapping of women, the abuse of slave-girls, etc. Men, timid by nature, had courage produced at once by dignity, resoluteness, courage, skill, and by various other most excellent virtues, liberality, etc., originating from valour toward the enemy and in exertion in good conduct, etc. The people in the audience were sometimes reduced instantly to a state of terror by dryness of the palate, throat, and lips, by glances from rolling eyes, by trembling hands, hoarseness, change in colour and shedding tears, caused by seeing manifestations of ghosts, etc., and by hearing sounds from them, etc. Sometimes the audience was exceedingly disgusted, instantly by contractions of the body, palpitations of the heart, screwing up of the nose and mouth, spitting, crushing of the lips and fingers etc., caused by seeing, hearing, etc. of bad smells, vomiting, and worms from wounds. Sometimes the audience was astonished suddenly by the wide-opening of the eyes, by glances without winking, by the appearance of perspiration, tears, horripilation, by exclamations of "well done," etc., caused by the sight of the supernatural, attainment of desires, exhibitions of magic etc. :

दिव्यालोकेप्सितप्राप्तीन्द्रजालप्रेक्षणादिजैः ।
विस्माययन्ते स्म सहसा ब्रह्मनापि सभासदः ॥

Sometimes the people, greedy for the enjoyment of sense-objects, were made tranquil by meditation on the *mūla-* and *uttara-guṇas*, by thinking of texts concerning the Supreme Spirit, by attendance on good *gurus*, by *pūjās* to the gods and such other things arising from disgust with existence, fear of worldly existence, knowledge of the Principles, etc.:

मूलोत्तरगुणध्यानैरध्यात्मग्रन्थचित्तनैः ।
सद्गुरुस्मासनैर्देवपूजाद्यैरितैरपि ॥

Just as all kinds of sentiments were portrayed by the actors, so all the spectators became composed by them. The actors looked like characters (themselves) who had come, because of dramatic actions, conveyed by expressions, etc. to be properly portrayed:

वैराग्यसंसारभयतत्त्वज्ञानादिजन्माभिः ।
शममीयुः ब्रह्मिदपि विषयास्वादगृह्णदः ॥

When the king, chief of the prudent, had seen this dramatic art, he considered the two slave-girls to be the jewels in the ocean of existence. Then the king entrusted his daughter, named Kanakaśrī, to the pretender slave-girls for instruction in acting²⁰:

यथा यथाभ्यनीयन्त रसाः सर्वे कुशीलवैः ।
सामाजिकजनः सर्वस्तन्मयोऽभूत्तथा तथा ॥

वाचिकाद्यैरभिनयैर्यथावदुपपातितैः ।
अलक्ष्यन्ताभिनेतारोऽप्यभिनेया इवागताः ॥

तं नाटकविधिं प्रेक्ष्य नृपः प्रेक्षावदग्रणीः ।
संसारत्नभूतं तु चेटीद्वयममन्यत ॥

अथ नाटकशिक्षायै मायाचेट्योस्तयोर्नृपः ।
पुत्रीं समर्पयामास नामतः कनकश्रियाम् ॥

This long description of the staging of a Sanskrit play is a rare example of such an information and is unique in some ways. It not only portrays a graphic picture of the performance but mentions several terms which permit an insight into the *nāṭyaśāstric* tradition of the time of Hemcandra whose status in the world of learning is unequalled. He describes the *Pūrvaraṅga* mentioning *pratyāhāra*, etc. with which, enjoins the

Nāṭyaśāstra, the preliminaries should begin before the staging of the play. The entry of the character is made with the appropriate Dhruvāgāna and Jātirāgas, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* terms for the musical modes prevalent during the time of Bharata. The play itself is described as depicting different *rasas* and is termed *rasasāgara*—an ocean of *rasas*. Hemacandra clearly shows that he follows the *nāṭyaśāstric* tradition according to which the plays must have been staged at least up to his time, i. e., 12th century.

But the authors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, Hemacandra's own disciples, do not seem to consider *Pūrvaraṅga* except the *Nāṇḍī* to be essential in the staging of the plays. They regard *Nāṇḍī* important as it consists of benedictory verses in praise of gods and blessings for the audience.

Raṅga

While speaking of *Nāṇḍī*, the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* in its fourth *viveka* (chapter) mentions two types of theatres: the *Tryasra* (triangular) and the *Caturasra* (square). It says: "The length of the *Nāṇḍī* depends on the shape of the theatre. In a triangular theatre, the *Nāṇḍī* can consist of maximum 12 *padas* and minimum of three *padas*²¹. In a square theatre, it consists of 16 *padas* (at the most) or minimally four *padas*. This is a very significant piece of information. For many of the Caulukya period plays were performed in the temples on the occasion of some religious festival. But they do not mention where exactly the plays were performed in the temple. The temple, whether Jaina or brahminical, had a *maṇḍapa* called *sabhāmaṇḍapa* or *raṅgamaṇḍapa* or *nāṭyamaṇḍapa*. Here, the *devadāsīs*, the sons of ministers and tradesmen, or even the queens at times must have performed dances in the propitiatory ceremonies for the gods. But these were not suitable for the staging of the plays, though once in a while they may have done so."

The mention of the two types of theatres, *Tryasra* and the *Caturasra*, leaves no doubt now as to where the plays were staged in the temple complex. These two types of theatres might have been constructed with the *Raṅga* (stage) facing the deity as in the *Kūttampalam* of Kerala.

The square theatre might have been of the *madhyama* or middling size, measuring 64 *hastas* on all sides and the *kaniyas* measuring 32 *hastas* on all its three sides. The following illustrations show the theatres re-constructed by the present author on the basis of the Chapter II of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. (See Illustrations 1 and 2.)

An example of प्रविश्य पदक्षेपेण entry in the *Prabuddharauhiṇya*²² suggests that two doors must have been curtained for practical reasons of barring the view of the *nepathya* activity to the audience. And its dramatic use was certainly made by the actors.

The *Tryasra* stage could not have *mattavāraṇī-s* the side-extensions and supplementary

areas on the stage, as it was smaller in size. Also, it was not necessary to have the *mattavārṇī-s* because only one or two actors, as in Bhāṇa or Vithi rūpaka, must have participated. But there were *mattavārṇī-s* on the Caturasra stage as it was large enough and on which Prahasana and Prakaraṇa types of Rūpaka with larger cast and showing simultaneous scenes, it would be necessary.

The *nepathya* might have been partitioned off to create rooms for the male and female performers. Their entries to the *nepathya* might have been as shown in the diagrams. The stage was backed by a wall separating it from the *nepathya*. In this wall, there must have been two doors for facilitating the entries and exits of the characters.

In Tryasra, a single door in the wall backing the stage was enough due to smaller cast. The musicians on the Caturasra stage might have sat on the other side of the *mattavārṇī-s* or on the off-stage on the right side as they do even now. The three areas of the stage, *raṅgapīṭha* and the two *mattavārṇī-s*, each measured 16 *hastas* square according to Bharata's specifications as applied to the middle-sized Caturasra theatre. Bharata has described the Vikṛṣṭa-madhya theatre at length as it was neither too small not too large for staging the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa type of Rūpakas having large casts, but he has only briefly described the small-sized (*kaniyas*) Tryasra and Caturasra, each measuring 32 *hastas* on all sides. But later writers of the medieval times mention Caturasra type of theatre of *madhya* (middling) size measuring 64 *hastas* square. This was so because there was greater emphasis on dance and music during this time and group-dances as in the Hallisaka would require a larger stage and also more ample space for a large orchestra.

Mattavārṇī-s on either side of the middle-sized (Caturasra-madhya) stage were necessary because the plays abounded in simultaneous scenes played in different locales — *kakṣyā-s* — as Bharata called them.

This theatre differs from the Kūttampalam of Kerala, where also, even now, the Sanskrit plays are staged. Kūttampalam is a rectangular building having a square stage at one end with a roof of its own²³. (See Illustration 3.)

In the Kūttampalam Sanskrit drama tradition, the emphasis is on the Āṅgika abhinaya in Kaiśiki vṛtti with highly stylised recitational speech. It is Nāṭyadharmī in style. The plays staged were classical plays based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata*, with divine or semi-divine characters and this stage was suitable for it. The Caulukya tradition of Gūrjaradeśa seems to lay emphasis on Bhāratī vṛtti in which the speech predominated. In other words, these were Pāṭhya-rūpakas in Lokadharmī style. The plays staged were Prakaraṇas, also the Nāṭakas. They depicted contemporary kings with elements of *adbhuta* in them.

Here, the Lokadharmī is definitely not to be mistaken for the straight realistic speech of every day. But some form of stylised speech might have been used, since the Sanskrit drama had nothing to do with the realism as understood today in west-oriented plays. The Caulukyan plays might have used some sort of poetic recitational form of speech. We have, unfortunately, no example to go by as in Kūṭiyattam, which is a living tradition, at least of a thousand year standing as earlier said.

Some stage-directions also provide an indication of the equipment used on the stage. We have already mentioned *paṭa*, also called *paṭī* or *apaṭī* by earlier playwrights like Bhāsa, and is mentioned by Bharata who has also indicated the circumstances under which it was to be used : a character entering in anger, deep sadness, or in great joy, was to enter with a fling of the curtain. We have already mentioned above an example of *paṭākṣepa*-entry.

Apart from this *paṭa*, there definitely was used another type of entry which indicated a different kind of curtain — a flexible one which could be moved on any part of the stage as it was held by two persons holding the upper ends. I have called this curtain “*citra-yavanikā*” after Bhavabhūti, who has named it so in his play, the *Mālatī-Mādhava*. It is a small, colourful curtain and due to its flexibility, could be of considerable dramatic effect :

- (1) It could suddenly reveal a character behind it by lowering it. It had the impact almost like that of a modern spot-light.
- (2) It could be trembled to show the fear in the character behind.
- (3) The two persons holding it could manipulate it to suggest water, flying, etc.
- (4) Behind it could be made an entry, such as “Enters as Indicated” e.g. (ततः प्रविशति यथा निर्दिष्टो राजा) found in many a Sanskrit plays including those of the Caulukyan period, such as the *Nalavilās*, the *Mallikā-Makaranda*, the *Ullāgha-Rāghava*, and the *Prabuddharauhiṇya*.

Thus, the two doors, with their *apaṭī*-s, a *citra-yavanikā*, some *āsanas* or seats, a throne, swords, bow and arrow, etc. were the only props necessary for the staging of these plays on the Caturasra-madhyama stage of that era. And the imagination of the audience did the rest.

The Third Drama Tradition

Apart from these two dramatically different traditions mentioned by the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, one also sees the existence of a third popular drama tradition, which was less sophisticated than the other two and was for the enjoyment of the people of lower social strata. We know this from a work called the *Laghuprabandha-saṅgraha* of the 15th century, whose author's name is not known. This work mentions :

भवाइयात्रायां राजा नृत्यति ।
मन्त्री पखवाजं वादयति ॥²⁴

This short but clear mention of the Bhavāi, the popular traditional dramatic form, still prevalent in Gujarat, was a very clear indication of the existence of the Bhavāi and its very name is very significant : for Asāita Thākara, who flourished in the 14th century, is said to be traditionally the originator of Bhavāi. He himself did not call it Bhavāi and the word seems to have been used in the next century. He called it “जातर”. In the Deśī dramatic forms, the *uparūpakas*, dance, and music were the basic elements and even the dialogues were sung rather than spoken in straight speech. Asāita Thākara’s contribution was limited, though very significant, to writing plays by adding prose dialogues alongwith the verse dialogues²⁵.

Writes the Jaina poet Lāvṇyasamdaya (16th century) in his *Vimalaprabandha*²⁶ : चाचर त्रिहां जातर (where there is a chowk (*cācara*, *Skt. catvara*), there is a *jātar*) and further laments about the social conditions then prevailing : (The *dramatic persona* are considered *śudras*; p.30 : नीच कर्म नाटकनु रंग : The lowly is the actor’s art.) (p.31). He further says,

न गणइ घरमाटी कुण मात्र
नारऊँ जोवा जाइ जात्र
घरनां बालः मेलुहइ वारि
चपल पणइ हीरइ संसारी

(The women do not bother about their husbands or children and flock to see the *jātrā*.) Although the status of the actor (*nāṭakīyā*) was ranked low, the *jātrā* clearly was very popular. It is also clear that this *jātrā* was a fully developed form in the late medieval times as people flocked to see it. The (Bhavāi) term was already in existence before Asaita’s time in Gujarat as known from this late but dependable Solankī source.

Conclusion

The Dramatic traditions of Medieval Gujarat, the Sanskrit Rūpakas, and the Geya-Rūpakas or the “other forms” (अन्यानि रूपकाणि) were an all-India phenomenon. Both these forms with their regional emphasis were prevalent in many parts of the country as we know it from the writers of the medieval times, of the south as well as of the north. Southern writers like Śāringadeva, Śāradātanaya, Jaya Senāpati, and others wrote about these Mārgā and Deśī dramatic traditions and so did the writers in the north such as Bhoja of Dhārā, Hemacandra, Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra, Viśvanātha of Bengal, and Rānā Kuṁbha of Rajasthan. the names given by them of the Deśī forms are almost the same in the south and north, though sometimes the numbers vary. Now nothing is known

about the Rūpakas or the Uparūpakas. These became the entertainment for the court and the élite and vanished with feudalism. Perhaps the third generation of dramatic forms now prevalent all over India absorbed.

The Rūpaka-Mārgi Sanskrit tradition also vanished from many parts of the country except in Kerala where it still survives in the form of a regional variation and has acquired a strong local colour. Only decades ago, many classical Sanskrit plays were staged in full, each lasting for weeks. But now only single acts from a few plays are staged which take seven or 15 days depending on the act and the actor's capacity and knowledge.

It must be noted that more than 35 plays were written and many of these were staged during the Caulukyan times. The Sanskrit plays must have been popular as indicated by the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* mentioning the incident of Siddharāja Jayasimha watching the play with a gram-seller. The plays were staged during the *yātrā-mahotsavas*, the gods, birthday celebrations, *vasantotsava*, and other occasions. These plays were sponsored by the kings as well as rich tradesmen who were either Jaina or Brahminist, both of whom used the plays for their religious propaganda. And people flocked to see them.

The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* clearly mentions the Trysra and the Caturasra theatres in which the plays were staged in the temple complexes. But the plays also seem to have been staged in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa-s* of the temples. Geya-Rūpakas also might have been staged in these theatres as they also had been patronized by the courts and were codified and become sophisticated and had moved away from the common people.

I would like specifically to point out that Hemacandra, while speaking of the Geya-Rūpakas, ended the sentence with the word "आदि" (et cetera). This clearly shows that there were other Geya-Rūpakas also besides those he mentioned. The Bhavāi, as we have seen, was a full-fledged dramatic form by the 14th century as the words "भवाइयात्रायां" etc. clearly point out. This leads to the belief that the Bhavāi also may have been one of the Geya-Rūpakas in its early stage in Caulukya times. And it is from this Bhavāi Geya-Rūpakas that Asāita Thākara, by adding *pāthya* (prose) dialogues reformed it to suit the environment of his time. And he enriched it by writing 350 plays as the tradition goes.

Among the third generation forms that are seen all over India which around the 15th century and after, Asaita Thākara seems to be the first among these to reform Bhavāi in the 14th century.

Notes and References :

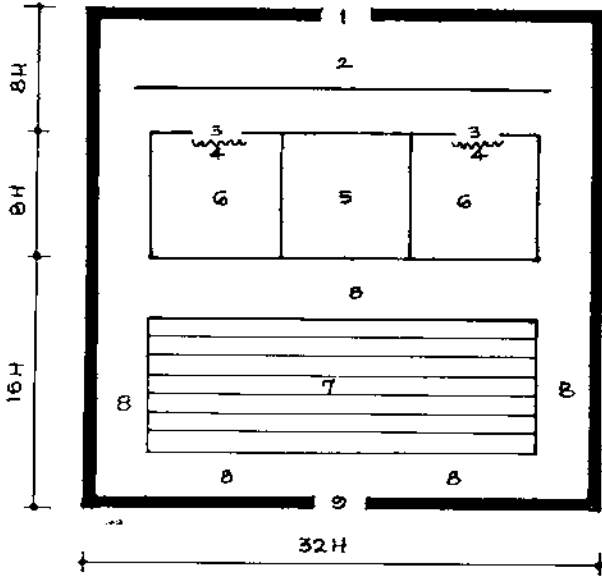
1. Cf. *the Prabandhacintāmaṇi or The "Wishing Stone of Narratives,"* composed by Ācārya Merutuṅga, translated by C. H. Tawny, Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1899, pp.106-107.
2. નીલાંજના શાહ, "ચંપત્રમહાપુરિસચરિયાન્તર્ગત 'વિબુધાનન્દ નાટક' પર એક નજર," કાર્બસ ગુજરાતી સભા ત્રૈમાસિક, મુંબઈ, માર્ચ ૧૯૪૨.
3. Cf. *Mallikāmakarandanāṭaka* by Rāmacandra, Ed. Muni Punyavijayaji and "Introduction", Notes, etc. by V. M. Kulkarni. L. D. Institute of Indology Series, (No.) 91, Ahmedabad 1983. p.25.
4. Rādhā Vallabh Tripāthi, translation in Hindi, Natya Sankrit Parishad Publication.
5. Nilanjana S. Shah, A Note on ગર્ભાંક of the play નલવિલાસ. (Personal Note - 1993).
6. પ્રબુદ્ધરૈહિણેયમ્, રમમદ્રસૂરિ, શ્રી જૈન આત્માનંદ સભા, ભાવનગર ઈ.સં.૧૯૨૮.
7. પ્રબુદ્ધરૈહિણેય and મલ્લિકામકરન્દ - હિન્દી અનુવાદ: રઘા વલ્લભ ત્રિપાઠી, સંસ્કૃત પરિષદ, સાગર વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય, સાગર (મં.પ્ર.) ૧૯૮૩.
8. સ્થાપક પ્રવિશ્યેત્તર સૂત્રધાર્મગુણાનુકૃતિ: *Nāṭyaśāstra*, G.O.S. Vol. 1, Baroda, p. 248
9. *Ullāgha-Rāghava Nāṭakam* by Someśvaradeva. Ed. Muni Punyavijayaji and B. J. Sandesara, Oriental Institute, Baroda 1961.
10. *Ibid.*, Act 7, p. 136.
11. વિભૂતિ વિક્રમ ભટ્ટ, સોમેશ્વરની કૃતિઓ : ઐતિહાસિક અને સાંસ્કૃતિક અધ્યયન, સારસ્વત પ્રકાશન, અમદાવાદ ૧૯૮૧. p.52.
12. There is some controversy regarding these *Chāyānāṭakas* which need detailed discussion. See વિભૂતિ વિક્રમ ભટ્ટ, "સોમેશ્વરપ્રયોજિત છાયાનાટક અને છાયાનાટ્ય", સામીપ્ય, અમદાવાદ એપ્રિલ-સપ્ટે. ૧૯૮૭, પૃ. ૬૨-૭૨.
13. સુખાત્મકદુ:ખાત્મકો રસ: in ભોગીલાલ જ. સંડેસરા, "ગુજરાતમાં સંસ્કૃત નાટક", ઈતિહાસની કેડી, (Gujarātī); પૃ. ૫૦-૭૦, વડોદરા ૧૯૪૫. પૃ. ૨૪, ૩૦, ૩૧.
14. A. M. Upadhyaya, *Kāvyaṅuśāsana of Ācārya Hemacandra—A Critical Study*, Ahmedabad 1987. pp. 421-424. These rasas are : *Dombikā, Bhāṇa, Prasthāra, Siṅgaka, Bhaṇika, Purāṇa, Rāmakrīdā, Hallisaka, Rāsaka, Goṣṭhi, Śūgadita, and Rāgākāvya.*
15. See Govardhan Panchal, *Bhavai and Its Typical Aharya-Costumes, Make-up, props of the Popular Dramatic Form of Gujarat*, Ahmedabad 1983.
16. Usha Bhise, "The Technique of Medieval Sanskrit Drama," *Journal of The National Centre for the Performing Arts*, Bombay Vol. VIII, No. 4, December 1979.
17. *Trīśaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita of Ācārya Hemacandra*. Translated by Helen M. Johnson, Oriental Institute, Baroda 1949; also, ત્રિશાષ્ટીશલાકાપુરુષચરિત્ર, અરિહંત પ્રકાશન, અમદાવાદ વિ.સં. ૨૦૪૦ (ઈ.સં. ૧૯૮૪); and that by Jainendra Prasāraka Sabhā, Bhavnagar 19 ?.
18. For the numerous technical dramatic terms in this passage, see the works on dramaturgy, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Bhāvaprakāśa*, the *Daśarūpaka*, and Keith's *The Sanskrit Drama*.

19. *Nāṅyābhīnayāya te*. The Sanskrit phrase is from TŚPC.
20. Johnson, TŚPC, Vol. 2, pp. 238-241.
21. K. H. Trivedi, *The Nāṅyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra—A Critical Study*, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad 1966, Ch. IV, pp. 176-77, etc.
22. *प्रबुद्धतौहिणोयम्*, जे० अ० स०, पृ० ८५.
23. See Govardhan Panchal, *Kūttampalam and Kuṭiyattam—A study of the Traditional Theatre of the Sanskrit Drama of Kerala*, New Delhi 1984.
24. गुजरातने राजकीय अने सांस्कृतिक ँतिकास ग्रंथ ४, “सोलकीकाण” अं० २०, प्रकरण १० : “सामाजिक स्थिति” पृ० २४१, कमांक ५५.
25. लो० जे० सांडेसरा, “गुजरातमां संस्कृत नाटक,” ँतिकासनी डेडी, पृ० ६३, पा६टी५.
26. लावण्यसमयसूरी, *बिमलप्रबन्ध* Translated by D. D. Shah, Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad 1965.

Besides the sources figuring in the annotations, the author has used the following sources :

- (i) *Nalavilāsa of Rāmacandra Sūri*, ed. G. K. Shrigondekar and Pt. L. B. Gandhi, Oriental Institute, Baroda 1926.
- (ii) नीलांजना अ०स. शाड, “गुजरातमां संस्कृत नाटकी, अ०क दृष्टिपात, साम्मनस्यम्, श्री बृहद गुजरात संस्कृत परिषद् मुखपत्रम्, Ahmedabad Mar. 1991.
- (iii) A. K. Majumdar, *Caulukyās of Gujarat*, “Pramā,” Bombay 1956, pp. 363-364.

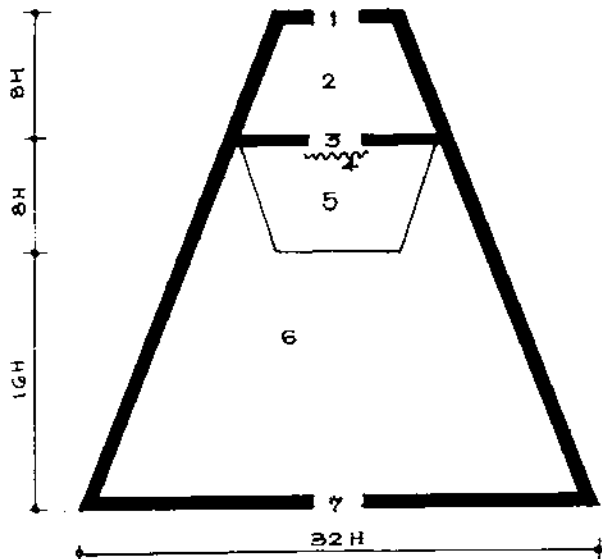
CATURSRA NĀTYA-MĀNDAPA



- 1 ENTRANCE TO NEPATHYA
- 2 NEPATHYA
- 3 ENTRY EXIT DOOR TO & FROM RĀṄGA C-STAGE
- 4 PAṬĪ - APAṬĪ (DOOR CURTAINS)
- 5 RĀṄGA PĪṬHA
- 6 MATTAVĀRAṆĪ
- 7 PREKṢĀKA - NIVEŚANA
- 8 PASSAGE
- 9 ENTRANCE FOR AUDIENCE

(DRG. BY NARENDRA PANCHAL)

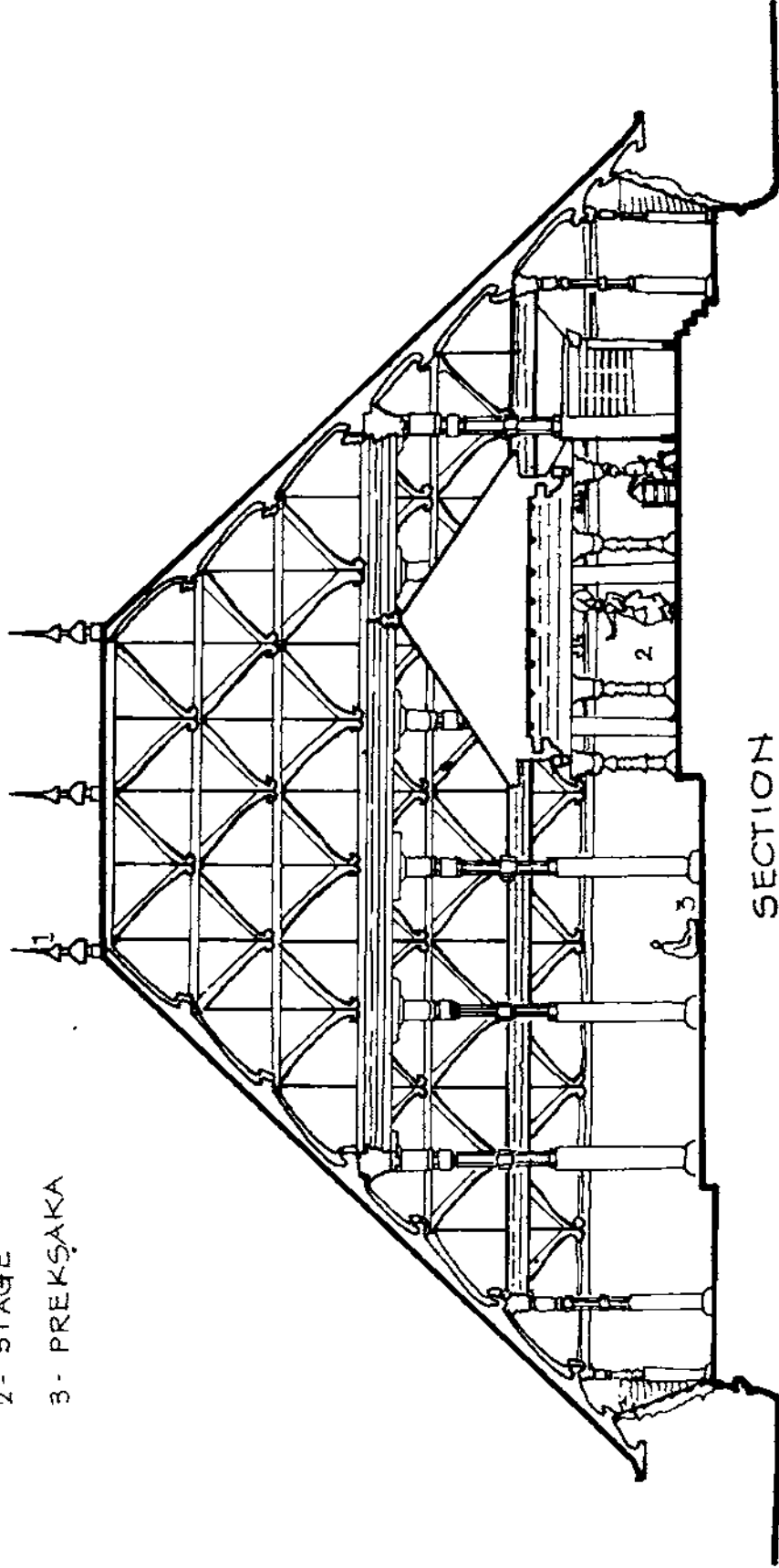
TRİYASRA NĀTYA MĀNDAPA



- 1 ENTRANCE TO NEPATHYA
- 2 NEPATHYA
- 3 ENTRY & EXIT DOOR
- 4 PAṬĪ - APAṬĪ (DOOR CURTAINS)
- 5 RĀṄGA - (STAGE)
- 6 PREKṢĀKA - (NIVEŚANA)
- 7 ENTRANCE FOR PREKṢĀKA

(DRG. BY NARENDRA PANCHAL)

- 1- STUPI
- 2- STAGE
- 3- PREKṢAKA



SECTION

"KUTTAMPALAM" CVAṬAKKUNNATHAN TEMPLE AT-THRISSUR (KERALA)