Chapter 3

Śaṅkaradeva’s Contribution
To the Dramatic Tradition of Assam and the Evolution of Aṅkīyā Bhāonā

Śaṅkaradeva, the versatile genius and the initiator of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism has brought into remarkable cultural renaissance in Assam during the 15th-16th century A.D. He preached the principles of monotheism, when the practices of worship of many Gods and Goddesses were at rife in Assam. His Bhakti cult has contributed to bring into harmony in the religious sphere and so to the philosophies of the people. In order to enlighten the people with the teachings of Eka-śaraṇa-nāma-dharma, he with his artistic bent of mind created the (i) Bargīts -- the raga-based system of devotional music, (ii) the Aṅkīyā Bhāonā - the religious spectacle with the element of drama and above all, (iii) the Satra - the monastery or institution where all the religious activities are practiced and serve as the educative centre.
Śaṅkaradeva, urged by the sole desire of propagating his religion of ekaśarana with its emphasis on the oneness of God and on the master-servant relationship between the devotee and the object of devotion, found out as an effective method of religious preaching in the form of Aṅkīyā Nāṭ. As mentioned earlier, Śaṅkaradeva is regarded as the father of Assamese drama and dramaturgy. His Aṅkīyā Nāṭ is a unique dramatic form that combined in itself the tradition of classical Sanskrit drama as well as popular dramatic and semi dramatic modes as his rare stroke of genius. However, it is generally accepted that, pure art can not be made the medium of propagation of any particular philosophy or religion or faith. Śaṅkaradeva’s Aṅkīyā Nāṭ can be regarded as a challenge to such assumptions. The great Vaiṣṇava Guru never deviates from his primary aim which was to sing the glory of Lord Krishna and to express the feelings of utmost devotion to the Supreme Lord. The most significant fact in his success of evolving such dramatic art is his way of transforming his devotional emotions into fine works of art.

Another notable phenomenon is that, while creating this genre of art, Śaṅkaradeva was well
aware of the illiterate masses. And so, he must have convinced about the efficacy of the medium, as the Ankīyā Nāṭ for providing both instruction, as well as, entertainment to the audience.

Further, his genius is revealed by the fact that, in his Nāṭs, he could evolve such a dramatic form where he could beautifully blend the flavour of both classical Sanskritic dramatic as well as local dramatic and semi-dramatic modes.

Eventually, these Ankīyā Nāṭs are a type by themselves. They have certain distinctive characteristics of their own. The Ankīyā Bhāonā is the staging of Ankīyā Nāṭ. Before composing the Ankīyā Nāṭs, Šāṅkaradeva composed Cihna Yāṭrā, the first dramatic representation with painted scenery of seven Vaikunṭhas.

Cihna Yāṭrā: A number of views regarding the date and the presentation of the Cihna Yāṭra are prevalent. In the words of H. Bahtacharya, “From the biographers of Sankardev and Madhavdev it is learnt that Sankardev had it performed after he returned from his journey outside Assam. Ramacarana Thakur, however, writes that Sankardeva had it performed at the age of nineteen before he went
According to the biographers once at the request of the Bhuyans, the preceptor of the Neo-Vaiṣṇavite faith prepared the pictorial depiction of Sapta Vaikunṭha (seven heavens), and based on the description given in the tenth chapter (skandha) of Śraddhabhāgavata. The painted scenery was done on a tulāpāṭ or cotton-made-paper to represent the seven celestial abodes or Vaikunṭhas of God Nārāyaṇa. Rāmacarana in his Bhakti Ratna, makes mention of eight Vaikunṭhas: Sāntanu, Cid-vilāsa, Tripiṇī (Triveṇi), Ambaru-vālaha, Brahma-vālaha, Puspa-vālaha, Kanaka-danda, and Paṅkaja. However, the Vaiṣṇava Kirtan presents a different set of seven Vaikunṭhas: Sveta Vilāsa, Sāntanu Vilāsa, Puspa Vilāsa, Pankaja Vilāsa, Kanakadatta, Sanātana, Goloka. On the other hand, according to Kathā Guru Carit there are thirty-five Vaikunṭhas and Śaṅkaradeva enumerates thirty.

The exact date of this performance, as mentioned earlier is a matter of controversy. According to the Carit Puthis, Śaṅkaradeva had it performed after he returned from his journey from outside Assam. But, Ramcaran Thakur mentioned that, Śaṅkaradeva had performed Cihna Yātrā at the age of
nineteen, before he went abroad. This seems more probable than the other. Because, the title Cihna Yātra is quite different from the titles of his other plays, where there is the particular reference of the subject matter. However, emphasis is given on ‘scene depiction’, for which it is probably called as Cihna Yātra. Furthermore, the use of Brajabuli language in his other plays, but not in Cihna Yātra is also a pointer to the fact that, had he written it after his journey abroad, he would have used the Brajabuli language as in his other plays.

The pictures were displayed to the accompaniment of the musical instruments and dance. Śaṅkaradeva had specially made different musical instruments for the purpose. For instance, number of mṛdaṅgas or drums was made by the potters of Kapilmukh and the cobblers of a village named Salmara⁴. The several varieties of cymbals (mapdirā, khutitāl, bartāl) were also made to his order. The whole show was divided into seven parts, following each other in quick succession and with one Viṣṇu and Sūtradhāra for each part. This performance is a class by itself. Through this Śaṅkaradeva, could leave a devotional and bewildering impact upon the
people. He realized the importance of such a performance as the medium of propagation of his religious principles. But painting of vast number of pictures to depict each stage of several stories was rather a difficult task. It is supposed that considering the fact he might have created the *Aňkîyā Nāţs*, delineating the characters with the addition of dialogues.

**Different terms to mean Assamese drama:**

Since ancient time, there are many equivalent terms for Assamese drama. Some of them are: *Nāţak*, *Nāţ*, *Yātrā*, *Jhumurā*, *Nāţikā*, *Giti-Nāţ*, *Giti Nāţikā*, *Sańgītālekhya*, *Rūpaka*, *Ańka*, *Aňkîyā Nāţ*.

*Nāţak* or *Nāţ*, is a commonly used in Assamese to mean a drama of any kind. *Rūpaka* is a general term in Sanskrit for all kinds of dramas. Usually, *Rūpaka* is divided into ten classes. And, one of the classes, is called as *Nāţaka* (pronounced as *Nāţak* in Assamese), “which has for its subject-matter a well known story, for its hero a celebrated person of exalted nature (*Udāţta*) and which describes the character of a person descending from a royal seer, divine protection (for him), his many super-human powers and exploits, such as, success
(in different undertakings) and amorous pastimes, and which has an appropriate number of Acts (Aṅka) and introductory scenes (Praveśaka)". Rūpaka is also sometimes used in modern Assamese to mean allegorical dramas. Šaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva used the words Nāṭ, Nāṭak and Yātra indifferently to mean a drama. H Bhattacharyya says, “The popular meaning of the word Yātra (or Jātrā) in Asamese is however the performance of a play in open air as opposed to theatre performed in conformity with the modern stage technique.” According to H.N. Dasgupta, “A jātrā resembles a drama in good many things in its outward form, but a jātrā has no scene, curtain or stage, and there is more abundance of songs in a jātrā than in a drama.” Through ages, Yatrās are popularly known performance in West-Bengal.

Nāṭīkā is a four-act play with the predominance of music, song and dance in a theme of love and romance rather than philosophical. In the words of H. Bhattacharya, “...there is a total absence of this type of plays in early Assamese literature in as much as the writers were always confined to the life-episodes of Rāma or Krśṇa only. It is but a production of the modern age and no longer retains
its old connotation in the field of Assamese dramatic literature.

Giti-Nāṭ, Giti-Nāṭikā and Saṅgītālekhhya are modern Assamese dramas with the abundance of song and dance. These resemble the Jhumurās. The dramas of Mādhavadeva are classed as Jhumurās. But this term is not found in his dramas. The copyists generally used the term at the end of the Nāṭs, in the manners like “iti Pimparā Gucuwā Jhumurā”, “Cor Dhorā Jhumurā” etc. This term is also found in the Carit Puthis. Mādhavadeva himself used the term Nāṭ and Yātrā for his dramas. Songs predominate in his dramas. There are many references that indicate the term to have been somehow related to music and song. There exists a kind of raga, named jhumāri, it is also known to be a kind of song accompanied by dance in Hindi. Again, in Assamese jhumuri is an eight-syllable metre used in Vaiṣṇava poetry, in Bengal there is a musical piece, named jhumur.

The Carit Puthis mentioned the term Aṅka, to mean the one-act plays of the Vaiṣṇavite playwrights. It is not known exactly who is responsible for such application of the word but, Daityārī, Ramānanda and Rāmacaraṇa use the term to describe the
Śaṅkaradeva’s plays. The biographers might have felt essential to maintain a difference between the dramas of Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhava-deva and other later playwrights. Therefore, in order to sustain the honour and dignity of the form devised by Śaṅkaradeva, the biographers called this distinctive set of plays and their performances as aṅkas, aṅkīyā-nāṭs and aṅkīyā-bhāonā.

There is a lot of controversy regarding the significance of the term Aṅka and Aṅkīyā Nāṭ. In Sanskrit, aṅka or utsṛṣṭikāṅka is a single act piece, with a legendary subject, sometimes developed through the dramatist’s skill, the first and last junctures only, a common hero, the pathetic sentiment, and the laments of women and only verbal descriptions of fights. But, the Aṅkas of the Vaiṣṇavite playwrights do not strictly conform to the requirements of the Sanskrit aṅka or utsṛṣṭikāṅka. Again, it has different connotations as sometimes it is indicated as ‘enactment’ or dramatic performance and at other times it means a ‘dramatic compositions’.

The Aṅka with the suffix ‘Iyā’, i.e., Aṅkīyā is now, generally used to designate both the drama and
the compositions. The enactment of such a kind of drama is called as Ankīya Nāṭ or Ankīya Bhāona. The term Ankīya Nāṭ was neither used by the earliest playwrights themselves nor was mentioned in the body of the dramatic texts. In his works, to mean drama, Šaṅkaradeva used the words like nāṭa, nāṭaka and yāstrā\textsuperscript{16} and Madhavadeva applied the words nāṭ and jātra\textsuperscript{17}. The epithet ‘ānkīya’ is a “popular application, indicating the Šaṅkarite variety of play, as opposed to the later, decadent drama, which lack both the technical and linguistic beauty and peculiarity of the early drama”\textsuperscript{18}.

Opinions vary regarding the application of the term ‘ānkīya’. In the words of Dr. K. D. Goswami, in a restricted way, the word ankiya (and more popularly but erroneously, ankiya nat)is used to mean six dramas of Sankardeva and only one of Madhavdeva, other dramatic works of tiny volume by Madhavadeva are called ‘jhumura’ a word which is diverse to be defined fully. But in a broader sense Ankiya means any dramatic compositions which followed the form and technique of Sankardeva’s works.
In the orthodox Vaisnava circle, the phrase ‘bara anka’ (twelve dramas - six of Sankardeva and six of Madhavdeva) is there. Enactment of this traditional type of drama is called ankiya bhaona in a loose sense.\textsuperscript{19}

\textit{Aṅkīyā Bhaonā} is the representations of the dramas of Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva, and some other plays of the later Mahantas, which have a special and superior way of music, called \textit{aṅkīyā bājanā}.

Dr. Pradipjyoti Mahanta calls an \textit{Aṅkīyā Bhaonā} “a complete paradigm” or “enactment of a complete drama beginning with the nandi to the muktimangala, perfect with all paraphernalia of Sankardeva play.”\textsuperscript{21}

The six dramas composed by Śaṅkaradeva are: \textit{Kāliyā Damāṇa}, \textit{Rukmini Harāṇa}, \textit{Pārijāt Harāṇa}, \textit{Keli Gopāla}, \textit{Patni Prasāda} and \textit{Sr Ram Bijaya}. As mentioned earlier, the dramatic works of Mādhavadeva are popularly known as Jhumurās. They are: \textit{Arjun Bhanjana Yātrā}, \textit{Cor Dharā}, \textit{Pimparā Gocuwā}, \textit{Bhūmi Lutiwā}, \textit{Bhojan Behāra}, \textit{Brahma Mohan}, \textit{Rāś Jhumarā}, \textit{Bhūṣaṇa Harāṇa} and \textit{Kotarā Khelā}. 

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'Bhaonā' (Bhāwnā or Bhāvanā) is an Assamese term, which means 'representation of a drama'\textsuperscript{22}. It means a 'show', an outward manifestation; technically however it means 'the performance of an Ankiya Nat'\textsuperscript{23}. It is the same word as the Sanskrit bhavana (from bhavayati), 'producing, displaying, manifesting, imagining', etc., with perhaps slight semantic variation\textsuperscript{24}.

The term 'bhāo' or 'bhāw' is an individual role of the drama which too derived from the Sanskrit term 'bhāva' means 'state of being, conduct, gesture, etc., again with slight semantic variation. 'Bhāwarīyā' is the general term in Assamese for the dramatis personae or the actors. The term is derived from the word 'bhāvata' which means one who produces 'bhāwa' or emotions in the mind of the audience. The actors have also been referred as 'narṭaka' or 'nātuwā' or 'nāṭa' as they have to dance and enact the actions of others.

Bhāonā is a socio-religious ceremony. With its religious association, it is regarded as a medium of earning piety and sadhanā or exercise of the bhakti religion\textsuperscript{25}. Śaṅkaradeva framed this kind of performance to moralize the ideals of the Bhakti
religion and thus performed with unparallel devotion as a distinct part of the ritualistic observances. For its ritualistic significance, Professor Maheswar Neog rightly calls it a 'ritual play'\textsuperscript{26}.

Characteristics of \textit{Aṅkīyā Nāṭ}:

The \textit{Aṅkīyā Nāṭ} is a unique dramatic form that combined in itself the tradition of classical Sanskrit drama as well as popular dramatic and semi-dramatic modes as the rare stroke of genius of Śaṅkaradeva. \textit{Aṅkīyā Nāṭs}, while providing the devotional instructions of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism also acts as an entertaining medium of the masses.

Eventually, this genre of dramatic art is a type by itself. They have certain distinctive characteristics of their own. Some of these are mentioned as follows:

(a) Dominance of the role played by Śūtradhāra

(b) Importance of the use of poetic songs, ślokas and payāras

(c) Use of Brajabuli language

(d) Use of lyrical prose

(e) Existence of songs and dances
Although the role of Śūtraḍhāra is moulded according to the classical Sanskrit tradition, it has its own style that on the one hand suits the indigenous Assamese traditional culture and on the other is beneficial to the audience to understand and appreciate this new form of art. Unlike the Sanskrit drama the role of Śūtraḍhāra does not end with Prastāvanā. In fact, he plays the pivotal part from the very beginning till the end. He stays in the Raṅgamaṇḍa through the whole Nat. The main functions of Śūtraḍhāra include:

(a) He sings the Nāndī Śloka and Bhāṭimā in the praise of the hero.
(b) He announces the main feature of the plot and performs the short introduction of the play.
(c) He announces the entrance of the dramatis personae and the chorus sing a song
(d) The incidents and situations of the play as described by him through songs and verses with gestures.
(e) The incidents which cannot be shown in the stage are presented to the audience in a short description of them
(f) He ends the play with a Mukti-maṅgala
Bhaṭimā.

Thus, Śūtradhāra plays the intermediary role between the audience and the dramatis personae. Moreover, the intervals in between the stages of Śūtradhāra’s singing are marked by dances to different rhythms which may be described as nṛtta only as they are based on rhythms alone (nṛtta tāla layaśrayam) and then seem to have lost most of their pantomimic significance (bhāvaśrayam nṛtyam). The Bhaṭimā singing is punctuated by gestures, (hasta, hāṭdiyā or hastakarma) which brings the subject-matter of the drama close to the audience’s mind. Although, he announces his exit, he does not retire from the stage, but takes charge of the stage direction till the end of the play. Thus, the Śūtradhāra in Aṅkīyā Nāṭs has a many-faceted role as a dancer, singer, director and interpreter, who conducts the whole show with dances, songs and explanatory commentary.

Another noteworthy characteristic of an Aṅkīyā Nāṭ is its essential lyrical nature. In the plays through a plethora of songs and verses the playwrights underline the message of the play. Many
situations and incidents are suggested by mere machinery of descriptive verses uttered by the Sūtradhāra. Minor incidents, feelings and sentiments are given expressions to by the songs. They usually unfold the subject matter of an incident of a play. Here the writer appears more as a poet and composer than as a dramatist does. And his play is not a drama in the real sense, but a ‘lyric-dramatic spectacle’. These songs bear special characteristics, and are called as ‘aṅkar-gīt’ and bhaṭimā. Some of the melodies are: Sīndhurā, Suhāi, Sṛ Sṛ Gaurī, Varāri Vasanta, etc. The bhaṭimā serves mainly as epilogues and prologues. Aṅkīyā Bhāonā opens with preliminaries prescribed in the Nāṭyaśāstra, viz., Nāndī, Prarocanā and Prastāvanā.

The songs of Aṅkīyā Nāṭ can be categorized into four types:

(a) Bhakti based highly dignified Bhaṭimā.
(b) Rāg that relates the story of the play based on rhythms.
(c) Descriptive Payāra and Capay
(d) Gītas of entrance (prastāvanā)

Apart from its lyrical value, the songs have literary value also. They include a refrain, as it
bears particular ragas, some kind of *alāṅkāra* such as, *anuprāsa*, *yamaka*, etc. to relegate the *rāsa*.

Another characteristic of *Aūkīyā Nāṭ* is its language. The plays are written in an artificial idiom, known as, *Brajabuli*. It is a queer mixture of Assamese, Maithili and Hindi and with a tincture of other elements, which is characterized by flexibility, phonetic sweetness and malleability. The idiom offers the medium for the prose dialogues and the *Śūtradhāra*’s narration. It is also employed in the songs.

Given below a few specimens of such language:

1. *he param Iswara*: tohāri pada prahāre:
   svāmi mari jāi: onhi durjane: tohāka
   nājāni daḵsala: ihāka doṣa bāreka
   maraka gosāṅi: tohāri ago khudra
   pataṅga: āheka mārī kon jasa sādhaba:
   dekho svāmika dhātu prāṇ rahe nāhi: jata
   lāge mane śāsti pāvala. [Kālyādaṁaṇa]²⁷

2. *hamu kata tapa kariye*: devaka bare:
   byḍaha bayasata: kṛṣṇaka putra pāva: sohi
   prāṇaputra: byṛkha pariye: kheneke mari
   jai: gosāṅika barese eravala: toho ki
nimitte mānuṣa bheli: rākhasato adhika:
apun putraka khāite cāwala: kṛṣṇaka
nakhāī hāmāka khāwa.[Arjjunabhañjana]²⁸

It is noteworthy fact that, Assamese brajabuli language, as far as the grammar is concerned, is analogous to the brajabuli of other parts of India, but it was framed in Assamese structure. The language was prevalent in Bengal, Orissa and Bihar. And it also provided a link with Vṛndāban and thus with the language of Braja. This language possesses the elements of dignity and intelligibility. In the Sanskrit plays, it was customary for the chief actors to speak in Sanskrit and the minor and female characters in Prakrit. It is supposed that Śaṅkaradeva followed the middle course by using the mixed language, where the dignity of the characters was preserved.

The fourth significant characteristic of Āṅkīyā Nāṭ is the use of prose in lyrical nature. It is said to be the first specimen of Assamese prose. The dialogue, which was introduced mainly to elaborate the lyrical sentiments in prose, is very thin, though extremely numerical.
The other striking feature in Ankiya Bhāona is the predominance of songs and dances. References have been made of the lyrical nature of Ankiya Nat which abounds in songs and verses of varied forms. In such plays all the characters move rhythmically from beginning to the end, in the form of dancing with appropriate steps, gestures and abhinaya postures. In short, the whole narration of the story progress through dances. The Śūtradhāra plays the role of the main dancer. After the recitation of the Nāndī verse the Śūtradhāra interprets the story and sentiments embodied in the śloka by proper dance style. This is repeated by the Śūtradhāra throughout the play. The major three dance forms of an Ankiya Bhāona are Śūtradhārai nāc, Kṛṣṇa nāc and Gopi nāc. The other forms of dances are the Rāsa nāc, Naṭuwā or Cāli nāc, all are more or less adopted from classical texts of dance.

Before the recital of the Nāndī verse, a Bhāona displays a prolonged series of dances by the Gāyan Bāyan party leaded by Śūtradhāra. This is called as 'dhemāli' or 'raṅga'. It consists of invocative and devotional nature of singing and dancing by the Gāyan Bāyan party, with the accompaniment of khol
(drum) and tāl (cymbal). The number of such dhemālis differs from place to place and with satras of various sects. So, it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of dhemālis. According to Maheswar Neog, there are at least twelve dhemālis. Some of them are: Saru-dhemāli (minor preliminary), Bardhemāli (major preliminary), Ghoṣa-dhemāli (preliminary with ghoṣa songs), Na-dhemāli (new preliminary), Naṭa-dhemāli (dance preliminary), Cōdhemāli (mask preliminary), Deva-dhemāli (the gods’ preliminary), Rāga-dhemāli (preliminary of melodies), Garuda-mardana-dhemāli, Barpetiya-dhemāli (preliminary connected with Barpeta), Cāhini (“intermediary stroke on musical instruments in between two concerts”\(^{29}\)) and Guru-ghāt (“concert in honour of the religious preceptor”\(^{30}\)). The last two are counted as dhemāli only in certain Satras. Sometimes these preliminaries continue for several hours unceasingly before the actual performance of the play.

The dhemāli or musical prelude very much resembles purvaraṅga, the preliminaries mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra and like the Sanskrit plays it does not form a part of the drama proper. At the end of
the performance, the instrumental music and dance are repeated. The end of an incident in the play is also marked by the playing of the orchestral music and dance of the Sūtradhāra that serves a welcome relief.

Another significant feature is that, these plays have no act or scene divisions. Most of the dramatic personae enter the stage, i.e., the oblong space available at the middle of the Nāmghar or prayer hall, surrounded almost on all sides by the audiences (except the eastern most part, which is called as Maṇikuṭ, the sacred place of a Nāmghar), at the very beginning, and the action sweeps on at a stretch till the end of the performance.

Besides, another additional characteristic of an Ankīyā Bhāona is that there is no background scenery, like those said to have been there in the Cihna Yātrā performance. These Vaiṣṇava dramas which are being represented in an arena like stage opens on all sides, no permanent background could be used. The Caritas also do not however, account for the discarding of painted background after the performance of Cihna Yātrā.
The white curtain (Ānr Kāpor) is used from time to time at the immediate entrance to the stage only in introducing to the orchestra and the chief actors and Śūtradhāra.

Again, Mask and effigies (cho), a class of green-room properties form a striking feature of Aňkiyā Nāṭ.

The sequence of the performance of Aňkiyā Bhāonā:

Contextually speaking, before the performance of a Bhāonā, a series of rituals are observed starting with Nātmela, which signifies a ceremonious opening of the play. This is observed at least fifteen days prior to the actual performance. This ritual consists of Nāma-kīrttana (congregational prayers), by the Bhakats and the performers, and the reading of the play. This is followed by the rehearsal in the successive days. The final rehearsal takes place before the careful scrutiny of a large audience on the preceding day of the actual performance which is called Bar-ākharā. The Nāṭmēlā and the succeeding rehearsals are done in the Nāmghar in the evening times.
On the day of performance, offerings are made in the Namghar with Nāma-kīrttana for the wellbeing of the people as well as for the successful completion of the play. The performance of the play begins with the musical preliminaries, known as dhemāli, performed by the Gāyan-Bāyan (singers and instrumentalists). The number of dhemālis to be performed in such occasion varies from place to place and satra to satra.

These musical preliminaries are followed by the Sūtradhāra, who makes his entry behind a curtain (Ānr Kāpor) held by two persons. A fine arch called Agnigarh with nine lighted lamps is raised in the entrance. The Sūtradhāra sings the Nāndi śloka (verse) to announce the subject matter of the play and to appeal the audience’s attention for the action of the play in the Prarocana śloka. The Sūtradhāra then recites a bhatimā (a benedictory verse in vernacular) in praise of the hero. He also performs the ritualistic tasks of introducing the play in Prastāvanā verse. The Sūtradhāra dances with the singing of the verses to different rhythms which may be described as Nrta. The Bhatimā singing is performed by the expression of different gestures (hastas). After introducing the play, he announces
his retirement although he stays on the stage till the end directing the whole play. He then announces the entrance of Kṛṣṇa or Rāma as the case may be, followed by the chorus singing of Praveśa-gīta. Eventually, the play moves with the direction of Sūtradhāra. The entrance of every major character is preceded by a song. The play comes to its end with the Mukti-maṅgala-bhaṭimā.
Notes


2 Harichandra Bhattacharyya, Origin and Development of the Assamese Drama and Stage (Guwahati: Barua Agency, 1964) 49.


5 Harichandra Bhattacharyya, (1964) 1.

6 ibid, 3.

7 ibid, 2.

8 ibid, 2.

9 ibid, 2.

10 ibid, 3.


12 ibid: 264.


16 ibid, 110.


21 Pradipjyoti Mahanta, (1990)


23 Harichandra Bhattacharyya, (1964) 32.

24 *ibid*, 1.


26 *ibid*, 2.


28 *ibid*, 304-305.


30 *ibid*, 38.