

Traditional Theater in Nepal: An Exposition of *Kārtik Nāc*, the Drama Festival in Pharping Village, with an Edition of *Pārijātaḥaraṇa*, a 16th Century Bengali Play from Nepal

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The following article combines field work observations with a philological approach in order to throw light on various aspects of traditional Nepali theatre in past and present. The first part on a popular drama festival in Pharping highlights the dramatic tradition that is carried into the 21st century, presenting an analysis from historical, performative and musicological perspectives. It is based on data collected during performances, and also entails photographic documentation. The second part comes as an appendix, containing the edition of a Nepali manuscript of the Bengali play *Pārijātaḥaraṇa* of the 16th century.

Kārtik Nāc, the Drama Festival in Pharping Village

The Newars are the indigenous people of the Kathmandu Valley who belong to the Tibeto-Burmese group. They have developed their own civilisation in the Valley. They founded the Malla dynasty which lasted from ca. AD 1200 to AD 1769. The cultural inheritances in today's Kathmandu Valley, including performing arts, are based on their tradition established during the Malla dynasty.

During the Malla dynasty, the rulers were eager to promote fine arts and literature, and they were often themselves engaged in creative activi-

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ties as poets and playwrights. Theatrical presentations in the courtyards and the palace squares were important occasions to manifest their royal authority. A large number of dramatic manuscripts attributed to Malla kings are preserved in archives. Dramatic texts were first written in Bengali language in the 15th and 16th century, thereafter in Maithili language; it was only in the second half of the 17th century that dramas began to be written in the Newars' own mother tongue, i.e. the Newari language (Brinkhaus 2003: 70).

The Theater Festival of *Kārtik Nāc*

The tradition of theatrical presentation was severely damaged through the fall of the Malla dynasty due to the Gorkha invasion in 1769, and is still on decline due to the modern urbanisation of the Kathmandu Valley. However, a festival called *Kārtik Nāc* seems to preserve the tradition of the medieval theater until now. *Kārtik Nāc* or in Newari (Nw.) *kārtī pyākhā* means the "Dance Drama of Month Kārtik". It is a theater festival held every year in two places, Pāṭan city and Pharping village. The Kārtik month of the Hindu calendar approximately corresponds to November.

The *Kārtik Nāc* festival of Pāṭan is held in the Darbār Square in front of the royal palace. Pāṭan city, situated to the south of Kathmandu city, is one of the main cultural centers of the Newars. The tradition of *Kārtik Nāc* is said to have been founded by Siddhi Narasiṃha Malla, the King of Pāṭan, in Nepāl Saṃvat 761 (Bikram Saṃvat 1697 = AD 1641/1640) (Śreṣṭha 2009: preface 5).² The songs chanted in the drama are in Old Maithili and Old Newari languages and contain the names of the kings of Pāṭan.

In the following, however, I will focus on the *Kārtik Nāc* of Pharping. The village of Pharping is situated on the mountain at the southern margin of the Kathmandu Valley. Pharping seems to have had a certain cultural and religious significance during the Malla period. The holy site Dakṣiṇ Kālī, the shrine of the furious goddess, is in the ravine under the village, while the Vajrayāna Buddhist temple of Goddess Vajrayoginī is on the slope above the village. Pharping was once politically and culturally connected to the Pāṭan kingdom, for this village on the marginal hills

² For further information on the *Kārtik Nāc* of Pāṭan, see Śreṣṭha 2009 and Rājibhaṅḍārī 2018. The former contains the scripts of 17 pieces which are handed down until now. The latter is a study focused on the Nṛsiṃha Avatāra which is considered the most important piece of the *Kārtik Nāc* of Pāṭan.

of the Kathmandu Valley functioned as a gate and checkpoint. This seems to be one of the reasons that the *Kārtik Nāc* tradition is also maintained here.³ The people who have handed down this tradition are Balāmī, or the caste consisting of peasants and loggers.⁴ The villagers have founded a dance organisation called “Dakṣiṇ Kālī Śrī Mahā Lakṣmī Kārtik Nāc Prabandh” with the chief Mr. Dharmarāj Balāmī (nicknamed as Viṣṇu). In 2016, I attended the presentation twice, i.e. on the 14th and 17th November.⁵

According to Viṣṇu jī (Mr. Dharmarāj Balāmī), the tradition of Pharping started in 1473 AD.⁶ Twenty-one pieces are handed down until today. Most of them are based on the well-known Hindu legends contained in the Purāṇas, including *Uṣāharaṇa*, the “Abduction of Goddess Dawn”, *Satīsāvitrī* on the virtuous wife Sāvitrī bringing her dead husband back to life, and *Rukmiṇīharaṇa*, the story of Kṛṣṇa and his wife Rukmiṇī.⁷ These pieces deal with exactly the same stories that used to be very popular as dramas during the Malla period. Remarkably, the Pharping tradition also hands down the piece *Madālasāharaṇa* (“Abduction of Madālasā”), i.e. the story of Prince Kuvalayāśva who, riding on a flying horse, rescues Madālasā, the female fairy (*gandharva*), from an underground confinement of demons; he restores Madālasā to life through the power of dance and music.⁸ In contrast to the aforementioned, this piece is not included in the tradition of Pāṭan, although it used to be very popular during the Malla period, too.

³ Toffin 2011 is a unique study on the *Kārtik Nāc* tradition of Pharping, as far as I know. Besides, I have published an article in Japanese (Kitada 2016).

⁴ Today, they pursue various occupations not limited to peasants and loggers. On Balāmīs, cf. Toffin 2007: 212–241, which includes stimulating pieces of information on the *Kārtik Nāc*.

⁵ Since then, I have attended the festival every year, and filmed each performance.

⁶ In my interview with Viṣṇu jī on 8th Nov., 2018, he told that the date was written in the golden necklace (*kaṇṭhi*) of Goddess Mahālakṣmī; this necklace had a part made of silver on the backside (of its pendant); there, it was written as follows: *Phanapi tavalā bahāla sulaṅki baṁsa bikrama siṁha mahā śavata ne. saṅ. 594 sāla*. Unfortunately, the necklace was stolen, and he only possesses its photo.

⁷ The *Rukmiṇīharaṇa* was the piece staged in November 2017.

⁸ This story with the hero Kuvalayāśva was popular during the Malla period. The Maithili drama based on it, also written in the Malla period, was published by Bijitakumār Datta (1980).

The Plot of 2016

The piece staged in 2016 dealt with the story of Lakṣmīpriyā, based on a secular tale. The story, many instances of which have been photographically recorded (cf. Figures 1–13)⁹ is as follows: in the kingdom of Icchāpur, there is the beautiful Princess Lakṣmīpriyā, but she stubbornly refuses to see any man. Vīrakamal, the clever minister of Ratnapur Kingdom, disguises himself as a flower saleswoman, slips into the private room of the princess, and persuades her to marry his friend, Karṇadhvaj, the prince of the Kingdom of Kailāśpur. Princess Lakṣmīpriyā has a secret: her life depends on a golden necklace concealed in the stomach of a golden fish in a lake; if someone takes the necklace out of the fish, she will die. On an occasion, the Princess thoughtlessly reveals her secret to her confidential friend Suvarṇarūpā, the daughter of a peasant. When the day of the wedding ceremony is coming near, Suvarṇarūpā, spurred by her jealousy and greed, insists that her peasant father should catch the golden fish. Her father fulfils his daughter’s wish, bringing her the fish. Suvarṇarūpā, cutting its stomach open, takes the necklace out of it, and makes it her own.



Figure 1: The royal family.

⁹ All photos were taken by Tomomi Kitami.

Princess Lakṣmīpriyā suddenly dies due to this betrayal of her friend, and her royal family gets into panic. However, the clever minister hits upon a good idea, and advises the king father to deceive the bridegroom and his family, in that Suvarṇarūpā, the daughter of the peasant, should be disguised as the princess instead of dead Lakṣmīpriyā, and should be given him as the bride. In this manner, the bridegroom, Prince Karṇadhvaj, is deceived and marries the wrong woman. At last, one day, in the course of going hunting in the forest, Karṇadhvaj discovers the dead body of Lakṣmīpriyā in a hut. He gets aware of the clever minister's deception, and gives the order to punish the minister to death. However, the executer, out of pity, sets him free. Princess Lakṣmīpriyā turns out to have been merely in a temporary state of an apparent death, and comes back to life. Lakṣmīpriyā and Karṇadhvaj happily unite with each other. The minister Vīrakamal is forgiven, while Suvarṇarūpā, the false wife, is pulled down from the royal seat and banished from the kingdom.



Figure 2 and 3: The king (left) and Vīrakamal, disguised as a flower saleswoman, visits the Princess in her private room, and entertains her with dancing, as the result of which he wins her confidence (right).



Figure 4 and 5: The King and Queen are troubled by the unexpected death of Princess Lakṣmīpriyā (left) and Suvarṇarūpā, the farmer's daughter, disguised as Princess Lakṣmīpriyā (right).



Figure 6: Minister Vīrakamal is brought to the scaffold by executors. He laments his fate, and criticises Prince Karṇadhvaj for his cruelty.



Figure 7 and 8: Three lumberjacks (left) and Prince Karṇadhvaj (right, accompanied by the three lumberjacks) go hunting.

Impressions and Remarks on the Structure of the Performance

What I find both strange and wonderful is that in this story, evil characters in this story are not represented as something totally negative nor ugly. The character who plays the most significant role is the minister Vīrakamal who deceives Karṇadhvaj, his bosom friend and lord.¹⁰ The

¹⁰ To be precise, Karṇadhvaj is the prince of a neighbouring kingdom, whose king is the lord of Vīrakamal.

other significant character is *Suvarṇarūpā*, the peasant daughter, who is sly enough to cause the death of *Lakṣmīpriyā*, her bosom friend. Both characters were performed by talented young actors. Additionally, *Suvarṇarūpā* was represented as a lady as beautiful and attractive as *Lakṣmīpriyā*. Amazingly, this drama depicts the intricacies and dark side of human psychology – which could be sometimes even attractive – from an almost realistic viewpoint.



Figure 9: The procession and dance of gods.

As for the structure of the performance, even though from one year to another a different piece is staged in the *Kārtik Nāc* of Pharping, there seems to be a certain fixed scheme common to every year. The theater begins with the procession of nine deities¹¹ played by mask dancers. The

¹¹ This divine group consists of goddesses and gods: *Gaṇeśa*, *Dakṣiṇ-Kālī*, *Mahā-lakṣmī*, *Kumārī*, *Indrāyanī*, *Bārāhī*, *Bhairava*, *Mahādeva*, *Gaṅgā*. *Mahālakṣmī* is the deity of the shrine at the edge of Pharping, where the various rituals of *Kārtik Nāc* are performed. The performance of the drama itself takes place inside Pharping. *Dakṣiṇ-Kālī* is the goddess worshipped in the holy site in the ravine. The mask dancer of *Dakṣiṇ-Kālī* plays an important (perhaps the most important) role, in that *Dakṣiṇ-Kālī*, at the climax of the ritualistic dance of these nine deities at the termination of the performance of the dance, slaughters the lamb as sacrifice with her sword.

nine mask dancers are exclusively chosen from the Balāmī clan inhabitants of Phūl'cauk. Phūl'cauk is a small hamlet about 30 minutes by walk from Pharping. Traditionally, the *Kārtik Nāc* tradition has been maintained by this clan of Balāmīs, in which Viṣṇu jī has a leading position.



Figure 10: Mask dance.



Figure 11 and 12: The procession of gods (left) and mask dance (right).

After the procession of the nine deities, Śiva, the god of dance and music, enters the stage and dances. After this, two dancers called the “messengers of gods” (Nw. *dyah lāh*) perform a half-ritual and half-comical dance

imitating fish catching with a bamboo basket in the hands. They are a sort of clowns, wearing their cone-shaped cap of red color. The true plot begins only after these ritualistic performances. Nowadays actors are recruited not only from among the Balāmīs but also from other castes such as Maharjan, Śreṣṭha, Mānandhar, Karmācārya, etc., due to the shortage of members who have enough time and motivation.

The stories staged in 2016, 2017 and 2018 were different from one another, but all had one feature in common: the scene of lamentation, in which a character finds him- or herself¹² in agony, cries and weeps loudly with a convulsive voice. In 2016, it was the clever minister who was facing execution. In 2017, it was Rukmiṇī, the wife of Kṛṣṇa, who, waking up from a nap, discovered her baby kidnapped by the enemy. In 2019, it was Satyavatī who lamented her husband King Candraśekhara, killed by demons in the forest.¹³ The actor entered an unusual condition of excitement, or a sort of trance. According to the announcement – there is a moderator who explains the story plainly to the audience – it is an esoteric (*tāntrik*) ritual. Viṣṇu jī, the director, sprinkles holy water to the lamenting actor and brings him back to his senses. In this manner, the extreme intensity of human emotion, such as grief, is considered as a sacred experience of ecstasy.

Each drama has a happy end, as usual in South Asian traditional dramas. After the conclusion of the drama, comical dances are shown by two kinds of buffoons: a “skeleton” (*kawaṃ*) and three flexible acrobats (*khyāk*).¹⁴ Thereupon the nine deities enter the stage again and dance. At

¹² All the actors are male. The female roles are also played by males.

¹³ The piece staged in 2019 was the *Candraśekhara*, i.e. an episode from the *Sivapurāṇa*. King Candraśekhara, in the course of hunting, misses his way and wanders deep into the forest, and is at last murdered by demons. His son, Prince Citragupta, takes revenge and kills demons.

¹⁴ The skeleton and the acrobats are seen not only in the *Kārtik Nāc*, but also in various other festivities and traditional performances of the Newars. The skeleton (*kawaṃ*) usually wears a mask in white colour representing the skull, and has bones illustrated on the whole body. But the version of Pharping wears a yellow mask and does not have the bone illustration, being naked except for boxer shorts. The flexible acrobats (*khyāk*) are usually a pair or a trio, wearing masks of burlesque expression, and having long strips of shreds in various colours hanging all over their bodies. Their acrobatic movements are flabby. It is said that they are flexible because they do not have bones, in contrast to the skeleton (*kawaṃ*).

the end of their dance, the villagers perform the offering ritual, including the sacrifice of a lamb to Goddess Dakṣiṇ-Kālī. In a sense, the procession of the nine deities is the outermost frame of the drama. It is the lid of a casket, or the cover of the box of pandora, which opens the tragedy of human being, and shuts it again.



Figure 13: The three acrobatic monsters.

Languages on the Stage

Three different languages are used in the performance. The roles of higher ranks such as gods, royal family, priests, etc. speak *Duvāśī-bhāṣā*¹⁵, i.e. an artificial, pseudoarchaic language based on Hindi, which has been specifically created for the *Kārtik Nāc*.¹⁶ In contrast, ordinary people such as farmers, fishermen, hunters, police, etc. speak modern Nepali and

¹⁵ *Duvāśī* seems to be a mutation of *dobhāśī* “translator”. Thus, *duvāśī-bhāṣā* would mean “the language of the translator”.

¹⁶ According to Viṣṇu jī, a few years ago there was an argument that this language should be abolished, because it is too difficult for young actors to memorise their speech in this language, but it is so far maintained. Viṣṇu jī has now begun to simplify this language, although he makes his effort to retain its solemn style and mood at the same time.

demons speak modern Newari. Thus, a sociological stratification of languages is observed. The announcement made by the moderator is in modern Nepali, the official language of Nepal, although the Balāmīs speak Newārī among themselves. In the announcement, it is emphasised that the *Kārtik Nāc* is a valuable cultural inheritance (not confined to the Newars, but) of Nepal.¹⁷

As observed, the theater festival of Pharping differs considerably from that of Pāṭan, in spite of both having the same appellation *Kartik Nāc*.¹⁸ In Pharping, a single, but very long piece is played. One and the same piece is staged twice on different dates. In contrast, in Pāṭan, several pieces are played on one evening after another. The most popular piece among these is the *Nṛsimha/Narasimha*, in which God Viṣṇu, incarnated in the shape of a half-lion and half-man, defeats the demon, tearing his belly and drawing out his intestines. In Pāṭan, where Newars form the majority of the inhabitants and are self-confident in their identity as Newars, the language of dialogue is exclusively Newari.¹⁹

These performances have many elements in common with the dramatic manuscripts of the Malla period. They offer many suggestive pieces of information to the study of the manuscripts. However, one point of difference is the fact that the theater of the Malla period lacked ritual elements, as far as observed from the manuscripts. The elements of comical dances of clowns were also absent. One question is of course whether these were in fact absent in the real staging of that period or solely not recorded in the manuscripts due to their improvised and routine nature.

Tradition and Renovation

In the course of my interview with Viṣṇu jī, it turned out that the *Kārtik Nāc* performances are not a fossilised, rigid preservation of the Middle

¹⁷ This discourse certainly reflects the present situation that the inhabitants of Pharping village (and also of the Kathmandu Valley) consist of various tribes who might not understand the Newari language. However, another background is perhaps the fact that the origin of the Balāmīs is of a mixed nature (Toffin 2011).

¹⁸ The Balāmīs living in Citlang village also celebrate the *Kartik Nāc* in their own style.

¹⁹ Except for a few old song-texts in Old Maithili. In 2017, they still had a bilingual (i.e. Newari and Nepali) introductory announcement before the performance began, but in 2018, they had it only in Newari.

Age theatre, but rather a free interpretation of that tradition. Viṣṇu jī each year rewrites the script, consulting mythological texts such as the two epics, various Purāṇas, etc. by himself. He writes the dialogues anew. He also composes the texts of the songs afresh in the above-mentioned artificial language Duvāśī-bhāṣā. Only the musical aspect, i.e. the melodies (*rāga*) and rhythms (*tāla*), of the songs is traditional. These are fixed musical compositions handed down through generations, and are performed with the accompaniment of drums and cymbals²⁰.

In this manner, the dialogues are renewed each time, even though they are made to conform to the traditional pattern and style. Tradition does not exclude creativity, but functions in this case as a support for creativity and provides ample room to develop originality. In fact, Viṣṇu jī takes the role of a choreographer. During the preliminary period of the festival, he instructs the young actors in every movement and gesture of dancing. Thus, the performance of the *Kārtik Nāc* is a mirror which reflects his quiet and modest disposition. He himself learned this fine art from his father and grandfather. With pride, Viṣṇu jī states that the *Kārtik Nāc* tradition of Pharping is old and new at the same time. Tradition is reborn again and again, each time new life is being breathed into it.

Acting of the Female Roles

A distinct feature of the *Kārtik Nāc* is that female roles are played by male actors, which is comparable to the traditional Japanese theater forms Kabuki and Noh. The imitative acting of the female by these actors sometimes attains the acme of beauty, with their delicate gesticulations reflecting the subtle wavering of the character's emotion. Unfortunately, Viṣṇu jī now has difficulties to find young men who are willing to play female roles; they prefer male roles, especially those of heroes.²¹ This is a matter

²⁰ In some pieces, also of flutes.

²¹ This is the complaint he expressed in my interview with him in November 2019. In fact, there are now various difficulties endangering the continuation of this tradition. One of these is related to the duration of performance: it becomes more and more difficult to maintain the duration of ten hours. The audience cannot concentrate for such a long time any more. In the performance of *Lakṣmīpriyā* in 2016 and *Rukmiṇīharaṇa* in 2017, the duration was still 10 hours, i.e. from 17:00 o'clock until 3:00 or 4:00 before dawn. But in 2018, the performance of *Candraśekhara* was shortened to about 7 hours. Viṣṇu jī chose this story from the *Śiva Purāṇa* because it was short enough and contained

of great regret, for, in my opinion, the grace of the *Kārtik Nāc* culminates in the art of acting female roles. As is often said about the art of acting the female (*onna-gata*) in Japanese Kabuki, the artificial woman played by the male actor represents the essence of the beauty of the female exactly because it is the result of abstraction from real sentiments.²² I hope the aesthetic value of this art will be apprehended more properly, and also handed down to the young generation of Pharping. The actors of Pharping should be much prouder of their art.

Archaicity of the *Kārtik Nāc* of Pharping: *Rāga* and *Tāla*

In spite of the above-mentioned freedom and creativity, Pharping's *Kārtik Nāc* tradition maintains features which seem very archaic. One of such features is its music. In the background of the dance of the actors, musical compositions with song texts are performed by the group of musicians. These are fixed compositions in the *rāgas* and *tālas* of South Asian classical music. However, these *rāgas* and *tālas* seem to preserve their early, Middle Age form from the period of the Malla dynasty.²³

Archaicity is also suggested by a certain correlation between music and drama. The *rāgas* and *tālas* correspond to a certain degree with the scenes and characters. This reminds me of the *Rāgamālā* paintings in which *rāgas* are associated to heroes and heroines in various dramatic situations. The *Rāgamālā* tradition seems to derive from the connection of dance, drama and music in ancient Indian theater.²⁴ The usage of *rāgas* and *tālas* in Pharping is perhaps a reminiscence of this ancient association of melodies with characters on the stage.²⁵

solely one female character (Queen) in contrast to many male characters.

²² In the case of Kabuki, the acting of the female roles by boys is said to have been introduced due to a pragmatic requirement with regard to public moral, i.e. the prohibition or restriction of real women to appear on the stage in public. However, this substitutional art of the male actors' playing the female roles was sublimated in the supreme art of *onna-gata* "the form of the female", which is by far beyond a mere mimic technique: it is rather the manifestation of the essential of the female.

²³ i.e. *Dāphā* music handed down in towns and villages inhabited by Newars. For further information on *Dāphā*, see Widdess 2013.

²⁴ On the *Rāgamālā* paintings of the Malla period, cf. Wegner & Widdess 2004.

²⁵ On the topic of each *rāga* being identified with or personified as an image, cf. Widdess' arguments (1995: 178). In fact, a *Rāmāyaṇa* drama from Nepal Saṃvat

The names of *rāga*-s are given in various forms like *x-rāga*, *Rāga x*, or simply *x*, in the same way as mentioned by Viṣṇu jī. In my Roman transcription of original words, I am not consistent: I write inherent *a* in some cases, but not in other cases. I reproduced my informant's pronunciation exactly as I heard.²⁶ In the case of the presentation of *Saṭṭisāvitrī* in 2015 (which I unfortunately could not attend), the allotment of *rāgas* to the scenes (or characters) is as follows:

1. Dance of Mahādeva: Gaurī, Mālavā, Padmā, Śūnya-rāg
2. Appearance of the King: Kauśī
3. Appearance of the hunters: Paharī, Asambha-rāg
4. The King going hunting: Mālaśrī
5. Dance of Nine Deities: 1. Kauśī, 2. Mālaśrī
6. Appearance of King Aśvapati: 1. Kauśī, 2. Nhyāḥ rāg
7. Appearance of the Brāmin: Naṭa
8. Appearance of Skeleton (*kawaṇi*): Pramajali
9. Appearance of Goblin (*syāka*²⁷): Rāg Khyāḥ
10. Dance of King: Rāg Biyāṃcali
11. Grief of Sāvitrī: Rāg Birāg

However, I don't think this is a clear-cut mechanical allotment. More probably, it partly depends on the tradition and habit, and partly on the mood of each melody.

The allotment of the *tālas* to the scenes is in the following manner:

1. Entrance of a character on the stage: Co
2. If Rāg Mālavā is played at the entrance of a character: Jati
3. Dance of demons: Vetāl-tāla

532 (AD 1412) contains a subtle trace which suggests that the allotment of *rāgas* to the characters of drama existed in the court theatre of the Malla period, although a further investigation would be required for corroboration.

²⁶ I have the impression that the treatment of inherent *a* in Nepali and Newari languages is slightly different from that in Hindi. Inherent *a* is heard in some cases, in which it is omitted in Hindi. But I could not find any consistent criteria to discern in what cases it is pronounced, and in what cases omitted.

²⁷ I wonder whether *syāk* "killer" (?) was maybe my mishearing, and correctly *khyāk*.

4. Fight: Jati
5. Dance of a deity: 1. Astol, 2. Jati, 3. Co (played in this order)
6. Mahādeva: 1. Entrance in Co, 2. Nhyāḥ,²⁸ Pratāl, Calti (in this order)
7. Dance of the King: 1. Entrance in Jati, 2. Co, Nhyāḥ, Calti

Each *tāla* has a corresponding set of dance steps.

In the performance of *Candraśekhara* in November 2018, the allotment of *rāgas* and *tālas* was as follows:

1. Entrance of Mahādeva²⁹: 1. Rāg Gaurī, Tāl Co-praveś
2. Dance of Mahādeva³⁰: Rāg Mālavā, Tāl Pratāl
3. Entrance of the two servants of gods (*dyaḥ lāḥ*): Rāg Kauśī, Tāl Co-praveś
4. Entrance of King Candraśekhara (hero): Rāg Kauśī, Tāl Jati-praveś
5. Hunters (*śikārī*)³¹ enter the stage and perform the ritual in the jungle:
 1. Rāg Pahārī, Tāl Co-praveś; 2. Rāg Asambha, Tāl Pratāl
6. King's going hunting: Rāg Mālaśrī, Tāl Jati
7. Demon Dhūmraketu (anti-hero): Rāg, none³², Tāl Caḥtāl
8. Fight: Rāg Svaraṭha, Tāl Jati
9. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma: Rāg Vasaṃta, Tāl Pratāl
10. Lamentation of Queen Satyavatī over King's death: Rāg Birāg, Tāl Jati
11. Entrance of Skeleton (*kawaṃ*): Rāg Pramajali, Tāl Co
12. Entrance of acrobatic monsters (*khyāk*): Rāg Khyāḥ, Tāl Co-praveś

²⁸ The term *nhyāḥ*, which is used as both the name of a *rāga* and a *tāla*, is explained as "playing the drum speedily" in Kölver & Shresthacharya's Newari dictionary (1994).

²⁹ Before the drama begins, Mahādeva accompanied by Pārvatī and Gaṃgā dances.

³⁰ At the end of his dance, Mahādeva recites the verses announcing the opening of the drama, without the accompaniment of the instruments. This is called *varana*.

³¹ The trio of hunters wearing comical masks, although being a supporting role, seems to be an indispensable element of the *Kārtik Nāc* of Pharping, maybe because the profession of Balāmīs was traditionally that of loggers (and hunters). Each year's performance invariably contains a scene of the ritual of hunters in which the trio makes a bonfire and offers a chicken to gods.

³² That means, only the drums and cymbals are played without melody.

Conclusion

Thus, the *Kārtik Nāc* tradition of Pharping is a unique and valuable cultural inheritance of Nepal which offers us significant information about the history and development of South Asian classical theatre. Unfortunately, the villagers of Pharping are today confronted with severe hardships to keep their worthwhile tradition surviving amid the more and more modernising society. I hope that the people's interest will be much more attracted to it, that this tradition will find an appropriate evaluation, and the transmitters will be more encouraged to sustain this treasure of incalculable value.

Appendix

Abbreviations:

B.	Bengali
Nw.	Newār language
SKK	Baru Caṇḍidās' <i>Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kīrtan</i> (= Bhaṭṭācārya 2011)
Skt.	Sanskrit

Pārijātaharāṇa, a Bengali Drama from the 16th Century Nepal

Horst Brinkhaus (Brinkhaus 2003) mentions six Bengali dramas written in Nepal in the second half of the 16th century and at the very beginning of the 17th century. One of these is the *Pārijātaharāṇa* written in Pāṭan in 1561 (Nepal Saṃvat 681). In this appendix, the whole text of the *Pārijātaharāṇa* is given in Roman transcription.³³ The manuscript is microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) Reel no. E 167/37. This piece contains praises to King Narasiṃha of Pāṭan along with his two brothers, Uddhavasīṃha and Purandarasiṃha (cf. Śākya 2008: 44ff.). The three brothers jointly ruled Pāṭan, and are called *tibhaya jujupin* (Nw. "three brother kings"). The names of two poets are mentioned in the text. Dvija Madhusūdana is mentioned in the *bhaṇitā* verse of a song (I–15³⁴, ll. 2–3), Śrī Bhīmakeśa in the *bhaṇitā* of another song (II–7³⁵, l. 6). Is one of them the author of this drama?³⁶

It seems that the first folios No. 1 to No. 10 are put in the correct order, while the remaining 9 folios are put in the reverse order by mistake. The recto of the folio which was originally the 11th folio is now put at the backside of the manuscript. Besides, the photographer seems to have

³³ In the study of this manuscript, I worked together with Prof. Kashinath Tamot. Prof. Tamot first made a preliminary transcription of the whole text written in Newari script, then we sat together to examine the text closely, especially its linguistical details peculiar to Bengali. I express my heartfelt thanks to Prof. Kashinath Tamot for his cooperation and instruction.

³⁴ i.e. page 15 of the first half of the text. For the way of page numbering, see my explanation below.

³⁵ i.e. page 7 of the second half of the text.

³⁶ I feel slightly uncomfortable with taking Śrī Bhīmakeśa as the author of the drama, for it is peculiar that the author refers to himself with the honorific title *śrī*.

forgotten to take the picture of Fol. 10 verso and Fol. 19³⁷ verso: these two versos should have been bound together. This makes the matter even more confusing. Considering this condition, I decided to separate the first half (I) and the second half (II), and to count by page numbers. For instance, “I-2, 1” stands for the first half, page. 2, line 1. The line numbers after the first line are indicated only by numbers in brackets, omitting the page number; thus, e. g. “(2)” stands for the second line from the top.

This manuscript, in pages II-15 to II-18, contains songs which are not connected to the plot of the drama. One of them is a parallel to the Śrīkrṣṇakīrtana (SKK, cf. Kitada 2019a: 8ff.). In fact, parallels of the SKK are found in dramatic manuscripts from Kathmandu (cf. Kitada 2019a & 2019b).

Original Text

(I-2³⁸,1) □□ // [śrī]³⁹ nṛṭyanāthāya //
 // gauḍā mālava rāgaḥ // ekatāla //
 anupama aditija⁴⁰, jagada-bhayada-bhuja, a(2)vadāta deha sadāśive 2
 tuhme gusāya vahurūpa, mane cintya nāṣe pāpa,
 niraṃjana sarvva-devadeve // dhru // (3) dhru //
 bhagata-priye, anāthajanero guhye gati,
 parama-mantra muruti, sarvva-vyāpi paśupati,
 himālaya du(4)hitāra pati //

// abhoga //
 avani teja gagaṇa, ghana-kusuma pavana pañca-tatveśvara śānta-veśe 2,
 surabhita(5)naya gati, sire gaṃga niśāpati, naumi nṛṭyeśvara vighna-nāṣe //

// sūtra //
 // kahnāḍa // jati //
 kumu(6)da tukhāra sama tanu viśada varaṇe,
 gagaṇa maṇḍala śiroruha paṃca-vadane 2
 nakṣattra kusuma-mālā a(I-3, 1)ti śobhe,

³⁷ i.e. folio 19 according to the original order.

³⁸ = folio 1, verso. On fol. 1 recto a magic square is drawn, and there are three brief memos which do not seem to have anything to do with the text.

³⁹ The blurred letter is surmised to be śrī.

⁴⁰ *advitīya*.

śitikaṅṭhe daśadiśa-vaśana tuhme amarero nāthe // dhru //
 muṇḍamālā vibhūṣita nija bhūta-ga(2)ṇa saṅge,
 nāga-rāya maṇḍana tora nāce vaḍa raṅge //

// abhoga //
 kṣiroda mathane jave viṣa upajire,
 se vi(3)ṣa bhakṣaṇa kariyā rākhilo sayāne 2
 mathilo dakṣaro⁴¹ yajña vīrabhadra rūpe,
 jaya mahādeva khaṇḍava (4) vigini saṃtāpe //

// lalita // jati //
 ākhaṇḍalapurī sama vairīro durjjaya,
 lalita lalita lalitā(5)puri maṇi yadurāya⁴² 2
 maṇiro maṇḍapa⁴³ śobhe maṇiphaṇi⁴⁴-pati,
 suvarṇṇa panāli⁴⁵ deva draupadīro pati⁴⁶ 2 (6)
 // dhru //
 vikramanārāyaṇa śrī narasiṃha-deve⁴⁷,
 pālita anuja saha medinīrodhave⁴⁸, //

// etāla // valā(I-4, 1)li //
 śrī govindero lilā kaluṣa-haraṇe,
 dekhi jāvo nṛtya ahme pārijāta-haraṇe // 1 //

// govinda // (2) nāṭa // jati //
 akhila bhuvana mora udara bhitare 2
 ahmāra icchā e sṛṣṭi sthiti je saṃhāre // dhru //
 devero va(3)cane liyā nara avatāre,
 dharmma rākhilo ahme mārivo asure //
 janama hayilo morā vasudeva ghare, (4) 2
 niśithe gokula lai yā gela kaṃsa dare⁴⁹ //

⁴¹ Obviously, a corruption of *dakṣero*.

⁴² i.e. God Maṇikeśava settled in the palace of Pāṭan.

⁴³ i.e. Maṇimaṇḍapa.

⁴⁴ i.e. Maṇināga.

⁴⁵ i.e. the place of drawing water (*dhārā*) of the Maṅgal Bazār.

⁴⁶ i.e. the temple of Bhīmasena in the Pāṭan Darbār Square.

⁴⁷ Vikramanārāyaṇa is the title of King Narasiṃha. He ruled Pāṭan together with his two brothers, Uddhavasīṃha and Purandarasiṃha.

⁴⁸ i.e. *medinīro uddhave*.

// ~~vasanta~~ [gvaḍagiri]⁵⁰ // ekatāla //
dāhiṇe rukiṇī devī vāme satyabhā(5)mā,
māyā rūpe lakṣa⁵¹ sarasvatī duyi rāmā 2
kanaka makuṭa maṇi nānā ālaṃkāre,
asura vadhite yadu-ku(6)le avatāre // dhru //
nīla jalada gusāyi śyāmala suṃdare,
āyila govinda śaṃkha cakra gadā dhare, //

(I-5, 1) // rāga kahnada // jati //
satrājite ghare vāli tuhme vibhā⁵² kayilo,
aneka jatane vīra śaṃkhāsura māriro 2
(2) bhīsekero⁵³ ghara vibhā kayilo rukiṇī,
dānava jiniyā gaḍha duvārikāpurī // dhru //
cala satyabhāmā priya (3) rukiṇī sundarī,
dekha nirbhaya gaḍha duvārikāpurī //

// vaitāvali // jati //
sāgara madhye gusāyi duvā(4)rikāpurī,
deva dānava gaḍha laṃghite pāri 2
tathito vasaṃti gusāya se deva murāri,
śaṃkha cakra gadā padma śā(5)raṃga dhāri // dhru //
suphala jarama⁵⁴ morā e rūpa jauvane,
melilo svāmi mo-ke kamalalocane //

// rāga śyāmā // (6) tāla tumarī //
devī satyabhāmā priye candra-vadanī,
sabhā dite jāvo cala devī rukiṇī // 2 //

(I-6, 1) // kākāsura // pahaḍiyā // thakatāla //
medinī-tanaya ahme, tribhuvana kampaḥka, aditiro kuṇḍala āne,
prā(2)ga jotiṣero pati madhumuru sevaka,
sarvva deva mora vala jāne 2

⁴⁹ = *ḍare*

⁵⁰ Written in the margin.

⁵¹ i.e. Lakṣmī.

⁵² i.e. *vivāha*.

⁵³ i.e. Bhīṣmaka, Father of Rukmiṇī.

⁵⁴ = B. *jalama*, i.e. *janma*.

varuṇero ātapattra morā śira śohayi
 (3) maṇiro parvvata morā ghare,
 purandara-vāhana⁵⁵ mora dvāra vaṃdhayi,
 deva kanyā ahme vale halire, // dhru //
 ā(4)yila kākāsura vīre,
 muni-gaṇa mārivo vṛtti ahmāre,
 viriñci caraṇa morā śire //

śrī rāga // paḍimāna //
 tva(5)rāte jāvo vrahmāra thāne,
 pūjīyā ahme cāhivo māne // 3 //

// vrahmā, // kahnada // jati //
 ādi arccyuta nā(6)bhi kamale saṃbhave,
 rāja-guṇate sṛṣṭi kariyā vibhave 2
 catura vadane cāri veda nisare,
 deva dānava gaṇa cāhe (I-7, 1) mora vare // dhru //
 āyila he pitāmaha sāvitri sahite,
 icchāte sṛjīyā viśva jagatero hite []⁵⁶ //

(Addition in the margin of page I-6)

// bhairavi // eka //
 abhaya varada kara karuṇā sāgare
 dina mani rūpa sura vare, 2
 maṇimaya alaṃkāra suvarṇa mukuṭahāra
 vibhūṣita aṃga manohare // dhruvā //
 bhagavati praṇamati vugameśvare⁵⁷ 2
 [gahi devī vare, dehi tuhme] hi vara, sava loka ke je ādhāre //
 (Addition end)

// tvarāte (2) // thvatena, kā vava // pūjā //⁵⁸
 śrī mālava // co ṣa jati //
 bhuvana kāraka veda sāgara sāvitri pada kamale 2
 di(3)vya candana gaṃdha mālā nānā vidhāna pūjile []⁵⁹ //

⁵⁵ The vehicle of Indra, i.e. Airāvata.

⁵⁶ A mark indicating the addition to be inserted here.

⁵⁷ i.e. Lokeśvara of Bungamati, a village situated in the south of Pāṭan.

⁵⁸ Nw. "By this, Kākāsura comes. [He performs] the *pūjā*".

⁵⁹ A mark indicating the addition to be inserted here.

(Addition in the margin) śrī, pa // tvarāte // (Addition end)

// punar tho meṇa // kā vaṃṇa //⁶⁰
// vibhāga // paḍimāna // āju hailo ahme (4) tribhuvana pati,
vara diro moke jagatero gati //
vra, vaṃṇa //⁶¹
guñjari rāga // ekatāla //
cala jāvo sāvitrī paṇḍa(5)rīka vāse,
mahitanayake⁶² ahme diro vara rāse⁶³ // 4 //

// nā⁶⁴, // rāga pahaḍiyā // ekatāla //
vasana kṛṣṇāṃjina skandamūla-phalāsana⁶⁵
māthya jaṭā-bhāra kuśāṅgule⁶⁶ 2
nirantara yoga dhyāna hari caraṇe rata
pavitra śarīra ni(I-8, 1)lamale // dhru //
āyila nārada muni-vare,
hāthya surasa viṇā dhare // 5 //

// kṛ, sabhā //, pahaḍiyā // dvajamāna //
(2) vacaneka vola śuna sundarī satī,
raivata⁶⁷ jāyite deho anumati //
raivata jāyite ahmāra vaḍa raṃge,
na kara sunda(3)rī gamana bhaṃge //
raivata giri parvata-mālā,
duyo tiri torā duyo avālā⁶⁸ //
vacaneka volu sundarī sāyī,
tathe (4) muni gaṇe ahme dhyāyī //

⁶⁰ Nw. "Again, [accompanied] by this song. Kākāsura has gone".

⁶¹ Nw. "Brahmā has gone".

⁶² Mahī-tanaya "the son of the Mother-Earth", i.e. Kākāsura.

⁶³ Skt. *vara-rāśī?*

⁶⁴ = Nārada

⁶⁵ i.e. *kanda-mūla-phala-aśana*.

⁶⁶ Skt. *kṛśāṅga?*

⁶⁷ Name of a mountain in Gujarat, i.e. Girnār.

⁶⁸ Or, maybe *avolā*.

// paṭamaṃjali // jati //
 ahmāra vacana gusāyi hṛdi kari,
 raivata gamana dure pa(5)rihari //
 duḥsaha durghaṭa raivata giri,
 ekalā kemane jāve prabhu hari //
 ahmāke eḍiyā yadi pravāsa jāve,
 (6) sayāne bhojana vaḍa duḥkha pāve //
 nahi morā āsa-pāse vāpa bhāyi,
 divasa daśake nahi thāyi //
 (I-9, 1) candra vinu na śobhayi rātari,
 purusa vihine tiri vāpurī⁶⁹ //

// go, ru, vaṃṇā⁷⁰ // kahnāḍa // ekatāla //
 (2) raivata jāyitya priya vasaṃta-kāle,
 mukulilo taru-vara e śāla priyāle 2
 dāle vaisiyā kolakādhelā,
 (3) dakṣiṇa malayā vahe vasaṃtero vāha // dhru //
 laḍila he govinda rāyamanta⁷¹-giri,
 hāthya dhariyā lairo ruku(4)nī sundarī //

// sa, vaṃṇā⁷² // paṃcama // ekatāla //
 ja⁷³ □□□kasari jāvu dhire dhire,
 ki hari hari paṃ(5)the jāyate nayāna visure nāye 2
 katham gela pāvola □□□ suvi⁷⁴ दौरा मरा हारियानेरा वुधि नये (6) //
 dhru //
 āje kata dūra gela prabhu jaganāthe,
 kehne gusāyi nidayā niśchale⁷⁵ nāye // 6 //

(I-10, 1) // □⁷⁶ // valāḍi, // jati //
 svargga-bhuvana-pati sahasra nayāne,

⁶⁹ B. *bāpurī* “destitute, very poor” (Sen 1971 II: 641)

⁷⁰ Nw. “Govinda and Rukminī have gone”.

⁷¹ i.e. *raivata/revanta*.

⁷² Nw. “Sa[tyabhāmā?] has gone”.

⁷³ Or. *u*?

⁷⁴ Perhaps it is not *vi*, but *viṃ* or *dhi*, or some other letter.

⁷⁵ My teacher read the ligature here as *ścha*, but it actually looks like a combination of *s* with another consonant.

⁷⁶ The name of a character seems to have been written here.

hāthe dhara vajra airāvata gamane 2
ahme di(2)le⁷⁷ raghunātha durjjaya surathe,
se ratha caḍhiyā mālile raṇe daśakaṇṭhe // dhru //
āyilo he indra rāya ka(3)naka varāṇe,
vāme śacīdevī saha sahasravadane //

sevā, śrī narasiṃha-juyā⁷⁸ //, dhanāśī, // jati //
(4) ahita dvirada kaṇṭhi rave jaya,
dārita kumbha-sthala āhave, jayati jaya 2 //
bhūmiro maṇḍana ma(5)ṇi dhruve, jaya,
nīti dharmma dayāla rāghave, jayati jaya // dhru //
śrī narasiṃha-deve jaya,
nṛpa vara, vikramakeśave⁷⁹, jayati jaye,
kīritilakhimi⁸⁰ dhave []⁸¹ // 7 //

~~// ma⁸² // deśāsa // (I-11, 1) jati //~~
~~dhavala varāṇa tuhme śire candra dhavale,~~
~~sura sari phena hailo jaṭā se dhale, /~~
~~dhavala vibhūti aṃge (2) dhavala vṛṣabhe,~~
~~dhavala kapāla hāthya sakala suśobhe // dhru //~~
~~āyila śaṃkara dhṛta dhavala khatvāṃge,~~
~~de(3)vi pāravati tora nirantara saṃge // śrīpura~~
~~// gaṃ⁸³ // koḍā // jati //~~
indrādi tridaśa-maṇḍala mana mohi(4)te,
nṛtya kalā catura vidite, 2
caturabhinaya varasa⁸⁴ je saṃgīte,
sarvva vidyā guṇara⁸⁵ saṃyute // dhru //

⁷⁷ This letter is blurred.

⁷⁸ Nw. "Respect to Narasiṃha". A praise to Narasiṃha, King of Pāṭan.

⁷⁹ Vikramakeśava is the title of King Narasiṃha.

⁸⁰ Kīritilakṣmī is the wife of Narasiṃha.

⁸¹ A mark indicating an addition to be inserted is written here, although nothing is found in the margin. Instead, the text of the next song is cancelled through drawing a line. However, this is a song describing God Śiva. I cannot find any solution.

⁸² Abbreviation of *mahādeva*.

⁸³ Abbreviation of *gaṃḍharva*.

⁸⁴ This seems to be a corruption of *catura-abhinaya-nava-rasa*.

⁸⁵ Maybe it should be read *guṇera*.

(5) āyila gaṃdharvva-vara sundara citrarathe,
ratana mālā prāṇa-nāthe //

// sevā, śrī purandrasimha-juyā⁸⁶ //

(6) śrī rāga // dvajamāna // paṃcatāla //
nṛpa lo, bhūpa-kula hīra, gagaṇa-maṇi, pāvana triśūla-dhare,
pūrṇṇa(I-12, 1)candra dekhi [je]hne samudre, jagatra āhlāda-kare, 2
vidveṣi marddane, śveta-vāhane⁸⁷ dāne vairocani vare (2)
kīrtti dhavalita kṣamāmaṇḍale⁸⁸, bhūmi devero ādhāre // dhru //
śrī vīra puruṣottame⁸⁹, śrī purandarasiṃ(3)ha-deva vīre,
udayalakhamī⁹⁰ vare []⁹¹ // 8 //

(The addition written in the upper margin:)

karṇṇāṭa // paḍimāna // śrī ākhaṇḍalapure nāce prativāre,
cala jāvo sundarī vilamva na kare, // 3 (Addition end)

// madhu⁹² // rāmakari jati //

sava sakhī madhya ahme (4) garuva je nārī,
kathā nāhi ahmā hena bhuvana sundari 2
suvadani sunayāni anupama rūpe,
sadā a(5)hme vasayi satyabhamāra samīpe // dhru //
āyilī he madhurikā svāminiro hite,
pātaneta⁹³ paridhāna vi(6)citra śobhite //

// śrī hr̥dayalakṣmī-juyā sevā⁹⁴ // siṃdhurā // dvajamāna //
nirmmala mānasa jehne, maṃdāki(I-13, 1)nī,
amṛta samāna madhura-vāṇī 2

⁸⁶ Nw. "Sevā of King Purandarasiṃha", i.e. "Respect to Purandarasiṃha, [King of Pāṭan]". Purandarasiṃha was the second son of King Viṣṇusiṃha, and the younger brother of King Uddhvasiṃha.

⁸⁷ Śvetavāhana is an epithet of Arjuna.

⁸⁸ = *kṣmā-maṇḍala*.

⁸⁹ Puruṣottama is the son of King Purandarasiṃha.

⁹⁰ Udayalakṣmī is the wife of King Purandarasiṃha.

⁹¹ A mark indicating an addition.

⁹² Madhu, or Madhurikā, seems to be a companion of Satyabhāmā.

⁹³ B. *pāṭa-neta* "fine spun silk" (Sen 1971, II: 544).

⁹⁴ Nw. "Queen Hr̥dayalakṣmī's *sevā*", i.e. "Respect to Queen Hr̥dayalakṣmī" or "Song in praise of Queen Hr̥dayalakṣmī".

dukhita-janero se hi janani,
prasanna-vadani kṣamā-dharaṇī // dhru //
śrī ja(2)yatalakṣmī⁹⁵ vidite,
dharmma sadā-rata deva-bhagate //

// go⁹⁶ // raivata // me hñavayāṇa⁹⁷ //
(Addition noted in the upper margin):
kahnaḍa // eka //
(Addition end)
laḍilety ādi⁹⁸ //

(3) mallāla // davajamāna //
dvādaśa māsa ṛtu prati-kāle,
ati sulalita kokila kurare 2
khaṭpada⁹⁹ mudita (4) pūjita gaṇe,
ati su[vāsi]¹⁰⁰ta kusuma-vane // dhru //
vāhelo sundari nayāna bhari, vaḍa āpuruva¹⁰¹ raivata-giri // (5)

// guñjari jhaṃpamāna tāla //
bhavane to amarāvati-purī, siddhi gaṃdharvva setaṃ¹⁰²,
padmarāga suvarṇṇa maṃ(6)dira viśvakarmma vinirmmitaṃ, 2/
vasayi guni-gaṇa gaṇa-sāgara nāgari rasa bhāvitaṃ,
veda śāstra vicāra-(I-14, 1)pārāga nāda tuṃvuru nāyitaṃ 2 // dhru //
devarāja sabhāvamaṇḍana maṇḍiraṃ sura-sundaraṃ¹⁰³
deva-vara avadhāna sunda(2)ra sādhu sādhu purandaraṃ //
// āche je nandana-vana se parimali pārijāta prakāśitaṃ,
kalpavṛkṣa viśā(3)la pallava mañjarī nava puṣpitaṃ, 2

⁹⁵ Jayatalakṣmī is the queen of King Kusumasimha, father of Viṣṇusimha and grandfather of the three brothers, Narasimha, Uddhavasimha, and Purandarasimha. It seems she was still alive at the time of the presentation of this drama.

⁹⁶ Abbreviation of *govinda*.

⁹⁷ Nw. “the [same] song as the former”.

⁹⁸ This refers to the song in page I-9, ll. 1–4.

⁹⁹ i.e. Skt. *ṣaṭpada*.

¹⁰⁰ Noted in the lower margin.

¹⁰¹ i.e. *apūrva*.

¹⁰² Maybe a corruption of *sahitaṃ* or *sevitaṃ*?

¹⁰³ Or, *pura-sundaraṃ*. It seems either *purasundaraṃ* was amended into *surasundaraṃ*, or conversely.

mayūra kiṃkini bhamara khatpada pikuralaṃbhayakharavalaṃ¹⁰⁴,
 kiraṇa ki(4)ñcita tṛṇa vivarjita vahati māruta śitalaṃ // dhru //
 śaci ādi varaṃgaṇā-jana apsarā vahu nāyikā,
 (5) rūpa yauvana saṃpūrṇa mṛdu-vacana locana-śāyakā 2
 nṛtya gīta kalā kutūhala keli kaṃdarppa sādhiṇī
 (I-15, 1) lāla lalita vilāsa lāvaṇa, kiṃkiṇī kaṭi vādinī // dhru //
 vāhane to airāvata megha-saṃbhava payo(2)daraṃ,
 vajra dhanuha niśāna¹⁰⁵ garjjita nara bhaya khalavalaṃ¹⁰⁶ 2
 sakala surāsana vaṃdane bhaṇasti dvija ma(3)dhusūdane¹⁰⁷
 rājā to purasenaerasabhogika¹⁰⁸ rāṇi candanādevī¹⁰⁹ pure mane // dhru //

// (4) marahathī // athatāla //
 kṣiroda-mathana kari, vrahmā viṣṇu maheśvara,
 sava miliyā ahmāke udhā(5)ra []ye 2
 janame janame tuhme hari, tuhmāra patani¹¹⁰ ahme,
 lakhami sarasvatī duyo nārī // (I-16, 1) dhru //
 gusāyi, deho pārijāta mo-ke, mahāmuni dilo torā hāthe, nāye prabhu //

// śrī rāga // (2) jhumari //
 vaḍa duḥkha pāyilo ahme tā¹¹¹ raivata giri 2
 sevāya manāyalo hari he phula dilo śire to(3)li // dhru //
 mora mana uhlāsīte he phura pāyiyā pārijāta //

// deśāṣa // paḍitāla //
 a(4)re kṛṣṇa āju hailo ahmāra saṃmukhe,

¹⁰⁴ Obscure. *Pikurala* might be a corruption of bird names, *pika* and *kurala*. The expression *bhaya kharavala* has a parallel in page I-15, l. 2.

¹⁰⁵ i.e. *dhanuha* (< Skt. *dhanus/dhanuḥ*) *niśāna* (“sharpening”).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. a parallel in page I-14, l. 3. *Nara bhaya khala vala* seems to mean something like “Mankind, being frightened, murmur”.

¹⁰⁷ The author of this song is Dvija Madhusūdana. *Bhaṇasti* is a corruption of *bhaṇati*.

¹⁰⁸ Obscure. A possibility is: *purasena erasa bhogika* “Purasena (the name of a king) is such (*erasa* < *erisa*, Skt. *etādṛṣa*) [a person] indulging in sensual pleasures”. Another possibility is: *to pura nae rasa bhogika* “Your (to) city is indulging in (i.e. full of) nine (*nae* = *nava*) *rasa-s*”.

¹⁰⁹ Candanādevī is obscure.

¹¹⁰ i.e. Skt. *patnī*. I have been your wife every time in my previous lives.

¹¹¹ Maybe it is to be amended in *to*?

triśūla prahāra kiyā karivo vimukhe //
// are are kā(5)kāsura tuhme jāvo kothā
cakrero prahāra kiyā kātivo māthā // 9 //

// rāga kedāra // (I-17, 1) paḍimāna //
śrī kṛṣṇere kṛpā-te, rahilo parāṇe,
bhagati karivo kṛṣṇe ānanda je mane, // 10 //

(2) // vasaṃta // ekatāla //
bhagata kākāsura pūjire haraṣe 2
je cāhe vara tuhmāke dilo je saṃ(3)toṣe,
priya sāvitrī śuna, ānanda hailo mane // 11 //

// sāgara snāna, // 12 // (4) deśākha // jati //
dhavala varaṇa tuhme śire candra dhavale,
sura sari phena hailo jaṭā se dhavale 2
(5) dhavala vibhūti aṃge dhavala vṛṣabhe,
dhavala kapāla hāthya sakala suśobhe // dhru //
āyila saṃ(I-18, 1)kara dhṛta dhavala khatvāge,
devi pāravati tora niraṃtara saṃge //

rāga śavari // tāla dvajamāna //
(2) vimala kirati bhuvaṇa prakāśe,
rūpe madana sama se cāru-veśe 2
satye hariścandra atula prabhā(3)ve,
dāne vaikarttana bhūmi vāsave // dhru //
śrī uddhavasimha-deva vijaya govinde
uhlāsa(4)lakhamī¹¹²-pati jagatra ānande //

// pai¹¹³ // vibhāsa // athatāla //
gela jaṭadhara prabhu śakra-bhava(5)ne,
giriājā-devi ahme pramodita mane // // 13 //

paṃcama // jati //
śuna are madhurikā (I-19, 1) gusāyi racita-vaṃkā,
ki nimitte hena je nidayā 2

¹¹² Ulhāsalakṣmī was the queen of King Uddhavasimha.

¹¹³ Abbreviation of Nw. *paisāra* (< Skt. *pratisāra*), i.e. entrance of an actor on the stage.

tiri mati riju mora, vikāṭa se dāmo(2)dare,
 nehā dūra vaḍa duḥkha diyā // dhru //
 ki hari2 daśa dina chale mu vaṃcilo,
 rayivata pra(3)bhu giyā rukumini saṃge liyā,
 ahmāra je nāma visarilo //

// ka ru¹¹⁴ // marahathī // (4) ekatāli //
 hari2 kathā gele pāyivo govindero caraṇa-kamale,
 tava morā sire ha[vo] (5) jāmalabhasale 2
 cāda¹¹⁵ caṃdana ghana dakṣiṇa vāye,
 harira virahe mora dahe sava gāye // dhru //

[The following part begins from the backside of the manuscript¹¹⁶
 (II-1, 1) śrīrāga // jati //
 sarūpa vāra¹¹⁷ tā volu muni-vare,
 tuhmāke nahi dare,
 āre, satyabhamā nārī nāre,
 kava(2)nero □□¹¹⁸ //

// vibhāsa // ekatāla //
 jave āyilo gusāyiro saṃge vaḍa se sukhe,
 ahmāke eḍi(3)[yā] gela ave pāyilo dukhe // 15 []¹¹⁹ //

(Addition noted in the upper margin:)
 śrī rāga // ja, sarūpa¹²⁰ (Addition end)

¹¹⁴ i.e. Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī.

¹¹⁵ A corruption of *cāṃda* “the moon”.

¹¹⁶ See the preface. The verse no. 14 is missing. It must have been contained in the verso of I-19, which was not photographed. At the moment, it is difficult for me to consult the original manuscript, for it is not in possession of the National Archive of Nepal, but in a personal collection inside the Kathmandu Valley. The manuscript was only borrowed from the possessor for the purpose of filming by the NGMPP project, and returned back to him.

¹¹⁷ Or *vora* = *bola* “speech”.

¹¹⁸ Blurred. It looks like □*ova* (gova?). But the rhyme would demand *-are*.

¹¹⁹ Mark of addition.

¹²⁰ i.e. the song *sarūpa vāra tā volu* etc. This seems to amend the blurring of the letters in the beginning of the first line of this page.

// vibhāsa // ekatāla //
dhani dhani vāpa priye torā (4) □□ā¹²¹ sa[trā]jite,
tāhārelo jhīya priye mora prāṇera hite //
tathira kāraṇe priya tuhme suti[la?]
(5) □cite¹²² mo [ke]hne jānivo priya vidhi viparite //
joḍa hātha kariyā vinaya vanamā[l]i ci[m]ām¹²³

(II-2, 1) yā samati delo prāṇa rākhavāli //

// śrī rāga // jati //
sadhani kājala kuntale, ālo priya,
(2) śire tolā¹²⁴ siṃdūra ujjalelo satyabhāmā /
keśa torā bhramara gujare, uthya śobhe mālatīra phule //
(3) lalāṭa patra mālā kanake, uthi sobhe kastūri tilake //
nayana tora nīla-upale¹²⁵, bhruha torā dhanuḥi¹²⁶ (4) jugale //
nāśi[kā]¹²⁷ torā garuḍa ādare¹²⁸, praphulita vadana kamale //
daṃṭa tora dādiva viju tule, otha (5) tora pāṭali praphule //
kāṇe tora ratana kuṃḍale, ravira kirana jehne jvale //
galā śobhe kuṃbha kaṅṭha (6) hāre, vacana tora amṛta susare¹²⁹ //
vāhu tora kanaka mṛnāle, kara śohe rātā¹³⁰ utapale //
daśayi (II-3, 1) aṃguli caṃpākali, daśa nakha mālilo vaṃkuli //
kuca tora śrīphala yugale¹³¹, uthi sobhe mukutāro (2) mālā //
kanaka caṃpaka tora dehā tora mora janamero nehā //
siṃha jiniyā mājhā kṣiṇi¹³², māne mohi(3)le cakrapāṇi //
nābhi tora garuva saravare, uthiya maṃjiya¹³³ dāmodare //
dhanya2 tora urvvali triva(4)li ure tora e rāmakadali¹³⁴ //

¹²¹ Blurred. Maybe *rājā*.

¹²² Blurred. It might also be read *ciṃte* or *rcite*.

¹²³ Or *sām/gām*? Or else, *[ra]ciyām*?

¹²⁴ = *torā*.

¹²⁵ Skt. *nilotpala*.

¹²⁶ Skt. *dhanus* (*dhanuḥ*). Cf. page I-15, l. 2 *dhanuha niśāna*.

¹²⁷ Written in the upper margin.

¹²⁸ Cf. SKK (27/2, p. 22) *garuḍa samāna tohora nāśā*.

¹²⁹ Skt. *su-svara*

¹³⁰ B. *rātā* “red” [Sen 1971]. Skt. *rakta*.

¹³¹ Cf. SKK (28/1, p. 22) *śrīphala yugala tohora tane*.

¹³² Skt. *kṣīṇa*

¹³³ B. *maja*- “to go down under water” (Sen 1971).

pāya śobhe jhamakā nepure, carite se vajāya susare /
daśa nakha (5) āra tora vole paridhāna, e pāṭa¹³⁵ patole //
śolahe saṃpūrṇa satyabhāmā, e tini bhuvane anupamā // (6) // ,

// lalita // paḍitāla //
āji pārā rukinī kariyā āche rośa,
pārijāta phule tārana (II–4, 1) hailo saṃtośe je 2
morā ghare āyile gusāyi pāyive nāki,
śuniyā ki vo□□[?ā]¹³⁶jā¹³⁷ bhīśekero jhī¹³⁸ // (2) dhru //
dānava dalile¹³⁹ gusāyi śyāmala sundare,
rukinī vo¹⁴⁰laṃ bhu¹⁴¹kike āyilo morā ghare // 16 //

(3) // ° // rāga jayaśrī // co śa jati //
sura-vara gaurīśe pūjivo prati-māse 2
paṃca upahāre, ṣoḍaśa (4) prakāre // dhru //
mantra paṃcākṣare¹⁴², japilo nilaṃtare /
tuhme cintya dṛḍha-mati nahi jāvo durggati 2
(5) ahme tuhmāra bhagati, dile gusāyi svargga-pati //

// karṇṇāta / paḍimāna // śrī ā //¹⁴³

(śrī3 bhimaśena sāhāya namaḥ //
śrī3 bhimaśenayā nāma kāyāna gaṇa ona vya[...])¹⁴⁴

¹³⁴ Cf. SKK (28/2, p. 22) *ure tora rāmakadalī samāne*.

¹³⁵ Cf. SKK (165/2, p. 113) *pāṭa paridhāna*.

¹³⁶ An unrecognizable consonant with the vowel sign of ā.

¹³⁷ Maybe *ki volivo rājā?*

¹³⁸ Bhīśmaka's daughter, i.e. Rukminī.

¹³⁹ B. *dala-* "to suppress, smash, pound" (Sen 1971).

¹⁴⁰ Or *vā?*

¹⁴¹ The letter *bhu* looks very similar to *tu*.

¹⁴² i.e. the salutation *om*namo śivāya*.

¹⁴³ Instruction to sing a text beginning with *śrī ā*.

¹⁴⁴ This is written in the lower margin by the hand of another writer, but it does not seem to have anything to do with the story. It means Nw. "Salutation to Śrī Bhīmasena[']s assistance. Taking (= Uttering) Śrī Bhīmasena's name, the group has gone [...]"

// dhanāśrī // paḍimāna //

kauśika pariṣadi sura-gaṇa prati-dina mana-mohe 2

kuṇḍala valaya aṃgada nepu(II-5, 1)ra bhūṣaṇa śohe // dhru //

nāce vahu vidhi sulalitāla ghaghara¹⁴⁵ vāje 2

tuṣṭa mo na karivo ahme śaṃka su(2)ra-rāje¹⁴⁶ //

// śrī rāga // jati //

priya mora āji sava nṛtya saphale, devera sabhā-thale,

nāciyā saṃ(3)gīta je bhāva sakale //

// rāmakari // paḍitāla //

kṛṣṇero vacana śunilo ahme nārada muni(4)ro pāše 2

yuddhi kariyā rākṣivo maṃdāra, kṛṣṇaro¹⁴⁷ peyadi¹⁴⁸ jadi āyise // dhru //

laḍivo ahme (5) maṃdana-vane, caḍhilo airāvata vāraṇe //

// parikṣepa śacī // 17 //

// sauri, // jati //

devi śuṇa indre mu-ke kayile bhagati,

nānā upahāra pūjā kailo śuddhamati // 18 //

// mā¹⁴⁹, dhuṇa¹⁵⁰ //

(II-6, 1) koṇakari¹⁵¹ dhanāśrī // ekatāla //

kamalalocane prabhu śuṇa ahmāra vacane,

prari¹⁵²hara saṃgara gamane, 2

(2) indra upendra duva bhāyi virodha na kare

¹⁴⁵ i.e. *sulalitāra/sulalitātāla ghaghara. Cf. Skt. *ghargharā* “a girdle of small bells”.

¹⁴⁶ i.e. Indra.

¹⁴⁷ It seems that the scribe amended *kṛṣṇako* into *kṛṣṇaro* (i.e. **kṛṣṇero*).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. B. *peyādā* “footman”, i.e. foot-soldier < Persian *piyāda* (Sen 1971).

¹⁴⁹ Abbreviation for a name beginning with *mā*. Or else, maybe a mistake for *nā*, i.e. *nārada*?

¹⁵⁰ Nw. *dhuṇa* “[it] has finished”.

¹⁵¹ In stage instructions, *koṇa* denotes a corner of the stage which has a triangular shape. The instruction *koṇa bhāṣā* means an utterance from a corner, i.e. an action which would correspond to an utterance from the coulisse. Perhaps *koṇa kari* means an action similar to this, i.e. singing from a corner. Otherwise, *koṇakari* might be a corruption of the *rāga* name, *guṇakarī*.

¹⁵² It seems that it was originally written *pratihara*, which was amended into *prarihara* (i.e. *parihara*).

ahmāke nindivo sava sure // dhru //
 tuhmāra dayāya mora (3) samtoṣe,
 āji pāyilo pārijāta, pāyilo nava-nidhi¹⁵³,
 tyaja prabhu mane tuhme roṣe // //

(4) māru dhanāsri // chutā¹⁵⁴ jhumarā //
 indrero vaḍa ahamkāre 2
 mārivo curivo jinivo samare, 2

(5) ahme jāvo maṁdāra-haraṇe 2
 āniyā ropivo satyabhamāra udyāne // dhru //
 garuḍero pithi ca(6)ḍhiyā 2
 śamkha vājīyā gela kopa kariyā // 19 //¹⁵⁵

// koḍā // jati // surapati vacane¹⁵⁶,
 e (II-7, 1) ahme jāvo upavane,
 rākṣivo se je maṁdāra-taru prati-dine //

// koḍā // chutā paḍimāna //
 (2) puramdrero upavana vidita nāma maṁdana,
 dekhiyā ānanda mana hailo emanta¹⁵⁷
 madhukara pika (3), gaṁḍa¹⁵⁸ kṛṣṇasāra śuka,
 nānā vanacara raṁga kailo nāye //
 pūga nārikera śāla kadaṁva tamāla
 (4) tāla cūta kadali je khajjura e,
 aśvattha jaṁvu panasa vaḍa vilva ghana-rasa
 dhātrī aguru taru-vare (5) nāye //
 devero durllabha phura pārijāta je
 praphula prasarita aneka śobhe, e,
 tulaśī damana(6) [jā]ti ketakī caṁpa mālatī
 kuṁda nāgeśvara ati śobhe nāye, //

¹⁵³ Skt. *nava-nidhi* “the nine treasures of Kubera”.

¹⁵⁴ Perhaps this word is related with the fact that Nw. *chu* is the closed sound of thick cymbals and *tā* denote drum syllables (Iswaranand 1995).

¹⁵⁵ A memo is written in the lower margin as follows: *śrī nārāṇayā nāma kayāo nama* “Salutation, taking (= uttering) Śrī Nārāyana’s name”. This has nothing to do with the story of the drama.

¹⁵⁶ i.e. the words of Indra.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. B. *emata* “like this” (Sen 1971).

¹⁵⁸ Skt. *gaṇḍa* “rhinoceros”.

bhanasti śrī bhīmakeśa¹⁵⁹ je pive (II-8, 1) hari nāma rasa¹⁶⁰,
tāra sava pāpa duḥkha nāśe e,
pāyive cāri padāratha,
pūrive se manoratha dine (2) dine śubha jase nāye //

// deśākha // paḍitāla //
are kṛṣṇa akāraṇe kairo virodhe 2
maṇḍā(3)ra-haraṇa āyilo tvarā mati mūḍhe¹⁶¹ //
are śakra āji deṣa¹⁶² torā vāhu-vale 2
tuhme jiniyā (4) nivo pārijāta samūle //

// toḍi // platā //
ahme laiṅyā jāvo 2
taru pārijāta puri dvā(5)rikā,
satyabhamā tuśivo,
jinilo¹⁶³ sura-loka ahma eka // 20 //

// vasaṃta // ekatāla //
(6) vistara saṃgrāma hailo indra-govinde,
śuṇa vāsu śāmya kayilo mora ānande // 21 //

// (II-9, 1) lalita // jati //
ahme kṛṣṇa upavane hailo vaḍa yudhi,
śuna śacī nārada vacane kailo saṃdhi // 22 //

(2) // // toḍi // pra // ahme laiṅyā //¹⁶⁴

// vasaṃta // eka //
śrī nepāla vatsala dharaṇi vasu koṣe¹⁶⁵,

¹⁵⁹ Here, the author of the song is Śrī Bhīmakeśa. For the other author's name, see page I-15, ll. 2-3.

¹⁶⁰ Or *rāse*?

¹⁶¹ The rhyming of *virodhe* and *mūḍhe* suggests that the author of this verse is a Newari, for he does not differentiate dental *dh* and retroflex *ḍh*.

¹⁶² Or: *deṣe*.

¹⁶³ In the manuscript, *jiniro* is amended into *jinilo*.

¹⁶⁴ i.e. the song No. 20 beginning with *ahme laiṅyā*.

¹⁶⁵ The year of *dharaṇi* (= 1) *vasu* (= 8) *koṣa* (= 6), i.e. Nepāl Saṃvat 681. In the following, it is stated that this drama was staged in the month of Kārtika, which

kārtti(3)ka māsa kṛṣṇa ekādaśi mukhe 2
vāgīśa-vāra susiddhi moha nisādhanē,
kṛṣṇa-caritra nṛtya maṃdā(4)ra-haraṇe // dhru //
kayila bhagati-bhāva śrī vugameśvare,
śrī narasiṃha-deva vikrama-śrīdhare¹⁶⁶ //

// abho¹⁶⁷ //

śrī purandrasīṃha-deva arjjuna samāne
śrī uddhavasīṃha-deva sarvva guṇa jāne //
bhavatu maṃgala sadā (6) pracamaṇḍa pratāpe,
dekhi ānanda hailo bhuvana pradīpe // φ // 22¹⁶⁸

From page II–10 to II–14 is a complete list of the songs contained in this drama, which I have omitted from this Romanised text.

From page II–15 to page II–18, songs which are not contained in the drama are recorded.

(II–15, 1)

[¹] rāga savari // madanā re, kata mālasivānu,
sava voli āge,
sadi mada,nā, bhāra, //
(2) madanā rāgi¹⁶⁹, mola vikara palāva¹⁷⁰ //

marāra¹⁷¹ // rupaka //
medani je¹⁷² jorilo āre hārelo rādhe
(3) vrahmāro daṃdelo jotāro rādhe,
vāsukī je nāgero, āre, jotāro rādhe,
(4) giri-paravata chātāro rādhe, //
jotāro rādhe ro, āre teyāro rādhe,
kāhnu māhādāne, (5) paṃthero rādhe //¹⁷³

suggests that this presentation was a predecessor of the *Kārtik Nāc* festival.

¹⁶⁶ Title of King Narasiṃhadeva. Vugameśvara is the Lokeśvara of Buṃgamati.

¹⁶⁷ i.e. Rāga Abhogī.

¹⁶⁸ A mistake for 23.

¹⁶⁹ = *lāgi*

¹⁷⁰ i.e. *pallava*?

¹⁷¹ i.e. Rāga Malhāra. The letters are badly stained with ink.

¹⁷² The letter is obscure. Maybe *te*?

¹⁷³ This song has parallelism to SKK, No. 230 (= dānakhaṇḍa No. 54), cf. Kitada

// savari // jati //
idra¹⁷⁴ varise rādhe

[⁹] kālā rūpa bhamara, bhūrāyilo¹⁷⁵ sava phule
pīriti vadhāyilo ālo vaṃdhu āpuna jātelo kule // dhru //
e parānevo¹⁷⁶ nātha jīvanero nāthe, dayā na chodivo //
tuhe to choḍivo dayā vandhu āmī tvamara livo, (3) āro vaṃdhu 2 /
dhru //
e parānero nātha, vāraha varisa nāli,
teraha na pure¹⁷⁷, dīne2 vādhayasi ma(4)rero¹⁷⁸ ku□[i]¹⁷⁹ // dhru //

(II-17, 1) // korāva //
e mārini ki vā kāja, dhana jana sa[ja]¹⁸⁰na rāgīyā e rāgīyā nahi jāna,
mu-ke kṣediyā (2) pathāero //

[⁹] korāva //
kura deṣi kura chādi, sāyalare, dhasadire,
e kura va kura eka kura pāe(3)ve, //
ahma abhāginīre hini nā[rī]¹⁸¹ ekaramare,
gunamaṃta nāgara gero, hama chādi //
uvi duvi mari jāevo virāhe¹⁸²re, jara bhāri,
e piyā-ke prema madana saramāri¹⁸³ //

(II-18, 1) [⁹] raguna¹⁸⁴ dharāvat·, saguna manāvat·, kākā udāvat,
hāri syāma mora, niju kene visār· //
na jāno vidhi ka(2)vana pāpa-te, vyāpati hae dukha bhāri syāma mo□¹⁸⁵hi, //

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¹⁷⁴ = *indra*

¹⁷⁵ Stained with ink, i.e. *bhūlāyilo*.

¹⁷⁶ The letter *vo* seems to be a mistake for *ro*. Originally the word must have been *parānero*.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. SKK (35/1, p. 28) *e vāra varīṣa mora tera nāhiṣṣpūre*.

¹⁷⁸ Or *maroro*?

¹⁷⁹ A blurred letter with the vowel sign of *i*. Maybe *kupi* or *kudi*?

¹⁸⁰ The letter *ja* is inserted according to the note written in the upper margin.

¹⁸¹ The letter *rī* is noted in the lower margin.

¹⁸² Or *ha*?

¹⁸³ Or *maramāri*?

¹⁸⁴ It seems to be a corruption of *niraguṇa*.

nayāna tupatu deṣi darisanave-ko, kāma-vāna (3) sala māri syāma mora //
 nīju kene visāra, suradāśa¹⁸⁶ prabhū tuhmāra darasana-ko,
 anega jatana (4) kari, hāri syāma mora
 rāra visāri syāma syāma visā[ri] śyāma mora // dhru //
 niju kene visār. //

(5) [ʳ] dhanāśrī // atā // suvanasāgidha¹⁸⁷ tibhūvana pati tuhme, rasika
 vanamāli,
 ahme kichu (6) nahi jāṅe mugudha govāre,
 kāma sarupa tuhme kāmi[nī] mohāna,
 tyarā pati joge nahi¹⁸⁸, jobhana ahmora¹⁸⁹,
 vigasi□tapopa¹⁹⁰ jathā tathā madhukare,
 mukurītāpopa¹⁹¹ se hya dura parihare¹⁹²

¹⁸⁵ A blurred letter with the vowel sign *u*. Or, perhaps it is erased intendedly.

¹⁸⁶ The author of this song is the poet Sūrdās.

¹⁸⁷ The letters *gi* and *dha* are blurred.

¹⁸⁸ Perhaps a corruption of *tvarā* (= *torā*) *pati jāṅe nahi* “Your husband is not awake”.

¹⁸⁹ Obviously, a mistake for *ahmāra*.

¹⁹⁰ Seems to be a corruption of *vikasita-puṣpa*.

¹⁹¹ Seems to be a corruption of *mukulita-puṣpa*.

¹⁹² This song is also quoted in the drama Jalandharāsūravadhā (NGMPP E 460/33), and might perhaps have some connection to the SKK, cf. my arguments in Kitada 2019a: 8–10.

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