Incient INDIAN THEATRE

D.R. MANKAD



CHAROTAR BOOK STALL

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[An interpretation of Bharata's second Adhyaya]

D. R. MANKAD

[Second Revised and Enlarged Edition]

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Dr. Sushil Kumar De

with

Grateful feelings

ABBREVATIONS

ASS = Anandaśrama Sanskrit Series

BORI = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

DHA=Dictionary of Hindu Architecture

1HQ = Indian Historical Quarterly

NS' = Nāṭyaśāstra

RP = Rangapitha

RS' = Rangasirsa

TSS = Trivundrum Sanskrit Series

PREFACE

The matter contained in this pamphlet was first printed in 1932 in The Indian Historical Quarterly (VIII, 3) under the caption 'Hindu Theatre.' I have now revised and enlarged it. Before this, Shri G. V. Pathak had dealt with the same subject in V. S. 1985 in a Gujarati Magazine 'Prasthāna.' Shri V. Raghavan also published a similar paper in Triveni in 1932, but I had no knowledge of that paper when I sent, in January 1932, my paper to the editor IHQ. So far as I know this is the first attempt to put this subject in book form.

The plans printed here were drawn by Shri R. J. Thakar according to my suggestions. I am indebted to him for this act of kindness.

Vithalbhai Patel Mahavidyala, Vallabh Vidyanagar. Dist. Kaira: India 1-8-50

D. R. Mankad

SECOND EDITION

This has been revised and some notes and Appendix I are added in order to bring the discussion upto date.

Gangajalā Vidyāpith ALIABADA (Saurashtra) 26-1-60

D. R. Mankad

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ANCIENT INDIAN THEATRE

[An Interpretation of Bharata's Second Adhyaya]

IN this booklet I shall try to reconstruct the technical architectural nature of Ancient Indian Theatre as detailed by Bharata. The text of the Nāṭyaśāstra is very much confused and often inaccurate or inadequate, so is the commentary Abhinavabhāratī,¹ published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. Yet, both the text and the commentary together give us some detailed idea about the theatre of those days.

Dr. P. K. Acharya has not given any useful information about the architecture of the ancient Indian theatre, in his excellent Dictionary of Hindu Architecture.² In the vast architectural literature known to ancient Indians,³ there seem to be very few works which treat of the theatre and its details. I shall, herein, try to describe the theatre, as far as possible, in Bharata's own words, putting the necessary explanatory notes from Abhinavagupta within rectangular brackets: and I shall reserve my discussions and comments for the notes at the end of this volume. I subjoin three plans of the three varieties of the theatre as described here.

The Theatre

There are three types of the theatre (1) Vikṛṣṭa,⁴ (2) Caturasra, and (3) Tryasra. Each of these types, again, may be divided into *Jyestha*, *Madhya* and *Avara* according to their measurements. Each type may be measured in Hastas or Daṇḍas (7-8) [Abhinava on the 8th verse, notes two opinions about these types. According to one opinion Vikṛṣṭa is Jyeṣṭha, Caturasra is Madhya and Tryasra is Avara. Second opinion divides each of the first types into Jyeṣṭha, Madhya and Avara, thus yielding nine types which when measured in Hastas or Daṇḍas would be eighteen in all.⁵]

Jyestha may be 108 hastas in length, Madhya 64, and Avara 32. Out of these types, Jyestha may be used in the case of gods, Madhya in the case of kings and Avara in the case of ordinary people (9-11). [Abhinava explains: Jyestha may be used in the case of dramas where gods are heroes, as in Dima etc., Madhya when kings are heroes as in Prakarana etc., and Avara when ordinary persons are heroes as in Bhāṇa, Prahasana etc.].

Out of all these types, Madhya is proper for mortals. (12) It may be 64 cubits in length and 32 cubits in breadth. The theatre must not be bigger than this, otherwise, it will lose its accoustic properties. If the Mandapa is very extensive, words uttered would become faint and indistinct. Also

facial expressions of the actors would become invisible due to the long distance. (20-23)

In constructing such a house, the soil must be first examined. It must be even, steady, hard and black or white. The whole field must be ploughed with a plough, and bones, nails, skulls and such other things must be taken out. Then in Puşya constellation, it must be measured with a white string, which may be made of Kārpāsa, Balva, Muñja or Valkala and must have no joints. (29-34)

In dividing the Vikṛṣṭamahdya type of 64×32 cubits the following points should be noted. Its entire length of 64 cubits should be divided into two equal parts. The back part again should be divided into two. In this last Raṅgaśirṣag should be constructed, half to half In the last portion Nepathyagrha should be located. (39-41)

Thus after the foundation, walls may be constructed and the columns may be placed in Rohini or Śravaṇa constellation. In this (I understand Ranga by this and not the whole field) in the Agni corner the Brāhmaṇa stambha may be placed at the bottom of which white things like milk, ghee etc., may be thrown: in the Nairrtya the Kṣatriya stambha with everything red, like clothes, garlands etc.: in the Vāyavya, the Vaiśya stambha with everything yellow and in the Īśāna, the Sūdra stambha with everything dark blue may be placed. Moreover at

the bottom of each column various metals, too, were to be placed. Then the columns, doors, walls and the toilet-room may be constructed. (49-59) (68)

On both the sides of Rangapitha, two Mattavaranis should be constructed in harmony with the measurement of the Rangapitha (Fig. 1). It should have four columns. 10 [Abhinava explains: The Mattavāranis may be square in form and 8×8 in measure. Apart from these two Mattavaranis, Rangapitha will be 8×16.1 These two Mattavaranis and Rangapitha should be higher (than the auditorium) by one and a half cubit. 11 (69-70) After thus constructing the Mattavaranis and Rangapitha, Rangasīrsa with six planks should be constructed.12 [Abhinava explains: In the wall, common to Nepathyagrha and Rangasirsa two pillars, having a mutual distance of 8 cubits should first be placed. By their side, two other pillars, with a mutual distance of 14 cubits should be placed. These will be four: and the upper and lower beams; thus six.12a] At this place (of six beams) two doors (for the exit to, and entry from, the Nepathyagrha) should be made. (75)

In filling up this (i.e. Rangaśīrṣa), earth without logs and grass may be used. This black earth must be dug with a plough drawn by two white bulls. The driver and the carriers should not be deformed. Thus the Rangaśīrṣa should be made. Surface should

not be kūrmapṛṣṭha or matsyapṛṣṭha. Raṅgaśirṣa, clean like the surface of a mirror, is praised. In this (surface of the Raṅgaśirṣa), vajras should be paved in the East, vaidūryas in the South, pravāla in the North and gold in the middle. 13 (75-80)

After thus completing the Rangaśirsa, woodwork may be commenced. It must have ūha, pratyūha, various birds and beasts, sālabhañjikā, nirvyūha, kuhara, vedikā, various other arrangements, yantra, jāla, gavākṣa piṭha, dhāraṇi and kapotāli. It should be decorated by various columns supported on different kinds of pavements. (80-85)

After the woodwork, the walls should be completed. In doing so it should be noted that neither a column nor a nāgadanta nor a window nor a koṇa nor a pratidvāra should come just opposite a door. 14 (85-86)

The whole nāṭyamaṇḍapa must be cave-like¹⁵ and it must have two bhūmis. (87) [There were various opinions about these two bhūmis. According to one view they were Raṇapiṭha's higher and lower portions, like the modern cellar. (?) Second view was this: there must be another wall running all round the Mattavāraṇis, just as there are two walls with an intermediate passage for circumambulation in a temple. These were the two bhūmis. According to still another view there was another maṇḍapa on the terrace; while others took it as advibhūmi

for the text reads thus: karyah sailaguhakaro dvibhumir natyamandapah. Abhinava's view seems to be like this: From the Rangapitha, whence the seats for the audience commence, to the exit-door bhumis should be made, each one higher than the former, the last having a height equal to the height of the Rangapitha, so that the rows of the seers may not cover one another. There must be windows with gentle ventilation in the mandapa so that it will be nirvāta, and the uttered voice will be properly heard. After constructing the walls in such a manner that they may not hinder the accoustic properties of the hall, they (walls) may be besmeared, i6 sprinkled over, and properly levelled, and then paintings may be drawn on them. Males, females, creepers etc. may be painted thereon (87-92).

Thus the Vikṛṣṭamadhya theatre ¹⁷ should be constructed. Now we shall discuss the nature of the Caturasramadhya type. ¹⁸ (93)

All the sides must be of 32 cubits each. (Fig. 2) All the details mentioned in the case of the Vikṛṣṭa-madhya may be resorted to in the Caturasramadhya too. The walls may be made of bricks. On the Rangapitha there must be ten columns strong enough to bear the burden of the maṇḍapa. (94-97) [Abhinava explains: The whole field (32×32) should be divided, in its length and breadth, in eight parts, thus making 64 squares, (4×4 each). In the middle 4 squares of it, Rangpitha (8×8) should be made. 19

Behind it, there will remain a field, 12 cubits in breadth and 32 cubits in length, out of which Rangasīrsa (4×32) (with six beams) should be made. Behind it there may be made the Nepathyagrha (8×32)] (Fig. 2).

[In this, four columns should be placed with regard to Rangapitha, at its four corners. Then one, four cubits distant from the Agni corner, on the south of it; and one, four cubits distant from the Nairrtya corner, also on the south of it. Thus two. So also in the north. Then on the East (of the Rangapitha), two more columns, each four cubits distant from the Isana and Agni corners respectively. Thus ten.]

Outside these columns, seats of wood or bricks, for the spectators may be arranged like the series of steps. Each row must be one cubit higher than the preceding one, so that the spectators may have a complete view of the Rangapitha. (98-99)

In this Ranga, first six columns and then eight columns should be placed. On these the pitha which is viddhāsya and 8 cubits in measure should be constructed. These columns must be strong enough to bear the load of the Mandapa and decorated by śālastri etc. (99-102) [Abhinava explains: Two columns mutually eight cubits distant and respectively four cubits distant from the two columns placed on the south of the Rangapitha should be

placed. Then one column should be placed four cubits distant from and on the south of the eastern column put by the side of the Agneya column. Thus in the north too. Thus six.]

[Abhinava explains the details about the other eight columns thus: one column, on the north of the southern wall, four cubits distant from the wall and the column already placed, should be placed in the eastern direction. So also on the south of the north wall. Then two columns according to the parts of the Ranga, four cubits distant from the eastern wall. Thus eight. 20

The above view about the column-arrangement seems to be that of Śańkuka and others. Abhinava has also noted that according to some other writers these last columns should be in the Nepathyagrha. Abhinava, moreover, quotes some verses incorporating the view of the Vārtikakāra: but these verses, as printed are so fragmentary in character that it is very difficult to get any clear idea about the columnation therefrom.

Calling this theatre (prekṣāmaṇḍapa) 'candrasaho-dara', according to the view of the Upādhyāya, Abhinava explains his (Upādhyāy's) view about the columnation thus: The theatre is divided in three parts, adhobūmi,²¹ raṅgapāṭha and raṅga. The first ten columns should be placed in the adhob'rūmi. I do not attempt to give its details here as, once more,

the commentary is fragmentary at this place. Then the next six columns should be placed on the Rangapitha thus: four columns, mutually eight cubits distant, should be placed at the four corners of the Rangapitha, which is 8×32 . Then other two. Thus six. These (six) should be eight cubits distant. Then two tulās should be made in the Rangaśirṣa which will be 4×32 . In each of these tulās four columns mutually eight cubits distant, should be placed. Thus eight.²²]

Then the Nepathyagrha may be constructed. There, one door for entering into Rangapitha should be placed. Another door for the entrance of the people should be placed in front. The second door should be in the front of the Ranga.²³ (103-109)

In the Caturasra, the Rangapitha should be of 8 cubits (8×8). Also two Mattavāraņis of the same measure as given before, should be made by the side of the Vedikā²⁴. Rangaśirṣa should be raised in the Vikṛṣṭa type and even in the Caturasra type. (105-107)

Now the characteristics of the Tryasra type. It should be tryasra i.e. triangular, in the middle of which the Rangapitha should be triangular only. In such a theatre, the door also should be in the same corner: and the other (door) should be made at the back of the Rangapitha. With regard to the walls, columns etc. in this type of the theatre the details as given for Caturasra should be followed. (108-111)

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Comments and Notes

1. Comments

1. I shall, now, try to clarify the uses of the various parts of the theatre.

Nepathyagrha and the auditorium do not require more comments. It was in the Nepathyagrha that the actors did their 'make up.' It is likely that this green room had two parts—one for the male actors and the other for the female actors: and the two doors leading from the green room to the Rangaśirsa should be convenient from this point of view.

In the Ranga or auditorium, there are one or two points which may be noted. It seems that in the Rectangular type, the sitting arrangement was sloping but on the ground. Slope given was 2'. But in the Square type, due to lesser floor area available, a tier-arrangement is recommended. In this type, according to the text, galleried seats or tiers should be made of bricks or mud, each rising by 1½'.

According to the measurements given in the text, in the Vikrstamadhya type, the Ranga will be

48' × 48'. This is the largest type recommended for men. An area 48'×48' will accommodate about 500 to 600 spectators. It should be remembered that according to one view, there must be two storeys to the Ranga, in which case the auditorium will accommodate about 700 spectators. But the text says that measurements may be in hastas or dandas. Now one hasta is 11/2, but one danda is 6'. If we take the measurements in danda, Vikrstamadhya will have a Ranga of 48×48 sq. dandas i. e. 288'×288', which will give a floor area of 82,944 sq. ft. This area. can accommodate about 20,000 men. Further, the largest type admitted in theory is Vikrstajyestha, which will have a Ranga of 54×54. If we take hasta measurement this will mean 81'×81'=6,561 sq. ft., accommodating 1,500 men; but if we take danda measure, it will mean a Ranga of 324'X 324' = 1,06,976 sq. ft. which would accommodate about 25,000 men. One may doubt if ever such large theatres were actually constructed. Without giving any opinion about conditions in ancient India, I shall, here, point out that in ancient Greece auditoriums were made for 20,000 or 30,000 and in some cases for 80,000 men. Of course, such auditoriums had no roof and were mostly on hill-sides, so that sitting-arrangements could be made on hill-slopes. (See Encyclopaedia Britannica under 'Theatre-Greek.').

It is certain that there was a wall between the Nepathyagrha and Rangasirsa. In front of the Nepathyagrha, there were two portions, one called Rangasirșa and the other called Rangapițha. We must first fix up the dimensions of Rangasirșa.

In the diagrams that I have given, I have shown Rangasirsa (RS), at the back of the Rangapitha (RP). But Shri Raghavan has, in his diagram, shown RS to be 8×8 sq. hastas and has located it just in the centre at the back of the RP. In so far as sirsa and pitha imply a metaphor of the human body, Shri Raghavan's view does seem to be plausible. I think that in fixing the dimensions of the RS, the following considerations cannot be lightly set aside.

- (1) Abhinava, at one place, says 'astahastam rangasirah (p. 57), which may mean that RS was 8. hastas square.
- (2) According to Abhinava RS was used as under:

अष्टहस्तं रङ्गशिरः प्रविशतां पात्राणां चान्तर-स्थानं नाटयमण्डपस्य ह्युत्तानसुप्तवदवस्थितस्य रङ्गपीठमुख्यं तदष्टहस्तं शिरः (P. 57).

Again it is said:

तत्वात्राणां विश्रान्त्ये आगच्छतां च गुप्त्ये रङ्गस्य शोमाये रङ्गशिरः कार्यम् । (P. 63).

According to this, RS has the following uses:
(1) Waiting-place for the characters which are about to enter, (2) retiring-place for the charac-

I Ancient Indian Dramaturgical texts recognise three main types of: Theatre, viz., Vikṛṣṭa-madhya or Rectangular (96' × 48' - Fig 1), Caturasra or Square (48'×48' - Fig 2) and Tryasra or Triangular (Fig 3-all sides 24'). One text recognises a circular or Vrtta type also.

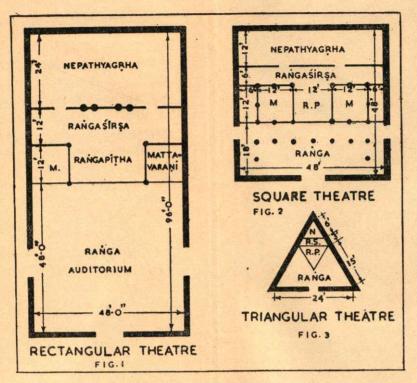
II The theatre was divided into the following parts:

- (1) Nepathyagrha or Green Room. This had two doors leading to Rangaśirsa.
- (2) Raingaśirṣa, Raingapitha and Mattavārains
 These formed the Stage proper, where the actors waited, musicians sat and

the characters acted their parts. For details see pp. 12 ff. Exact use of the Mattavāraņīs is not known, however see p. 32.

(3) Ranga or Auditorium, where the spectators sat. For details see p. 10-11.

III Readers are requested to note the following points while consulting the figures.



Block, by courtesy Birla Vishvakarma Mahavidyalaya.

- (1) Back of the Mattavāraņīs, which is shown in Fig 1 and 2 by a black line, had a wall. See p. 15.
- (2) Musicians sat in front of the śaddāruka. For details see p. 13 and 34.
- (3) In Figure 3, there are five rows of columns. They form three sets, but the distinction between these sets has not been clearly shown in the figure. The first set has ten columns, second has six and the third has eight. These may be distinguished as under:

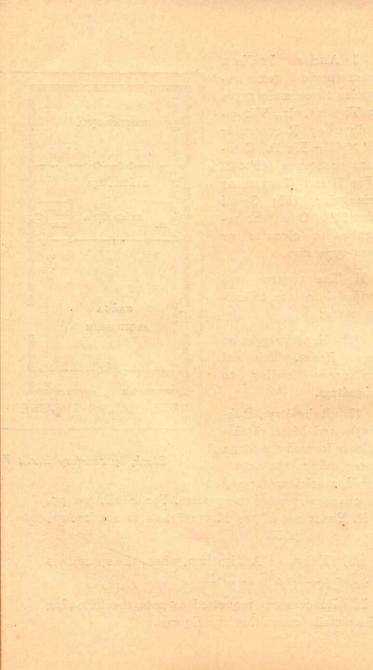
First set (ten cols.)—
1st row: 2nd, 3rd, 4th
and 5th. 3rd row: 2nd,
3rd, 4th and 5th. 4th
row: 2nd and 5th.

Second set (six columns)—1st row: 1st and last.

3rd row: 1st and last. 4th row: 2nd and 5th.

Third set (eight columns)—2nd row: all (2nd and 3rd doubtful): 4th row: 1st and last. 5th row: both.

(4) Four columns of the śaddāruka are shown in Fig 1, in the back wall of the RS', between the two doors. They are not shown in Fig 2, but they should be there.



ters which exit and (3) the decorative portion of the theatre.

Abhinava has called RS to be the decorative portion of the theatre and I think that this is with reference to saddāruka. On the front wall of the green-room, in the space between the two doors, (the space which was 8 hastas long) a decorative wooden panelling with four pillars was to be made. This decorative wooden panelling is called saddāruka. The length of this panel was 8 hastas. This formed the back-ground of the RS. This would lend support to RS being 8 hastas square.

Thus from the viewpoint of the saddaruka and the metaphor of human body lying flat, RS seems to be 8×8 sq. hastas.

But let us consider further. In Adhyāya Fifth, Abhinava has said that the musicians must sit between the doors of the Nepathyagṛha. That is, the musicians will sit just in front of the ṣaḍdāruka. Musicians were about 10 in number, thus -1 mārdangika, 2 paṇavikas, 1 gāyana, 1 vaiṇika, 2 Van-śakārikas and at least 3 Gāyakīs (plural gāyakyah is used.) Out of these at least six men will sit in front of the ṣaḍdāruka. If RS was 8×8 sq. hastas, and was located just in front of the ṣaḍdāruka, a large portion of it, will be occupied by these musicians.

But Abhinava says that RS was also used as a waiting-place for the characters who were to enter

or exit. I think that the area 8×8 sq. hastas in front of the saddāruka will be altogether unsuitable for this purpose. It is impossible that an area 8×8 sq. hastas can accommodate 6 or 10 musicians plus the actors who had to wait. Moreover, it will be most improper if the actors wait just in the middle portion, which is the most decorated part of the theatre.

I, therefore, think that the actors must have waited in the space located at the back of the Mattavāraṇi's and the whole field at the back of the RP was called RS. At least, that seems to have been the case in the days of Abhinava.

Now, it is said that RS, in the Vikistamadhya type should be higher than RP by 1½ hastas. There is no clear evidence, but looking to the whole plan, I think that only the area of 8×8 sq. hastas in front of the saddāruka was raised up and the sides were on the same level as the RP, and it was on this raised platform of 8×8 sq. hastas, that the musicians sat.

Let us in this connection remember one other thing. In the fifth Adhyāya, Abhinava says (p. 212)

तत्र यवनिका रङ्गपीठतच्छिरसोर्मध्ये ।

This means that there was a curtain between RP and RS. While explaining the items of Pūrvaranga, NS talks of some items as being

performed behind the curtain and others outside the curtain. Abhinava explains that the nine items upto āsārita were performed inside the curtain, then the curtain was lifted and then the other items were performed. Items to be performed behind the curtain were trying the voices of the musicians and tuning up of the musical instruments. All this shows that there was a curtain between the RP and RS and this curtain is known even to the NS' itself.

It has been prescribed that on the two sides of the RP, there must be two Mattavaranis, each 8×8 sq. hastas. At the four corners of these Mattavaranis, there were four pillars. Were the Mattavaranis separated from the RP by walls? On one side of each of the Mattavaranis, there will be the side wall of the whole building. In the front of the Mattavāranis, there can be no wall. Nor, I think, was there a side wall between the central portion of RP and Mattavaranis. But I feel that there was a wall at the back of the Mattavaranis, the wall being 8 hastas long. It is behind these walls, that the actors will have a waiting place. Abhinava has used agacchatam ca guptyai. The word gupti, I think. shows clearly that the actors used to wait or retire behind the back walls of the Mattavaranis. Then only can they be invisible to the audience.

According to Dr. Subba Rao (P. 438), Mattavarani is not a portion of RP, but is a line of intoxicated elephants, with four posts for tying their legs.

He means that in the front of RP i.e. in the front of the platform, there is a decoration made by a running line of elephants and that is Mattavārani.

Looking to the etymological sense of Mattavarani (मत = with rut and नारण = elephant), Dr. Subba Rao's view seems to be reasonable. But there are two objections to this. One is the compound चतुरस्तम्भसमायुक्ता and the other is the word पार्श्व. A decorative line of elephants need not have four pillars (स्तम्भ). Therefore he proposes to emend स्तम्भ to स्तम्ब, and takes it to mean post (to which the legs of the elephant are tied). This emendation is not warranted. Again according to him, the decorative line is to be on the front wall of the platform (RP) but the word पार्श्व (रङ्गपीठस्य पार्श्वे त कर्तव्या मत्तवारणी) means side and not front. He has therefore twisted the sense by saving that every rectangular block has four sides and front wall is also a side and the word पार्श्व is used in this sense. I am afraid that this is too much twisting. पाने cannot mean front.

I am therefore, content to retain my interpretation of Mattavāraņi, which has the clear support of Abhinava.

Dr. C. B. Gupta agrees with me in this regard.

Thus the arrangement will be as under. Between RP and RS, from both the ends there will be a wall 8 hastas long and in between, there will be a space of 16 hastas, where there will be a curtain, which is the curtain referred to by Abhinava as being between RP and RS.

The Vikrstamadhya, thus, will have these parts. Auditorium (Ranga)=32×32 sq. hastas. Rangapitha proper (8×16) with a curtain at the back 16 hastas long. Two Mattavaranis on the two sides of RP, each 8×8 sq. hastas. These Mattavaranis will have one side wall and one back wall. At the back of this (i. e. RP and Mattavaranis taken together) there will be a space 8 x 32 sq. hastas, called RS, out of which the central portion of 8×8 sq. hastas will be a raised platform one hasta higher than the RP. At the back of this RS, there will be a Nepathyagrha 16×32 sq. hastas. In the front wall of this Nepathyagrha on the side of the RS, exactly in the centre there will be a decorative wooden panel (the saddaruka) with four vertical pillars and two horizontal beams.*

The stage, thus arranged, will present a pleasant sight. Exactly in the centre, in a recess there will appear the decorated saddāruka. Then nearer to the audience by 8 hastas, there will be the two back

^{*} Mr. Monomohan Ghosh. (IHQ June, 1933.) thought that RP and RS were identical and not two distinct parts of the theatre. But I have shown that it is not so (IHQ Dec, 1933.) I have discussed the whole position in Appendix I.

walls of the Mattavāraņis. These back walls also will be decorated by various designs etc. In between, there will be a curtain 16 hastas long. This curtain, when raised will exhibit the 8×8 platform in a recess with the musicians all properly seated on it.

The explanation of saddaruka is given by me in accordance with what Abhinava has said. Dr. Subba Rao interprets this from the constructional point of view thus.

"Looking at it constructionally, the Rangapitha has its floor and its head, the Rangasirsa.† To support the latter over an area of 48'×24' in the Vikrsta type and 48'×12' in the caturasra type, it is essential that the Rangasirsa must be provided with cross-braced frames. These admit of small sections of timber to be joined together to result in a strong support, otherwise requiring a huge piece of timber. This involves 6 pieces of timber as per sketch No. 5 and is a real पददाहक, necessary and useful for the support of Rangasirsa. Modern mathematical analysis of framed structures conclusively reveal that cross-bracing (involving 6 pieces-two horizontals, two verticals and two diagonals i.e. (षड्दाहक) is meant to combat a reversal of stresses. It is well-known that reversal of stresses is due to moving superloads. It is obvious that in नाइव the performer has to move over the entire stage, not lightly but with heavy thumps and not once in a way, but many times in quick

[†] Here he has taken RP and Rs' as distinct.

succession. The consequent reversals of heavy stresses call for a framed support, properly cross-braced. The ancients of India were certainly adepts in the use of timber. It, therefore, needs neither effort nor hesitation to suggest that पद्राहक should be nothing but a frame with cross bracing. पद्राहक gives necessary strength and by connecting the upper and lower floors of the द्विमूमि by the use of दाह (timber) gives the रज्ञार्थि that resonant qualities, it very essentially needs from the accoustic angle".

This is a very plausible interpretation and we may agree with it. Only, it presupposes wooden flooring of the stage. If we believe that the ancient Indian stage had wooden flooring, the above explanation of saddāruka seems to be quite plausible. I have retained my original explanation, because it is based on Abhinava and represents one view. This is another.

- (2) I shall, now, place before the learned world two or three points for clarification:
- (i) The question whether our theatre had a roof or it was, like the Greek theatre, open overhead, has not been touched by the Nāṭyasāstra; but there are indications which would force us to admit the existence of some kind of roof. In the section on column-arrangement the Nāṭyasāstra requires the columns to be s'astā manḍapadhānrane (2, 94) and dṛḍhānmanḍapadhārane (2, 97), which would indicate that there was a roof. This is corroborated by the fact that Bharata praises a śailaguhākāra (2, 84)

theatre, which, too, would suggest a roof: and Abhinava, in explaining, why the theatre should not be too wide or too narrow, stresses on the point of its properties of resounding (anuranana p. 54), which again points to a roof. The Nāṭyaśāstra itself frequently uses the term nāṭyamanḍapa for the theatre. All this, I think, shows that there was a roof to our theatre.

(ii) The position of curtain in our theatre is doubtful, for the Natyas astra has no specific statement with regard to it. Neither the term 'pati' nor the term 'yavanika' occurs in the second Adhyaya, though 'yavanika' is apparently, known to the Nātyaśātra, as it occurs at 5, 11-12. Of course this may suggest an earlier character of the contents of the second Adhyaya. Though I do not know on what grounds Keith and others put the curtain between Rangasirsa and Rangapitha, I have come across a reference in Abhinava's commentary explaining its position thus: yavanikā rangapīthatacchirasormadhye (p. 212), but there is no reference which gives it a character of parting from the middle. I think, this character given by European scholars to 'pati,' in explaining stage-direction 'apatiksepena', has no ground. Moreover it is believed that the word 'yavanika' takes its origin from the practice of using foreign cloth for the curtain. In this connection Dr. S. K. De writes to me: "I have found in some Mss. and printed texts of some Sanskrit dramas, the word 'yavanika' is given as 'yamanika'....I suppose that this is the true

form of the word, as the word then etymologically, would mean 'a covering or a curtain' from root yam, to restrain." I think that the above suggestion is probable for there is no sense in deriving yavanikā from the above-mentioned practice. If the idea of curtain was not borrowed from the Greeks, why should the material be borrowed? There is, by the way an attempt made to derive 'yavanikā' from root yu, yunoti āvṛṇoti anayā iti (Commentary to Kuṭṭanīmatam, ed. by T. M. Tripathi p. 359).*

In this connection there is one other doubtful point. Had our theatre more than one curtain at any time or was the curtain ever raised? Dāmodargupta in the Kuṭṭanīmataṃ describes the performance of Ratnāvali, wherein, the following occurs: The king with Vidūṣaka is on the Rangapitha. Two maids come and after much dancing and delivering the message to the queen, go way—babhūvatur javanikāntarite). After that the queen's entrance is thus described: apanītatiraskarinī tato'bhavannṛpasutā samaṃ ceṭyā. What does this mean? The commentator says: apanītā tiraskarinī dūrikṛtā pātrācchādakajavanikā yayā tādṛṣī abhavat.²⁹

Was the curtain, then, actually dūrikṛta or apanīta? It seems the word apanīta, in the text, is unmistakable. May it be that the curtain was actually removed wholly at some time in the progress of the act? We often find in the extant Sanskrit dramas the

^{*}In an article called 'The Curtain in Ancient Indian Theatre' Published in Bharatiya Vidya vol. ix 1948, Dr. De has discussed this question at length.

stage-direction 'nepathye.' Now if the curtain, which was supposed to be between the Rangapitha and Rangasirsa, was down all the while what would be the propriety of the word 'nepathye'? Nepathyagrha, as we know, was situated behind Rangasirsa; and as Rangasirsa would be divided from Rangapitha by the curtain, it would be the place where, if the curtain was down all the while, speeches from behind the curtain should be uttered. But this apparently cannot be meant by the word 'nepathye,' which must refer to Nepathyagrha. Therefore the stage-direction 'Nepathye' must have come into vogue at a time when curtain was raised: or may it not, more probably, be reminiscent of a time when our theatre had no curtain, which then we shall have to take as added later on? This last alternative is more probable because according to the original plan of the theatre as given in the second Adhyaya, it had no place in the theatre.

That there was no drop-curtain to our earliest theatre seems to be clear enough, from the peculiar ending of the acts in our extant dramas. Our acts never ended with any incident which may be called dramatic or sudden as is often the case in our modern dramas. Prof. Hudson has drawn attention to the similar condition of the Greek theatre and the acts in all our Sanskrit dramas end usually by some description of the time of the day or by some other quiet suggestion to the characters on the stage to exit. This peculiar tame endings of our acts are due to the absence of the drop-curtain.

which puzzles me to some extent. In 13th Adhyāya, which has been designated by Abhinava as Kakṣyādhyāya, though in the printed copies we find it called as Karayuktidharmīvyañjaka, it is stated:

ये नेपथ्यगृहद्वारे मया पूर्व प्रकीर्तिते। तयोर्भाण्डस्य विन्यासो मध्ये कार्यः प्रयोक्तिः। कक्ष्याविभागो निर्देश्यो रङ्गपीठपरिक्रमात्। परिक्रमेण रङ्गस्य ह्यन्या कक्षा भवेदिह। कक्ष्याविभागे ज्ञेयानि गृहाणि नगराणि च। उद्यानारामसरितस्त्वाश्रमा अटवी तथा। पृथिवीसागरश्चेव त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम्। वर्णनैः सप्तद्वीपाश्च पर्वता विविधास्तथा। आलाकश्चेव लाकश्च रसात्लमथापि वा। दैत्यानामालयश्चेव गृहाणि च वनानि च। नगरे च वने चापि वर्षे वै पर्वते तथा। दूरं वा सिन्नकृष्टं वा देशन्त परिकल्पयेत । पूर्वे प्राविष्टा ये रङ्गे ज्ञेयास्ते प्रभयन्तरे वधैः। पश्चात् प्रविष्टास्ते ज्ञेयाः कक्षाभावे तु मध्यतः। तेषां तु दर्शनेच्छुः सन् प्रविशेद् रङ्गमण्डलम्। दक्षिणाभिमुखः कुर्या.....दालनिवेदनम्।

While explaning the two doors from Nepathyagrha, Abhinava points out that these should be placed kakṣyāvibhāgena. What is this kakṣyā? Was Rangapītha actually divided into certain parts to represent different places, as enumerated above in verses 4-7? But then the third verse which seems to mean that in the absence of kakṣāvibhāga it should be shown or represented (nirdesya) by means of circumambulation on the rangapitha or ranga, which term is here used in the sense of rangapitha, goes against this. The usual stage-direction 'parikramya,' so frequently seen in our Sanskrit dramas would support this. The same absence of kaksavibhaga is indicated by verse 8, wherein it is stated: "As there are no kaksas, those characters who enter first should be considered as in the inner apartment, those who enter afterwards would be in the outer apartments and those who enter still later should stand facing the south." This too would point to the absence of kaksā. Also the statement in verse 6 that those places shoud be known by varnana suggests kakṣābhāva, but verse 4 again raises a doubt, for we are to understand gardens etc. by kaksavibhāga. But if there were no kaksās, as it seems, why then does Abhinava prescribe doors kakṣāvibhāgena? Or was the kakṣāvibhāga imaginary? Or may it after all be the function of the Mattavaranis, which were in a sense distinct from the Rangapitha and yet formed a part of it? If we accept Abhinava's second view that Rangapitha and Mattavāranis had the same height this would be rendered possible.

Dr. C. B. Gupta (p. 38) has said that the stage was divided into Kakṣyās (divisions), for the representation of change in scenes and other objects. Kakṣyās were abhyantara, madhya and bāhya, for further details see his book pp. 38-39.

- 3. Dr. P. K. Acharya has discussed the theatre in his paper on 'The Play-house of the Hindu Period' published in Dr. S. K. Aiyangar commemoration Volume P. 36 ff. I have, however, found that his interpretation at some places is not proper.
- (1) He has taken Vikrsta in the sense of circular or semicircular (p. 372), but this is not correct as is shown by the measurements given in the text.
- (2) The arrangement of pillars as explained by Dr. Acharya differs from what I have said. Those interested are requested to verify both the interpretations from the text.
- (3) He says that in the Triangular type, the auditorium should be triangular. This is not vouch-safed by the text.
- 4. Shri K. R. Pisharoti in his 'The Ancient Indian Theatre' published in Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar commemoration Volume (1941) has shown the sitting arrangement of the musicians wrongly.
- 5. The Silparatna has some discussion about the theatre. But when we compare the description given above with that of the Silparatna, it will, at once be seen that the Silparatna tries to describe the Nātyamaṇḍapa which was usually attached to the Royal palaces, while the Nātyaśāstra describes the usual theatres which were mostly meant for the ordinary people. It is a recognized fact that the rich ancient Indian kings had pleasure gardens, small theatres etc. attached to their spacious palaces,

generally for the diversion of their harem. That the Silparanta describes such a theatre, is borne out by the following:

प्रासादसम्मुखे कुर्यान्मण्डपानां चतुष्टयम् । मुखमण्डपमादौ तु प्रतिमामण्डपं तत: । स्नानमण्डपमन्यं हि नृत्तमण्डपमेव च।

Here netta is meant as nātya, though often it would seem that only netta was meant.* I am appending herewith the relevant verses from the Silparanta (see Appendix I.). Inspite of the text being hopeless, it will be seen that the general plan described therein corresponds to the plans as given by the Nāṭyaśāstra.

6. Visnudharmottara has the following (III, 204) about theatres.

लास्यं स्वच्छन्दतः कार्यं मण्डपे यदि वा बहि: । नाटयं मण्डप एव स्यान्मण्डपं द्विविधं भवेत् ॥ आयतं चतुरस्रं तु द्वात्रिंशद्धस्तसम्मितम् । चतुरस्रं न कर्तव्यमायतं द्विगुणायतम् । हीनाधिकं न कर्तव्यं दृष्टादृष्टशुभप्रदम् ॥ हीने भवति सम्मर्दो विस्तीर्णे नाट्यगेययोः व्यक्तिनैवोपपयते तस्मानौ परिवर्जयेत् ॥

Läsya may be presented either in a theatre or in an open space at will; nātya should be presented only in a theatre. The theatre might be of two types, rectangular and square. The square should be 32×32 sq. hastas.

^{*} Cf. Mankad, The types of Sanskrit Drama, Ch 1

- 7. Sangitamakaranda of Nārada talks of only the square theatre of 96×96 sq. hastas.
- 8. Nātyasarvasvadīpikā, a ms. in BORI (No. 41 of 1918-19) has 128 instead of 108 for the Vikṛṣṭa type, see

त्रिविधः संनिवेशश्च विकृष्टश्चतुरस्रशः। Fol. 11, 1.5 त्र्यस्रच मंडपस्त्रीण प्रमाणानि प्रकीर्तितः॥ श्रेष्ठं मध्यं चापरं तु दण्डहस्तकमिष्यते। (1.6) अत्र वि(कृष्टः) विशालः अपरं कनिष्टमिति भावः अष्टाविश्च्छतकरान् कुर्याचेच्छ्रेष्ठ उच्यते। चतुःषष्टिकरान्कुर्याद्दीर्धत्वेन तु मध्यमः। द्वात्रिंशस्करविस्तारो मत्यानां योजयेदि (1.8) ह

9. So far we have noted three types of theatre as described by Bharata. The Bhāvaprakāśanam,, 27 however, has the following three types: Caturasra, Tryasra, and Vrtta. They are defined by S'āradātanaya thus.

परमण्टिपिकैः षड्भिः पौरजानपदैः सह। राज्ञः सङ्गीतकं यत्र वृत्ताख्यो रङ्गमण्टपः। वारकन्याऽमात्यवणिक्सेनापतिश्रहत् सुतैः। यत्र सङ्गीतकं राज्ञः चतुरस्रः स कथ्यते। ऋत्विक्पुरोहिताचार्यैः सहान्तःपुरिकाजनैः। महिष्या सह यत्र स्यात्त्र्यस्रोऽसौ रङ्गमण्टपः।

But no measurements are given in this connection by the author. Evidently these are the types of theatres attached to Royal palaces.

10. It seems that Mānasāra,26 a very comprehensive treatise on Indian Architecture has a chapter

on this type of theatre attached to Royal palaces. Dr. P. K Acharya summarises the chapter as follows:

"It (madhyarangavidhāna) is provided with dwarf pillars or pilasters (anghri-pāda) and consists of various members (masuraka, vedi, māņeka, kuṭṭima, upapīṭha etc.) and with eight or sixteen kṣudranāsis. The upper portion is adorned with figures of leographs (vyāli) and crocodiles (makara). From the last but one verse of the chapter it is evident that there must be a close connection between the muktaprapānga on the one hand and the simhāsana. the makara-toraņa and kalpa-vṛkṣa, on the other hand, the latter three subjects being discussed in the immediately preceding and the following chapters.

the muktaprapanga etc. are wood, stone, brick (terra-cotta?) and various kinds of metals (loha, literally iron)."

The above account however, does not furnish any specific details about the theatre.

NOTES

- 1. I have relied upon the edition in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, which also publishes, for the first time, a portion of the commentary Abhinavabhāratī.
- 2. A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, by Dr. P. K. Acharya, 1927, Allahabad. (Henceforth abbreviated as DHA).

- 3. DHA in Appendix I notes more than one hundred and seventy works dealing, more or less, with architecture.
- 4. Vikṛṣṭa seems to have been used in the sense of rectangular, for Abhinava explains the term at p. 50 thus: 'vibhāgena kṛṣṭo na tu catarasru dikṣu sām-yena.' Moreover the measurements given by the Nāṭyāsāstra also point to its rectangular nature, for they are in the case of Vikṛṣṭamadhya, 64×32 and so on. Acharya is wrong in taking Vikṛṣṭa in the sense of vṛṭṭa or circular. Caturasra is used in the sense of a square and Tryasra in that of a triangle, though Caturasra would etymologically mean a rectangle. Gujarāṭī, even to-day has 'Coras' which means a square and which is a direct evolute of caturasra, the processs being, caturasra=caurassa=coras.
- 5. Abhinava accepts this view and looking to the context of the whole Adhyāya, this view of the nine divisions seems to be the correct one; yet the Nāṭyasāstra has two verses, repeated twice (13-14, 25-26), which very clearly propound the first view. But these verses seem to have been interpolated, as Abhinava has not commented upon them at both the places.
- 6. The table of these measurements as given in the text is this-8 anus=1 raja: 8 rajas=1 vāla: 8 vālas=1 likṣā: 8 likṣās=1 yūkā: 8 yūkās=1 yava: 8 yavas=1 angula: 24 angulas=1 hasta: 4 hastas=1 daṇda. This list substantially agrees with the one given in Kauṭilya's Arthas āstra.

7. The above-mentioned (note 5) nine varieties will be these: Vikṛṣṭajyeṣṭha=108×64. Vikṛṣṭamadhya=64×32; Vikrstāvara=32×16; Caturasrajyestha=108×108; Caturasramadhya=64×64; Caturasrāvara=32×32. Tryasrajyestha, Tryasramadhya, Tryasrāvara. (I have not given the measurements of the Tryasra type as no clear indication of the same is seen in the text.) All these measurements given here by me are in accordance with the 10th verse of the text. That verse explicitly states that Jyestha is 108, Madhya is 64 and Avara is 32 cubits in length, which apparently means that each of the Jyestha types, should begin with 108 cubits. According to this understanding I have given the measurements above, but they are quite irrelevant looking to the whole discussion in the paper. In the second Adhyava, verses 20-90 describe the theatre of 64×32 cubits, which the author of the Natyasastra calls Vikrsta; and further on the text says that there must be Madhya type only amongst mortals. Connecting both these statements I take this type of 64×32 to be Vikrstamadhya type. Then verses 91-105 describe the type of 32×32, which the author calls by the name of Caturasra: this also, I take to be Caturasramadhya on the same understanding. But it will be noted that the measurements given by me above, are not in conformity with the Caturasramadhya type as just noted. Both these statements can be harmonised, I think, in only one way. I quote three verses in this connection.

विकृष्टश्चतुरस्रश्च त्र्यस्वर्चेव तु मण्डप: ॥
तेषां त्रीणि प्रमाणानि ज्येष्ठं मध्यं तथावरम् ॥ ९ ॥
प्रमाणमेषां निर्दिष्टं हस्तदण्डसमाश्रयम् ॥
शतं चाष्टौ चतुःषष्टिहस्ता द्वात्रिंशदेव वा ॥ १० ॥
अष्टाधिकं शतं ज्येष्ठं चतुःषष्टिस्तु मध्यमम् ॥
कनीयस्तु तथा वेश्म हस्ता द्वात्रिंशदिष्यते ॥ ११ ॥

It will be remembered that in two of the verses taken by us as interpolated, Vikrsta was equated with Jyestha, Caturasra with Madhya and Tryasra with Avara. That statement would be relevant by itself, but if it is taken in connection with these three verses just cited, there will be good harmony in the whole construction. Verse 9 expressly states that Jyestha etc. are the pramanas of Vikrsta etc. and verse 10 gives these measurements. Connecting both these verses we may say that Vikrsta has the Jvestha measurements, which is 108 cubits; therefore its varieties should begin with 108 thus: Vikrstaivestha = 108×64, Vik rta madhya = 64×32, Vikrstavara =32×16. So also connecting verses 9 and 10, Caturasra will have Madhya measurements i. e. its varieties will begin with 64 thus: Caturasrajyestha= 64×64. Caturasramadhya = 32×32, and Caturasravara =16×16. I think that this is the only way to harmonise these otherwise conflicting statements.

8 Abhinava explains Rangasīrsa thus: (p. 57 pravisatām pātrānām cāntassthānam and further on as (p. 63) tatpātrānām visrāntyai āgacchatām cāguptyai rangasya sobhāyai rangasirah kāryam.

9. This is not quite clear, but Abhinava helps here. I shall quote the text and the commentary. चतुष्पष्टिकरान्कृत्वा द्विधाभूतान्पुनस्तत: ॥ ३९ प्रष्ठतो यो भवेद्वागो द्विधाभृतस्य तस्य त ।

रङ्गशीर्षं प्रकल्पयेत ॥ ८०

पश्चिमे च विभागेऽथ नेपथ्यगृहमादिशेत्।

सममर्घविभागेन (v. 1. तस्याप्यधर्धिभागेन)

Comm. चतुष्षिष्टिहस्तदैध्यद्विस्ताराच्च (daṇḍa printed here in the edition is incorrect and I delete it) द्वात्रिंशत्करं क्षेत्रं गृहीत्वा मध्ये स्त्रं विस्तारेण द्यात्। तत्र यत्प्रयोक्तुः पृष्ठतो भविष्यति तदेव पृष्ठम्। तस्य मध्ये विस्तारेण स्त्रं द्यात्। ततः योडशहस्तौ द्वौ भागौ भवतः। पृष्ठगतं भागमर्धेन विभज्याष्टहस्तं रङ्गशिरः प्रविशतां पात्राणां चान्तरस्थानं नाट्यमण्डपस्य ह्युनानसुप्तवद्वस्थितस्य रङ्गपीठमुख्यं तदष्टहस्तं शिरः। तत्पृष्ठे तु दैध्यद्वि षोडशहस्तं नेपथ्यगृहं भवति विस्तारान् द्वात्रिंशत्करमेव। ननु नेपथ्यादिकं च तत्र गृह्यते पश्चिमे चेति। तत्र रङ्गपीठं विस्तारतः षोडश दैध्यतस्वष्टहस्ता इति केचित्। अन्ये त्वेतदेव विपर्यासयन्ति सर्वथा तावदङ्गपीठस्यापि विकृष्टत्वं विधेयमिति तात्पर्थम्। यद्वक्ष्यते रङ्गो विकृष्टो भरतेन कार्य (१२-१९) इत्यादि।

Both the text and the commentator are very clear that the length of 64 cubits should be first divided into two equal parts. Thus we will get two parts of 32×32. Then before proceeding further one should properly understand the word presthato in 40 and the word pascima in 41. Abhinava explains that prestha means that which is at the back of the actors. Out of the two parts of 32×32 cubits, one is in front of the actor (i. e. the auditorium) and the other at the back of the actor.

This portion of 32×32 sq. cubits at the back of the actor should further be divided into two. Then there will be two parts here thus 16×32 and 16×32 . Out of these two, first part of 16×32 is called prsthagata by Abhinava and the other part of 16×32 is called pascima. Abhinava says that this first part of 16×32, should be divided into two (which will be 8×32 each.) Here Rangasirsa of 8 cubits should be made, and at its back Nepathya of 16×32 sq. cubits should be made. Both the text and the commentator support this interpretation fully. It is clear that Nepathya should be 16×32. In front of the Nepathya there must be Rangasirşa of 8×32 and in front of this there must be Rangapitha of 16×8, though it is not mentioned in the above quotation from the text. But Abhinava has discussed this. He says that according to some, Rangapitha is 16 cubits long and 8 cubits wide, while according to others it is 8 cubits long and 16 cubits wide. But Abhinava is in favour of the first view. According to this view, the portion (8×32) just adjoining the auditorium will be thus divided. In the centre of this portion there will be Rangapitha of 16×8 sq. cubits and on both the sides of this Rangapitha there will be two Mattavaranis of 8×8 sq. cubits each. According to the other view, I think, Mattavāranis will be 12×8 sq. cubits each and Rangapitha will be 8×16 sq. cubits. In this case half the portion (8×8) of Rangapitha will jut out in the auditorium.

10. The text is not clear as to the use of Mattavāraņīs. Dr. Acharya (DHA., p. 492) has a word Mattavāraņa which he takes to be entablature. But it does not fit in here. It is quite evident that the Mattavāraņīs were some special portions of Rangapītha. They do not serve the purpose of the modern wings, for that is the sense assigned to Rangašīrsa by Abhinava as quoted above.

About the four columns Abhinava writes thus.

स्तम्भाश्वत्वारो बहिर्मण्डपानिष्कासनं कृत्वा ध्रियन्ते मण्डपक्षेत्राद् बहिस्तेन मित्तिच्छ्रेदावधौ स्तम्भद्वयं ततोऽपि बहिर्मित्तरष्टहस्तान्तरं स्तम्भापेक्षयाप्यष्टहस्तान्तरं स्तम्भद्वयमित्येवमित्यष्टविस्तारा समचतुरश्रा मत्तवारणी भवति ।

This means that two columns are to be put on the outside i.e. side wall mutually 8 cubits distant. Other two columns are to be placed inside the field of the Rangapitha, in such a manner that these two columns are 8 cubits distant both from the two walls and from the columns in the wall. Thus a Mattavāranī will be 8×8 sq. cubits.

11. In this connection the Natysastra has: (2, 67-68a),

रङ्गपीठस्य पार्श्वे तु कर्त्तव्या मनवारणी॥

चतुस्तम्भसमायुक्ता रङ्गपीठप्रमाणतः॥

अध्यर्भहस्तोतसेघेन कर्तव्या मनवारणी॥

उत्सेधेन तयोस्तुल्यं कर्तव्यं रङ्गमण्डुपं ॥

Abhinava has the following to comment:

अन्येषाम् इस्तमानोऽत्र (१) यथा रङ्गपीठापेक्षया च सार्धहस्त-परिमाण उच्छायः कार्यो मत्तवारण्या तयोरिति द्वित्रचनं ज्ञापकं तं चरितार्थ-मितीह नोपेक्षित इति तस्या एव यावानुत्सेधस्तावान् रङ्गपीठस्य॥ तेन त्रझम्भागापेक्षया सार्धहस्तप्रमाणोन्नतं रङ्गपीठमित्युक्तं भवति॥ तेन मत्तवार-ण्यालोकेनात्यर्थं रङ्गपीठस्य दुष्प्रेक्षता॥ एतच्चोतसेधेनेत्येकवचनेन स्चितम्॥ अन्यथोतसेधाभ्यामित्युच्यते॥

The interpretation of the text is rendered doubtful by the word 'rangamandapa' used in 68a. What does it refer to rangapitha or the auditorium? Commentary of Abhinava apparently notes two interpretations: according to one the Mattavaranis were one and half cubit higher than the Rangapitha; according to the other view, which seems to be Abhinava's also, Rangapitha and Mattavāraņis had the same height. This second view on the whole seems to be the correct one, for it would be rather unnatural to find Rangapitha, which would be the centre of all action, to be lower than the Mattavaranis. Moreover, if the Rangapitha and Mattavaranis had the same height, it would fit in with two other points. The graded seats of the auditorium require the last row of the seats to be equal in height with the Rangapitha, according to Abhinava: and our suggestion that the Mattavaranis may have been used as Kaksas would also have some value only if we take it to have the same height as the Rangapitha.

Incidentally, I note that Rangasirsa was higher than the Rangapitha in the Vikrstamadhya type and

of the same level in the Caturasramadhya type. See verse 104 (Second Adhyāya).

- 12. The purpose of Rangaśirşa has already been explained (note 8). Also it seems that there was no wall between the Rangapitha and Rangaśirşa and that there was a curtain instead (see above). Moreover in Adhyāya fifth verse seventh, it has been pointed out that musicians also should sit in the Rangaśirşa thus: Mārdangika facing the east, between the two doors of the Nepathyagrha; Pāṇavika on his left: Gāyana (ka?) on the south of the Rangapītha, facing the north: Gāyākīs in front of him on the north, facing the south, and Vainika on their left, and on their right Vamśakārikas.
- 12a. This means that, in the front wall of the Nepathyagrha, the central front has a decorated wooden panelling 8 cubits long. This central panelling has two columns at two ends, and two more columns mutually four cubits distant and each 2 cubits distant from two end columns. These pillars have one wooden beam on the top and one at the bottom. Thus there are six wooden beams. This is saddārukam, the six-beamed panelling. This wooden panelling is to be decorated by various designs as is described further in verses 81 to 85.
 - 13. For pavement comp. DHA., p. 137.
- 14. Comm......dvāreņa viddham parasparasammukhībhītamadhyam na kuryāt.

- 15. This shape is apparently preferred for accoustic properties.
- 16. Cf Comm. bhittilepe bhanga (sankha) vālukā-suktikālepah.....
 - 17. Cf. note 7.
 - 18. Cf. note 7.
- 19. In explaining the view of the Upādhyāya regarding columnation, Abhinava calls Raṅgapɨtha to be of 8×32, which seems to include the Mattavāranis. But previously he gives 8×8 as the measurement of the Raṇgapɨtha. If now we want to apply the proportional measurement of Vikṛṣṭa type to the Caturasra type (Cf. verse 92) and if the Raṅgapɨtha is to be 8×8, then the Mattavāraṇis must measure 4×8 each. But verse 103 is clear in saying that Mattavāraṇis shall be constructed according to the measurement given before (pūrvapramāṇanirdiṣṭa kartavyā mattavāraṇi). What is this pūrvapramāṇa? It cannot be the one given in the Vikṛṣṭa type, that is 8×16. I have, however, shown the Mattavāraṇis in Fig. 2, as I understand them to be.
- 20. It will be seen that this accounts for six and not eight columns. I have shown the seventh and eighth columns in Fig. 2 as I have understood them.
- 21. It has been mentioned before (cf. note 11) that Rangapitha and Mattavāranis must be higher than the Ranga, and Rangasirṣa even higher than the Rangapitha, and as Ranga (auditorium) is separately mentioned in this view, I take Adhobhūmi to be

Nepathyagrha. But this whole portion of the commentary is so hopelessly confused that, though I have ventured the above suggestion, no coherent interpretation seems possible at this stage.

- 22. As the details of the first ten columns,* according to Upādhyāya are not explicit, I have not given a separate figure for them. On the whole Abhinava's first view, according to which we have drawn the Fig. 2 seems to be reasonable.
- 23. The text has this:

द्वारं चैकं भवेत्तत्र रङ्गपीठप्रवेशनम् ॥ जनप्रवेशनम् चान्यदाभिमुख्येन कारयेत्॥ रङ्गस्याभिमुखं कार्य्यं द्वितीयं द्वारमेव तु॥

कक्ष्याविभागेन तावत् हैं (है) द्वारे तेन द्वारमितिजातावेकवचनम् ॥
एकशब्दश्च राज्यभिप्रायेण राशिकरणे च निर्मितं पात्रप्रवेशोपायनं तथा च
कक्ष्याध्याये वक्ष्यति "ये नेपथ्यगृहद्वारे मया पूर्वं प्रकीर्तिते ॥ तयोर्भाण्डस्य
विन्यास (१३-२) इति ॥ (जनप्रवेशनं च तृतीयद्वारं नेपथ्यगृहस्य येन
भार्यामादाय नटपरिवारः प्रविशति ॥ अन्यतु द्वारमाभिमुख्येन पूर्वस्यां दिशि
कुर्यात् द्वारकृत्या सामाजिकप्रवेशनार्थम्....॥ एवं चतुर्दारं नाटयगृहम् ॥

This means that according to Abhinava's view there were four doors thus: two as explained above (in the nepathyagrha wall), one by which bhāryāmā-dāya naṭaparivāraḥ pravisati and one in the auditorium. This is one view. But Abhinava also notes another view thus (p. 68):

^{*}Column arrangement as is given by Dr. Subba Rao differs from mine, but he has not discussed the matter at all. I have based my arrangement on Abhinava's commentary.

रङ्गपीठस्य यत्पृष्टं रङ्गशिरस्तत्र द्वितीयमिति राश्यापेक्षयैकवचनम् ॥ तेन द्वारद्वयमेव रङ्गशिरसि नेपथ्यगतपात्रप्रवेशाय ॥ चकारादन्य (प्रवेशा) अर्थम् (१) जनप्रवेशनद्वारं च त्रीणि वा कार्याणि मतान्तर इति संद्वदीतं भवति ॥

This view, then recognises only three doors, two from the Nepathyagrha and one in the auditorium.

But let us have a clearer view of the text itself regardless of the commentary. All the views are agreed as regards the two doors in the Nepathyagrha. wall. Here again, two more doors are prescribed, one as Nātyaśāstra calls it 'rangapīthapraveśanam' and another in the auditorium. Now the 'rangapithapravesanam dvāram' should mean a door in the wall between Nepathyagrha and Rangasirsa; for the first two doors which are in the wall between Nepathyagrha and Rangasirsa, would lead to Rangasirsa and not to Rangapitha; but here is an explicit statement that it would lead to Rangapitha, which forces us, I think, to take a door somewhere in the wall between Rangapitha and Rangasirsa. There is an injunction in the Natyasastra itself that some characters should enter by southern door and some by northern door (13-41). To which of two doors does this refer? Not to the doors in the Nepathyagrha wall, for they will lead to Rangasirsa and not to Rangapitha. Now if we understand one more door in the wall between Rangasirsa and Rangapitha, as above, that will not help, for how can the actors enter from two different doors as noted above, if there was one door only, leading to Raingapitha? Therefore, I venture to make a suggestion. If we take this singular in 'eka dvāram' as a collective use, as is done by Abhinava, we may understand two doors which would lead to Rangapitha. These two doors would be distinct from the two doors in the Nepathyagrha wall; and these two doors leading to Rangapitha, would most probably be in the partition wall between the two Mattavarans and Rang isirsa (for there was no wall between the Rangapitha and Rangasirsa, as it had a curtain). Thus we can explain the two different doors for the entrance of the actors, because at 13, 41 Natyas astra uses the terms pars vadvaramathottaram and pars vadvaram tu duksinam, which would suggest two doors on the two sides evidently leading to the two Mattavāranis which formed a part of the Rangapitha. This may also explain Kaksāvibhāga (see above).

If we believe in the suggestion made above that the curtain had no place in our ancient theatre but was added later on, then the view of three doors to our theatre would be the earlier one, as, then, the two doors in the Nepathyagrha wall would naturally lead the characters in the presence of the audience. The view of five doors-2 in the Nepathyagrha wall, 2 in the wall between Rangasirsa and Rangapitha, and one in the auditorium—would be later is es would refer to that time when the curtain was added to our theatre.

- 24. Cf. note 19.
- 25. Silparatna, TSS., 1920, ed. by T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī.
 - 26. Loc. cit., p. 199.
 - 27. Bhāvaprakās'ana, GOS., 1930.
 - 28. Mānasāra, ed. by Dr. P. K. Acharya, 1914.
- 29. The Nāṭyas āstra has a doubtful phrase, which too, seems to point to the curtain being removed or it may even refer to a drop curtain, I am not sure. But here is the reference dhruvāyām samvṛtāyām paṭe caivāpakars ite (te) kāryaḥ praves aḥ pātrāṇām nānārtharasasambhavaḥ XII, 2-3.

APPENDIX I

Regarding RP and RS, Shri Manomohan Ghosh (IHQ, June 1933) and Dr. Subba Rao (Appendix to the second edition of Nātyaśāstra, published in Gaekwad Oriental Series) hold views which differ from mine. According to Shri Ghosh, RP and RS were not two distinct parts of the Indian Theatre but were synonymous terms. Dr. Subba Rao says (P. 440) "What is this Rangapith? It is the pitha or base of the Ranga just as the Rangasirsa is the śirsa i.e. top or upper surface of the Ranga, Ranga being the stage. Rangapitha is therefore the entire block of the stage having Rangasirsa for its upper surface. No separate allocation for Rangapitha has been made in the text (śloka 332/2 to 35) and that rightly, became the space covered by the one is also covered by the other." Here he agrees that Ranga has an upper surface (or Top called RS and lower surface (or base) called RP, and yet paradoxically says that the space covered by the one is also covered by the other. This is not consistent. Following this he has, in his diagram, shown only RS and not RP. But this is not correct. Even according to him the entire block is to be called Ranga and its top surface is to be called RS and its base is to be called RP. He, like Shri Ghosh, is driven to say that both RP and RS are the same because, according to both of them, original text of NS does not mention RP and RS separately.

The NS itself is very vague about the details of the theatre and I admit that it has no clear instruction about RP and RS: but there are one or two points which show that even the writer of NS considered them as two separate portions.

(1) NS. II, 104 runs thus:

samunnatam samam caiva rangasirşam tu kārayet/vikṛṣṭe tūnnatam kāryam caturasre samam tathā//

This means that RŚ should be higher in the vikṛṣṭa type and of the same level in the caturasra type. But in comparison with which particular portion of the theatre was it higher or of the same level? If RP and RŚ meant the same portion, this must refer to the auditorium, which would be clearly absurd. A stage on the same level as the auditorium would never be thought of. And Abh. answers the question thus: samunnatamiti raṅgapiṭhāpekṣayā, which seems to be the only possible interpretation. It will be seen that the variant raṅgapiṭha, here, will not alter the position.

(2) NS. II, 71 is thus:

rangapitham tatalı karyam vidhidestena karmana/ rangasirşam tu kartavyam şaddarukasamanvitam//

Here apparently two distinct parts are meant: and there is no other variant at both these places.

These two points should show almost definitely that RŚ and RP were different portions of the theatre even according to NS itself. There are some other indications pointing to the same conclusion.

- (1) The terms RP and RS are suggestive of a conception of the whole theatre regarded as a human body. In the body in the form of the theatre, RP will be the back and RS will be the head. Abh. has actually expressed this:.......nātyamandapasya uttānasuptayadavasthitasya rangapītha mukhyam tadastahastam sirah (NS., GOS, vol. I, p. 57). This very terminology (RP and RS) presupposes this distinction.
- (2) That Abh. considered these two as distinct parts of the theatre is fully borne out. On p. 62 he explains their construction separately. (note particularly rangapithe kartavye rangasirastāvadāha......). Again in explaining caturasra type he takes them as two distinct parts (p. 66, read from tatra madhyamakoṣṭakacatuṣke......rangasirah kuryāt, II, 12-17 of the Comm.) Further while explaining the position of the curtain incidentally, he very clearly mentions them as two distinct parts (p. 212, tatra yavanikā rangapīṭhatachirasormadhye).

Again the figures given by Shri Ghosh and Dr. Subba Rao differ from the ones given by me. There is a difference between the figures of Shri Ghosh and Dr. Subba Rao also.

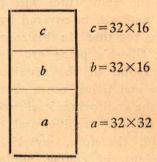
We will first consider Shri Ghosh's figures. According to his plan, the auditorium will cover 3 area of the whole theatre and the stage and tiring room together will cover the remaing 1. According to my plans, the auditorium will cover one half and the other half will be covered by the stage and the tiring room together. In this connection, I must say that Mr. Ghosh's plans are definitely better from the standpoint of the distribution of space. That the stage and tiring room should take up an area as big as the auditorium itself would go against the ordinary rules of architectural distribution of space. I would, therefore, myself like to adopt Mr. Ghosh's plans, of course, adding RS thereto, which even then, would leave a fairly big area for the auditorium. But I am afraid, neither the original text of NS nor the commentary of Abhinava support such a view. That Abh. does not support this view is clear enough (p. 57). NS., on the other hand, may seem to support it. I, therefore, reproduce the text in question:

catuşşaştikaran krtva dvidha bhūtan punas tatah/ prsthato yo bhaved bhāgo dvidha bhūtasya tasya tu//

samam ardhavibhāgena rangasīrṣam prakalpayet/
(v. l. tasyāpy ardhārdhabhāgena, and tasyārdhena
vibhāgena)

paścime'tha vibhāge tu nepathyagṛhamādiśet //
The meaning of the first two lines is unequivocal. Take a field 64 cubits in length, divide it

into two equal parts of 32×32 sq. cubits each. Then, out of the back field 32×32 sq. cubits make two equal divisions of 32×16 sq. cubits each. Now the figure will be as under:



According to the first half of the third line above, one of the two portions-c and b-is to be divided into two (which one is not mentioned in in the NS.). Mr. Ghosh divides c into two equal portions of 32×8 sq. cubits each and calls one the Nepathyagrha and the other the RP. I divide b into two equal parts of 32×8 sq. cubits each and call one the RP and the other the RS and reserve c the back portion of 32×16 sq. cubits for Nepathygrha. Unfortunately the text quoted above is not at all explicit about this, and I think that both the interpretations are possible. I however prefer mine, for I believe that (1) RP and RS were two separate portions of the theatre, (2) Nepathyagrha, which, according to Mr. Ghosh's interpretation, will have a width of 6' in the Caturasra type, would be very unusual, and (3) The NS. text noted above does not go against my interpretation, while 'paścima' in

the last line above may even go against Mr. Ghosh's interpretation.

Dr. Subba Rao has divided the whole field of 96×32 into three parts thus (1) 32×32=auditorium, (2) 32×16=Rangaśirṣa and (3) 32×16=Nepathyagṛha. The difference between him and me is only this that whereas he considers the middle part of 32×16 as one whole and calls it RŚ, I subdivide this part into two as 32×8 and 32×8 and call the back portion RŚ and front portion RP, putting two Mattavāranīs of 8×8 each on both the ends of RP. For this I rely on Abhinava, whom Dr. Subba Rao consideres mistaken. I also think that my place is supported by NS also. The verses just quoted has the third line:

सममधिवभागेन रज्ञशीर्ष प्रकल्पयेत् with three variants (१) तस्याप्यर्ध विभागेन, (२) तस्यार्धन विभागेन and (३) तस्याप्यर्ध- विभागे त. Here the three readings noted above supports me as according to these readings, the front part of 32×16 is to be sub-divided into two. Even otherwise Dr. Subba Rao, as quoted above, has agreed to call the upper surface of this part as RS and lower surface as RP and this is exactly what I have done.

Thus I think that plans given by me are to be retained.

APPENDIX II

1. I append, here, the relevant verses from the Silparatna (TSS), p. 201, verses 60-67.

अथ नाटयमण्डपः पर्यन्ते प्रतियोानभाजि बहिरूध्वैवोत्तरस्याथवा मध्य (स्त्र) स्थे दलिते ततो विभाजिते सम्यक् चतुर्वर्गकैः। स्यादंशः पदकायतिस्तु विततिद्वभियां पदाभ्यां युतं तिच्छ्या ततिहत्तरं नटनधाम्नि द्वित्रिसंख्यं मतं ॥ ६० ॥ पदं तिस्र: स्तूप्यो विततिदलस्योत्तरतला-दुपर्युत्थाधः स्याद्विपदमिति ततस्तु चरणः। पदं चाधिष्ठानं पदगणनालिन्दचरणा-न्तराण्यारुढाङध्याद्यखिलमुचितं मण्डपमपि (१) ॥ ६१ ॥ एकैकाष्ट्रस दिश्च पार्श्वयुगगे हे हे च भागद्वये द्वयष्टौ दीर्घछुपा विदिग्गतलुपास्वाबद्धमूला: पुनः। कल्प्याइछेदलुपाद्वयीषु सचलक्षास्तासु (१) कोणोन्मुखा द्वेधा सर्वेळुपान्तरं तु पदमात्रं चित्रपट्टयुज्ज्वलम् ॥ ६२ ॥ रक्नं स्वयोनिपरमार्घ इहार्णवाश्रं वेदाङ्किरत्तरलुपायुचिताङ्गशोभि। पश्चानमृदङ्गपदमस्य ततोऽपि पश्चा-न्नेपथ्यधाम च विभागविदा निधयेम् ॥ ६३ ॥ रङ्गस्य नीप्रविततिः समसिम्नि मध्य-स्तूप्या स्वमूलसदनस्य तु पश्चिमायाम् ।

स्तूपी च सङ्गमवशात् कुरु छेन करूप्या प्रायेण हारविततिः श्रुतिहस्तदैध्यां ॥ ६४ ॥ अथवाष्टाविंशतिभिश्चत्वारिंशतिभिः पुनः । विंशद्भिवाथ विभजेत् पर्यन्तार्धपदाप्तये ॥ ६५ ॥ देवस्याप्रे दक्षिणतो रुचिरे नाटयमण्डपे । नाहार्षे चतुर्विशांशे विस्तारं दशभागतः ॥ ६६ ॥ षोडशांशे षडशा वा कुर्याद्वा सुरमन्दिरे । मानुष्यराजधान्यादौ युक्त्या लक्षणसंयुतम् ॥ सर्वं समाचरेन्नाटयमण्डपेषु यथोचितम् ॥ ६७ ॥

2. In the course of our survey we have seen that rich kings had small theatres attached to their palaces. Sangītaratnākara has a description of the seat-arrangement in such a theatre, which will be of interest in the present paper. I, therefore, quote below the verses describing the seat-arrangement. (Sangītaratnākara ASS, VII, 1351 61.)

विचित्रा नृत्यशाला स्यात्पुष्पप्रहरशोभिता।
नानावितानसंपन्ना रत्नस्तम्भविभूषिता॥ १३५१॥
तस्यां सिंहायनं रम्यमध्यासीनः सभापतिः॥
वामतोऽन्तःपुराणि स्युः प्रधाना दक्षिणेन तम्॥ १३५२॥
पृष्ठभागे प्रधानानां कोशः श्रीकरणाधिपः॥
तत्संनिधौ तु विद्वांसो लोकवेदविशारदाः॥ १३५३॥
रसिकाः कवयोऽप्यत्र चतुराः सर्वरीतिषु॥
मान्यान् ज्योतिर्विदो वैद्यान्विद्वन्मध्ये निवेशयेत्॥ १३५४॥
स्याद्वामेतरे भागे तु मन्त्रिणां परिमण्डलम्॥
तत्रैव सैन्यमान्यानामन्येषामुपवेशनम्॥ १३५५॥

विलासिनो विलासिन्यः परितोऽन्तःपुराणि च ॥
पुरतोऽपि नृपस्य स्युः पृष्ठभागे तु भूपतेः ॥ १३५६ ॥
चारुचामरधारिण्यो रूपयौवनसंमृताः ॥
स्वकङ्कणङ्मणत्कारनिर्वाणिजनमानसाः ॥ १३५७ ॥
अग्रिमा वामभागे स्युरमे वाग्गेयकारकः ॥
कथका वन्दिनश्चात्र विद्यावन्तः प्रियंवदाः ॥ १३५८ ॥
प्रशंसाकुशलाश्चान्ये चतुराः सर्वमातृषु ॥
ततः परं तु परितः परिवारोपवेशनम् ॥ १३५९ ॥
अधिष्ठितं सदः कार्यं दक्षैर्वेत्रधरैर्वरैः ॥
अङ्गरक्षास्तु तिष्ठेयुः सर्वतः शस्त्रपाणयः ॥ १३६० ॥
संनिवेदय सभामेवं नेता संगीतमीक्षते ॥ १३६१ ॥

APPENDIX III

(Here I have given the senses ascribed to various technical terms used during the course of this paper mostly according to DHA.)

ūha = uppermost portion of a column.

pratyūha=lowermost portion of a column. But ūha and pratyūha, are apparently supplementary to one another e. g. inverse and obverse sides of a carved lotus may represent ūha and pratyūha, respectively.

sañjavana = A rectangular shape.

sālabhañjikā = Statuettes.

nirvyūha = A cross circle, a storey.

kubara = A window, interior window.

vedikā = Pedestal, a railing.

yantra = An architectural member of the bed-stead, a band, so DHA, but here, obviously, it must refer to some other design.

jāla=latticed window.

gavākṣa = A sort of latticed window, with designs like the eyes of a cow.

pīṭha = pedestal, so *DHA*, but it seems that there must be some difference between vedikā and pīṭha. May not vedikā be a portion lower than pīṭha?

dhāraṇi=a type of pillar, a roof, a tree, a kind of tree of which pillars are constructed.

kapotāli = a pegion-house, crown-work, fillet, gable-edge, corrice.

nāgadanta = DHA believes this to be a type of window resembling the hood of a serpent. Abhirava says: nāgadantam stambhordavanīcasthāmśakam putrikādhāranārtham gajamukham iti kecit,' a peg, a bracket.

koṇa = a kind of house, so *DHA*. (?)
pratīdvāra = 'avāntara dvāra' so Abhinva.

stambha = column. For detailed information about stambha see *DHA*, under that word.

tulā = A balance, a moulding of the column, a mouth, a beam, but none of these senses is suitable here.

dvāra = door, for some interesting details about door see DHA, under that word,

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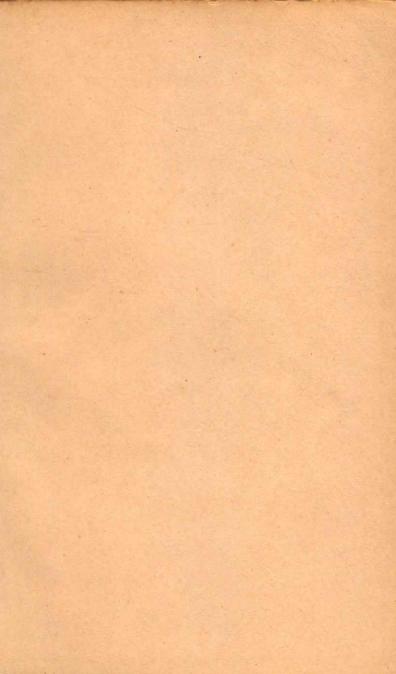
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