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# Krsnacaritra. A Bengali drama from the 16th century Nepal. A Romanized text based on the manuscript. Report on the research of dramatic manuscripts written in Nepal of the Malla dynasty.

Makoto Kitada Ph.D., Associate Professor at Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University, Japan Published online 2019/05

Title of Drama: Krsnacaritra, "The story of Krsna", written under Sivasimha (AD 1578-1620) of Kantipur.<sup>1</sup>

Manuscript: NGMPP Reel No. E 460/33 (the latter part)

### Remarks

This article is a report of research in a provisory form.<sup>2</sup> My English is yet to go through a checking by a native speaker. In spite of many faults it contains, I decided to publish it, thinking that it will be of public benefit. This is a so-called diplomatic edition, i.e. the reproduction of the spellings as written in the manuscript, without the attempt of normalization, i.e. adjusting them to the standard spelling of Bengali.

### Introduction

This play deals with the legend of Krsna's challenge against Indra, lifting up of Mount Govardhana and defeating the serpent Kāliya.

At the same time, the place is interwoven with Krsna's love affair with Rādhā. Intriguingly, in this play appears the old woman called *vadāyi* (i.e. B. *barāyi* 'go-between') who functions as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Regmi [2007: p. 46ff]. Brinkhaus [2003: 70 footnote 11] states Śivasimha was a king of Pāṭan and his reign was AD 1597-1619. This seems to refer to Śivasimha's conquest of Pāṭan [Regmi 2007: 267f]. He defeated Purandarasimha (AD 1560-1597), the king of Pāṭan at that time, and absorbed Pāṭan into the kingdom of Kāntipur.

The Jalandharāsuravadha play contained in the former part of this manuscript was written under the reign of Purandarasimha, while this Krṣṇacaritra was written (seemingly in Pāṭan) under Śivasimha at some time after his conquest of Pāṭan.

In p. 44, there is a memorandum in Newar language, mentioning the date NS 777 (= AD 1656). If the scribe is the same as the play itself, the time of production of this play (i.e. the scribe's transcription of the latter part of the manuscript from the original manuscript no more existing) seems to be AD 1656, or at least not later than that.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the study of this manuscript, I worked together with Prof. Kashinath Tamot, specialist in paleography and classical Newari language and literature. 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 unstinted cooperation and instruction.

messenger between Krsna and Rādhā. In fact, several Krsna songs which seem to be parallels of Baru Candidās' Śrīkrsnakīrtan are contained in a few pages between the first play (Jalandharāsuravadha) and the second play (Krsnacaritra) contained in this manuscript [Kitada 2019]. These songs seem to have connection to the Krsnacaritra rather than the Jalandharāsuravadha.

Then, a question, of course, arises: are these Krsna songs connected to the formation of the Krsnacaritra play in some way? Unfortunately, I can not give any concrete answer at the moment. However, it is remarkable that Barāýi seems to play an important, comical role as a kind of female buffoon in this play.

#### Phrases with dhāta: quotations from song texts

In this play occur sometimes phrases ending with *dhāta*. These seem to be phrases quoted from songs which are presumably written in Bengali. Although this manuscript, at its end, contains some lists of songs, no verse corresponding to these phrases is found. Various conjectures are possible: these might have been song-texts so well-known<sup>3</sup>, that the author did not feel the necessity to write their full texts. Or else: there might actually have existed a list of songs, but this list was lost.

The phrases in question are:

ke tumhe dhāta (MS p. 32, l. 5)

ghana ghana dhāta (MS p. 32, left margin; MS p. 34, l. 7)

śiva śiva vorītya<sup>4</sup> dhāta (MS p. 33, l. 5)

nīda bharara<sup>5</sup> dhāta (MS p. 35, l. 1)

jana mana avirāka6 dhāta (MS p. 35, l. 3)

vikhama jamunadi mājhe<sup>7</sup> dhāta (MS p. 36, l. 7)

kaho muni<sup>8</sup> dhāta (MS p. 37, margin)

eke to camdana dhāta (MS p. 37, l. 4; MS p. 40, l. 4)

sāgarero dhāta (MS p. 41, l. 2)9

āju mudarī ghana ghana<sup>10</sup> dhāta (MS p. 41, l. 4)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For instance, hymns which were daily recited in temples, like todays' Bhajans or Dāphā songs offered to gods such as Krsna.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I.e. B. *bolite* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Perhaps, B. *nī̄da bharila*?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Obscure. Maybe, a corruption of *abhilāṣa*?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Seems to have originally been *visama jamunā nadī mājhe*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In this context, *muni* (Skt. *muni*) should refer to Nārada Muni. Perhaps, it might refer to *kaho munīvare* (MS, the same line & l. 6). Are these *dhāta*-phrases, then, quotations of words to be uttered by the actors?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> ŚKK Song 267 [Bhattācārya 2011: 352] contains a verse beginning with *sāgara*: sāgara rasa nāgara sundara kānhāñim. This however would not suffice to draw any conclusion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The phrase *ghana ghana* has already occurred twice before. The term *mudarī* has occurred in MS

kamala sobhita dhāta (MS p. 45, l. 4) hāhā camdrakāti<sup>11</sup> dhāta (p. 47, l. 1)

#### List of Krsna songs in Bengali

This play contains lists of Bengali songs in MS pp. 42, 43, and 44. In these lists, only the beginning phrases of songs are quoted, accompanied by the indication of *rāga* and *tāla*. Peculiarly, any of these songs does not correspond to the songs contained in this play itself. Intriguingly, however, one phrase (*duşero upara dukhe*) is the same as the beginning phrase of a song in MS p. 25, l. 5, which is namely the one contained in the list of Krsna songs, for which I have presumed some relation to Baru Candīdās' Śrīkrsnakīrtan (ŚKK) [Kitada 2019].

Unfortunately, in the SKK, I could not find any parallel of these phrases (in MS pp. 42–44) as far as I have searched. Still, among these phrases, two mention *vadāe* and *vada māyi* respectively:

gunajarī // cāri // nayāne na dekho vadāe vane na sune // (MS p. 43, left side) korāva // jati // tumhe to hamāra vada māyi // (MS p. 44, left side)

The terms *vaḍāe* and *vada māyi* ('grand-mother') seem to refer to B. *barāyi* which is a typical term frequently occurring in the ŚKK.<sup>12</sup>

Besides, compare the following phrases containing śiśumati:

vibhāsa // jati // jakhane muyi sisu-mati (MS p. 43, left side)
ŚKK āchilom mom śiśumatī nā jānilom rangaratī (Bhaṭṭācārya 2011, p. 428, Song No. 383)
ŚKK āchilom mom śiśumatī nā bujhilom suratī (Bhaṭṭācārya 2011, p. 431, Song No. 389)

Anyway, our phrase is too short to draw a decisive conclusion, although it is likely that our phrase was also a part of a similar statement: since I am still immature, I can't understand the amorous sport.

The following phrases seem to be fragments of erotic verses: varārī // pra // hāthya na dhara kānhu kampaya tanu // (MS p. 44, left side) "Don't touch [me] by the hands, oh Kṛṣṇa! My limbs are trembling."

p. 40, l. 6. There, it seemingly refers to the name of a song-genre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Maybe *candrakānti*, the name of a female companion?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Although this term is not confined to the ŚKK, but also occurs in other poets' works.

pramañjari // cāri // nakha rekha rāge janu // "Nail scratches are made."

Thus, these phrases are too fragmental to serve as decisive evidences.

#### Remark on the transcription of the ligatures of the ha-letter

This type of ligatures has the form [h + consonant], i.e. the consonantal letter is encompassed within the *ha*-letter. I have hitherto transcribed them as *hma*, *hna*, *hla* etc. in my Romanized texts of other dramatic manuscripts. However, in this Romanized text, I transcribe them as *mha*, *nha*, *lha* etc. according to the dictionaries [Malla 2000, Kölver & Shresthacharya 1994].

#### **Romanized text**

(29:1)

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l<sup>13</sup> mālāva // jati //
praņava upale<sup>14</sup> rahi, jāņo rupa laga nāhi<sup>15</sup>,
samsārelo sāra rupa tāhi // (2)
hara śiva //
tāhāro<sup>16</sup> māyā-te harī, jāta degho<sup>17</sup> samsāra srjire, //
syahi tyahi mīla gati (3) sakara bhuva[na]<sup>18</sup>pati
deho moke parama muguti //
śrī śivasīha<sup>19</sup> rāya, jāhāro praśāda pāya, (4)
jaga jana durīta vihāya //<sup>20</sup>
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 $n\bar{a}$ ta //  $e^{21}$  //

<sup>14</sup> I.e. *utpale* 'on the lotus', or *upare* 'upon'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> A sign resembling l in shape, called *śiddhicinha* 'sign of completion', seems to mark the beginning of a song.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The vertical line of the *na*-letter has faded away. It may be *nahi*, but *nāhi* seems correct, rhyming with *tāhi*. The reading *nahi* would rhyme with the foregoing *rahi*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> It is written tā|hāro, i.e. having a superfluous vertical line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Or  $gh\bar{a}$ ? The horizontal line is slightly wavy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The insertion of the *na*-letter is indicated just under the line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> I.e. Śivasimha, the king of Kāntipur.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> I.e. "[He] removes the suffering of the people of the world."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> I.e. *ekatāla* 

tuhina śikhare sama vimara<sup>22</sup> sarīre (5) hutavaha ravi śaśi nayāna nulire // damaruți triśura hāthe śire śaśikalā, vibhuti bhūkhana<sup>23</sup> (6) kamthe vāsukiro mālā // jaya2 nītyanātha<sup>24</sup> trīdaśero iśe, jāhāro carana dhyāna durīta (7) vināśe //

// l dhanāśrī // rupaka //

vivudha nagara sama ati anupamya, tathā to vai(30:1)śire loka tridaśero samemya<sup>25</sup> // maņi-mamdapa sobhe suvarņņa pranāre,<sup>26</sup> manikeśava-ta (2) deva vrkodare,<sup>27</sup> śrī ralīta-purī<sup>28</sup> śvabhe niramtare, śrī śivasimha deva pratipāra<sup>29</sup> kare, //<sup>30</sup> (3)

// // l bhairavi // e //

praudina prati kamara virocana, lokanātha jagata ādhā(4)re // abhaya vara hāthe<sup>31</sup>, nānā mani-maya hāle<sup>32</sup>, śvabhita kesavi<sup>33</sup> bhāre, <del>śvabhita</del> (5) jayadeva<sup>34</sup> bhava bhaya tārī tare<sup>35</sup> //

// l kedāra // padimām //

krsnaro carītra kathā (6) karīvo prakāsya, tāhi to dekhīyā jāvo durī vināsya // // (31:1)

 $<sup>^{22} =</sup> vimala$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> I.e. *bhūsana* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> I.e *nityanātha* or *nṛtyanātha*?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The letter *me* has a stain which seems to be a trace of amendment. Perhaps the scribe tried to amend me into another letter (maybe *pe*?). Is, then, \**sapamya* a corruption of *samīpe*? <sup>26</sup> The Manimandapa is the pavilion situated in the Mangal Bazaar (Palace Square) of Pātan.

Suvarņņa-pranāre is svarņa-pranālī (sum dhārā).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> This refers to the Bhīm'sen Temple in the Mangal Bazaar. Bhīm'sen is a god of trade for Newars [Hutt 2010: 144].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> I.e. Lalitapur

 $<sup>^{29} =</sup> pratip\bar{a}la$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> This refers to the conquer of Pāṭan by King Śivasimha in NS 718 (AD 1597).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> It seems that the scribe first wrote *hi* by mistake, then, cancelling its *i*-*kāra*, amended it in to *hā*. Perhaps, the addition of the letter *da* indicated in the upper margin of this page is to insert here: abhaya vara[da] hāthe. This fits better in the meter in 6 syllables.

 $<sup>^{32} =</sup> h\bar{a}re$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> It might be *keśa vibhāre*. The letter *vi* might be a mistake in transcription for Bengali *ri*, (suppose the original manuscript was in Bengali script). In that case, the original would be supposed to be *\*kesari bhāre*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Of course, Jayadeva is the name of the author of the Gītagovinda. However, this verse is not found in the Nirnaya Sagar edition of the Gītagovinda [Nārāyan Rām 1991].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Or else: *tārīta* (i.e. Skt. *tārita*) re.

l rāga rāja-vijaya // e //

sarada jarada sama dhavarīta amge, tri-vidha locana hala a(2)magā vibhamge // vrkhabha vāhāna śiva praveśa kayire // gamgā gauri jālo<sup>36</sup> samge niranta(3)re //

//  $\ensuremath{\mid}$ rāga śrī // e // <br/>tāra^{37} //

bhavānī samkara gamgā, gamana kayire,<sup>38</sup> nānā kai(4)tuka<sup>39</sup> kare, krsna avatāre //

// l rāga kanhala // dharamjatī //

purușa janame tapa (5), kairo vistare, te-kāranya pāyiro mohi<sup>40</sup>, krṣṇa putra vare // āyiro gokura-pati, nam(6)de vrajeśvare, vividha mamgara kara, jāhāro mamndire //

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// l bhopārī // dvamāna // (7)
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vikrama ajuna sama, nyāya judithīre,<sup>41</sup> vidyā vrhaspati je|nhe<sup>42</sup>, dāna karna ture<sup>43</sup> // (32:1) vipakhya vipina da[?]he<sup>44</sup> jenhe, dāvāna<del>he</del>re,<sup>45</sup> nipati<sup>46</sup> mukuta sobhe calana jugare // (2) śrī śīvasimha rāya, nrpati iśvare, manoharā rānī mukha, cānda cakore // (3)

// naṃnda vaṃ //<sup>47</sup>

// l<code>rāga śavarī^{48}</code> // d<code>vāmāna //</code>

rāma krsna dekhīvā-ke gero vrajeśvare, gokura (4) godhana gopa / pratipāra kare //

māhādeva nhathu myana vava,49

 $<sup>^{36} =</sup> j\bar{a}ro$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Presumably, the scribe at first wrote only  $t\bar{a}ra$  (i.e.  $t\bar{a}la$ ) and left the space empty, so that he could enter the name of the  $t\bar{a}la$  in it afterwards. Later, he chose *ekatāla* for the  $t\bar{a}la$ , filled its abbreviation *e* in the empty space and also added the double  $danda \parallel$ . Finally, he cancelled  $t\bar{a}ra$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Also in the case of today's Kārtik Nāc tradition of Pharping village, Śiva (mahādev),

accompanied by Gaurī and Gamgā, comes on stage at the beginning of the presentation, and does a dance of opening.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> i.e. kautuka

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Perhaps a corruption of B. *muÿi*?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> arjuna, yudhisthira

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> A vertical line resembling a *danda* is inserted between *je* and *nhe*. If it is a vowel sign, *jonhe* would be to read, although less plausible.

 $<sup>^{43}</sup>$  < Skt. *tulya* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> A strange letter, whose shape resembles a Roman S, between da and he. Obviously, the word should be *dahe* from the context. It seems the scribe broke off writing a *ha*-letter presumably because he did not like its shape, and wrote it anew.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> "As if the forest fire (*dāvānala*) burned (*dahe*) the forest (*vipina*) of enemies (*vipakṣa*)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> < Skt. *nrpati* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Nw. "Nanda went [out]."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> The scribe at first wrote  $\dot{st}$  falsely, and he cancelled its *i*-kāra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Nw. "Mahādeva came with the first song." I.e. Śiva comes on stage, accompanied by the *nāndī*.

// l śavarī // pratāra // (5) ke tumhe dhāta //<sup>50</sup>

 $\label{eq:linear} \ensuremath{\mathbbm l}$ rāga vaśata $^{51}$  // e //

aguri candana śimrga mamndaśāre, kapura kumkumma gamdha, (6) vividha suśāre, vaiśaha māhādeva amga virāya //

// mārako khyāra thā // ajāyi (7) vadāyi juyā //<sup>52</sup>

// l rāmakarī // pratā //

tera purāyivo āro bhuti<sup>53</sup>, <del>kāparadhuti</del> (33:1) kāpara diro dhuti / hāthera kari<sup>54</sup>, kākhya coparī<sup>55</sup>, pāyara jhu<sup>56</sup>miki napurī<sup>57</sup> //

vadāya vam //<sup>58</sup> // (2)

l praharīyā // e //

vadā āro he59, hāthyara kari, kākhya coparī, āyiro [jh]umikī napure // (3)

<sup>53</sup> Obscure. Maybe B. *bhuțī* 'a kind of coarse cloth' [Sen 1971: 720]?

<sup>54</sup> I.e. B. *kari* 'a small ring' [Sen 1971: 110]

This sentence is written in smaller letters than the previous sentences.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> It seems to be connected to the memo *ghana ghana dhāta*, seemingly a phrase of a song, in the left margin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> I.e. vasanta

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Nw. "Ajāyi, becoming the go-between (*vadāyi*, i.e. B. *barāyi*), told jokes as much as necessary." Nw. *māra-ko*, *māla-ka* 'as much as necessary' (Mod. Nw. *mākka*). Nw. *khyāra/khyāla* 'joke' 'raillery, ridicule' (Mod. Nw. *khyāḥ*) [Malla 2000: 80]. Malla [ibid.] explains its etymology as Skt. *khela* 'play, sport'. Another possible etymology would be Persian *xyāl* 'idea, thought' (maybe 'wit' in this context. Nw. *thāya* 'to beat, to play a musical instrument' [Malla ibid.: 201]. *Khyāra thāya* lit. 'to beat joke[s]' seems to be an idiom.

MS *ajāyi* seems to be related to Nw. *ajā* 'grandfather' or Nw. *aji* 'grandmother'. In the case *ajāyi* means 'grandmother' 'an old woman', this instruction would mean: The old woman, becoming the go-between, [...]. In contrast, if *ajāyi* means 'grandfather', it would mean: An old man (i.e. the actor playing an old man), playing the role of the go-between woman [in this scene], [...]. Both interpretations are possible, for presumably, the roles of females were played by male actors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> B. *copari* 'small basket' [Sen 1971: 287]. A small basket on the flank.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> This letter has a peculiar form resembling  $pta + u \cdot k\bar{a}ra$ . It is a variant of *jha*. The reading *jhumiki*, i.e. B. *jhumaka/jhumaki* 'a kind of musical composition or ballad singing' [Sen 1971: 347], seems to fit in this context well. Here, it seems to be an onomatopoeia imitating the sound of the bells, cf. B. *jhum jhum, jhumur jhumur*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> B. *napura* 'anklet' [Sen 1971: 473]. MS *pāyara* = B. *pāyela*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Nw. "The go-between (B. *barāyi*) went (= exit)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> I interpret it as an address: B. "Barāyi, ālo, he".

rāma-krsņa praveśa60 //

gothagrī // dharam ekatari //

śajara jara<sup>61</sup> sama, jāro karevare<sup>62</sup>, nayāna kamara śo(4)bhe vadana mamdare // bhū-bhāra bharana harī hairo avatāre, danuja<sup>63</sup> māriyā deva karītya uddhāre // (5)

rāma-krsņa vam //64

rāga varāri // e // śiva śiva vorītya dhāta // rāma-kr̥ṣṇa carī gero, pitāro (6) nīska<sup>65</sup>te, jāhāro carana tare, tīdasya makute<sup>66</sup> //

// <del>nārada praveša</del> // <del>l imdra praveša</del> // (7) <del>l paharīyā</del> //

limdra pravesa //

rāga kolāva // e //

nandana udyāna jāro, pukhya<sup>67</sup> pārījātya // anu(34:1)pa vāhāna jāro, hāthi ailāvatya, tridaśero adhipati deva puramdare, śacī vāma bhāga ka(2)rī praveśa kayire, //

imdra pīhā // vam //68

l rāga dhanāśrī // dvamāna // gamana kayīro deva, amara iśva //(3)re,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> The letter *pra* almost looks like *va*, but it is obvious from the context.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Maybe, *śajara* is a corruption of *sāgara*, as the letters *ja* and *ga* resemble in form. *\*śajara jara*, i.e. Skt. *sāgara-jala*?

 $<sup>^{62} =</sup> kalevara$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Skt. danuja, i.e. dānava

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Nw. vam '[he] went' 'exit'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> My teacher identified it as *sta*. However, *nīstate* would be better, for it seems to be a corruption of *\*nikațe*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> I.e. *tridaśa-mukuta* 'the crown of gods'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Maybe B. *puşa*- 'to rear, raise up, sustain' [Sen 1971: 577]?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Nw. "Indra went out".

tri-desa<sup>69</sup> sa-gana āyasya<sup>70</sup> jāvo sabhā kare // // (4)

] rāmakrsna praveśa //

) nārada praveśa //

ן rāga kaisi // jati //

igārā pīrā sukhuma antare,<sup>71</sup> atura<sup>72</sup> (5) prakāsa teja-ta thīra-vistare<sup>73</sup>,

āyiro munī nārada vidiro nandane<sup>74</sup>, karaha racana<sup>75</sup> mohitah<sup>76</sup> (6) kairo sarvva khane //

vibhāsa<sup>77</sup> //

ן nārada vam //<sup>78</sup>

ا <del>rāga kai</del>si<sup>79</sup> // e //

carīro nārada munī namndero mamdire, (7)

rāmakrsna avatāra darasana80 kare //

// )  $1^{81}$  nanda-sabhā // 'nhathu mena vava //<sup>82</sup>

 $^{72} = atula$  'unparalleled'

<sup>73</sup> Or else:  $tath\bar{i}$  ravi-stare? If the previous phrase really refers to the three principal tubes of Hathayoga, the next phrase *atura prakāsa* etc. might perhaps deal with Hathayoga practice, too. The Pingalā-tube is sometimes referred to as the sun (*ravi*) in Hathayoga texts.

Or else, the holy Nārada with his aura is compared to the sun emanating rays.

<sup>74</sup> Nārada is a son of Brahmā (Skt. *vidhi*).

<sup>75</sup> I.e. *kalaha-racana* 'arbitration of quarrel[s]'?

<sup>76</sup> The stain of the letter *tah* perhaps indicates its cancellation by the scribe. In fact, the rhythm of *karaha racana mohi* (3-3-2) would better fit in the meter.

<sup>77</sup> This is scribbled in slightly smaller letters, which might indicate that it, the name of rāga, was added by the scribe afterwards.

<sup>78</sup> Nw. "Nārada went/exit."

<sup>79</sup> The name of rāga Kaisi (Skt. Kaiśikī) is cancelled. However, this might perhaps suggest that Nārada is supposed to be accompanied by rāga Kaisi in his entry and exit.

<sup>80</sup> Maybe, the *ra*-letter has a protruding leg-like sign for *ra*, if it is not a stain. In that case, *darrasana*.

<sup>81</sup> This sign which resembles ra lacking the horizontal line is called *cucye danda* (according to my teacher). The same sign is found in p. 45, l. 4, too.

<sup>82</sup> Nw. "[Nārada] came [accompanied] by the [same] song as before."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Either *tri-deśa* or *tri-daśa*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> B. *āise*. The stain under the *ya*-letter might perhaps be a *halanta*:  $\bar{a}y \cdot sya$ . Another option would be to read  $\bar{a}yatya$  (B. \* $\bar{a}ite$ ?). Sen [1971: 20, 22] has registered two kinds of verbal stems  $\bar{a}a$ - and  $\bar{a}isa$ -meaning 'to come'. There, \* $\bar{a}ite$  is not registered, but it is possible as an infinitive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Obscure. Sen [1971: 70] registers B. *ingalā*, a word-form seemingly fabricated in analogy of *pingalā*, as referring to the Idā tube of Hathayoga. Then, might  $p\bar{r}r\bar{a}$  and *sukhuma* here refer to *pingalā* and *suṣumnā* respectively? If my surmise is appropriate, this phrase would mean: "Idā [and] Pingalā, Suṣumnā in the middle." Might MS  $p\bar{r}r\bar{a}$  then be  $*p\bar{r}r\bar{a}$ , a form fabricated in analogy of *idā*, although this is not registered in the dictionaries? Since *sukhuma* in usual cases is a New Indo Aryan form of Skt. *sūkṣma*, MS *sukhuma antare* could also mean 'the minute interval'. Maybe this connotation plays a role here at the same time.

ghana2 dhāta //<sup>83</sup> rāmak<u>r</u>(8)sna dekhīvā-ke //<sup>84</sup>

// l rāmakrsna vava<sup>85</sup> // nhathu mena vava // l nālada vava // nhathu mena // bharīyā<sup>86</sup> vava //

(p. 35:1) l nārada vam // davara<sup>87</sup> // l rāga śrīrī<sup>88</sup> // dvamāna // nīda bharara dhāta //<sup>89</sup> govradhana<sup>90</sup> pujivā-ke nanda vraje(2)śvare, rāmakrsna samge karī gamana kayire //

// jaśvadā vam //<sup>91</sup>

ر dhanāśrī // gharajati // (3)

jana mana avirāka dhāta //92

carī gero prabhū morā, namnde vrajeśvare,

govradhana pujā kare vivi(4)dha prakāre //

// l rādhīkā praveśa //

rāga rāmakarī // dharaṃ ekatarī //

vada<sup>93</sup> mamdara jāro (5) sudha sudhākare,

rāmakrsna dekhīvā-ke gero vrajeśvare, gokura godhana gopa pratipāra kare.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> The same phrase which seems to be a part of a song is written in the left margin of p. 32, cf. my footnote on *ke tumhe dhāta* (p. 32, l. 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> This seems to be an abbreviation of the song (rāga śavarī, dvāmāna) in p. 32, l. 3f:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Nw. vava 'came', 'has come'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> MS *bharīyā* may be a character (Skt. *bhāryā*?), or it may refer to a song text beginning with B. *bhariyā* by which Nārada's entry is accompanied.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Nw. *davara* 'stage' (Mod. Nw. *dabū*, *dabuli-*). Maybe it is not connected to Nārada's exit, but instructs the following song should be recited on the stage by the chorus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> A halfway *svarabhakta* of *śrī*. More often observed is the spelling *śiri* or *siri*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Incomprehensible phrase. Phrases ending (rhyming) in *dhāta* have occurred before: *ghana ghana dhāta* (p. 32, left margin and p. 34, 1.7), *ke tumhe dhāta* (p. 32, 1. 5). The words *ghana ghana* and *bharara* seem to be onomatopoeia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> I.e. Mount Govardhana. In the writing by this scribe, the letter *vra* often looks like *pra*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Nw. "Yaśodā went/exit."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> An incomprehensible phrase ending in *dhāta* again. Does the term *dhāta* (Skt. *dhātu*?) refer to a song genre?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> It should be vadana. \*Vadana-mandala jāro (3-3-2) fits better in the meter.

khamndana<sup>94</sup> khamjana<sup>95</sup> jinīyā śvabhe nayāna jugare, / bhuvana sumdarī rādhā kai(6)ro paravesya, canda-vadanī āro<sup>96</sup> parama harīsya //

vadāyi vava // nhathu mena vava //<sup>97</sup> l rāga ko(7)rāva // ekatarī // ghrta dudha je raiyā vadā<sup>98</sup>, jāvo mathurā nagare, virambham ma<sup>99</sup> kare āju cara he (p. 36:1) sumdarī 2 //

// megha praveśa //
l dhanāśrī // paratāra //
āyiro i[m]dra[ro]<sup>100</sup> gaņa megha jarade /
devendraro vora sunī, karīvo nīnāde //

rāga rbhatharī<sup>101</sup> // e // carīro jarada duhu, i[m]draro ni(3)kamthya<sup>102</sup>, krsņaro samipa gīyā karīvo samkathya<sup>103</sup> // sucīyā sucīyā dhāta //<sup>104</sup> // // (4)

<u>l idra sabhā // nārada vava // ghame[gha]</u><sup>105</sup> vava // 'nhathu mena□<sup>106</sup>vava //

// \ kāli praveśa // // (5)

- <sup>95</sup> Skt. *khañjana* 'A spiecies of the wag-tail', here used as a simile for the eyes, cf. Apte [1992: 634],
- an instance from the Sāhityadarpaņa: netre khañjana-gañjane.
- <sup>96</sup> I.e. B. *āilo* '[she] came'.
- <sup>97</sup> Nw. "The old woman ( $bar\bar{a}yi$ ) came/has come. [She] came/has come [accompanied] by the [same] song as before."
- <sup>98</sup> Seems to be a corruption of *vadāyi* (B. *barāÿi*).
- <sup>99</sup> This is obviously a mistake for *na*. \**Vilamba na kare* 'not delaying'.
- <sup>100</sup> The letter ro is added above dra and ga.
- <sup>101</sup> Obviously, it is a mistake for *bhartharī*.
- <sup>102</sup> I.e. *nikate*, seemingly contaminated by *kantha*.
- <sup>103</sup> Cf. Skt. *saṃkathā* 'conversation, talk'. However, *saṃkathya* does not rhyme properly with *nikaṃthya* (neither *\*nikațe*, nor *\*nikaṇțhe*). Maybe this verse was not composed by a mother-tongue speaker of Bengali, but a Newari poet.
- <sup>104</sup> Again, an phrase ending in *dhāta*, cf. p. 35, l. 3 etc.
- <sup>105</sup> Obscure. The first *gha* seems to be an emendation of *va*. The third letter *gha*, stained, is difficult to identify. Maybe, it is meant as *megha vava* "The rain cloud[s] came"?

<sup>106</sup> The scribe started writing a letter, but stopped, leaving it uncompleted, as seemingly he realized it was wrong.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Or, maybe *khamndata*. Skt. *\*khandana* would not make sense. Is Skt. *khandita* 'betrayed' to be assumed?

l rāga praharīya // thaka tāra // paraya prayodaśa<sup>107</sup> bhikhama śarīre, nānā manimae gana(6)vibhukhīta aṃge //<sup>108</sup> śakara<sup>109</sup> nāgero pati praveśa kayire, vāma bhāge rarnta<sup>110</sup>-rekhā (7) ati mohare, //

hnyāka //<sup>111</sup> l vikhama jamunadi mājhe dhāta //<sup>112</sup>

l rāga sauvarī // pra // vikha(37:1)ma / śarīra kāri gerā, pīyā śaṃge<sup>113</sup> jamunāro vare //

) govraddhana pujā kham lhāyā //<sup>114</sup> (2) // nārada nhathu myana vava // bharīyā vamna davara //<sup>115</sup> nārada vam davara //<sup>116</sup>

namnda rāmakrsna vam, // (3)

// indra sabhā // nhathu mena vam,  $^{117}~\rm X^{118}$ 

(Addition written in the margin)

// śrī // astarā //<sup>119</sup>

 $3^{120}$  kenhe vimana hailo kaho munīvare, tumhāra vadana dekhī mohi vada dare<sup>121</sup> //

// l nārada //

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Obscure. Perhaps connected to Skt. payoda?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> I.e. maņi-maya, vibhūsita.

<sup>109 =</sup> sakala

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Or, the ligature may be *rtta*: *rartta*? The intended word is obviously \**ratna*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Nw. "[He] moves".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Again, a phrase ending in *dhāta*, cf. p. 36, l. 4 etc. It seems to have originally been \**viṣama jamunā nadī mājhe*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> I.e. *piyā saṅge* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Nw. "[He] talks about the Pūjā of Mt. Govardhana."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Nw. "Bharīyā went [in]to the stage." Bharīyā was mentioned in p. 35, l. 8, too.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Nw. "Nārada went [in]to the stage."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Nw. "[He/They] went to the Indra-sabhā [accompanied] by the former song."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> The mark X indicates the place of insertion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> The names of  $r\bar{a}ga$  and  $t\bar{a}la$  seem to have been added afterwards. The original part of addition begins with the number 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> The number 3 indicates that this addition is to be inserted in the mark X in the third line. <sup>121</sup> = bara dare

tumhāke kahitya mohi vada rāja<sup>122</sup> pāyi, torā apamāna hairo kavana upāya, kaho munī dhāta<sup>123</sup> (Addition end)

// gova[r]dhana pujivāke nanda vraješvare, rāmakrsna samgya karī (4) gamana kayire //

l // l□<sup>124</sup> // ljaśvadā vam //<sup>125</sup> l rāga dhanāśrī // cārī // eke to camdana dhāta,<sup>126</sup> / carī gero prabhu mo(5)rā namnda v[r]ajeśvare, govrarddhana pujā kare vividha prakāre, //<sup>127</sup>

ر indra // // (6) // // kavana apamāna mora kaho munīvare, hama hi tridaša nātha, hama hi išvare, (7)

// nārada // //<sup>128</sup>
tridaśero nātha haiyā pāyiro apamāne, (38:1)
rāmakṛṣṇa toke kairo tṛṇero samāne //

// nārada vava // megha vava //<sup>129</sup> (2)

// (3)

/ megha vam davara //  $^{130}$ 

l indra vam // rāga rājavijaya X [// jati]^{131} //

krodhajraanarapātha<sup>132</sup>

 $<sup>^{122} =</sup> ba\dot{r}a \ l\bar{a}ja$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Here again, the sentence ends in *dhāta*. For the other phrases ending in *dhāta*, cf. p. 36, l. 7 etc. <sup>124</sup> It seems that the scribe by mistake began with writing the *śa*-letter of *jaśvadā*, then, noticing his fault, stopped.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Nw. "Yaśodā went."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Again, a phrase ending with  $dh\bar{a}ta$ . This, written in a small size, seems to have been added afterwards.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Same verse as in p. 35. ll. 3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> There is a considerably wide space after  $n\bar{a}rada$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Nw. "Nārada came. Megha came."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Nw. "Megha went to the stage." I usually interpret N. *vam/vamna* '[he/she] went' as referring to exit, but it seems to be different in this case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> The addition // *jati* // is written above this line. X marks the place of its insertion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> The scribe for some reason seems to have confounded *krodha anala* and *vrajra pātha*. Then, it

krodha anala dahai tri(4)daśero nāthe, vrajrapātha<sup>133</sup> karīvāke gopārero māthe //

// l śacī vam //<sup>134</sup> (5) dhanāśrī // cārī // morā prabhu suraprati<sup>135</sup>, gero bhuvi tare, vāratā<sup>136</sup> sunite jāvo ma(6)na, nahi thīre //

// nanda rāmakṛṣṇa govarddhana pujā vava, ihathu menam, // bharī(7)yā vava // // rāga mārava // ⊕<sup>137</sup> // pra<sup>138</sup> // (39:1) dadhī dudha ghṛta ghora sāja karīyā,<sup>139</sup> ⊕e<sup>140</sup> govarddhana pujī[vā]<sup>141</sup>ke<sup>142</sup> re<sup>143</sup> āyirā, ā(2)yiro bhārīyā<sup>144</sup>, bhāra vahiyā, vatra<sup>145</sup> je ānanda pāyirā //

// pujā yānā //146 (3)

ן rāga pramamjarī // dvamāna //

govarddhana girī-vara pujiro takhane,

rāmakrsna gopa sava kairo pra(4)daksīnya //

seems that he tried to amend *jra* into *a* in vain; finally, he decided to cancel the whole. <sup>133</sup> Obviously, a corruption of *vajra-pāta*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Nw. "Śacī went." Here, Nw. *vam* 'went' seems to denote entry rather than exit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Obviously, a corruption of *sura-pati*.

 $<sup>^{136}</sup>$  < Skt. *vārtā* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> A letter (maybe e, i.e. abbreviation of *ekatāla*?) is cancelled.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Abbreviation of *pratāla* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Cf. ŚKK Song 40 [Bhatācārya 2011: 222]: ghrta dadhi dudha āora ghola e saba mora pasārā. ŚKK Song 212 [ibid.: 317]: ghrta dadhi dudha barāyi sājiām pasāra.

However, this, being an idiomatic expression, might suggest nothing more than a coincidence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> The scribe scraped off a wrong letter. Its *e-kāra* is clearly visible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> The letter  $v\bar{a}$  is added upon the line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> The scribe amended ka into ke.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> The scribe amended a certain letter (maybe *le*?) into *re*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Sen [1971: 710] registers B. *bhāriyā* 'fool, jester'. But here, it is obviously associated to *bhāra* 'burden'. It might be used in the meaning of a baggage carrier or coolie.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Maybe a corruption of *vrata*?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Nw. "Having done the *pūjā*."

// megha vava, vā gācakā //<sup>147</sup> govarddhana dhararapā //<sup>148</sup> indra vava //<sup>149</sup> samgrāma // (5)

pahariyā // e // adhama govāra tumhī nandero namdane, kainhe apamāna kairo hamā(6)ke ekhane, / ki karītya pāre moke tumhe puramdare,

sagana sahitya toke, jinivo (7) samare, //

nārada vava // pujā yānā //

rāga gaurī // jatī //

e śrī madana gopā[ra]<sup>150</sup> ma(40:1)noharanam, śyāmam sarīra karavana, // kundara kutira tiraka raja<sup>151</sup> maņdīta, panāhaya (2) matuka<sup>152</sup> cānda vadanam / pitāmvara dhara cāru cadhāvaya<sup>153</sup>, subhagapora dāmani dahanam, (3) savaraga cīnta nayano<sup>154</sup> namndana nandana, rāya dāsa prabhu rīpu daraņam //<sup>155</sup>

// (4) l indra vamna //<sup>156</sup>

rāga savarī // e // eke to caṃdana dhāta //<sup>157</sup> ja[na]ma<sup>158</sup> saphara bhero kr̥(5)ṣṇa daraśane,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Nw. "Megha (the raincloud) came and caused to rain."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Nw. "Krsna held up Mt. Govardhana."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Nw. "Indra came."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> This letter is faint. It should be *ra* or *re* from the context.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Perhaps *tilaka-rajas* 'safflower of tilaka'.

 $<sup>^{152} =</sup> B. matuka$  'a crown' [Sen 1971: 734]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> I.e. *carhāvaya* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Or, *napano*?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> The language of this song, with the direct-case ending *-am*, seems to be Apabhramśa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Nw. "Indra went."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> The same phrase (ending in *dhāta*) as in p. 37, l. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> The second letter is badly damaged by a worm-hole. But the word is obviously *janama* from the context. It also looks like *janima*, if its *i-kāra* is not a mere stain (and if the word-form *janima* exists).

rāmakrsņa avatāre puśiro159 carane160, //

l kr rāma śā jara vamna //<sup>161</sup> (6)
e dhenu carāvayu āvata mohona dhenu carāvayu<sup>162</sup> 2 // mudarī vadhunī sunī rucī<sup>163</sup> u(41:1)pajāya,<sup>164</sup>
gvāravāra sava mamgara gāya //<sup>165</sup>

namnda thava che vamna,, //166

rāga sāramgī // (2) // e //

sāgarero dhāta //167

govarddhana paravata aracanā karīyā, carīro nam(3)dero mamndire,

gagana viramve morā, rāmakrsna-carītre, vividha kautuka ka(4)re nau //

(A considerably wide gap. The next phrase begins in the center of the line.)

lāju mudarī ghana ghana dhāta, //<sup>168</sup>

) krsna dāna(5)pamna vamna //169

rāga varāri // cārī //

śrī krsna carī gero  $\Box^{170}$  jamunāro tire,

anupa $[ma]^{171}$  gā(6)ra kare vividhra prakāre, //

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Possible would be either B. *puşa-* or *pumcha-*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> The letter *ne* has a śrībindu. It seems, the scribe added it by mistake, perhaps influenced by the previous Apabhramśa song.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Nw. "Krsna-rāma went to graze a cow/cows." Nw. *śā/sā* 'cow', *sā jala vane* 'to go to graze a cow' [Malla 2000: 489].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> The *u-kāra* is written with a slight gap from the *ya*-letter. Perhaps, it might be a halanta. If it is a halanta, it would be *carāvay*. In either case of *carāvayu*, or *carāvay*, it is not Bengali (may be Braj Bhāsā, or Apabhramśa?).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> The scribe amended *ca* into *ra* (i.e. *ru*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> "Listening *mudarī* and *vadhunī*, relish/desire arises." *Mudarī* and *vadhunī* are obscure. B. *mudarī/mudari* means 'a seal ring' [Sen 1971: 773], but this meaning does not fit in this

context.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> "All the cowherds sing the song of auspiciousness."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Nw. "Nanda went to his own house."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Again, a phrase with *dhāta*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Again, an incomprehensible phrase with *dhāta*. The term *mudarī* is mentioned in p. 40, l. 6, too. The phrase *ghana ghana dhāta* has been mentioned in the left margin of p. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Nw. *dānapaņna* 'respectful gift' [Malla 2000: 219]. The instruction might mean: "Krsna went [for receiving] respectful gift(s)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> The scribe started to write ma (of  $jamun\bar{a}$ ), then gave up halfway.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> The letter ma is added under the line.

// nārada dhumna //<sup>172</sup> rāga // larīta // jati // gamanaka(42:1)yīro muni, āsrama viśyaśya<sup>173</sup>, rāmakrsna dekh[ā]<sup>174</sup> karī parama harīsya //

krṣṇa (2) jamunā-sa coṅa //<sup>175</sup> ṅhathu mena //<sup>176</sup> śrī kṛṣṇa carī gero, jamunāro tire, //

l rādhikā (3) camdra-vadani vavam //177 // // megha dhum //178

(In the remaining space of this page (MS p. 42) is a list of songs, which I put at the end of this Romanized text. The drama itself seems to continue to MS p. 45.)

(Page 45:1)

 $\rm lk\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ jamunā-sa con<br/>a $//^{179}$ nhathu mena vava $//^{180}$  visama sarīra kārī<br/> //

// l kṛṣṇa rādhīkā vadāyī, (2) kārīyā-ke vamna //<sup>181</sup> l rāga // tā<sup>182</sup> // amvuda jarada gero indroro<sup>183</sup> nideśe, rāmakṛsna go(3)pa śava kalivo<sup>184</sup> vināśe //

me[ghadh]u[m]<sup>185</sup> //

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Nw. *dhumna* '[he] finished', here maybe in the meaning of 'exit'.

 $<sup>^{173} = \</sup>bar{a} \dot{s} rama - v \dot{s} \dot{e} \dot{s} e$ . Or, maybe  $* \bar{a} \dot{s} rama - v \dot{s} \dot{v} \bar{a} s e$ ?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> It is actually written *dekho*, but obviously it is a mistake for *dekhā*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Nw. "Krsna sat on [the shore of] Yamunā."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Nw. "[Accompanied] by the previous song (ll. 5-6 of this page)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Nw. "Rādhikā, the moon-faced, came (*vavam*)." In the case it is analyzed as *camdra-vadani-va vam*, it would mean: "[Kṛsna] went with (*-va*) Rādhikā, the moon-faced."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Nw. "Megha (Raincloud) finished (= exit)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Nw. "[Serpent] Kāliya sat on [the shore of] Yamunā."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Accompanied by the previous song (MS p. 36, l. 7 to p. 37, l. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Nw. "K, R and Barayi went to Kaliya."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> The Newari writing  $t\bar{a}$ , instead of  $t\bar{a}la$ , reflects the actual pronunciation (cf. Mod. Nw.  $t\bar{a}h$ ).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Seems to be a mistake for *indrero*.

 $<sup>^{184}</sup>$  = saba karibo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> These three letters are erased off, i.e. cancelled. However, *me* and the *u*- $k\bar{a}ra$  of the last letter are somehow recognizable. Nw. *megha dhum* means: "Raincloud finished (= exit)."

(4) l <sup>1186</sup> jala vanā //<sup>187</sup>
rāga śavarī // ⊟<sup>188</sup> jati //
kamala<sup>189</sup> sobhita dhāta //<sup>190</sup>
ati anupama jamunālo kure, (5) kamala kumudam sobhe bhramala camca ç<sup>191</sup>re //
makara uraga jara-mahikha kumjare, vividha manoharana (6) tama cīre<sup>192</sup>, //
tathā to nivāsita sakara ahisore<sup>193</sup>, jāvo vadhu rartta<sup>194</sup>-rekhā nir[ja]re<sup>195</sup>, // // (7)

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۱/ rāga bhaivi<sup>196</sup> // dharamjati
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rādhīkā [dha]<sup>197</sup> andora //<sup>198</sup>

heno akarama morā daiva viparīti /, anega ja(46:1)tana kairo vividhī pīrīti //

puruva sukrta phara pāyīro krsņa pati, heno [vi]parīti<sup>199</sup> mo(2)rā hairo duragati //

harī3 molā kavana pratikāre, lallāta rīkhīta phara mītayī (3) na pāyi //

(Addition written in the lower margin of MS p. 45 and the upper margin of MS p. 46. The place of its insertion is unknown, but this song seems to be a continuation of the previous song.)

// j rāga śrī // tā dhamjati //

kavana dukrta hailo puruva janame, svāmiro viyoga hailo vidhi morā vāme, /200

harī3 morā (p. 46, upper margin) koņa pratikāre, vipatitaraņa<sup>201</sup> karāsi mati hamāre // // (Addition end)

(46:3 continued)

<sup>187</sup> Nw. "Going [into] the water."

<sup>199</sup> The letter *vi* is added upon the line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> This sign resembling the *ra*-letter without the horizontal line is called *cucye danda* (according to my teacher).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> A letter is cancelled.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> The letter ka has a stain resembling the śrībindu.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Again, a phrase with *dhāta*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Avagraha sign. It seems to indicate the prolongation of the voice in singing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> B. cira- 'to tear asunder' [Sen 1971:280]. I.e. darkness is torn asunder.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> I.e. *ahīśvara* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Or, maybe *rartna*?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> The letter which I identify as ja is damaged by a wormhole.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> I.e. Bhairavī

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> It seems to be *dha*, but written over another letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Nw. *amdora* < Skt. *andolana* 'swinging, waving', 'perplexity' [Malla 2000: 1]. This instruction seems to mean: "R is in perplexity."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Compare with ŚKK (Bhaṭṭācārya 2011: p. 445, Song 410): koṇa ādibasa bhaila, kibā aparādha kaila [...] bidhi biparita bhaila [...].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Perhaps a corruption of *vipatita-taraṇa* 'salvation of the fallen' or *viparīta-taraṇa* 'salvation from adversity'?

// l rāma vava // kṛṣṇa jāgata yānā //<sup>202</sup>
// kārī-va saṃgrāma //<sup>203</sup>
paha(4)rīyā // rupaka //
manuja adhama tumī kathā jāvu<sup>204</sup>, mola viṣa ghāte tora jiva rīve, // (5)
ahe dusta[ha]<sup>205</sup> ahi tumī kathā jāvu, prāna rīyā jama-purī pathāyīro<sup>206</sup> // //(6)

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kārī vaņ //<sup>208</sup>

// l rāga varārī // cārī // hāhā camdrakāti dhāta //<sup>209</sup> (2) dhanya bhāge mola<sup>210</sup> āju krsna daraśane, jāvo prīya rartna<sup>211</sup>-rekhā ānandita mane, (3) //

// jaśvadā vom // nanda-va //<sup>212</sup> nhathu me //

rāmakrsņa vava //

// l rāga // tā // (4)

// megha dhumna //

rāga // tā //

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Nw. "Rāma came, having awakened Krsṣṇa." Or else: "Rāma came. Krsṣṇa, waking up." This is a peculiar statement, for, up to here, Rāma-krṣṇa has been one and the same person. Maybe Rāma here refers to Balarāma.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Nw. "Fight against Kāliya."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Peculiarly, the letter vu has both an u- $k\bar{a}ra$  and an e- $k\bar{a}ra$ . It seems to be a mistake of the scribe. The next verse has  $kath\bar{a} j\bar{a}vu$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> The letter *ha* is stained. Perhaps it is cancelled. Or, is it perhaps a corruption of *dussaha*? <sup>206</sup> B.  $p\bar{a}th\bar{a}il\tilde{o}$  'I just sent''. The past tense can be used in the meaning of the immediate future. However, peculiar is that *pathāyīro* does not rhyme with *rīve* (B. *laibe*?) in the previous verse. In classical Bengali, the 1st person sg. should be *laibõ*.

Please note, in Bengali script, the *ba/va*-letter and the *ra*-letter are often confounded (at least, in the case of NGMPP B 276/16 Vidyāvinoda). A possibility, although I admit it is very speculative, would be that the original manuscript was in Bengali script, and the scribe misread *pathāyivo* as *pathāyiro*. <sup>207</sup> Perhaps, a corruption of *śyāmero*?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Nw. "Kāliya went." This instruction, written small, seems to have been added afterwards.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Again, a phrase with *dhāta*. Maybe a corruption of *candrakānti*?

 $<sup>^{210} =</sup> bh\bar{a}gya mora$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Or, *rartta*?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Nw. "Yaśodā went with Nanda."

puruva janama-ta<sup>213</sup> puņya kayiro vistare, krsņa daraśana hairo jā(5)vo nija ghare, // // (6)

ا kārī vava // nhathu me //214 dhanya bhāge mora āju //

kārī dhum //<sup>215</sup> rāga deśākha // jati // trībhuvana nātha (7) śrī kṛṣṇaro carane, tāhāro praśāde mohi pāyiro punya thāne, //

māhādeva dhumna [nārada dhumna]<sup>216</sup> // pamca(48:1)ma // jatī // divi bhuvi nāge-purī, trībhuvana iśe, sukrta kamara vādhya jenhe di(2)na iśe // //

megha vamna //217

// amvuda jalada gero<sup>218</sup>

(Here, the leaf is divided by a long line.)

∫gaṃ'nā //<sup>219</sup>

vistara jatana kairo tumhara kāraņe hamāke chādiyā prabhu jāvo ki kārane // (3) vikhama jamunā jare, gamana kayiro punu daraśana nahi torā kavevare<sup>220</sup> // na kara na kara prabhu (4) emana udyame torā daraśana chādi thākivo kemane //

) māhādeva dhumna, //<sup>221</sup>

rāga // (5) tā //

tribhuvana śiva pati bhavāni sahite, avatāra kailo sava manuja mohite //

vivdha kau(6)tuka hailo, krsna avatāre, tā dekhīyā jāvo piya kayilāśa-pure, // //

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> The *ma* seems to be amended into *me*. The letter *ta* is stained (maybe cancelled?). Perhaps, the scribe, considering the meter, amended *janama-ta* into *janame*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Nw. "Kāliya came, accompanied by the previous song (l. 2)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Nw. "Kāliya finished (= exit)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Nw. "Nārada finished." This is added under the cancelled phrase.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Written small. Nw. "Raincloud went."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> The beginning phrase of the song in p. 45, ll. 2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Nw. "Preventing." Cf. *gamñe*, *gamna* 'to prevent someone from doing something' 'to dissuade' [Malla 2000: 81].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> A corruption of *kalevare*? This mutation is only possible, in the case the original manuscript had *\*karevare* in Bengali script, and the scribe confounded the Bengali *re* for *ve*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Nw. "Mahādeva finished."

(The last page 49 is, again, a list of songs, which is given at the end of this text.)

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The list of songs beginning from the lower half of MS p. 42 (Page 42, left side) l dhanāśrī // thaka tāra // kathā haite<sup>222</sup> // 1 // l śrī // e // gauri dāna dehā // l desākha // rupaka // hamāra jauvana // l śrī // e // vudnā<sup>223</sup>chini yā raive torā //

(Page 42, right side)

rāga varāri // e dhanī sumvadhani224 he siherā

// rāga rāmakari // jatī dha<sup>225</sup> // kākā kemaya vora diyā puchava kusala vāta, āre kā dite 2 rādhikā ghara jāvo // kākā □erina<sup>226</sup> [s]āyiyā<sup>227</sup> udi

(Page 43 and 44 are completely lists of songs.)

(P. 43, left side)

l savari // dharam jati // rāma avatāra //

ا simdurā // cārī // ekhane āchiro dhani //

ر vibhāsa // pra // prānero rādhīkā muke //

gunajarī // cāri // nayāne na dekho vadāe<sup>228</sup> vane na sune //

 $\frac{1}{2}$ śrī // pra // rādhā canda voriro duram bhatini roke<sup>229</sup> //

) śavari // e // jata dina dāmudara āche morā korā // misā<sup>230</sup>

l vibhāśa // jati // jakhane muyi sisu-mati // misā

<sup>226</sup> The first letter with a clear *e-kāra* is stained (maybe cancelled?). Perhaps *ke rina*?

<sup>227</sup> I.e. B. *khāiyā*? The *şa*-letter, being an amendment of another letter, is difficult to identify. Or, maybe *pāyiyā*?

 $^{229} = loke?$ 

<sup>230</sup> Nw. *misā* 'woman'. This seems to have been added afterwards. Maybe it indicates that this song is sung by a woman, (or more likely, the female character played by a male actor).

l vibhāśa // cāri // kāmcana viracīta // misā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> The scribe amended *kaite* (B. *kahite*) into *haite*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Or, *vunhā*, although less plausible?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> I.e. suvadanī?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> The letter *dha* is very faint.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> This *e*-letter has a horizontal line peculiarly. *Vadāe* (or *vadā?*) seems to be B. *barāÿi*.

(P. 43, right side)

1 mohota<sup>231</sup> 10 raksamana satriyā vayāke mesa śvaya viyāva tayā<sup>232</sup>

yā parāyīyā gīya<sup>233</sup>, kanhāya muke āse kata dure, // āhe gosāya govindra he e gopārā he āre / anāthini rādhikā ke ghara jāvo nāhe //<sup>234</sup>

(P. 44, left side)

 $\rm l\, \acute{sri}$  // cāri // sitara mandiraya sitara vada nisi^{235} // misā

 $\$  korāva // jati // tumhe to hamāra vada māyi^{236} // misā

 $\$ varāri // dharamjati // duṣero upara dukhe //²²<br/> ?misā

 $\rm l\, \acute{sri}$  // cārī // āju darasana bhero re // ~uttara-pāta,  $^{238}$ 

l varārī // pra // hāthya na dhara kānhu kampaya tanu // misā

 $\int \dot{sri} // c\bar{a}r\bar{r} // \bar{a}dha$  vadana tora dekhara muyi  $\bar{a}ji // mi^{239}$ 

) śavari // cāri // hamanavinārī[sa]<sup>240</sup>madhāyu<sup>241</sup> //

(P. 44, right side)

 $varari // gamdra /// vada[na]^{242} purnnima // mi$ 

) pramañjari // cāri // nakha rekha rāge<sup>243</sup> janu //

) gunajari // jati // dhani2 sumdari rāmā //

) dhanāśrī // e // suna rādhe paduminī //

hamāra samāda raiyā jāu go vadā(7)yi, voraha rādhā-ke prānanātha kāhu darasane //

MS yihana na jā should have originally been \*sahana na jāya.

 $^{243} = l\bar{a}ge$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> Or, *mohe dhi*?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Nw. "Muhūrta (?) 10. I gave (*biyā tayā*) 30 buffalos to him, Lakṣmaṇa Kṣatriya."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> I.e. B. *pālāi*yā giyā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> This is in a very awkward handwriting.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Or, *sitara vadani si*[*tara* ...]?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> B. *bara māy* refers to, of course, *barāyi*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> This is the same phrase as in one of the Krṣṇa songs (maybe from the Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan?) contained in the pages inserted between the Jalandharāsuravadha and the Kṛṣṇacaritra. The song in question is as follows (cf. my Romanized text Jalandharāsuravadha MS p. 25, ll. 5-7):

rāga varāri // tāra jati // dusero upara dusa, yihana na jā, cakuvāhe rāyā jehne caku nivedane // cāho cāho (6) cāho vadāya cāho vindāvane, yathā vāśi vāje tathā devakīnandane //

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Seems to indicate that this song is meant as an answer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Abbreviation of Nw. *misā*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Or, maybe  $d\bar{a}$ , or *pha*? This letter is added below the line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> The sign which looks like an *u-kāra* might be a visarga. In that case,  $dh\bar{a}y$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> The letter na is added above the line.

(A date in Newari is written.<sup>244</sup>)

l sam 777 āśvina śukla // saptammī pūrvvāṣā<sup>245</sup> nakṣatra atigamda pra śukra māna yoga, śanaiścaravāra thva-kunhu rātri vā-cāna nhā<sup>246</sup> mayaktinayi<sup>247</sup> nrtyu<sup>248</sup> yuva<sup>249</sup> dina juro<sup>250</sup>

(P. 44, at the bottom. This seems to belong to the drama. Maybe it is a continuation from MS p. 42, l. 3 *megha dhum*)

∫indra dhuṃṅa //

rāga paharīyā // pra //

carī jāvo śacī tumī, trīdaśyaro pure, krṣṇa darasana hairo janama saphare //

(Maybe continues to p. 45?)

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

The last photograph is the same as MS p. 24 of Jalandharāsuravadha.

#### (49:1)

l rāga sauri // ekatāla //

āhe prabhu ki kahivo tumhe, prāņanātha morā tumhe kahe ju(2)kta vore, //

āhe prabhu daityasvara sava tumhe jāne, tumhāra je hāthe a[mhe]<sup>251</sup> śaṃkhā nahi kare, //

ehi velā ālimgana kahe kona jāne, tila eka khemā karo morā vora māne, // //(3)

krsnayā //<sup>252</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Maybe the date of presentation of this drama? NS 777 corresponds to AD 1656. The letters are written in thick lines, but I can not decide whether it was written by the same scribe as in other parts of the text.

Nw. "NS 777, the while half of the Āśvina month, 7th day, Pūrvāṣāḍha-nakṣatra, Atigaṇḍa, Praśukra (?) mānayoga, Saturday. On this day, before midnight (*bā-cāna nhā*), *mayaktinayi* (obscure) it became the daytime (*dina juro*)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> I.e. *pūrvāsādha* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Nw. *cā-na* in the evening. Nw. *nhā* 'before, earlier'. Maybe, "earlier in/before the evening"?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Or, maybe *mayantimayi*?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Certainly, it can be a corruption of Skt. *nrtya* 'dance, drama', but Malla [2000: 260] also registers *nrtya* as a variant spelling of *nitya*. This word looks like *mrtyu*, too.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Nw. *-yuva* is the future-tense ending, but here does not seem to fit in the context very well. Much better would be to take it as *\*juva* 'becomes'. *Nrtyu juva* and *mrtyu juva* would mean "the dance is [performed]" and "death has arrived", respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Nw. *juro* 'became, was'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> The addition of *mhe* is indicated in the lower margin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> Nw. "Krsna's [word]."

kedālā // paritāla //

praphula kamara mukhi tora nahi sama āne, [bh]ra(4)mara<sup>253</sup> hayire ame deho madhu-pāne, tumāra yauvane mora hariro parāne, rākhaha su(5)ndari ave dagadha jivane, //

// vrndāyā //

dhanāśri // ekatāla //

avela vacana prabhu (6) amhe ka254 vola kāhe sune,, udyāna je vaisire255, choda svāmi ehi vela //

// śrngāla // dhanāśri // ekatāla // hamśa-gamani tumhe kajala nayāne, sarada śampurnna śaśi nirmmala

#### Abbreviations

B. Bengali H. Hindi Nw. Newari Mod. Nw. Modern Newari Skt. Sanskrit ŚKK Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan NS Nepāl Saṃvat

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> The upper part of the letter *bhra* is damaged, but it is obvious from the context.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> The letter ka perhaps has a sign of cancellation, but it is too faint. Maybe, it has originally been \**eka bola*. In similar expressions, however, it is usually *bola eka*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Or, vaisive?

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