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## Ritual Performances in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* II. Food Offerings\*

SUMMARY: In the pursuit of a better understanding of how theatrical performances relate to ritual ones in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the whole work has been scrutinized for relevant data. This data can be assigned to three major categories: (1) prescriptive information on rituals to be performed prior to a theatrical spectacle; (2) prescriptions regarding the theatrical representation of rituals within a play; and (3) miscellaneous references that, often incidentally, afford additional insights into individual aspects of ritual performances. In view of the large extent of the compiled information, the latter is at first systematically presented in separate articles covering individual aspects of ritual performances, before being considered as a whole in the theoretical reflections and conclusions of the final article. Whereas the first article of the series dealt with a wide range of ritual items, the present one specifically looks at ritual food offerings.

KEYWORDS: *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Bharata, theatrical studies, ritual studies, food, offerings

### Introduction

The present article is the second in a series addressing data on ritual performances contained in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NŚ), usually dated around the beginning of the CE. Before examining in the final article the boundary between ritual and theatrical performances on the basis of this work, a systematic analysis of the relevant information is presented to serve as source material for further studies into the various

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\* For their painstaking work and useful comments my sincere thanks go to the editors of this volume, Elisa Ganser and Ewa Dębicka-Borek, and to the two anonymous reviewers.

topics. The entire investigation is premised on the following definition of ‘ritual’:<sup>1</sup>

A ritual here denotes **a formalized action that is ultimately (by itself, or as part of a larger performance) aimed at securing the support of one or more supernatural beings<sup>2</sup> for achieving a specific goal.**

The subject of ritual items, started in the first article (Kintaert 2017), is brought to a close with the present focus on ritual food offerings.<sup>3</sup> As in the previous article, the aim is a comprehensive survey of all relevant data. Lack of time and space however did not always allow for this data to be commented on in great detail. The conventions followed in the first article are adopted here as well and are listed in Appendix II, p. 177–179. This appendix additionally provides an overview of the specific contexts within the NS of the material presented in the following pages.

### 1.3.10.<sup>4</sup> Food offerings

Food is offered to supernatural beings as part of (1) the rituals pertaining to the construction of the theatre building, (2) the consecration ritual for the three *mṛdaṅga* drums, and (3) the consecration of the theatre building and its stage. These rituals are now taken up in turn.

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<sup>1</sup> For a theoretical discussion of the term ‘ritual’ and the background of this article series, see Kintaert 2017: 83–85.

<sup>2</sup> The supernatural beings mentioned here include male and female gods, demons and so-called semidivine beings, as well as the paternal ancestors (*pitṛ*) and sages (*ṛṣi*, *muni*). For more details on these beings, see Kintaert 2017: 85f., with fn. 6–10.

<sup>3</sup> Among the services (*upacāra*) to the image of a deity in ritual worship (*pūjā*) such food offerings are termed *naivedya* (see e.g. Bühnemann 1988: 103, 166f.; Einoo 1996: 73f., 86). Cf. RA 3.82b (*balim sarvaṃ nivedya ca* [v.l.: *nivedayet*]).

<sup>4</sup> Throughout this article series, the section numbering is continued.

### 1.3.10.1. Food offerings preceding and accompanying the construction of the theatre building<sup>5</sup>

Food of different kinds (*nānābhojana*) and other substances including fruit (*phala*) are to be offered to the deities (*daivata*) of the ten directions at night, before the construction of the theatre building is taken up (NĀ 2.38B–39A, 40d). This oblation consisting of comestibles is termed *bali* (NĀ 2.38c, 40a, 41b).<sup>6</sup> For each of the cardinal directions the colour of the food (*anna, bali*) has been specified. Thus the offerings for the eastern direction should be white (*śukla*), those for the south, dark blue (*nīla*), the ones for the west, yellow (*pīta*), and finally the offerings for the north, red (*rakta*) (NĀ 2.39B–40A). The colours prescribed here are identified as primary colours in 21.78B–79A in the context of the mixing of pigments for the actors' make-up. Whereas other colours can be created by the mixing of some of these primary colours or their derivatives, each of the four primary colours is uncomposed (and therefore indivisible) and consequently can only be created from a pre-existing white, dark blue, yellow and red pigment respectively. The symbolism of these colours and their use in other, mainly ritual, contexts, both within the NŚ and beyond, has been dealt with in Kintaert 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding food offered to humans in the same context, see 1.3.10.4., p. 158ff.

<sup>6</sup> In theatrical practice, the offering and production of *bali* to worship gods (*devārcanabali*) (EN 9.82a, 118a) is represented by means of the single-hand gestures Padmakōśa (EN 9.79B–80A, 82A–B) and Mukula (EN 9.117A–118A) respectively. Offering a *bali* at a wrong place, due to an agitated mind, requires one to perform an expiatory ritual (RA 3.101A–B). This injunction is here most likely aimed at the master of the theatrical art (*nāṭyācārya*) worshipping the deities of the stage, who is mentioned in the previous verse (RA 3.100A–B). *Bali* offerings are furthermore stated to be dear to ghosts (*bhūta*) on three occasions: the construction of what might be the front panel of the stage block (*mattavāraṇī*; see Kintaert 2017: 96, fn. 39) (NĀ 2.64B, 65B–66A; cf. the *bhūtas* co-protecting the *mattavāraṇī* pillars in NĀ 1.91A–B), the consecration of the stage (bracketed verse after RA 3.60A) and the consecration of the three *mṛdaṅga* drums (MṚ 34.290A–291A).

Whereas the type of food has not been specified in the above passage, with the exception of the fruit (*phala*) mentioned in NĀ 2.39a,<sup>7</sup> we learn a little later that the so-called Brahmin pillar (*brāhmaṇastambha*) erected in the southeastern corner of the theatre building or stage pavilion,<sup>8</sup> has been prepared (*samskṛta*, perhaps in the sense of purified or sanctified) with ghee and mustard (*sarpiḥsarsapa*) (NĀ 2.46B). For this and other unguents composed of comestibles, see Kintaert 2017: 97f.

### 1.3.10.2. Food offerings during the consecration of the *mṛdaṅga* drums

After a paste (*rohaṇa*) made of cow's ghee (*gavya ghrta*), oil (*taila*) and the flour or paste (*piṣṭa*) of sesame seeds (*tila*, *Sesamum indicum* L.) (MR 34.272A–B; see Kintaert 2017: 97) has been applied continuously to a newly created [tripartite] *mṛdaṅga* drumset, three *maṇḍalas* are drawn into which Brahmā, Śaṅkara and Viṣṇu are respectively invoked (MR 34.276A–B). The *āliṅga* drum is then placed in the *brāhmanaṇḍala*, the *ūrdhvaka* drum in the *maṇḍala* named after Rudra and finally the horizontally held [*aṅkika*] drum in the *vaiṣṇavaṇḍala* (MR 34.277A–278A). The three drums, and ultimately the deities associated with them (cf. MR 34.280A), are subsequently venerated with different substances and *bali* offerings (MR 34.278B, 280b, 281c). These latter consist of, or include, the following food items:

<sup>7</sup> And unless one takes *anna* in NĀ 2.39B to denote (cooked) rice (cf. Apte s.v. *annam*; AmKo 2.9.48c). Such an interpretation would imply that the rice to be offered in the southern direction (*nīlāṇna*) was either coloured blue or belonged to a bluish-blackish variety, as for instance the *kṛṣṇavrīhi* (see Prakash 1961: 134, which cites *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 46.12, 14). According to Achaya *anna* can denote any cultivated grain (Achaya 1998: 61, 65).

<sup>8</sup> References to a stage pavilion (*raṅgamaṇḍapa*) (NĀ 2.65b, PŪ 4.275b) might indicate that the stage is actually a roofed pavilion, as is the stage of most *kūttampalams*, the playhalls of present-day Kerala's Kūṭiyāṭṭam tradition of Sanskrit-cum-Malayalam theatre, which “have roofs within the roofs of the main structures” (see Panchal 1984: 122b).

*ālīṅga* drum / Svayambhū (i.e. Brahmā):

*Pāyasa*, a sweet rice pudding, made by cooking rice in milk (Prakash 1961: 290). This rice pudding is here either offered together with an unguent made of clarified butter and honey (*ghṛtamadhvakta*) (see Kintaert 2017: 97), or is itself daubed with these substances (MR 34.279A–B). The latter interpretation is close to the reading of the BI edition, which prescribes a *bali* offering made of a mixture of rice pudding and honey (*madhupāyasa*) (MR BI 33.265B; cf. MR 34B.216A). It is conceivable that the white colour of rice pudding is relevant in this context, since the textiles offered in the *brāhmamaṇḍala* are stated to be white as well (MR 34.279B).<sup>9</sup> Other edibles offered to the *ālīṅga* drum according to the BI edition are an *apūpa*, a honey-sweetened “cake made of rice or barley meal cooked in clarified butter on slow fire” (Prakash 1961: 284), together with a *locikā*, a cake “prepared with wheat flour” (*ibid.*: 288) (MR BI 33.266A; cf. MR 34B.216B).

*ūrdhvaka* drum / Tryambaka (i.e. Śiva) and his attendants (*gaṇa*):

Where MR 34.280B mentions an eight-part *piṇḍa* (a lump made with rice, rice flour or another type of flour)<sup>10</sup> in the shape of a *lājikā* flower (?),<sup>11</sup> the alternative reading of the chapter prescribes an *apūpikā* cake (cf. the description of the *apūpa* cake above), as well as sesamum seeds (*tila*) (MR 34B.217B). Ghosh emends a reading and obtains a *locikā* cake as a result, together with an *apūpa* cake and one or more *piṇḍas* and *keṇḍarikas*<sup>12</sup> (MR BI 33.267A).

<sup>9</sup> See Kintaert 2017: 96. Regarding the association of the colour white with Brahmā, see *ibid.*, fn. 40.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the reference to an *agrapiṇḍa*, p. 164.

<sup>11</sup> The passage appears to be corrupt. The term *lājikā* is neither recorded in the Apte, pw and MW dictionaries, nor in Prakash 1961. As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, the original reading could have been ‘*rājikā*’, denoting a mustard species.

<sup>12</sup> The term *keṇḍarika* equally does not appear in the Apte, pw and MW dictionaries, and in Prakash 1961. In Ghosh’s translation the term is

Whatever the original food offerings consisted of, they probably had to be of red colour (*rakta*)<sup>13</sup> (MR 34B.218B; MR BI 33.268A).<sup>14</sup>

*aṅkika* drum / Viṣṇu:

The *aṅkika* drum, which, cryptically, is said to be situated (with)in or among all seeds (*sarvabījagata*) (MR 34.282A; MR BI 33.268B),<sup>15</sup> is offered yellow vessels containing rice pudding (*caru sapāyasa*) (MR 34.282B; MR BI 33.269b).<sup>16</sup> According to a different reading the vessels contain a certain drink (*āsava*) (MR 34B.219d), which might refer to an intoxicating drink consisting of “{a}n extract of *Kapittha* (*Ferronia elephantidin*),<sup>{17}</sup> inspissated juice of sugar-

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followed by a bracketed question mark (Ghosh 1961: 197). It is also not clear what “*svastika*” in the cited verses refers to. According to Ghosh, who reads “*svastike*”, the offerings to the *ūrdhvaka* drum are made “in a *Svastika*” (*ibid.*).

<sup>13</sup> Ghosh 1961: 197 understands the verse in question (MR BI 33.268A) to enjoin an offering made of blood (*rakta*).

<sup>14</sup> The *raktakaudumbaras* in MR 34.281B might refer to the red fruit of the *udumbara* or cluster fig tree (*Ficus racemosa* L., syn. *Ficus glomerata* Roxb.) (see also Kintaert 2005: 263, fn. 113; Kintaert 2017: 105, fn. 82). However, I favour the reading *raktāambaraiḥ* (MR 34B.218B; MR BI 33.268A) here, which parallels the offering of coloured cloth in the other two *maṅḍalas* (see MR 34.279c and 282c).

<sup>15</sup> Ghosh 1961: 197 understands these seeds as referring to seed *mantras* (“surrounded by all the Bīja[mantra]”).

<sup>16</sup> Besides denoting a vessel in which an oblation is prepared (see Apte, MW), *caru* can also refer to “{a}n oblation of rice or barley boiled for presentation to the gods and the manes [...] It is often boiled in milk and is called *payaścaru* {cf. *carubhiś ca sapāyasaiḥ* in MR 34.282d} [...] or sprinkled over with butter or ghee.” Similarly MW: “an oblation (of rice, barley and pulse) boiled with butter and milk for presentation to the gods or manes”. According to Prakash 1961: 285 *caru* denotes “cooked rice from which water was not strained. The grains became soft but remained distinct (Śabara on Jaim. X. 1.42.)”.

<sup>17</sup> *Ferronia elephantidin* is probably a synonym of *Limonia acidissima* L., the (Indian) wood-apple or elephant-apple (cf. NPGS-2017 and PDOP-2017). The synonym status of the similar name *Feronia elephantum* Corrêa is unresolved. See TPL-2017.

cane and honey with some spices” (Prakash 1961: 298), to a spirituous liquor, distilled from sugar, molasses, etc. (Apte; MW),<sup>18</sup> to a juice or nectar (MW), or to a decoction (Apte; MW).

### 1.3.10.3. Food offerings during the consecration of the theatre building and its stage

As part of the consecration of the theatre building, detailed in the NŚ’s third *adhyāya*, food offerings are presented yet again. A *bali* offering consisting of soft and hard food (*bhojya* and *bhakṣya*)<sup>19</sup> and drinks (*pāna*) is already enjoined by Brahmā to be part of a sacrifice (*yajana*) in the first theatre building (DE/RA 1.120A–121B), after the latter had been created by Viśvakarman, and its constituent parts, as well as the actors, protected by different deities and other supernatural beings (DE/NĀ \*1.79A–97B). The invocation of the deities in the stage *maṇḍala* (*niveśana*), which requires red fruit (*rakta phala*) among other red items (RA 3.19A–B), has to be accomplished by means of the following substances: barley corns (*yava*), white mustard seeds (*siddhārthaka*), fried or parched [rice?] grains (*lāja*), unbroken and/or unhusked rice grains (*akṣata śālitaṇḍula*),<sup>20</sup> powder (v.l.: root) of the *nāgapuṣpa* tree<sup>21</sup> (*nāgapuṣpasya cūrṇena* [v.l.: *mūlena*]), and unhusked seeds of a millet species<sup>22</sup> (*vituṣā priyaṅgu*) (RA 3.20A–21A).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *sīdhu*, p. 154.

<sup>19</sup> For an in-depth study of these two terms, see Yagi 1994.

<sup>20</sup> For the ritual use of *akṣata* rice, see Bühnemann 1988: 160f.

<sup>21</sup> This might refer to the champak tree (*Magnolia champaca* [L.] Baill. ex Pierre; see Apte, pw and MW), the punnaga tree (*Calophyllum inophyllum* L.; see Apte), the Indian rose chestnut (*Mesua ferrea* L.) or the Indian kamala tree (*Mallotus philippensis* [Lam.] Muell.Arg.). For the first and latter two of these trees, pw and MW give the botanical synonyms *Michelia champaka* L., *Mesua roxburghii* Wight and *Rottlera tinctoria* Roxb. respectively. Abhinavagupta equates the *nāgapuṣpa* with elephant ivory (*nāgadanta*) (AbhiBhā ad 3.20c, vol. 1, p. 73, l. 6).

<sup>22</sup> According to Ghosh “*priyaṅgu* = saffron, and not the fruit of the *priyaṅgu* creeper” (1967: 36, fn. 3 ad RA BI 3.19d). Apte, pw and MW

It is however not expressed in which particular way the invocation of the deities into the stage *maṇḍala* is to be accomplished by means of these substances. Since food offerings to the different deities and supernatural beings are specified later (see below), the seeds and powder mentioned here likely serve a different purpose. It is conceivable that they are used to carry out the drawing of the stage *maṇḍala*, which is enjoined in the immediately following verse (RA 3.21B). This also seems to be the purport of Abhinavagupta's commentary (*maṇḍalaṃ ca yavādibhir ityādi* [AbhiBhā ad RA 3.20A–B, p. 73, l. 6]).

After the *maṇḍala* has been drawn (RA 3.22A–23A) and the deities (*daivata*) invoked in its compartments as well as in other parts of the stage pavilion (RA \*3.23B–33B), they are first honoured with garlands, unguents, perfume and incense (RA 3.34A–36c), and subsequently with *bali* offerings (RA 3.36d) consisting of specific kinds of food (see also RA 3.46A).<sup>23</sup> The first of these oblations is presented to Brahmā in the *maṇḍala*'s central square, proceeding to the gods in the eastern section and continuing clockwise from there.<sup>24</sup> This information, provided in RA 3.37A–45B, is summarized in the following table:

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however attribute a neuter gender to *priyaṅgu* in the sense of 'saffron'. Ghosh's translation of *viṭuṣābhiḥ priyaṅgubhiḥ* with "[With these and] articles such as [...] husked saffron" (*ibid.*: 35f.) therefore stands in conflict with the feminine gender of *priyaṅgu* in RA 3.20d. It furthermore contradicts the documented meaning of *viṭuṣa* ('unhusked') and even constitutes a botanical impossibility, since saffron, consisting of the styles and stigmas of *Crocus sativus* L., does not possess husks and consequently can neither be husked nor unhusked. The lack of husks also applies to the mustard species (Apte, pw, MW) and the Chinese perfume plant, *Aglaia odorata* Lour. (pw, MW), mentioned as further candidates for *priyaṅgu* as a feminine or masculine noun.

<sup>23</sup> In RA \*3.46B–71B, which reproduces the *nāṭyācārya*'s requests to the supernatural beings to accept his offerings, the term *bali* is mentioned in nearly every other verse.

<sup>24</sup> In which of the stage *maṇḍala*'s nine compartments the supernatural beings are respectively invoked is only stated in the second of four lists naming



Supernatural being(s)	honoured with an offering of	Source: RA 3.
<b>CENTRE</b> <sup>25</sup> Brahmā (v.l.: Druhiṇa)	<i>madhuparka</i> <sup>26</sup>   “A mixture of curds, honey and clarified butter” (Prakash 1961: 288)	37a
<b>EAST</b> Sarasvatī	<i>pāyasa</i>   rice pudding; “(Hindi– <i>Khūr</i> ) Rice cooked with milk and mixed with sugar” ( <i>ibid.</i> : 290)	37b
Śiva, Viṣṇu, Mahendra and other [gods]	<i>modaka</i>   ball-shaped sweetmeat; “(Hindi   <i>Laḍḍū</i> ) Sweets balls prepared with the flour of rice or some pulse and sugar.” ( <i>ibid.</i> : 289)	37B
<b>SOUTHEAST</b> <sup>27</sup> the deified sacrificial fire, Hutabhuḥj (v.l.: Vahni)	<i>ghṛtaudana</i>   “Boiled rice mixed with clarified butter.” ( <i>ibid.</i> : 286)	38a

these beings in the following contexts: (1) their worship by the *nāṭyācārya* (RA [∗]3.4A–10A); (2) their invocation into the stage *maṇḍala* and some pillars (RA [∗]3.24A–32B); (3) the offering of eatables to them (RA 3.37A–45B); (4) their address by the *nāṭyācārya* during these offerings (RA [∗]3.47A–71B). In all lists, and most clearly in lists 2–4, the same clockwise progression is mostly observed. Whenever the offering to a supernatural being in list 3 does not agree with the position of that being in list 2, this has been noted in the first column of the table p. 153ff., in a footnote attached to the respective cardinal or intermediate direction.

<sup>25</sup> See the previous footnote.

<sup>26</sup> The grammatical number of the food item or beverage is not indicated in the table, since it seems to have been partly chosen due to metrical considerations. Cf. RA 3.38A: *ghṛtaudanena* [...] *guḍaudanaiḥ*.—Regarding the offering of *madhuparka* to the king, see p. 162.

<sup>27</sup> In the second list of supernatural beings in this chapter (see fn. 24) the deified moon and sun are invoked in the *maṇḍala*'s eastern compartment (*kakṣyā*) (RA 3.25b), that is before the southeastern compartment associated with Agni (RA 3.26A). In the first list, they equally precede Agni (RA 3.5c, 6a), whereas in the fourth list (as in the present third one) they follow him (RA 3.56a–58b). Since it is unlikely that the order maintained in presenting offerings to supernatural beings differed from the order of their invocation in different *maṇḍala* compartments, we might be dealing with a textual

Supernatural being(s)	honoured with an offering of	Source: RA 3.
the deified moon and sun, Soma and Arka	<i>guḍaudana</i>   “Rice boiled with treacle.” ( <i>ibid.</i> : 286), or perhaps, boiled with jaggery, which, unlike its byproduct treacle (i.e., molasses) still contains sugar crystals (cf. Hindi <i>gur</i> )	38b
a particular group of deities ( <i>viśvedeva</i> ), <sup>28</sup> the heavenly musicians ( <i>gandharva</i> ) and sages ( <i>muni</i> ) <sup>29</sup>	<i>madhupāyasa</i>   rice pudding sweetened with honey	38B
<b>SOUTH</b> Yama and Mitra	<i>apūpa</i>   honey-sweetened cake (see p. 149) and <i>modaka</i> (ball-shaped sweetmeat) (v.l.: <i>modaka</i> combined with soup [ <i>sūpamiśrita</i> ])	39A
the paternal ancestors ( <i>pitr</i> ), a class of malevolent spirits or demons ( <i>piśāca</i> ) and semi-divine serpents ( <i>uraga</i> )	<i>sarpiḥkṣīra</i>   a mixture of milk and [liquid] <sup>30</sup> ghee	39B
<b>SOUTHWEST</b> <sup>31</sup> the hosts of ghosts ( <i>bhūtasamgha</i> ) and the <i>mattavāraṇī</i> [deities]	<i>pakvānna</i>   cooked food, and <i>māṃsa</i>   meat (v.l.: <i>pakvāmaka māṃsa</i> ; <i>pakvāma māṃsa</i>   cooked and raw meat) <i>surā</i>   an alcoholic beverage, either a kind of beer <sup>32</sup> or a (distilled) wine (see pw, MW, Apte) <i>sīdhu</i>   liquor distilled from sugar cane molasses, rum	40A–41A

corruption here. An in-depth study of these four lists and their variant readings might prove very useful for a text-critical reconstruction of the chapter.

<sup>28</sup> See Tokunaga 1994: 347f.

<sup>29</sup> *Munis* again appear in RA 3.44A.

<sup>30</sup> See Apte, s.v. *ājya*.

<sup>31</sup> The *mattavāraṇī* is additionally mentioned only in the chapter’s fourth list of supernatural beings (see fn. 24) (RA 3.70A). The remaining troops of deities (*śeṣa devagaṇa*) of RA 3.42B correspond only to the *anya devagaṇas* appearing, in variant readings of RA 3.71abc, again in list 4.

<sup>32</sup> See pw, MW. According to Prakash 1961: 300 such beer was “{g}enerally prepared with barley or rice flour, but sometimes *Madhūlikā*

Supernatural being(s)	honoured with an offering of	Source: RA 3.
<b>SOUTHWEST</b> (continued)	<i>phalāsava</i>   a decoction of fruit (pw, MW), or perhaps a distillation of fermented fruit <sup>33</sup> <i>caṇaka palalāpluta</i>   chickpea ( <i>caṇaka</i> , <i>Cicer arietinum</i> L.), <sup>34</sup> sprinkled with powdered sesamum seeds ( <i>palala</i> ) (v.l.: <i>payasāpluta</i>   wetted with milk)	40A–41A
the troops ( <i>gaṇa</i> ) of goblins ( <i>rakṣas</i> )	<i>pakvāma</i> (v.l.: <i>pakvāmaka</i> ) <i>māṃsa</i>   cooked and raw meat	41B
the demons ( <i>dānava</i> ) (v.l.: the remaining troops of gods [see below])	<i>surā</i>   an alcoholic beverage (see above) <i>māṃsa</i>   meat (v.l.: <i>surā</i> , <i>guḍadhāna</i> <sup>35</sup> and <i>māṃsa</i> )	42A
the remaining troops of gods ( <i>śeṣadevaṅga</i> )	<i>apūpa</i>   honey-sweetened cake (see above) <i>utkārīkaudana</i>   boiled rice ( <i>odana</i> ) with <i>utkārīka</i> , “{a} sweet dish prepared with rice flour, milk, treacle and ghee” (Prakash 1961: 293; cf. <i>ibid.</i> : 145, 170) (v.l.: <i>apūpakādvārikotkarāḥ</i>   honey-sweetened cake [ <i>apūpaka</i> ], <i>ādvārikā</i> [= ?] and <i>utkārīka</i> [see above])	42B
<b>WEST</b> <sup>36</sup> the [deified] oceans ( <i>sāgara</i> ) and rivers ( <i>sarī</i> )	<i>matsya</i>   fish	43A

variety of wheat was also used. (Caraka Su. 27.188).” This would point to a beer produced by the fermentation of the starches of these cereal grains.

<sup>33</sup> According to Prakash 1961: 300 it denotes an intoxicating “*āsava* prepared from fruits such as date fruit”.

<sup>34</sup> Regarding the history of the chickpea in South Asia, see Prakash 1961: 263 and Acharya 1998: 17b.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *guḍadhānā*, which, according to pw and MW, denotes cereal grains with sugar, the latter probably referring to jaggery.

<sup>36</sup> The *munis* of RA 3.44A find no correspondence in the other three lists mentioned in fn. 24 at the current place (that is, probably in the western, or possibly northwestern *maṇḍala* compartment). This might indicate

Supernatural being(s)	honoured with an offering of	Source: RA 3.
WEST (continued)	<i>piṣṭabhakṣya</i>   a dish consisting of minced ( <i>piṣṭa</i> ) meat <sup>37</sup> or perhaps a cake made of powdered rice <sup>38</sup>	43A
Varuṇa	<i>ghṛtapāyasa</i>   rice pudding prepared with clarified butter	43B
the sages ( <i>muni</i> )	<i>nānāmūlaphala</i>   various roots/rhizomes and fruit (v.l.: <i>nānāpuṣpaphala</i>   various flowers and fruit)	44A
<b>NORTHWEST</b> the deified wind ( <i>vāyu</i> , pl., perhaps denoting the <i>maruts</i> ) and [divine] birds ( <i>pakṣin</i> )	<i>vicitra</i> (v.l.: <i>vividha</i> ) <i>bhakṣyabhojana</i>   diverse kinds of hard and soft food (cf. p. 151 with fn. 19)	44B

that this verse is a later insertion, the more so since an offering to *munis* has already appeared earlier in the same list (RA 3.38B), where it does find correspondences in both the first list (*munis* [v.l. *ṛṣis*] in RA 3.7d) and in the second one (*ṛṣis* and *ṛṣigaṇas* as variant readings of *sarpagaṇas* in RA 3.26B). The *sarpagaṇas* in the southeastern *maṇḍala* section are anyway suspect, since they do not have any correspondence in the other lists, whereas *uragas* appear later in the same list (RA 3.27c) with correspondences in lists 1 (v.l. of RA 3.8b) and 3 (RA 3.39B).

<sup>37</sup> “*Piṣṭa*. Meat pasted, formed into balls and cooked with curds, juice of pomegranates, and aromatic spices. (Suśruta Su. 46.)” (Prakash 1961: 296); “*Sushrutha Samhitā* [...] meat that had been ground and shaped into patties or balls was termed *pīshtha*{sic}. [...] The *Mahābhārata* mentions *pīshthaudana*, a dish of rice cooked with mince meat.” (Achaya 1998: 54).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Prakash 1961: 36, 290 (*piṣṭakas*, which are “{p}robably cakes made of powdered rice”) and Achaya 1998: 34a (“Rice cakes are termed *piṣṭakas*.”). Ghosh (1967: 38 ad RA BI 3.42a) similarly takes the *piṣṭabhakṣyas* to denote cakes.

Supernatural being(s)	honoured with an offering of	Source: RA 3.
<b>NORTH</b> all [divine] mothers of the dramatic art ( <i>sarvanāṭyamātṛ</i> ), <sup>39</sup> Dhanada (i.e. Kubera) and attendants	<i>apūpa lājikāmiśra</i>   honey-sweetened cake (see above) having a mixture of <i>lājikā</i> , which might denote <i>lājā</i> , parched rice <sup>40</sup> <i>bhaksyabhojya</i>   hard and soft food (see p. 151 with fn. 19)	45A–B

At a later point of the consecration of the stage, hard and soft food (*bhaksya* and *bhojya*) is presented to all musical instruments (*ātodya*) [of the theatrical orchestra] (RA 3.76A–B; cf. the bracketed stanza after RA 3.72B). Thereafter, a complete *bali* offering (*bali sarva*) is mentioned in connection with the veneration of the *jarjara* staff

<sup>39</sup> The group of *nāṭyamātṛs* is said to be headed by Brāhmī (RA 3.67A). Since Brāhmī can denote Sarasvatī, this group of goddesses might correspond to the eight [divine] mothers Sarasvatī, Dhṛti, Medhā, Hrī, Śrī, Lakṣmī, Smṛti and Mati, enumerated in RA 3.87A–B. (Ghosh speaks of merely seven *nāṭyamātṛkās* in this context, since he omits Mati in his translation [1967: 31, fn. 1 ad RA BI 3.86B–87A].) It should however be noted that, whereas the *nāṭyamātṛs* are present in all four lists of supernatural beings (see fn. 24), i.e. in RA 3.9a (as a variant reading), 30c (invoked in the stage *maṇḍala*'s northern compartment), 45a (the passage under discussion) and 67A–B, several of the eight goddesses named in RA 3.87A have already appeared at the beginning of these lists, namely Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Medhā, Dhṛti (v.l.: Smṛti) and Smṛti (v.l.: Mati), together with Siddhi, in the first list (RA 3.4A, 5A), Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Medhā, together with Śraddhā, in the second list (RA 3.25B [invoked in the eastern *maṇḍala* section]), Sarasvatī in the third list (RA 3.37b [offered *pāyasa*]) and finally Sarasvatī (with further names), Lakṣmī, Mati and Medhā (v.l.: Dhṛti), together with Siddhi (v.l.: Siddhi, Vṛddhi and Lakṣmī), in the fourth list (RA 3.52A–B, 54A–B). It can consequently not be excluded that the *nāṭyamātṛs* denote a different group of mother goddesses.

<sup>40</sup> See also fn. 11, p. 149. It is not clear what the variant readings *apūpalekhikāmiśra*, *lepikāmiśra*, and *lipikāmiśra* might mean in the present context (see RA 3.45c [*pa.ba.ta.N.ma.*]).

(RA 3.82A). The specific nature of this offering is either not stated, or the offering might refer to the (coloured) cloths, incense, garlands and ointments presented to the staff (RA 3.73B–75B, 77A), in which case it would not consist of comestibles.

#### 1.3.10.4. Food offered to humans during the construction of the theatre building

As part of the rituals pertaining to the construction of the theatre building, food is also offered to Brahmins, to the king and his main priest, and to construction workers.

Brahmins (*brāhmaṇa*, *dvija*) are offered food repeatedly.<sup>41</sup> They are first satiated, or perhaps satisfied with gifts other than food<sup>42</sup> (**caus. of**  $\sqrt{tṛp}$ ), before the outlines of the future playhouse are traced (NĀ 2.32c). Then, during the erection (*sthāpana*) of the playhouse, or, as per Ghosh’s understanding of the term, when laying its foundation (Ghosh 1967: 24 ad NĀ BI 2.41B), Brahmins are offered sweet rice pudding with ghee (*ghṛtapāyasa*)<sup>43</sup> (NĀ 2.41B). After the walls have been erected and the theatrical master (*ācārya*) has fasted three nights, Brahmins are again

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<sup>41</sup> Lubin 2016b proposes “that the feeding of Brahmins was promoted as Brahmanism’s answer to giving alms to celibate monks. The relationship between world-renouncers and householders in ancient India was framed in a semiotics of food and eating: those who have “gone forth” cease to provide for themselves and are sustained by being fed by lay patrons, a relationship symbolized by the mendicant’s begging bowl. The Brahmanical tradition, however, between the Maurya and Gupta eras, promoted an image of Brahmins as home-based holy men worthy of feeding by the same logic: their observance of self-discipline and dedication to sacred knowledge.” See also Lubin 2016a: 328: “[...] the early Dharmaśāstra texts were produced by Brahmin theorists to support their collective self-construction as household-based religious professionals on a par with Buddhist and Jainist mendicants, and the feeding of Brahmins was promoted as parallel to the alms-food given to monks in other traditions. This, anyway, is my reading of the evidence [...]”

<sup>42</sup> Cf. NĀ 2.54B–55A.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. the *pāyasa ghṛtamadhvakta* in MR 34.279A.

presented food before each of the four corner pillars (see p. 148 with fn. 8) are raised (NĀ 2.47A–50A, 55A). The following food items are specified:

- *brāhmaṇastambha*: **pāyasa**<sup>44</sup> (NĀ 2.47b), sweet rice pudding
- *kṣatriyastambha*: **guḍaudana** (NĀ 2.48b), rice cooked with molasses or jaggery (cf. p. 154)<sup>45</sup>
- *vaiśyastambha*: **ghṛtaudana** (NĀ 2.49b), boiled rice mixed with ghee (cf. p. 154)
- *sūdrastambha*: **kṛsara** (v.l.: **kṛsarū**; **kṛsarū**) (NĀ 2.50b) (cf. p. 160, 163), “A dish prepared with sesamum and rice cooked in milk.<sup>[46]</sup> In {D}alhana’s time it was a dish prepared with sesamum, rice and *Māṣa*.<sup>[47]</sup>” (Prakash 1961: 287). The latter bean refers to black gram (*Vigna mungo* [L.] Hepper),<sup>48</sup> also called the mungo bean and, in Hindi, *urad dāl* (cf. Prakash 1961: 264; Achaya 1998: 34a).

<sup>44</sup> It is only stated expressly in connection with the following three corner pillars that the food is offered to Brahmins (*dvija*). The conjecture that the *pāyasa* should likewise be given to Brahmins is also made by Abhinavagupta (AbhiBhā ad 2.47A, vol. 1, p. 59 l. 1f.).

<sup>45</sup> The same dish is offered to the [deified] sun and moon during the consecration of the stage (RA 3.38b; see p. 154). Whether this correspondence is related to the royal (hence *kṣatriya*) solar and lunar lineages (*sūrya*- and *somavaṃśa*) can only be speculated. I am not aware of any mention of these lineages in the NŚ. *Guḍaudana* is also served to the workers building the theatre hall (see p. 163).

<sup>46</sup> Similarly Apte, s.v. *kṛsara* = *kṛsāra* (“A dish made of milk, sesamum and rice”), Achaya 1998: 270b, using the wrong spelling *krasāra*: “rice-milk-sesame seed dish”, and, without the milk, pw (“ein Gericht aus Reis und Sesamkörnern”).

<sup>47</sup> Cf., ad *kṛsara*, Apte (“Rice and peas boiled together with a few spices (Mar{āṭhī} khicaḍī)”), MW (“a dish consisting of sesamum and grain (mixture of rice and peas with a few spices)” and Achaya (Achaya 1998: 33b: “Rice [...] cooked with [...] sesame seed and milk (krsāra{sic}), perhaps a forerunner of the later khichdī made from rice and dhāl.”). The name of the latter dish is usually derived from Sanskrit *khiccā* (MW: “a kind of dish [made of rice and pease &c], N{iḡhaṇṭu}pr{akāśa}.”). See e.g. KEWA: I 309.

<sup>48</sup> For botanical synonyms, including the (misapplied) name *Phaseolus radiatus* given as a meaning of *māṣa* “in later times” in MW and pw, see TPL-2017.

All the items offered at the *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra* pillars should be respectively of white (*śukla*), red (*rakta*), yellow (*pīta*) and dark blue (*nīla*) colour (NĀ 2.47a [also 50d], 48a, 49a, 50a).<sup>49</sup> The above food items presented to Brahmins were perhaps chosen so as to exhibit these same colours,<sup>50</sup> since rice pudding, jaggery rice and rice with ghee (all food items that are still savoured today) indeed are or can be respectively whitish, reddish and yellowish. If so, then the *kṛsara* dish, presented to Brahmins before the raising of the *śūdra* pillar (which was honoured with dark blue offerings), might already<sup>51</sup> contain black (unhulled) mungo beans in order to create a *nīla* dish, keeping in mind the fact that dark blue and black are frequently not distinguished in the NŚ and generally in premodern Sanskrit literature (see Kintaert 2005: 248 [with fn. 16], 259f.).<sup>52</sup>

Gifts of cows (*go*) are mentioned a little later, still in connection with the raising of the corner pillars, but without naming any recipient (NĀ 2.54c). It is not clear how these cows relate to the singular cow (*go*) to be offered as a fee (*dakṣiṇā*) at the sanctified *brāhmaṇastambha* (NĀ 2.58A). Although the recipient of a *dakṣiṇā* is usually a Brahmin,<sup>53</sup> this is not made explicit here.

Still later, during the construction of the *mattavāraṇī* part of the stage platform (see Kintaert 2017: 96, fn. 39), Brahmins are again offered food (*bhojana*, *aśana*), which is specified as *kṛsarā* (v.l.: *kṛsarā*) (NĀ 2.67A) (cf. p. 159 and 163). According to Ghosh they are additionally given sweet rice pudding.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> See also Kintaert 2005: 250f.; Kintaert 2017: 101.

<sup>50</sup> This is also Abhinavagupta's view (AbhiBhā ad NĀ 2.47A, vol. 1, p. 59, l. 1f.).

<sup>51</sup> That is, much earlier than Ḍalhaṇa (ca. 12<sup>th</sup> cent. CE). See p. 159.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. also the coloured food offerings laid in the cardinal directions after tracing the outlines of the future theatre hall (see 1.3.10.1., p. 147).

<sup>53</sup> According to Abhinavagupta this is the case here as well (AbhiBhā ad NĀ 2.58A, vol. 1, p. 60, l. 1).

<sup>54</sup> "And to ensure the good condition of the pillars, one should give to the Brahmins Pāyasa and other eatables such as Kṛsarā" (Ghosh 1967: 28



Following some mss., he indeed reads *pāyasa* (NĀ BI 2.66c) where for instance the GOS edition reads *āyasa*, iron, as the substance to be deposited at the bottom of or below (*adhas*) the pillars (NĀ GOS 2.66B).<sup>55</sup> He justifies the choice of his reading (which moreover necessitates the omission of ‘*adhah*’ at the end of the line, apparently appearing in all mss. at his disposal) as follows: “According to one reading iron (*āyasam*) should be placed below them (pillars). But this is inconsistent, see 50–53 above.” Ghosh refers here to the offerings of a golden ear-ornament, copper, silver and iron (again *āyasa*) in the foundation or at the base (*mūla*) of respectively the *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra* pillars, and gold at the base of the remaining ones<sup>56</sup> (NĀ BI 2.50B–53A). However, the first four of these pillars refer to the corner pillars of the theatre building or stage pavilion (see NĀ 2.48B, 49B)<sup>57</sup> and, if we accept the reading “*śeṣeṣv*” in NĀ BI 2.53a (see also fn. 56), then the remaining pillars probably allude to additional supports of the theatre building’s or stage pavilion’s roof (cf. fn. 8, p. 148). The pillars spoken of in NĀ BI 2.66B on the other hand must be the four pillars of the *mattavāraṇī*, situated at the [eastern] side of the stage platform (see NĀ BI & GOS 2.63B–64A).<sup>58</sup> Far from being inconsistent,

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[fn. omitted] ad BI 2.66B–67A).

<sup>55</sup> In the first edition of his translation, Ghosh equally reads *āyasa* (Ghosh 1951: 27: “And to ensure the good condition of the pillars, one should put a piece of iron below them, and Brahmins should be given food including Kṛsarā”).

<sup>56</sup> Or, according to the GOS edition (which has “*śeṣeṣv*” only as a variant reading), [additionally] at the base of all pillars (NĀ 2.53a).

<sup>57</sup> Regarding the position of the first two pillars, see Kintaert 2005: 250f., with fn. 32.

<sup>58</sup> The *mattavāraṇī* of the square type of theatre hall (as against the standard middle-sized rectangular hall [see NĀ \*2.7B–10B, 17A–B]) is equally provided with four pillars (NĀ 2.99A–B).

the direction to place iron at the base of the *mattavāraṇī* pillars even parallels the deposit of iron at the base of the *śūdra* pillar, since in both cases *kṛsara* is offered to Brahmins.<sup>59</sup> It might also be noted that, while the latter pillar is associated with the *śūdra* class situated at the lower end of the four-fold *varṇa* scheme, the four *mattavāraṇī* pillars are protected by powerful ghosts, *yakṣas*, *piśācas* and *guhnyakas* (NĀ 1.91A–B) who, for their part, can be considered as belonging to the lower end of the spectrum of supernatural beings.

Regarding food offered to one more Brahmin, the royal priest (*purohita*), see below.<sup>60</sup>

The local king receives food on two occasions. During the erection (*sthāpana*) of the playhouse or when laying its foundation (see p. 158), while Brahmins are fed sweet rice pudding with ghee, the king (*rājan*) is served *madhuparka* (NĀ 2.42a), which, according to Prakash, denotes a mixture of curd, honey and ghee (Prakash 1961: 288). It seems significant that only Brahmā, the sole deity residing in the stage *maṇḍala*'s central compartment, receives this dish during the consecration of the stage (see RA 3.37a).<sup>61</sup> Later, as part of the rite concerning the erection of the remaining pillars,<sup>62</sup> both the king (*nṛpa*)

<sup>59</sup> Regarding the colour of the metal deposits in these rituals, see Kintaert 2005: 251f.

<sup>60</sup> In a play, the taking of food by a Brahmin can be represented by means of the single-hand gesture *Ḥsapakṣa* (EN 9.107d). This agrees with the prescription that no real food should be consumed on stage (22.297A–B). Incidentally, it might be noted that theatrical performances should not be staged during mealtimes (27.95A–B).

<sup>61</sup> On the honouring of a distinguished guest with *madhuparka*, especially in the *grhya*- and *dharmasūtras*, see Kane 1997: 542f. *Madhuparka* eventually becomes the term for the Vedic welcoming ceremony as a whole (see e.g. Einoo 1996: 75).

<sup>62</sup> These remaining pillars either refer to the *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra* pillars, since the *brāhmaṇa* pillar is mentioned in NĀ 2.58A, or to additional pillars that might be erected on the stage. Cf. the mention of ten

and the royal priest (*purohita*) receive honey-sweetened rice pudding (*madhupāyasa*) (NĀ 2.59B).<sup>63</sup>

The [construction] workers (*kartṛ*),<sup>64</sup> finally, receive rice boiled with jaggery or molasses (*guḍaudana*) (cf. p. 154, 159) during the *sthāpana* of the playhouse (NĀ 2.42b; see p. 158) and *kṛsarā* (cf. p. 159f.), a rice dish prepared with sesamum, milk and, perhaps, mungo beans (see *ibid.*), with salt (*lavaṇa*) as part of the ritual erection of the remaining [pillars] (NĀ 2.58B, 60A; see p. 161).<sup>65</sup>

### 1.3.11. Miscellaneous ritual items

To conclude the topic of ritual items covered in the present and the previous article, some additional items that have not yet been dealt with<sup>66</sup> are now briefly mentioned.

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pillars on the stage of the square type of theatre hall (*caturaśramaṇḍapa*) in NĀ 2.89B–90A.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. the sweet rice pudding with ghee and honey offered in the *brāhma-ṁaṇḍala* in which the *āliṅga* drum is consecrated (MṚ 34.277A, 279A–B; see p. 149).

<sup>64</sup> The interpretation of *kartṛ* in the present *adhyāya* as ‘construction worker’ or ‘builder’ is supported by NĀ 2.81B. Although Ghosh translates *kartṛbhyaś* in NĀ BI 2.42b with “to masters [of dramatic art]” (Ghosh 1967: 24), he then translates *kartṛ*<sup>o</sup> in NĀ BI 2.58d with “builders” and *kartṛñ* in NĀ BI 2.60a with “workers” (*ibid.*: 26). The word “*kartṛbhir*” in NĀ BI 2.81d is left untranslated (*ibid.*: 30).

<sup>65</sup> It is specified in NĀ 2.59A that the dish is offered by the *nāṭyācārya* and that it is purified with [one or more] *mantras*. For more on ritual agents and the use of *mantras* in the NŚ, see Kintaert, forthcoming a and b.

<sup>66</sup> Ritual items that have only been mentioned cursorily are:  
 - the *jarjara* staff (see DE \*1.64A–75B, 92A–94B; RA [\*]3.12B–14B, 73A–75B, 77A–82B; PŪ \*5.68A–B, 80B–82B, 84B–85A, 99A–100B, 110B, 114B–116A, 120B–121B; JA \*21.173B–185B; Kintaert 2017: 102, fn. 73 [which also mentions the curved *daṇḍakāṣṭha* staff], and *passim*)  
 - different **metals**, deposited below or at the basis of the theatre building’s or stage’s four corner pillars (NĀ 2.50B–53A; see p. 161f.; Kintaert 2005: 251f.); see also the piece of gold (*kanaka*) placed in the stage

*agrapinḍa*

The offering [to one's ancestors] of the first lump [prepared with rice flour?] (*agrapinḍa*) should be enacted on stage using the single-hand gesture Padmakośa (EN 9.79B–80A, 82b).<sup>67</sup>

## Non-mention of paan

Paan,<sup>68</sup> consisting of one or more pieces of areca nut (*pūga-* or *pūgīphala*, referring to the seed of the areca palm, *Areca catechu* L.)

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centre after the latter's construction (NĀ 2.74d) and the gold piece (*suvarṇa*) deposited in the water-filled pot on the same spot, mentioned below (RA \*3.72A–B) (cf. Kintaert 2005: 252, 254, 258f.)

- two water vessels:

1. the (golden?) *bhṛṅgāra*, gifted by Varuṇa after the mythological first theatrical performance (DE \*1.59A–60A) and employed in the *pūvaraṅga* to carry water for the purification of the *sūtradhāra* (PŪ \*5.68A, 79A–80A; Kintaert 2017: 106f., fn. 87 [also referring to the *kamaṇḍalu*, the water pot used by ascetics])

2. the water-filled (clay?) pot (*kumbha*) placed in the centre of the stage during the latter's consecration and decorated with flower garlands, in which a gold piece is placed, and which has to be broken later on by the *nāṭyācārya* (RA \*3.72A–B, 88B–90A; see Kintaert 2017: 105, with fn. 84)

- a water offering (*nivāpa*) to the paternal ancestors (EN \*9.106A–107A, EN \*12.209B–210A; see Kintaert 2017: 95).

<sup>67</sup> A *pinḍa* can also denote a lump of food in a non-ritual context (for instance, as Abhinavagupta notes, as food for cows, etc. [AbhiBhā ad EN 9.82b, vol. 2, p. 46, l. 2f.]). The specification 'agra' on the other hand might be a reference to the first of three *pinḍas* offered to the three forefathers of one's [paternal] great-grandfather (that is, the *nāndīśrāddha* or *nāndīmukhaśrāddha*; cf. AbhiBhā ad EN 9.82b, vol. 2, p. 46, l. 3f.). Cf. also the representation of a *bali* offering in worshipping the gods by means of the same hand gesture, mentioned in the same verse (EN 9.82a). Regarding an eight-part *pinḍa* offered to the *ūrdhvaka* drum, see p. 149.

<sup>68</sup> New Indo-Aryan (e.g. Hindi) *pān*, from Sanskrit *parṇa*, "[betel] leaf" (KEWA: II 223).

and other ingredients wrapped in betel leaves (*tāmbūla*, leaves of *Piper betle* L.), regularly figures among the services of a standard *pūjā*,<sup>69</sup> where it is offered to scent the mouth after a meal (Bühnemann 1988: 150, 168).<sup>70</sup> Neither *pūga*- or *pūgī*(*phala*), nor *tāmbūla*, however, seem to be mentioned in the NŚ.<sup>71</sup> The import of this omission is not clear. Betel chewing was purportedly introduced into southern India from Southeast Asia during the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE (Zumbroich 2008: 124). Some time after 500 BCE it is attested in North India (*ibid.*: 119, 125), where, “{b}y the beginning of the common era, regular chewing of a betel quid was apparently recognized as integral part of oral hygiene” (*ibid.*: 118).<sup>72</sup> The absence of references to this custom in the NŚ might consequently point to an early North Indian origin of the work. It could, however, also simply reflect the incomplete nature of the manuscripts in our possession, or even constitute an arbitrary omission of an otherwise common practice.

### Gems

After the construction of the stage, the gems (*ratna*) diamond (*vajra*), beryl (*vaiḍūrya*), crystal or quartz (*sphaṭika*) and coral (*pravāla*) are respectively placed in or on the eastern, southern, western and northern part of the stage surface, and gold (*kanaka*) in its centre (see p. 163f., fn. 66) (NĀ 2.73A–74B; see Kintaert 2005: 252–254).

<sup>69</sup> See e.g. Bühnemann 1988: 38, 40, 43, 89, 103, 168, 198, 199, 204; Einoo 1996: 74; Goodall and Rastelli 2013: 91, s.v. ‘*tāmbūla*’.

<sup>70</sup> The chewing of *tāmbūla*, denoting a whole paan quid and not solely the betel leaves (cf. Kane 1941: 734), is also prescribed to purify the mouth of a ritualist prior to religious worship (Goodall and Rastelli 2013: 91, s.v. ‘*tāmbūla*’).

<sup>71</sup> For a reference to *tāmbūla* in the commentary, see \*AbhiBhā, vol. 2, p. 58, l. 7–9.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. also Kane 1941: 734: “In the ancient grhya and dharma sūtras no mention is made of *tāmbūla* or *mukhavāsa* (materials that will render the breath fragrant).”

## Rosary

The term *akṣa* appears in some readings as one of the characteristic possessions of an ascetic Brahmin (DE BI 17.120A–B; DE GOS 16.127A–B [*da.*]). Ghosh translates it as “rosary” (Ghosh 1967: 320) and consequently takes it as referring to an *akṣamālā* or *akṣasūtra*, a garland or string of seeds of *Elaeocarpus ganitrus* Roxb. ex. G. Don,<sup>73</sup> commonly known as *rudrākṣa*.

## Conclusion and outlook

With the present article the topic of ritual items in the NŚ has been largely completed.<sup>74</sup> The quantity and degree of detail of the material on food offerings in a handbook of the theatrical arts turned out to be surprisingly high. The rationale linking specific types of foods and drinks with certain supernatural beings and/or space directions, as well as with Brahmins in different ritual contexts, still merits a closer investigation. Whether the taste (*rasa*) of the respective food items<sup>75</sup> plays any role in these associations remains unclear. On the other hand it has become fairly certain that the colour of the offered food is often chosen consciously to conform to that of other offerings in the same context.<sup>76</sup>

The next article in this series on ritual performances in the NŚ will provide an in-depth analysis of ritual agents, including their physical and mental requirements for the performance of a ritual. This is to be followed by studies of the spatial and temporal settings of rituals, of the individual ritual actions themselves, and the expected results of their correct

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<sup>73</sup> This botanical name is considered a synonym of *Elaeocarpus serratus* L. (see TPL-2017). *E. ganitrus* and *E. serratus* have however occasionally been considered separate species (see e.g. Nadkarni 1996: 473).

<sup>74</sup> Ritual items related to **Vedic sacrifice** will be treated together with other references to that sacrificial tradition. The **offering of musical performances** and the ritual veneration of the theatrical orchestra (*kutapa*) will be taken up in the final article of this series.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. prose sentences 5 and 6 after 6.31B.

<sup>76</sup> See e.g. p. 147–150, 160. Cf. also Kintaert 2015; Kintaert 2017: 101, 103–105.

and incorrect or omitted performance. In view of the NŚ's high value for the study of these, as well as countless other subjects, it is wished that a truly critical edition of the work may finally be taken up, almost four decades after Rocher so strongly stressed its importance.<sup>77</sup>

## APPENDIX I

Referenced NŚ passages<sup>78</sup>

Quotations from NŚ BI		Referred to on
2.41B	sthāpane brāhmaṇebhyaś ca dātavyaṃ gṛhapāyasaṃ	p. 158
2.42A	madhūparkasa tathā rājñe kartṛbhyaś ca guḍaudanam	p. 163 (fn. 64)
2.50B	pūrve tu brāhmaṇastambhe śuklamālyānulepane	p. 161
2.51A	nikṣipet kanakaṃ mule karṇābharaṇasaṃśrayam	p. 161
2.51B	tāmraṃ cādhaḥ pradātavyaṃ stambhe kṣatriyaṃśrayam	p. 161
2.52A	vaiśyastambhasya mule tu rajataṃ saṃpradāpayet	p. 161
2.52B	śūdrastambhasya mule tu dadyād āyasaṃ eva ca	p. 161
2.53A	śeṣeṣv api ca 'nikṣepayaṃ stambhamūleṣu kāñcanaṃ   B. nikṣiptam	p. 161
2.58B	śeṣānām sthāpane kāryaṃ bhojanaṃ kartṛsaṃśrayam	p. 161 (fn. 64)
2.60A	kartṛṇ api tathā sarvān kṛsaraṃ lavaṇottaram	p. 161 (fn. 64)
2.63B	raṅgapīṭhasya pārśve tu kartavyā mattavāraṇī	p. 161
2.64A	catuḥstambhasamāyuktā raṅgapīṭhapramāṇataḥ	p. 161
2.66B	<sup>2</sup> pāyasaṃ tatra dātavyaṃ stambhānām <sup>3</sup> kuśa[lāya tu]    2. B. C. āyasaṃ, see B. th. 3. mss. kuśalair adhaḥ	p. 161 (incl. fn. 54)
2.67A	bhojane 'kṛsaraṃ caiva dātavyaṃ brāhmaṇāśanaṃ   4. B. kṛsarām	p. 161 (fn. 54)
2.81B	tasmān nivātaḥ kartavyaḥ kartṛbhir nāṭyamaṇḍapaḥ	p. 163 (fn. 64)
3.19B	nāgapuṣpasya <sup>2</sup> cūrṇena vītuṣābhiḥ priyaṅgubhiḥ    2. {variant reading missing}	p. 151 (fn. 22)
3.42A	matsyais ca piṣṭabhakṣyais ca sāgarān saritas tathā	p. 156 (fn. 38)
3.86B	sarasvatī dhṛtī medhā hrīḥ śrīr lakṣmīr matiḥ smṛtiḥ	p. 157 (fn. 39)
3.87A	pāntu vo mātaraḥ sarvāḥ siddhidāś ca bhavantu vaḥ	p. 157 (fn. 39)

<sup>77</sup> Rocher 1981: 126–128.

<sup>78</sup> For the resolution of the sigla used in the respective textual apparatus, see: NŚ BI, vol. 1: v; vol. 2: xi; NŚ GOS, vol. 1: 3, 14-16; vol. 2: vii; vol. 3: ix; vol. 4: ix, xiii.

Quotations from NŚ BI		Referred to on
17.120A	<sup>7</sup> cekrīḍitaprabhṛtibhir vikṛtais tu śabdair yukṭā na bhānti lalitā bhārataprayogāḥ   7. C. cekrīḍitaprakṛtibhir vikṛtais tu	p. 166
17.120B	<sup>8</sup> kṛṣṇājīnākṣarurucarmadharair <sup>9</sup> ghr̥tāktair <sup>10</sup> veśyā dvijair iva kamaṇḍaludaṇḍahastaiḥ    8. B. Ag. yajñakriyeva   C. kṛṣṇājīnākṣa   9. C. rurucarmadharaiḥ   10. viśryā	p. 166
33.265B	<sup>1</sup> āliṅge ca balim dadyāt madhupāyasamīśritam    1. C. āliṅge	p. 149
33.266A	<sup>2</sup> apūpaṃ lo[ci]kāmīśram āmkike saṃpradāpayet   2. C. °mīśrām āṅgike	p. 149
33.267A	svastike <sup>1</sup> [loci]kāpūpapiṇḍakeṇḍarikaiḥ saha   1. C. dhūpikadhūparūpakaiś calitaiḥ	p. 149
33.268A	balih kāryaḥ prayatnena rakto raktāmbaraiḥ saha	p. 150 (fn. 13, 14)
33.268B	vaiṣṇave maṇḍale <sup>1</sup> sthāpya <sup>2</sup> sarvabījagate °nkike    1. K. sthāpyaḥ   2. sarvabījagato °nkike	p. 150
33.269A	<sup>1</sup> sragvastrālepanaiḥ pītaiḥ carubhiś ca sapāyasaiḥ   1. C. sūddhasyālabanaiḥ pītaiḥ	p. 150

Quotations from NŚ GOS & AbhiBhā		Referred to on
1.91A	stambheṣu mattavāraṇyāḥ sthāpitāḥ <sup>8</sup> paripālāne   8. ga.ba. parirakṣaṇe	p. 147 (fn. 6), 162
1.91B	<sup>9</sup> bhūtayaḥkṣapīśācāś ca guhyakāś ca mahābalāḥ    9. kṣa.ma. bhūtā yakṣāḥ	p. 147 (fn. 6), 162
1.120A	etasminn antare devān sarvān āha pītāmahaḥ	p. 151
1.120B	<sup>2</sup> kriyatām adya vidhivad yajanaṃ nāṭyamaṇḍape    2. na. kārayatv atra bhagavān   pa.ta.ba. kurudhvam atra yajanaṃ vidhivat	p. 151
1.121A	balipradānair homaiś ca mantrauśādhisamanvitaiḥ { <i>read</i> °auśadhi° as in the 2nd ed.}	p. 151
1.121B	<sup>3</sup> bhojyair bhakṣyaiś ca °pānaiś ca balih samupakalpyatām    3. kṣa.pa.ma. japyair bhakṣyaiś ca   4. kṣa.ḍa.ma. bhojyaiś ca   pa. homaiś ca	p. 151
2.32B	brāhmaṇāms tarpayitvā tu <sup>10</sup> puṇyāham vācayet tataḥ <sup>11</sup>    10. {variant reading missing in the 4th ed.; no variant at this position in the 2nd ed.}   11. N.a.ba. brāhmaṇāms tarpayitvā tu tataḥ sūtram prasārayet {pāda d ~ *2.33b}   iti ardhm eva paṭhyate	p. 158
2.38B	niśāyām ca balih kāryo nānābhojanasamṃyutaḥ <sup>7</sup>    7. na.ba.ta. saṃśrayaḥ   a. sañcayaḥ   N. nānāvyañjanasamśrayaḥ	p. 147



	Quotations from NŚ GOS & AbhiBhā	Referred to on
2.39A	gandhapuṣpaphalopeto diśo daśa samāśritaḥ	p. 147
2.39B	pūrveṇa śuklānnyuto <sup>8</sup> nīlāno dakṣiṇena ca    8. ca.ta.ba. nīlaś caiva tu dakṣiṇaḥ   kṣa.ṭha.ma. nidhāno dakṣiṇena ca   cha.a. nīlo yāmyena caiva hi   <i>N.</i> nīlaś savyena caiva hi	p. 148 (fn. 7)
2.40A	paścimena baliḥ pīto raktaś caivottareṇa tu	p. 147
2.40B	<sup>9</sup> yādṛśaṃ diśi yasyāṃ tu daivatam parikalpitam    9. <i>N.</i> kṣa.ṭha.ma. yasyāṃ yac cādhidaivam tu diśi sampari- kīrtitam   a.cha. yasyā yathādhidevas tu digṛśaḥ parikīrtitaḥ	p. 147
2.41A	tādṛśaṃ tatra dātavyo balir mantrapuraskṛtaḥ	p. 147
2.41B	sthāpane brāhmaṇebhyaś ca dātavyam ghr̥tapāyasam	p. 158
2.42A	madhuparkas tathā rājñe kartṛbhyaś ca guḍaudanam	p. 162f.
2.46B	prathame brāhmaṇastambhe sarpissarśapasamskṛtaḥ { <i>read</i> <sup>o</sup> samskṛte as in the variant reading} <sup>4</sup>    4. kṣa.ma.ba. samskṛte	p. 148
2.47A	sarvaśuklo vidhiḥ kāryo dadyāt pāyasam eva ca	p. 159f.
<b>AbhiBhā</b> ad2.47A, vol. 1, p. 59, l. 1f.	<b>śubham</b> (klam) sarvatra <b>pāyasam iti</b> — dvijebhya iti prakara- ṇāt   sarvasya vidhyanusāreṇaiva bhojanam śuklādivarṇam iti mantavyam	p. 159 (fn. 44), 160 (fn. 50)
2.47B	tataś ca kṣatriyastambhe vastramālyānulepanam	p. 159
2.48A	sarvam raktam pradātavyam dvijebhyaś ca guḍaudanam	p. 159f.
2.48B	vaiśyastambhe vidhiḥ kāryo digbhāge paścimottare	p. 159, 161
2.49A	<sup>5</sup> sarvam pītam pradātavyam dvijebhyaś ca <sup>6</sup> ghṛtaudanam   5. <i>N.</i> pītam sarvam   6. na.ba.ta. ghr̥tāśanam	p. 159f.
2.49B	śūdrastambhe vidhiḥ kāryaḥ samyakpūrvottarāśraye	p. 159, 161
2.50A	nīlaprāyam <sup>1</sup> prayatna <sup>2</sup> kṛsaram ca dvijāśanam   1. kṣa.ṭha.ma.ta. pradātavyam   2. pa.ba. kṛsarā ca   ca. kṛsarā	p. 159f.
2.50B	<sup>3</sup> pūrvoktabrāhmaṇastambhe śuklamālyānulepane <sup>4</sup>    3. <i>N.</i> kṣa.ca.ma. pūrve tu   4. ḍa. lepīte   ta. lepanam	p. 160, 163 (fn. 66)
2.51A	<sup>5</sup> nikṣīpet kanakam mule <sup>6</sup> kaṇṭhābharaṇasamśrayam   5. <i>N.</i> omits this. 6. ma. kaṇṭhābhara	p. 163 (fn. 66)
2.51B	tāmraṃ <sup>7</sup> cādhaḥ pradātavyam stambhe kṣatriyasamjñake    7. na. vāpi   kṣa.ma. cāpi   ta. caiva	p. 163 (fn. 66)
2.52A	<sup>8</sup> vaiśyastambhasya mūle tu rajatam sampradāpayet   8. ca.ba. vaiśyasya stambhamūle	p. 163 (fn. 66)
2.52B	<sup>9</sup> śūdrastambhasya mūle tu dadyād āyasam eva ca <sup>10</sup>    9. ka.ba. śūdrasya stambhamūle   10. ḍa. tu	p. 163 (fn. 66)
2.53A	<sup>11</sup> sarveṣv eva tu nikṣepyam <sup>12</sup> stambhamūleṣu kāñcanam   11. na.ba. śeṣeṣv eva tu nikṣepyam   na. śeṣeṣv api tu   <i>N.</i> śeṣeṣv eva tu dātavyam   12. ḍa.ba. stambhamūle tu	p. 161 (fn. 56), 163 (fn. 66)

Quotations from NŚ GOS & AbhiBhā		Referred to on
2.54B	<sup>15</sup> ratnadānaiḥ sagodānair vastradānair analpakaiḥ <sup>16</sup>    15. na. ratnapradānair godānaiḥ   16. N.na. s tathaiva ca	p. 158 (fn. 42), 160
2.55A	brāhmanāms tarpayitvā <sup>17</sup> tu stambhān utthāpayet tataḥ   17. kṣa. sthāpayitvā	p. 158 (fn. 42), 159
2.58A	<sup>4</sup> pavitre brāhmanastambhe dātavyā dakṣiṇā ca gauḥ   4. N.ta.ba.ma. pavitram	p. 160, 162 (fn. 62)
AbhiBhā ad 2.58A, vol. 1, p. 60, l. 1	<b>dātavyeti</b>   dvijāyeti dātavyabalāl labhyate	p. 160 (fn. 53)
2.58B	śeṣānām <sup>5</sup> bhojanam kāryam sthāpane <sup>6</sup> kartṛsamśrayam    5. ḍa.ba.ta. sthāpane   6. ḍa.ba.ta. bhojanam	p. 163
2.59A	<sup>7</sup> mantrapūtam ca tad deyam nātyācāryeṇa dhīmatā   7. kṣa.ṭha.ma. mantrapūvam ca	p. 163 (fn. 65)
2.59B	purohitam nrpaṃ caiva bhojayen madhupāyasaiḥ <sup>8</sup>    8. kṣa.ṭha.ta. pāyasam   ma. daśa pāyasam	p. 163
2.60A	kartṛṇ api tathā sarvān kṛsarāṃ lavaṇottarām <sup>9</sup>   9. ca.ma. ttaram   ta. kṛsarān lavaṇottarān	p. 163
2.63B	raṅgapīṭhasya <sup>14</sup> pārśve tu kartavyā mattavāraṇī    14. kṣa.ṭha.ma. paścāt tu	p. 161
2.64A	catuḥstambhasamāyuktā raṅgapīṭhapramāṇataḥ	p. 161
2.64B	adhyardhahastotsedhena <sup>1</sup> kartavyā mattavāraṇī    1. na. hastā cotsedhā	p. 147 (fn. 6)
2.65A	ūtsedhena <sup>2</sup> tayos {read tayā as in the v.l.} tulyam kartavyam raṅgamaṇḍapam   2. ca.ba.bha. tayā tulyam	p. 148 (fn. 8)
2.65B	tasyām mālyam ca dhūpaṃ ca gandham vastraṃ tathaiva ca	p. 147 (fn. 6)
2.66A	<sup>3</sup> nānāvarṇāni deyaṇi tathā bhūtapriyo baliḥ   3. N. nānāvarṇaṃ pradhātavyam	p. 147 (fn. 6)
2.66B	<sup>4</sup> āyasam tatra dātavyam stambhānām kuśalair adhaḥ    4. na. āsanam cātra   kṣa.ṭha.ma. pāyasam cātra	p. 161
2.67A	<sup>5</sup> bhojane kṛsarās caiva <sup>6</sup> dātavyam brāhmanāsanam <sup>7</sup>   5. ca. bhojanam kṛsarā   6. ca.ta.ba. dātavyā   7. brāhmanāya ca	p. 160
2.73A	śuddhādarśatalākāram <sup>10</sup> raṅgaśīrṣam <sup>11</sup> praśasyate   10. N.ca.ta. talapraḥyam   11. na.ba.ta. raṅgapīṭham	p. 165
2.73B	ratnāni cātra deyaṇi pūrve vajraṃ vicakṣaṇaiḥ	p. 165
2.74A	vaidūryam dakṣiṇe <sup>12</sup> pārśve sphaṭikam paścime tathā   12. ṭha.ma. caiva	p. 165
2.74B	pravālam uttare caiva <sup>13</sup> madhye tu kanakam bhavet <sup>14</sup>    13. na. pārśve   14. N.na. tathā	p. 163f. (fn. 66), 165

Quotations from NŚ GOS & AbhiBhā		Referred to on
2.81B	tasmān nivātaḥ kartavyaḥ kartṛbhir nātyamaṇḍapah	p. 163 (fn. 64)
2.89B	<sup>6</sup> tatrābhyantarataḥ kāryā raṅgapīthopari sthitāḥ    6. na. kṛtābhyantarataḥ kāryaṃ raṅgapītham yathāvidhi   kṣa. tha.ma.ta. raṅgapīthe yathādisām   pam yathā dṛḍham	p. 163 (fn. 62)
2.90A	daśa prayoktṛbhiḥ stambhāḥ <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> śaktā maṇḍapadhāraṇe   1. N. śastā   2. ba. śastā maṇḍapalakṣaṇe   na. śubhā maṇḍapadhāriṇaḥ   ta. śakyā maṇḍaparakṣaṇe	p. 163 (fn. 62)
2.99A	pūrvapramāṇanirdiṣṭā kartavyā mattavāraṇī	p. 161 (fn. 58)
2.99B	catuṣṭambhasamāyuktā vedikāyās tu pārśvataḥ	p. 161 (fn. 58)
3.4A	namaskṛtya mahādevaṃ <sup>3</sup> sarvalokodbhavaṃ bhavam   3. kṣa.tha.ma. sarvalokeśvaraṃ bhavam   ja. vibhum   ca.ba. sarvalokodbhavodbhavam	p. 153 (fn. 24), 157 (fn. 39)
3.5A	sarasvatīm ca lakṣmīm ca siddhim medhām <sup>5</sup> dṛṭim smṛtim   5. N.ṭha.ta.ma.kṣa. smṛtim matim	p. 157 (fn. 39)
3.5B	<sup>6</sup> somaṃ sūryaṃ ca maruto lokapālāms tathāśvinau    6. ṭha.ma. sendu	p. 153 (fn. 27)
3.6A	mitram agniṃ <sup>7</sup> surān varṇān rudrān kālaṃ kaliṃ tathā   7. ca.ba. svarān   ma. surān {r}udrān varṇān	p. 153 (fn. 27)
3.7B	vajraṃ vidyut samudrāṃś ca gandharvāpsarasa munīn <sup>2</sup>    2. N. ṛṣīn	p. 156 (fn. 36)
3.8A	<sup>3</sup> bhūtān piśācān yakṣāṃś ca guhyakāṃś ca maheśvarān <sup>4</sup>   3. ba. pustake <sup>3</sup> yaṃ śloko nāsti   ta. pustake idam ardhmaṃ nāsti   4. mahoragān	p. 156 (fn. 36)
3.9A	tathā <sup>5</sup> nātyakumārīs ca <sup>6</sup> mahāgrāmaṇyam eva ca   5. kṣa.ṭha.ma. nātyaṃ ca māṭīs ca   6. ṭha.ba. tathā grāmādhidevatāḥ	p. 157 (fn. 39)
3.19A	raktāḥ pratisarāḥ <sup>11</sup> sūtraṃ raktagandhās ca pūjitaḥ   11. kṣa.ṭha.ma. tatra   ta. raktaṃ pratisarāsūtraṃ	p. 151
3.19B	raktāḥ sumanasaś caiva yac ca raktaṃ phalaṃ bhavet	p. 151
3.20A	yavais siddhārthakair lājair akṣataiḥ śālitaṇḍulaiḥ <sup>12</sup>   12. kṣa.ṭha. lakṣitair lājataṇḍulaiḥ	p. 151
3.20B	nāgapuṣpasya cūrṇena <sup>13</sup> vituṣābhiḥ priyaṅgubhiḥ    13. N. mūlena	p. 151, 152 (fn. 22)
AbhiBhā ad 3.20A-B, vol. 1, p. 73, l. 6	maṇḍalam ca yavādibhir ityādi   nāgapuṣpaṃ nāgadantaḥ	p. 151 (fn. 21), 152
3.21A	etair dravyair yutaṃ <sup>1</sup> kuryād devatānām niveśanam   1. ca.ba.ta. kāryam	p. 152

Quotations from NŚ GOS & AbhiBhā		Referred to on
3.21B	ālikhen maṇḍalam <sup>2</sup> pūrvam yathāsthānam yathāvidhi    2. N.ḍa.ma.ta.ba. maṇḍapam caiva	p. 152
3.22A	<sup>2a</sup> samantataś ca <sup>3</sup> kartavyam hastāḥ ṣoḍaśa <sup>4</sup> maṇḍalam   2a. samantatas tu   kṣa. maṇḍapam   3. kṣa.ṭha.ma. stu kartavyā   4. ḍa. maṇḍale	p. 152
3.22B	dvārāṇi cātra kurvīta <sup>5</sup> vidhānena caturdiśam    5. kṣa.ṭha.ma. vidhinā ca	p. 152
3.23A	madhye caivātra kartavye dve rekhe tiryagūrdhvae	p. 152
3.25A	nārāyaṇo mahendraś ca <sup>10</sup> skandaḥ sūryo <sup>7</sup> śvinau śaśī   10. kṣa.ṭha.ma. skandārkāv aśvinau śaśī	p. 153 (fn. 24, 27)
3.25B	<sup>11</sup> sarasvatī ca lakṣmīś ca śraddhā medhā ca pūrvataḥ    11. ṭha. sarasvatīm ca lakṣmīm ca śraddhām medhām	p. 153 (fn. 24), 157 (fn. 39)
3.26A	pūrvadakṣiṇato vahnir niveśyaḥ svāhayā saha <sup>12</sup>   12. N. śaśinam bhānum eva ca   kṣa.ṭha.ma. candramā bhānur eva ca	p. 153 (fn. 24, 27)
3.26B	viśvedevāḥ sagandharvā <sup>13</sup> rudrāḥ sarpagaṇās tathā    13. N. rudrāḥ sarṣigaṇas tathā   kṣa.ṭha.ma. rudrās ca ṛṣayas tathā   na.ta. rudrās cāpsarasas tathā	p. 153 (fn. 24), p. 156 (fn. 36)
3.27B	pitṛṇ piśācān uragān guhyakāmś ca niveśayet	p. 153 (fn. 24), p. 156 (fn. 36)
3.30B	nātyasya mātīś ca tathā yakṣān atha <sup>7</sup> saguhyakān    7. ca.ta. sahanūgān	p. 153 (fn. 24), 157 (fn. 39)
3.34A	sthāne sthāne yathānyāyam <sup>14</sup> viniveśya tu devatāḥ   14. na. viniveśyās tu	p. 152
3.34B	<sup>15</sup> tāsām prakurvīta tataḥ pūjanam tu yathārhatāḥ <sup>16</sup>    15. kṣa.ṭha.ma. prakurvīta tatas tāsām   na. tataḥ paścāt   16. na. yathārhatāḥ   ma.ta. yathākramam	p. 152
3.35A	devatābhyas tu <sup>1</sup> dātavyam sitamālyānulepanam   1. kṣa.ṭha.ma. daivatebhyas tu	p. 152
3.35B	<sup>2</sup> gandharvavahnīsūryebhyo raktamālyānulepanam    2. ṭha.ma. vahnigandharva	p. 152
3.36A	gandham mālyam ca <sup>3</sup> dhūpam ca yathāvad anupūrvaśaḥ   3. ṭha.ba. gandhamālyāmś ca   ca. gandhān	p. 152
3.36B	dattvā tataḥ prakurvīta <sup>4</sup> balim pūjām yathāvidhi    4. N.ca. pūjanam ca yathārhatāḥ   ta. balipūjām yathārhatāḥ	p. 152
3.37A	brahmāṇam <sup>5</sup> madhuparkeṇa pāyasena sarasvatīm   5. kṣa.ṭha.ma. druhiṇam	p. 153 (incl. fn. 24), 157 (fn. 39), 162

Quotations from NŚ GOS & AbhiBhā		Referred to on
3.37B	śivaviṣṇumahendrādyaḥ sampūjyā modakair atha	p. 153 (incl. fn. 24)
3.38A	ghṛtaudanena <sup>6</sup> hutabhuk somārkau tu guḍaudanaiḥ   6. kṣa.ja.ma. vahnīś ca	p. 153 (incl. fn. 24, 26), 159 (fn. 45)
3.38B	viśvedevāḥ sagandarvā munayo madhupāyasaḥ	p. 153 (fn. 24), 154, 156 (fn. 36)
3.39A	yamamitrau <sup>7</sup> ca sampūjyāv apūpair modakais tathā   7. kṣa.ṭha.ma. samabhyarcyau modakaiḥ sūpamiṣṛitaiḥ	p. 153 (fn. 24), 154
3.39B	pitṛṇ piśācān uragān sarpiḥkṣīreṇa tarpayet	p. 153 (fn. 24), 154, 156 (fn. 36)
3.40A	pakvānena <sup>8</sup> tu māṃsena surāsīdhuphalāsavaiḥ   8. ma. pakvāmakena   ta. pakvāmena tu	p. 153 (fn. 24), 154f.
3.40B	arcayed bhūtasamghāṃś ca caṇakaiḥ <sup>9</sup> palalāplutaiḥ    9. ja. payasāplutaiḥ	p. 153 (fn. 24), 154f.
3.41A	anenaiva vidhānena sampūjyā mattavāraṇī	p. 153 (fn. 24), 154f.
3.41B	<sup>10</sup> pakvāmena tu māṃsena sampūjyā rakṣasām gaṇāḥ    10. pa.ma.ta. pakvāmakena māṃsena	p. 153 (fn. 24), 155
3.42A	<sup>11</sup> surāmāṃsaprādānena <sup>12</sup> dānavān pratipūjayet   11. ca.ba. surayā guḍadhānena māṃsaiś ca vidhinārcayet   12. N.kṣa.na.ma.ta. vidhinā prati	p. 152, 153 (fn. 24), 155
3.42B	<sup>13</sup> śeṣān devagaṇāṃś tajjñāḥ sāvūpotkārīkaudanaiḥ    13. ca.ba. śeṣāḥ devagaṇāḥ sarve <sup>3</sup> pūpakādvārikotkaraiḥ   kṣa. ma. gaṇān prājñāḥ   ta. gaṇāṃś caiva	p. 152, 153 (fn. 24), 154 (fn. 31), 155
3.43A	matsyaiś ca piṣṭabhakṣyaiś ca sāgarān saritas tathā	p. 152, 153 (fn. 24), 155f.
3.43B	<sup>1</sup> sampūjya varuṇam cāpi cātavyam ghṛtapāyasam    1. kṣa.ṭha.ma. abhyarcya   ca.ba. sadṛśam varuṇāyātha	p. 152, 153 (fn. 24), 156
3.44A	nānā <sup>2</sup> mūlaphalaiś cāpi <sup>3</sup> munīn sampratipūjayet   2. N. puṣpa <sup>o</sup>   3. ṭha.ma. phalaiś caiva	p. 152, 153 (fn. 24), 154 (fn. 29), 155 (fn. 36), 156
3.44B	vāyūṃś ca pakṣiṇāś caiva <sup>4</sup> vicitrair bhakṣyabhojaneh { <i>read</i> <sup>o</sup> bhojanaiḥ as in the 2nd ed.}    4. kṣa.pa. vividhaiḥ	p. 152, 153 (fn. 24), 156
3.45A	<sup>5</sup> mātṛ nātyasya sarvās tā dhanadam ca sahanūgaiḥ <sup>6</sup>   5. kṣa.ṭha.ma. nātyasya ca tathā mātṛḥ   6. ta. nugam	p. 152, 153 (fn. 24), 157 (incl. fn. 39)

Quotations from NŚ GOS & AbhiBhā		Referred to on
3.45B	<sup>7</sup> apūpair lājikāmisrair bhakṣyabhojayaiś ca pūjayet <sup>8</sup>    7. pa.ba. apūpalekhikāmisraih   ta.N. lepikāmisraih   ma. lipikāmisraih   8. kṣa.ma. prayatnataḥ	p. 152, 153 (fn. 24), 157 (incl. fn. 40)
3.46A	evam eṣāṃ baliḥ kāryo nānābhojanasamśrayaḥ	p. 152
3.52A	devi deva <sup>2</sup> mahābhāge sarasvati haripriye   2. N.ma.ta.ba. devadevi   kṣa. devi devi	p. 153 (fn. 24), 157 (fn. 39)
3.52B	pragrhyatām balir mātār mayā bhaktyā samarpitaḥ	p. 153 (fn. 24), 157 (fn. 39)
3.54A	lakṣmīḥ siddhir matir <sup>6</sup> medhā sarvalokanamaskṛtāḥ   6. ca.ba. devyaḥ siddhivṛddhilakṣmyaḥ   a.ta. dhṛtiḥ	p. 153 (fn. 24), 157 (fn. 39)
3.54B	mantrapūtam imaṃ devyaḥ pratigṛhṇantu me balim	p. 153 (fn. 24), 157 (fn. 39)
3.56A	<sup>8</sup> devavakra suraśreṣṭha dhūmaketo hutāśana   8. ayaṃ ślokaḥ ma.ta. koṣayor eva drśyate   N. omit this and next verse.	p. 153 (fn. 24, 27)
3.56B	bhaktyā samudyato deva baliḥ sampratigṛhyatām	p. 153 (fn. 24, 27)
3.57A	sarvagrahāṇāṃ pravara tejoraśe divākara	p. 153 (fn. 24, 27)
3.57B	bhaktyā mayodyate deva baliḥ sampratigṛhyatām	p. 153 (fn. 24, 27)
3.58A	sarvagrahapate soma dvijarāja jagatpriya	p. 153 (fn. 24, 27)
verse after 3.60A	( <sup>2</sup> bhūtebhyaś ca namo nityaṃ <sup>3</sup> yeṣāṃ eṣa baliḥ priyaḥ  ) 2. iyaṃ paṅktiḥ ma.ta.koṣayor eva drśyate   N. omits it. na.ta. rṣibhyaś ca   3. kṣa.ṭha.ma. teṣāṃ eṣa	p. 147 (fn. 6), 153 (fn. 24)
3.67A	namo 'stu nātyamātr̥bhyo brāhmyādyābhyo namo namaḥ	p. 153 (fn. 24), 157 (fn. 39)
3.67B	sumukhībhiḥ prasannābhir balir adya pragṛhyatām <sup>8</sup>    kṣa.ca.ma. balis sampratigṛhyatām	p. 153 (fn. 24), 157 (fn. 39)
3.70A	yāś cāsyāṃ mattavāraṇyāṃ samśritā <sup>1</sup> vāstudevatāḥ   1. a. samsthitā	p. 153 (fn. 24), 154 (fn. 31)
3.71A	<sup>2</sup> anye ye devagandharvā diśo daśa samāśritāḥ   2. ka.ba. anye 'pi ye devaganā   a. athānye 'pi ye devaganā	p. 153 (fn. 24), 154 (fn. 31)
3.71B	divyāntarikṣabhaumāś ca tebhyaś cāyaṃ baliḥ kṛtaḥ	p. 153 (fn. 24), 154 (fn. 31)
1 <sup>st</sup> line after 3.72B	( <sup>4</sup> ātodyāni tu sarvaṇi kṛtvā vastrottarāni tu   4. ma.ta.koṣayor ayaṃ śloko 'dhiko drśyate   N. omits it.	p. 157
2 <sup>nd</sup> line after 3.72B	gandhair mālyaiś ca dhūpaiś ca bhakṣyair bhojayaiś ca pūjayet   )	p. 157
3.73B	jarjaras tv abhisampūjyaḥ syāt tato vighnajarjaraḥ	p. 157, 163 (fn. 66)

	Quotations from NŚ GOS & AbhiBhā	Referred to on
3.74A	śvetam śirasi vastraṃ syān nīlam raudre <sup>5</sup> ca parvaṇi   5. ta.ba. raudre 'tha	p. 158, 163 (fn. 66)
3.74B	viṣṇuparvaṇi vai pītaṃ raktaṃ skandasya parvaṇi	p. 158, 163 (fn. 66)
3.75A	<sup>6</sup> mṛḍaparvaṇi citraṃ tu deyaṃ vastraṃ hitārthinā   ma.ta.ḷṣa. mūla   ba. mūṣa	p. 158, 163 (fn. 66)
3.75B	sadrśaṃ ca pradātavyaṃ dhūpamālyānulepanam	p. 158, 163 (fn. 66)
3.76A	ātodyāni ca sarvāni vāsobhir avagunṭhayet	p. 157
3.76B	gandhair mālyais ca dhūpais ca bhakṣyabhojyais ca pūjayet	p. 157
3.77A	sarvam evaṃ vidhiṃ kṛtvā <sup>7</sup> gandhamālyānulepanaiḥ   7. ḷṣa. dhūpa°	p. 158, 163 (fn. 66)
3.82A	jarjaraṃ pūjayitvaivaṃ <sup>10</sup> balim sarvaṃ <sup>11</sup> nivedya ca   10. tvā-ca   N. punas tvam ca śivo bhava   11. a. nivedayet	p. 158, 163 (fn. 66)
3.87A	sarasvatī dhṛtir medhā hrīḥ śrīr lakṣmīs smṛtir matiḥ	p. 157 (fn. 39)
3.87B	pāntu vo mātaraḥ <sup>17</sup> saumyās siddhidās ca bhavantu vaḥ    17. ḷṣa.ma.a. sarvāḥ	p. 157 (fn. 39)
3.100A	śāstrajñena vinītena śucinā dīkṣitena ca	p. 147 (fn. 6)
3.100B	nātyācāryeṇa śāntena <sup>4</sup> kartavyaṃ raṅgapūjanam    4. a. sārḍhañ ca	p. 147 (fn. 6)
3.101A	sthānabhraṣṭaṃ tu yo dadyād balim udvignamānasah	p. 147 (fn. 6)
3.101B	mantrahīno yathā hotā prāyaścittībhavet tu saḥ	p. 147 (fn. 6)
4.275A	puṣpāñjalidharā bhūtvā praviśed raṅgamaṇḍapam	p. 148 (fn. 8)
5 <sup>th</sup> and 6 <sup>th</sup> prose sentences after 6.31B	atrāha – yathā hi nānāvyañjanauśadhidravyasaṃyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ tathā nānābhāvopagamād rasanīṣpattiḥ <sup>2</sup>   yathā hi – guḍādibhir dravyair vyañjanair auśadhibhiś ca ṣāḍavādayo <sup>3</sup> rasā nirvartyante tathā <sup>1</sup> nānābhāvopagata <sup>2(b)</sup> api sthāyino bhāvā rasatvam āpnuvanṭi   2. ta. ttir bhavati   yathā hi   3. ma. ṣāḍrasā   ta. ṣāḍvādayo rasā   a. svādvādayo rasā   1. ḷṣa.ma. evaṃ nānā   2 {b} . ḷṣa.ma.na. pahitā	p. 166, with fn. 75
9.79B	yasyāṅgulyas tu viralāḥ sahaṅguṣṭhena kuñcitāḥ	p. 147 (fn. 6), 164
9.80A	<sup>7</sup> ūrdhvā hy asaṅgatāgrās ca sa bhavet padmakośakah   7. na. ūrdhvābhyutsaṃgatāgrā ca	p. 147 (fn. 6), 164
9.82A	devārcanabaliḥarane samudgake <sup>1</sup> sāgrapiṇḍadāne ca   1. ma. samudgate   dha. samagrake   ḍa. saṃhūte cāgra	p. 147 (fn. 6), 164 (incl. fn. 67),

Quotations from NŚ GOS & AbhiBhā		Referred to on
AbhiBhā ad 9.82b, vol. 2, p. 46, l. 2-4	agrapīṇḍo gavādeḥ (v.l.: gaṅgādeḥ), bhojanāya, mṛtasya vā, yatra yatrotsavāḍau nāndīmukhaśrāddhādāv apasavyatā na kāryā paryagraṃ piṇḍadānaṃ	p. 164 (fn. 67)
9.82B	kāryaḥ puṣpaprakarāś ca padmakośena hastena <sup>2</sup>    2. ma. puṣpaprakaryaḥ puṣpaprakarāś ca padmakośena	p. 147 (fn. 6)
9.107B	kāryaḥ pratigrahācamana <sup>7</sup> bhojanārtheṣu viprāṇāṃ    7. da. grahāśana	p. 162 (fn. 60)
9.117A	<sup>7</sup> samāgatāgrās sahitā yasyāṅgulyo bhavanti hi   7. pa. samāgatāgrasahitā	p. 147 (fn. 6)
9.117B	<sup>8</sup> ūrdhvā <sup>9</sup> haṃsamukhasyaiva sa bhaven mukulaḥ karaḥ    8. na. ūrdhvaṃ   pa. haṃsamukhasyeva	p. 147 (fn. 6)
9.118A	<sup>10</sup> devārcanabalikaraṇe <sup>11</sup> padmotpalamukularūpane <sup>12</sup> caiva   10. pa. devārcane   11. ma. haraṇe   12. cha. kumudarūpane	p. 147 (fn. 6)
16.127A	cekṛḍītaprabhṛtibhir vikṛtaiś ca śabdair <sup>9</sup> yuktā <sup>9a</sup> na bhānti lalitā bharataprayogāḥ   9. da. muktā   9a. N. r yuktā na tā	p. 166
16.127B	<sup>10</sup> yajñakriyeva rurucarmadharair ghṛtāktair veśyā dvijair iva kamaṇḍaludaṇḍahastaiḥ    10. ḍa. kṛṣṇājīnākṣa	p. 166
21.78B	sito nīlaś ca pītaś ca caturtho rakta eva ca	p. 147
21.79A	ete svabhāvajā varṇā yaiḥ kāryaṃ tv aṅgavartanam	p. 147
22.297A	bhojanam salilakṛḍā tathā lajjākaram ca yat	p. 162 (fn. 60)
22.297B	evaṃ vidhaṃ bhaved yad yad tat tad raṅge na kārayet <sup>6</sup>    6. bha. yojayet	p. 162 (fn. 60)
27.95A	ardharātre niyuñjīta <sup>5</sup> samadyāhne tathaiva ca   5. N. madhyāhne kadācana	p. 162 (fn. 60)
27.95B	sandhyābhojanakāle ca nātyaṃ naiva prayojayet	p. 162 (fn. 60)
34.272A	nave mṛdaṅge dātavyaṃ rohaṇam satatam budhaiḥ	p. 148
34.272B	gavyaṃ ghṛtam ca tailam ca tilapiṣṭam tathaiva ca	p. 148
34.276A	maṇḍalatrayaṃ ālipya gomayena sugandhinā	p. 148
34.276B	brahmāṇam śaṅkaram viṣṇuṃ triṣu teṣu prakalpayet	p. 148
34.277A	<sup>2</sup> āliṅgam sthāpayet pūrvaṃ kṛte brāhme <sup>3</sup> tha maṇḍale   2. N. liṅgam āsthāpayet pūrvaṃ brahmaṇo maṇḍale kṛte   (V. 219 ab-N.)	p. 148, 163 (fn. 63)
34.277B	ūrdhvaḥ tu dvitīye <sup>3</sup> smin rudranāmnī nidhāpayet	p. 148
34.278A	tīryag utsaṅgikaṃ samyag vaiṣṇave maṇḍale kṣipet	p. 148
34.278B	balipuṣpopahārais tu pūjayet puṣkaratrayaṃ	p. 148



Quotations from NŚ GOS & AbhiBhā		Referred to on
34.279A	pāyasam ghr̥tamadhvaktam candanam kusumāni ca	p. 149, 158 (fn. 43), 163 (fn. 63)
34.279B	śuklāni caiva vāsāṃsi dattvāliṅge svayambhuvah	p. 149, 150 (fn. 14), 163 (fn. 63)
34.280A	tryambakāya pradātavyaḥ saganāyordhvake baliḥ	p. 148
34.280B	svastikair lājikāpusparūpaṇḍāṣṭakaiḥ saha    <sup>3</sup> 3. <i>N. tryambakasya ca dātavyam saganasyārdhake baliḥ   svastikollāpikī pupa(rūpa?)bhāṣaṣiṣṭatilaiḥ saha    (I. 222-N.)</i>	p. 149
34.281B	baliḥ kāryaḥ prayatnena raktakaudumbaraiḥ saha	p. 148, 150 (fn. 14)
34.282A	vaiṣṇave maṇḍale sthāpyaḥ sarvabījagato ṅkikah	p. 150
34.282B	sragvastrālepanaiḥ <sup>1</sup> pṛṭaiś carubhiś ca sapāyasaiḥ <sup>2</sup>    1. { <i>read pṛṭaiś as in 34B.219c and BI 33.269a</i> } <i>N. pṛṭaiḥ not read in N.   2. N. sahāsavaiḥ  </i>	p. 150 (fn. 14), 150 (fn. 16)
34.290A	mṛdaṅgaś caiva nāmnā tu ūrdhvake nandya <sup>3</sup> thocyate   3. <i>N. nānyathocyate  </i>	p. 147 (fn. 6)
34.290B	<sup>4</sup> āṅkikah siddhir ity evam āliṅgaś caiva piṅgalaḥ    4. <i>N. āṅkikas tv asitaḥ  </i>	p. 147 (fn. 6)
34.291A	<sup>5</sup> bhūtapriyo balis tebhyo dātavyaḥ siddhim icchatā   5. <i>N. bhūtāvedyo balis tasya  </i>	p. 147 (fn. 6)
34B.216A	āliṅge cañja(cāñja)liṃ dadyāt madhupāyasamiśritam	p. 149
34B.216B	apūrva <sup>1</sup> (po)llapikāmiśrām āliṅge <sup>2</sup> sampradāpayet    1. <i>po.   2. m āṅgike  </i>	p. 149
34B.217B	svastikā ṅpūpikā <sup>3</sup> dhūparūpakaiś ca tilaiḥ saha    3. <i>dhūpikā  </i>	p. 149
34B.218B	baliḥ kāryaḥ prayatnena racto raktāambaraiḥ saha	p. 150 (incl. fn. 14)
34B.219B	śuddhasyālambanaiḥ pṛṭaiś carubhiś ca sahāsavaiḥ	p. 150

## APPENDIX II

### Conventions

References to text passages from the NŚ, consisting of the chapter number and the number(s) of the relevant stanza(s), are provided in the running text and footnotes. The referenced text itself, unless

prefixed with an asterisk (\*), is given in Appendix I, p. 15ff., ordered by chapter, together with back references.

All text references correspond to the NŚ's **GOS** (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda) edition, unless the **BI** (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta) edition is specified.

References to the alternative version of NŚ GOS 34 (*bhinnapāṭhakrama*) are marked with the capital letter B after the *adhyāya* number (e.g. 34**B**.214A).

To facilitate the identification of a text passage from the NŚ, the full reference is invariably given, that is, without resorting to the use of the abbreviation 'ibid.'

Purely **descriptive** information on rituals, often of an incidental or parenthetical nature, is marked by the abbreviation '**DE**' before the textual reference. The NŚ also **prescribes** the performance of rituals, which are of two kinds: a group of five ritual complexes that are **preliminary** to the staging of a play on the one hand, and rituals that form part of a play's storyline and consequently have to be **enacted** on stage, on the other. These prescribed rituals are again indicated by prefixing two-letter codes to the textual reference (see the table below). References to text passages without immediate relevance for rituals are consequently not prefixed in this way.

The lines of a stanza are indicated with the capital letters A and B, the *pādas* of a stanza as customary with the small letters a to d.

In the free renderings of the Sanskrit passages referred to, the bracketing conventions of translations (additions within square brackets, Sanskrit equivalents and explanations between round ones) have been adopted.

Within citations, comments and emendations by the author are placed between curly braces.

Context of information on rituals in the NŚ	Source (GOS ed.)	Abbreviation
a. <b>described</b> rituals	passim	DE
b. prescribed rituals i. preliminary rituals 1. construction of the theatre building ( <i>nāṭyagrha</i> )	<i>adhyāya</i> 2 (see also 1.79A–98B)	NĀ

Context of information on rituals in the NŚ	Source (GOS ed.)	Abbreviation
2. consecration of the three <i>mṛdaṅga</i> drums	34.272A–293B, 34B.210B–231A	MṚ
3. creation of the <i>jarjara</i> and the <i>daṇḍa-kāṣṭha</i> staff	21.173B–185B	JA
4. consecration of the stage ( <i>raṅga</i> ) and the theatre building	<i>adhy.</i> 3 (see also 1.120A–127B)	RA
5. performance of the <i>pūrvaraṅga</i> rituals	<i>adhy.</i> 5 (see also <i>adhy.</i> 4; 29.79B–prose sentence before 112A, 29B.114A–prose sentence before 147A; <i>adhy.</i> 31; etc.)	PŪ
ii. enacted rituals	passim	EN

## References and abbreviations<sup>79</sup>

### Primary sources

AbhiBhā | Abhinavagupta: *Abhinavabhāratī*  
see NŚ GOS

AmKo | Amarakośa = Ramanathan, A. A. (ed.). 1971, 1978 [repr. 1989]. *Amarakośa*. With the Unpublished South Indian Commentaries *Amarapadavivṛti* of Liṅgayasūrin, the *Amarapadapārijāta* of Mallinātha and (in vol. 2) the *Amarapadavivarāṇa* of Appayārya. Critically edited with Introduction. 2 vols. The Adyar Library Series 101. Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre.

BI | see NŚ BI

<sup>79</sup> Abbreviations of electronic sources are marked by a hyphen before the year of access (for instance, NPGS-2017). Appending this abbreviation to <http://preview.tinyurl.com/> or <http://tinyurl.com/> (e.g., <http://tinyurl.com/NPGS-2017>) automatically redirects the reader to the original URL, which is also provided in full form.

- Ghosh, M. 1951. *The Nāṭyaśāstra. A Treatise on Hindu Dramaturgy and Histrionics Ascribed to Bharata-muni*, Vol. 1. (Chapters I–XXVII). Completely translated for the first time from the original Sanskrit with an Introduction and Various Notes. Bibliotheca Indica 272. Calcutta: The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
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GOS | see NŚ GOS

NŚ | Bharata: *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

BI | Bibliotheca Indica = Ghosh, M. (ed.) 1956–1967. *The Nāṭyaśāstra ascribed to Bharata-muni. Edited with an Introduction and Various Readings from MSS. and printed texts*. 2 vols. Calcutta: Manisha Granthalaya (vol. 1)/ Asiatic Society (vol. 2).

GOS | Gaekwad's Oriental Series = Kavi, M. R., J. S. Pade, K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, K. Krishnamoorthy, V. M. Kulkarni and T. Nandi (eds.). 1992–2006. *Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni. With the Commentary Abhinavabhāratī by Abhinavaguptācārya* (rev. ed.). 4 vols. [Gaekwad's Oriental Series 436, 268, 2124, 2145]. Baroda: Oriental Institute.

## Secondary sources

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