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Katthak – It's origin, development and historical perspective

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Abstract

Katthak, a classical dance of North India is now a days famous in all parts of the world. In the present paper an attempt has been made to go into the literal meaning of Katthak, its form and historical development. The various knownKatthak Institutes are imparting training in Katthak as a dignified classical art leading to Diploma, Degrees etc. At the end, training centres are also mentioned, as they are contributing a lot in promoting this art. It is the need of the hour and our responsibility to popularize this classical art, so that it develops and remain alive in our cultures. In this paper i have potrayed the origin and developedment through its histirical aspects. I have also explain the importance and authenticity of an original word Kathak and criticised who have tried to change the original word Kathak.

Research Paper

Katthak is the classical dance of North India. Its influence is pervasive mainly in Rajasthan, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. Apart from these states it has established an identity in Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana as well as in Kashmir. Today it is popular not only in India but its fame has also spread throughout the world. It holds a high position in the field of classical dances in India.

While studying the style of the Katthak dance, it is imperative to go into its literal meaning, its form and historical development because the dance scholars have used the different forms of this word. In this context, the scholar of Performing Arts and a prominent commentator of **Natyashastra** Dr. B.V.Mishra's statement is quite valid :

> *The whole history of beliefs and traditions lies concealed in words. For instance " The Hindu " is a small word but this " Hindu" word has with it India's thousand years history, civilization and cultural traditions.*[1]

Dr. Mishra further observes :

Kathak (कथक) and Katthak (कत्थक) are two currently popular words for Katthak dance. The question is that do they have two different meanings? Are they linked with different traditions? Have these words different forms as the Sanskrit words' Nrit' and Nritya' have?[2] From available literature on Katthak the five forms of this word have already been discovered. These five forms are :

1. Kathak (कथक)[3]
2. Kathik (कथिक)[4]
3. Kathki (कत्थकी)[5]
4. KathakNatwari Dance (कथक नटवरी नृत्य)[6]
5. Katthak (कत्थक)[7]

It should be mentioned in this context that apart from Hindi language we find literature in English also pertaining to this subject. From the point of view of scholarly study it is very important to describe some of the books. The first book in

English on Katthak dance was published from London.

A detailed description of the works on the subject is given below :

1. "Classical Dances and Costumes of India."[8]
2. "The Classical Dance Pose of India".[9]
3. "Dances of India".[10]
4. "'Marg' Magazine, special issue on Katthak Sept. 1959 [11]

The first book in English was written by Kay Ambrose which was published in 1950 from London. Ambrose used the word Kathak which became traditional. In 1967, RinaSingha's book *IndianDances : their history and growth was published* from London. In 1968, EnakshiBhawani's book *The dance in India* was published from Bombay. In 1974, Dr. KapilaVatsyayan's book *Indian Classical Dance* came on the shelves in Delhi. In 1987, Leela Samson's *Classical Dances in India* and in 1989 Dr. Sunil Kothari's Kathak :*Indian Classical Dance* were published from Delhi. As mentioned above since Ambrose used the word Kathak, it could not be accepted as correct from the grammatical and phonetically points of view because it could be pronounced at *Kathak* (कथक), *katthak* (कत्थक) *and Kaathak* (काथक). Ambrose has not used any diacritic symbols on the words and as a result his pronunciation can not be ensured. Therefore Kathak word in English Langauge cannot become the basis of research.

Katthak (कथक) is quite an ancient word. The dance is known as Katthak dance even by earlier dance masters. It is very old and traditional word because it is used not only for the dance but the dance masters of this dance form also call themselves *Katthak.* This word has been popular in two forms:- adjective as well as common noun.

As far as written proofs are concerned Katthak word is found printed in ***Amarkosh.*** In its Hindi explanation it is mentioned that there are two names of Katthak:

a) Chaaran b) Kushilav[12]

In the books written by Pt. Tirath Ram Azad we find the word Katthak. In his interview by the researcher he said that many bols of dance are based on 'Ta' and 'Thei'. In the word Katthak we find a combination of both sounds i.e Ta and Tha whereas in Kathak the representation of ' Ta' is missing.[13]

In Sanskrit the word Katthak means the one who tells a story. Another meaning is an ' actor'. The third meaning is quarrelsome person and the fourth is the one who narrates a story[14]

Information about many words is occasionally gathered from the talks with the elders. The old masters have been often stating that *'Katha Kahe so Katthak'* This is indicative of at least this fact that Katthak dance has been related to story-telling in some way. The composer of Hindi - Shabad - Sagar Sh. Shyam Sunder Dass has mentioned an interesting fact that a person who earned his living by narrating epics is called an actor. Another name for him in Sanskrit was *Nat and Katha Pran.*[15]

As per the findings of Sir Moniel M. Williams 'Katthak' was a professional story teller :

> "Name of a man, who publicly reads and expounds the Purans. He was chief actor performing prologue".[16]

In Sanskrit lexicons 'Katthak' (कत्थक) has been described as a story - teller, narrator of drama or a solo performer. The famous lexicon *'Shabda Kalpadrum'* has described that the one who depends upon reciting the religious tales is called *Katthak. EkaNata and Kathaprana are* synonyms of this word in Sanskrit.'[17] *Vachaspatyam* also describes this word in the same reference but adds a new. word to its meaning. This work designates the word *Natyacharya* too and gives a reference of ShabdaR*atnavali."*[18]

Besides, there is an important reference in ***Amarkosh*** which indicates an important source of the word Katthak. This Sanskrit lexicon was written in 10th century by Maharaja Amar Singh. It refers to six names of Nats:

1. Shailalin (शैलालिन्) 2. Shailush (शैलूष)

3. Jayajiva (जायाजीव) 4. Krishashvi (कृशाश्वी)

5. Bharat (भारत) 6. Nat. (नट)

It was also known that during 10th century, Chaaran (चारण) and Kushilav (कुशीलव) dancers were called Katthaks.[19] Chaarans have been related with Rajasthan. The word Chaaran and charan are derived from the root 'char'. Chaarans are used mainly in dance. As far as the word Kushilav is concerned, its description can also be seen in Bharata's **Natyashastra.**

Bharata has revealed that Kushilav was a class of people who excelled themselves in making and playing at musical instruments of leather. They were expert in this art of making and playing all types of avnadh instruments.[20]

ORIGIN & DEVELOPMENT

In the light of these contexts, it follows logically that the words Kathak and Katthak have originated from the sanskrit root Kath(कथ्) and Katth (कत्थ्). During the Sanskrit era, the word Katthak was also popular but its form was not identical with the present Katthak dancer. This manifests the fact that since the ancient times there was a class of people who used to narrate epics through songs.

With the passage of time, country's culture too underwent changes. The Kushilvas described in Natyashastra and Chaarans of Rajasthan got intertwined and the development of this new form of art gave birth to a class of Katthaks in Rajasthan. The instrumentplayers lent it their skill of music. The Chaarans decorated it with poetic metre. Some of them became dhands, the dancers in temples; some became a part of GunijanKhana in courts. Others left their hometowns in search of livelihood. They settled wherever it suited them.

The class which had moved from West to East and settled nearAvadh shows marked dialectic influence of these areas. That is why people living in or near Ayodhaya started calling themselves Kathiks. Those who had migrated towards Darbhanga and Bengal were named Kathakta. lateron they started calling themselves Katthaks. But all of them had a common dance style. Dancers residing in Braj adopted BrajRaas. They began to present life of Radha - Krishna artistically in temples. The same style reached Avadh too. In the beginning, NawabWajid Ali Shah initiated to *Raheskhana.*, but gradually with the help of masters, he incorporated Salami, Amad, Tora, Tara in it. In due course, words of Urdu and Persian got mixed with the original dialect.

In Bengal Katthaks kept on presenting epics. As a result, this art came to be called Katthak (कत्थक) in Western India, Kathik (कथिक) in Middle India and Katthak (कत्थक) in Eastern India. Now-a-days, these are traditional words for this art. Even today dancers of Rajasthan call it 'Katthak (कत्थक). Katthak dancers of Avadhcall it 'Kathik' (कथिक) and Bihar-Bengal describe it as 'Katthak' (कत्थक). Katthak dance has impetus with the establishment of a Katthak-dance centre in the capital, Delhi. The Delights use English language and that is why they use the word Kathak (कथक). Keshav Chander Verma's statement about Katthak dance is ture:

> The way the Katthak gained prominence on account of state patronage; it has not been the case of other dances. In the courts of Delhi and Avadh, that form of Kathak was evolved which had more mass appeal. Gradually, it slipped into cheap type of romantic gratification.[21]

In the absence of any proof, we cannot positively assert as when and how the development of 'Katthak' took place. Another difficulty that we face is that often names undergo change due to changes in civilization. Sanskrit word *Ek Nat and Katha Pran* appear to be very close to Katthak dancer of these days. We have already mentioned the meanings of the words above.

The scattered contexts found in sanskrit literature or history, point to specific fact that there was definitely a class of dancers who used to present stories in courts or among ordinary folk by means of singing and music.

> "In the seventh chapter of SANGEET RATNAKAR, SharangDev makes a reference to the status of Kathaks in the court. During

> SharangDev's time Kathaks were adept in the art of dancing, singing and acting. By the 13th century A.D. the style of singing by the Katthaks had developed its own specialfeatures. SANGIT SAMAYASARA mentions PARANARITI of Kathaks. AcharyaSudhaKalasha (14th. century A.D.) points to the decadence that had set in the art of the Kathak. According to him they were despised."[22]

During 15th century the Bhakti movement of Vaishnavism spread all over India, Lord Krishna and Radha were in the centre of the movement. The charming personality of Krishna and Radha covered all branches of Art. Music, dance, drama, painting and poetry everything was conditioned under the fascinating description of Krishna's holy spirits.

In history from 16th century onwards, there are some references available about Katthaks. King Akbar was a lover of art. His friend and counselor Abul- Fazal had written a book ***Ain - e - Akbari***. In it he has given details about the singers and dancers and the prevalent festivals during 1605. In Akbar's court, there was a famous Rajasthani music teacherBallabh, who taught Katthak to many new learners.[23] During the same period two renowned dancers named Swami GhamandDev and Narayan Bhatt used to train young boys in Raaslilaof Braj.[24]

BrajRaasbecame quite popular by the 17th century. As it was imbued with religious with religious connotations; it spread rapidly. Katthak had gained an upper hand through Raas in Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh,Gujrat and Bengal. We hear only the strains of Raas in the present Katthak.

Secondly, a group of dancers accepted royal patronage. They wished in the courts of Hindus and Muslim kings. NawabWajid Ali Shah appointed Thakur Prasad as dance teacher to train the learners.[25]

The Katthaks had to wander in far off places to earn their lively hood, The Muslim rulers coloured devotional 'Kathak' with courtly glitter and entertainment. Consequently a mere touch of bhava remained.The mythical context gradully disappeared altogether.[26]

In temples and RaaslilasKatthak was performed in company of Dhrupad. This tradition continued in temples and in Raaslilas, But in 1719 when Delhi came under the control of Mohammad Shah Rangeela this style underwent a change. Mohammad Shah in Delhi and Wajid Ali Shah in Luckhnowimparted it new forms and dimensions. Mohammad Shah remainedin power from 1719 to 1748 for a period of 31 years.[27] He was very fond of music. Rangeela infused a new life in music tradition that had been suffocated by Aurangzeb.

Mohammad Shah Rangeela patronised an artist Pia Nemat Khan with reverence. Nemat Khan was a great master of music and dance. He used to teach Dhrupad and dance in court. Mohammad Shah named him *'Sadarang'*. Sadarang's nephew and son-in-law, Feroz Khan was also a great artist of music. He was named *'Adarang'* by Shah. Shah inspired him for 'Khayal recitation. According to Shah *Sthayi, Antra, Sanchari, and Abhog* (Dhrupad's four limbs) made it unduly lengthy. So he asked him to retain only *Sthay*i and *Antra* in *Khayal* . But Namet Khan always sang Dhrupad and taught dance only on Dhrupad. Later on, Thumari was bom.[28]

On the other side, NawabWajid Ali Shah of Lucknow was a lover of music, dance and poetry. He was always on the lookout for great masters of these arts. There were hundreds of instrument players, singers and dancers in the court.

> "In the history of Kathak, the contribution of 'Wajid Ali Shah' the last Nawab of 'Oudh', is particularly significant. He was himself an accomplished musician and a dancer besides being a poet of great merit, writing in Urdu. The Nawab was -obsessed with the Rasa leela and he himself devised an opera which he called Rahas, He took part in it along with his begums and during his ruleKathak as a dance -form appears to have reached its zenith. Great Kathak dancers and teachers were given patronage, the king himself learning to dance

from them... It was during his rule that the Lucknowgharana came into being and receivedgreat impetus."[29]

It has been mentioned earlier that many Katthaks had to wander in far off places in quest of livelihood. There is no concrete record of these migrating Katthaksduringsthe 18tb & 19th centuries. During the 20th century, the tradition of Gharanas flourished rapidly and such terms as JaipurGharana, LucknowGharana, Benaras Gharana etc. came into being in the field of Katthak dance.[30] Dance captured the fancy of Kings, as mentioned before. Many courts of Jaipur had Gunijankhana where only artists were given a place. There are ample proofs of this:

"And we gather from the Journal of W.E.Osbome, Military secretary to the Governor General of India - that the Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab was very fond of dancing girls. He had a retinue of 150 dancing girls."[31]

In due course, Katthaks had to adapt to many modifications. They had to incorporate many new shades in their. style and forgo many traditional influences. A full record of all this is not available. But the prominent fact is that Katthak was wedded to Radha -Krishna lilas so that even today its form is richly adorned with their dramatic beauty. Drama's emotive contents are still the most important ingredients of Katthak. Hence Katthak is a union of dance and drama.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

It has been discussed in the previous pages that in ancient times there had been a tradition of reciting Epics and other mythological episodes by certain classes of rhapsodists in the public. In Sanskrit lexicons they were known as Granthiks, Grathiks, Paathaka and Katthaks. In fact they were story - tellers. In due course of time Chaarans and Kushilavs united and a class of Katthaks emerged in the northern part of India.

It is untrue that Katthak gained prominence during the rule of Mugals. This was the age of Vaishnavs who established .a vast spiritual empire of their own before Mugal rule. D.G. Vyashas described the fact as under:

"During the period of the resurgence of Vaishnavism, communities of artistes like Dhadhi, Natwa, Charan„ Kalawant, Kirtaniya, Rasadhari and also Kathaks were residing in Vraja. The dance which flourished under the impetus of Vaishnavism was pure Kathak in its style, technique and form"[32]

The age of Vaishnavism was the golden age of Dhrupad which was a leading form of singing to accompany the dance. The katthak flourished so much during the15th and 16th centuries, that it became an essential part of Hindu Rajas of the Rajasthan, and the Mugal rulers of the North. It got so much popularity that it was known as a name of community as well as a school of dance :

"Since Vedic period there were many professional classes of artistes like *SOOTA* (सूत), *SHAILUSHA* (शैलूष), *KRISHASHVI* (कृशाश्वी). Some of them were professional singers, some musicians, some dancers etc."[33] In the social stem of Indian culture many festivals, rituals and ceremonies were performed from time to time and the professional dancers, singers and instrumentalists were engaged.[34] The Katthak got an identity down the centuries in the North and gradually got fame as a community of classical dancers. The medieval period of Krishna - Radha cult revived its form and made it more fascinating.[35]

It is true that this dance form had to undergo many changes as per need of the time. When Katthak dancers lived in the courts of Moguls they had to mould it according to the liking of their patrons or employers. Accordingly the characteristics of Katthak dance were changed. For example when this dance form came to the court of Nawab of Avadh it had to accept the themes relating to ShringarNayikas and so on:

"Certainly, it fell into decay through the ups and downs of feudal history, until it was recognised in its emotive aspects by the great Mugal Emperor. This process enriched Katthakwith the grace of Islamic choreography and costume."[36] But the

contribution of the Mughal ruler Wajid All Shah was exemplary:

> "The poet Wajid All Shah rescued it and restored it to the famous LucknowGharana, whose descendants in Oudh and elsewhere, have preserved whatever purity there remains in it."[37]

In the art of Katthak dance only rhythm is not enough. It bears process of conscious understanding of emotions and a constant process of innovation of moods in the language of gestures. Katthak dance is an embellishment of dance, poetry and acting. At the time of presentation, it becomes a manifestation of ancient Indian dramaturgy. Not only this, it becomes a mirror of Indian aestheticism.

On account of its aesthetic fragrance it covered a wide area of Northern India. Mr. Norvin Hein has given a reference that one come across a name or two of famous *'KATHAVACHAKS'* like 'Shreedhar Katthak' of Bengal, who had composed several songs of great merit.[38]

> "Throughout Eastern Uttar Pradesh one comes across people who belong to the Kathak Caste. Taking into account the ethnological manuals one gather some information about their traditional caste occupation which is dancing, serving as teachers, managers and musical accompanists to dancing girls. As per census figures of 1891, one notices astonishing numbers of Kathaks in cities like Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Rai Bareli and Pratapgarha."[39]

Katthak dance was in existence as a practical art for over a thousand years. SawaiMaharajPratap Singh of Jaipur, Wajid Ali Shah of Avadh and MaharajChakardhar Singh of Raigarh gave patronage to hundreds of Katthak Gurus, who added many new folds to this style. But whenthe British rule came into power the conditions were changed.

The institution of the courtesans sustained the art of Katthak though it assumed a different character. It was more on the side of seductive movements and was aimed at merely providing cheap entertainment to the patrons, just to please them and to get reward. In this process many Katthak teachers perhaps had to come in association with the women then of ill-fame or the prostitutes.

During British rule, the art of dance and especially the dancers were not considered good and dignified people of the society.[40] The British rulers noticed a combination of Persian nautch - girls, the whores and ladies of low-class dancing. Their teachers were participating in the dance performances as musicians. So Katthak was considered a means of livelihood for the ladies of low class. During that period, the Katthak dance had degenerated into a vulgar art.

The contribution of a few Gharanas is laudable in uplifting this dance. Jaipur, Lucknow and BenarasGharanas are famous today. Formerly Lucknow, Benaras and Jaipur Gharanas were known as Gharanas of katthak dance. The contribution of MaharajBindadin and Kalka Prasad is remarkable in enhancing the glory of LucknowGharana. Bindadin and Kalka Prasad were inseparable and whatever the Gharana has today is largely due to the contributions made by these two luminaries. Both were dancers and both were teachers.[41]

As regards Jaipur Gharana, the credit goes to "Girdhariji's two sons - Hari Prasad and Hanuman Prasad. Whereas Hari Prasad had no son, Hanuman Prasad had three - Mohan Lal, ChiranjiLal and Narayan Prasad. Hari Prasad and Hanuman Prasad were the famous pair of their times. They were called — "*DevPariKa Jora*"[42] Their names are uttered with a dedication by the dancers like Bindadin and Kalka Prasad of Lucknow Gharana.

BenarasGharana starts with the exponent - Katthak dancer JanakiPrasad. Originally, he belonged to Rajasthan but he migrated to Banaras and was a versatile genius of this art form. ChunniLal, Dula Ram and Ganeshi Lal later spread the technique of Janaki Prasad.[43]

The latest findings give us a very clear picture of the BenarasGharanaJanaki Prasad was born in 1826 in a village Melusar located near Churu. In 1851, he was the court - dancer of Bikaner. The queen BaghelaJi was a great devotee of Shri Krishna and asked Janaki Prasad to create a devotional dance. She herself wrote 108 poems on

Krishna - Radha. Her work is known as Rasa - Vilasa.

Janaki Prasad composed her poems in dance. He did not accept the bolls of Tabla or Pakhawaj for dancing, but created his own syllables. When Janaki Prasad felt that the impact of British rulers and Nawabs was making the Katthak dance vulgar, he migrated to the city of Natraj Shiva, Benaras and maintained the sanctity of the Katthak.[44] Further history ofKatthak is a saga of efforts by many luminaries:

> "With the advent of Uday Shankar on the scene, GurudevRavindraNath Tagore's epoch - making attempts at introducing the education of classical dances at Shanti-Niketan, poet Vallathol's - starting of Kerala Kala Mandalam in the thirties in Kerala, Rukmini Devi and E. Krishna Iyer's historic work in re - establishing Bharat Natyam and the beginning of Kalakshetram as a major institution where a galaxy of great masters began to impart training in music and dance, the awakening of the National spirit in the wake of our fight for freedom from alien rule and a similar awakening among the intellectuals contributed in salvaging our precious heritage of classical dances, among which Katthak too received a renewed patronage at the hands of performers from the social strata other than Baijis and prostitutes."[45]

PanditUday Shankar and Madam Menaka established dance as a dignified classical art in the Indian society. Teaching of Katthakwas started by the institutions at the national Level and in three decades it has established an international identity. Today Katthak dance is considered as a great and dignified classical dance form of India. The latest training centres of Katthak dance like Kathak Kendra - New Delhi (National Institute of Kathak dance), Kathak Kendra- Jaipur, Bhatkhande Sansthan Lucknow, Kathak Kendra Lucknow, Rastriya Kathak Sansthan Lucknow, Government Music Collage Hyderabad, Bhartiya Kala Kendra- New Delhi, Gandharva Mahavidyala-Delhi Kalashram Institute of Pt. BirjuMaharaj- New Delhi, Government Girls Colladge, KilaBhawan Indore, NatarajSangeetkala Kendra Varanasi, Kala- Niketan Nagpur (UP) BhartiyaVidyaBhawan Pune, Samskritishreyaksar Kolkatta, Shankar Katthak Centre Kokatta, NatwariJanki Prasad Academy of Kathak - Mumbai, Nrittya Kala Kendra Mumbai, Archana Nritayala Mumbai, Uma Dogra School of Katthak Mumbai, Madhav Music college Gwalior, Banaras Hindu University Varanasi, Maharaja Siyajirao university of Baroda, Kurukshetra University of Kurukeshetra Govt College of Girls, Patiala, Punjab, Punjabi University, Patiala Punjab, Govt college of Girls Sector -11 Chandigarh, Govt College of Girls Sector -42 Chandigarh, Appeejay College of Jalandhar, B.D Arya Collage of Girls Jalandhar, Govt College of Girls Amritsar, Rabinder Chakradhar Nritya Kendra Bhopal, Indira Kala Sangeet VishavVidyalaya Khairagarh, Rabindra BharatiyavishavVidyala Kolkattaetc are contributing a lot in promoting Kathak Dance.

FOOTNOTES

1. मिश्र बी.बी. भरत और उनका नाट्यशास्त्र, पृ. 134
2. ———— कत्थक और कत्थक शब्द की प्रामाणिकता, शोध लेख अगस्त 3, 1994 प्राचीन कला केन्द्र, चंडीगढ़ में पढ़ा गया।
3. राम कार्तिक रायगढ़ में कत्थक पुस्तक के आवरण पर कथक शब्द अंकित हुआ है।
4. द्विवेदी, राजाराम भारतीय नृत्य शिक्षा पाठ्यमाला के पृ. 6 पर कथक शब्द अंकित हुआ है।
5. देवी विमल, कथकी शब्द नृत्य शिक्षा नामक पुस्तक के पृष्ठ संख्या 9 पर अंकित हुआ है।
6. गर्ग लक्ष्मीनारायण, नटवरी शब्द, कत्थक नटवरी नृत्य में प्रयुक्त हुआ है।
7. आज़ाद तीरथराम, कत्थक शब्द उनके द्वारा लिखित पुस्तक कत्थक प्रवेशिका में अंकित हुआ है जो कि वर्ष 1960 में छपा था।
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13. Azad, Tirath Ram, Interview dated on June 6, 1993.
14. आप्टे वामन शिवराम, संस्कृत हिन्दी कोश, पृ. 242
15. दास श्यामसुन्दर हिन्दी शब्द सागर पृ. 645

16. Willams, Monier Monier, *Sanskrit- English Dictionary*, p-247
17. Dev, Radhakant, *Shabda Kalpadrum*,Volume-ii, p-17
18. Tarkavachaspati, Taranath Vachaspatyam, Volume-III, p -1635
19. Amarkosh, OP. Cit, p-219
20. Kavi, M Ramkrishna, J.S Pade, edited *Natyashastra of Bharatmuni,* Chapter-35, Shalok -38
21. वर्मा, केशव चन्द्र, भारतीय नृत्य कला, पृ. 17
22. Kothari, Sunil, Kathak : *Indian Classical Dance* Art, p-1
23. कत्थक दर्पण, Op. Cit, p-164
24. मित्तल, प्रभु दयाल, ब्रज की कलाओं का इतिहास, पृ. 522
25. कत्थक दर्पण, Op. Cit, p-166
26. भारतीय नृत्य कला, Op, Cit, P-20
27. श्रीवास्तव, आशीर्वादी लाल, मुग़ल कालीन भारत, पृ. 121
28. मिश्रा, बी.वी, शोध-पत्र : कत्थक नृत्य में सात्विक अभिनय, प्राचीन कला केन्द्र चंडीगढ़ द्वारा आयोजित जयपुर के एक सेमिनार वर्ष 1994 में पढ़ा गया।
29. Kathak :*Indian Classical Dance Art*, Op. Cit, p-10.
30. भारतीय नृत्य कला, Op. Cit, p-20.
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