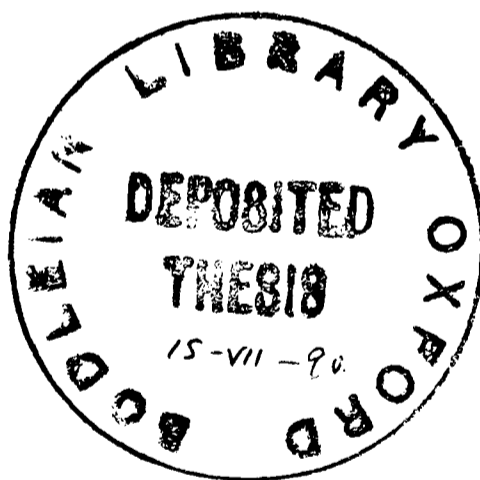


The Evolution of Classical Indian Dance Literature: A Study of the Sanskritic Tradition

by
Mandakranta Bose
Somerville College

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy



Michaelmas Term
1989

ABSTRACT

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The most comprehensive view of the evolution of dancing in India is one that is derived from Sanskrit textual sources. In the beginning of the tradition of discourse on dancing, of which the earliest extant example is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata Muni, dancing was regarded as a technique for adding the beauty of abstract form to dramatic performances. An ancillary to drama rather than an independent art, it carried no meaning and elicited no emotional response. Gradually, however, its autonomy was recognized as also its communicative power and it began to be discussed fully in treatises rather than in works on drama or poetics—a clear sign of its growing importance in India's cultural life.

Bharata's description of the body movements in dancing and their interrelationship not only provided the taxonomy for all subsequent authors on dancing but much of the information on its actual technique. However, Bharata described only what he considered to be artistically the most cultivated of all the existing dance styles, leaving out regional and popular varieties. These styles, similar in their basic technique to Bharata's style but comprising new types of movements and methods of composition, began to be included in later studies. By the 16th century they came to occupy the central position in the accounts of

contemporary dancing and coalesced into a distinct tradition that has remained essentially unchanged to the present time. Striking technical parallels relate modern styles such as Kathak and Odissi to the later tradition rather than to Bharata's.

The textual evidence thus shows that dancing in India evolved by assimilating new forms and techniques and by moving away from its early dependency on drama. In the process it also widened its aesthetic scope beyond decorative grace to encompass emotive communication. Beauty of form was thus wedded to the matter of emotional content, resulting in the growth of a complex art form.

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Acknowledgments

My first guide to the study of literature on dancing was Professor Thomas Burrow whose kindness and guidance has always been my inspiration. I started to explore this field twenty-five years ago and the first fruit of this was my B. Litt. dissertation and a guide-book to the technical terms used in the Sanskrit literature on dancing. During the last two decades I gathered material to write a history and evolution of concepts of dancing as recorded in the Sanskritic tradition.

Despite the wealth of evidence I had gathered, the marshalling of it within a strong conceptual framework would not have been possible without the uncompromising critical monitoring of my two guides, Alexis Sanderson and Jonathan Katz. For this as much as for friendship I express my sincere gratitude to them. I am also indebted to Professor Bimal Matilal whose support, both moral and scholarly, has been unstinted. Professor Richard Gombrich has been similarly kind and has helped me find material from his field relevant to my study. I thank them all.

The Spalding Trust has placed me under a debt of gratitude by awarding me a Trustee's grant. I am also deeply grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for a doctoral fellowship that helped me complete my work at Oxford..

My greatest debt is to my husband Tirthankar, whose criticism, help and patience sustained me through the period of writing this dissertation. My daughter and my son, Sarika and Pablo, have suffered most during this period when I could not give any attention to them. Without the support of my family I could not have undertaken my task.

Abbreviations

<i>Abh.Dar.</i>	<i>Abhinaya Darpaṇa</i>
<i>AB.</i>	<i>Abhinavabhāratī</i>
<i>Ad. Lib.</i>	<i>Adyar Library</i>
<i>A. Soc. MS.</i>	<i>Asiatic Society Manuscript</i>
<i>DR.</i>	<i>Daśarūpaka</i>
<i>G.O.S.</i>	<i>Gaekwad Oriental Series</i>
<i>KA</i>	<i>Kāvyaḍarśa</i>
<i>KAnu.H.</i>	<i>Kāvyaṇuśāsana of Hemachandra</i>
<i>KAnu.V.</i>	<i>Kāvyaṇuśāsana of Vāgbhaṭṭa</i>
<i>KAlam.</i>	<i>Kāvyaḷamkāra</i>
<i>NN:</i>	<i>Nartananirṇaya</i>
<i>NLRK</i>	<i>Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa</i>
<i>N.D.</i>	<i>Nāṭyadarpaṇa</i>
<i>NS:</i>	<i>Nāṭyaśāstra</i>
<i>NR.</i>	<i>Nṛtyaratnāvalī</i>
<i>NRK:</i>	<i>Nṛtyaratnakośa</i>
<i>Nṛ. Adh.</i>	<i>Nṛtyādhyāya</i>
<i>Bh. Ar.</i>	<i>Bharatārṇava</i>
<i>Bh.p.</i>	<i>Bhāvaprakāśana</i>
<i>Mā.</i>	<i>Mālavikāgnimitra</i>
<i>Mānas.</i>	<i>Mānasollāsa</i>
<i>RK.</i>	<i>Rasakaumudī</i>
<i>VDF.</i>	<i>Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa</i>
<i>STR.</i>	<i>Śivatattvaratnātakara</i>
<i>Śr.P.</i>	<i>Śṛṅgāraprakāśa</i>
<i>SKA.</i>	<i>Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa</i>
<i>SadC.</i>	<i>Sadrāgacandrodaya</i>
<i>SUS.</i>	<i>Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra</i>
<i>SC.</i>	<i>Saṅgīta Candra</i>
<i>SN.</i>	<i>Saṅgītanārāyaṇa</i>
<i>SDar.</i>	<i>Saṅgīta Darpaṇa</i>

SDām.

Saṅgīta Dāmodara

SMak.

Saṅgīta Makaranda

SMak.V

Saṅgīta Makaranda of Vedasūri

SR.

Saṅgīta Ratnākara

SSam.

Saṅgīta Samayasāra

SSSām

Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha

S.D.

Sāhitya Darpaṇa

HM.

Hastamuktāvalī

HR.

Hastaratnāvalī

Chapter 1

THE LITERATURE OF DANCE

The literature of dance in India is vast, with a wealth of manuals and theoretical treatises in Sanskrit dating back to the early Christian era. Although the majority of these works have been available for a long time, systematic research on them is a comparatively recent development. As a result, these works have not been exhaustively mined for material relating to the evolution of dancing. A number of authors in the early part of this century briefly noticed dancing in course of discussing various aspects of drama and music, as for example, D. R. Mankad in his *The Types of Sanskrit Drama* or Ananda Coomaraswamy in *The Mirror of Gesture*,¹ but it did not receive the same degree of scholarly treatment that music and drama enjoyed. Some attempts were indeed made to classify and describe the major types of classical dancing in works such as those by Kay Ambrose, Faubion Bowers and Beryl de Zoete.² But rigorous research into the art and its history came later with the work of scholars such as V. Raghavan, K.M. Varma and Kapila Vatsyayan. A highly analytical study of the basic concepts of the dance drawn from such texts was that of K. M. Varma.³ In a number of articles on *saṅgīta* literature and in his editions of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*, V. Raghavan has shed light upon aspects of dance as described in Sanskrit sources.⁴

¹ Mankad,1936; Coomaraswamy,1917.

² Ambrose,1950; Bowers,1953; Zoete,1953.

³ Varma,1957.

⁴ Raghavan,1956; 1957; 1960; 1961; 1965; 1978.

The most extensive study so far of the non-specialist literature of dancing is that of Kapila Vatsyayan who has examined the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, epics, purāṇas, grammatical literature, lexicons, gṛhyasūtra, dharmasūtra, the Arthaśāstra, the Kāmasūtra, Buddhist and Jaina texts and kāvya literature.⁵ On the basis of this extensive search Vatsyayan presents a view of classical Indian dancing that is as analytical as it is informative. But essential as her work is to the understanding of the place of dance in Indian cultural history, her book does not offer a comprehensive survey of the Sanskrit manuals on dancing, concentrating rather on works from the earliest till the thirteenth century and selectively highlighting texts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to show the continuation of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s tradition. Surprisingly, she leaves out Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Nevertheless, her survey of the vast body of early non-specialist literature forms a necessary complement to the account of specialist dance manuals attempted in the present study.

A systematic and exhaustive study of all the available Sanskrit treatises with a view to tracing the evolution of classical Indian dance concepts has not been undertaken so far. Yet in their detailed descriptions and careful commentaries these treatises offer us the fullest range of materials to reconstruct the body of dance theory and technique from the earliest times. Further, because these works span at least fifteen hundred years, they also mark the stages in the growth of the art-form. They thus form the primary source of the view presented here of classical Indian dancing.

⁵ Vatsyayan, 1968; See also Bose, 1970

References to dancing and dancers appear in the earliest literature of India even before the dance became a subject of study in its own right. First mentioned in the Vedas, dancing is referred to in a wide range of works, including the purāṇas and works in such varied disciplines as arthaśāstra, smṛtiśāstra, alaṅkāraśāstra, ⁶ and in seminal works such as Pāṇini's writings and the *Kāmasūtra*. ⁷ Technical terms of dancing occur in many works that are not specifically on dance or music, ⁸ suggesting that dancing was a well-known and developed art in early Hindu society. That there were also manuals of dancing in this early period is evident from Pāṇini's reference to the naṭasūtras, or guidelines for naṭas, by Śilālin and Kṛṣṇaśva.⁹ However, these are merely passing references and offer no clear view of the nature of the dancing of the time.

The earliest extant textual source for dancing is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata Muni, which deals with dancing within the general area of the dramatic arts. While it is possible that works on dancing existed before Bharata's time, none has survived, possibly because Bharata's authoritative account made previous ones redundant. The authority that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has exerted over all subsequent works on dancing is due not only to its chronological priority but also to the range of subjects it covers, from stage architecture to body movements. Scholarly opinion differs as to the date of the work, generally

⁶ *Arthaśāstra*. 2. 27. 25; *Manusmṛti*. 4. 64, 12.45; dance is discussed in a number of works on poetics, starting with *Daśarūpaka* in the tenth century down to *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of the fourteenth century.

⁷ *Kāmasūtra*. 1. 6.

⁸ *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka*. (according to Varadapande, 1975, pp. 29-34); *Rājapraśnīya Sūtra*. 1. 23.; *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, pp. 220-29; *Karpūramañjarī*. Act I. 6, Act III. 14, Act IV. 9,10; *Mālavikāgnimitram*. Act. I. prose following the prastāvanā; prose following verse 19; *Ratnāvalī*. Act. I. prose following verse 5, 12, 16; *Nāgānanda*. Act. I. prose following verse 3.

⁹ Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. 4.3.110-11.

placing it between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D.¹⁰ Whether it was the inspiration provided by Bharata's scholarship or the heightened popularity of dancing that inspired interest in dancing as a subject cannot be known but the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was followed by a considerable body of literature on the subject. Sanskrit literature of the early Christian era has a great many references to works that evidently described dance techniques. Most of these works are lost but extensive quotations from many of them found in other works indicate the wealth of the material.¹¹

In discussing dancing Bharata's concern was with a style that he evidently considered as one that formed the central and dominant tradition of the art in his time.¹² In describing it he established a framework of classification and description that all subsequent writers followed in principle, although in the details of the actual body movements they sometimes differed. This tradition of scholarship survived till the nineteenth century, after which no original work in Sanskrit is known to have been written, and the works that have come down since the eighteenth century are mostly in the vernaculars of the regions

10 Kane, 1961. p. 47; Krishnamachariar, 1974. p.852. It is difficult to determine the date of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* with any certainty. But it is likely that the *NS*. was written before the chapters on dance in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, since the latter—like all texts subsequent to the *NS*—understands the term *lāsya* to mean a form of dance, whereas Bharata considered it to be a dramatic presentation. The portion on dance in the *VDP*. is believed to have been written around the fifth century A.D. (see p. 12 fn.)

¹¹ Almost all the manuals on dancing as well as the commentaries on the manuals quote from earlier authorities. Abhinavagupta, Śārṅgadeva, Kallinātha, Mahārāṇā Kumbhā, Vedasūri are some of the authors who quote extensively from earlier authors. One of the most often quoted sources is the lost work of Kohala.

¹² *NS*. 9. 163-4; 25.116; 119, 123. Sculptural evidences from different regions of India beginning from the first century A. D. gives us a good idea of how extensively the art had spread throughout India. Among these the dance figures in the gates of the Sāñchī Stupas, in the caves of Udayagiri or in Amarāvati are the early representatives of the tradition found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. See Vatsyayan, 1968. pp. 262-332.

in which dancing flourished. Most of the Sanskrit works now extant were written between the eleventh and the seventeenth centuries, and these, while they follow the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the main in their accounts, often attempt to fit into Bharata's framework altogether new types of body movements representing regional variations. One of the most important contributions to the discussion of regional styles is that of the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. The texts that followed it from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century drew heavily upon it, although with their own variations. For instance, these later texts began more and more to incorporate regional terms.

Interestingly enough, these later works show two shaping forces at work. First, the framework of movement they describe is essentially that of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; second, breaking away from the principal interest of that work, they describe regional styles following the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Recognizing the difference between these types of movements, the later authors term Bharata's tradition as *mārga*, that is, the classical, and the later tradition as *deśī*, that is, provincial or regional.

Given that the early as well as the later works on dancing move within the framework of description set up by Bharata, it is essential to examine that framework closely. Yet, given also that by his own admission Bharata does not deal with the many styles peripheral to his central tradition (*NS*. 9. 163-64), it is equally essential to examine the later works thoroughly in order to understand the evolution of the dance concepts in India, especially since, as will be argued in this study, it is the later, regional tradition that has directly shaped the styles of dancing we see in contemporary India.

The critical literature on dancing carries out two main tasks. In the first place, the works identify and describe the body movements required in dancing. Secondly, they also employ, though few discuss with clarity, certain concepts about the nature and categories of dancing. On both levels developments can be seen at various times and I am persuaded by the literature to divide them into three periods. The first period is that which ends with Abhinavagupta in the tenth century of the Christian era. Few works from this period are extant but this scarcity is more than adequately met by the most important of all works in the genre, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, with which the period began. Appropriately, the end of this period is marked by yet another major contribution to the discussion, Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Also, some light on the art is thrown indirectly by references to it in the literatures of *alaṅkāra* and *kāvya*, as also in the general prose works of the era. At this time dance was mainly considered to be an auxiliary to drama. The legend of its birth as recorded by Bharata suggests that it existed as an independent art-form.¹³ However, while dancing was indeed an independent art-form, it is evident that it was considered chiefly as an art that lent beauty to a dramatic performance.

Although we do not have too many works on dancing from this early period, there is reason to believe that quite a few were actually written. Bharata himself says that the material he does not cover in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* will be dealt with by Kohala in his study :

शेषमुत्तरतन्त्रेण कोहलस्तु करिष्यति। (NS. 37. 18.)

13 मयाऽपीदं स्मृतं नृत्तं सन्ध्याकालेषु नृत्यता।
 नानाकरणसंयुक्तैरङ्गहारैर्विभूषितम् ॥
 पूर्वरङ्गविधावस्मिंस्त्वयासम्यक् योज्यताम् । NS. 4. 13-14.

However, Kohala will explain [lit:do] the rest through a supplementary treatise.

This work by Kohala, unfortunately lost, was evidently most authoritative, for virtually every Sanskrit writer on dancing quotes from it or at least refers to it. Also mentioned, though not to the same extent, are treatises by Bhaṭṭatota, Bhaṭṭataṇḍu, Śaṅkuka and Lollaṭa, none of which has come down to us. Dattila and Mataṅga are important writers on music who are believed to have written on dancing as well though their works ^{on dance} again have not survived.

The second period spans the eleventh to the fifteenth century. It was in this period that most of the extant works on dance and music were written and new trends in dancing recorded. Dance began to be discussed in its own right rather than as an adjunct to drama, just as music, both vocal and instrumental, was being similarly regarded as an art that had an independent existence outside dramatic performances. These two art-forms comprised a particular discipline that came to be known as saṅgīta, and since they were seen as complementary arts, the manuals on that discipline dealt with both dance and vocal and instrumental music, although the emphasis might vary. Indeed, the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* of Jāya Senāpati is the only work from this period that is wholly devoted to dance alone, and even this is very likely part of a larger project covering music as well, for Jāya himself refers to the companion piece to the work, his *Gītaratnāvalī*.¹⁴

It was during this second period that a distinction began to be made by writers on dancing between the mārṅa and deśī styles. The classical style was acknowledged to be the one codified by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and taken to

¹⁴ Raghavan, 1965. Introduction, pp. 12,36; text, p. 172.

form the core of the entire tradition of the art. But it was also recognized at this time that the many regional and popular styles were equally part of that tradition and therefore needed to be recorded. Another major development recorded in the texts from this period was the appearance of dance dramas. These, discussed in a later chapter, were not simply dramas to which dancing was added as an ornament as in an earlier age but an altogether new genre in which dance permeated the whole form.

In the third period, beginning in the sixteenth century and ending in the nineteenth, the texts record a further development of the tradition, and as we shall see in the course of this study, it is the shape that dance took at this time which we see today. In brief, the texts from this period testify to the growing popularity of the dance, for not only is an increasing variety of regional forms recorded in the manuals but a number of manuals in regional languages begin to appear. In Andhra, in particular, dance flourished throughout this period, as we find from Raghavan's extensive account of the dance literature in Telugu.¹⁵ Another region from which a number of texts came was Orissa, as noted in a survey by D. N. Patnaik.¹⁶ Dance manuals were produced also in the regional languages of Manipur, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, and although no systematic account of these texts has been made as yet, their existence attests as much to the codification of the art as to the widespread interest in it. However, while these works in the vernaculars provide a great deal of detailed information about dances of the time, they show no development in the fundamental concepts of dancing. The importance of these regional texts lies in the information they give about regional dance forms, thus providing

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 18-34.

¹⁶ Patnaik, 1971.

supplemental information unavailable from Sanskrit sources. However, for the main body of the dance traditions of the time, the Sanskrit texts still remain our most comprehensive source.

The chief of these, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, is believed to have been written not later than the 2nd century A. D.¹⁷ The work deals with dramaturgy and the arts allied to drama in thirty-seven chapters, of which those of interest to students of dancing are chapters 4, 5, 8-12, 19, 21, 22, 25 and 31. The fourth chapter discusses *tāṇḍavavidhi*, that is, the rules of *tāṇḍava* or dancing.¹⁸ In this chapter Bharata mentions five concepts that help to define the art of dancing. These concepts, *nṛtta*, *tāṇḍava*, *abhinaya*, *piṇḍibandha* and *sukumāraprayoga*, are discussed in a separate chapter of the present study. Bharata's interest in the fourth chapter is centred on *nṛtta*, that is, dancing devoid of meaningful content and valued for the beauty of its form. He describes this dance style in detail, giving the basic units of composite movements known as *karaṇas*, and the basic choreographic sequences known as *aṅgahāras*. In addition, he describes group dances and mentions the use of body movements in acting without giving details.¹⁹ Bharata speaks of these movements as necessary parts of the preliminaries of a dramatic presentation.

The fifth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* continues the discussion of those preliminaries. In the eighth to the twelfth chapter Bharata describes in detail the movements of every part of the body down to the smallest, dividing them into two classes, the *aṅgas* and the *upāṅgas*, or major and minor parts of the body. He shows how the different movements are combined into composite

17 Kane, 1961. p. 47. The date has not been precisely set as yet. See note 10 above.

18 *NS*. 4.320.

19 *NS*. 4.279-283.

movements known as cārīs, maṇḍalas, and sthānas that are in turn combined into karaṇas, which again are put together to create aṅgahāras.

The eighth chapter is devoted to the movements of the head, eyelids, eyebrows, pupils, the nose, cheeks, lips, the chin, the mouth and the neck, while the ninth is given to the movements of the hands, chest, sides, belly, waist, thighs, shanks and the feet. Both chapters describe the use of these movements in conveying meaning, but also included are hand-gestures meant for abstract dancing rather than for acting. The tenth chapter describes cārīs, which are movements using one leg and are used both in dance and drama. Similarly used are sthānas, or postures, which form part of this chapter; examples of these postures occur widely in temple sculpture. Bharata goes on to describe maṇḍalas, which are more complicated movements of the legs involving cārīs. In addition to describing these movements Bharata speaks of the general principles of effective exercise, vyāyāma, as well as aesthetic satisfaction, sauṣṭhava.²⁰ The eleventh chapter elaborates on maṇḍalas, while the twelfth describes gati, or gaits.

Although Bharata's subject is nṛtta, that is, dancing in its abstract form, in this five chapter long section he explains the meaning attached to individual body movements and thus recognizes by implication the possibility of conveying meaning through dancing. Such uses of body movements for enhancing dramatic expression is termed āṅgikābhinaya by Bharata. That dancing was in fact used for dramatic purposes is evident from other works on dancing as well as from descriptions of play production.²¹

20 NS . 10. 92-94, 97-103.

21 See Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on *Abhijñānaśakuntalā*, ed. Kale 1902.

The nineteenth chapter considers the constituents of *lāsya*, a dramatic form that is created from delicate body movements and, in Bharata's conception, falls between dance and drama. Chapter twenty-one deals with *āhāryābhinaya*, that is, the use of costumes, stage properties and other external aids which are essential both to dance and drama. An important concept of presentation discussed in this chapter is the distinction between the *lokadharmī* and *nāṭyadharmī* modes of presentation, corresponding to natural and stylized modes.

In chapter twenty-two Bharata takes up the general technique of expression in acting, calling it *sāmānyābhinaya*, and gives directions for expressing states of mind and responses to sensory experience, such as touching or smelling. These movements are considered to be usually self-explanatory, so that although they are codified into a discipline, they are not seen as stylized, with special, symbolic meanings attached to them. The hand-gestures in this category, for instance, are formed with the purpose of imitating objects. By contrast, chapter twenty-five describes the special mode of *citrābhinaya*, in which each movement carries a particular meaning specific to it. The thirty-first chapter is partly on *tāla*, or rhythm, but it also goes back to the subject of *lāsya*, describing the movements and the music required for each of its several varieties.

As this survey shows, the framework within which Bharata describes dancing is largely that of drama and his interest in discussing even *nr̥tta* appears to lie in examining how it can beautify a dramatic presentation. While the authors who came after him virtually copied his descriptions, they did not continue this approach and in the later works we no longer find dancing treated only as a supplement to drama.

The treatise next to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. in time is the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. It has been variously dated but the editor of the text places it between the fifth and the seventh centuries,²² while Pingree assigns this part of the text to the first half of the fifth century; Ludo Rocher has discussed the arguments for the different dates in detail in his volume on the history of Purāṇa literature.²³ The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* deals with dancing in its third section, chapters twenty to thirty-four. In chapter twenty, the first chapter of the section, the author follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in describing the abstract dance form, *nṛtta*, and in defining its function as one of beautifying a dramatic presentation. But the author differs from Bharata in dividing dance into two categories which he calls *nāṭya* and *lāsyā*. He thus includes both *nāṭya* and *lāsyā* in the same genre, that of dance, which is a conceptual departure from Bharata. This chapter also deals with the appropriate places for the performance of each category, discussing aspects of the stage and the presentation of the preliminaries. The discussion includes the characteristics of actors, the four different types of *abhinayas*, namely, *āṅgika*, *vācika*, *sāttvika* and *āhārya*, and the names of all the complicated movements necessary for the composition of a dance sequence. In addition, the author briefly touches upon the *piṇḍibandhas* or group dances mentioned by Bharata and goes on to describe *vṛtti*, *pravṛtti* and *siddhi*, that is style, the means of application and the nature of competence.

The twenty-first chapter discusses *sthānas* or postures while lying down, while the twenty-second deals with the *sthānas* assumed while sitting. The focus of these two chapters seems to be on dramatic presentation. The twenty-third chapter is devoted to postures meant for both men and women. The

²² VDP,1958, G.O.S. ed. P.Shah. vol. I. Introduction. pp.xxvi.

²³ Rocher,1986. pp. 250-52.

twenty-fourth chapter lists the movements of the major limbs, the aṅgas, along with the meaning attached to each of them. The major limbs, according to this text, are the head, the neck, the chest, the sides, the waist, the thighs, the shanks and the feet. In conclusion the chapter defines the cārī and the karaṇa, the two vital and complicated movements required in dancing. In the twenty-fifth chapter the movements of the upāṅgas or minor limbs are discussed, including the glances that express rasa and sthāyī and vyabhicāribhāvas, the movements of the pupils, eyebrows, nose, tongue and lips as well as the application of these movements.

The twenty-sixth chapter describes three types of hand-gestures, those made with one hand, those made with both—along with the meanings they can convey—and hand-gestures meant for dancing, which convey no meaning. The twenty-seventh chapter is devoted to the explanation of different kinds of abhinaya and the costumes and decorations necessary for a performance. The twenty-eighth chapter deals with sāmānyābhinaya, giving general directions for expressing different moods and responses to seeing, touching and smelling objects. Although the author designates this chapter as a discussion of sāmānyābhinaya, he includes citrābhinaya, that is, special presentations. In fact, this chapter is a conflation of the contents of chapters twenty-two and twenty-five of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and contains extensive quotations from it.²⁴ The twenty-ninth chapter describes the gatis, that is, gaits, the thirtieth discusses the nine rasas and the thirty-first the bhāvas.

A new feature of the treatment of body movements that is added to the discussion of body movements appears in the thirty-second chapter, which

²⁴ NS. 22. 81-5 ; VDP. 3. 28. 2-4; NS. 25. 2-8; VDP. 3. 28. 10-15.

deals with what is termed rahasyamudrās, that is, hand-gestures meant for mystical and ritualistic purposes. Continuing the discussion in the thirty-third chapter, the author lists more mudrās, all meant for religious purposes, and calls them mudrāhastas,²⁵ and associates them with hymns to the gods and goddesses.²⁶ We must note that the word used in these chapters is not hasta but mudrā, a term connoting religious practices. The use of the term mudrā to denote hand-gestures is found in no other text on dancing. In the medieval period the term mudrā was used in dance literature to mean a pleasing appearance (*NN*. 36a; *SDar*. 7.107). However, in common usage today, all hand-gestures used in dancing are called mudrās and the more accurate term hasta has gone out of use.

The thirty-fourth and final chapter on dancing is devoted to the legend of the origin of dancing. Since the work is devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu, it is not surprising that its author should view Viṣṇu as the propounder of the art of dancing, but in every other text it is Śiva who remains as the god who introduced dancing to mankind.

Our next source of information is a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Abhinavagupta, who lived in Kashmir about the late tenth and early eleventh century A.D.²⁷ This commentary, known as the *Abhinavabhāratī*, follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* chapter by chapter except for the seventh, the eighth, and the thirty-third to thirty-seventh. It is available now as part of Ramakrishna Kavi's edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. The text is unsatisfactory because of the corrupt state of the mss. from which this edition

²⁵ *VDP*. 3. 33. 123.

²⁶ *Ibid*. 3. 33. 124.

²⁷ Krishnamachariar, 1974. p. 748.

was prepared.²⁸ Raghavan has suggested a number of emendations and corrections,²⁹ which are helpful not only to scholars but to dancers as well, especially in reconstructing the karanas of Bharata as explained by Abhinavagupta. For our present purposes the relevant sections are the commentaries on those chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* that deal specifically with dance and dramaturgy.

The importance of Abhinavagupta's work can hardly be overstated. Since a number of works on dancing that are known to have been written after Bharata are now lost, it is difficult to follow the development of the technical discussion of the art of dancing through the early period of its evolution. Abhinavagupta's commentary shows us the changes that took place in the intervening period between his time and Bharata's. In Abhinavagupta's commentary we find more terms representing concepts and categories of dancing than there are in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, showing that such terms and what they represented had by this time passed into general use, as is also attested by their use in other literature of the time.³⁰ It is evident that by Abhinavagupta's time the dance had proliferated into many more forms than known by Bharata

²⁸ Raghavan, 1980 .p.171.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 171-92. Raghavan arrived at his emendations of Abhinavabharati by collating the text of *Abhinavabhāratī* with that of *Nṛttaratnāvalī* in course of preparing his critical edition of the latter text. However, collating Abhinavagupta's commentary with *Śaṅgītaratnākara*, which Raghvan does only in a few instances, would lead to a firmer ground for emendations.

³⁰ Abhinavagupta quotes Viśākhila on lāsya, Kohala on kāvya and old authorities on nṛttakāvya and rāgakāvya, *NS*. Vol. I. 1956, pp. 171-84; Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyaḍarśa* refers to chalika, lāsya and śamyā. *Kāvyaḍarśa*. 1. 39; Vararuci, Kālidāsa, Harṣa use lāsya, chalita, śamyā, dvipadī, saṅgītaka etc. in their plays, *Ubhayābhisārikā*. pp 122-3,134, 141,142 ; *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Act. I. prose following verse 19; *Ratnāvalī*. Act. I. prose following verse 5,12,16; Rājaśekhara in his *Karpūramañjarī* uses carcarī, lāsya and other technical terms related to this art-form Act. I. 6; III.14, IV. 9,10; Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmatam* uses dvipadī 338, 858; carcarī 881; Jayantabhaṭṭa in his *Āgamaḍambaram* describes a dance danced to a carcarī song Act. II.

but it is also clear that Abhinavagupta views them as embodiments of the basic concepts stated by Bharata, for he often cites instances of such new categories of dancing to elucidate Bharata's concepts.³¹

For similar elucidations Abhinavagupta also quotes other authorities extensively. Beside Bharata the most important early authority on dancing seems to have been Kohala, whose work, occasionally referred to in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,³² is lost. It is through Abhinavagupta's quotations from Kohala that we can reconstruct some of the conceptual developments that were either contemporaneous with Bharata or followed shortly after. Two other authorities quoted by Abhinavagupta, Bhaṭṭatota and Utpaladeva, were teachers from whom he gained his knowledge of dancing. Among other authorities cited are Nandī, Rāhula, Dattila, Nārada, Mataṅga, Viśākhila, Kīrtidhara, Udbhata, Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭayantra and Rudraṭa, all of whom wrote on music and dance. He uses these authorities critically, drawing upon them for information that helps to elucidate Bharata's sometimes cryptic statements, but often rejecting their views when his own observations provide evidence to the contrary. One of the most illuminating features of Abhinavagupta's work is his practice of citing different views on the same movement. For instance, while explaining the ardhnikuṭṭaka karaṇa which employs añcita of the hands, Śaṅkuka's description, which is different from Bharata's, is included.³³ Abhinavagupta's citation of the two authorities thus shows us that this karaṇa was performed in two different ways.

³¹ A.B. on the *NS*. Vol.I. 1956. pp.171, 181.

³² For example:*NS*. 1. 26;*NS*. 37. 18.

³³ A.B. on the *NS*. Vol.I. 1956. p. 102.

From the range of Abhinavagupta's discussion it is quite apparent that his grasp of the subject was not only extraordinarily thorough but based on direct experience of the art as it was practised in his time. For this reason he explains the *Nāṭyaśāstra* according to the concepts current in his own time. Whether this represents Bharata's thought accurately enough may be debatable, for we have no evidence that the same concepts were prevalent in Bharata's time. In fact, the contrary may be true. For instance, Abhinavagupta speaks of minor categories of drama, for which he uses the terms *nṛttakāvya* and *rāgakāvya*,³⁴ which obviously mean, respectively, plays danced and plays sung. The concept of minor dramas is absent in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which makes no mention of *nṛttakāvya* and *rāgakāvya*. The reason Abhinavagupta mentions these new developments is to explain the distinction Bharata draws between *sukumāraprayoga* and *tāṇḍava*. Again, Abhinavagupta takes *lāsya* to be a form of dance and not of drama, unlike the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and his discussion of it shows the evolution of the notion of *lāsya* after Bharata's time, as noted in the discussion, in a later chapter, on the development of the concept of *lāsya* through later times. Bharata as elucidated by Abhinavagupta is, thus, not necessarily Bharata himself, for Abhinavagupta not only expands Bharata but interprets him in the light of what he himself knows of dancing. It is, therefore, the evolving reality of the art rather than a description frozen in Bharata's time that is reflected in Abhinavagupta's commentary.

The proliferation of concepts and categories after Bharata's time revealed by Abhinavagupta's commentary is seen particularly clearly in his classification and interpretation of *nṛtta*, which also throws light upon the development of dance in general. He classifies *nṛtta* into seven categories:

³⁴ *Ibid.* pp.175, 182.

śuddha, that is, pure or abstract dance, gītakādyabhinayonmukha, a dance that expresses the meaning of a song, vādyatālānusāri, a dance that follows instrumental music and rhythm, uddhata, a vigorous dance, sukumāra, a delicate dance, masṛṇamiśroddhata, a vigorous dance mixed with delicate movements, and uddhatamiśritamasṛṇanṛtta, and a delicate dance mixed with vigorous movements.³⁵ Since many of these dances were expressive, they required abhinaya or interpretative movements. Such dances, then, fall into the category that later became known as nṛtya.³⁶ Although Abhinavagupta does not use the term nṛtya, presumably to be consistent with Bharata,³⁷ who speaks only of nṛtta in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Abhinavagupta's descriptions testify to the branching out of the art, as pointed out by K. M. Varma in his detailed discussion of Abhinavagupta's views on abhinaya and nṛtta in detail.³⁸

Abhinavagupta provides the details of several dance forms that are mentioned but not described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. For instance, he describes bhadrāsana, one of the group dances termed piṇḍibandha by Bharata but not described by him (*NS*. 4. 290). Although Abhinavagupta does not use the term bhadrāsana, his description matches that found in a Jainasūtra, the *Rājaprasāñīya*, which includes bhadrāsana in its description, in the twenty-third sutra, of thirty-two varieties of nāṭyavidhis, that is, the features of nāṭya. These thirty-two varieties have been discussed by the editor of the

³⁵ *Ibid.* p.182.

³⁶ *DR.* 1.9.

³⁷ Varma,1957. p21.

³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 15-22.

Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra and by V. Rāghavan in his study of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.³⁹

The commentary on the fifth chapter expands Bharata's description of the preliminaries of a dramatic performance and covers such topics as the use of tāla, vocal and instrumental music, and the arousal of the sṛṅgāra and raudra rasas in course of depictions of gods and goddesses.⁴⁰ The commentaries on the chapters on āṅgikābhinaya, chapters nine to twelve of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (chapter eight does not have any commentary), do not offer any additional information, although Abhinavagupta's comments help us to visualize the body movements required. By contrast, the commentaries on āhāryābhinaya, sāmānyābhinaya and citrābhinaya (chapters twenty-one, twenty-two and twenty-five) provide details that help us to understand the technicalities of stage presentation. Also treated at some length are Bharata's remarks on lāśya in chapters nineteen and thirty-one; since Abhinavagupta's interpretative approach to lāśya has attracted considerable controversy, it will be considered in the discussion on lāśya later in the present study.

One must remember that like any other commentary Abhinavagupta's commentary is exegetical and absolute reliance on it may mislead attempts to reconstruct the tradition as in Bharata's time. This is particularly necessary to bear in mind because much of the medieval literature of dancing, including the influential *Saṅgītaratnākara*, is entirely dependent on Abhinavagupta's commentary. As Raghavan says, ". . . the *Saṅgītaratnākara* follows Abhinavagupta so closely that in many places it forms merely a metrical recast

³⁹ *Sūttāgame* 1954, pp. 55-6; *Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra* 1961, ed. P. Shah. Introduction. pp. xvi.; Raghavan, 1963, pp. 572-73.

⁴⁰ A.B. . on the *NS*. Vol.I. 1956. pp.207-59.

of the *Abhinavabhāratī*."⁴¹ Jāya Senāpati does the same in the discussion of the *mārga* dance in his *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. So what is often taken today as the influence of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in these texts is in reality the influence of Abhinavagupta.

Speaking of Abhinavagupta's commentary Raghavan states that "its importance to the student of the history of *Nāṭya* and *Saṅgīta* can not be overemphasised." Of particular significance is the fact that Abhinavagupta was from Kashmir, for at that time the study of *nāṭya*, in Raghavan's words, "had a renaissance in Kashmir in the time of Jayāpīḍa." This is borne out by Kalhana, who refers in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (iv. 420-84) to a temple presentation of *nāṭya* by courtesans. Jayāpīḍa, the king of Kashmir, fell in love with one of them, Kamalā, married her, brought her to Kashmir and made her his queen. He was a patron of *nāṭya* and asked his court-poet Udbhaṭa to write a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. According to Raghavan, "Udbhaṭa's commentary is the first and it inaugurated an era of vigorous study of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. This period produced innumerable works and it closed with the time of Abhinavagupta, after which the *śāstra* began to flourish in Central and South India."⁴²

Abhinavagupta, who was a Śaivaite ācārya, turned to dramaturgy and poetics and studied under his first guru Bhaṭṭatota. He extensively quotes from Bhaṭṭatota's work the *Kāvyaakautuka*, which is lost, as is the bulk of the literature of this early period that he uses. His work thus brings together the scholarly thought of an entire age and gives us a picture of the evolution of the art of dancing, although the picture is not as clear as we would have liked. Even

⁴¹ Raghavan, 1980. p.171.

⁴² *Ibid.* pp. 101-3.

though his commentary is illuminating in general, there are places where his explanations are not enough to visualize the movements he describes. Since the edited text is often corrupt, the task of understanding is even harder. The movements are sometimes unclear and impossible to reproduce, as in the case of the piṇḍibandhas. However, as the single extant commentary on Bharata's seminal text, Abhinavagupta's work has exerted great influence on subsequent writers on dance and drama. His work came to be accorded the highest authority and to be regarded as the standard work on the subjects, not only in works on music and dancing but on alaṅkāra as well. Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in their *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, and Kallinātha in his commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākara* continually refer to Abhinavagupta.⁴³ The *Saṅgītaratnākara*'s chapter on dancing is based entirely on it. Śāradātanaya claims that he based his work *Bhāvaprakāśa* on *Abhinavabhāratī*;⁴⁴ he did not, in fact, but that he should so claim only shows how highly Abhinavagupta was regarded in the medieval period.

Two writers on dancing who are traditionally thought to have preceded Abhinavagupta are Nandīkeśvara and Nārada but the chronology is doubtful as are the identities of the authors. The names Nandī and Nārada are part of the legendary history of dancing and it is possible that in some long past period there were indeed sages by these names. Presumably, in an effort to gain acceptance later authors passed off their own works under the names of these legendary sages. Two works on dancing are traditionally attributed to Nandīkeśvara, the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Bharatārṇava*. The

⁴³ *KāvyaṅuśāsanaH*, 1938. chapter 8 ; *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, 1959, p. 25; *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Vol. IV. 1953. 7.880,1062. *Kalānidhi*: Commentary on the SR. Vol. IV.1953, pp. 326.

⁴⁴ *Bhāvaprakāśana* ,1968, pp. 82, 160, 194-5, 313.

Saṅgītamakaranda, a work on music and dance, is attributed to "Nārada."

Other works have been attributed to "Nārada." but they may be by different authors.⁴⁵

M. Krishnamachariar and V. Raghavan have recorded various works purported to be by "Nandī,"⁴⁶ but only two of them, the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Bharatārṇava*, both relevant to our present investigation, are available in edited form. Nandīkeśvara has been mentioned by almost every writer on music and dance and Nandī and Bharata have been mentioned side by side in the Kāvyaṃālā edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. According to Raghavan, "There is a music work called Nandībharata, noticed by Rice in Mysore and Coorg Catalogue."⁴⁷ The Madras Catalogue too mentions one chapter of a work entitled the *Nandībharata* and another work called the *Bharatārthacandrikā* with a Telugu commentary which takes the form of a conversation between Pārvatī and Nandīkeśvara.⁴⁸ His date has not been satisfactorily established so far. In his edition of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* M. M. Ghosh placed Nandīkeśvara between the fifth and the thirteenth centuries A.D.⁴⁹ Nijenhuis has argued for narrowing the date to the twelfth century A.D.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Nijenhuis, 1977. pp. 19-20.

⁴⁶ Krishnamachariar, 1974, pp. 825-27; Raghavan, 1957, pp. 22-3.

⁴⁷ Raghavan, 1957. p. 22.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 22.

⁴⁹ Ghosh 1957, Introduction. p. 38.

⁵⁰ Nijenhuis 1977. p.11. My own review would put him around twelfth/thirteenth century A.D. See p. 27 of this thesis.

Both the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Bharatārṇava* are believed to be by Nandīkeśvara,⁵¹ but whether they were written by the same Nandīkeśvara is doubtful because the contents of the two are at odds with each other. Raghavan states that the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* is a summary of the *Bharatārṇava*, literally, the ocean of Bharata's art,⁵² but this contention is not borne out by comparison of the texts.

If the two works were by the same author, then one would expect them to agree substantially and differ only in the extent of the information given, or in their emphases, for it defies reason to suppose that the same author would give contradictory versions of the same matter in two works without any explanation. Yet the difference between the two works is substantial. While they are on the same subject, they differ significantly in matters of detail. For instance, there are 28 single-hand gestures in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* but 27 in the *Bharatārṇava* ; against the 13 double-hand gestures in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, the *Bharatārṇava* gives 16; the nṛttahastas (gestures used in abstract dancing) in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* are 13 in number while in the *Bharatārṇava* they are 22. Not only are there differences in numbers but also in the names, definitions and applications of the movements. Besides these gestures, the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* describes hastas denoting devas, avatāras, family, different castes and the nine planets. The *Bharatārṇava* omits this entire class of hastas and instead includes an altogether different set of hastas,

⁵¹ Raghavan,1957. p. 22. The edited version of *ADar.* (Ghosh. 1957) however, do not contain any reference either to the name of the text or the author. The text is incomplete and as such no colophon is found either.

⁵² Raghavan,1957. p. 22.

nānārthdyotakahastas, which convey a medley of meanings as the name indicates. ⁵³ The treatment of the dr̥ṣṭis is different as well.

In describing the hand gesture meant to denote the planet Śani, one of the navagrahahastas, the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* prescribes the śikhara and triśūla hand-gestures for the two hands while the *Bharatārṇava* prescribes sandamśa and alapadma. Budhagraha of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* requires muṣṭi and patākā while in the *Bharatārṇava* it requires mukula and sandamśa. Such discrepancies are common. Nandīkeśvara, the author of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, takes eight darśanakarmas from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and describes them as eight dr̥ṣṭis, whereas Nandīkeśvara, the author of the *Bharatārṇava*, follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s treatment of the dr̥ṣṭis and describes thirty-six dr̥ṣṭis that express rasa and bhāva, aesthetic pleasure and emotions. ⁵⁴ Gatis or gaits in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* are compared to animal and human gaits and described in detail following Bharata.⁵⁵ By contrast, in its description of the gaits the *Bharatārṇava* focuses on how they are employed in different kinds of tāṇḍavas; the nature of the gaits too are different in this text. ⁵⁶ The description of tāṇḍava and lāsya, divided into categories, that is given in the *Bharatārṇava* is found in no other text. The śṛṅganāṭya and aṅghāra mentioned in this text are two new concepts found nowhere else, as we shall see in a later chapter. The term śṛṅgābhinaya is mentioned in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* and in the *Nṛtyādhyāya* but none of these authors describe them (NR. 2.112; Nr.Adh. 141). The cārīs of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Bharatārṇava* differ not only in their names but

⁵³ ADar. 89-92, 172-75, 248-49; Bh. Ar. 1-4, 63-66, 93-96; ADar. 204-15, 216-30, 226-31, 231-44, 250-58; Bh. Ar. 587-640.

⁵⁴ ADar. 66-67; Bh.Ar. 235-40.

⁵⁵ ADar. 309-10.

⁵⁶ These are described as components of deśī nāṭyas, under deśī tāṇḍavas, which, according to this text are seven. Bh.Ar. 791-868.

in their definitions as well.⁵⁷ The movements of the feet are divided into four types in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, namely, maṇḍala, utplavana, sthāna and bhramarī. The *Bharatārṇava* describes twenty-two movements of the feet which are a mixture of Bharata's pāda(feet movements) and cārī, although the *Bharatārṇava* has a separate section on cārī as well.⁵⁸ Such discrepancies occur throughout the texts and a comparison even as cursory as this calls into question the assumption of the single authorship of the two works.

Furthermore, we may assign them to different periods. The contents of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* place it in or close to the medieval period, for we find in it the division of dance into three branches, nāṭya, nṛtta and nṛtya, and this separation did not come about till the medieval period when the *Saṅgītaratnākara* created the distinction. Also, the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* views tāṇḍava and lāsya as forms of masculine and feminine dancing, which again was an approach taken not before medieval times. As we shall see later in the detailed discussion of lāsya, it came to be taken as a dance form after Bharata wrote his *Nāṭyaśāstra* and even after the time of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* it continued to be so understood. The use of the term nṛtya to denote a specific art-form came later still. Even Abhinavagupta does not use the term nṛtya, although it is likely that he restricted himself to using only the term nṛtta because in his task of interpreting the *Nāṭyaśāstra* he was bound by Bharata's usage. In the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* of Amarasimha (10th century A.D.)⁵⁹ we come across the term nṛtya, but there it is used as a synonym of nāṭya rather than a signifier of an independent art form. Since Amarasimha's date has not yet been established beyond question,

⁵⁷ *Bh. Ar.* chapters 8-9, 11-14.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* chapters 4 and 8.

⁵⁹ Vogel, 1974. p.309.

his use of the term *nṛtya* does not help us fix a date for the earliest occurrence of the term except that it is likely to have been in use before Abhinavagupta who came after Amarasimha.

No text in the first period of the evolution of dancing seems to have dealt with the nature of *nṛtya*. Dhanañjaya, who was a contemporary of Abhinavagupta, was the first to recognize *nṛtya* as a distinct category of dance but he said nothing about its nature except that *nṛtya* belongs to the *mārga* tradition and is *bhāvāśraya*, that is, it expresses emotions. The *Abhinayadarpaṇa*'s fuller treatment of *nṛtya* suggests a later date when the concept had developed beyond Dhanañjaya and Abhinavagupta.

Even more persuasive an argument for placing the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* in the medieval period is that it contains material and expresses views that are characteristic of that period. For example, it talks about the attainment of *mokṣa* or liberation through the performance of the art. This view is characteristic of musicological works from the medieval period, including the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, as Katz points out.⁶⁰ Since the *Saṅgītaratnākara* has been placed in the thirteenth century it is unlikely that the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* was composed much earlier. Furthermore, the concepts of *nāṭya*, *nṛtta*, *nṛtya*, *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* are introduced in a similar manner and defined in the two works, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, and there are verbal parallels as well.⁶¹ M. M. Ghosh believes that the *Saṅgītaratnākara* borrowed from the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* but offers no supporting evidence for his claim and it is impossible to determine which text is

⁶⁰ Katz.,1987. Vol. II.,commentary on the verses. 18-21.

⁶¹ The editor of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* has given a list of these parallels. See Adyar Library edition. Vol. IV. 1953, pp. 585-87.

the borrower and which the source. The movements of the *pratyāṅgas*, that is, the minor limbs, are not discussed in the early treatises, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* being silent about them, but are included in medieval works. Both the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara* describe *pratyāṅgas*. They also describe *bhramarī* as a separate category of movements, which again is a medieval development. This close correspondence between the two texts strongly argues for placing the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* close in time to the *Saṅgītaratnākara* (13th century A.D.), that is, some time in the early medieval period.

We must, however, note that the similarity to the *Saṅgītaratnākara* is not the only distinctive characteristic of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*. In fact, it occupies an unique position in the literature of classical dancing of India. The author, unlike any other, is concerned exclusively with the performing arts as they apply to dancing, specifically the forms of *abhinaya* identified by Bharata, with the exception of *vācika*. While at least twenty-nine texts over a period of eighteen centuries describe the art of dancing, only the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* concentrates entirely on *āṅgikābhinaya* or the use of body movements in acting and describes how such acting techniques is used in dancing. Judging by the author's concern for performance it seems likely that this text was meant as a textbook for a dancer to learn the technique of mimetic dance. Interestingly enough, that is how it is now used in the training regime of at least one classical style of Indian dancing, *Bharatanāṭyam*, although the practitioners claim that they are thereby following Bharata, after whom the style is named. In a number of contemporary *Bharatanāṭyam* schools, each student has to learn by rote the whole text of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and perform the movements described in it.

The text of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, as it is available now, is quite short, with only 324 verses.⁶² The text begins with a benediction and short description of the origins of drama, sings its praise, and goes on to describe the different kinds of naṭana(dance), namely, nāṭya, nṛtta, nṛtya. It then speaks of the qualities of the audience, the stage, the performer, the kiṅkiṅīs(ankle-bells), the prayer to be danced. Then the author instructs the performer to begin the performance with various stylized body movements. Next, he establishes the importance of abhinaya and briefly discusses the characteristics of its four kinds. This whole opening section takes up only forty verses and the rest are devoted to describing the movements of the individual parts of the body, which, according to the author, are of vital importance for a performance. That this discussion is meant for dancers and actors is quite apparent for it includes descriptions of the kiṅkiṅīs or ankle bells. Very few texts describe kiṅkiṅīs. Another unique feature of this text is that although in describing the basic hand-gestures and the eyes the author follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, his treatment of the movements of the feet comes from a tradition recorded in no other text. He also includes some new gestures found in no other text.⁶³

The edition in which the *Bharatārṇava* is at present available has fifteen chapters with 996 verses. To this the editor has added a pariśiṣṭa, an appendix, consisting of 251 verses from a manuscript fragment in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.⁶⁴ The reason for its inclusion is not clear, for while the fragment bears the title *Bharatārṇava*, there is no internal evidence supporting this identification. Against the identification we must note that the

⁶² Ghosh,1957.

⁶³ *ADar.* 1957. pp. 204-44. These include devahasta, daśāvatārahasta, jātihasta and bāndhavahasta.

⁶⁴ Gairola,1978.

material comes from a different school of dancing and does not belong to the school which is represented in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*. To give only one example, the appendix describes a dance sequence which it calls *ālāpacārī* (*Bh.Ar.* Pariśiṣṭa 28-37); this sequence is the same as the *mukhacālī* described in the *Nartananirṇaya* (*NN.* 40a-43a), the 16th century work by Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, and has no parallel in any earlier work.

The beginning of the main text of the *Bharatārṇava* is missing and the text starts from the descriptions of single hand-gestures. The second chapter describes double hand-gestures and the third the hand-gestures used specially in dancing. The fourth chapter gives other varieties of single hand-gestures as taught by Bṛhaspati. It also describes glances and movements of the head and the feet, citing the views of other authorities as well. The fifth chapter describes different postures. The sixth deals with the application of the postures and the applications of combinations of hand gestures. *Tāla* or rhythm is described in the seventh chapter. The eighth chapter deals with *cārī*. The ninth describes a new kind of *aṅgahāra*, of seven types, which is described in no other text. At the end of this chapter the author gives an unusual definition of *aṅgahāra* as the opinion of the experts: प्रातर्नृत्तप्रकटनैरङ्गहारो विधीयते । (*Bh.Ar.* 9. 584) -- *aṅgahāra* is prescribed as *nṛtta* performed [lit: displayed] in the morning. The tenth chapter again deals with more hand-gestures that express a variety of meanings. The eleventh and twelfth chapters deal with yet another new form, *śṛṅganāṭya*, of which nine types are mentioned. This form, again, is described in no other text. The thirteenth chapter describes seven *lāsyas* and seven *tāṇḍavas*, this being the only text to describe these divisions. The names of the seven *lāsyas* given here are found among the *deśī* dance pieces described in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. The description of the *deśī* dance

preraṇi parallels the descriptions found in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*.⁶⁵ The fourteenth chapter describes the use of tāla, gati, karaṇa and cārī in delineating śuddha and deśī tāṇḍava, a type of tāṇḍava found only in this text. The treatment of tāla etc. is also entirely new since this text, instead of merely naming the tālas required in dancing as other texts do, prescribes how tālas are to be used in actual dance sequences. The fifteenth chapter is on puṣpāñjali, the right manner of flower offerings, and other such matters relating to presentation. The descriptions of all the movements includes their meaning and application, except for the nṛttahastas, which are not meant for representational performance.

The appendix seems to be the beginning of a treatise since it opens by prescribing the preliminaries to a performance, including the appropriate arrangements for holding a performance, the manner in which singers should make their entrances and the opening music should be played to tāla, and the kind of competence and training required in the musicians. General instructions concerning movements come next. Instructions follow regarding how the actual performance should begin, with citations from Kohala (*Bh.Ar. Pariśiṣṭa* 37). The rest of this section deals with more hand-gestures, many of them new and found neither in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* nor in any other text. Two verses in the appendix match verses in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*,⁶⁶ and one of them, on the division of dance into tāṇḍava and lāsya, occurs also in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ *SR.* 7. 1303-25; *NR.* 7. 34-58.

⁶⁶ *Bh.Ar. Pariśiṣṭa.* 1-2; *ADar.*36-7, 247(repetition of 36)

⁶⁷ *Bh.Ar. Pariśiṣṭa.* 38, 39; *SR.* 7. 28, 30.

On the basis of its treatment of several topics, the *Bharatārṇava* seems to be of a later date than the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, and the appendix later still. Besides the differences between the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Bharatārṇava* pointed out earlier, we must also note that the *Bharatārṇava* follows the practice of describing dance pieces along with the gaits, rhythm, *cārī* and *karaṇa* and *tāla* recommended for them, which is typical of texts that are later even than the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. This inclusiveness of the description became common in the literature produced from the sixteenth century onwards. Moreover, some of the technical terms used in the *Bharatārṇava*, as well as in the so-called appendix, such as *uḍupa*, *dhuvāḍa*, *kuvāḍa* and *sūlu*, are terms that began to appear in the Sanskrit works on dancing around the sixteenth century and not before.

Although the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Bharatārṇava* seem unquestionably by two different authors and from different periods, the *Bharatārṇava* is as important as the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* as an instructional manual although it is not so used now, nor do we know if it was ever so used. Nonetheless, its importance as an excellent practical guide can not be denied. If the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* trains a dancer in the basic movements, the *Bharatārṇava* teaches a dancer to compose a dance piece. Both pursue the same purpose of instructing practising artists and not merely of recording the art form of the time. Since its own evidence places the *Bharatārṇava* after the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, it may be regarded as being complementary to the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, and this may explain why the unfounded identification of the two as by the same author has persisted for so long.

Another controversial text on music and dance is the *Saṅgītamakaranda* by Nārada. Nārada, as we have noted above, is a mythical name which appears

in almost all dance literature in Sanskrit. Nārada appears in the literature of the medieval period as well as in the early period, in the works of Bharata, Dattila, Mataṅga and Abhinavagupta.⁶⁸ We have at least two Nāradas, according to Raghavan, one who wrote the *Saṅgītamakaranda* and one who wrote the *Nāradiya Śikṣā*.⁶⁹ Raghavan places the Nārada of the *Saṅgītamakaranda* after the seventh century since the text refers to Mātr̥gupta, who is believed to have lived around that time, but it does not specify any date for Mātr̥gupta.⁷⁰ Nijenhuis suggests that this text was written after the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. She also says that this author is not the same as the author to whom the *Saṅgītaratnākara* refers.⁷¹ Another work, *Catvāriṃśacchatarāganirūpaṇa* by a certain "Nārada," has been placed in the 16th-17th century.⁷² Svāmī Prajñānānanda says that there are four works by four different Nāradas -- the *Nāradiya Śikṣā* (1st century A.D.), the *Pañcamasārasaṃhitā* (1440 A.D.), the *Saṅgītamakaranda* (14th/15th century A.D) and the *Rāganirūpaṇa* (16th/17th century A.D.)⁷³ The editor of the *Saṅgītamakaranda* (1920), M. R. Telang, places Nārada, the author of the *Saṅgītamakaranda* between the 7th and the 11th centuries,⁷⁴ but this dating remains doubtful. The problem with fixing a date for Nārada is that it is a mythological name that appears in all the literature of dance and music as an authority and there is more than one Nārada. The whole problem has been compounded by the fact that the edited version is a corrupt text and one that describes a debased style recorded in no other text.

68 Mataṅga, *Bṛhaddeśī*, 2; Lath, 1978. p.48, 52, 557; NS. 5. 32; A. B. on the NS. Vol. I. 1956. p. 221.

69 Raghavan, 1957. p. 23.

70 *Ibid.* p.23.

71 Nijenhuis. 1977. pp. 13-14.

72 *Ibid.* p.19.

73 *Ibid.* p.20; Prajñānānanda, 1963. p. 114.

74 *Saṅgītamakaranda*, 1920. Introduction. p. x.

The *Saṅgītamakaranda* has two parts, one on music and the other on dance, each divided into four sections. The whole text is obscure but the dance portion is the most difficult part of this generally difficult work to follow. Many of the difficulties arise from the text as edited. It is hard to get a picture of the tradition but the little we may glimpse shows a debased style.⁷⁵ This seems to be a deśī tradition that was obviously not very highly regarded—possibly because of its vulgar eroticism—since it appears in no other text. The first part of the text is entirely on music. In the first section of the part on dance the author discusses the dance-hall, the audience, the poet, the singer, types of learned spectators, the chairman, the dance-teacher, the percussionist, the performer, the flower-offering and the origin of the tālas. The second section names the makers of tāla and describes the characteristics of 101 tālas. The third section gives a variety of information on tāla, including the derivation of the word, the essence of tāla, the time, mārṅa, deśī and other such technicalities of music. The fourth section is devoted to drums but also contains a short final subsection of 33 verses called naṭībhāvanirūpaṇam which is devoted to dance. It describes five double hand-gestures, five single hand-gestures, eight bhramarīs, nine head movements and four feet movements. The text concludes by referring to 33 naṭībhāvas, that is, emotional expressions appropriate for women, but does not elaborate on them. None of the movements described in this text is found in any other text. The technical terms do not match any term found in the existing literature, except for two, cakrabhramarikā and sama (pāda), and even these two are described differently.

⁷⁵ समगैकेति विख्याता हस्तौ वामस्तने धृतौ ।

कैवालं दक्षिणकुचे लग्नौ चुचुकदर्शनम् ॥ SMak. 4.4.13.

[When] the hands hold the left breast it is known as samagaika [and when the hands] touch the right breast to show the nipple it is kaivāla.

As for the date of the *Saṅgītamakaranda*, there are a number of reasons why it must be placed in the medieval period. The text describes dance as *nṛtya* which is a term found in use not before the time of Dhanañjaya (10th century A.D.),⁷⁶ whose *Daśarūpaka* was the first surviving work to define *nṛtya*. The concept of *mokṣa*, which we have already noted as a medieval concept, is present in this text.⁷⁷ But the strongest reason to place it in the medieval period is that it describes an entire style that falls outside the tradition described by Bharata and his followers. This new style was part of the *deśī* tradition and it was only in the medieval period that the *deśī* type of dancing came to be accepted as one that was worth recording. However, no precise dating of the *Saṅgītamakaranda* has been possible because it contains no material paralleling any other text by means of which terminal dates might be set. However, the type of material it does contain allows the conjecture, supported by at least one musicologist,⁷⁸ that it was not written before the *Saṅgītaratnākara*.

The *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya, a work on dramaturgy, marks the beginning of the second period. Although Abhinavagupta and Dhanañjaya (924-995 A.D.)⁷⁹ were contemporaries, yet Dhanañjaya must be placed in the second period because in his work we find for the first time how certain concepts had evolved beyond Bharata. The first period is dominated by the concepts enunciated by Bharata, and these form the subject of Abhinavagupta. It is true that Abhinavagupta interprets them in commenting upon the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and thereby develops them, thus indicating that the process of

⁷⁶ Dasgupta, 1962. Vol. I. p. 550.

⁷⁷ See p. 26 of the present thesis; *SMak.* 1.1. 24.

⁷⁸ Nijenhuis, 1977. p.14.

⁷⁹ Gerow, 1977. p. 263.

evolution was under way, but the conceptual framework remains entirely that of Bharata. It is in the *Daśarūpaka* that we find the recognition of these new categories and concepts defined for the first time. The most important of these are represented by the terms *nṛtya*, *lāsyā*, *mārga* and *deśī*.

The *Daśarūpaka* has four *prakāśas* or sections. As the name suggests, the work is on the ten types into which Bharata had divided dramatic literature, and it analyzes their technical features, plot construction in particular. A systematic and compact work, it replaced the *Nāṭyaśāstra* for the later authors as a guide to the technicalities of plays. The first chapter, which consists of 68 verses, starts with a benediction and proceeds to offer short definitions of the terms *nāṭya*, *nṛtya*, *nṛtta*, *mārga*, *tāṇḍava* and *lāsyā*. Here Dhanañjaya takes *nṛtta* and *nṛtya* as auxiliaries to drama and hence necessary to his study. After defining the terms the author moves on to his main purpose, that of defining and describing *nāṭya* or drama. According to Dhanañjaya, *vastu*, *netā* and *rasa*, that is, the subject matter, the hero and the aesthetic affect, are the three matters of primary importance and the rest of the first chapter is devoted to the discussion of *vastu* in detail and of the structural components of a play. The second chapter, in 72 verses, describes the characters in a play, especially the hero, the heroine, their qualities, the method of expressing various emotions etc. *Vṛttis* or acting styles and the use of language by different characters are also discussed in this chapter. The third chapter, in 70 verses, deals with the varieties of *rūpakas* or plays and identifies *lāsyāṅgas* as components of *bhāṇa*, a major type of play. The fourth chapter, in 87 verses, discusses the nine *rasas* or aesthetic affects, the eight *sthāyībhāvas* or mental states, and the thirty-three *vyabhicārībhāvas* or transitory moods.

The definitions of the terms *nṛtta*, *nṛtya*, *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* in Dhanañjaya mark a distinct stage in the evolution of the understanding of dance and drama. Although Dhanañjaya does not elaborate on the concepts he defines, one of his most important contributions is the distinction he draws between *nṛtta* and *nṛtya*:भावाश्रयं नृत्यम् (*DR*. 1. 9.) -- *nṛtya* is dependant on emotion . He distinguishes *nṛtta* from *nṛtya* by saying : नृत्तं ताललयाश्रयम् (*DR*. 1. 9.)-- *nṛtta* depends on rhythm and tempo. He is thus the first extant writer to use the term *nṛtya* to denote mimetic dance and also dance-dramas. He further states that *nṛtya* belongs to the *mārga* tradition and *nṛtta* to the *deśī*.⁸⁰ While this is a significant departure from Bharata, Dhanañjaya remains anchored in Bharata's basic view that both *nṛtta* and *nṛtya* are auxiliaries to drama. Thus, in principle, Dhanañjaya continues the tradition established by Bharata. Dhanañjaya further identifies *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* as subcategories of both *nṛtta* and *nṛtya*, *tāṇḍava* being a vigorous mode of dancing and *lāsya* a delicate one.⁸¹

To interpret *nṛtta* as *deśī* is a surprising view because *nṛtta* is accorded the status of *mārga* in almost all works on dancing on the ground that Bharata describes only *nṛtta* and distinguishes it from the *deśī* styles which, he expressly says, do not form his subject.⁸² It is not till the thirteenth century that we find another work, the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, calling *nṛtya* a *mārga* form of dancing. Still later, in the seventeenth century came the *Saṅgītdarpaṇa*,⁸³ which was the third and only other text to categorize *nṛtta* and *nṛtya* respectively as *deśī* and *mārga*, repeating verses from the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. One of the most important pieces of information we get from the *Daśarūpaka* concerns *bhāṇa*, which is one

⁸⁰ *DR*. 1969.1. 9-10.

⁸¹ *DR*. 1.10;1. 11.

⁸² अन्ये तु लौकिका ये ते लोकाद् ग्राह्याः सदा बुधैः। *NS*. 25.119.

⁸³ *DR*. 1. 10.; *SR*. 7. 27.; *SDar*. 7. 94.

of the ten major types into which drama is divided by Bharata, who calls it a one-act play. But the *Daśarūpaka* extends our understanding of the type by attributing to it delicate movements and the arousal of śṛṅgārarasa. According to the *Daśarūpaka*, such movements are employed in lāsyāṅgas which thereby generate śṛṅgārarasa. Dhanañjaya further states that lāsyāṅgas are essential parts of bhāṇa.⁸⁴ He does not specify the particular aṅgas or features of lāsyā, and the ten lāsyāṅgas he names match those found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, except one, dviḡūḍhaka, which is called dvimūḍhaka in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but this may be the result of a scribal error in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.⁸⁵ While Dhanañjaya follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in naming the lāsyāṅgas, he ventures in a new direction by relating them to the bhāṇa and thus placing this type of expressive movement in the domain of drama.

The evidence of the *Daśarūpaka* makes it clear that by the tenth century śṛṅgārarasa (aesthetic pleasure of the erotic variety) and kaiśikīḡṛtti (graceful style) have come to characterize lāsyāṅgas which have become standard parts of bhāṇa. This is confirmed by Abhinavagupta, who cites various authors regarding the development of a certain bhāṇa play.⁸⁶ This feature was absent from Bharata's concept of bhāṇa, and he specifically forbids the use of kaiśikīḡṛtti.⁸⁷ Dhanañjaya is silent on minor dramas, but Dhanika, the commentator on the *Daśarūpaka*, cites seven minor dramas, calling them nṛtyabhedas, without defining them.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ DR. 3. 51-53.

⁸⁵ DR. 3. 52.

⁸⁶ AB. on the NS., Vol. I.1956. p. 181. Abhinavagupta's use of both bhāṇa and bhāṇaka for this minor type caused some confusion which continued through the entire literature on dance and drama.

⁸⁷ NS. 18. 8-9.

⁸⁸ DR. 1969. p. 8. (Avaloka of Dhanika).

Apart from the information mentioned above, this text gives one other that is quite vital to our understanding of the use of gesture language in drama. Gestures obviously formed a very important technique for expressing meaning in the performance of a play. Dhanañjaya mentions *tripatākākara*, the hands in *tripatākā*, to indicate *janāntika*, an aside.⁸⁹ That he does not take the trouble to define the term indicates that the use of these gestures was common in his time and therefore required no explanation.

The *Daśarūpaka* reflects considerable changes in the discourse on dancing since Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Dhanañjaya's strength lies particularly in the fact that he composed a methodical account of the categories of dance and provided clear, if brief, explanations. Prior to his work, much of the information available, including what we find in Abhinavagupta, is fragmentary, existing as quotations from lost works or from the general body of literature. Sometimes the information comes in as passing remarks or views not clearly expressed. In Dhanañjaya the concepts and the categories are set down and defined unambiguously enough to suggest that their meanings had come to be generally accepted.

Our next source is the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja which is believed to be from the eleventh century.⁹⁰ As the name suggests, it is an exposition of *śṛṅgārarasa*. The term *śṛṅgāra* here must be understood in the context of Bhoja's "new found theory of the one Rasa of *Ahaṅkāra*, *Abhimāna* or *Śṛṅgāra* as well as the lower *śṛṅgāra* of *Rati*."⁹¹ This text is a work in thirty-six chapters and deals with both poetics and dramaturgy. As Raghavan points out, "Bhoja seems

⁸⁹ DR. I. 65.

⁹⁰ Raghavan, 1956. p. 29.

⁹¹ Raghavan, 1978 p. 8.

to be the first writer, whose work is available to us now, who embraced both branches and wrote in the same work on both."⁹² It seems from the treatment of the subject that Bhoja wanted to write a work similar to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Like Bharata, Bhoja discusses the characteristics of the Sanskrit language, but does so even more elaborately than Bharata, although—surprisingly—Bhoja omits prosody, which is closely related to poetics.⁹³ However, he discusses dramaturgy in detail and his analysis of śṛṅgāra is unique, covering as it does the types of śṛṅgāra and its expression in dramatic presentation. The range and depth of the work has been noted by Raghavan who discusses its contents and compares it with other works on the subject.⁹⁴

The part of the work most relevant to our present study is Bhoja's discussion of the minor types of plays. In the eleventh chapter he describes twenty-four types of drama and their structure which he terms as *prekṣyaprabandhas*, that is, poetical compositions to be seen. These he divides into two subcategories, one requiring *vākyārthābhinaya* and the other *padārthābhinaya*.⁹⁵ *Vākyārthābhinaya* literally means expressing the meaning of utterances, that is to say, the acting technique required for this type of drama brings out the total meaning of the play. This is the kind that represents major drama. *Padārthābhinaya* on the other hand is less demanding and calls for expressing the meaning of the words (in a song) and these represent minor dramas. Bhoja does not name the class of drama that requires *padārthābhinaya*; however, he names and describes the twelve varieties within that class. These descriptions show that these varieties are full of delicate and expressive

⁹² *Ibid.* 1963. p. 9.

⁹³ *Ibid.* p.9.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* The comparative study continues through the whole work of Raghavan.

⁹⁵ The text of *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Vol. II.1963. pp.461., 466.

movements. If we go back to Dhanañjaya's definition of *nṛtya*, we find that he defines *nṛtya* as an art requiring *padārthābhinaya* (*DR*. 1.9). If we equate *padārthābhinaya* with *nṛtya*, which seems plausible, then we can say that Bhoja viewed as varieties of *nṛtya* the dramatic types that require *padārthābhinaya*. Dhanika in his *Avaloka* on the *Daśarūpaka* and Śāradātanaya in his *Bhāvaprakāśana* view these minor dramas as *nṛtyabhedas*, that is, as various types of *nṛtya*.⁹⁶ Later, Śubhaṅkara refers to these varieties as "nṛtye ratnanakṣatramālā."⁹⁷ As these references show, these minor dramatic types were known under many names. Later, however, they were categorized as *uparūpakas* by Viśvanātha in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (fourteenth century A.D.)⁹⁸ and we shall examine their relevance to dance in a later chapter. It is in that context that Bhoja's views on the use of *padārthābhinaya* in *prekṣyaprabandhas* are of particular significance.

The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra is a treatise on dramaturgy written in the twelfth century.⁹⁹ As the name suggests, the text reflects the characteristics of drama. After writing the main text the two authors comment upon their own work to elucidate it. The work is in four chapters and in the third chapter, while discussing *āṅgikābhinaya*, the authors list by name the movements of the different parts of the body as well as extended sequences and compositions. Their method of listing the terms for movements is to select one or two terms to indicate an entire class and then to state the number of movements in that class, as for instance in: हस्तयोःपताकत्रिपताकादयश्चतुःषष्टिः

⁹⁶ *DR. Avaloka*. 1969. p. 8; *BhP*. 1968, pp. 255-68.

⁹⁷ *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*. 1960. pp. 79-80.

⁹⁸ *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. 1923. 6. 4-6.

⁹⁹ Krishnamachariar, 1974 . p. 643.

or स्थिरहस्तपर्यस्तकादयोऽङ्गहारा द्वात्रिंशत् and so on.¹⁰⁰ This list matches the list given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and we find that the division of limbs in this work into aṅga and upāṅga is also a continuation of the tradition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, although the movements of the limbs are merely named, not described. While it follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, in many respects, it also provides additional information. It virtually copies the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in describing āṅgikābhinaya, but names two additional types of major dramas that are not found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, raising the number of major dramas to twelve. Again, the description of bhāṇa is different from that in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and following the tradition that developed after Bharata it includes śṛṅgārarasa and ten lāsyāṅgas as features of bhāṇa. One other major topic that this text introduces is a discussion of the minor types of drama for which it does not have a class name although it describes thirteen varieties of minor drama in detail.¹⁰¹ The *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as we know, does not describe minor dramas. But that they existed is evidenced by Abhinavagupta's citations in the *Abhinavabhāratī* and in Dhanika's *Avaloka* on the *Daśarūpaka*.¹⁰² Dhanika does not describe them. Bhoja was the first to include and describe twelve varieties of minor dramas, giving details, and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* was the next work to include them in the category of drama. However, these dramatic types still lacked an accepted class-name. Different names appear in different works, such as nṛtyakāvya and rāgakāvya in the *Abhinavabhāratī*, nṛtyabheda in the *Avaloka* of Dhanika, geyarūpaka in the *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* of Hemacandra. Rāmacandra and

¹⁰⁰ *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. 1959, pp.168-69.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* pp. 190-92.

¹⁰² Abhinavagupta mentions ten such minor types. (*AB.* on the *NS.* 1956. pp. 168-84.); Dhanika mentions seven, 1969 (*Avaloka* on the *DR.* p. 8).

Guṇacandra simply categorize them as anyāni rūpakāṇi, that is, other plays.¹⁰³ Even Śāradātanaya, who, writing in the thirteenth century, gives the largest list, consisting of twenty minor dramas, refers to them as nṛtyabhedas.¹⁰⁴ Oddly enough, much later Śubhaṅkara includes both rūpakas and uparūpakas under nṛtya (*SDām.* pp. 79, 80, 99). However, the description in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* has lines almost identical with Bhoja's description except that it adds one other minor dramatic type, saṭṭaka.¹⁰⁵ In a later chapter we shall discuss the development of these minor types of plays as well as their nature.

From the inclusion of these minor types in the *Avaloka* of the *Daśarūpaka* and in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, which is followed by all treatises on music, drama and dance for several centuries, we learn that these minor types of dramas were very popular and well developed during this second period of our study. Obviously, they were also recognized by scholars as important enough to be included in works on dramaturgy.

Another text of great interest from the twelfth century is *Mānasollāsa* by Someśvara, also known as *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*.¹⁰⁶ In its one hundred chapters it deals with a variety of subjects that interest the royalty. A guide to royal pastimes, this book has five parts, each containing descriptions of twenty vinodas or pastimes. The fourth part deals with dance and music in chapters sixteen to eighteen. Three others are on vocal and instrumental music and dance and the fifth is on miscellaneous matters. The part called nṛtyavinoda has 457 verses, from 16.4. 949 to 16.4.1406. He introduces us to the subject first by

¹⁰³ *AB.* on the *NS.* Vol. I. pp. 171, 175; *Avaloka* on the *DR.* 1969. p. 8.; *KAnu.H.* 1938. 8.1.; *ND.* 1959. p. 190.

¹⁰⁴ *BhP.* 1968. p. 256.

¹⁰⁵ *ND.* 1959. p. 190-92.

¹⁰⁶ *Mānasollāsa*, G.O.S. edition, Vol. I. 1958., p. vi.

saying when dances should be performed: at every festive occasion, to celebrate conquests, success in competitions and examinations as well as occasions of joy, passion, pleasure and renouncement. Six varieties of dancing are described next and then six types of nartakas. Nartaka here stands for performers in general and includes nartakī(danseuse), naṭa(actor), nartaka(dancer), vaitālika(bard), cāraṇa (wandering performer) and kollāṭika (acrobat). He then describes body movements, dividing them into aṅga, upāṅga and pratyaṅga. The division of the minor limbs into two categories, upāṅga and pratyaṅga, is a new approach. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* divides the body into major and minor limbs and the term Bharata uses for the minor limbs is upāṅga. This division is followed by the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. But Someśvara introduces this further subdivision of pratyaṅgas. This division appears in almost all works on the subject except for *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* which, as we have noted above, follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.¹⁰⁷ The movements of six aṅgas, eight upāṅgas and six pratyaṅgas are discussed in detail with the meaning and application explained. The one type of movement to which meaning is not attributed is the nṛttahasta, because these movements are meant for adding beauty, not meaning. These are discussed in verses 978-1306. Verses 1307- 78 are devoted to describing 21 sthānas and 26 cārīs, of which 16 are described. Verses 1379- 99 describe 18 karaṇas of the deśī variety, none of which is found in earlier works. He finishes this section by saying that these should be performed either by a dancer or by the king himself to please his beloved. But performance of the viṣama(acrobatic) and vikāṭa(comic) varieties of dancing should be avoided by the king since they cannot generate śṛṅgārarasa. This suggests that generating śṛṅgārarasa was taken to be a prerequisite for dance. The audience should be connoisseurs of dancing,

¹⁰⁷ NS. 8.8; VDP. 3.24.65; ND. p.168.

which should be performed inside the palace or a house, or in a pleasant courtyard or a garden. Thus ends the section on dancing.

In the *Mānasollāsa* we find the recognition of four new categories that developed after Bharata, namely, nṛtya, lāsya, mārḡa and deśī. Nṛtya was first recognized as a distinct category of performance in the *Daśarūpaka*. The *Mānasollāsa* takes the term to represent the whole art of dancing. It is also the first text with a complete and sustained discussion on dancing which treats lāsya as a division of dancing. Someśvara also divides dancing into the mārḡa and deśī varieties, thus reflecting the growth of the two traditions. The other important contribution of Someśvara is the introduction of the deśī karaṇas, eighteen in number and found in no other text.

However, Someśvara defines neither nṛtya nor nṛtta. The term nṛtta occurs only a few times in the text some of which might have been due to scribal errors since the author does not seem to be concerned with nṛtta except for using the word to form the term nṛttahasta.¹⁰⁸ The term he uses specifically for dancing is nartana, which he divides into six types: nāṭya (mimetic), lāsya (delicate), tāṇḍava (vigorous), viṣama (acrobatic), vikāṭa (ludicrous) and laghu (light and graceful). The inclusion of nāṭya as a form of dancing is a continuation from the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*'s division of dancing,¹⁰⁹ and the use of the term shows that it obviously had a wider meaning at this time than in later times. We shall reserve its discussion for a later chapter.

A work from this period, but not dated with certainty, which deals with drama is the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* of Sāgaranandin. From internal evidence

¹⁰⁸ *Mānas*. 16.4. 957 ; 1138 ; 1150; 1238; 1262; 1269-70; 1277; 1296.

¹⁰⁹ *VDP*. 3. 20. 2.

Raghavan suggests in his introduction to the translation of the text that Sāgaranandin's date could not have been earlier than that of Abhinavagupta, Dhanañjaya or Bhoja, that is, not earlier than the thirteenth century, nor later than that of Śāradātanaya.¹¹⁰ The text, as the name suggests, deals with the definition and nature of nāṭaka as well as other varieties of drama in the fullest detail. The author devotes a substantial part of the text to minor dramatic types but does not put them into a separate category. He follows the tradition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in his approach to the major dramatic types and also in his discussion of rasa; for example, following Bharata, he does not include śāntarasa, which was a category introduced by Abhinavagupta.

One of the most important contributions of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* is that it provides a systematic overview of the literature that preceded it. The same task was undertaken, but not performed methodically, by Śāradātanaya, whom we shall discuss next. The survey in the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* helps us to understand the views of many earlier writers on many topics of Indian dramaturgy. But Sāgaranandin also has some noteworthy views of his own.¹¹¹ We may remember that Abhinavagupta did not deal with minor dramas in much detail. Dhanañjaya paid no attention to them. Dhanika simply acknowledged the existence of such types by naming some of them. Bhoja was the first author to discuss the minor varieties of drama and to describe their characteristics, although he did not treat major and minor dramas separately. Sāgaranandin gives us a clear picture of the technical aspects of the plays of his time, noting in particular the technical language of the theatre: "The nāṭakaparibhāṣā or stage

¹¹⁰ Raghavan's Introduction to the translation of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, Vol. II. 1960, p.7; S. Chattopadhyaya, 1960, puts the lower limit of the date as the eleventh century (Introduction . p.xxxii).

¹¹¹ *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, 1960. Vol. II. p.7.

jargon, the conventions, the technical terms and the mode of address peculiar to drama, is another subject dealt with in *NLRK* (section 16) for which we are indebted to it; the only other works devoting a separate section to this subject are the *Sāhityasāra* of Sarveśvara and the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* of Singabhūpāla."¹¹² That his interest lay in technical issues of a practical nature is evident everywhere: "Towards another subject of similar historical nature, the music and dance items of pūrvaraṅga, Sāgaranandin adopts a more practical attitude (1157-1158) which is repeated by Viśvanātha in a more outspoken form in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*."¹¹³

The list as well as the descriptions of minor types of drama given in this text, seventeen in all, are similar to what we find in Śāradātanaya's discussion of nṛtyabhedas in his *Bhāvaprakāśana*. In a later chapter of the present study, in which the development of concepts after Bharata is discussed, we shall see how the minor types of plays developed.

The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in all respects but two. In the first place, as we have seen, it discusses minor dramatic types and not only major types as Bharata does. Secondly, the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* deviates from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in prescribing lāsyaṅgas for the performance of types of bhāṇa. Bhāṇa, a major dramatic type discussed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, has caused a great deal of confusion in the literature, from which the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* is by no means free. After Bharata, there developed two minor dramatic types, bhāṇaka (often referred to as bhāṇa) and bhāṇikā. These had developed from bhāṇa, as the names indicate, and were similar to it inasmuch as they were one-act plays. What mainly distinguished the two was

¹¹² *Ibid.* p. 8.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* p. 8.

the application of *kaiśikī vṛtti* and the arousal of *śṛṅgārarasa*, both expressly forbidden by Bharata. The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, however, reflects the post-Bharata development by including *kaiśikī vṛtti* and *śṛṅgārarasa* as features of *bhāṇaka* and *bhāṇikā*. Of greater interest to the present work is the fact that the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* prescribes the use of ten *lāsyāṅgas* in *bhāṇa* and *bhāṇi*. The names and descriptions of the *lāsyāṅgas* remain virtually unchanged from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, though the context is entirely different. The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* thus shows the dramatic use of the *lāsyā* type of dancing that had evidently become part of the tradition.¹¹⁴

The *Bhāvaprakāśana* of Śāradātanaya (1175 -1250 A.D.)¹¹⁵ is a compendium of poetics and dramaturgy based on all critical works written before the author's time, that is, the period starting with the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The author discusses different schools of literary criticism, sometimes accepting other's views and sometimes refuting them or giving his own views. The editor of this text has traced Śāradātanaya's indebtedness to his predecessors in detail in the introduction to the edition.¹¹⁶ The text contains ten *adhikāras* or chapters, of which the first three are on *bhāva* and *rasa*. The fourth and the fifth are on the characters of the hero and heroine. Of relevance to dancing is a discussion at the end of the fifth chapter on glances that express *rasa* and *bhāva*. The sixth chapter discusses the relation between word and meaning. Chapters seven to ten all contain material of immediate interest to us. The seventh chapter is on *nāṭya* which includes dance and music. The eighth chapter discusses major and minor types of dramas, while the ninth chapter discusses in detail the minor types, putting them into a separate category which the author calls *nṛtyabhedas*.

¹¹⁴ *NLRK*. 2853-98 ; See also Bose, 1970, p. 15.

¹¹⁵ Raghavan, 1957, p. 28 ; *BhP*. 1968. G.O.S. ed. Introduction, pp. 72-77.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 63-71.

The ninth chapter also includes a discussion on different types of kāvyas or poetic compositions. The tenth and final chapter is of particular interest for it explains the distinction between nṛtta and nṛtya and between mārga and deśī. The information on dance given in the previous chapters is summarized in the tenth, which further describes the characteristics of various kinds of performers and audiences. The chapter also covers a number of topics of general interest, adds a few more words on music, rasa and bhāva, alaṅkāra, and discusses Bhāratavarṣa, the land, her languages and their use in a dramatic performance.

Although Śāradātanaya is very informative, his treatment of his subjects (particularly, drama and dance) is unsystematic. He often moves abruptly from one topic to another and gives inconsistent information on the same topic at different times, drawing - particularly- upon different sources or theories, which, however, he does not adequately explain. As a result one has to scan the entire text and correlate the scattered discussion to get a cogent overview of his opinions.

An analysis of some topics in the chapters of our interest will clarify my comment on his work. In the seventh chapter he introduces major dramatic forms and puts other forms into a category that he calls nṛtyabheda: नृत्यभेदा भवेयुस्ते डोम्बीश्रीगदितादयः (Bhp. p. 181.), that is, [spectacles such as] ḍombī, śrīgadita and so on are divisions of nṛtya. He does not comment on their nature in this context since his main interest at this point is the use of rasa and bhāva in these spectacles, in discussing which he follows Bhoja. The plays, called rūpakas, which are dependant on vākyārthābhinaya, literally, expressing the meaning of the sentences, produce rasa and are व्याक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकाः that is, they aim at bringing out the total meaning. The पदार्थाभिनयात्मक spectacles, that is, the spectacles expressing the meaning of particular words, are dependant

on bhāva. He further says that nṛtya is dependent on emotion: भावाश्रय, a view shared by Dhanañjaya.¹¹⁷ About nṛtta, however, Śāradātanaya has his own opinions. He believes that nṛtta is dependant on rasa: नृत्तं रसाश्रयम् (*Bhp.* p. 181.). Not only is this view original to him, it contradicts Bharata's view that , न खल्वर्थकञ्चिन्नृत्तमपेक्षते (*NS.* 4.263), that is, nṛtta does not depend on any meaning. Bharata further says that न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते (*NS.* Vol. I, 1956, p.271), that is, no meaning is expressed without [producing] any rasa. Therefore, Śāradātanaya's definition of nṛtta seems to assume that it expresses meaning and does not merely beautify a dramatic presentation. Accordingly, nṛtta can generate rasa.

Śāradātanaya differs not only from Bharata but from all his predecessors and contemporaries. In the *Daśarūpaka* Dhanañjaya views nṛtta as dependant on tāla and laya, rhythm and tempo: नृत्तं ताललयाश्रयम् (*DR.*1. 9) and recognizes only nāṭya as an art-form expressing rasa: नाट्यं रसाश्रयम् (*DR.*1. 9). In the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra*, Pārśvadeva, another author who flourished around this time, says that nṛtta depends on tāla, bhāva and laya: तालभावलयायत्तः (*SSam.* 7.2). That nṛtta is rasāśraya is Śāradātanaya's own interpretation.

After introducing the dramatic forms in the seventh chapter Śāradātanaya elaborates on the preliminaries of dramatic performances which include music and dance. In this part of the discussion he mainly follows Bharata . Śāradātanaya states that the definition of nṛtta and nṛtya are many and given by various authors, which he will discuss later. He views these two art-forms as auxiliary to drama that are used in the preliminaries of a play. In this context he follows the tradition of Bharata.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 181.; *DR.* 1.9.

In the eighth chapter he discusses ten major types of drama that depend on *rasa* and twenty others that depend on *bhāva*. He says that all the thirty varieties are often referred to as *rūpakas*.¹¹⁸ He discusses all the major types of drama, including *bhāṇa*, in detail. He states that ten *lāsyāṅgas* are used in *bhāṇa*. After describing the ten *lāsyāṅgas*, following Bharata, he describes four *nṛtyabhedas*, which he says other authorities discuss. These he includes in the same section on *bhāṇa*. Not minor types of drama, these *nṛtyabhedas* are the four *piṇḍibandhas* or group dances described by Bharata in his fourth chapter and viewed by him as parts of the preliminaries to a play. The descriptions of these four *nṛtyabhedas* in the *Bhāvaprakāśana*, however, are much more precise and easy to comprehend compared to Bharata's cryptic definition (*NS*. 4. 290-91). The discussion ends with instructions for training a dancer in these dances: भद्रासनेन यन्त्रेण तत्तच्छिक्षा विधीयते (*Bhp*. p. 246.) -- the training is prescribed through *bhadrāsana* and *yantra*.¹¹⁹ The actions implied in these terms are hard to visualize through the bare mention of the terms in this text as also in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Viṣṇudharmotttarapurāṇa*. Abhinavagupta and the *Rājaprasnīya*, one of the Jainasūtras, clarify the terms to some extent, as will be seen in a later chapter where the conceptual development of the art of dance will be discussed in detail.

The ninth chapter of the *Bhāvaprakāśana* is devoted to the *nṛtyabhedas*, that is, the twenty minor varieties of drama mentioned in the seventh chapter. One of these *nṛtyabhedas* is what he calls *bhāṇa*, which is different from the *bhāṇa* that is known as a major dramatic type. The use of the same term to name both

¹¹⁸ *BhP*. p. 221.

¹¹⁹ भद्रासन and यन्त्र are two terms of which the actions are not very clear from the definition of Bharata, and Śāradātanaya has not explained them either. These seem to be formations of some diagrams on the stage by a group of female dancers. Bharata also says that students need proper guidance to be able to perform them. (*NS*. 4. 290-91). See pp.108-10 of this thesis for a discussion on the *piṇḍibandhas*.

major and minor types, each with a different definition, has caused a great deal of confusion . This chapter gives a detailed description of each kind of these nṛtyabhedas with illustrations from literary works, some of which have survived, like the *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara, *Vikramorvaśīyam* of Kālidāsa, *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa and others.¹²⁰ These are major sources for our understanding of the development of dancing.

The last chapter, the tenth, is used to sum up what the author has dealt with so far. He begins by saying : उक्ता नाट्यस्य नृत्तस्य भेदाः सर्वे यथार्थतः (*Bhp.* p.284): the varieties of nāṭya and nṛtta has all been explained [by me]in an appropriate manner. In the middle section of the chapter (pp. 295- 302) he summarizes what had been said about dance and drama in the preceding chapters, but adds new interpretations, and these have often confused the issues. However, we shall try to clarify them as far as possible when we examine them more closely in a later chapter.

The *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* of Pārśvadeva is the second work devoted to musicology during the second period of our study. This text discusses saṅgīta, that is, gīta (vocal music), vādyā (instrumental music) and nṛtta and nṛtya (dance). Besides the *Mānasollāsa*, other works from the second period discussed so far are works on dramaturgy and literary criticism. This is the second work of the period to discuss music and dance as separate art-forms and not as art-forms auxiliary to drama.

The date of the author is uncertain. According to Raghavan, Pārśvadeva, who was a Jaina writer, must have lived between 1165-1330 A. D. because he refers to Bhoja (1010-1050 A.D), Someśvara (about 1131 A.D.), Paramardi

¹²⁰ *BhP*, pp. 238, 244, 269, etc.

(about 1165 A.D.) and *Siṃhabhūpāla*(about 1330 A.D.)¹²¹ In the introduction to his edition of *Nṛttaratnāvalī*, Raghavan places Pārśvadeva between Paramardi and Jāya(1253 A.D.)¹²² The *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* was first edited in 1925 from one manuscript by T. Ganapati Shastri who does not suggest any date for the author. This edition in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is often corrupt. A second edition came out in 1977, prepared by Acarya Brihaspati and based on the collation of more manuscripts as well as T. Ganapati Shastri's edition. Comparing the text with other relevant works, the editor places Pārśvadeva after Śārṅgadeva and in the later part of the thirteenth century. Pārśvadeva is similarly placed in the thirteenth century by M. Krishnamachariar.¹²³ From what the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* has to say on the *deśī* dances it seems likely that Pārśvadeva lived before Jāya in the later part of the twelfth or the earlier part of the thirteenth century.¹²⁴

The two editions of the text differ in the organization of the text, but both versions have essentially the same contents. Nijenhuis has described the content of the work following the 1925 text,¹²⁵ one that has too many errors to be reliable. I have followed the later edition in describing the text and its content.

The work is in nine chapters and for the most part it is devoted to vocal and instrumental music. The seventh chapter and the last part of the eighth are of interest to the study of dance. The author quotes frequently from older authorities, such as Kohala (*SSam.* 1.39) and Mataṅga as well as Mataṅga's

¹²¹ Raghavan,1956. p, 29.

¹²² Raghavan,1965.NR. Introduction. pp. 77-8.

¹²³ Acarya Brihaspati,1977, Introduction. p. 21.; Krishnamachariar, 1974. p. 855.

¹²⁴ Pārśvadeva says that he will discuss all the *deśyaṅgas*, the features of *deśī*, which have not been discussed so far by anyone(*SSam.* 7.194). As against the eighteen described by Pārśvadeva, Jāya describes forty-six. (*SSam.* 7. 194-97; *NR.* 6.118-22.)

¹²⁵ Nijenhuis,1977. p. 13.

Brhaddeśī without naming the author (*SSam.* 2.1). Among later authorities he refers to Bhoja and Someśvara(*SSam.*1.3).

Beginning with the usual benediction, the first chapter discusses the intricacies of vocal music, such as *svara*, *mūrchanā*, *jāti*, *rāga* etc. of the *mārga* or classical tradition. We have already noted in the *Daśarūpaka* that the term *mārga* is used to refer to the classical tradition. *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* 's use of the term in the same sense shows that it had by this time passed into common usage. The second chapter is devoted to the *deśī* or regional tradition. In the third chapter the author expands on the theories of various aspects of music, such as *svara*, *ālāpa* etc. The fourth chapter deals with *rāgas*. The fifth discusses the composition of vocal music and the sixth, instrumental music. The seventh chapter is devoted entirely to dancing, which he refers to as *nṛtta*, its definition and the body movements required, in dealing with all of which it follows the tradition established by Bharata. Like Bharata, Pārśvadeva divides body parts into two: *aṅga* and *upāṅga*. He counts all the movements of the different parts of the body and the *karaṇas* and *aṅgahāras* following Bharata but while describing them he does not discuss the *cārī*, *sthāna*, *karaṇa* or *aṅgahāra* from the Bharata tradition but follows the *deśī* tradition. He seems to take Bharata's tradition as *nṛtta* and the *deśī* tradition as *nṛtya*. He describes the *deśīnṛtyas* which, according to him, consist of *peraṇa*, *pekkhaṇa*, *guṇḍalī* and *daṇḍarāsa*.¹²⁶ He then discusses the *sthānas* and *cārīs* needed for these *deśī* dances. He uses the term *pāla* for *cārī*, a term found in no other text. However, although the discussion starts with the term *pāla*, it ends with the term *cārī*.¹²⁷ Next, the author describes the *utplutikaraṇas*, also needed for the *deśī* dances, other *karaṇas* with

¹²⁶ *SSam.* 7. 130-32.

¹²⁷ *SSam.* 7. 157; 7. 180.

different *deśīsthānas*, *bhramarīs*,¹²⁸ and moves on to describing the *aṅgas* or features of *deśī* dances, calling them *deśyaṅgāni*. *Jāya*, as we shall see later, combines these *deśī* *aṅgas* and the *aṅgas* of *lāśya*, and putting them into one category calls them *deśī lāśyas*. After describing the *deśī* *aṅgas*, *Pārśvadeva* describes the *aṅgas* or parts of *peraṇa*. Finally, he discusses the instrumental music, drumming in particular, needed for four kinds of *deśī* dances, namely, *peraṇa*, *pekkhaṇa*, *guṇḍalī* and *daṇḍarāsa*. The requirements of a good dancer, her physical appearance and the way she should be dressed are also described towards the end of the seventh chapter. The eighth chapter discusses the *tāla* or rhythm and its varieties, both *mārga* and *deśī*. The ninth chapter discusses the sitting arrangements, the qualifications of the audience, the poets, the singers, the dancers, the qualities and faults of a singer, drummers and their qualities and faults and those of the dancers of each type of *deśī* dance. The author warns against making dance and music subjects of gambling matches and ends the text by saying that music brings liberation or *mokṣa*, a concept characteristic of the medieval period.¹²⁹

One of the most influential works on music and dance from this period is the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of *Śārṅgadeva* who lived in the thirteenth century under the patronage of the *Yādava* king *Singhana*.¹³⁰ Followed by most of the writers after *Śārṅgadeva*'s time, it is one of the most important sources of our knowledge of music and dance because there is hardly any other work of the time comparable to the *Saṅgītaratnākara* in its methodical approach. The

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* 7. 193-4. In the medieval period we find that *bhramarī* has become an important movement in the technique of dance while it is mentioned merely as a form of *cārī* movement in the *NS*. This is the first text to consider *bhramarī* as a separate kind of dance movement with varieties within it.

¹²⁹ Katz, 1987., commentary on the verses. 18-21.

¹³⁰ Nijenhuis, 1977. p.12; *SR*. Vol. IV. tr. Raja and Burnier, 1976, Preface. p. vii.

special strength of the work lies in the author's clear exposition of both music and dance. On music it remains a standard authority. On dancing Śārṅgadeva has less information to offer than his contemporary Jāya Senāpati, but what he offers is thoroughly systematic, presenting a clear picture of two traditions, mārḡa and deśī.

The text is in seven chapters, of which the first six are on vocal and instrumental music. The first chapter deals with nāda (the sound), the second with rāga (musical mode), the third with prakīrṇa (miscellaneous topics relating to music), the fourth with prabandha (composition), the fifth with mārḡa (classical) and deśī (regional) tāla (rhythm), and the sixth with vādya (musical instruments). The seventh chapter, on dance, is the one that is of interest to us. It has 1678 verses and is an excellent source of our knowledge of both mārḡa and deśī traditions of dancing in the author's time. In describing the mārḡa tradition he follows Bharata but he extends our knowledge significantly by giving for the first time a systematic account of the deśī tradition of dancing. Though the *Mānasollāsa* and the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* had previously introduced the deśī style into the traditional account of dancing, it is Śārṅgadeva who systematizes that account. In doing so he combines the material from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* with that from later works and presents a coherent view not found in previous works. Although he follows Bharata in describing the movements of the body, he differs from Bharata in dividing the limbs into three categories, aṅga, upāṅga and pratyaṅga, and not only into aṅga and upāṅga. In this he follows the *Mānasollāsa*. Although the limbs are divided into three categories, no new movements are added to those in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He follows Someśvara in using the term nartana for dance, dividing nartana into three categories, nāṭya, nṛtya and nṛtta (SR. 7. 3). In narrating the legend about the origin of dance he

again follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but differs from it in identifying tāṇḍava as Śiva's dance and lāsya as Pārvatī's. According to Śārṅgadeva, nṛtta and nṛtya can both be of two kinds, tāṇḍava and lāsya (*SR.* 7. 28). Tāṇḍava requires uddhata (forceful) and lāsya requires lalita (delicate) movements (*SR.* 7. 29-30). Nṛtta has three varieties, viṣama, vikāṭa and laghu, identified respectively as rope-dancing, a comic dance, and a dance based on easy karaṇas. Here Śārṅgadeva is repeating the classification found in the *Mānasollāsa*, except that he uses the term nṛtta, not nartana, as Someśvara does and that he defines them somewhat differently. Śārṅgadeva's description of cārī, sthāna, karaṇa and aṅgahāras of the mārga type are as in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. But the deśī cārīs, sthānas and utplutikaraṇas are, of course, new, for Bharata does not record the deśī tradition. Some of the thirty-six utplutikaraṇas in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* are the same as those in the *Mānasollāsa* which lists eighteen karaṇas of the deśī variety (*Mānas.* 16. 4. 1384-99). The *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* describes eleven deśī karaṇas and mentions five bhramarīs. Bhramarīs are included among utplutikaraṇas by Śārṅgadeva. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* bhramarī was the name of a cārī, a not particularly complicated revolving movement. Later, more than one bhramarī came into being, all of them being variations of whirling movements. Gradually, these developed into so much more elaborate movements that they came to be recognized as constituting a distinct class, the earliest work to so consider them being *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* (7.193); the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* (289-98) too regards them as a distinct group. Their inclusion among the utplutikaraṇas by Śārṅgadeva shows that by his time bhramarīs were so developed and important that they had come to be regarded as a form of karaṇas.

After the description of the sthānas which include sitting and lying postures that are appropriate to drama, the author discusses vṛttis or styles of

presentation and conventions. This is followed by a description of maṇḍala (combination of cārīs) and then of ten lāsyāṅgas of the deśī variety. Jāya, who was a contemporary of Śārṅgadeva, gives us a list of forty-six lāsyāṅgas, and Pārśvadeva, who preceded both, gives us twenty deśī aṅgas requiring similar movements,¹³¹ but it is Śārṅgadeva's list of ten lāsyāṅgas that continued to be reproduced by a number of later authors.

After describing the lāsyāṅgas Śārṅgadeva explains the importance of aesthetic beauty, lays down the rules of exercise, and describes the qualities and faults of a performer (including a description of her make-up and costume), and those of the teacher and the group of supporting performers. Then he describes the sequential process of a performance, including the musical accompaniment, in the pure mode or śuddhapaddhati (SR. 7. 1260-73).

Next described are gaṇḍalī and perañi. These two dances seem to be the most common pieces of dancing in the deśī tradition, for they are found in almost all the works from the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* in the twelfth/thirteenth century down to the *Śivatattvaratnākara* in the early eighteenth century. Perañi in particular has had a long life, for literature from the Andhra Province records it till the end of the nineteenth century and a number of present day dancers have attempted to revive it.¹³² Its popularity in that region is also suggested by the widespread use of one of the fast movements essential to it, gharghara, which requires special movements of ankle bells. In the *Nartananirṇaya* Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala (sixteenth century) remarks that gharghara was a distinctive feature of the deśī dances of the Drāviḍa region (NN. 50a-b). The same movement is an

¹³¹ NR. 6. 117-73; SSam. 7. 194-216.

¹³² NR., 1965, Introduction. p. 137-41;

essential feature of today's Kathak dancing ¹³³ in which it is known as tatkār. Gauṇḍalī dance certainly survived till the eighteenth century ¹³⁴ but no current incidence of it is known.

After describing these two dance pieces, Śārṅgadeva deals with the qualifications of the ācārya (the teacher), the naṭa (the actor), the nartaka (the dancer), the vaitālika (a general entertainer), the cāraṇa (an expert in understanding gharghara) and the kohlāṭika (a performer who specializes in bhramarī, rope-walking and dancing with a dagger). Next, he describes the audience and the sitting arrangements. Finally, he discusses rasas (nine in number), sthāyībhāvas (thirty-three in number) and the definition of sattva (the essence) and sāttvikabhāvas (eight in number). The chapter concludes with final prayers.

The *Saṅgītaratnākara* has a highly important supplement in the form of a commentary on it called *Kalānidhi* and written in the fourteenth century by Kallinātha. The commentator quotes from Kohala to expand Śārṅgadeva's description of arm movements and adds an entire section on vartanā, of which thirty-one (SR. pp.105-10) are given, and another section on cālaka, which are fifty in number (SR. pp.111-24). Kallinātha quotes Kohala again with respect to cārī, adding a new cārī called madhupacārī, of which twenty-five are described (SR. pp.313-17). Except for the *Kalānidhi*, the only texts that include these cārīs are the *Nṛtyādhyāya* of Aśokamalla and the *Nṛtyaratnakośa* of

¹³³ *Classical and Folk Dances of India*, 1953, Part. III, pp. 25-27.

¹³⁴ *STR*. 6.3. 15-16.

Mahārāṇā Kumbhā, which, however, use the term *muḍupacārī* for the same movements. ¹³⁵

Closely following upon the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* by Jāya Senāpati was written in the thirteenth century A.D.¹³⁶ The authors were contemporaries and as Raghavan points out, Jāya must have known of Śārṅgadeva's work. But it is likely that Jāya makes no mention of Śārṅgadeva's work ¹³⁷ because of the rivalry between the two neighbouring states, where they lived. Whereas the *Saṅgītaratnākara* is a text that deals with saṅgīta, that is, all three musical arts, namely, vocal and instrumental music, and dance, the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* concentrates on dancing. The *Saṅgītaratnākara*'s single chapter on dancing is a comprehensive study of dance but a concise one. By contrast, the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* devotes all eight chapters to dance and discusses vocal or instrumental music only in the context of dance.

The *Nṛttaratnāvalī* has eight chapters devoted entirely to dancing and covers two traditions. The first four chapters of the text discuss the mārṅga tradition following the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the other four discuss the deśī. The tradition of Bharata is regarded as mārṅga while the tradition comprising regional and popular styles is called deśī, the latter being a subject on which Jāya is particularly informative. This is the only work that deals exclusively with dance in such detail. The text has been critically edited by V. Raghavan who gives a great deal of related information on the subject in his introduction. Of

¹³⁵ *Nr.Adh.* 1080-1115, *NRK.* 2. 3. 1-37. *NRK* quotes Kohala after Kalānidhi, acknowledging the source at the beginning of the chapter. The lines match those in the edition of the *SR.* 1953, pp. 313-317. *NRK* calls them *muḍupa*.

¹³⁶ *NR.* 1965, Introduction. pp. 8-12.; Krishnamachariar, 1974. p. 855.

¹³⁷ *NR.* 1965, Introduction. pp. 73-4. Śārṅgadeva's patron was the Yādava king while Jāya's patron was the Kākatiya king; these were the rulers of two neighbouring states in South India.

particular help is Raghavan's comparison of Jāya's work with the work of some of his contemporaries in the field.

The first chapter begins with the customary benediction, praising dance as an art-form and defining nāṭya. The four modes of abhinaya, i.e., āṅgika, vācika, āhārya and sāttvika, the six forms of dancing -- nṛtta, nṛtya, mārga, deśī, tāṇḍava and lāsya -- are then discussed in detail. Chapter two deals with abhinaya. Since āṅgika abhinaya or body movements are the most relevant to dance, Jāya describes in detail the movements of the major and minor limbs, six aṅgas, six pratyaṅgas and six upāṅgas. He also describes the hand-gestures in this chapter, in course of which he quotes other authors, such as Abhinavagupta, Kīrtidhara and others.¹³⁸ The third chapter is on cārīs (movements of one leg), sthānas (postures), nyāya (rules of performance), vyāyāma (exercise), sauṣṭhava (grace), more sthānas and maṇḍalas (combinations of cārīs). The fourth chapter describes karaṇas (dance-units) and aṅgahāras (sequences of dance-units) and ends with recakas (extending movements of the neck, the hands, the waist and the feet) mainly in the lines of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In general, Jāya's treatment of the mārga tradition is faithful to Bharata and is precise and systematic.

The second half of the text is devoted to the deśī tradition, in dealing with which the author is just as organized and informative as he is with mārga. The fifth chapter, which is the first on the deśī tradition, starts by defining the term deśī. Deśī sthānas, utplutikaraṇas (deśī karaṇas) and bhramarīs (pirouettes) are described. We have already noted how bhramarīs became popular and came to be regarded as a separate category comprising several varieties. We may note that one such variety, cakrabhramarī, a fast pirouette, has survived as a

¹³⁸ NR. 2. 182.; 2. 183.; 2. 214.; 2. 265; 2. 275. Jāya refers frequently to a "muni," which seems to indicate Bharata, NR. 2. 4, 202, 213, 215, 273.

distinctive feature of the Kathak style. A variation of the movement appears also in the Manipurī style which employs slow revolving movements, but bhramarīs are no longer important in other classical styles of dancing in India today.¹³⁹ In this chapter, the fifth, the author refers to his other work, the *Gītaratnāvalī*, which has not come down to us.

The sixth chapter deals with movements of the feet. These deśīpādas, as they are called in this work, are often described as deśī cārīs in the later texts. Cārīs are the movements of one leg which necessarily include foot movements as well but cārīs and pādas are always treated as separate movements in the Bharata tradition. Jāya has a separate section on deśī cārīs, describing cārīs not found in works preceding his. His descriptions of deśī pāṭamaṇīs (foot movements) are his own as well.¹⁴⁰ From the descriptions of the deśīpādas, pāṭamaṇīs and cārīs one can say that pādas involve simple floor contacts of the feet; pāṭamaṇīs involve striking the ground with the feet and cārīs involve movements of one leg extended. He then describes forty-six varieties of deśī lāsyāṅgas which include the deśī lāsyāṅgas described in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the deśī aṅgas found in the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra*. Gatis or gaits are described next.

The seventh chapter discusses auspicious dates for beginning dance lessons (the term he uses here is nṛtya), the characteristics of the stage and some general discussion on presentation, the time and location of dance performances, the worship of Gaṇeśa, methods of practice, the qualifications desirable in a dancer, dance costume, hand-gestures for practice and the accompanying vocal and

¹³⁹ The Kathak movement comparable to the cakrabhramarī is called cakkar. See p. 213 of the present thesis.

¹⁴⁰ Raghavan, 1965. p. 174. fn.

instrumental music. The chapter then concentrates on describing individual dance pieces, calling them *deśīnr̥tta*. These include *peraṇi*, *pekkhaṇa*, *sūḍa*, *rāsaka*, *carcarī*, *nāṭyarāsaka*, *śivapriya*, *ciṇṭu*, *kanduka*, *bhāṇḍikā*, *ghaṭisani*, *cāraṇa*, *bahurūpa*, *kollāṭa* and *gaṇḍalī*. Of these, we come across only a few in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Saṅgītasamayasāra*. Most of these occur later in the *Nṛttaratnakośa*.¹⁴¹ The chapter concludes with the description of the stage, its types and shapes, the audience and the presiding dignitary. The eighth and final chapter provides more information regarding presentation in general, the recital, the appropriate time for its presentation, the arrival of the chief guest and the welcome accorded the king, other members of the audience, the qualities required in a dancer, her costume, the orchestra, the sitting arrangements, the entrance of a dancer, the use of three curtains on the stage and their removal.¹⁴² The chapter ends with advice on honouring the dancer, the musicians and the poet.

Although it may seem that the author has not made any significant contribution while dealing with the *mārga* tradition since he follows Bharata, this is not true. The description of each *karaṇa* of the *mārga* tradition is unique. This happens to be the first of the very few texts which describe *karaṇas* along with *cārīs*, hand-gestures and foot movements in such a way that by following the directions a *karaṇa* can be reproduced. Not only does Jāya elaborate on the actual performance of the *karaṇas*, he quotes the views of earlier writers, which is helpful in tracing the evolution of dance. In a later chapter we shall discuss his

¹⁴¹ See p.81 of this thesis.

¹⁴² This feature of using and removing the curtains held by performers other than the dancer is still very much in use in various dance styles of the South India. Kathākali, the classical dance style of Kerala is the most important example.

treatment of the karaṇas and deśī dances, in which context his contribution is particularly important.

The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha, written in the fourteenth century, is the last treatise ^{on poetics} from the second period to be considered here. A work that deals also with dramaturgy,¹⁴³ the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* is one of the most illuminating works on poetics. According to Gerow, "With Viśvanātha, the period of poetics beginning with Mammaṭa, marked by a concern to regularize and codify alaṅkāraśāstra as a śāstra, may be said to have reached its conclusion." Gerow views this text as the "second best known Indian poetic text."¹⁴⁴

As the name suggests, the work is meant to be a mirror of literature, that is, a work on literary theory. The text is divided into ten chapters: i) the nature of kāvya (a poetic composition), ii) vākya (a sentence), iii) rasa and bhāva (aesthetic affect and emotional expression), iv) dhvani (sound), v) vyañjanā (rhetorical expression), vi) dṛśyakāvya (a poetic composition to be seen), vii) doṣa (the defects of a kāvya), viii) guṇa (the qualities of a kāvya), ix) rīti (style) and x) alaṅkāra (poetics). Of these ten, the sixth chapter, which is concerned with dṛśyakāvya, is of interest to us. Viśvanātha divides kāvya into two groups, dṛśya and śravya, that is, poetic compositions to be seen and poetic compositions to be heard. The dṛśyakāvyas are divided into two categories again, rūpaka and uparūpaka. Rūpakas are said to be of ten types, which is a division inherited from Bharata. However, Viśvanātha considers lāsyāṅgas as parts of bhāṇa like other writers who associate lāsyāṅgas with bhāṇa.

¹⁴³ Dasgupta, 1947, Vol. I. p. 566.

¹⁴⁴ Gerow, 1977. pp. 281, 283.

A major contribution of Viśvanātha is that he gives a class name to minor types of rūpakas, which he calls uparūpakas, a term that became standard in the works of the authors after him and continues to be used by Sanskrit scholars. These uparūpakas are eighteen in number, containing dancing, and they are described in detail.¹⁴⁵ Since they comprise a major genre relevant to the study of dancing, we shall reserve them for detailed study in a later chapter.

The *Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra* is a treatise on music and dance written in the fourteenth century (1350 A.D.) by the Jaina writer Sudhākalaśa. The writer says that it is an abridged version of his previous larger work *Saṅgītopaniṣṭ*, written in 1324 A.D.¹⁴⁶ No copy of it is known to exist. The abridged version does not record anything new, or anything that has not already been said by Śārṅgadeva or Jāya who preceded Sudhākalaśa by about a hundred years. Nor does the author give any information on the development of the art that must have taken place during these hundred years. The *Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra* is not concerned with two traditions, mārḡa and deśī. Surprisingly, the author does not even seem to recognize the development of the separate traditions of mārḡa and deśī dance. He mostly repeats the information gathered till his time by his predecessors, with a few minor variations. Nevertheless, the text is useful as an organized and succinct report.

The work is in six chapters, the first four of which are on gīta or vocal music and its technicalities, on tāla or rhythm, and on the origin of vādya or musical instruments. The fifth and the sixth are devoted to dancing and these are the two chapters which are of interest to us. In the fifth chapter, which contains

¹⁴⁵ *SD*. 6. 3-312.

¹⁴⁶ *Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra*. 1961. Introduction. p.v.; See also the text. *SUS*. 6. 152.

141 verses, the author begins with the praise of Jinapati. The term he uses for dance is *nṛtya* (*SUS.* 5. 2.). After a few verses, giving the legend of the origin of dance, the author defines three varieties of an art-form consisting of *nṛtta*, *nṛtya* and *nāṭya*. The author derives the term *nṛtya* from the root *nṛt* and defines the art as *gātrasya vikṣepaḥ*, i.e. , movements of the body.¹⁴⁷ According to him, *nṛtta* is danced by men, *nṛtya* by women, while *nāṭya* is *nāṭaka*, performed by both men and women. He considers both *lāsya* and *tāṇḍava* to be forms of *nṛtya* and says that *lāsya* originated from *Gaurī* (=Pārvatī) and *tāṇḍava* from *Rudra* (=Śiva). *Lāsya* is *sukumāra* or delicate while *tāṇḍava*, he says, has the qualities of *viṣama*.¹⁴⁸ Evidently, *viṣama* had a different connotation for *Sudhākalaśa*, for he views *viṣama* as "difficult or vigorous" movements as opposed to Śārngadeva's view of *viṣama* as an "acrobatic" style that included such performances as rope-walking. *Jāya*, however, connects *viṣama* with *tāṇḍava* while referring to *viṣamatāṇḍava* as a feature of a *deśī* dance called *perañi*, although he does not explain its nature.¹⁴⁹

The rest of the fifth chapter is devoted to describing the movements of the limbs, which are divided into *aṅga*, *upāṅga* and *pratyaṅga*, as is customary in the texts of the medieval period. *Sudhākalaśa* does not say anything about their application and ends the chapter with a description of six *sthānas*. However, his treatment of two classes of movements, movements of the feet and the postures, differs from that of other texts. *Pādas*, or the positions of the feet, and *pādakarmas*, or the actions of the feet, are described separately in this text in contrast both with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, which describe

¹⁴⁷ *SUS.* 5. 6.

¹⁴⁸ *SUS.* 5.10.

¹⁴⁹ *SR.* 7. 31; *NR.* 7. 63.

positions as well as movements of the feet under one category called pāda.¹⁵⁰ Further, Sudhākalaśa treats sthānas and sthānakas as separate categories of postures which no other writer does. According to him, sthānas are postures meant for women while sthānakas are postures meant for men. He adds no new postures, although his descriptions of the movements vary in details from other accounts.¹⁵¹

The sixth chapter mainly defines karaṇas and aṅgahāras. Karaṇas, according to Sudhākalaśa, are components of lāsyāṅgas and nṛtya. He lists one hundred and eight karaṇas but actually describes one hundred and five. In some details the karaṇas occasionally differ from those found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the works that followed it, including the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Some have different names and movements.¹⁵² The number of the aṅgahāras is the same as in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but some names are different,¹⁵³ although what these new aṅgahāras were cannot be ascertained, for they are described neither in this work nor in any other. That Sudhākalaśa was recording contemporary traditions is apparent from his treatment of the bhramarīs, which he puts in a group of six. Most of them have the same names as in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, with a few variations.¹⁵⁴ We have already noticed in the earlier treatises that bhramarī had developed from a simple cārī movement to a separate category which included a variety of whirling movements. The *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* was the first text to

¹⁵⁰ *SUS*. 5.126-34.

¹⁵¹ *SUS*. 5.135-40.

¹⁵² *SUS*. 6. 2.; 6. 6-111; Karaṇas such as ardhāsūci, alāta for instance use different cārīs in the tradition described the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. See Bose, 1970. pp. 108-35; Karaṇas, such as, uruśliṣṭa and kaṭirecita etc. are new. These may have come from a different tradition.

¹⁵³ *SUS*. 6.115-19. Haripriya, ālipallava, bhujāṅgatrasta, jayadarpa, vilasanmada and mahodvṛtta are new names but since they are not described we do not know what they were like. They are described in no other text.

¹⁵⁴ *SUS*. 6.120-22.

collect them into one group. It places them between the descriptions of the utplutikaraṇas (karaṇas involving leaps and recognized as deśīkaraṇas) and the deśī aṅgas (features of deśī).¹⁵⁵ The *Saṅgītaratnākara* describes seven bhramarīs which it places with the utplutikaraṇas, while the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* treats them separately as a group of thirteen variations.¹⁵⁶ The *Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra* also treats them separately from the utpluti or deśīkaraṇas. After the bhramarīs cārīs are named but not described.

Concluding the descriptions of the dance movements and their sequences at this point, the author makes an interesting remark. He states that theory and practice are as important to a dancer as they are to a theorist. He then passes on to nartakabhāṣā and nṛtyabhāvas, that is, special languages and expressions, and provides examples from the western part of India where he lived.¹⁵⁷ The paddhati or presentation technique is described next. At the end, the text follows the contemporary practice of other works by providing the usual description of the presiding dignitary, the audience, the vāggeyakāra¹⁵⁸ (a musician who also composes music) and the gandharvaraṅjaka (knowledgeable in a variety of music and thus an entertaining performer). The text comes to an end with a final prayer and the verse stating that it is an abridged version of the author's larger work, the *Saṅgītopaniṣat*.

The *Saṅgītacandra* is a work containing 2168 verses by Śuklapaṇḍita, also known as Vipradāsa. He has been placed in the fourteenth century by the

¹⁵⁵ There are five such bhramarīs. *SSam.* 7. 193.

¹⁵⁶ *SR.* 7. 755.; 7. 775-82; *NR.* 5. 83-105.

¹⁵⁷ *SUS.* 6. 129-32. See Bose, 1970. p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ *SUS.* 6. 143. The editor has chosen vāṅmayakāraka to refer to a composer musician. The word for this type of musician found in other texts is vāggeyakāraka. (*SR.* 7. 347; *NR.* 8. 29.). One of the MSS. of the *SUS.* reads gāggeyakāraka, a possible scribal error.

editor of the currently available edition who follows Ramakrishna Kavi. Kavi believes that Kumbhakarna based his work on the *Saṅgītacandra* ¹⁵⁹ But it is hard to say for certain who quoted from whom since the traditions recorded by the two authors seem to have come more or less from the same period. No evidence, internal or external, is available regarding the author's date or land of origin. The single manuscript in which the text exists does name the author but not at the beginning or the end, which are the sections where the author's particulars usually appear. The lack of such information may be due to the evidently unsatisfactory state of the manuscript which seems to have a number of scribal errors unemended in the current edition.¹⁶⁰

The text begins with a benediction and recounts the origin of the nāṭyaveda. It then lists the proposed subjects of discussion, and gives the rules for building the dance-hall, performing the pūjā, and describes the qualifications of the presiding person and the audience. The author then explains the conduct of the pūrvaraṅga or the preliminaries following the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and mentions the four abhinayas and the four vṛttis. This introductory section ends at verse 388. From the next verse, verse 389, the author begins to describe nṛtya which he takes to represent the entire art of dance. He divides nṛtya into two, mārganṛtya which expresses rasa, and nāṭyanṛtya, which expresses bhāva (389-94). He next describes natural and stylized movements and then a third variety of nṛtya, calling it deśīya nṛtya. All three varieties of nṛtya can again be divided into tāṇḍava and lāsya (395-410). Viṣama, vikāṭa and laghu are then referred to as varieties of nṛtta, a term not used so far (411-13). The author then moves on to describe movements of the major

¹⁵⁹ *Saṅgītacandra*. Introduction. p. viii.

¹⁶⁰ For instance, kolkāṭika is not emended to the correct form. SC.2. 107.

and minor limbs, which cover verses 414-1046. In describing the movements of the body he follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but in his list of hand-gestures he adds a few new gestures that fall outside the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. These he takes from other sources, which he does not, however, consider reliable. He recommends the appropriate dress and make-up for the dancer but gives no details (853-4). To this list of body movements he adds a new one, a movement of the soles of the feet (1024-25).

After describing the movements of the limbs, he describes the *sthānas* or postures(1047-1149), which he calls essential to dance since a dance begins with a posture and proceeds to a *cārī*. The *sthānas* include postures meant for men and women, postures for lying and sitting, all of which may be of both *mārga* and *deśī* varieties. *Cārīs* of the *mārga* and *deśī* varieties are described next in verses 1150-1272. *Karaṇas* of the *mārga* and *deśī* varieties are described in verses 1273- 1517, followed by *maṇḍalas* in verses 1518-80. Movements in the *mārga* tradition are described after Bharata.

Four types of *nyāya* or rules for depicting battle-scenes are discussed next in 1581- 98, a topic that seems to be the author's own contribution. *Aṅgahāra* comes next (1596-1709), followed by descriptions of the four *recakas* (1710-16). Then the author discusses how the performer may represent the nine *rasas* (1717- 1936) and the forty-one *bhāvas* (1937- 2027). The description of the dance teacher and the preceptor comes next (2028- 32), followed by the rules of practice(2033-40). In verses 2041-57 the author identifies the qualities required in a performer as well as her possible strengths and shortcomings. This is followed by a description of the dancer's ornaments (2058-69).

In the next section the author discusses the deśī forms, beginning with ten lāsyāśṅgas (2070-96). While he mainly follows the *Saṅgītaratnākara* here, he adds three new types of rekhā (2097-99). This is followed by a description of the perañi dance (2100-2102), after which the author again discusses (2103-2114) the characteristics of various performers as well as others connected with performances, such as, a naṭa (actor), a nartaka (dancer), a vaitālika (critic and entertainer), a cāraṇa (musician), a kolkāṭika (correctly, a kohlāṭika, an acrobatic dancer) and the troupe. He then discusses the techniques, respectively, of a śuddha or pure performance (2116-2128), and the perañī and gaṇḍalī, which are dances in the deśī style (2129-2165). The text ends by saying in verse 2166 that dance is an erotic art, an observation made by no other writer.

The work differs from its contemporaries in regarding dance merely as an art auxiliary to drama and in ignoring music. This is surprising because by the time this work was written, dance had already developed into a separate art form that made use of vocal and instrumental music and was no longer merely one of the components of a dramatic performance. Vipradāsa's treatment of dance as a part of the pūrvaraṅga of a drama is closer to the position taken in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. However, the division of the limbs into three categories and the description of deśī dancing are signs of the medieval approach to dancing in which Vipradāsa is a follower of Śārṅgadeva.

A major work of the medieval period, which originated in eastern India, is the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara* by Śubhaṅkara. The editors of the text believe that the author lived sometime in the fifteenth century in Bengal. Nijenhuis suggests that the author may have lived sometime in the early part of the sixteenth

century.¹⁶¹ That he influenced an extensive body of musical literature through several centuries, particularly in Bengal and Orissa, has been established.¹⁶² He was quoted by Bhavānanda Thākura, author of *Sadarpakandarpa*, by Ghanaśyāmadāsa, author of *Bhaktiratnākara*, by Rāmgopāl Dās, author of *Rasakalpavallī* and by Puruṣottamamiśra, author of *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*, all from the eastern region.¹⁶³ Such was its popularity that not only was it studied by these Vaiṣṇava author from Bengal but, as Nijenhuis tells us, it was even translated into Persian. She also points out the importance of the anthropomorphic images of the rāgas that appear in the dhyānaśloka on rāgas in this text. It is on these images that the rāgamālā miniature paintings are based.¹⁶⁴

Although the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara* is principally a work on music and dance, it includes substantial discussions on drama as well. It has five chapters, the first of which is on bhāva or emotional expression. The second describes the nāyaka or the hero, the nāyikā or the heroine, the sakhi or the friend of the heroine, and then explains the meaning of nāda or sound and gīta or vocal music. The third chapter is an exposition of the intricacies of the grammar of vocal music, which includes svara, rāga, and tāla among other subjects. The fourth chapter describes vādya, nṛtya and nāṭya. The fifth chapter is devoted partly to more technicalities of music and partly to rasa or aesthetic affect.

For our purpose the fourth chapter is the important one, where the author describes dancing under two headings, aṅgahāra and nṛtya. Aṅgahāra, in this

¹⁶¹ *Saṅgītaḍāmodara*, 1960. Introduction. p. 15; Nijenhuis. 1977. p.18.

¹⁶² Nijenhuis, 1977. p.19.

¹⁶³ *SDām*. 1960. Introduction. p. 15. Katz, 1987. Introduction. p. i.

¹⁶⁴ Nijenhuis, 1977. p. 19.

context, is defined as aṅgavikṣepa, movements of the body. Under this heading the author includes āṅgikābhinaya because it means acting by using the movements of the limbs. The limbs are divided into major and minor limbs, aṅga, upāṅga and pratyāṅga. The author then names the sthānas or postures, the cārīs or movements executed with one leg, the karaṇas or the coordinated movements of the hands and the feet(dance units), maṅḍalas or the combination of cārīs, and aṅgahāras or sequences of dance units. These are described after Bharata¹⁶⁵ but Śubhaṅkara adds one more class of movements to his list. This category, viṣama alaga, consists of difficult movements and does not belong to the styles described by Bharata and his followers. Śubhaṅkara mentions thirteen such movements.¹⁶⁶ He states that nṛtya is deśī or regional and it has two subdivisions called tāṇḍava and lāsya. Tāṇḍava is puṁnṛtya, that is, danced by men, and lāsya is strīnṛtya, that is, danced by women. Following the usual practice in most medieval texts, the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara* subdivides tāṇḍava into peraṇi and bahurūpa and describes them briefly. But the corresponding subdivision of lāsya into churita and yauvata, again discussed briefly, is a new feature introduced by the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara*.¹⁶⁷

The author then moves on to describing nāṭya, which includes the major and minor types of drama. While describing the preliminary parts of nāṭya, the author again speaks of nṛtya as it is performed for the ritual of flower offerings, specifying for it the performance of māṅḍalī, which involves lāsyaṅgas as well.¹⁶⁸ The term māṅḍalī is very likely a scribal error for guṅḍalī or gaṅḍalī, for the particular dance described in the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara* as māṅḍalī is similar

¹⁶⁵ *SDām*. p. 61-68. cf. *NS*. chapters 8-12.

¹⁶⁶ *SDām*. p. 69-70.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*. p. 69.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*. p. 73.

to the *guṇḍalī* or *gauṇḍalī* described in most medieval works on dancing.¹⁶⁹ The author mentions twenty-seven *rūpakas* and *uparūpakas*, major and minor types of dramas. He classifies them under the heading *nṛtye nakṣatramālā*, the garland of stars in *nṛtya*, and describes them in detail. The *lāsyāṅgas* are described in detail, as is *bhāṇa*, one of the major types of drama. Śubhāṅkara's treatment of *bhāṇa* agrees with that of the authors who came after Bharata rather than with that of Bharata himself and includes *lāsyāṅgas* as one of the features of *bhāṇa*.¹⁷⁰ However, in describing the ten *rūpakas* he follows Bharata. Seven of the seventeen minor types of dramas, that is, *uparūpakas*, described in this text employ dancing. All seventeen are described in detail. The concluding verse of the fourth chapter before the closing prayer again refers to all these dramatic types as *nṛtye ratnanakṣatramālā*.¹⁷¹

Besides *Saṅgītaḍāmodara* Śubhāṅkara wrote two other treatises, the *Saṅgānasāra*, an unedited manuscript mentioned in the catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the *Hastamuktāvalī*,¹⁷² which adds to the discussion in the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara*. In the section of the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara* in which the author lists hand-gestures he directs the reader to the *Hastamuktāvalī* for a fuller discussion (*SDām*. p.63).

As its title indicates, the *Hastamuktāvalī* deals only with hand-gestures. Nijenhuis is not altogether accurate in thinking that this text contains dancing,¹⁷³ for it describes hand-gestures that are applicable both to dance and

¹⁶⁹ See Bose, 1970 . p. 185. fn. 57. The dancer was called a *guṇḍalī* and her dance was *gauṇḍalī*, but often the dance is also called *guṇḍalī*.

¹⁷⁰ *SDām*. pp. 79; 85-7.

¹⁷¹ *SDām*. pp. 79, 91-6, 99.

¹⁷² Neog, 1952-59.

¹⁷³ Nijenhuis, 1977. p. 19.

drama. Beginning with a few verses of benediction the author states the subject of his discussion, which is hasta, that is, gestures of the hands. The number and the names of the gestures mentioned in his *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* match the material here, while the actual descriptions and the application of the gestures in general match the discussion in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. According to the author, there are thirty single and fourteen double hand gestures that signify words as well as emotions. The author then describes twenty-seven nṛttahastas, hand gestures meant for dancing, which express no meaning. This text was obviously quite popular since a certain Rāghava Rāya acknowledges that his *Hastaratnāvalī* is based on the *Hastamuktāvalī*. The Bodleian Library has a copy of *Hastaratnāvalī* which seems to be a virtual copy of the *Hastamuktāvalī* insofar as the portions on the single and double hand gestures are concerned.¹⁷⁴ However, Rāghava Rāya's contribution, as Maheśvar Neog notes, lies in his explanation of the applications of the gestures.¹⁷⁵ The applications of the hand-gestures described in the *Hastamuktāvalī* are very elaborate, which shows that the hand-gestures had become so important that it was necessary to write a separate work on these alone.

Another important work from this period is what is known as the *Nṛtyādhyāya* of Aśokamalla, which is part of a larger work. The edition currently available has been prepared from a single manuscript which lacks the beginning and the colophon of the text.¹⁷⁶ Because of the missing colophon the actual title of the work is not known, and the title by which it is known, *Nṛtyādhyāya*, was given by the editor. Fortunately, the author's name is known

¹⁷⁴ See Bose, 1964. pp. 57-87 for the discussion of *Hastaratnāvalī*, 1970. p. 6.; 47-67.

¹⁷⁵ Neog, 1952-59.

¹⁷⁶ *Nṛtyādhyāya*, 1963. Introduction. pp. 9-10.

from his own references to himself in the text.¹⁷⁷ The editor has placed the author in the fourteenth century A.D.¹⁷⁸ and comparisons with other works, known to be from the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries supports this view. For instance, most of the *deśī lāsyāṅgas*, thirty-seven in all, described in the *Nṛtyādhyāya* are also found in the section on *deśī aṅgas* in the *Saṅgītasamayasāra*, and among the *deśīlāsyas* of the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. The *Saṅgītaratnākara* describes fewer *lāsyāṅgas* but they too are found in the list of *deśī lāsyāṅgas* in the *Nṛtyādhyāya*. Furthermore, a number of lines in the *Nṛtyādhyāya* closely match lines in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*.¹⁷⁹ The *Nṛtyādhyāya* has a reference to the commentary of Simhabhūpāla on the *Saṅgītaratnākara* (*Nr.Adh.* verse.695) which, as the editor points out, places the author after Simhabhūpāla, who is believed to have lived in the fourteenth century. The *Nṛtyaratnakośa* and the *Nṛtyādhyāya* both quote the same *prākṛt* verse while describing the *mārga lāsyāṅgas* although neither author mentions the other. They may both have quoted from the same source. We cannot determine whether Maharāṇā Kumbhā, who wrote the *Nṛtyaratnakośa* and lived in the fifteenth century, was before or after Aśokamalla. However, the internal evidence strongly suggests that Aśokamalla came after Pārśvadeva, Śārṅgadeva, Jāya and Simhabhūpāla.

The *Nṛtyādhyāya* consists of 1611 verses, with the beginning and the end of the text missing. Although the beginning is missing, the contents reflect the *deśī* tradition of dance recorded in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. The text starts with the hand gestures followed by the movements of the major

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*: verses. 695, 707, 1272.

¹⁷⁸ *Nṛ.Adh.*,1963. Introduction. p. 10.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* verses: 1513-65; *SSam.* 7. 194-216; *SR.* 7. 1206-15; *NR.* 6. 117-73; *Nr. Adh.*verse: 1301; *SR.*7. 745.

and minor limbs, that is, aṅga, upāṅga and pratyāṅga. These take up 614 verses and resemble the descriptions in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. Verses 615 to 707 describe vicitrābhinaya (various ways of acting), dividing the contents into bhāvābhinaya (emotional expression) and indriyābhinaya (expressing through the sense organs). These seem to be summarized versions of the chapters in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NS. chs. 22 and 25) on sāmānyābhinaya and citrābhinaya. Verses 708 to 753 describe thirty-six vartanās or arm movements, of which twenty-five are claimed to be derived from Hanuman and the other eleven from other authors. The first twenty-five are similar to the arm movements described in Kallinātha's commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākara* (SR. Vol. IV. pp. 105-10) where Kallinātha cites Kohala as his source. These are also found in the *Nṛtyaratnakośa*. Cālanas or cālakas, another type of arm movement, are fifty-five in number and described from verses 754 to 862. The first fifty are similar to what we find in Kallinātha (SR. Vol. IV. pp. 111-23). Sthānas or postures are described next, from verses 863 to 948, which include postures meant for men (six) and women (eight), reclining postures (six) and deśī sthānas (twentythree). The deśī and mārga varieties of cārīs, one hundred and eleven in all, including twenty-five muḍupacārīs, are described in verses 949 to 1115. The same descriptions of the muḍupacārīs are found in Kallinātha's commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākara* where the term given is madhupacārī (SR. Vol. IV. pp. 313-17). In verses 1116 to 1305 the author describes one hundred and eight karaṇas after Bharata. Verses 1306 to 1342 describe twenty-seven deśī karaṇas. The text has a lacuna at this point but the editor has supplied us with descriptions of the other eleven deśī karaṇas (Nr. Adh. pp. 138-39), taking them from the *Bharatakośa*. The descriptions of the first few aṅgahāras are also missing, which the editor has supplied from the *Saṅgītaratnākara* (SR. 7. 789-808; Nr. Adh. pp. 140-41.). Verses 1343 to 1415

describe the rest of the aṅgahāras, thirty-two in all. In the next five verses, 1416-1420, the author talks about the musical accompaniment for the aṅgahāras. Four recakas are described next in verses 1421 to 1426. Twenty maṇḍalas are described next in 1427 to 1486. Verses 1487 to 1512 describe mārḡa lāsyāṅgas while verses 1513 to 1565 describe 37 deśīlāsyāṅgas. The text ends with descriptions of the closing movements known as kalāsas which are covered in verses 1566 to 1611. The last variety of kalāsa is missing from the text but the editor has supplied the missing part the description of the last variety of kalāsa from the *Nṛtyaratnakośa* (*Nr. Adh.* pp. 172-73; *NRK.* 4.1.83-5).¹⁸⁰

This is one of the few texts to refer to śṛṅgābhinaya (*Nr. Adh.* verse. 141). The *Bhartāṛṇava* has one whole chapter on śṛṅgābhinaya (chapter 12). The *Nṛttaratnāvalī* also refers to śṛṅga in passing while describing the application of the kartarīmukha hand (*NR.* 2.112.) but offers no detail. Kalāsa is another movement which is described in the *Nṛtyādhyāya* in detail, the only other text that describes them in similar detail being the *Nṛtyaratnakośa*. Kalāsas are not defined but this term is in use today in Kathākali as a concluding part; the same function is indicated by Kallinātha's explanation of the term.¹⁸¹

The *Nṛtyaratnakośa* of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā can be taken as the last work of the second period. It is part of a larger work, the *Saṅgītarāja*, which closely follows the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. According to Nijenhuis, who gives an account of the work in her monograph, "The large work comprising 16,000 verses is divided into five chapters on: 1. pāṭhya (recitation), 2. gīta (vocal music), 3.

¹⁸⁰ An exhaustive discussion of the last three movements have already been noted by the present researcher. See. Bose, 1970. pp. 167-83.

¹⁸¹ *SR.* Vol. IV. .p. 381., commentary on verse 1292: कलासयेत् नर्तनं समापयेदित्यर्थः ।

vādyā, 4. nṛtya and 5. rasa."¹⁸² Mahārāṇā Kumbhā, who was a scholar king of the fifteenth century, is generally acknowledged as the author and the case for this attribution has been made at length by the editor of the text.¹⁸³ The same attribution appear in both Raghavan and Nijenhuis but Kunhan Raja believes the author to be Kālasena.¹⁸⁴

The fourth chapter, which is on nṛtya, is divided into four ullāsas or parts, each consisting of four parīkṣaṇas or sections. Each section starts with a benedictory verse. The first section of the first part, in 811 verses, discusses a variety of subjects and concludes with a description of the movements of aṅgas or major limbs. Beginning with the benediction, the first 123 verses describe the origin of the śāstra of nāṭya, the rules of building the performance-hall, the qualifications of the person presiding and the audience. Also discussed are the preliminaries to the performance, which are described in detail following the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The author then defines nāṭya, nṛtya and nṛtta (verses 124-170). Nāṭya, according to him, is to be understood as abhinaya, नाट्येनाभिनयम् (*NRK.1.1.128*), nṛtya as rasa, नृत्यशब्देन च रसं पुनः (*NRK.1.1.128*) and nṛtta consists of the combination of karaṇas and aṅgaḥāras, करणाङ्गहारनिचयैर्नृत्तम् (*NRK.1.1.129*). Verses 171 to 212 describe piṇḍibandhas or group dances, which are performed by sixteen female dancers as part of the preliminaries. More details about the preliminaries are given in verses 213 to 276. The terms nṛtya, and nṛtta are explained in verses 277 to 286, nṛtya being identified as the mārṅga style and nṛtta as deśī. Lāsya and tāṇḍava, and viṣama, vikāṭa and laghu as varieties of tāṇḍava, are described in verses 287 to 296. Sāmānyābhinaya or the

¹⁸² Nijenhuis, 1977. p.16-18.

¹⁸³ *Nṛtyaratnakośa*, Vol. II. 1968. pp. 2-5.

¹⁸⁴ Raghavan, 1960. pp. 11-12; Nijenhuis, 1977. p. 16; *NRK*. Vol. II. 1968. Introduction. pp. 2-5.

general style of acting comes next (verses 297-315), followed by *citrābhinaya* which means a special acting style (verses 316-18), *āhāryābhinaya* or the use of costume, make-up and stage-properties (verses 319-25), *vṛttis* or styles (326-31) and *sāttvikabhāva* or the representation of emotions(verses 332-433). The rest of the verses are devoted to *āṅgikābhinaya* or the movements of the body (434-811). The author repeats the same verses in many places in the same chapter (285-86. repeated in 448, 287-92 repeated in 459-64). Although the author has followed the *Saṅgītaratnākara* in listing the *aṅgas* or the major limbs, he adds a new one, which is *dhammilla* or braid (502-4). The dramatic applications of the movements of the *aṅgas* or major limbs are also described. Some additional hand-gestures are also described, the source of most of which is identified as the *Bṛhaddeśī*. They are also found in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, which, however, acknowledges them as borrowed from an unidentified source(*SR.7.284-5*; *NRK.1.1.513-15*; 755). The *Nṛtyaratnakośa* uses the term *nṛtyahasta* and not *nṛttahasta* for hand-gestures employed in dancing, which include three new hand-gestures (*NRK. 1.1.774-8*) found in no other text.

The second section of the first part discusses in 89 verses nine *pratyaṅgas* or minor limbs. It includes *vartanās* or the movements of arms, which the author acknowledges as taken from the *Kalānidhi*, Kallinātha's commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākara* (*NRK. 1.2.27.*). The third section of the first part, consisting of 159 verses, is on *upāṅgas*, another division of minor limbs, which are said to be twelve. The fourth and final section of the first part, consisting of 43 verses, is on *āhāryābhinaya* or costume, make-up and stage properties. The first twenty eight verses discuss *āhāryābhinaya* but the rest deal with various actions and positions of the hands, namely, *pracāra*, *karaṇa*, *karma*, *kṣetra*(*NRK. 1.4. 29-42*).

The second part begins its first section, of 92 verses, with a benediction, which is followed by a description of the *sthānakas* or postures, which include *mārga* and *deśī* types of postures meant for men and women, for sitting and reclining. The second section of the second part, in 63 verses, is on *mārga cārī*. The third section of this part, in 61 verses, is on *deśī*. An appendix of 37 verses to this section, which, according to the author, quotes from the *Kalānidhi*, gives descriptions of the movements of *recakas*, that is, oscillating movements, and the *muḍupa* or *deśī cārīs*.¹⁸⁵ The fourth section, consisting of 62 verses, is on *maṇḍala* or the combination of *cārīs*. All of these descriptions so far, follow the *Saṅgītaratnākara* in the main.

The third part begins its first section, which consists of 188 verses, with a set of three benedictory verses, after which *karaṇas* or dance-units are described, according to the author, after Bharata. (*NRK.3.1.2.*). The author refers to this set of *karaṇas* as *śuddha* (literally, pure) *karaṇas*, by which he means the *mārga* variety. The second section of the third part describes the *deśī* variety of *karaṇas* in 51 verses that include descriptions of nine *bhramarīs*. This section has an appendix of 23 verses attached to it, describing thirteen more *bhramarīs* which the author says he has taken from *Ānandasañjīvana* (*NRK. Vol. II. p. 169-72*). The third section of the third part discusses *aṅgahāras* in 106 verses and at the end of the section the author states that the *aṅgahāras* are meant specifically for the preliminaries to a play (*NRK. 3.3. 103-5*). In the last verse of this section (*NRK. 3.3. 106*) *Kumbhā* gives directions for the application of four *aṅgahāras*, directions that had never appeared before in any previous work. The fourth section of this part describes in 8 verses the *recakas* or oscillating movements.

¹⁸⁵ *Muḍupacārī* is the same as *madhupacārī*. *NRK.* pp. 134-38; *SR.* pp. 313-17; *Nṛ. Adh.* pp.108-12.

The fourth part starts its first section, of 85 verses, with a long benediction, which is followed by detailed discussions of four *vṛttis* or styles and six *kalāsas* (dance movements with which a performance concludes) with twenty-two sub-varieties . There are 7 more verses appended to this section giving the definitions of an *upādhyāya* (instructor), an *ācārya* (preceptor), a *naṭa* (actor), a *nartaka* (dancer) and a *vaitālika* (a critic who is knowledgeable in music and can amuse the audience). The second section is in 52 verses. In this the author discusses different presentation techniques and rules, then describes a dance called *perañī*, and ends with the definition of a *kohlāṭika*, that is, a performer who is able to perform acrobatic movements. The third section of this part has 193 verses, the first 85 of which describe the *lāsyāṅgas*, of the *mārga* variety (twelve in number) as well as the *deśī* (thirty-six in number). In verses 86-105 the author discusses different *gatis* or gaits, in describing which he says he is following Bharata. This is followed by a description of the *deśī nṛtyabhedas* in verses 106-123. The term *nṛtyabheda* is used by Dhanika and Śāradātanaya to denote minor dramas that require dancing.¹⁸⁶ But Kumbhā uses it to mean dancing. Of the six *nṛtyabhedas* described in this text, *śivapriya* comes from the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*, which describes it as a *deśī* dance. It occurs in no other text. *Dohaka* is also a new name which is not mentioned in any other text. The rest are described in all other texts that discuss minor dramas.¹⁸⁷ Verses 124-128 discuss the technical language used by the dancers. Four features of *deśīnṛtyas* are described next, followed by *deśīgītanṛtyavidhi* which describes six varieties of regional dances following specific *tālas* and the music appropriate to them, along with general directions for such presentations in verses 129-144.

¹⁸⁶ See pp.171-73 of this thesis.

¹⁸⁷ The *nṛtyabhedas* are *śivapriya*, *rāsaka*, *nāṭyarāsaka*, *daṇḍarāsaka*, *carcarī* and *dohaka*. *NRK*.106-123.

From the above discussion it seems that this author divides the minor dramas that employed dance and expressive dance of the *deśī* variety into two different categories, respectively, *deśī nṛtyabheda* and *deśīnṛtya*, the latter being a category used by what he calls "other" authorities. The rest of the verses are on the nine rasas and their expression through body movements. The fourth and the final section of the fourth and last part of the treatise has 88 verses. In this section the author attempts to define the ideal performer, explains the aesthetic concept known as *rekhā* or the lines of body movements that enhance beauty, enumerates the qualities and faults of a performer, discusses make-up, different schools of performing artists, their qualities and faults, the *śuddhapaddhati* or the pure way of presentation, the *gaṇḍalīvidhi* or the regional variation called *gaṇḍalī*, explains how instructions are given to performers and ends with a final prayer.

The beginning of the third period in the evolution of the concept of dance is marked by the *Nartananirṇaya* of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala who lived in the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century.¹⁸⁸ Till Mahārāṇā Kumbhā's *Nṛtyaratnakośa* the major division perceived in the art of dancing by scholars were *mārga* and *deśī*, the high classical style and the regional or popular styles. The *Nartananirṇaya* marks a major conceptual departure by dividing dance primarily by structural principle into two divisions, namely, *bandha*, or styles

¹⁸⁸ Krishnamachariar, 1974. p. 865. This text remained unedited and unpublished until recently. Dr. S. Satyanārāyaṇa brought out an edition in early 1987 in Kannada script prepared from one full and four fragmentary MSS. A detailed account of the fourth chapter of the text appears in the present writer's B. Litt dissertation (Oxford, 1964) and her book on classical Indian dancing (1970). A critical edition from 15 MSS. is under preparation by the present writer. References to the 4th chapter of the text in the present study are to the India Office Library, London manuscript (MS. 5197). References to other chapters are to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta MS. (MS. III. D.5) and to the Jaipur Khasmahal Library MS. (MS. 6885).

that rigidly adhered to set rules of composition, and *anibandha*, styles that did not do so and allowed innovations by the dancer. Many of the works on dancing written after the *Nartananirṇaya* still followed the approach of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as found in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* but the *Nartananirṇaya*'s approach to categories of dancing became part of their conceptual framework.

Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala is believed to have come from southern India and later he became a court poet in the courts of Man Singh of Jaipur and his brother Madho Singh. He wrote several texts on music under the patronage of these rulers but still later moved on to Akbar's court. His three works on music, the *Sadrāgacandrodaya*, the *Rāgamālā* and the *Rāgamañjarī* are well-known. He is believed to have written two more texts on music, the *Rāganārāyaṇa* and the *Saṅgītavṛttaratnākara*. He also wrote a lexicon named the *Śīghrabodhinīnāmamālā* and a treatise called the *Dūtīkarmaprakāśa* on the characters of the heroine and the hero.¹⁸⁹

The *Nartananirṇaya* was written in the sixteenth century to please the emperor Akbar, according to Puṇḍarīka's statement at the end of the text.¹⁹⁰ Like most works before it, the *Nartananirṇaya* discusses the various types of acting, namely, *āhāryābhinaya*, *sāttvikābhinaya* and *āṅgikābhinaya*, and in doing so it follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as interpreted in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. However, instead of following the usual practice of reproducing the *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s (and in the case of later texts, the *Saṅgītaratnākara*'s rendering of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s material) descriptions of the 108 *karaṇas* and the 32 *aṅgahāras* created by combining them, the *Nartananirṇaya* selects only 16 of the *karaṇas* as

¹⁸⁹ Krishnamachariar, 1974. p. 865; Raghavan, 1960. pp. 15-16.

¹⁹⁰ अकवरनृपसूच्यर्थं भूलोके सरलसंगीतम् ।
कृतमिदं बहुतरभेदं सुहृदां हृदये सुखं भूयात् ॥ (*Nartananirṇaya*. 53b).

those needed in bandhanṛtya, of which it describes several varieties. The text then proceeds to describe the distinctive features of the various kinds of anibandhanṛtya. From these descriptions of dance compositions there emerge striking similarities with the classical dance styles of the present time, as demonstrated in a later chapter of the present study. This text may thus be regarded as the missing link between the older and present day traditions of classical Indian dancing.

At the beginning of the first chapter, the author declares his plan to write on five topics, namely, tāla or rhythm, vādyā or instrumental music, gīta or vocal music, nartana or dance and nāṭya or drama.¹⁹¹ However, he never wrote the fifth chapter, that on nāṭya, nor gave any reason for the omission, leaving the treatise with four chapters, the last of which is the one on dance.¹⁹² The text begins with a set of 34 verses, written in a variety of metres, in praise of Akbar and his ancestors.¹⁹³ The first chapter, consisting of 259 verses, is on rhythm, the second, in 116 verses, is on drums and the third, in 579 verses, is on vocal music. The fourth chapter, the largest one, has 916 verses that deal with dancing. This chapter starts by defining nartana, a term used by the author to mean dance. Nartana is divided into nāṭya, nṛtya and nṛtta, of which the last is again divided into three, viṣama, vikāṭa and laghu. All the types are defined and the author reproduces in the first ten verses the *Saṅgītaratnākara*'s view that nṛtya and nṛtta may both have varieties of tāṇḍava and lāsya. In verses 11 to 206 abhinaya is discussed, with the sāttvika, āhārya and āṅgika types of abhinaya described in detail but not vācika as it is not employed in nartana. Citrābhinaya is then

¹⁹¹ *Nartananirṇaya*. 1a (Calcutta.MS.).

¹⁹² *Nartananirṇaya*. 53b (London.MS.).

¹⁹³ Jaipur.MS. contains this part. The Kannada edition, based on only one full and four fragmentary manuscript does not contain this part.

described in verses 207 to 238. The author does not divide the movements of the limbs into the movements of aṅga, upāṅga or pratyāṅga but in verses 239 to 244, where he lists his topics of discussion, he mentions the movements of the parts of the body which, in his view, are of importance. These include the movements of the head, the eyes, the eyebrows, the arms, the hand-gestures and other actions of the hands, the waist and the feet. It also discusses the function of the colour of the face. The list further includes more complicated movements generated from the combination of the movements of the parts of the body, such as the sthānas or postures, cārīs or the movements of one leg, karaṇas or dance-units and recakas or oscillating movements. Also in the list are the dance-hall, the characteristics of a good dancer, rekhā or the lines created by the movements of the body, the lāsyāṅgas or features of lāsyā, sauṣṭhava or standing without any movement, citrakalāsa or concluding movement, mudrā or natural grace, pramāṇa or harmony, the audience, the person presiding, sitting arrangements, the troupe of musicians, the flute, the entrance of a dancer and various dance-sequences. The actual discussions of these topics is in verses 245 to 656. Most of the material comes either from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. The original matter that the author contributes to our knowledge comes after this when he begins to describe the opening dance item, the dancer's entrance into the stage. This is where he divides nṛtta into two categories, bandha and anibandha. Under bandhanṛtta he puts mukhacāli, urupa, dhuvāḍa, vidulāgava, śabdacāli (later discussed as śabdanṛtta), śabdaprabandha, svaramaṅṭha, gītaprabandha, cindu, dharu and dhruvapada. Their descriptions in verses 668 to 874 show them to be highly structured dance pieces.¹⁹⁴ A group of five bhramarīs is also discussed (794 to 98) between the discussions on vidulāgava and śabdanṛtta.

¹⁹⁴ See Bose, 1970. pp. 149-161. for detail.

Next, anibandha dance is discussed in verses 875 to 898 with its forms given, namely, nāmāvalī, yati, different neris, kaivartana, murū, tālarūpaka, guṇḍāla, kamala, natajānuka, maṇḍī, muḍupa, muraṇḍarī, kuḍupa, tiryakarāṇa, lāvaṇī and vaṭu. These have fewer details compared to the discussion of the bandhanṛttas. At the end of these descriptions the author refers to these sequences as anibandha urūpas, evidently using the term urūpa to denote a broad category of dance. Urūpa is described only in two works, in this text and in a later work, the *Saṅgītamakaranda* of Vedasūri.¹⁹⁵ Finally, Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala ends the work with two more dance sequences, jakkaḍī and rāsa, which he includes under anibandha dance (875 to 912). Throughout these descriptions the terms nṛtta and nṛtya are used interchangeably. The last four verses of the text are in praise of the patron and contain a final prayer.

The *Rasakaumudī* of Śrīkaṇṭha is another text from the third period. The author was a contemporary and student of Puṇḍarīka¹⁹⁶ and was a court poet of Śatruśalya (Jam Sattarsal of Navanagar near Dvārakā) who lived in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries.¹⁹⁷ He refers to Puṇḍarīka as his teacher whom he follows in defining music.¹⁹⁸ The editor of the text thinks that Śrīkaṇṭha, like his teacher, was originally from the South and moved to western India.¹⁹⁹ The *Rasakaumudī* is a work in ten chapters divided into two parts, pūrva and uttarakhaṇḍa, each consisting of five chapters. The first part deals with vocal and instrumental music and dance, the second with drama, rasa,

¹⁹⁵ In some of the copies of the manuscripts of this text the term urūpa is spelt as urupa or uḍupa.

¹⁹⁶ श्रीमद् विट्ठलदेवस्य प्रसादाच्च गुरोर्मया।

श्रीकण्ठेनोच्यते कामं तालकादिनिर्णयः ॥ RK. 4. 96.

¹⁹⁷ *Rasakaumudī*, 1963. G.O.S. ed. 143. Introduction. pp. 8-9.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 8. RK. 4. 80.

¹⁹⁹ RK. Introduction, p. 8.

the seasons and the proper conduct of a king. The first chapter, in 91 verses, deals with general matters pertaining to music. The second, in 219 verses, explains the nature of rāga and the technicalities of making and playing the vīṇā. The third chapter consists of 150 verses discussing further intricacies of vocal music. The fourth chapter, in 190 verses, discusses vādya or musical instruments, with details borrowed extensively from the *Nartananirṇaya*.

Chapter five is the part that holds our interest most since it deals with dancing. Consisting of 356 verses, this is the longest chapter. Beginning with verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa, the author relates the origin of nāṭya following the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. This is followed by a description of the stage, and of the initial presentation by the principal dancer and others. The author recommends the ārabhaṭī style of presentation for the initial part of the performance. Dancers from different regions are described next, followed by āṅgikābhinaya or the use of body movements in acting, which include the movements of the head, the hands and the feet. The author lists the number of movements prescribed for the minor limbs without giving any details. He mentions ten divisions of nāṭya but calls only the first variety nāṭya. The ten divisions of nāṭya that he mentions are nāṭya, nṛtya, nṛtta, tāṇḍava, lāsya, viṣama, vikaṭa, laghu, peraṇi and gaṇḍalī. He describes four kinds of abhinayas and then reproduces verbatim verses from the *Nartananirṇaya* that give general instructions on acting, for which Puṇḍarīka had drawn upon the discussion on sāmānyābhinaya in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (chapter 22).²⁰⁰ Before describing any dance-sequence, Śrīkaṇṭha describes the essence or prāṇa of a nṛtya (nṛtya here stands for the art of dance). Next, puṣpāñjali or the flower-offering on the stage, the rules of exercise, make-up, and presentation techniques are described, followed by the definitions of 108

²⁰⁰ RK. 5. 145-161; NN. 3b-12a.

karaṇas. The author then presents a list of cārīs, maṇḍalas and sthānas, adding that there can be many more varieties of karaṇas, aṅgahāra, cārī and maṇḍala. Then he proceeds to describe utplutikaraṇas, aṅgahāras, cārīs, recakas, sthānas, maṇḍalas and lāsyāṅgas. In describing lāsyāṅgas he follows the *Nartananirṇaya*. He divides gatis or gaits into three different types, uttama, madhyama and adhama and refers to the use of three tempos. Thus ends the chapter on dancing and the first part of the text, in which he keeps referring to Bharata as the authority followed.

The sixth chapter is very short, consisting of 5 verses and, as the editor of the text points out, it serves as a connecting link between the first and the second parts of the text with a benedictory verse and an introduction to the subject of the next chapter, which is rasa. The seventh chapter, in 26 verses, is devoted to the discussion of the nine rasas. The author discusses śṛṅgārarasa, giving its varieties in detail and pays less attention to the other rasas. The eighth chapter, in 31 verses, begins with a discussion on how to enhance the beauty of a woman in sixteen different ways. This he refers to as śṛṅgāraṇa. It includes taking a bath, putting on make-up, wearing jewellery, dressing and giving the finishing touch by chewing on a betel leaf (in order to redden the lips). The author adds shrewdness to the list of qualities necessary in a good performer and instructs the performer to use appropriate emotional expressions. The ninth chapter describes the six seasons in 59 verses after justifying the inclusion of this subject. According to the author, the seasons should be enjoyed and the joy of the seasons can be expressed through different costumes worn to represent different seasons. The tenth and last chapter has 48 verses and deals with royal conduct and the daily programme of a king. The reason given for including this subject is

that a king should know and enjoy the art of dancing. The chapter and the text end with a final prayer.

The contribution of Śrīkaṇṭha to dance scholarship is not substantial in terms of the definitions and categories of dance that he presents, nor of the descriptions of body movements. His chief contribution lies in his discussion of the concept of *prāṇa*, or the essence of a performance, which sums up what a dancer should aim at while performing. The ten *prāṇas* are listed in the following couplet:

रेखा च स्थिरता वेगो भ्रमरी दृष्टि+रस्मयः+।
प्रीतिर्मेधा वचो गीतं नृत्ये प्राणा दशोदिताः ॥ (RK. 5. 162.)

The line, the steadiness, the swiftness, the pirouettes,
the glances, the desirous [smile], the pleasing [appearance],
the intellect, the speech and the song constitute the
ten vital spirits of a *nṛtya*.

It is interesting to note that the fourth essential *prāṇa* is *bhramarī*, which by this time must have become a movement of such vital importance in dance that it was exalted to the status of a *prāṇa*. It is unfortunate that Śrīkaṇṭha leaves it undiscussed, especially as he is the first author to speak of *prāṇa*.

Śrīkaṇṭha's other contribution is his detailed instructions for make-up and stage presentation, his approach to both subjects being original. Regarding the second, for instance, he says:

माल्यकारो यथा माल्यं वध्नाति कुसुमोत्करैः ।
सुधी कुर्यात् तथा नाट्यमङ्गोपाङ्गै रसादिभिः ॥ (RK. 5. 183.)

Just as [the way] a garland maker makes a garland with the help of flowers a performer [literally, the skilled one] should act in the same way with [the movements of] the major and minor limbs and [expressions of] rasa etc.

The work also has the virtue of being a systematic and organized approach to the subject. However, as we have noted in summarizing the work, it is a derivative piece of writing, the author relying heavily on Puṇḍarīka for the most part.

The *Saṅgīadarpaṇa* of Dāmodara is a work on music and dance. He is believed to have been a descendant of Kallinātha, the commentator on the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Dāmodara was a poet at Jahangir 's court, which places him in the seventeenth century.²⁰¹ A complete manuscript is known to exist in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris; a fragment containing three chapters on instrumental music, rhythm and dancing is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.²⁰² The readings of the two manuscripts are virtually the same. One edition of the full text, an unsatisfactory one, as Rāghavan points out, was brought out in 1952 by the Saraswati Mahal Library of Tanjore. Nijenhuis ascribes the work to Haribhaṭṭa, who was indeed, as reported by Raghavan, the author of a work called the *Saṅgīadarpaṇa*.²⁰³ The two works are almost identical, which permits the conjecture that either Haribhaṭṭa and Dāmodara were one and the same person, or Haribhaṭṭa "made his own version of Dāmodara's work."²⁰⁴ According to Raghavan, the Tanjore edition is from the manuscript that bears

²⁰¹ Krishnamachariar,1974. p.866.

²⁰² See Bose,1964. pp.16-18; 1970. p. 5. *Saṅgīadarpaṇa* of Dāmodara, Bibliotheque Nationale. Paris. MS.No. 771; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. No. Mill. 47.d.

²⁰³ Raghavan,1960. pp. 20-21 ; Nijenhuis,1977. p. 27.

²⁰⁴ Raghavan,1960. p. 21.

the name of Haribhaṭṭa. Generally speaking, the *Saṅgīadarpaṇa* is ascribed to Dāmodara by most scholars, including Raghavan. Comparison between the chapter on dancing of the edited version with that of the Bodleian MS. show that the two are identical.

The Paris manuscript has seven chapters while the manuscript examined by Raghavan is said to have six. The edited text of the *Saṅgīadarpaṇa* has seven chapters,²⁰⁵ the first on *svara* or the science and philosophy of sound, the second on *rāga* or musical modes, the third on *prakīrṇa* or miscellaneous technicalities of music, the fourth on *prabandha* or composition, the fifth on *vādyā* or instrumental music, the sixth on *tāla* or rhythm and the seventh on *nṛtya* or dancing. The first chapter has 150 verses and starts with a benediction and proceeds to define the term *saṅgīta* to explain its division into *mārga* and *deśī*. The origins of *rāga* or musical mode, *nāda* or sound and other technical intricacies of vocal music are discussed, and the chapter ends with a verse that lists seven birds and animals that represent the seven musical notes. The same verse is also found in the *Nartananirṇaya*.²⁰⁶ The second chapter (verses 151-289) begins with a verse defining *rāga*, which is found in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nartananirṇaya*. This chapter describes the anthropomorphic images of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* as well as their structures. Kriṣṇamāchariar and Rāghavan state that Dāmodara borrowed his anthropomorphic description of musical modes from Somanātha's *Rāgavibodha*.²⁰⁷ Chapter three (verses 290-352) discusses a variety of subjects, including *ālāpa*, the use of the voice, the qualities of a singer and the characteristics of a musical composition. The fourth chapter

²⁰⁵ Raghavan reports six chapters and the chapter on *tāla* is missing from his list. 1960, p 21. Paris MS. has seven chapters.

²⁰⁶ *SDar*.1. 150; cf. *NN*. 20a. There are a number of verses which seem to be quoted from the *Nartananirṇaya*.

²⁰⁷ Raghavan, 1960. p. 21; Krishnamachariar, 1974. p.866.

(verses 353-531) discusses the details of musical composition. The fifth chapter (verses 532-615) is on vādyā or instrumental music and describes the vīṇā and other stringed instruments, different kinds of flutes, their characteristic sounds, the compositions appropriate to them, drums and so on. Here the author again quotes extensively from the *Nartananirṇaya*, though he does not name it as his source. The sixth chapter is on tāla. In verses 616-798 it defines the term tāla, explains its derivation, and describes ten prāṇas, mārga tālas and, finally, deśī tālas. At the end of this section appears a description of 120 tālas, of which the source is the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. This is followed by another set of 103 tālas described according to other authorities (pp. 149-70). In the section that follows, other technicalities of tālas are described.

The final and seventh chapter, in 282 verses, is the one on dancing. The chapter begins with a benediction followed by a detailed description of the opening dance called mukhacāli which is very similar to the mukhacāli described in *Nartananirṇaya* in greater detail. That the descriptions in the two works come from the same tradition is shown by the fact that the song to be illustrated by hand-gestures is the same in both the texts. Next, verse 53 lists ten types of dancing but does so confusingly. The verse identifies nāṭya, nṛtya, tāṇḍava, nṛtta and lāsya as types of nartana. It then divides nṛtya into five types, namely, viṣama, vikāṭa, laghu, perañi and goṇḍalī (a variant form of the word gaṇḍalī), which are deśī forms. This division might thus seem to indicate that nartana is the general class name and that nṛtya is a subdivision. But the verse concludes by stating that all ten types mentioned are types of nṛtya. Evidently, then, the text is using the terms nartana and nṛtya interchangeably in this verse.

Verses 54-93 describe bhāva, rasa, mukharāga, the four types of abhinaya, and explains the meaning of lokadharmī or natural and nāṭyadharmī

or stylized presentations. Verses 94-96 define *nṛtya* and *nṛtta*. Here, *nṛtya* is considered to be a *mārga* style which portrays emotions through body movements. *Nṛtta*, on the other hand, is based on *tāla* and *laya* and expresses no meaning. Verses 97-103 list the movements of *aṅga*, *upāṅga* and *pratyaṅga*, followed in verses 104-11 by definitions of *rekḥā* (the imaginary lines described by the body in motion), *pramāṇa* (harmony), and the ten *prāṇas* (the vitalizing power of performance) to be instilled into a dance by the dancer. *Prāṇa* is discussed, as we have seen, also in the *Rasakaumudī*. *Gatis* are described from verses 112-23 in the manner of the *Nartananirṇaya*. *Tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* are defined with quotations from the *Saṅgītaratnākara* in verses 124-25. The author views them as dances for men and women respectively. In verses 126-30 *mukharāgas* or the colour of the face, *nāndī* or the opening verse and the characteristics of an actor are described. The rest of verses 131-282 describe dance pieces. Most of these descriptions are taken from the *Nartananirṇaya*. The author then describes *yatinṛtya*, *śabdacāli*, *uḍupas*, *dhruvāḍas*, *śabdanṛtya*, *camatkāranṛtta*, *śabdanṛtta*, *gītanṛtya*, *svarābhīnaya*, *svaramaṇṭhanṛtya*, *sūḍanṛtya*, *dhruvagītanṛtya*, one after the other, classifying them under the *śuddha* or pure dance style (verses 131-240). *Deśinṛtyas* are described next, which include *cindu*, *kaṭṭarī* (*dharū* is a variety of this type) and *vaipota* (verses 241-61). Finally, *bandhanṛtya*, *kalpanṛtya*, *jakkarī*, *perañī* and *goṇḍalī* are described (verses 261-82).

While it is evident that there is no original material on dancing in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* either in terms of information or interpretation, the work is valuable as an illustration of an approach to dancing that began with the *Nartananirṇaya*. As shown above, the author follows the *Nartananirṇaya* as well as the *Rasakaumudī*, which itself borrowed the views of the *Nartananirṇaya*, in

showing a growing interest in such aesthetic elements as rekhā, pramāṇa and prāṇa. Generally speaking, then, we find from the *Nartananirṇaya* onwards a great stress laid on the responsibility of the dancer for creating the artistic effect.

Saṅgītanārāyaṇa is a seventeenth century text by Puruṣottama Miśra, a poet at the court of Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva of Orissa.²⁰⁸ The work is in four chapters and deals with music and dance. Chapter one (546 verses), called gītanirṇaya, is devoted to the technicalities of vocal music, such as nāda, śruti, svara, grāma, rāga, gīta and tāla. The second chapter, vādyanirṇaya (131 verses), discusses vādyā or instrumental music. The third chapter, nāṭyanirṇaya, in 828 verses, deals with nāṭya or mimetic art, which includes dancing. The fourth chapter (verses unnumbered, pp.176-200), śuddhaprabandhodāharaṇa, is on prabandha or composition. The first edition of the text was brought out by the Saṅgīta Nāṭak Academy of Orissa in 1966. A scholarly edition of only the musicological parts of the text has been recently prepared by Jonathan Katz but not yet published. There is no satisfactory edition of the part on dancing. However, the edition prepared in Orissa gives us a fair idea of the contents of that part.

The third chapter, on dance and mimetic art, begins by relating the origin of the nāṭyaveda. Similar verses are also found in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* (*SN.3.2,3; ADar.2, 3.*). Next, the author divides nartana into nāṭya, nr̥tya and nr̥tta and defines them, citing various authorities. He then defines mārga and deśī along the lines of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and also refers to the views of Kohala (3.3-11). As examples the author names twenty mārga-nāṭyas, which include ten rūpakas and ten other varieties of dramatic presentation, for which

²⁰⁸ Katz,1987. Introduction, p. iii -vi.

no class-name is given.²⁰⁹ Sixteen varieties of deśināṭyas are given as those identified by Dattila.²¹⁰ Twelve names of deśinṛttas are given next, some of which are the same as types of mārganāṭya and deśināṭya.²¹¹ The names of ten mārganāṭyas (excluding rūpakas), sixteen deśināṭyas and twelve deśinṛttas are cited as found in various texts as examples of minor dramas (3.12-20). The names of the deśinṛttas are those of the nṛtyabhedas in the *Avaloka* of Dhanika, in the *Bhāvaprakāśa* and in the *Saṅgīṭadāmodara*.²¹² The use of the term nṛtta in this context in the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* seems to be a scribal error. Not only do the varieties mentioned above appear in the category of nṛtya in other texts, but the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* itself recognizes nṛtta as a different branch, as we see only a few verses later where the types of nṛtta are discussed along the lines of the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Although Puruṣottama borrows frequently from others, the classification of the dramatic arts into three categories is entirely his own, as is his mention of so many dramatic types, which we find in no other work.

Tāṇḍava and lāsya are next defined and described as two types of nṛtta. Two kinds of tāṇḍava, prerāṇī and bahurūpa, and two kinds of lāsya, sphurita and yauvata, are discussed in detail (3. 21-28). Nṛtta is then described, with its three varieties, viṣama, vikaṭa and laghu (3:29-30). Tāṇḍava and lāsya are designated as dances for men and women following the *Saṅgīṭadāmodara* (3.31; *SDām*. p.69). A new set of nāṭyas, known as prakāranāṭyas are mentioned

²⁰⁹ Ten varieties of mārganāṭyas, not included in the rūpakas, are Nāṭikā, Prakaraṇikā, Bhāṇikā, Hāsikā, Viyoginī, Ḍimikā, Utsāhavatī, Citrā, Jugupsitā and Vicitrā. *SN*. 3. 14-15.

²¹⁰ Sixteen varieties of deśināṭyas are Saṭṭaka, Troṭaka, Goṣṭhī, Vṛndaka, Śilpaka, Prekṣaṇa, Saṁlāpaka (sallāpaka?), Hallīśa, Rāsaka, Ullāpyaka, Śrīgadita, Nāṭyarāsaka, Durmallī, Prasthāna, Kāvya and Lāsika. *SN*. 3. 15-18.

²¹¹ Ḍomikā, Bhāṇikā, Prasthānaka, Bhāṇaka, Lāsikā, Rāsikā, Durmallikā, Vidagdhā, Śilpinī, Hasti(Daṇḍi)nī, Ulmukī(Bhillukī), Tumbikā are cited as the twelve deśinṛttas. *SN*. 3. 18-20.

²¹² *DR*. 1969. p.8; *Bhp*. 1968. pp. 255-69 ; *SDām*. 1960, pp. 91-96.

next and their names are given as *kāṣṭhā*, *jākaḍī* (same as the *jakkāḍī* mentioned in the *Nartanirṇaya*), *śāvāra*, *kurañjī* and *mattāvalī*. These are in fact dance pieces, of which only *jākaḍī* was recorded by earlier authors. After describing these dances the author refers to them as *deśīrṭya* (3. 31-36), of which a definition is then given (3.37). We may note that this author records two kinds of *deśī* dances, namely, *deśīrṭta* and *deśīrṭya*.

The author then describes the *nāṭyaśālā* or the dance-hall and the sitting arrangements for the audience (3. 38-52). The qualifications desirable in spectators are enumerated (3. 53-61). The author then describes the talents and defects of performers, particularly the principal dancers, reviewing dancers from different regions. Then he describes how the training of a dancer begins (3. 62-83). He notes the work of the teacher and mentions the use of the curtain (3. 84-90). Four types of *abhinayas* are also mentioned. The type of *abhinaya* known as *āhārya* or the use of costume, make-up and stage accessories is described at great length (3. 90-175). The languages used for different characters in a play and the forms of addressing one another are then described (3.176-201). The author also suggests names for characters which will express their distinctive traits (3. 202-13). *Vṛttis* or styles of presentation come next (3. 214-19). The author says that since *sandhi*, *bindu*, *patākā* etc. (terms that mark the structural divisions of a play) and the *pūrvaraṅga* (the preliminaries to a play) are not relevant for *nartana* or dancing, he will not even mention them (3. 220). This suggests that the use of *nartana* or dance in the *pūrvaraṅga* of a play was no longer of vital importance when this text was written. Instead, the art of dance must have been very much a part of the total presentation of *saṅgīta*, that is, a comprehensive recital of vocal and instrumental music and dance. The interdependence of dance and music can be seen from the early medieval period

and as we analyse the texts it becomes much more apparent that in the later medieval period there was no need for any author to describe saṅgīta primarily as a part of a dramatic presentation.

The author proceeds with the characteristics of the best, mediocre and worst performers. The method for entering the stage follows, which this text borrows line for line from the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nartananirṇaya*.²¹³ The actions that are to be avoided on stage are specified next. The ideal time for the presentation of a nāṭya is then mentioned.²¹⁴ The author adds that the spectator has to remember to encourage the dancer by showing his appreciation; otherwise many misfortunes may befall him (3. 221-255). Āṅgikābhinaya is then described in detail (3. 255-728) with the divisions of limbs into aṅga, upāṅga and pratyāṅga. Next, the author identifies five features of nṛtya, namely, sthānaka, cārī, karaṇa, maṇḍala and aṅgahāra, and he does so, as he himself says, by following the path shown by Bharata. Sthāna is then defined and its different types are described with the names of 52 mārḡa and deśī sthānas given but no details (3. 731-43). Cārī is then defined and two lines are quoted from the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara*.²¹⁵ The names of 32 mārḡa and 54 deśī cārīs are given without any description (3. 744-64) but with a passing reference to Bharata. Karaṇas are explained next, Śārṅgadeva being cited as the source and the names of 108 karaṇas are given (3. 765-82). The author prescribes the talapuṣpapuṭa karaṇa for the worship at the beginning of the performance and the gaṅgāvatarāṇa karaṇa as part of the benediction with which a performance should conclude (3. 784-5). The names of thirty-six

²¹³ SN. 3. 235-8; SR. 7. 1260-63; NN. 40a.

²¹⁴ Nāṭya in this context refers to dance, a common practice of the writers on dancing through its history which can be seen in naming the style Bharatnāṭyam of to-day.

²¹⁵ SN. 3. 745; SDām. p. 64; SN. 3. 783-4; SR. 7. 748-9.

utpluti or deśī karaṇas are given next (3. 786- 92). Seven bhramarīs are included in the list of utplutikaraṇas as in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*.²¹⁶ Next, in verses 793-96, thirty-two kalāsakaraṇas are mentioned. Kalāsas occur in other works but are never thought of as karaṇas, which is a very different way of looking at these movements and unique to this text.²¹⁷ The author then defines maṇḍala and lists twenty varieties, quoting lines from the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara* (3. 797-801; *SDām*.p. 67). The author describes aṅgahāras next (3. 802-17), quoting lines from Śārṅgadeva and Śubhaṅkara.²¹⁸ Recakas are then described in detail. The chapter ends with verses, again from Ḍāmodara, prescribing methods of practice, eating light food etc.²¹⁹ The author finally talks about nyāya or the use of appropriate movements and ends his discussion out of concern for the length of the text.

The new information given by this author relates to the different varieties of mārga and deśīnāṭya, deśīnṛtta (3.12-20), five varieties of prakāranāṭya, also known as deśīnṛtya (3.31-36), and kalāsakaraṇa (3. 793-96). Although he devotes a large number of verses to descriptions, the information does not add much to the knowledge we have already gathered from other texts insofar as the movements of the limbs are concerned.

The next work on our list is the *Saṅgītamakaranda* of Vedasūri which was written in the early seventeenth century. From Raghavan's account, written in 1932-33 (repr. 1956,1957, 1960, 1961), it appears that the only extant part is the chapter on dancing, which has several prakaraṇas or sections. Raghavan reports

²¹⁶ *SN*. 3. 791-2; *SR*. 7. 755.

²¹⁷ Kalāsas are described in detail in the *Nṛtyādhyāya* and in the *Nṛtyaratnakośa*. *Nr.Adh.* 1570-1613; *NRK*. 4. 1. 37-85.

²¹⁸ *SN*. 3. 797-8; *SDām*. p. 67; *SN*. 3. 804; *SR*. 7. 791; *SN*. 3. 808; *SDām*. p. 68.

²¹⁹ *SN*. 3. 823; *SDām*. p. 66.

that on examining the manuscripts he found that the chapter on dance discussed rasadr̥ṣṭis, gatis, cārīs, hastas, various dances and lastly rasas. He also mentions that Śāhajāī, father of the Maratha leader Śivājī, was Vedasūri's patron.²²⁰ Krishnamachariar repeats this information but adds that Vedasūri was the son of Ananta and a grandson of Dāmodara, author of the *Saṅgīṭadarpaṇa*.²²¹ The text was edited by K.V. Vasudeva Shastri and published in several parts in the *Journal of the Saraswati Mahal Library*, Tanjore in volumes VI.3; X. 1; X.2 and X.3 and XII during 1955 and 1957.

Of these, only some parts have been available to me. The first section available (.X.2) starts from verse 65 and describes the sixth gati, mṛgī. This description is different from any discussion of gati that we have come across so far. The author treats each gati like a dance sequence and describes the gati with all its components of movements. For instance, while describing the mṛgī gati the author gives all the movements necessary for its presentation, such as the appropriate karaṇa, sthāna, cārī, the hand-gestures, the head movements and glances. The rest of the gatis are described in the same way. In all he describes the eleven gatis that, he says, are recognized by schools of dancing. This is followed by a description of two cālakas of the arms, laharīcakra and nīrājita-padma (the names are new) that are necessary for maṇḍalasthānaka. At the end of this section the author describes the abhinaya or miming of a verse in the same way that Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala in *Nartananirṇaya* has described the abhinaya of a śloka,²²² each word of which is to be expressed by an appropriate hand-gesture. This first prakaraṇa or section ends with a description of the

²²⁰ Raghavan, 1961. p. 21-23.

²²¹ Krishnamachariar, 1974. p.867.

²²² See *Nartananirṇaya*. 42b.

mukhacāli or the opening dance-sequence. The first description of mukhacāli in the dance literature occurs in the *Nartananirṇaya*. The second prakaraṇa of the *Saṅgītamakaranda* describes the aṅgahāras which are to be performed in the preliminaries of a play. According to the author, this dance requires twelve karaṇas, which are described in detail.²²³ The rest of this section is devoted to the description of the aṅgahāras.

In the next prakaraṇa the author says that after performing the aṅgahāranartana, uḍupa in lakṣmītāla is to be performed and describes in detail the dance along with the required tāla. Next to be described is the dance called nāmāvalī which, according to the author, is taken from Kohala's description. A closer source, however, is Puṇḍarīka's *Nartananirṇaya*. Nāmāvalī can be performed in four, five or six khaṇḍas or units of tālas, each of which is described in the *Saṅgītamakaranda* with its appropriate rhythmic syllables, for which the *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* is cited as the source. Next comes śabdacāli nr̥tta, followed by the dances termed neris. A new dance sequence called hastaneri, not found in any other text, is described. This dance requires twenty-four kinds of hand-gestures, ten varieties of sthānas, six types of cārīs, various movements of the different parts of the body and different gatis done in a slow tempo and to āditāla. The author begins to describe the twenty-four hand gestures required for this dance. Unfortunately, the edited text to which I had access breaks off after the description of the seventh hand-gesture.

²²³ Twelve karaṇas are vaiśākharecita, vṛścika, vṛścikakuṭṭita, ākṣiptaka, cakramaṇḍala, uromaṇḍala, āvarta, kuñcita, dolāpāda, vivṛta, vinivṛta and kaṭicchinna. Interestingly, although these karaṇas are from the list found in the Bharata tradition, they are different from the group of sixteen described in the *Nartananirṇaya*. Obviously, the style that is described in the *Saṅgītamakaranda* is different from the style described in the *Nartananirṇaya*. NN. 32b-33b.

Although the whole text has not been available to me, the portions examined here are sufficient to show that the author's approach to his subject was unusually full in the detailed instructions he gives for the actual performance of dance movements. He seems to have been interested mainly in the structure of dance compositions as combinations of smaller movements. He describes these movements step by step, and includes with each movement the appropriate rhythm and tempo

Yet another seventeenth century work that deals with, among other subjects, music and dance is the *Śivatattvaratnākara*. The author was Bāsavarāja, a king who reigned between 1684-1710 A.D. The text has been edited by Narayanaswamy Sastry in three volumes and in the introduction to the first volume H. Deverappa tells us that Bāsavarāja's kingdom was known as Keladi which stretched across "the whole coast of Kanara from Goa in the North to Cannanore in the South as also parts of the Shimoga district of Mysore."²²⁴

The text consists of nine kallolas or sections with several taraṅgas or subsections each. Altogether a hundred and one such subsections cover a variety of subjects. Dance is described in the sixth chapter in several taraṅgas or subsections numbering 3-6 while music is described in 7-9. The third taraṅga of the sixth chapter has 56 verses, the fourth has 114, the fifth has 101 and the 6th and final taraṅga, the one that is most relevant to our study, has 100 verses.

The third taraṅga of the sixth chapter begins with a definition of dance for which the author uses the term *naṭana* (6.3.1) and which he equates with both *nṛtta* and *nāṭya* (6.3.5; 6.3.7.). Here he explains the nature of dance, writes in praise of the art, relates its origin and discusses verbal acting. *Nāṭya* and *nṛtta* are

²²⁴ *Śivatattvaratnākara*, 1964. Vol. I. Introduction . p. ii.

continually used interchangeably (6.3.5-9). Next, mārganṛta is described, divided into tāṇḍava and lāsya, followed by a description of deśinṛta. Then the author describes the seating arrangements for the king, the queen, and the rājavilāsiniṣ or women of the royal court. Next he provides a traditional description of the characteristics of the nartaka and nartakī or the male and female dancers (6.3. 9-33), but adds a personal note to it by stating that the nartakīṣ who come from Lāṭa, Gūrjara, Saurāṣṭra and Mahārāṣṭra are the best (uttama), presumably in terms of competence, while the dancers from the central and northern regions are mediocre (madhyama). The worst (adhama) dancers, according to him, come from Karṇāṭa, Drāviḍa and Andhra (6.3. 33).²²⁵ The author then discusses at length the appearance and the qualities of a nartakī (6.3. 34-39). Next he describes how to begin a performance by bowing to Śiva (6.3. 40-45), and gives the number of the drummers needed, naming the different drums as huḍukkā, kāhala, karaḍā, cañcu (6.3.45-48). For initiating the performance the author recommends a set of six rāgas, beginning with Śrī or Dhruvā and following up with Śrī, Madhyama, Nāṭa, Karṇāṭagolaka and Chāyānāṭa (6.3.48-50). In the same subsection the terms for the movements of aṅga, upāṅga and pratyaṅga are mentioned, as are the sthānas, cārīṣ, maṇḍalas, pādas, aṅgahāras and recakas. Departing from the usual practice of dance manuals, the author also includes in this section a brief discussion of the method of teaching dancing. All of these the author promises to discuss in the following sections (6.3.50-56).

²²⁵ This seems surprising in view of the widespread cultivation of the art, which can be inferred from the fact that at least from the medieval period a number of manuals were produced from the south and were still being produced when this text was written. Further, we find references to highly developed dance styles from those regions. See Raghavan, 1965. Introduction. pp. 18-34.

The fourth taraṅga deals with the movements of the head and its parts in 114 verses. The fifth taraṅga describes, in 101 verses, hand-gestures and the movements of the arms and prescribes their applications. Unlike other works, the *Śivatattvaratnākara* first describes the nṛttahastas or the hand-gestures specially meant for dancing, and then describes the others, that is, the single and double hand-gestures. The sixth taraṅga discusses the rest of the major and minor limbs (6.6.1-43), finishing with the movements of the feet and moves on to describing sthānas (6.6.43-85). In discussing the movements of the limbs the author mostly follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Saṅgītaratnākara*. The author mentions deśī sthānas as they appear in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* but does not describe them. Cārīs and maṇḍalas are discussed next but no deśī varieties (6.6.86-99) are given. The author at this point expresses concern about the length of his work and says that there are 108 karaṇas but does not name them. However, he states that 16 of these karaṇas are better known than the others; we may recall that in the *Nartananirṇaya*, Puṇḍarīka describes a set of 16 karaṇas that constitute bandhanṛtta (6.6.100; *NN*. 32b). Whether the 16 karaṇas considered by Bāsavarāja as the most prominent were the same as the karaṇas required for bandhanṛtta cannot be known but the coincidence is worth noting. As we shall see in a later chapter, the bandhanṛtta described in the *Nartananirṇaya* is very likely closely related to the style now known as Odissi. If indeed the 16 karaṇas selected by Bāsavarāja were elements of bandhanṛtta, then there is reason to believe that this style was practiced in Western as well as Eastern India at the time this author wrote.

The *Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha* is a late work by a "Bengali Vaiṣṇava lyric poet and composer Narahari Cakravartī, alias Ghanaśyāmadāsa" who lived in the

early nineteenth century.²²⁶ It is in six chapters which deal mostly with music, and as Nijenhuis points out, it is a compilation of materials drawn from older works on music from the eastern part of India, mainly from Orissa and Bengal. The text offers very little to add to our information on the concept or descriptions of movements or sequences. But it does show that informed interest in certain dance styles continued from the medieval times till the early nineteenth century in Eastern India .

The chapters deal with the following subjects: vocal music, instrumental music, dance and drama, body movements, language and metre. Of these, chapters 3 and 4 are of interest to us. The third chapter (pp. 63-69) starts with a benediction, relates the origin of nāṭyaveda, which the author refers to as the fifth veda, and mentions the division of nartana (dance) into nāṭya, nṛtya and nṛtta. These terms as well as mārga and deśī are explained with quotations from Kohala. Ten mārganāṭyas, sixteen deśīnāṭyas and twelve nṛtyas are mentioned, the information being taken from the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*²²⁷ Nṛtta is divided into the usual three categories, namely, viṣama, vikāṭa and laghu. Tāṇḍava and lāsya, which the author says can be both nṛtta and nṛtya, are discussed in detail along with their varieties. Tāṇḍava and lāsya are referred to as dances for men and women respectively. Tāṇḍava has two varieties, prerāṇi and bahurūpa, and lāsya has sphurita²²⁸ and yauvata; these are taken from the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara*. The author quotes from the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara*, *Saṅgītakāumudī* and the *Saṅgītasāra* to describe these dances. He gives a list of dance pieces from the late medieval period, which includes kāṣṭhā, jākaḍī, śabda, karañjī and mattāvalīnṛtya. These

²²⁶ Nijenhuis, 1977. p. 35; Katz, 1987. Introduction. pp. xxii-xiii.

²²⁷ SN. 3. 12-20; SSār.Sam. .pp.63-69.

²²⁸ SDām. has churita. p. 69.

again are from the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*.²²⁹ Jākaḍī and śabdanṛtya are found in other texts as well.²³⁰ In describing dance movements the author mainly follows the *Saṅgīadāmodara* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. He quotes from *Kaumudī* (i.e., *Saṅgītakeaumudī*) to say that different regions have different varieties of nṛtya according to the taste of the particular region.²³¹

The fourth chapter (pp. 70-90) discusses aṅgahāra, by which the author means aṅgas, upāṅgas and pratyāṅgas, or the major and minor limbs. In this he follows the *Saṅgīadāmodara*.²³² The applications of some of these movements are also described. The author finishes the chapter by mentioning the five components of a dance which are sthānaka, cārī, karaṇa, maṇḍala and aṅgahāra; the term aṅgahāra, in this context, stands for the basic dance sequence. He does not discuss them in detail since he is concerned about the length of the work.

No survey of Sanskrit treatises on dancing can hope to be entirely comprehensive since most of the works written for the earlier period of the development of the art are lost. As the present survey has indicated, the lost work by Kohala was clearly an extraordinarily authoritative source on which contemporaries as well as later writers continued to draw. The medieval period has fared better, for most of the treatises written in that period are extant and most are available in modern editions. In the later period a number of manuals were produced, some in Sanskrit and some in the vernacular languages, many of which are still unedited and available only as manuscripts scattered through

²²⁹ SN. 3. 31-36; SSārSam. .pp.63-69.

²³⁰ NN. 47b-48a(śabdanṛtta),53a(Jakkaḍī); SDar.7. 268-71(Jakkaḍī); SMakV. ch.2.

²³¹ SN. 3. 37.

²³² SSārSam. .pp.70-90.; SDām. .pp. 61-9.

libraries all over India and a few in libraries outside India. Raghavan has described some of these manuals on dancing in his survey of saṅgīta literature in Sanskrit, and some vernacular works in the introduction to his edition of the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*.²³³

The present survey covers the majority of Sanskrit works that directly deal with dancing, leaving out only those from the late period (16th -17th century) that fail to provide new information or to show any originality of approach. Also omitted, for fear of needless duplication, are certain eighteenth century texts that have been exhaustively described by Kapila Vatsyayan. Her survey, as earlier mentioned, may be used to great advantage to complement the present survey.²³⁴ The present survey has also left out works in regional languages since they do not form part of the Sanskrit tradition that is the subject of this study. But the considerable number of these vernacular dance manuals produced in the late medieval times and through the nineteenth century in Andhra, Tamilnadu, Kerala, Orissa, Bengal and Manipur attest to the importance and popularity of the art.²³⁵

The relevance of dance treatises is not limited to dance historians and critics but extends to the actual dancers. At the present time, practitioners of

²³³ Raghavan,1956-61; NR.1965. Introduction. pp. 18-34.

²³⁴ Vatsyayan,1968. has used the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* of Nandīkeśvara, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva, the *Saṅgītamakaranda* of Vedasūri, the *Nāṭyaśāstrasamgraha* of Govindācārya, the *Hastalakṣaṇadīpikā* (followed by the Kathākali dancers), the *Hastamuktāvalī* of Śubhaṅkara(followed by the Manipurī dancers) and the *Balarāmabharata* of Balarāma Varmā (followed by the Mohiniāṭṭam dancers) to compare the theories offered. p.32-37. The present researcher has given an account of the *Nāṭyaśāstrasamgraha* in her earlier study of 1964, 1970. This text is left out from the present study. *The Hastalakṣaṇadīpikā* and the *Balarāmabharata* are left out since Dr. Vatsāyayan's book provides the details of their content.

²³⁵ Patnaik,1971; *Classical and Folk Dances of India*,1963. part. i. 'Bharatanatyam', p. 29; part. ii. 'Kathakali', p. 10; part. iv. 'Odissi', p.20; part. v. 'Manipuri', p.39.

each of the modern styles claim to have their own manuals which they follow, some written in Sanskrit some in the languages of the regions where they originated. The Bharatanāṭyam dancers follow the text of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* of Nandīkeśvara for learning the movements of the body, Odissi dancers seem to follow the *Abhinayacandrikā* of Maheśvara Mahāpātra, Kathak dancers refer to *Nartanasarvasva* as their guidebook (though no copy of it has been found so far), and Kathākali and Mohiniāṭṭam dancers follow—among other manuals—the *Balarāmabharatam* as their guidebook.²³⁶ This reliance of dancers on the śāstra of dancing is a product of the tradition of discourse established in the Sanskrit treatises, which has resulted in simultaneously providing theoretical exposition and practical guidance.

The literature of dancing surveyed here is important as the major repository of information but more important still as the only record and the only measure of the changes through which dancing has evolved in India. In terms both of techniques and concepts we see the phenomenon of steady change in the art and it is only by studying the treatises in their chronological sequence that we may trace the details of that evolution. The present survey thus forms the necessary background to the study undertaken here of the particular features and underlying principles of classical Indian dancing. To understand these features and principles, this study will closely examine the terms, relating to both concepts and techniques, found in the texts of the subject, which are charted below.

²³⁶ The sources for the various styles are as follows. Kathak: 'Kathak', Vatsyayan, 1956. pp. 74-88, and 'Bhārater Śāstriya Nṛtyakalā', Kothari, 1987. p. 60; Mohiniāṭṭam: 'Mohiniaattam', Rele, 1981. pp. 69-70; Kathākali: 'The Tradition: A Brief Historical Survey', Khokar, 1963, pt. II, p. 10; Odissi: 'A Glimpse Into Odissi Dance', Miśra., 1981. p. 90; Bharatanāṭyam: 'Śāstra and Prayoga: The Use of Abhinayadarpaṇa', Bose, 1988.

<u>Work</u>	<u>Date(approximate)</u>	<u>Author</u>
<i>Nāṭyaśāstra</i>	2nd/ 3rd c. A. D.	Bharata
<i>Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa</i>	5th c. A. D.(section on dance)	
<i>Abhinavabhāratī</i>	10th-11th c. A.D.	Abhinavagupta
<i>Daśarūpaka</i>	10th c. A.D.	Dhanañjaya
<i>Śṛṅgāraprakāśa</i>	11th c. A.D.	Bhoja
<i>Nāṭyadarpaṇa</i>	12th c. A.D.	Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra
<i>Mānasollāsa</i>	12th c. A.D.	Someśvara
<i>Nāṭak^ālakṣaṇaratnakośa</i>	12th/13th c. A.D.	Sāgaranandin
<i>Bhāvaprakāśana</i>	around 13th c. A.D.	Sāradātanaya
<i>Saṅgītasamayasāra</i>	12th-13th c. A.D.	Pārśvadeva
<i>Saṅgītaratnākara</i>	13th c. A.D.	Śārngadeva
<i>Nṛttaratnāvalī</i>	13th c. A.D.	Jāya Senāpati
<i>Abhinayadarpaṇa</i>	around 13th c. A.D.	Nandīkeśvara
<i>Saṅgītamakaranda</i>	13th/14th c. A.D.	Nārada
<i>Sāhityadarpaṇa</i>	14th c. A.D.	Viśvanātha Kavirāja
<i>Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra</i>	14th c. A.D.	Sudhākalaśa
<i>Saṅgītacandra</i>	14/15th c. A.D.	Vipradāsa
<i>Saṅgītadāmodara</i>	15th c. A.D.	Śubhaṅkara
<i>Hastamuktāvalī</i>	15th c. A.D.	Śubhaṅkara
<i>Nṛtyādhyāya</i>	14th/15th c. A.D.	Aśokamalla
<i>Nṛtyaratnakośa</i>	15th c. A.D.	Mahārāṇā Kumbhā
<i>Bharatārṇava</i>	16th c. A.D.	Nandīkeśvara
<i>Nartananirṇaya</i>	16th-17th c. A.D.	Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala
<i>Rasakaumudī</i>	16th-17th c. A.D.	Śrīkaṇṭha

<i>Saṅgīadarpaṇa</i>	17th c. A.D.	Dāmodara
<i>Saṅgītanārāyaṇa</i>	17th c. A.D.	Purṣottamamiśra
<i>Saṅgītamakaranda</i>	17th c. A.D.	Vedasūri
<i>Śivatattvaratnākara</i>	17th/18th c. A.D.	Bāsavarāja
<i>Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha</i>	19th c. A.D.	Ghanaśyāmadāsa

Chapter 2

THE NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA AND THE CONCEPT OF DANCE

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata is the earliest source of our knowledge of Indian dancing. So profound has been its influence on all subsequent works on the subject that not one of the many treatises on dancing has attempted to describe dancing without borrowing substantially from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. That the impact of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is so deep and permanent is due to the fact that it combines theory and practice, formulating concepts of dance as it describes its technique. These concepts must be closely examined since they have remained central to all discussions on dancing.

These concepts may be set in the context of Bharata's comprehensive view of drama, dance and music by noting the place that Bharata accords these arts in the social structure. According to him, the drama is the fifth Veda, which was created by Brahmā for those castes that did not have access to the Vedas proper:

न वेदव्यवहारोऽयं संश्राव्यः शूद्रजातिषु ।
 तस्मात् सृजापरं वेदं पञ्चमं सार्ववर्णिकम् ॥
 एवमेस्त्विति (NŚ. 1. 12-13)

The Vedas [lit: the use of this Veda] are not to be heard by [lit:in] the śūdra castes. Therefore [please] create another Veda, the fifth, meant for all the varṇas. "Let it be thus," [said]. . . .

Bharata calls this fifth Veda the nāṭyaveda: nāṭyākhyam pañcamam vedam. . . (NŚ. 1. 15).

Dance is seen by Bharata as an introduction to dramatic performance. It was Śiva, he says, who prescribed the addition of dance to the preliminaries of a dramatic performance in order to add beauty to it.

मयाऽपीदं स्मृतं नृत्तं। सन्ध्याकालेषु नृत्यता ।
 नानाकरणसंयुक्तैरङ्गहारैर्विभूषितम् ॥
 पूर्वरङ्गविधावस्मिंस्त्वया सम्यक् प्रयोज्यताम् । (NS. 4.13 -14)
 Recollected by me, this nṛtta, [fit for] dancing
 in the evening [is] adorned with aṅgahāras
 made with various karaṇas. Apply them in an
 appropriate manner in the practice of the
 preliminaries of this [drama].

Although references to dancers and dance are scattered through early literature,² it was Bharata who first treated dance systematically, defining it as an art-form which consisted of beautiful movements of the body performed to rhythm and to vocal or instrumental music or to both, and which may be mimetic or purely decorative. This definition rests upon five major terms: nṛtta, tāṇḍava, piṇḍibandha, abhinaya and sukumāraprayoga. Although most of these are familiar terms, the concepts behind them have been obscured by time and often by confusing commentary. To understand the tradition of art described by Bharata, one must clarify the concepts.

Bharata's most significant statements on dance occur in the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which is devoted entirely to this subject. Dance, we are told,

¹ The term appears as nṛtya in the G. O. S edition of the NS. which seems to have been a scribal error.

See Bose 1970, p.8.; Varma 1957, p.21. Kāśī edition has nṛtta which supports this view.

² See Bose, 1970, pp. 1-4.

was created for beauty's sake: शोभां प्रजनयेदिति नृत्तं प्रवर्तितम् ।³ The terms he uses for this dance are two--nṛtta and tāṇḍava:

रेचका अङ्गहाराश्च पिण्डीबन्धास्तथैव च ॥
 सृष्ट्वा भगवता दत्तास्तण्डवे मुनये तदा ।
 तेनापि हि ततः सम्यग् गानभाण्डसमन्वितः ॥
 नृत्तप्रयोगः सृष्टो यः स ताण्डव इति स्मृतः । (NŚ. 4. 259-61)
 Recakas, aṅgahāras and the piṇḍibandhas were
 created by god [Śiva] and given to the sage
 Taṇḍu. That method of dancing which was then
 created by him [=Taṇḍu]accompanied by
 appropriate songs and drums, is known as
 Tāṇḍava .

Taken as a karmadhāraya samāsa, the compound nṛttāprayoga in the last line of this passage equates tāṇḍava with nṛtta. Nṛtta is described as an art-form which is beautified with aṅgahāras made of various karaṇas. He then describes these karaṇas and aṅgahāras in detail: हस्तपादसमायोगो नृत्तस्य करणं भवेत् । -- the coordinated movement of the hands and feet makes the karaṇa of a dance.⁴ A karaṇa is the basic unit of dancing and the movements that constitute karaṇas are clearly prescribed. A combination of karaṇas, numbering six to nine, makes an aṅgahāra, which can be described as a basic dance-sequence.⁵ Bharata states that such sequences beautify a dramatic performance when they are included in the pūrvaraṅga or preliminaries, which can be presented with or without dance. When there is no dance but songs are sung, a pūrvaraṅga is known as śuddha or

³ NŚ. 4.264.

⁴ NŚ. 4.30

⁵ NŚ. 4.33.

pure . The kind that has dancing in it is called *citra* or mixed.⁶ In this fourth chapter Bharata deals with the *citra* type of *pūrvaraṅga*. In the same chapter Bharata says that *sthānas*, *cārīs* and *nṛttahastas* prescribed in the discussion of *vyāyāma* or exercise (in the chapters on *āṅgikābhinaya*—chapters eight to twelve) should be applied to a *karāṇa*.⁷ *Sthānas* are the basic postures or stances in a dance.⁸ *Cārīs* are movements executed with one leg: एकपादप्रचारो यः सा चारीत्यभिसंज्ञिता ।⁹ The different gestures of hands meant solely for the use in *nṛtta* are known as *nṛttahastas* : करणे तु प्रयोक्तव्या नृत्तहस्ता विशेषतः। -- in a *karāṇa* *nṛttahastas* are to be applied in particular.¹⁰ Bharata describes these *karāṇas* and *aṅgahāras* in detail and then describes another movement called *recaka* . *Recakas*, defined as the basic movements of the feet, hips, hands and neck, seem to be quite fundamental to dancing, for Bharata has included them in his chapter on dance.¹¹ He states his view clearly about the nature of *nṛtta* by saying that *aṅgahāras*, *recakas* and *piṇḍibandhas* done together in an appropriate manner form *nṛtta* (*NS*. 4. 259-61).

After listing and discussing the constituent movements of dancing, Bharata returns to the structure of the *pūrvaraṅga* as a whole. Here he introduces another term, *piṇḍibandha*. *Piṇḍibandhas* are group dances that constitute a distinct phase of the preliminaries following the introductory dancing and they are of four types: *piṇḍī*, *latā*, *śṛīkhalā*, and *bhedyaka*. The purpose of these dances is to invoke the blessings of the gods. Bharata relates how, after disrupting Dakṣas's

⁶ *NS*. 4.15-16.

⁷ *NS*. 4.169-71.

⁸ *NS* does not define *sthāna* as such but from the descriptions of the *sthānas* in chapter ten of the *NS* the movement can be understood. (*NS*. 10. 50-71).

⁹ *NS*. 10.3.

¹⁰ *NS*. 9.210.

¹¹ *NS*. 4. 248-49.

sacrifice ceremony, Maheśvara danced in the evening with aṅgahāras set to rhythm and tempo. Evidently, Bharata is taking it for granted that Śiva was accompanied in his dancing by his followers, and that this performance created a number of group dances or piṇḍibandhas, for Bharata goes on to say that Śiva's gaṇas or disciples, such as Nandī and Bhadramukha, saw the piṇḍibandhas and named the variations of one type of piṇḍibandha known as piṇḍī, that is, a cluster. They named each variation of the cluster after a god or a goddess. These piṇḍīs, named in this way by Śiva's disciples, are then listed by Bharata who adds that other piṇḍīs should be similarly named after other gods or goddesses. Emphasizing the mythological status of Taṇḍu as the archetypal dancer among mortals, Bharata tells us that recaka, aṅgahāra and piṇḍibandhas were created and given to Taṇḍu and it was thus that with songs and drums the art of dance was created. While describing the performance of tāṇḍava he again elaborates on piṇḍīs.¹²

The presentation of the preliminaries seems to be an elaborate performance which calls for, beside the singers and drummers, one principal female dancer and a group of other female dancers. The group of dancers is required to enter and dance in a variety of formations which are known as piṇḍibandhas. Such formation dancing is prescribed only for female dancers and considered appropriate only for this particular part of the entire stage presentation. Piṇḍibandhas are dedicated to different gods who are denoted by their emblems, which are represented by the formations created by the dancers. In addition, the dancers form into ritualistic diagrams. Bharata states that in order to be able to create such formations in an appropriate manner, these dancers require careful

¹² NS. 4. 279-91.

and thorough training.¹³ Piṇḍibandhas thus have a religious purpose in the main and that Bharata should include them as necessary parts of the stage-presentation adds to our understanding of the function of dancing as an art.

Elaborating on the piṇḍibandhas, Bharata says that different yonis, bhadrasana and yantra are to be applied in composing piṇḍibandhas. The use of the first two means the formation of auspicious diagrams. Yantra is a term for mystical diagrams in tāntric and Buddhist usage. If we take the word in that sense then it fits in with yoni and bhadrasana as the name of a figure formed by a group of dancers. Raghavan, however, takes yantra to mean mechanical aids in his discussion of the uparūpakas of the Jaina tradition. The editor of the *Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra* gives a list of thirty-two varieties of dance dramas which includes bhadrasana. These are from the Jainasūtra named *Rājaprasāniya*, as noted also by Raghavan. Following this text, Raghavan has described this bhadrasana as the "execution of rows or garland-like formations made up of groups resembling moon, sun, swans, stars, pearls, gems and so on."¹⁴ In Abhinavagupta's commentary we find references to a swan-like formation.¹⁵

Bharata divides piṇḍibandha into four classes:

पिण्डीनां विधयश्चैव चत्वारः सम्प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

पिण्डी शृङ्खलिका चैव लताबन्धोऽथ भेद्यकः ।

पिण्डीबन्धस्तु पिण्डत्वाद् गुल्मः शृङ्खलिका भवेत् ॥

जालोपनद्धा च लता सनृतो भेद्यकः स्मृतः । (NS. 4. 287-89)

The practice of piṇḍīs can be of four types:

piṇḍī, śṛṅkhalikā, latābandha and bhedyaka

¹³ NS. 4. 252- 59; 4. 287- 91.

¹⁴ Raghavan 1963, pp. 572- 74. See also SUS., 1961, Introduction, xvi-xvii.

¹⁵ AB. on NS. 1956, Vol. I., p. 191.

Piṇḍibandha is [lit:from] a roundish mass,
 śṛīkhalikā is [like a]cluster, latā is entwined
 [lit., bound] in a net and bhedyaka is known to
 be [performed with] nr̥tta.

The precise nature of the formations is not easy to understand from this passage. Abhinavagupta has a fairly long commentary on it which is not much clearer.¹⁶ V. Rāghavan in his introduction to *Nṛttaratnāvalī* has suggested a better reading of the edited version of the commentary on piṇḍibandhas found in Ramakrishna Kavi's edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to get a sense of the formations of these group dances. The passage in Kavi's edition is:

नर्तकीयोज्यः परस्परसम्बन्ध एव पिण्डीबन्धद्वयप्रकारः सजातीयो वा
 एकता(ना)लावबद्धकमलयुगलवत् विजातीयो वा
 हंसवदनपरिगृहीतनालनलिनवत् गुल्मः शृङ्खलिकाशब्दवाच्यः ।
 नर्तकीत्रयप्रयोज्यस्तु ततोऽपि वैचित्र्यसहिष्णुत्वाज्जालवद्विचित्रतां
 गच्छत्पूर्ववत्सजातीयविजातीयात्मा लताबन्धः चतुष्टयप्रयोज्यस्तु.

Raghavan emends it thus:

नर्तकीयोज्यः परस्परसम्बन्ध एव पिण्डीबन्धः, सजातीयो वा
 एकनालाबद्धकमलयुगलवत्, विजातीयो वा हंसवदनपरिगृहीतनालनलिनवत् ।
 गुल्मः शृङ्खलिकाशब्दवाच्यः नर्तकीत्रयप्रयोज्यस्तु। ततोऽपि
 वैचित्र्यसहिष्णुत्वात् विचित्रतां गच्छत् सजातीयविजातीयात्मा
 लताबन्धश्चतुष्टयप्रयोज्यस्तु.¹⁷

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 191.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 191; *NR.*1965, Introduction. pp.143.

Raghavan has attempted to explain the characteristics of piṇḍibandhas while discussing the rāsaka type of uparūpaka, although the category of uparūpaka did not exist in Bharata's time. In his study of *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, he has discussed piṇḍibandhas again as elements of rāsaka, nāṭyarāsaka and lāsya.¹⁸ However, this does not throw any more light on the nature of piṇḍibandhas and all we can say is that these were group dances which were used in the citra type of pūrvaraṅga. But as we shall find later in the course of discussing the minor types of drama such as rāgakāvya, nṛttakāvya, nṛtyabhedas and uparūpakas, these group dances formed a major part of dramatic presentation for centuries. Even today some of them survive, as for instance in the rāsa dance of western India and in Kathak and Manipuri.

In describing nṛtta, tāṇḍava and piṇḍibandha Bharata is concerned with the process of dancing as described in terms of the physical structure of movements. Our understanding of the process is augmented by two other concepts that deal with the affective quality of the art, namely, sukumāraprayoga and abhinaya .

The concept of sukumāraprayoga is invoked in the context of Śiva's dance. According to the legend cited by Bharata, Śiva's dance, which comprises aṅgahāras and recakas, inspires Pārvatī who demonstrates a different way of dancing by employing graceful and delicate movements:

रेचकैरङ्गहारैश्च नृत्यन्तं वीक्ष्य शङ्करम् ॥
सुकुमारप्रयोगेण नृत्यन्ती चैव पार्वतीम् । (NS. 4. 249-50)

¹⁸ *Śr.P.* 1963, pp. 563; 588-89.

On seeing Śaṅkara dancing with recakas and aṅgahāras and on seeing Pārvatī dancing with delicacy. . .

Beyond the use of the adjective *sukumāra* Bharata does not provide any clue to the nature of Pārvatī's dance and goes on to describe the whole sequence of the dance that is included in the *pūrvaraṅga* along with drumming, singing etc. Abhinavagupta is not much help either. All he says is that since Śaṅkara's dance lacked grace, Pārvatī demonstrated that quality by giving a performance that was characterized by delicate movements.¹⁹ This implies that Pārvatī's dance falls into a separate category. However, Pārvatī's dance is different not because she uses movements different from those of Śiva, but because she uses the same movements more delicately. The difference is thus stylistic not substantive.

The significance of *sukumāraprayoga* is not entirely clear in this passage. Later on in his discourse Bharata does offer some explanation of *sukumāra* when he says:

स्त्रीपुंसयोस्तु संलापो यस्तु कामसमुद्भवः ।
तज्ज्ञेयं सुकुमारं हि शृङ्गाररससम्भबम् ॥ (NS. 4. 303)

The conversation, which is generated from the passion between a man and a woman is known as *sukumāra* which arises from the erotic sentiment.

¹⁹ AB. on NS. 1956, Vol. I., p.164.

Such a sentiment, he says, can be represented in a performance by applying the aṅgahāras shown by Pārvatī: देवीकृतैरङ्गहारैर्ललितैस्तत् प्रयोजयेत् । -- which is to be applied with delicate aṅgahāras created by the goddess (=Pārvatī).²⁰ The emphasis here is on the affective function of sukumāra. Necessarily, then, by relating sukumāra to dancing Bharata is shifting conceptual areas, from the structure to the function—at least one function—of dancing. By itself Bharata's statement does not clarify the nature of the application. Abhinavagupta tries to clarify the nature of sukumāra by giving some examples from the rāgakāvya which later, in the medieval period, came to be known as uparūpakas or minor types of drama. From the examples of the rāgakāvya given by Abhinavagupta one may say that these required graceful and delicate movements. He further cites some aṅgahāras which employ less vigorous movements as examples of delicate aṅgahāras²¹ but no other detail can be found. If one tries out these so called aṅgahāras, the delicate nature of the movements can be perceived, although it is difficult to fully understand through verbal description an art-form which relies entirely on visual experience for its effect. That is why sukumāraprayoga and its nature gave rise to a great deal of confusion in the later texts concerning what constituted the delicacy of movements. In a later chapter this confusion has been discussed in detail.

The other concept that relates to the quality rather than the structure of dance is the vital one of abhinaya. The term denotes the method of expressing ideas through gestures and is explained in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as:

.. प्राप्त्यर्थमर्थानां तज्ज्ञैरभिनयः कृतः । (NS. 4. 261.)

²⁰NS. 4. 312.

²¹ AB. on NS. 1956, Vol. I. p. 201.

Abhinaya is created to understand the meaning [lit:when the meaning is aimed at] [of the *kāvya*].

Abhinaya is explained by Bharata not only as a particular mode of performance but also as a distinct phase of stage-presentation. We have seen how in the preliminaries the *aṅghāras* are performed at first and then the *piṇḍibandhas*. To perform the *aṅghāras* the main *nartakī* enters and dances with pure *karaṇas*. She then performs *abhinaya* to a song without the accompaniment of drums:

यत्राभिनेयं गीतं स्यात् तत्र वाद्यं न योजयेत् । (NS. 4. 276)

Where a song is to be acted drumming should not be applied.

She first performs *nṛtta* and then *abhinaya*, after which she makes an exit. Then female dancers enter and make different group formations. Bharata says that until the *piṇḍis* are formed, *pariyastaka* (i.e., body movements that do not express ideas) is performed by these dancers.²² Bharata describes in the fullest detail the entire sequence of this performance of the preliminaries with songs, instrumental music, *tāla* etc. He then clarifies his concept of *nṛtta*, *tāṇḍava* and *abhinaya*.

At this point Bharata attempts to address questions asked by the sages who seem puzzled when they find that *nṛtta* has no connection either with the total meaning of the accompanying songs, nor even with the meaning of individual words or sentences. Why then was *nṛtta* created?

²² *Ibid.* p.188: अभिनयशून्यमा(आ)ङ्गिकविधिः पर्यस्तकः ।

न गीतकार्यसम्बन्धं न चाप्यर्थस्य भावकम् ॥
कस्मात् नृत्तं कृतं . . . (NS. 4. 262-63)

[Nṛtta] does not have any connection with the meaning of the song nor does it express the meaning of the [words] that are [lit:to be] said.

Why is nṛtta created?

To this Bharata's answer is that nṛtta does not convey any meaning but produces beauty.²³

Bharata's statement, however, leaves unanswered the question whether nṛtta has any function of communication. Here we are confronting a basic problem of art, that of its semantic purpose. David Smith has tried to give an answer to this question posed by the sages while discussing tāṇḍava in his study of *Haravijayam*. He views nṛtta as a superior art-form that does not look for any purpose: "The dance does not imitate anything in real life, but is a self-subsistent creation free from any practical aim. It is the natural expression, through the movements of the limbs, of a given state of mind. . . . Even if Śiva dances abhinaya, mimetic dance, there are still no grounds for enquiry into the meaning of this dance, since dancing Śiva is all there really is."²⁴ In support of this point of view Smith quotes the following verse:

करणाङ्गहारविधिभिः सविस्तरैः
सकलासु शङ्कर ! निशासु नृत्यता ।
क्रियते त्वयानुकृतिरात्मनो विभो !
सचराचरं जगदवाप्य तस्थुषः ॥ (*Haravijayam*. 6. 180)

²³ NS. 4. 263-64.

²⁴ Smith, David. 1985, p. 250.

O beneficent Śiva !
 every night you dance
 with the whole range of karaṇas and aṅgahāras,
 yet, O Lord!
 there is nothing for you to imitate
 but yourself
 for you pervade, you are, the entire universe.²⁵

Given the self-subsistent nature of Śiva that Smith points out, the question of meaning (or the lack of it) seems beside the point. However, the question of purpose still remains. In fact, Bharata attributes purpose to nṛtta. This is clear in the distinction he draws between the dance as demonstrated, respectively, by Śiva and Pārvatī. The dance taught by Śiva to Taṇḍu, that is, tāṇḍava, aims at devastuti, that is, praise-offerings to the gods. It does so because dancing of this type creates beauty of form and is like any other beautiful object, such as flowers, that are offered to the gods. Thus, tāṇḍava has purpose but no meaning because it is not conceived by Bharata as a vehicle of feelings or emotions.

Emotional signification seems to be the business of the dance demonstrated by Pārvatī. The respective functions of the two styles are quite explicitly stated :

देवस्तुत्याश्रयकृतं यदङ्गं तु भवेदथ ।
 माहेश्वरैरङ्गहारैरुद्धतैस्तत् प्रयोजयेत् ।
 यत्तु शृङ्गारसम्बन्धं गानं स्त्रीपुरुषाश्रयम् ।
 देवीकृतैरङ्गहारैर्ललितैस्तत् प्रयोजयेत् ॥ (NS. 4. 312.)

²⁵ *Ibid.* p.251.

Whatever part [of a play, i.e. pūrvaraṅga] is for praising gods, that [one] should perform with the vigorous aṅgahāras created by Maheśvara, while a song related to erotic sentiment involving [lit:depending on]man and woman should be performed with the aṅgahāras created by Devī.

Against the exclusively religious function of tāṇḍava, Bharata attributes to Pārvatī's dance the function of human communication. As we go from Śiva's dance to Pārvatī's, we go from the metaphysical to the material and from the religious to the secular. Although Bharata never specifically discusses the secular use of dance, his concept of sukumāraprayoga sets Pārvatī's kind of dancing in a non-religious context where सुकुमारप्रयोगश्च शृङ्गाररससम्भवः--the application of delicate (movements) generates the erotic sentiment(NS.4.269). This does open up the possibility of the secular use of nṛtta which is seen in the references to application of delicate movements in the dramatic literature of all periods. The concept of sukumāraprayoga also opens up the possibility of dramatic communication and thereby relates dance movements to acting or abhinaya.

In speaking of dancing while discussing pūrvarāṅga Bharata prescribes two styles of presentation: uddhata and lalita. Uddhata aṅgahāras are used for devastuti in a pūrvaraṅga. Again in a pūrvaraṅga, the feelings between a man and woman can be depicted through lalita or delicate movements. This distinction between the styles that are appropriate, respectively, to the portrayal of gods and the depiction of human beings in love is again drawn in the fifth

chapter which describes the pūrvaraṅga of a dramatic performance. There Bharata says:

शृङ्गारस्य प्रचाराच्चारि सम्परिकीर्त्तिता ।
 रौद्रप्रचाराच्चापि महाचारीति कीर्त्तिता ॥ (NS. 5.27)
 Cārī is known to manifest śṛṅgāra [rasa]
 and mahācārī is known to manifest
 raudra [rasa].

It is important to bear in mind that Bharata places the entire discussion on vigorous dancing in the context of the pūrvaraṅga, not in that of drama proper. As the following discussion shows, the nature of abhinaya pertaining to the dance in the pūrvaraṅga may seem confusing if the uddhata and lalita styles are extended to drama proper. As Abhinavagupta explains, uddhata, which is the style of Śiva, obviously indicates vigorous dancing with forceful aṅgahāras while lalita is the style of Pārvatī and is characterized by delicate aṅgahāras²⁶ Uddhata is used in devastuti and lalita is used in presenting love scenes.

The classification of dance into uddhata and lalita also suggests a distinction between masculine and feminine modes of expression, first because of their physical characteristics and second, because of their creation, respectively, by a male and a female deity. Though Bharata does not explicitly correlate uddhata with manly actions or lalita with feminine moods, the correlation seems implied in the use of the terms themselves and has been recognized by later authors, following the lead of Abhinavagupta. As an example of tāṇḍava Abhinavagupta cites a minor dramatic form in which the action is performed by a masculine figure, whereas for the lalita style he cites a

²⁶ AB. on NS. 1956, Vol. I. p. 201.

dramatic form in which the corresponding figure is feminine. The association of uddhata and lalita with, respectively, masculine and feminine qualities is evident, though it is stated somewhat obliquely, specially in the case of the uddhata style. Explaining that tāṇḍava is usually directed at devastuti and expressed through uddhata aṅgahāras, Abhinavagupta refers to their use in bhāṇakas (or bhāṇas, as he later calls them), which, according to him, are rāgakāvya. In support of his view he cites the cirantanas, that is, traditional authorities, according to whom avatāras such as Nṛsiṃha (the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu) and the Boar are signified by uddhata aṅgahāras. To illustrate sukumāra Abhinavagupta refers to ḍombikā, a minor dramatic form which shows how a woman performs the actions of flattering a king.²⁷

Bhāṇaka and ḍombikā later came to be known as types of nṛtyabhedas or uparūpakas, minor dramatic types²⁸ in which the emphasis is on body movements. Whether Bharata himself had actual dramas such as these in mind is doubtful. In the first place, he is speaking of dancing as part not of the drama proper but of the citra type of pūrvaraṅga. In the second place, it is not known whether there were any such types as bhāṇaka or ḍombikā in Bharata's time, for in his discussion of dramatic types he does not include them, nor indeed the class of uparūpakas to which they belonged.

The genre that Bharata discusses is rūpaka, that is, major dramatic types. One such type is bhāṇa. Because of the similarity of the terms bhāṇa and bhāṇaka, one might be led, as Abhinavagupta was, to assume the use of uddhata aṅgahāras in bhāṇa. But this seems highly unlikely. Bhāṇa is a play acted by a single character. The actor can either present his own feelings or those of others

²⁷ *Ibid.* pp.80-81.

²⁸ *DR.* 1969, p. 8; *BhP.* 1930, p. 255.

by conversing with imaginary persons with suitable movements. The character considered by Bharata as appropriate for this kind of play is that of a *viṭa*, a knave, or a *dhūrta*, a rogue.²⁹ It is hard to believe that Bharata is thinking of *bhāṇa* as the proper place for the use of *uddhata aṅgahāras*, which he considers suitable for *devastuti*. If *bhāṇakas* employed the *uddhata* style as mentioned by Abhinavagupta, such a use was evidently a later development for which the *Nāṭyaśāstra* provides no basis. *Ḍombikā* is nowhere mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It would seem that by Abhinavagupta's time the *uddhata* and *lalita* styles referred to genres not included in Bharata's own framework of discussion. However, because of a confusing statement in a later chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, it is possible to assume mistakenly that Bharata authorizes the use of *uddhata* and *lalita* in *bhāṇa*.³⁰ In that chapter Bharata describes the types of *lāsya* which involve delicate and expressive movements and quite often use *nṛtta* as well. Here Bharata compares *lāsya* with *bhāṇa*. The similarity lies in the fact that both forms use one character. But the types of *lāsya* as described by Bharata are not such as to accommodate a character like the *viṭa*,³¹ and there is no justification for equating *lāsya* with *bhāṇa* or for attributing to *bhāṇa* the same qualities of *abhinaya*. A fuller discussion of the term *lāsya* is reserved for a later chapter but at this point we may note that this mainly involved female performers who often expressed their feelings with delicate and meaningful body movements and sometimes performed pure *nṛtta* as well. What is important here is that *lāsya* possessed qualities of both dance and drama. *Abhinaya* was, therefore, specially appropriate to it.

²⁹ *NS*. 18. 108-10.

³⁰ *NS*. 19. 117-18.

³¹ *NS*. 19. 121-35.

What, then, was abhinaya thought to be? The use of the term abhinaya is of vital importance in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which covers several ideas under the term. In the fourth chapter he uses abhinaya³² to indicate expressive movements of the body in the preliminaries of a play. Abhinaya is performed to a song where drumming is specifically prohibited. Tāṇḍava, that is, nṛtta is performed to the beat of drums while abhinaya is done to express the meaning of the songs. Both are used in the preliminaries.³³ Beyond this Bharata does not deal with the nature of abhinaya in the fourth chapter.

After the discussion of nṛtta Bharata discusses the performance of pūrvaraṅga in full detail in the rest of the fourth and in the fifth chapter. In the sixth and the seventh chapters the subject is rasa and bhāva –aesthetic affect and sentiment. The next five chapters are devoted to abhinaya. In his eighth chapter he defines abhinaya and describes its nature. Abhinaya, he says, can be of four kinds:

आङ्गिको वाचिकश्चैव ह्याहार्यः सात्त्विकस्तथा ।
 ज्ञेयस्त्वभिनयो विप्राश्चतुर्धा परिकीर्तितः ॥ (NS. 8.10)
 O brahmins ! Āṅgika, vācika, āhārya and
 sāttvika–these are known to be the four
 abhinayas.

Reminding the reader that sāttvika has already been discussed in the chapter on bhāva, here he takes up āṅgika.³⁴ He devotes five chapters to these body movements (āṅgikābhinaya). Every movement of each part of the body that can

³² NS. 4. 261; 276; 283; 294; 297; 300; 316.

³³ NS. 4. 276-77; 300.

³⁴ NS. 8. 11.

be moved to beautify or express or do both is codified here. These show the emphasis given to the body movements at the time when this text was written.

From Bharata's treatment of the topics one can perhaps say that he is thinking of creating beauty in a stage-presentation as of primary importance. That is why he discusses *nṛtta* first because it creates *śobhā* or beauty and thus captures the mind of the audience. The next important issue in his mind is the arousal of feelings, emotions, aesthetic pleasure and affect. Accordingly, *rasa* and *bhāva* are the subjects of the succeeding chapters. How are emotions and aesthetic pleasure recreated and communicated? Bharata answers, through the movements of the body, through glances, hand-gestures etc. He describes in minute detail the movements of the smallest parts of the body, such as the upper lip, lower lip, eyelid, etc., all of which can express feelings. It is hard to believe that these movements can express any feelings by themselves but once they are put together they may indeed form a harmonious whole to enhance communication. However, the most expressive of all are the movements of the hands and the glances, according to Bharata, and he devotes most of his discussion of *āṅgika* to them.³⁵ The entire literature on this art-form has followed Bharata in this. Although most of these movements are used to express meaning he does not forget about *nṛtta* here. He devotes a section of hand-gestures reserved specially for abstract *nṛtta*. He describes *sthānas* and *cārīs* which are components of the *karaṇas* and therefore of the *aṅgahāras* as well.

Āṅgikābhinaya, according to Bharata, can be of three kinds: *śārīra*, *mukhaja* and *ceṣṭākṛta*—that is, by means of the limbs, the face and the movements of the entire body.³⁶ He also refers to *śākhā*, *nṛtta* and *aṅkura* as components of

³⁵ *NS*. chapters 8 & 9.

³⁶ *NS*. 8. 12.

āṅgikābhinaya.³⁷ By śākhā he refers to āṅgika, which he does not elaborate upon. Abhinavagupta does not have any commentary on the topic. It seems that the term śākhā here refers to gesticulation that expresses meaning. Śārṅgadeva, the most influential author on dance and music of the medieval period, supports this view.³⁸ Nṛtta is again defined as creating beauty with the movements of the body, these movements being structured into karaṇa and aṅgahāra. Finally, the term aṅkura, that is, pantomiming through gestures, is mentioned as the other component.³⁹ Concerning that abhinaya which is created through facial movements Bharata discusses in detail the movements of the different parts of the face as well as the application of these movements in expressing feelings. Next he discusses the movements of the parts of the rest of the body. Among these, hand-movements are the most important. By moving the fingers in specific ways the meaning of words as well as emotions can be expressed and the movements and their application are discussed in detail. At the end of the discussion of nṛttahastas, that is, the hand-movements meant for nṛtta, he adds a verse:

नृत्तेऽभिनययोगे च पाणिभिर्वर्तनाश्रयैः ।
मुखभ्रूनेत्रयुक्तानि करणानि प्रयोजयेत् ॥ (NS. 9.219)

In nṛtta and in abhinaya, karaṇas should be applied with hands [moving] in vartanā along with [the movements] of the face, the eyebrows and the eyes.

³⁷ NS. 8. 15.

³⁸ SR. 7. 35-8.

³⁹ Ghosh. 1951, p. 152.

To *nṛtta*, then, Bharata is adding the features of *abhinaya*, not in order to express meaning but to beautify the production. He directs the performer to use the same kinds of movements in both *nṛtta* and *abhinaya*. In *abhinaya*, facial action will express emotion while in *nṛtta* it will enhance beauty. That the technique of *abhinaya* is used for both purposes is asserted also in the discussion on *hastapracāra* in the ninth chapter, which deals with *āṅgikābhinaya*. Bharata calls the *hastas*, which are elements of *abhinaya*, *nāṭyanṛttasamāśrayāḥ*: dependent on *nāṭya* and *nṛtta*.⁴⁰ The association of *abhinaya* elements with *nāṭya* indicates that they express emotion, while their association with *nṛtta* indicates that they serve the needs of that art-form, that is, the creation of beauty by means of movements. Bharata is thus saying that *abhinaya* is of different types in different art-forms. *Abhinaya* in a *nāṭya* or a drama includes *vācika* or verbal expression while the *abhinaya* in the *pūrvaraṅga* does not: *abhinaya* in the *pūrvaraṅga* is done with specific body movements to express the meaning of the song as it is being sung by the singers. *Abhinaya* is, then, primarily a technique of using body movements to express meaning though as noted above, it may also be used to enhance the beauty of *nṛtta*. The term *abhinaya* is defined by Bharata as:

अभिपूर्वस्तु णीञ्घातुराभिमुख्यार्थनिर्णये ।
यस्मात् प्रयोगं नयति तस्मादभिनयः स्मृतः ॥ (NS. 8. 7.)

The root *ṇiñ* is preceded by *abhi* in the sense of towards. *Abhinaya* is so called because it brings [forward] the presentation.

As we have seen, *abhinaya* can be of four kinds, *āṅgika*, *vācika*, *āhārya* and *sāttvika*.⁴¹ The *abhinaya* in the preliminaries does not require *vācika* on the part

⁴⁰ NS. 9. 181.

⁴¹ NS. 8. 10.

of the dancer. So in that context the word abhinaya is used without reference to the vācika element. Vācika in the pūrvaraṅga is done by the singer not the dancer.

It seems that in the evolution of dancing abhinaya played a central role as the bridge between nāṭya and nṛtta. As we have seen above, Bharata recommends the use of abhinaya not only in nāṭya but also in nṛtta. He treats nāṭya and nṛtta as different but complementary art-forms, nāṭya being used as a term encompassing a larger area of presentation. In the early period, it seems, nāṭya included abhinaya, which was of four kinds, and āṅgika with its stylized movements was a necessary part of nāṭya. Nṛtta was a separate art-form employed to beautify the pūrvaraṅga of a drama. But it is doubtful whether nṛtta was ever used in a play towards the development of a theme. However, this is an entirely different issue which is beyond the scope of the present investigation. All we can say is that the concept of abhinaya provided a wide scope for interpretation and speculation in expressing new ideas.

It seems likely that it was due to the versatility of abhinaya that an entirely new art came into being, although it did so after Bharata's time. This was nṛtya, which evolved out of the synthesis of nṛtta and nāṭya. This mimetic dance form is not mentioned by Bharata, nor by his immediate follower, the author of *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.⁴² By this time the term lāsya came into use as one variety of nṛtta, which indicates that the delicate and graceful style of dance developed soon after the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was written, since this is found in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. But the absence of the term nṛtya suggests that mimetic dance developed even later. We may note that the term nāṭya was used as a synonym of nṛtya in *Amarakośa* and other works.⁴³ In modern times we

⁴² VDP. 3. 20. 1.

⁴³ *Amarakośa*.1808. p. 42.

find the term Bharatanāṭyam, the classical dance of Tamilnadu, which includes both abstract and mimetic dance. The term nāṭya applied to dance is a perfect instance of equating nṛtya with nāṭya. Although the name was given only in the thirties of the present century, the usage is traditional. The word for nāṭya in Tamil is āṭṭa, which has always been used to mean dance and Bharatanāṭyam developed from Dāsīāṭṭam of Tamilnāḍu. Mohiniāṭṭam of Kerala is another dance style that uses āṭṭam to mean dance.

Thus, the categories known as nṛtya or mimetic dance and uparūpaka or minor drama evolved from the concepts found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Before we consider the process of that evolution, it will be useful to examine one of the most basic of these concepts, that of lāsya, because the various meanings attributed to the term in the post-Bharata śāstric tradition substantially influenced the understanding of the nature and technique of dancing.

Gaṅgāvatarāṇa



Chapter 3

LĀSYA: A DRAMATIC ART

In the critical literature of the performing arts of classical India, there is some confusion about what is meant by the term *lāsyā*. It is usually regarded today as a feminine dance described by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.¹ There is, however, no authority for this view in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* which, on the contrary, compares *lāsyā* with *bhāṇa*, that is, a form of drama:

अन्यान्यपि लास्यविधावङ्गानि तु नाटकोपयोगीनि ।

अस्माद्विनिःसृतानि तु भाण इवैकप्रयोज्यानि ॥

भाणाकृतिवल्लास्यं विज्ञेयं त्वेकपात्रहार्यं च ।

+प्रकरणवदूह्य कार्यासंस्तवयुक्तं विविधभावम्+॥²(NS.19.117-18)

In the practice of *lāsyā*, there are other elements [lit: limbs] that are suitable for *nāṭaka*. But when they have emerged from it, they, like the *bhāṇa*, are to be performed by one person. *Lāsyā* is known to have a form similar to that of *bhāṇa* and it is to be acted by one person. As in *prakaraṇa*, its plot [lit: the function] is a conjectured one which relates to praising and a variety of emotions.

¹ Chattopadhyaya, 1978, p. 56; Lath, 1978, p. 32.

² "प्रकरणवदूह्य कार्यासंस्तवयुक्तं" This reading in the G.O.S. edition seems very obscure. The Kāśī edition gives a better reading: "प्रकरणवदूह्यकार्यं संस्तवयुक्तं" . . . which was also independently suggested by Mr. Sanderson. The last two lines are found in the G.O.S. and the Kāśī editions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; the *Kāvyaṃālā* edition does not have them, nor does Abhinavagupta have any commentary on them. I have followed the reading of the Kāśī edition in translating this line. However, the readings still remain unsatisfactory.

The emphasis here is on the dramatic quality of *lāsya*. It can be divided into parts that lend themselves to dramatic representation and constitute dramatic action. More than just a performing style, *lāsya* is compared in this passage to such dramatic genres as *nāṭaka*, *bhāṇa* and *prakaraṇa*. Its association with dancing is not evident from this passage, nor its identity –later taken for granted–as a feminine art.

The dramatic quality attributed by Bharata to *lāsya* excludes it from his definition of *tāṇḍava*, which is Bharata's term for dance because it was *Taṇḍu* who received the art of dancing from *Śiva*. As we have noticed in the previous chapter, *tāṇḍava* is created, Bharata says, by the application of *nṛtta*: नृत्तप्रयोगः सृष्टो यः स ताण्डव इति स्मृतः (NS. 4. 261); here *nṛttaprayoga* is taken as a *karmadhāraya samāsa*. By this definition nothing that falls outside the category of *tāṇḍava*, that is, *nṛtta*, could be called a dance.

If *lāsya* is comparable to *nāṭaka*, *bhāṇa* and *prakaraṇa*, then it cannot be a component of *nṛtta* which is defined by Bharata as an art that carries no meaning:

अत्रोच्यते न खल्वर्थं कञ्चिन्नृत्तमपेक्षते । (NS. 4. 263)

Here, it is said that dance does not require any
[representational] meaning.

That Bharata regarded *lāsyā* as a dramatic art becomes even clearer from his description of the ten forms of *lāsyā* that he mentions:³

गेयपदं स्थितपाठ्यमासीनं पुष्पगण्डिका ।
 प्रच्छेदकं त्रिमूढं च सैन्धवाख्यं द्विमूढकम् ॥
 उत्तमोत्तमकं चैवमुक्तप्रत्युक्तमेव च ।
 लास्ये दशविधं ह्येतदङ्गनिर्देशलक्षणम् ॥
 आसनेषूपविष्टैर्यत्तन्त्रीभाण्डोपबृंहितम् ।
 गायनैर्गीयते शुष्कं तद् गेयपदमुच्यते ॥
 प्राकृतं यद्वियुक्ता तु पठेदात्तरसं स्थिता ।
 मदनानलतप्ताङ्गी स्थितपाठ्यं तदुच्यते ॥
 आसीनमास्यते यत्र सर्वातोद्यविवर्जितम् ।
 अप्रसारितगात्रं च चिन्ताशोकसमन्वितम् ॥
 वृत्तानि विविधानि स्युर्गेयं गाने च संश्रितम् ।
 चेष्टाभिश्चाश्रयः पुंसां यत्र सा पुष्पगण्डिका ॥
 प्रच्छेदकः स विज्ञेयो यत्र चन्द्रातपाहताः ।
 स्त्रियः प्रियेषु सज्जन्ते ह्यपि विप्रियकारिषु ॥
 अनिष्ठुरश्लक्षणपदं समवृत्तैरलङ्कृतम् ।
 नाट्यं पुरुषभावाढ्यं त्रिमूढकमिति स्मृतम् ॥
 पात्रं विभ्रष्टसङ्केतं सुव्यक्तकरणान्वितम् ।
 प्राकृतैर्वचनैर्युक्तं विदुः सैन्धवकं बुधाः ॥
 मुखप्रतिमुखोपेतं चतुरश्रपदक्रमम् ।
 श्लिष्टभावरसोपेतं वैचित्र्यार्थं द्विमूढके ॥
 उत्तमोत्तमकं विद्यादनेकरससंश्रयम् ।
 विचित्रैः श्लोकबन्धैश्च हेलाहावविचित्रितम् ॥
 कोपप्रसादजनितं साधिक्षेपपदाश्रयम् ।
 उक्तप्रत्युक्तमेवं स्याच्चित्रगीतार्थयोजितम् ॥ (NS. 19. 121 -35)

Geyapada, sthitapāṭhya, āsīna, puṣpagandikā,
 pracchedaka, trimūḍhaka, saindhava,

³ In his edition of the *Nāṭyśāstra*, Rāmakaṣṇa Kavi includes two extra types of *lāsyā* on the strength of Abhinavagupta's commentary. In view of Bharata's categorical statement that the number is ten, the addition seems to be an interpolation.

dvimūḍhaka, uttamottamaka and
uktapratyukta -- these ten features characterise
lāsyā .

Where the male singers, being seated in the
seats sing dryly being supported by stringed
instruments and drums, it is known as
geyapada.

Where a separated woman, her body burning
with the fire of love, remains withdrawn and
reads Prākṛt [verses], it is sthitapāṭhya.

When [a woman] sits, without any musical
instrument around her, without stretching out
her body and is overcome with anxiety and
sorrow, it is Āsīna.

Where songs are sung in different metres,
where geya [the composition to be sung] is
dependent on gāna [the regional style, as
opposed to traditional gāndharva style ⁴]
abounding in manly movements, it is
puṣpagāṇḍikā.

That is known as Pracchedaka in which women,
although wronged by lovers, are attached to
their lovers, being struck by the moonlight [in
love].

⁴ Lath, 1978, pp. 183-4; SR. 4.3.

Trimūḍhaka is a nāṭya [performed by women] composed of gentle and tender words, adorned with even metres and abounding in manly emotions.

Where a person has failed to keep a tryst, recites Prākṛt to the accompaniment of karaṇas, it is Saindhavaka.

Where a song is presented with mukha and pratimukha [exposition and progression] [sung] in a series of caturaśrapada adhering to bhāva and rasa and arriving at a different meaning, it is known as dvimūḍhaka.

Uttamottamaka is known to be dependant on many rasas [expressed through] a variety of ślokas and is adorned with [feminine movements], such as helā and hāva.

Uktapratyukta is derived from anger or pleasure and [often] contains words of censure. It [should also] contain a variety of expressive songs.

From these descriptions it seems that lāsyā was the representation of brief segments of dramatic action which called for the expression of the softer emotions. The dramatic nature of lāsyā is further attested by Bharata's remark in a later chapter:

लसनाल्लास्यमित्युक्तं स्त्रीपुम्भावसमाश्रयम् । (NS. 31. 333)

Since it is playful [from the verbal root las] it is called *lāsyā*. It is based on the emotions of both men and women.

Yet, against Bharata's explicit statements, later authors categorized *lāsyā* as a feminine dance. The first work to include *lāsyā* under dancing was the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, which, of the works that deal with dancing, seems to be chronologically the closest to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. This text states:

नृतं तु द्विविधं प्रोक्तं नाट्यलास्याश्रयं सदा । (VDP. 3. 20. 2.)
Nṛtta, always depending on *nāṭya* and *lāsyā*, is known to be of two types.

This classification seems debatable in a work that follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* so faithfully. Since *nṛtta* is agreed to be a dance form devoid of meaning,⁵ it is a contradiction in principle to include in it *nāṭya* and *lāsyā*, which are specifically characterized by Bharata as containing plot elements. Evidently, by the time the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* was written, *lāsyā* had acquired a strong association with dancing. In part, the reason for this may be found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*^{of} Bharata[^] states,

रेचकैरङ्गहारैश्च नृत्यन्तं वीक्ष्य शङ्करम् ॥
 सुकुमारप्रयोगेन नृत्यन्तीं चैव पार्वतीम् । (NS . 4. 249-50.)
 Seeing Śaṅkara dancing with *recakas* and *aṅgahāras* and seeing Pārvatī dancing with delicate movements.

⁵ NS. 4.263.

Sukumāraprayoga indicates the use of less strenuous aṅgahāras as opposed to the vigorous movements of Śīva. By associating Pārvatī with delicate movements, this passage provides authority for correlating feminine grace with a delicate style of dancing, although it does not call that style lāsya. The association between femininity and delicate movements is further reinforced by a later verse:

देवस्तुत्याश्रयकृतं यदङ्गं तु भवेदथ ।
 माहेश्वरैरङ्गहारैरुद्धतैस्तत् प्रयोजयेत् ॥
 यत्तु शृङ्गारसम्बन्धं गानं स्त्रीपुरुषाश्रयम् ।
 देवीकृतैरङ्गहारैर्ललितैस्तत् प्रयोजयेत् ॥ (NS. 4.311-12.)

Whatever part [of a play, i.e., pūrvaraṅga] is for praising gods, that [one] should perform with the vigorous aṅgahāras created by Maheśvara, while a song related to erotic sentiment involving [lit:depending on] man and woman should be performed with the aṅgahāras created by Devī.

Abhinavagupta explains this passage as follows:

.....उद्धतैरिति । विद्युद्भ्रान्तगरुडप्लुतकादिप्रधानैः। अत्र हेतुर्यतस्ते महेश्वरप्रयुक्ताः।
ललितैरिति । तल्पुष्पपुटलीननितम्बाद्यारब्धैः। अत्र हेतुः यतस्ते देवीकृताः।

(Abhinavagupta on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, G.O.S. ed., Vol.I, p.201)

.....By uddhata [=energetic] is meant mainly by[the use of karaṇas such as] vidyudbhrānta or garuḍapluta. The reasoning here is that these are employed by Maheśvara.

By lalita [=delicate] is meant done by [karaṇas such as]

talapuṣpapuṭa, līna and nitamba. The reasoning here is that these are created by Devī [Pārvatī].

While commenting on *tāṇḍava* and its connection with *devastuti*, Abhinavagupta says that whenever *tāṇḍava* is mentioned, *lāsya* has to be understood implicitly as its complement in the art of dance. To explain this complementarity and as a comparable instance he cites the maxim of गोबलीवर्दन्याय in which the correlation between the cow and the bull is derived from the logic of associative inference:

ताण्डवमिति सर्वं नृत्तमुच्यते। लास्यशब्देन सन्निधौ गोबलीवर्दन्यायेन प्रवर्तते।

(NŚ.G.O.S. ed., 1956, Vol. I, p. 180)

Tāṇḍava is said to refer to [lit:to be] all *nṛtta* (=dancing). By proximity the word *lāsya* is taken as in the maxim of *gobalivārda*.

Commenting on गोबलीवर्दन्याय the *Mīmāṃsākośa* says,

गामानय बलीवर्द चानय इत्यत्र गोपदेनैव बलीवर्दबोधसिद्धौ बलीवर्दपदं दुर्दम्यत्वज्ञापनपरत्वेन सफलमिति। (Mīmāṃsākośa. p. 1617)

Bring a cow and bring a bull as well -- here, although by using the word 'go' alone, the implication of 'balivārda' is achieved [yet] the effectiveness of the word 'balivārda' [consists] in indicating uncontrollability.

Even though the entire phrase *gobalivārda* is needed for emphasis, the word *go* suffices on its own to express the totality of meaning. By analogy with this formula of reasoning, any reference to *tāṇḍava* may be taken to include *lāsya* as well. In the complementary relationship thus formed, *tāṇḍava* represents virility and energy while *lāsya* represents delicacy and grace. Given such

characteristics, the categorization of tāṇḍava and lāsya as masculine and feminine, respectively, is not surprising. It is on this basis that Abhinavagupta takes lāsya as a style of dance. As the evidence of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* suggests, after Bharata's time the term lāsya had generally come to mean a feminine style of dancing and Abhinavagupta was interpreting the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to provide support for current usage. The association of Pārvatī with lāsya is thus an outcome of her use of delicate aṅghāras in the legend given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.⁶

The same view is repeated by other early writers. Nandīkeśvara reports in his *Abhinayadarpaṇa* that lāsya was taught by Pārvatī.⁷ Whether he was the first author to ascribe lāsya specifically to Pārvatī cannot be ascertained since the date of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* has not been put prior to Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Nandīkeśvara may well have borrowed the idea from the existing literature on the subject. He has little to offer in the way of description or analysis, for he stops at including lāsya in a brief review of nāṭya, nṛtta and nṛtya, and stating merely that it was an art demonstrated by Pārvatī.⁸ The *Saṅgītamakaranda* of Nārada talks about lāsyaṅgas, elements of lāsya, in connection with the qualities required in a dancer but does not describe the nature of these lāsyaṅgas.⁹

Among the early writers on alamkāraśāstra, Daṇḍin specifically mentions lāsya as a form of dance.¹⁰ Kalidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Harṣadeva have used lāsyaṅgas, that is, elements of lāsya in their dramas. Abhinavagupta has

⁶ Ibid. 4. 249-50.

⁷ *ADar.* 4.

⁸ *Ibid.* 5.

⁹ *SMak.* 2. 1. 54.

¹⁰ *K.A.* 1.39.

cited them in his commentary on *lāsyāṅgas*.¹¹ Another early text, the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya, calls *lāsyā* one of the two major classes of dance styles, the other being *tāṇḍava*.¹² These works show that soon after the writing of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* *tāṇḍava* and *lāsyā* came to be associated with masculine and feminine qualities, respectively, and with male and female dancers, a segregation that never appears in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

That *lāsyā* was commonly recognized in the early period as an art lending feminine grace to stage actions is attested by the general literature of the period. Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmatam* identifies *lāsyā* as a form of movement related to a female performer, calling it *strīlāsyā*.¹³ Rājaśekhara in his *Karpūramañjarī* refers to *lāsyā* without describing its nature.¹⁴ Although it was so widely known, *lāsyā* was never described in detail until much later. As we have seen, even Abhinavagupta does not provide descriptions. He refers to *lāsyā* while commenting on *lāsyāṅgas* in the nineteenth chapter and also while discussing *tāla* in the thirty-first chapter, the *tālādhyāya*, refers to the style of *lāsyā*; but does not tell us what this *lāsyā* was like except that it used delicate movements.

In the medieval period *lāsyā* continued to be discussed, and discussed at some length, but whether it should be regarded as dance or drama remains unsolved. One of the principal writers on aesthetics, Bhoja categorizes *lāsyā* as a variety of *nartanaka*, an *uparūpaka*, which uses graceful and delicate movements

¹¹ Abhinavagupta on the *NS*. 1954, Vol. III. pp. 75-77.

¹² *DR*. 1. 9-10.

¹³ *Kuṭṭanīmatam*. 853. Dāmodaragupta lived in the eighth century. See Krishnamachariar, 1974, p.353.

¹⁴ *Karpūramañjarī*. 4. 10. Rājaśekhara is believed to have lived in the last quarter of the ninth and the first quarter of the tenth century. See Poddar1974, p. 174.

to express bhāva (emotions).¹⁵ The other three in this category are identified by Bhoja as śamyā, chalika and dvipadī:

यत्र पदार्थाभिनयं ललितलयं सदसि नर्तकी कुरुते ।
तन्नर्तनकं शम्यालास्यछलिकद्विपद्यादि । (ŚrP. Vol. II, p. 425)
Where in an assembly, a female dancer performs
[in] a graceful tempo to act out the meaning of the
word, it is nartanaka [which comprises] śamyā,
lāsyā, chalika and dvipadī etc.

Here the association between lāsyā and drama seems strongly suggested. At the same time, Bhoja continues like others before him to emphasize the graceful quality of lāsyā inherent in the erotic sentiment, stating, तदिदं शृङ्गारप्रधानत्वास्त्वाम् -- It is [called] lāsyā because it deals mainly with śṛṅgārarasa [=erotic sentiment]. Since he also categorizes lāsyā as a form of dr̥śya composition, another form being tāṇḍava, he is apparently attributing to it the qualities both of dance and drama. Its suitability as a vehicle of dramatic communication is further indicated in the śabdālaṅkāra section of Bhoja's *Sarasvatikanthābharana*, where he divides compositions into prekṣya (to be viewed) and śravya (to be heard). Prekṣya is subdivided into lāsyā, tāṇḍava, chalika, śamyā, hallisaka and rāsaka, while lāsyā is defined as one containing mainly śṛṅgārarasa.¹⁶ The dramatic nature of lāsyā is recognized by Bhoja also in his comments on piṇḍibandhas. In the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* he calls them necessary parts of the rāsaka and nāṭyarāsaka types of uparūpakas rather than of lāsyā.¹⁷ Here Bhoja seems to be following traditional thinking; Abhinavagupta quotes

¹⁵ *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* 1963, Vol. II, p. 425.

¹⁶ S.K.A. 1969, pp.262 - 63.

¹⁷ *Śr.P.* 1963, Vol. II, p.425-26.

Kohala and the cirantanas, that is, ancient authorities,¹⁸ to explain that these two nṛtya types of uparūpakas contained both delicate and vigorous nṛtta movements but he mentions lāsya nowhere in the context.

The tradition of regarding lāsya as a dance form is maintained in a major work on music and dancing from the next century, the *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara, which views lāsya as a dance consisting of aṅgahāras, specifically lalita aṅgahāras.¹⁹ But this work provides no further information. A much fuller discussion appears in the *Bhāvaprakāśana* of Śāradātanaya, which discusses dramaturgy and allied arts. This compendium of critical works, extending from that of Bharata down to the writings of Kṣemendra in the eleventh century, was written before the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. Śāradātanaya's treatment of lāsya is rather confusing. He defines lāsya as a dance composed of delicate aṅgahāras:

ललितैरङ्गहारैश्च निर्वर्त्यललितैर्लयैः ॥

वृत्तिः स्यात्कैशिकी गीतिर्यत्र तल्लास्यमुच्यते । (BhP. p. 296)

That is known as lāsya in which the style is kaiśiki, [where] there is a song and which is composed of [lit: being done by] graceful aṅgahāras done to delicate layas.

According to him, lāsya is of four types, namely, sṛṅkhalā, latā, pindī, and bhedyaka:

सुकुमारप्रयोगो यो नियतो लास्यमुच्यते ।

तच्छृङ्खलालतापिण्डीभेदकैः स्याच्चतुर्विधम् ॥ (BhP. p.297)

¹⁸ NS.1956, Vol. I, p. 181-2.

¹⁹ *Mānas*. 16. 4. 962 - 63.

What is delicately applied is called *lāsyā*, which can be of four varieties--*śṛṅkhalā*, *latā*, *piṇḍī* and *bhedyaka* .

Śāradātanaya goes on to enumerate further sub-divisions and describe the actual movements of these four types. These types, though not the identical terms, are taken from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* :

पिण्डीनां विधयश्चैव चत्वारः सम्प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

पिण्डी शृङ्खलिका चैव लताबन्धोऽथ भेद्यकः। (NS. 4. 287 - 88)

The ways [of forming] *piṇḍīs* are known to be four: *piṇḍī*, *śṛṅkhalikā*, *latābandha* and *bhedyaka*.

Śāradātanaya's attempt, unsupported by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* , to include these movements under *lāsyā* is inconsistent with his own statement earlier in the treatise:

अपरैर्नृत्यभेदास्तु गुल्मशृङ्खलितालताः।

भेद्यकश्चेति चत्वारः कथ्यन्तेऽत्र मनीषिभिः ।

.....

पिण्डीबन्धश्च गुल्मश्च पर्यायाविति केचन ॥ (BhP. p.

246) Here, other experts have described four

nṛtyabhedas [such as] *gulma*, *śṛṅkhalitā*, *latā* and

bhedyaka. . . . Some say that *piṇḍībandha* and

gulma are synonymous.

In this passage Śāradātanaya clearly identifies piṇḍibandhas as dramatic types, for nṛtyabhedas are varieties of dramatic action. It is possible that he took lāsya primarily as a dramatic art, for he states on the authority of Kohala that:

कोहलादिभिराचार्यैरुक्तं भाणस्य लक्षणम् ।

लास्याङ्गदशकोपेतं ॥ (BhP. p. 245)

The characteristics of bhāṇa are described by experts [such as]Kohala and others as being arrived at by ten lāsyaṅgas.

By telling us that lāsya forms part of the presentation of bhāṇa, Śāradātanaya is again placing lāsya in the context of dramatic art. As subdivisions of that art, piṇḍibandhas would necessarily be dramatic pieces.

One of the first manuals on dancing to describe lāsya in detail is the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* of Jāya Senāpati. In the first chapter of the first section of the book he defines nṛtta and says that:

लास्यताण्डवभेदेन द्वयमेतद् द्विधा पुनः ।

सुकुमारं तयोराद्यं भवेदपरमुद्धतम् ॥ (NR.1. 1.56)

By the distinction between tāṇḍava and lāsya this [dance] is again of two types. The first of the two is delicate and the other is energetic.

He then goes on to describe the parts of lāsya as they appear in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. These lāsyaṅgas, according to him, are elements of traditional forms of dance (mārga). In expressing this opinion he is obviously not following Bharata, whose emphasis is on the dramatic nature of lāsya. The first

section of the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* deals with mārḡa and the second with deśī. In the second section the author deals with deśīlāsyā, that is, the regional variations of lāsyā. He lists forty-six such deśīlāsyās.²⁰ Since these movements employ only āṅgika, not vācika abhinaya, they may be categorized as dance movements.

The *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva defines lāsyā as a delicate dance that stimulates erotic sentiments:

लास्यं तु सुकुमाराङ्गं मकरध्वजवर्धनम् । (SR. 7.30)

Lāsyā has delicate features [lit: limbs] and
arouses erotic [sentiments].

But Śārṅgadeva does not treat the subject in full, discussing only deśī lāsyāṅgas, that is, only the local or regional varieties of lāsyā. He follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Abhinavagupta's commentary in discussing and defining āṅgika abhinaya, that is, movements of the aṅga and upāṅga, cārī, sthāna, maṇḍala, karaṇa and aṅgahāra, but omitting from his discussion the forms of lāsyā described by Bharata. This seems perfectly justifiable since those forms were specified by Bharata as dramatic actions, not dance movements. Śārṅgadeva seems to be the first author to realize that the elements of lāsyās described by Bharata are meant for dramatic actions. The deśī lāsyāṅgas he describes in detail are ten and they are dance movements requiring tāla (=rhythm) etc. Śārṅgadeva and Jāya were contemporaries, but *Saṅgītaratnākara* was written before the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*, and as V. K. Raghavan points out, there is internal evidence that Jāya knew about the existence of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* when he wrote his text.²¹ However, that does not minimize the importance of

²⁰NR. 6. 117-73.

²¹ NR. Introduction. pp. 73-77.

Jāya's work, which deals with dance in even greater detail than Śārngadeva's, giving us a fuller picture of the deśī tradition, although in the later literature after the fifteenth century on dance we find the influence of Śārngadeva, not Jāya.

The meaning of lāsya has been further clouded by the use of the term lāsyaṅga in several of the texts that came after the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The term was never used by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Abhinavagupta did so in his commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but he used it not to mean a class of movements distinct from lāsya but simply in the sense of the different components of lāsya. That the word lāsyaṅga was no more than a derivative of [the word] lāsya is clear from Abhinavagupta's commentary.²² It is worth noting that the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* of Sāgaranandin, the only work that faithfully follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* directly rather than Abhinavagupta's commentary in describing the type of lāsya, does not use the term lāsyaṅga.²³ We must also remember that Bharata's discussion of lāsya and its aṅgas forms part of his description of the elements of a dramatic composition rather than a dance. This is a categorization also followed, among the later writers, by Viśvanātha who, in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, includes the aṅgas of lāsya among the elements of dramatic representations, such as sandhi etc., just as Bharata did.²⁴

However, the term lāsyaṅga found general acceptance among the later authors, most of whom view lāsya and lāsyaṅga as different classes of movements, drawing a distinction that has caused some confusion. The confusion is worst in the *Bhāvaprakāśana*, which reproduces in chapter eight the same ten movements described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as parts of lāsya. Later,

²² Abhinavagupta on the *NS*. 1954, Vol. III, 19. 117 - 135.

²³ *NLRK*. pp. 270- 76.

²⁴ *SD*. 6. 270

however, in chapter ten, the *Bhāvaprakāśana* divides dancing into tāṇḍava and lāsya, going on to enumerate four types of lāsya, two of which--sṛīkhalā and bhedyaka --are divided each into ten lāsyaṅgas, which are the same ten movements previously specified as lāsya in chapter eight. ²⁵

We have noted before that *Saṅgītaratnākara* defines lāsya as a dance that arouses erotic sentiments. It also describes ten forms of dancing, calling them lāsyaṅgas but not equating them with lāsya:

लास्याङ्गानि दशैतानि देश्यां देशीविदो विदुः ।
 कोमलं सविलासं च मधुरं ताललास्ययुक् ॥
 नातिद्रुतं नातिमन्दं त्र्यश्रताप्रचुरं तथा ।
 पादोरु कटिबाहूनां योगपद्मेन चालनम् ॥
 चालिः सा शैष्ट्यसांमुख्यप्राया चालिवडो भवेत् ।
 सुकुमारं तिरश्चीनं विलासरसिकं च यत् ॥
 युगपत्कटिबाहूनां चालनं सा लढिर्मतः ।
 कर्णयोर्हावबहुलं लसल्लीलावतंसयोः ॥
 विलम्बेनाविलम्बेन सूकं तल्लयचालनम् ।
 विलम्बेनाविलम्बेन कुचयोर्भुजशीर्षयोः ॥
 ललितं चालनं तिर्यक् तज्ज्ञाः प्राहुरोङ्गणम् ।
 धसकः स्यात्सुललितं स्तनाधोनमनं लयात् ॥
 सतालललितोपेता क्रमात्कायार्धयोर्नतिः ।
 धनुर्वदङ्गहारः स्यादिति निःशङ्कभाषितम् ॥
 किञ्चित्तिर्यगधो मूर्ध्नो गतिरोयारको मतः ।
 स्मितं स्याद्विहसी यस्तु शृङ्गाररसनिर्भरः ॥
 अभ्यस्तादन्य एवातिसूक्ष्मप्रत्यग्रभङ्गिभाक् ।
 गीतादेरागतः स्थायस्तल्लयात्तन्मनो मतम् ॥

(SR. 7. 1207- 15)

These are ten lāsyaṅgas in the deśī [style]
 regarded by those who are knowledgeable in

²⁵ Bh.P. p. 297.

deśī. [They are] delicate, playful, attractive and [adorned]with tāla and lāsya [rhythm and grace].

Cāli is the simultaneous movement of the feet, hips, thighs and arms. It should be neither done too fast nor too slow, and [should be] full of oblique movements done in tāla.

The same action performed in a quick tempo, mainly facing the front, is known as cālibaḍa.

Laḍhi is known to be the simultaneous horizontal movements of the hips and arms which is soft and graceful.

Sūka is a rhythmic movement full of hāva [feminine gestures], of the ears shining with dangling earrings and performed either slowly or quickly.

Uroṅgaṇa is known as a graceful and oblique movement, slow or fast, of the shoulders and the breasts.

Dhasaka is the graceful and rhythmic downward movement of the breast.

Aṅgahāra is the successive bending of the two halves of the body, slowly and gracefully to tāla, and in the likeness of a bow, so says the confident one [i.e., Śārṅgadeva].

Oyāraka is a slightly oblique and downward movement of the head.

Vihasi is a smile full of the sentiment of love different from a trained one. It has an extremely subtle and novel charm.

Mana is known [to be performed] to songs etc. set to rāga in the sthāya tempo.

These movements do not constitute lāsya as Bharata understood the term, for the *Saṅgītaratnākara* classifies them as deśī forms, that is, popular or regional as opposed to mārṅga or refined classical forms, while the *Nāṭyaśāstra* bypasses the whole subject of deśī forms. It is evident that scholarly opinion, presumably following performing practice, had changed considerably since the time of Bharata. An important point established by the description of lāsya movements in *Saṅgītaratnākara* is that by the time that work was written, lāsya had definitely come to mean dancing and had a defined form. It is also evident that lāsyaṅgas had come to be regarded as deśī forms.

Pārśvadeva in his *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* gives us a list of nineteen deśyaṅgas which, from their description, seem to be the same kind of movements as the lāsyaṅgas given in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. This is supported by the fact that Jāya lists forty-six deśī lāsyaṅgas, which are similar in character to those described in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, although only ten of them match Śārṅgadeva's list. The nineteen mentioned by Pārśvadeva and the ten lāsyaṅgas of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* are all included in Jāya's list of forty-six deśī lāsyaṅgas. Pārśvadeva is earlier than Jāya,²⁶ and it is possible that the latter has taken similar movements from the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and combined them into one category, calling them lāsyaṅgas of the deśī variety and adding others. In a

²⁶ See NR. 1965, Introduction. pp. 79- 80.

similar way, the *Nṛtyādhyāya* of Aśokamalla and the *Nṛttaratnakośa* of Mahārānā Kumbha give lists of thirty-six deśī lāsyāṅgas, again a combination of the deśyaṅgas and the lāsyāṅgas described respectively by Parśvadeva and Śārṅgadeva. Śubhaṅkara's *Saṅgītaḍāmodara* describes the ten categories of movements included under *lāsyā* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but calls them lāsyāṅgas which, according to the author, are necessary to bhāṇa.²⁷ Śubhaṅkara later defines lāsyā as: ...स्त्रीनृत्यं लास्यमुच्यते।²⁸ -- feminine dancing is known as lāsyā -- which he calls a deśī form of dancing. When we examine the dance-sequences described by the medieval authors, those who came after Kumbhā, we again find the use of these deśī lāsyāṅgas.

On reviewing these texts it seems that from the time of the *Bhāvaprakāśana* lāsyā and lāsyāṅga begin to be considered as two different types. These later texts also state that lāsyāṅgas form a part of bhāṇa. But this position is not entirely satisfactory. Bharata, as we have seen above, says that lāsyā is suitable for dramatic performances. In that connection he refers to bhāṇa, a type of drama which is performed by only one person. Lāsyā is similar to it because this too is done by one person. But mere similarity does not mean that bhāṇa may include any form of lāsyā. Bharata never claims anything of the sort when describes bhāṇa in chapter nineteen of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.²⁹ On the other hand, Bharata specifically says that kaiśikī vṛtti should not be applied to bhāṇa:

उत्सृष्टिकाङ्को व्यायोगो भाणः प्रहसनं डिमः ।

कैशिकीवृत्तिहीनानि रूपाण्येतानि कारयेत् ॥ (NS.18. 8-9)

²⁷ *SDām*. p. 73- 4.

²⁸ *Ibid*. pp.69.

²⁹ *NS*. 18. 108-10.

Utsr̥ṣṭikāṅka, vyāyoga, bhāṇa, prahasana and
ḍima --these rūpas are to be performed without
the kaiśikīvr̥tti [the delicate and graceful style].

This excludes delicate movements from bhāṇa. Since both lāsya and bhāṇa involve one performer, and since in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the śloka about lāsya occur just after the passage on bhāṇa, some relation between lāsya and bhāṇa may be conjectured. But no relationship is actually established by Bharata. The proximity of the śloka in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was probably the reason why later authors were led to think that lāsya or its aṅgas were auxiliary to bhāṇa.

In his commentary on bhāṇa, Abhinavagupta states that bhāṇas are chronicles of prostitutes and men who live by their wits.³⁰ But the *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not mention any such thing. Later treatises, however, seem to accept Abhinavagupta's view. They may have also tried to connect bhāṇa with lāsyaṅga because a lāsyaṅga, being a delicate movement, might pertain to the arts as they were practised by prostitutes. The *Daśarūpaka* prescribes vīra and śṛṅgārarasa for bhāṇa.³¹ The *Bhāvaprakāśana* mentions Kohala's view and says that bhāṇa should only have śṛṅgārarasa.³² The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra states that śṛṅgāra should be predominant in bhāṇa.³³ The *Nāṭakalakṣanaratnakośa* does not say that the various forms of lāsya are necessary to bhāṇa, though according to it bhāṇa can also be performed by a woman; when it is so performed, aṅgahāras must be used. In this text, the

30 Abhinavagupta on the *NS.*, 1954. Vol. III. 18. 109 -10.

31 *DR.* 3. 45.

32 *Bh.P.* .p.245.

33 *ND.* p.127.

description of ten *lāsyāṅgas* follows its account of *bhāṇa*, because a *lāsyāṅga*, like a *bhāṇa*, is performed by a single actor.³⁴

The history of *lāsyā* makes the evolution of the performing arts of India particularly complex. As we have seen in the survey made above, the term *lāsyā* is never used in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to denote dancing of any kind. Instead, that text accords *lāsyā* the same status as a performing art as it gives to *bhāṇa*, although it does not equate them. For later authors, by contrast, *lāsyā* is a style of dancing distinguished by its feminine qualities, while *tāṇḍava* appears in their works as a virile style embodying masculine qualities. This recognition of *lāsyā* as an independent style of dancing and its separation from *tāṇḍava* is not found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Since it is generally true that all the later works on dance and drama are descended from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, it may be claimed that the original meaning to be attached to the term *lāsyā* is the one given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The recognition of *lāsyā* as an independent style might, therefore, have come about in the following way: Bharata's description of *lāsyā* movements shows them to be delicate and graceful; elsewhere in the text he mentions that *Pārvatī* adorned her dance with "*sukumāraprayoga*," that is, with delicate grace.³⁵ When the *Saṅgītaratnākāra* or the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* ascribed *lāsyā* to *Pārvatī*, they did so, presumably, because of the delicacy and grace of her movements, and gave it the status of proper dance, a status not conferred by Bharata himself. The association of erotic sentiments with *lāsyā* may thus be seen as a result of its association with *Pārvatī*. It was evidently because of that association and also because of its essentially gentle grace, that *lāsyā* was considered to be suitable for female performers. *Tāṇḍava*, on the other hand, appears from all descriptions to be a

³⁴ *NLRK*. pp. 270 - 71.

³⁵ *NS*. 4. 250.

strenuous, physically demanding style of dancing. That is why it seemed to call for male performers.

But, again, such a division of labour is not authorized by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Whenever Bharata talks about a dancer, he uses the feminine noun *nartakī*.³⁶ He could, then, hardly exclude female dancers from performing *tāṇḍava*, the form of dancing on which he focuses his attention. Iconographic support for this may be found in the Cidambaram temple sculptures depicting the compositions described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.³⁷ Bharata states that *uddhata* or vigorous *aṅghāras* are suitable for *devastuti*, or praise-offerings to gods, while *lalita*, or graceful *aṅghāras* are best suited to the depiction of erotic sentiments.³⁸ This distinction may have given later authors yet another reason for correlating *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* respectively with men and women. *Lāsya*, however, does not necessarily involve erotic sentiments and can also be used in *devastuti*.³⁹ *Abhinavagupta* supports this view when he says that *lāsya* is meant to please the gods or kings.⁴⁰ In the context, therefore, of the earliest source of the Indian tradition of the performing arts, it seems likely that any allocation of *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* separately to men and women would be a matter of convenience rather than of principle.

The evidence of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* clarifies the meaning of *lāsya* in two important ways. First, *lāsya* – as originally practised – was neither *nṛtta*, the pure form of dancing, nor was it *bhāṇa*. Instead, it was an art form possessing qualities of both and was a wholly independent art bridging dance and drama. Secondly,

³⁶ *NS*. 4. 278-83.

³⁷ Naidu, V., Naidu, S. and Pantulu, V.R. ,1971.

³⁸ *NS*. 4. 268-69 and 4. 311-12.

³⁹ *NS*. 4. 302.

⁴⁰ A B. on the *NS*. 1956, Vol. I. 4. 268, .p. 181.

lāsya was not necessarily an art reserved for female performers, although it could be the representation of feminine moods. Despite the various -- and often confusing -- opinions of Bharata's successors regarding lāsya, the continued acknowledgement of its suitability for representing emotional status reflects a growing trend towards recognizing the dramatic potentiality of dancing. In the following chapter we shall examine the connection between forms of dancing and of drama perceived in musicological literature.

Lāsya



Chapter 4

NṚTYA AND UPARŪPAKA

In the last two chapters we have seen how dance was conceived in the literature of the earliest period, especially in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It is important to bear in mind that Bharata describes dance mainly in the context of the preliminaries of a play. He also recommends the use of the *karaṇas* (components of *nṛtta*) in the body of the drama, for scenes of battle or for gaits which he mentions only once (*NS*. 4. 56). Finally he describes the *karaṇas*, but does not specify which *karaṇas* are to be used for which purpose. However, in his commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* Abhinavagupta correlates some of the *karaṇas* with particular dramatic characters (*AB*.Vol.I. p.206). Bharata's own interests seem to have been in the broader principles of stage presentations, which included elements of dance.

Bharata classifies dancing by using comparatively few terms. These were, as we have seen in Chapter 2, *nṛtta*, *tāṇḍava*, *abhinaya*, *piṇḍibandha* and *sukumāraprayoga*. *Nṛtta* and *tāṇḍava* are used synonymously to mean abstract dance, that is, compositions of movements that please the senses but carry no meaning (*NS*. 4. 261). *Abhinaya*, in the context of the preliminaries of a play, is the art of miming the meaning of a song through gestures and body movements (*NS*. 4. 283). *Piṇḍibandhas* are group dances forming different emblems to represent different gods for the purpose of showing reverence to them (*NS*.4. 252-59; 4. 287-90). *Sukumāraprayoga* is the graceful and delicate way of presenting dance movements (*NS*.4. 250). To these terms he adds *lāsya*,

which he applies to a form of dramatic art. However, as we have seen in Chapter 3, the meaning of *lāsya* became much more complex after Bharata's time.

That this growing complexity was not restricted to the understanding only of *lāsya* but extended to the whole art of dancing is shown by the persistent attempts to expand its classification by adding new terms to its conceptual vocabulary. With the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as its starting point, the discourse on dancing began to widen its scope and soon after the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, new terms that represented a proliferating conceptual classification began to appear in dramatic as well as other literature.¹ The literature of the early period uses these terms extensively, but later, in the medieval period, most of these terms were absorbed in more general terms that represented broader concepts. To set the later, broader terms in their historical context, it is necessary first to consider the earlier terms, although the focus of the present chapter will be on the two terms into which they were assimilated, namely, *nṛtya* and *uparūpaka*.

These terms do not appear prior to the literature of the medieval period. That does not, of course, mean that the art forms represented by these terms were not known before the medieval period, but rather that they were not important or popular enough to be the subject of serious discussion. For instance, the existence of regional varieties of dancing is acknowledged by Bharata (*NS*. 9. 164) but they are not described. In order to understand the evolution of these terms we must also examine other terms referring to various art forms involving dancing that appear in the early literature. These other terms are never defined in any work but the concepts they conveyed may be usually conjectured from the content of the discussion if we consider the contexts in which they appear. The

¹ *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kālidāsa, *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa, *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta; *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya are some of the texts of importance to use such terms.

descriptions are often cryptic and brief but in the absence of any detailed discussion, we may try to form a picture from whatever information we have before we proceed with the major terms, that is, *nṛtya* and *uparūpaka*.

We may begin with a set of eight terms which were known in the early period but whose related concepts came to be absorbed by the more general categories known as *nṛtya* and *uparūpaka* in the early medieval period. These terms are *dvipadī*, *śamyā*, *rāsaka*, *skandhaka*, *chalika*, *carcarī*, *lāsya* and *saṅgītaka*. One of these terms that remained in use is *lāsya*, which, as we have noted already, was treated as a separate, special category because it denoted both movements that conveyed meaning and those that did not. *Rāsaka* is another term which survives to this day but is now identified as a group dance mostly connected with religious festivals in different regions of India and depicts episodes dealing with *Kṛṣṇa*, *Rādhā* and the *gopīs*. To begin with, each of these eight terms had different connotations in different works but generally speaking they signified dance presentations. D. R. Mankad, in his study of drama, has discussed these terms.² Except for *saṅgītaka*, V. Raghavan has discussed the occurrence of these terms in various types of literature. He has also described the characteristics of the dances represented by these terms while discussing minor plays in his study of the *Śṛīgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja.³ A. K. Warder has also discussed them at great length, giving instances from different texts in which they occur.⁴ As such, the occurrence of these terms will be dealt with very briefly in the present study to understand the evolution of the concepts, but not discussed in detail, in order to avoid the duplication of the same information. These terms,

² Mankad, 1936, pp. 91-144.

³ Raghavan, 1963, pp. 545-74.

⁴ Warder, 1972, Vol. I. pp. 138-68.

mentioned above, mostly refer to short dance pieces with an emphasis on portraying an emotion (bhāva) or sometimes even creating an aesthetic affect (rasa).⁵ As we shall find, they were mostly used in the kāvya and alamkāra literature although references are found in other literature as well but hardly ever defined.

Dvipadī literally means a composition of two metres or two verses. In Bhāmaha's *Kāvyaalamkāra* this term represents a dramatic presentation: abhineyārtham (*KAlam*.1.24). However, in other literature the term appears to have different meanings. For instance, in the *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kālidāsa, it is taken as a graceful body movement. In Act IV, Citralekhā moves about in dvipadikā while looking at different directions and getting up from a reclining position (Act.IV. prose following verse 1,5 and 7). The directions are: प्रवेशान्तरे द्विपदिकया दिशोऽवलोक्य (after entering looks in all directions by means of dvipadī); अनन्तरे द्विपदिकया दिशोऽवलोक्य (afterwards looks in all directions by means of dvipadī) and द्विपदिकयोत्थाय निःश्वस्य (after getting up by means of dvipadī and sighing) ⁶ Each of these stage directions is followed by a verse. It is perhaps the presence of verse passages that has prompted Raghavan to take dvipadikā as a laya⁷ But again in the same page we find that the stage direction says: द्विपदिकया दिशोऽवलोक्य। निःश्वस्य । सास्रम्। (afterwards looking in all directions by means of dvipadī and sighing with tears). A prose line follows which also refers to body movements. In his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* Jagaddhara refers to Mādhava's entrance in dvipadikā as described in the text: ततः प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टरूपो माधवः (then Mādhava enters in the manner

⁵ Raghavan, 1978, pp. 539.

⁶ *Vikramorvaśīya*, Velankar ed. 1961., pp. 61, 65, 66.

⁷ Raghavan 1963, pp. 560.

indicated) and Jagaddhara comments: माधवप्रवेश इह द्विपदिकया (Mādhava here enters in dvipadikā),⁸ which indicates a slow movement (गमनमलसम् ..). Rāghavabhaṭṭa takes dvipadikā as a laya or tempo: अयं....द्विपदीनामा लयभेदः (here . . . dvipadī is a division of tempo).⁹ Raghavan says that "from the laya to the song and from the song to the dance, the name Dvipadī has had its semantic extension."¹⁰ Warder refers to dvipadīkhaṇḍa as a sub-variety of dvipadī and cites Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī* where two actresses are directed to act and sing a dvipadīkhaṇḍa.¹¹ Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* refers to dvipadī as one of the features of nartanaka, a minor drama (पदार्थाभिनयात्मक प्रेक्ष्यप्रबन्ध, that is, a composition which is to be seen and which expresses the meaning of the words).¹² The *Saṅgītaratnākara* refers to dvipadī as a musical composition and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* takes it as a metre. Dvipadī is also taken as a laya in the *Kuṭṭanīmata*.¹³ According to K. S. Upadhyaya, dvipadī is still used in yakṣagāna, one of the folk dance-dramas of Andhra¹⁴ Raghavan also refers to a dvipadikā metre and a dvipadikā song still current in Telugu and in Tamil.¹⁵ Therefore, it seems that although Bhāmaha defines it as a dramatic presentation, in later times it was identified with musical composition, metre and tempo, to which a delicate dance was sometimes performed. Śārṅgadeva in his *Saṅgītaratnākara* defines dvipadī as a musical composition sung to karuṇa tāla (SR.4.213-19). Puṇḍarīka in his *Nartananirṇaya* merely follows Śārṅgadeva in

⁸शोकविभ्रमयुक्ते तु व्याधिचिन्तासमाश्रिते ।

श्रुतवार्तादिवैरूप्ये योज्या द्विपदिका बुधैः ॥ Bhandarkar edition 1876., p.36.

⁹Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on *Abhijñānaśakuntalā*, Kale edition 1902, p. 8.

¹⁰Raghavan, 1963, pp. 561.

¹¹*Ratnāvalī* Shastri edition, 1978, p.6; Warder Vol.I. 1972, p.153.

¹²Raghavan 1963., pp. 555.

¹³SR. 4. 232-41; ND. 1959, p. 191; *Kuṭṭanīmata*, Kāvyaṃālā ed.Vol. III. 338, 858.

¹⁴Upadhyaya, *Sangeet Natak*, No.11. .p.39.

¹⁵Raghavan, 1963, pp. 561.

defining *dvipadī* (NN. 39b). We do not find any instances of *dvipadī* as a drama or a dance in the late medieval literature.

Another term from early times is *śamyā*, which literally means a stick. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* *śamyā* is described as a time-beat (NS.31.36-7). The *Hṛdayamgamā* on the *Kāvyaśāstra* of Daṇḍin describes a dance so named, which involves the use of a coloured stick (*Hṛdayamgamā* on the *Kāvyaśāstra*. 1. 39). It developed as a group dance which can be identified with *daṇḍarāsaka* (rāsa dance with coloured sticks). *Daṇḍarāsaka* is still practised in Gujarat. Bhāmaha refers to *śamyā* as a form to be acted (*abhineyārtha*) and Daṇḍin as one to be seen (*prekṣyārtha*).¹⁶ Bhoja describes it as a *lāsya* in one instance (*ŚrP*.1963, Vol.II. p.283) and later as a feature of the *nartanaka* type of minor drama (*ŚrP*.1963, Vol.II. p.425). In the latter instance *lāsya* and *śamyā* both appear as features of *nartanaka*. The authors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* refer to *śamyā* as a *lāsyanṛtta* pertaining to the *kinnaras* (किन्नरविषयं लास्यं नृत्तं शम्या ND. 1959, p.191). Raghavan has cited many instances from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Amarakośa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* as evidence that the term means a time-beat, an opinion in which Warder concurs.¹⁷ In the *Saṅgītaratnākara* *śamyā* is used as a time-beat (SR.5.6; 9). Lath quotes Dattila and says that *śamyā* was a concept central to the *gāndharva tāla*.¹⁸ Except for Bhāmaha then, *śamyā* is not described by any other writer primarily as a dramatic presentation and Daṇḍin merely mentions it as a visual presentation. However, in later times the writers followed the interpretation of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and in the medieval literature on *saṅgīta śamyā* is described as a *tāla*.

¹⁶ *Kāvyaśāstra* . 1. 24; *Kāvyaśāstra*. 1. 39.

¹⁷ Raghavan 1963, pp. 561. Warder, Vol. II. 1974, p.152.

¹⁸ Lath 1978, p.101; *Dattilam* 1930, 110.

The definition of rāsaka first appears in Bhāmaha who lists it as a dramatic presentation. It is generally described as an elaborate dance in a variety of early literature. Daṇḍin does not mention the term. Kohala (quoted in the commentary on *Haravijaya*),¹⁹ describes it as a play. Abhinavagupta quotes authorities who treat it primarily as a dance which is performed by a number of women and is full of a variety of rhythm and tempo. Since he states this while describing nṛttātmakaprabandhas, rāgakāvyaś and gīyamānarūpakas,²⁰ it may not be unreasonable to claim that he himself did not think of rāsaka exclusively as a dance but as a dramatic composition presented through music and dance movements. A similar term used by Abhinavagupta is rāsakāṅka (an example being the *Rādhāvipralambha* by Bhejjala),²¹ which refers to a play in a regional language dealing with Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Rāsaka, according to Bhoja, is a पदार्थाभिनयात्मक प्रेक्ष्यप्रबन्ध or minor drama (*ŚrP.* Vol.II. p.425-26) and Bhoja says that in rāsaka, piṇḍibandhas or group dances forming different patterns were performed. In his *Sarasvatīkaṅṭhābharāṇa* and *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* Bhoja says that hallīsaka becomes rāsaka when danced to definite tālas²². This definition makes rāsaka primarily a dance. The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* (*NLRK.* 3205-9) describes rāsaka as a one-act play using a variety of languages and five characters etc. This text calls for delicate and forceful emotions (masṛṇodāttabhāvabhūṣitam) for rāsaka but does not mention any tāla and laya. It seems that Sāgaranandin, the author of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, takes it primarily as a drama. Puṇḍarīka in his *Nartananirṇaya* describes rāsaka as a

¹⁹Commentary on *Haravijayam*. XVII. p.108.; Warder Vol. II. 1974, p.145.

²⁰*NS.* Vol.I.1956,p.181.

²¹*NS.* Vol. III.1954, p. 63, 72.

²²*SKA.* p. 264; *ŚrP.* Vol. II. p. 283.; Raghavan, 1963, p.562.

composition composed of rāsātāla and has four different varieties(NN. A Soc. MS. 46b).

Rāsaka is an important term which appears to have come down from an early period and it represents a dance-drama or a dance with dramatic overtones. In two of the present-day classical styles of India, Manipuri and Kathak, it is still a major part of the repertoire. In folk-dances in several regions of India rāsa continues to be performed in some form or other. Gujarat, Tamilnad and Andhra, for instance, have their individual regional versions of rāsa.

Skandhaka appears as a dramatic presentation in Bhāmaha who describes it as abhineyārtha (*KAlam̄.*1.24.). However, Daṇḍin refers to it as a metre (*KĀ.*1. 37). Very little information can be gathered about this "beyond the fact that it is the Prākṛit name for the metre āryāgīti, a form of gaṇachandas (musical 'bar,' metre)"²³ It seems to have been used for a performance that included songs and dances. Warder describes it as a single musical strophe used in Mahārāṣṭrī.²⁴

Chalika or chalita appears in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* as a dance composition that forms part of a drama (...छलितं नाम नाट्यम्....Act. I.prose following the prastāvanā). Mālavikā dances to a song in prākṛit expressing the emotion of love.²⁵ Daṇḍin refers to this form as a prekṣyārtha kāvya(*KĀ.*1. 39). Somadeva in his *Kathāsaritsāgara* describes chalita as a dance performed by Rambhā in heaven (*KSS.* Vol.III. iii. 20). Bhoja describes it as a part of the minor dramatic type called nartanaka and states that it creates both vīra and śṛṅgārarasa through the use of both tāṇḍava and lāsya movements (*SKA.*p. 263; *ŚrP.*Vol.II.

²³ Warder Vol. II. 1954, pp.153.

²⁴ Ibid. p.176.

²⁵ Kāṭayavema, the commentator on *Mālavikāgnimitra* explains it as a piece based on chala or deceit. Raghavan 1963. p.556.

p. 283). The *Hṛdayamgamā* on the *Kāvyaḍarśa* follows Kāṭayavema (Raghavan 1963, p.556) in interpreting chalika but adds that instrumental music is a feature of chalika (*Hṛdayamgamā* on *KĀ.1.39.*). In the *Bhāvaprakāśana* it is described as an element of prekṣanaka, a minor dramatic type (*BhP.* p.263.). Raghavan takes chalika to be the correct older form of the term (Raghavan, 1963, p.557). A similar variant of the term occurs in the *Harivaṁśa* (II.chapters 88, 89, 93) which mentions chālikya. Chapter eighty-nine is called chālikyakṛidā and relates how at the request of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma apsarases dance to vocal and instrumental music (*Harivaṁśa.II.* 89.5). The dancers use gestures and dance rāsa (*Harivaṁśa.II.* 89.24, 30) singing songs in different local dialects and keeping rhythm by the beats of the palms and wearing regional costumes. The songs are devoted to the Kṛṣṇa story. Chālikya is also referred to as a song (*Harivaṁśa.II.* 89.67). There are more instances of such uses of the term chālikya.²⁶ The authors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* refer to chalita delineating vīra, śṛṅgāra and raudrarasa (*ND.1959*, p.191). Warder in his study of minor dramas describes chalika as a form containing four strophe, called vastu ²⁷ However, the descriptions in the relevant literature do not warrant the view that chalika was taken as a minor drama; rather, it was considered to be a performance featuring songs and delicate body movements that created rasa.

Carcari is yet another term that appears in a variety of meanings in different texts. In a number of dramas it appears in stage directions that seem to indicate body movements as well as singing. In the *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kālidāsa, for instance, a stage direction indicates: चर्चरीकया विचिन्त्य (thinking with [movements in] carcari) and a prose passage follows which represents what the

²⁶Ibid. pp.556-58.

²⁷Warder. Vol. I.1972., p. 151. चतुष्पादोद्भवं छलितम्.... *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Karmakar. ed. 1950, p. 22.

king is supposed to say while sitting. From this position he gets up and again the stage direction gives: अनन्तरे चर्चरी (afterwards carcarī), and a verse follows which is either to be recited or sung, with some body movements.²⁸ In the *Ratnāvalī* (Act I. pp. 4, 5-6) carcarī appears in a spring festival as a piece of music with a dance performed to suit it.²⁹ The *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara describes carcarī as a dance (*Karpūramañjarī*.4. 9). The *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotana does the same.³⁰ Bhoja equates carcarī with nāṭyarāsaka and describes it as a dance performed in springtime in which dancers perform in pairs and groups (*ŚrP*. Vol.II. p. 425-27). The *Bhāvaprakāśana* follows Bhoja (*Bhp*. pp. 264-66). Dāmodaragupta of *Kuṭṭanīmata* speaks of carcarī performed in a spring festival (886) and later refers to it as a song (904). Raghavan describes carcarī as a laya and later, following Bhoja, he equates carcarī with nāṭyarāsaka.³¹ Ajay Mitra Śāstrī has given an extensive account of carcarī, its meaning and incidence in various places. He equates it with staff-dance and calli dance (merry making in general).³² Calli or cilli appears in Abhinavagupta's commentary and in Hemacandra's work but its nature is not clear from those references. The confusion regarding the term carcarī is further compounded later by its use in saṅgīta literature as a tāla.³³ However, from the various references and discussions mentioned here one can perhaps conclude that carcarī was taken as a song performed during festive occasions, particularly in spring, when not only music but dance was often performed as well.

²⁸ *Vikramorvaśīya*, Velankar ed.1961, Act. IV.p.67; *Ratnāvalī*,1978,Act I. p. 5-6.

²⁹Prabhā on *Ratnāvalī*, 1978,describes it as a song (Act. I. pp. 22, 30.).

³⁰Warder Vol.I. 1972., p.147.

³¹Raghavan, 1963, p.562-65.

³²Śāstrī 1975, p. 160.

³³SR. 5. 241; 5. 266.

Lāsyā is a term that appears in the earlier literature in very many different connotations, as we have seen in the extensive discussion in Chapter Three. But it may be briefly noted again in the present context that initially the term lāsyā signified a general rather than a specific class of movements, movements that were associated with emotion and delicacy. Among the eight terms discussed here, this is the only one that developed into a distinct category and was not absorbed in either nṛtya or uparūpaka. Lāsyā, as we have noted before, appeared in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as a delicate movement used in dramatic presentation, and later became identified as a dance presentation, delicate, graceful and at times erotic as well, which has survived as a major feature of dancing till the present time.

Saṅgītaka, the last term of this group, seems to refer to a mimetic dance. However, when Vararuci refers to saṅgītaka he means a dramatic presentation involving dance, music and acting performed during the spring festival: भगवतो नारायणस्य भवने मदनसेनया मदनाराधने संगीतके यथारसमभिनीयमाने (in acting out the saṅgītaka named *Madanārādhanā* with appropriate rasa in the house of Lord Nārāyaṇa) (*Ubhayābhisārikā*, 1959, 3. 9; pp. 122-23) and कुसुमपुरपुरन्दरस्य भवने पुरन्दरविजयं नाम संगीतकमभिनेतव्यम् (the saṅgītaka named *Purandaravijaya* is to be enacted in the house of Purandara of Kusumapura) (*Ubhayābhisārikā* 28.7; p.134). In both instances the author seems to have taken saṅgītaka as a dance-drama. But in two other instances the term saṅgītaka may have been used by the same author to mean a song or a mimetic dance but the passages are not clear enough to indicate what the author specifically meant by the term.

(*Ubhayābhisārikā*..28.7; pp.134, 141.). In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa saṅgītaka is used as a dance-piece:....प्रवृत्तं संगीतकम्....(the saṅgītaka begun...) (*Mālavikāgnimitra* 1950, p. 24) and a verse follows, to the accompaniment of

which Mālavikā performs. It seems that Mālavikā sang and mimed to that verse. In Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī* (Act.I. after verse 5) and in Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* (Act.I.after verse 8) we find the use of saṅgītaka, which in these instances seems to mean mimetic dancing. According to Katz, "The post *Nāṭyaśāstra* term itself suggests a concerted form. The word saṅgītaka mentioned in the *Ubhayābhisārikā* of Vararuci and once in *Ratnāvalī* was a form of music in which all three elements were present. It is possible that the term saṅgīta came into use alongside or even after this theatrical form."³⁴ From the early medieval period, in the saṅgīta literature, the term saṅgīta is defined as composed of three arts: gīta, vādyā and nṛtta and nṛtya, that is, vocal and instrumental music and dance.³⁵ It is possible that the saṅgītaka mentioned by Vararuci was not a full-fledged drama but a long piece with song and dance as part of it which required the performer to mime a story. Since we do not have any instance of saṅgītaka as a dramatic presentation other than Vararuci's unclear references, Katz's view seems justified. Mankad takes it as a dramatic presentation.³⁶ Both Warder and Raghavan are silent on this. But as we have seen, the nature of this presentation is not at all clear.

From the early medieval period onwards, six out of these eight terms disappeared from the literature of dance, with the exception of lāsya and rāsaka. It is worth considering briefly what happened to them. These eight terms, which appear in a variety of works, seem to represent performances using body movements set to rhythm and tempo but such performances had an additional feature in common, that of miming emotions or stories, which made them

³⁴ Katz 87, Vol. II.,note on verse 22. p. 9.

³⁵SR. 1. 21.

³⁶Mankad 1936, p.35.

different from Bharata's *nṛtta*. They were presumably different also from *abhinaya* even in the *pūrvaraṅga* as Bharata describes it, because they followed rhythmic beats as opposed to the *abhinaya* portion of the *pūrvaraṅga*, which could not have been set to rhythm since Bharata prohibited musical accompaniment for it (*NS*. 4.276).

It is likely that the performances denoted by the terms discussed above were developments after Bharata. It is important to remember that for Bharata *nṛtta* was the only art form that depended upon both body movements and *tāla* and *laya*, and that *nṛtta* was expressly defined by Bharata as a non-representational art. Yet later we find an art called *nṛtya* which, like *nṛtta*, depends upon body movements and *tāla* and *laya*, but has meaning attached to the movements. No doubt it was to fit this art into Bharata's conception of the performing arts that Kohala (if we place him after Bharata) added the following account, reported by Abhinavagupta, of the origin of *nṛtya*:

सन्ध्यायां नृत्यतः शम्भोर्भक्त्यार्द्रो नारदः पुरा ।
गीतवांस्त्रिपुरोन्माथं तच्चित्तस्त्वथ गीतके ।
चकाराभिनयं प्रीतस्ततस्तण्डुं च सोऽब्रवीत् ।
नाट्योक्त्याभिनयेनेदं वत्स योजय ताण्डवम् ।

(A.B.on *NS*.Vol.I.p.180)

In time past, while Śambhu was dancing in the evening, Nārada sang immersed in devotion, a song about [Śiva's] victory over Tripura, and setting his mind in the song He[= Śiva] mimed it [i.e. the content of the song]. Being pleased [with this He] asked,

Taṇḍu, my boy! Please add this tāṇḍava to
acting as described in the *Nāṭya[śāstra]*.

These eight terms, dvipadī, śamyā, rāsaka, skandhaka, chalika, carcarī, lāsya and saṅgītaka, appear mostly as art forms used in a drama, not as a part of pūrvaraṅga, but as a way of graceful presentation in the main body of the drama. That the stage direction calls for the use of rhythm, tempo and presumably songs with body movements in various situations indicates that the use of abhinaya and nṛtta blended together as a new kind of presentation element became part of a dramatic performance. The terms chalika, śamyā, dvipadī, skandhaka and carcarī seem to be associated more with tempo, song etc., while rāsaka, as found in early works, began as a dance-drama and later on, in medieval texts became identified as a dance and is still performed as a dance in various parts of India. Lāsya, the graceful dramatic presentation of Bharata, later became identified as a graceful and delicate style of dance. Lāsya came to be used generally to denote all forms of performance which were particularly known for their delicacy and grace. Such forms included many that had been earlier denoted by the eight terms discussed here. The term saṅgītaka seems gradually to have become established as the term saṅgīta which represented the three allied arts of vocal and instrumental music and dance taken together. This happened in medieval times and this term was no longer used in the narrower sense of a dance-drama or dramatic presentation.

As Raghavan sees it, the terms which were associated entirely with laya, metre etc. gradually became associated with songs and then with dances, which were set to those songs.³⁷ But the graceful movements of dance were later

³⁷Raghavan 1963, p.561.

denoted only by the term *lāsya*. From the tenth century onwards *nṛtya*³⁸ appears in the literature first as a term for minor drama and then, from the thirteenth century, as mimetic dance ³⁹ Since *nṛtya* can have two variations, *lāsya* and *tāṇḍava*, if a dance has qualities of *lāsya* and/or *nṛtya*, that is, delicate and/ or mimetic features, any other term was unnecessary to express them and the terms *carcarī*, *chalika*, *śamyā*, *dvipadī* and *skandhaka* became obsolete in the dance literature but remained in the literature of music. *Rāsaka* remained a variety of group dance. It is interesting to note that when the terms *lāsya* and *nṛtya* start to appear in the dance literature, *carcarī*, *chalita*, *śamyā*, *dvipadī* and *skandhaka* are no longer found in association with dancing.

The growing importance of the broad genre known as *nṛtya* is first seen in the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya in the tenth century. Dhanañjaya describes *nṛtya* as:.. भावाश्रयं नृत्यम्....*nṛtya* is dependent on emotion (*DR.1. 9*). But then he adds that it represents *padārthābhinaya*, that is, *nṛtya* calls for acting the meaning of words(*DR.1. 9*). What, then, did the term *nṛtya* exactly mean in the *Daśarūpaka* ? Dhanika, the commentator on the *Daśarūpaka* mentions seven *nṛtyabhedas*: *ḍombī*, *śṛṅgadita*, *bhāṇa*, *bhāṇī*, *prasthāna*, *rāsaka* and *kāvya* (*DR p. 8.*), all of which are known from other texts to be minor types of drama. Since they are taken to be varieties of *nṛtya* by Dhanika, *nṛtya* was evidently taken as a minor dramatic art by Dhanañjaya as interpreted by Dhanika. Abhinavagupta never uses the term *nṛtya*. Bhoja does not use *nṛtya* but he divides *prekṣyaprabandhas* (compositions to be seen) into two types. One is *vākyārthābhinayātmaka* (i. e., one that expresses the meaning of an entire sentence) and the other is *padārthābhinayātmaka* (i. e., one that expresses the meaning of a word)

³⁸*DR. 1. 9.*

³⁹*SR. 7.26-7.*

(*ŚrP.Vol.II. pp.461, 466*). According to Dhanañjaya nṛtya is padārthābhīnaya (*DR. 1.9*) which is bhāvāśraya (*DR. 1.9*) and rūpaka is rasāśraya (*DR. 1.7*).

Dhanika, in his commentary, adds that rūpakas are vākyaṛthābhīnaya (*DR. p.8*). Bharata explains: नानाभावोपभोगाद् रसनिष्पत्तिः(*NS. Vol.Ip. 287*). Vākya has a broader scope inasmuch as it is a compound of many bhāvas, while padārthābhīnaya is a representation of only one bhāva. The nṛtyabhedas listed in Dhanika appear in the list of twelve padārthābhīnayātmaka prekṣyaprabandhas.

Dhanañjaya's use of the term nṛtya as a minor dramatic type is supported by Sāradātanaya's use of a derivative word, nṛtyabhedā, to signify types of minor dramas that he classifies under padārthābhīnayātmaka rūpakas (*BhP. 255*). He also refers to them as the other rūpakas, that is, other types of drama. The same use also occurs in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (अन्यान्यपि च रूपकाणि-1959, pp. 190-92). The list of rūpakas in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* matches the list given by Bhoja.

Sāgaranandin, another author who discusses minor dramas, has no name for the class but gives the same names of the individual types. Nṛtya and nāṭya are used synonymously in the *Amarakoṣa*, which shows that at some point in the development of the performing arts in India nṛtya was equated with nāṭya (Colebrooke, 1808, p. 42). The association continues today in the terms Bharatanāṭyam and Mohiniāṭṭam ('āṭṭam' being the Tamil for the Sanskrit nāṭya).

It was not till the 13th century that the term nṛtya came to be dissociated from nāṭya and to be used exclusively for the art of dancing. The first work to define nṛtya categorically as dance was the *Sarṅgītaratnākara* (*SR. 7.26-7*). From that time on the saṅgīta literature also divides dancing into two types, nṛtta and nṛtya, the former being abstract dancing and the latter mimetic dancing (*SR. 7.26-28*). By the 14th century the sister arts of dance and drama had become

clearly separated as different genres and dance was no longer considered a kind of minor drama. The term used from this time on for minor dramatic types was *uparūpaka*, a term first used by Viśvanātha (*SD*. 6.6). The later medieval texts all followed Śārṅgadeva in using *nṛtya* for mimetic dance and Viśvanātha in using *uparūpaka* for drama.

We may now proceed to discuss the term *nṛtya* as it appears in *saṅgīta* literature. We have already noted that in *alaṅkāra* literature, influential authors such as Dhanañjaya, Dhanika and Śāradātanaya use the term *nṛtya* to mean minor types of drama. Another author, Bhoja, does not use the term *nṛtya* at all, but it is clear that he does recognize a dramatic type of performing art as a definite category which expresses meaning. He draws a distinction between two types of *prekṣyaprabandhas* (compositions to be seen) by designating one as *vākyārthābhīnaya* (acting that brings out the sense of entire sentences) and *padārthābhīnaya* (acting that brings out the sense of words). Bhoja's concept of this second type of composition parallels Dhanañjaya's definition of *nṛtya* as an art that employs *padārthābhīnaya*. Further, Bhoja lists the same *nṛtyabhedas* that we find in Dhanika and Śāradātanaya, thus tacitly endorsing the categorization of *nṛtya* as a dramatic type.

Among works on dance and music *Mānasollāsa* is the first to mention *nṛtya*, which forms the title of an entire section called *Nṛtyavinoda*. The author, Someśvara, uses the terms *nṛtya* and *nartana* synonymously (16.4.950) and includes *nāṭya* among the six varieties of *nartana* (16.4.959-60). Stating: साम्प्रतं वर्णयिष्यामि नृत्यं लक्षणसंयुतम्: I shall now describe *nṛtya* with its characteristics(16.4.950), Someśvara describes *nartana* as:

नाट्यं लास्यं ताण्डवं च लाघवं विषमं तथा ।

विकटं चेति निर्दिष्टं नर्तकं(नं) षट्प्रकारम् ॥ (*Mānas.16.4.959-60*)

Nartaka(na) is said to be of six kinds: nāṭya, lāsya, tāṇḍava, lāghava, viṣama and vikāṭa.

Throughout this work he uses nṛtya as a generic term for dancing.

The sense of nṛtya is more restricted in *SSam*, which seems to take nṛtya as a deśī or regional form of dancing (*SSam. 7.130-32*), although it gives no precise definition. The first definition of nṛtya came from Śāṅgadeva, according to whom nṛtya is one of three divisions of nartana, a term that he uses in the general sense of stage presentation. Here he differs from Someśvara in taking nartana as the broader term, not nṛtya, which he considers to be one of the divisions of nartana, the other two being nāṭya and nṛtta (*SR. 7.2-3*). He states that nāṭya is both vākyārthābhīnayaत्मका and padārthābhīnayaत्मका, although it employs all four types of abhinaya, and that it creates rasa and bhāva (*SR. 7.33-4*). Nṛtya is defined as body movements that express emotion: आङ्गिकाभिनयैरेव भावानेव व्यनक्ति यत् । तन्नृत्यं.. that is nṛtya which expresses emotion by miming through body movements... (*SR. 7.26-7*). It is interesting too that about the same time Jāya, the author of *Nṛttaratnāvalī*, defines nṛtya as bhāvāśraya and padārthābhīnayaत्मका (*NR.1.50*) and cites examples of nṛtya as: नृत्यं श्रीगदितादि स्यात्.. (*NR.1.52*) nṛtya is [represented by] śrīgadita etc. As in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, here the emphasis on bhāva and padārthābhīnaya suggests that at this stage nṛtya was viewed as a mode of dramatic expression distinguished by singing and dancing, although it was no longer thought of as a category of drama. From this time on, almost all the works that are concerned with music consider nṛtya primarily as a form of dancing. The only exception is the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara* which at one point classifies as nṛtya all twenty-seven types of drama recognized

by it(*SDām*. p. 79). However, when the author defines the minor dramatic types, he calls them uparūpakas rather than nṛtya. Moreover, when he comes to describe dance movements, he classifies them under aṅghāra and nṛtya, taking nṛtya as regional dance forms. *SUS* gives an unusual definition of nṛtya by identifying it as a dance danced only by women (*SUS*. 5.8), although the author uses the term as a generic label for the art of dancing (*SUS*. 5 & 6). In the *Saṅgītacandra*, again, nṛtya is taken to represent the art of dancing in general (*SC*.389). Similarly, Mahārāṇā Kumbhā in his *Nṛtyaratnakośa* discusses nṛtya as a form of dancing and refers to it as a mārga form although he does not define it (*NRK*.1.1.291). Moreover, he uses the term nṛtyabheda to indicate different varieties of dance(*NRK*.1.1.466; 4.3.106). We may recall that nṛtyabheda was earlier used by Dhanika and Śāradātanaya to denote minor types of drama. The change in the meaning of nṛtyabheda thus shows that by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā's time nṛtya had come to be identified as a form of dancing. It would seem that to begin with nṛtya was regarded as part of a dramatic presentation, but later nṛtya moved away from the domain of drama, and though it retained its mimetic character, it no longer employed speech and evolved into a dance form.

Closely associated with nṛtya is the term uparūpaka, which is a category of major significance in dance literature. We have already noted that the term came into existence fairly late, at the very end of the śāstric tradition of alaṅkāra. In these later works it denotes certain types of drama but it is not clear precisely which types. Bharata himself deals only with the major types of drama. But the modern text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* contains a reference to a treatise that Kohala was supposed to be writing, which presumably covered grounds untrodden by Bharata.⁴⁰ That these included the minor types of drama left out of his

40 *NS* 36.65 (Kaśī), *NS* 37.18. (GOS), *NS* 37.18.(Kāvyaṁālā).

description by Bharata is evident from the commentary of Abhinavagupta who mentions these types under various class names when speaking of Kohala. Abhinavagupta further cites other authorities who evidently dealt with the minor types of drama⁴¹ Since we have none of these texts, we have no knowledge of the dramatic types they discussed.

Bhāmaha was the earliest writer of *alaṅkāra* literature to name some of the types of stage presentation that had dramatic overtones. As already pointed out, although these types (*dvipadī*, *śamyā*, *rāsaka* and *skandhaka*) are stated to be *abhineyārtha*, that is, to be acted and in that sense similar to major drama, they are not even types of minor drama but mimetic dance pieces. Daṇḍin, the next writer on *alaṅkāra*, defines the terms *lāsya*, *chalika* and *śamyā* as *prekṣyārtha* (i.e., meant to be seen), which again seems to indicate that these were mimetic dances, although neither Bhāmaha nor Daṇḍin describe the dances. The minor dramatic types are first named by Abhinavagupta, who quotes various authorities to list the names as well as their characteristics. He lists ten types in all: *ḍombikā*, *bhāṇa*, *prasthāna*, *ṣiḍgaka*, *bhāṇikā*, *preraṇa*, *rāmākriḍa*, *hallīsaka*, *rāsaka* (these being taken from older authorities) and *kāvya* (from Kohala). Even from Abhinavagupta's brief discussion of these types it is evident that they were short dramatic pieces that presented emotional situations by means of miming short stories and required at least one, sometimes several female dancers, their dances being set to particular *tāla* and *laya*. In some of these presentations male performers also took part.

Abhinavagupta was not the only writer to refer to these types of stage presentations. Vātsyāyana (believed to be from the 3rd century A.D.)⁴² in his

⁴¹ *NS* Vol. I, pp. 171, 181, 182

⁴² 3rd c. A.D., Warder. Vol. I. 1972, p. 11.

Kāmasūtra mentions hallīsaka, nāṭyarāsaka, prekṣaṇaka and goṣṭhī.⁴³ Kumārila (believed to have lived between 590-650 A.D.)⁴⁴ in his *Tantravārtika* mentions dvipadī and rāsaka.⁴⁵ Since both Vātsyāyana and Kumārila pre-date Abhinavagupta, the latter's references show a continuing tradition of minor dramatic types, although we have no detailed characteristics since neither Vātsyāyana nor Kumārila elaborate on them. The *Agnipurāṇa*⁴⁶ lists 27 such varieties of dramatic presentation but does not give them a class name. From the names given we can identify the first ten as belonging to the class of rūpakas or major dramatic types. The other seventeen are minor dramas (*AP* .338.2-4). All of these are presumably the abhineya kāvyas mentioned in the preceding chapter (*AP*. 337.1, 39) but they are not defined anywhere. The *avaloka* on *DR* by Dhanika mentions seven nṛtyabhedas (*DR*. p.8). But Dhanika does not explain what they are. Abhinavagupta's brief discussion of ten minor dramatic types remains the only descriptive account of these little known forms till the time of Bhoja, from whom we get a fuller picture. He lists twelve types. He further mentions dombalikā (*ŚrP*.Vol. II, p. 182), which may be the same as the dombikā mentioned in the *Abhinavabhāratī* (Raghavan, 1963, p. 567). The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* describes fourteen such types, calling them other kinds of rūpakas. The descriptions here follow Bhoja's.

A different approach is taken by Hemacandra, who places minor dramas under the class geya (*KAnu. H* pp.327-29). In this he is closely followed by Vāgbhaṭa (*KAnu. V*.p.18). In his commentary on his own work Vāgbhaṭa uses the term geyarūpaka as the class name. Both the authors quote the

⁴³ *KS.* ; I.6, p.310; II.10.25, p.154.

⁴⁴ Krishnamachariar 1974, p. 618

⁴⁵ *Tantravārtika*, Chowkhamba edition. p. 279.

⁴⁶ De, 1960, p. 99

Abhinavabhāratī for the views of the cirantanas and they quote Bhoja's lines on goṣṭhī. Their lists include śrīgadita, which is defined in the following lines apparently added for that purpose:

यस्मिन् कुलाङ्गना पत्युः सख्यग्ने वणयिद् गुणम् ।
उपालम्भं च कुरुते गेये श्रीगदितं तु तत् ।

(*KAnu. H.*p.446;*K.Anu. V.* p.18.)

That geya in which a virtuous woman describes the qualities of her husband and censures him as well in front of her friend, is known as śrīgadita..

NLRK lists fifteen minor types of drama and describes them briefly (pp. 126-34). The author includes two types called nāṭikā and totāka which, however, he does not place in any particular category. Śāradātanaya provides the longest list by far of minor dramatic types, all twenty of which he describes (*Bhp.* p. 255). *SD* lists eighteen, calling them uparūpakas and describing them in detail. (*SD.* 6.6.).

The nature of uparūpakas, their names and number have been discussed by several modern scholars. Mankad made the first detailed study of minor types of drama that involved dancing, comparing their characteristics in tabular form.⁴⁷ However, he had insufficient data and occasionally arrived at observations that have since proven to be incorrect. In the present study a table based on additional material is provided which, it is hoped, will help to identify the forms that were of dramatic nature and employed either body movements only or both body movements and speech as in drama proper. The former were the types that

⁴⁷Mankad 1936, pp. 129-31.

eventually became known as mimetic dances and, from the time of Śārṅgadeva, were designated as nṛtya. The minor types of drama proper were distinguished from these nṛtya forms by being termed uparūpakas.

Besides Mankad two other modern scholars have dealt with uparūpakas extensively. V. Raghavan has discussed them at several places,⁴⁸ most exhaustively in his study of Bhoja's *Śrṅgāraprakāśa*. Bhoja lists twelve types of major dramas, of which two, nāṭikā and saṭṭaka, are regarded as minor types by other early writers. Raghavan's discussion of uparūpakas includes the twelve minor types termed पदार्थाभिनयात्मक प्रेक्ष्यप्रबन्ध by Bhoja. In course of his discussion Raghavan also cites the views of other writers on these types.

The other important work in which minor types of drama are studied is by Warder (Warder, 1972, pp. 137-68). He takes each type of minor drama and dance mentioned in the works on poetics and lists what the different authorities have said about it, thus offering an invaluable compendium of the material available in alaṅkāra literature. It is, therefore, unnecessary to duplicate here the information given by him. However, since Warder restricts himself to alaṅkāra literature for descriptions of the types, it is necessary to draw material from dance and music manuals. This has been attempted here in two parts. First, the references to minor dramatic types in all relevant sources—from both alaṅkāra and musicological literature—have been tabulated, with the sources arranged chronologically. Second, the descriptions of each type as they appear in the sources have been summarized, noting in particular the major differences if any. This survey will thus help in discovering how the understanding of the minor dramatic types evolved through time.

⁴⁸ Raghavan, 1964-5, 1966-7, pp. 31-54; 1963, pp. 545-74.

Before going on to the descriptions of these types, which included musical plays, dance dramas, dramatic dances and mimetic dances, we may briefly note the many terms used by the early authors for this branch of dramatic presentation, which often confuse because of their variety. Abhinavagupta uses the following terms in the *Abhinavabhāratī*: rāgakāvya (*NS*.Vol. I, pp. 172, 174,181,182), nṛtyakāvya (pp.175, 177), rāgadarśaniya (p.172), gīyamānarūpaka (pp.171,175,176, 180) and nṛtyapradhānarāgakāvya (p.180). Dhanika uses the term nṛtyabheda for minor dramatic presentations (*DR.* p.8), Śāradātanaya at first refers to them as nṛtyabhedas (*BhP.* p.181, 255)but later as rūpakas (*BhP.* p. 221) . Bhoja calls them padārthābhinayātmaka prekṣyaprabandhas (*ŚrP*.Vol.II, ch.xi, pp. 422-27). Both Vāgbhata and Hemacandra refer to them as geya (*K.AnuH.* pp.327-29;*K.AnuV.* p.18). Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra call them simply the other rūpakas (*ND.* 1959,p.190). Sāgaranandin lists the types without placing them under any class (*NLRK.* pp.126-34,113-14) and Viśvanātha calls all of them uparūpakas (*SD* .6.6).

MINOR DRAMATIC TYPES

<u>Source</u>	<u>Types</u>
Abhinavagupta	ḍombikā, bhāṇa, prasthāna, ṣidgaka, bhāṇikā, prerāṇa, rāmākrīḍa, hallīsaka, rāsaka and kāvya.(<i>AB</i> on <i>NS</i> . Vol. I. p.171,181-2).
Vātsyāyana	hallīsaka,nāṭyarāsaka, prekṣaṇaka, goṣṭhī (<i>Kāmasūtra.</i> II.10. 25. p.154;I. 6.p.310).
Kumārila	dvipadī, rāsaka (<i>Tantravārtika.</i> p. 279).
Bhāmaha	dvipadī, rāsaka, śamyā, skandhaka (<i>KAlam.</i> 1. 24).

Daṇḍin	lāsyā, chalita, śamyā (K.Ā.1. 39).
Agnipurāṇa nāṭyarāsaka,	troṭaka, nāṭikā, saṭṭaka, śilpaka, karna, durmallikā, prasthāna, bhāṇikā, bhāṇī, goṣṭhī, hallīsaka, kāvya, śrīgadina(ta), rāsaka, ullāpyaka, preṅkhaṇa.(AP. 338.2-4).
Dhanika	ḍombī, śrīgadita, bhāṇa, bhāṇī, prasthāna, rāsaka, kāvya (DR . p.8).
Bhoja	śrīgadita, durmilitā, prasthāna, kāvya(citrakāvya), bhāṇa (śuddha, citra, saṅkīrṇa), bhāṇikā, goṣṭhī, hallīsaka, nartanaka, prekṣaṇaka, rāsaka, nāṭyarāsaka.(ŚrP.Vol. II. p.282).
Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra	saṭṭaka, śrīgadita, durmilitā, prasthāna, goṣṭhī, hallīsaka, nartanaka, prekṣaṇaka, rāsaka, nāṭyarāsaka, kāvya, bhāṇaka, bhāṇikā.(ND. 1959, pp.190-92).
Hemacandra	ḍombikā, bhāṇa, prasthāna, śiṅga, bhāṇikā, prerāṇa, rāmākriḍa, hallīsaka, rāsaka, goṣṭhī, śrīgadita.(KAnu.H.p.327-29).
Vāgbhaṭa	ḍombikā, bhāṇa, prasthāna, bhāṇikā, prerāṇa, śiṅgaka, rāmākriḍa, hallīsaka, śrīgadita, rāsaka, goṣṭhī.(KAnu.V. p.18).
Sāgaranandin	goṣṭhī, saṅlāpa, śilpaka, prasthāna, kāvya, hallīśaka, śrīgadita, bhāṇikā, bhāṇī, durmallikā, prekṣaṇaka, saṭṭaka, rāsaka, nāṭyarāsaka, ullāpyaka.(NLRK.pp.126-34;3026-16).
Śāradātanaya	toṭaka, nāṭikā, goṣṭhī, saṅlāpa, śilpaka, ḍombī, śrīgadita, bhāṇa, bhāṇī, prasthāna, kāvya, prekṣaṇaka, nāṭyarāsaka, rāsaka, ullopyaka, hallīśa, durmallikā, kalpavallī, mallikā, pārijāṭaka. (BhP. p. 255).

Viśvanātha	nāṭikā, troṭaka, goṣṭhī, sattaka, nāṭyarāsaka, prasthānaka, ullāpya, kāvya, preṅkhaṇa, rāsaka, saṃlāpaka, śrīgadita, śilpaka, vilāsikā, durmallikā, prakaraṇī, hallīśa, bhāṇikā.(SD. 6.6).
Subhāṅkara	nāṭikā, prekṣaṇa, toṭaka, śāṭaka, goṣṭhī, saṃlāpa, śilpa, bhāṇī, hallīśa, rāsaka, ullāpaka, śrīgadita, prasthāna, nāṭyarāsaka, durmallikā, lāsikā, kāvya.(SDām.p. 79-80).

In performing most of the minor types listed above the style of presentation employed is that known as kaiśikīṽṛtti which Bharata defines in the following verse:

या श्लक्ष्णनैपथ्यविशेषचित्रा
स्त्रीसंयुता या बहूनृत्तगीता ।
कामोपभोगप्रभवप्रचारा
तां कैशिकीं वृत्तिमुदाहरन्ति ॥ (NS. 20. 54-55)

That which is graceful, varied with special costume and make-up, performed by [lit:added with] women, which [contains] a lot of dance and song [and is] prominently manifested in the enjoyment of passion is known as kaiśikīṽṛtti.

This suggests that when a dramatic type calls for kaiśikīṽṛtti it also requires singing and dancing. But the descriptions in the texts show that not all minor dramatic types could be called musical plays that used dancing, nor did they use all the features of kaiśikīṽṛtti. The features of these types are summarized here from the sources; only those sources have been mentioned that either give the representative view or markedly differ from other sources.

Secondary or minor dramatic types

1. Ullāpyaka: This term is variantly spelt ullāpaka, ullopyaka, ullāpya etc. It is first mentioned in the *Agnipurāṇa* as a minor drama. But, as Warder points out, it is taken in the *NS* as a kind of song (*NS*. Vol. IV, ch. 31.194, 221) and Abhinavagupta does not connect it with a musical play (Warder, 1972,p.165). Sāgaranandin states that it includes songs, the hāsya, śṛṅgāra and karuṇa rasas, a three-act structure and is similar to śilpaka: *Devīmahādevam*.(*NLRK*. 3213-16). *BhP*. has a definition similar to the *NLRK*, citing the *Gāndharvanirṇaya*, and gives two examples of the type, *Devīmahādevam*, and *Udāttakuñjaram* (*BhP*. p.266). *SDām*. gives a similar definition but emphasizes the need for a great number of songs (p.95). From this it would seem that by Śubhaṅkara's time the type had evolved into a rāgakāvya.
2. Kalpavallī: This is described in the *BhP*. (p. 268) as a form that arouses the śṛṅgāra and hāsya rasas, has an exalted hero and a supporting hero (udāttanāyaka and pīṭhamarda upanāyaka). The situation it portrays is that of the heroine waiting for the hero or going to meet the hero. It is characterized by the use of dvipadīkhaṇḍa, rathyātāla, vāsakatāla, three layas, ten lāsya and sandhis. The example given of this form is *Māṇikyavallikā*.
3. Kaṛṇa: *Agnipurāṇa* (338.3) is the only text to mention the name but gives no description.
4. Kāvya: Abhinavagupta quotes Kohala (*NS*.Vol. I, p.182) on rāgakāvya or kāvya and treats it separately, distinguishing from other types of minor dramas that are basically mimetic dance pieces (*NS*Vol. I,

p.181). According to Abhinavagupta, a kāvya should be presented in a variety of tempi to the accompaniment of rāgas and should have a well-constructed plot, as exemplified by *Rāghavavijaya* or *Māricavadha*, which are performed, respectively, to the ṭhakka and kakubha rāgas. Dhanika includes kāvya in his list of nṛtyabhedas, which suggests that he associated it with music and dance although he does not define it. Bhoja refers to kāvya and citrakāvya in his list of minor plays. He differs from Abhinavagupta in stating that kāvya is set to one rāga but citrakāvya to several. Bhoja also gives technical details regarding the tāla and mātrā of the rāgas. The same information is repeated in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (ND1959,p. 192). Sāgaranandin of the *NLRK* suggests more technical details of tāla, vṛtti, rasa and sandhi in this minor play and cites *Utkanṭhitamādhavam* as an example(NLRK.3151). The author of the *BhP.* gives the longest description of kāvya. The description is similar to that by Sāgaranandin but mentions in addition the use of dvipadīkhaṇḍa and, occasionally, of lāsya, as seen in *Gauḍavijaya*. Another work mentioned in the same context is *Sugrīvakelana*, which exemplifies a variant of the type, one that has a brilliant hero, a young heroine and employs joyful speeches (*BhP.*pp. 262-3). The author also includes in his description of rāsaka two lines from Bhoja's definition of kāvya (*BhP.* p. 265). Viśvanātha prescribes lāsya and śṅgārarasa for kāvya, which he considers to be a type of one-act play in which khaṇḍamātrā, dvipadī and bhagnatāla should be used but not the ārabhaṭivṛtti. An example is *Yādavodaya* (*SD.* 6.284-85). Śubhankara's description is similar to Viśvanātha's(*SDām.*p. 96).

5. *Goṣṭhī*: This does not appear in Abhinavagupta's account, nor in Dhanika's. Bhoja was the first writer to include it in his list of minor dramas. According to him, the purpose of *goṣṭhī* is to show the young Kṛṣṇa sporting with cowherds and milkmaids (*ŚrP.Vol. II*, p. 468). This view is repeated in the *ND* (1959, p. 191). The author of the *NLRK* calls *goṣṭhī* a one-act play that lacks *garbha* and *avamarśasandhi* and is performed in the *kaiśikīvr̥tti* (*NLRK* 3026-27). Śāradātanaya's description is quite elaborate: *goṣṭhī* is a one-act play, it is performed in the *kaiśikīvr̥tti*, and it celebrates the deeds of Kṛṣṇa, particularly his killing of demons (*BhP.p.* 256). A similar definition is given by the *SD*, which mentions the one-act structure, *kaiśikīvr̥tti* and *śṛṅgārarasa* (*SD. 6.* 274-75). *Kaiśikīvr̥tti* is mentioned also in the *SDām* (p. 93). All of these accounts agree that these performances involve a number of performers both male and female and employ numerous songs and dances.
6. *Ḍombī*, *ḍombikā*: Abhinavagupta refers to this type as a *nṛtyakāvya* more than once (*NS.Vol.I*, pp.166,180,181, to cite a few). According to the ancient authorities he quotes, it is a dramatic dance composition in four scenes, intended to please the king (*NS.Vol.I*,pp.175,181,188). Abhinavagupta gives two examples: *Guṇamālā* and *Cūḍāmaṇi* (*NS.Vol.I*,pp.171,175; Vol. IV. p. 271). The *BhP.* (p. 257-58) repeats *AB* as do Hemacandra and Vāgbhaṭa (*KAnuH.* pp.327-29;*KAnuV* p.18) and Dhanika mentions the type without providing much information. Warder has a detailed discussion on *ḍombī* (Warder, 1972, pp.156-7).
7. *Totaka*, *trotaka*: This is a variety of *nāṭaka* (*NLRK.* 2766,*BhP.*238; *SD.6.273*). Although this is not a musical piece, nor a dance type, and although the writers do not prescribe dance and music for it, the example

they give of the form is *Vikramorvaśīya*, which does include dance and music. The *Agnipurāṇa* includes the form in its list of dramatic types (*AP*. 338.2) and *SDām*. describes it as a primarily verbal drama (*SDām* p. 92).

8. *Durmallikā*, *durmilitā*: This is mentioned in *AP* (338. 2), *SrP* (Vol. II, p. 282) *ND* (p. 214), *NLRK* (3187), *SD* (6. 303) and *SDām* (p. 69). This is a humorous play in four acts which employs *kaiśikīvr̥tti*. The story involves a 'stolen love' and a deceitful female messenger whose function is interpreted by Raghavan as blackmail. According to Raghavan this is a vulgar performance. No author has cited any example. The reason, according to Warder, may be that this kind of performance did not attract scholarly attention. Raghavan and Warder discuss this form in detail (Raghavan, 1963, p. 547; Warder, 1972, Vol. I, pp. 142-3).
9. *Nartanaka*: This seems to be a mimetic dance in which the dancer mimes, through graceful movements, the meaning of the words of a song. According to the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, it has four varieties, namely, *śamyā*, *lāsyā*, *chalikā* and *dvipadī* (*SrP* Vol. II, p.425; Raghavan, 1963, pp.555-56). The same description is repeated in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*.(1959, p.191). Raghavan calls it a nautch dance (Raghavan, 1963, p. 555).
10. *Nāṭikā*: This is similar to *nāṭaka* and employs songs and dances (*AB*. on the *NS*. 1956, Vol.I. p. 436). Examples can be taken from all periods, such as *Pratijñāyauḡandhārāyaṇa*, *Ratnāvalī* (*SD*. 6.269-72, *AP*.338.2, *BhP*. p. 243-4, *SDām*. p. 91). A variant form of the term is *nāṭī*, which appears in the list of twelve *rūpakas* in *ND* (1959, p. 7).
11. *Nāṭyarāsaka*: This is mentioned in the *Agnipurāṇa* and described *Sr.P*, which is followed by *ND*. *Śāradātanaya*, *Sāgaranandin*, and *Viśvanātha*

treat it as a one-act play. According to Bhoja nāṭyarāsaka is also known as carcarī. Nāṭyarāsaka is described as a springtime dance performed by a group of female dancers (Raghavan, 1963, pp. 562-67), requiring formation dancing or piṇḍibandhas. Warder points out that Bhoja may have confused rāsaka and nāṭyarāsaka: "he inserts the description of the nāṭyarāsaka into the middle of that of the rāsaka, but this may be the result of manuscript corruption" (Warder 1972, p.146). The term nāṭyarāsaka suggests some kind of dramatic content but the description shows it as a dance form. *BhP.* has a long description (pp. 263-65) following Bhoja which includes formation dancing or piṇḍibandhas. It also gives carcarī as an alternative name for the type. Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra describe it as a dance danced by women to the rāga vasanta (*ND.*1959, p. 192) Sāgaranandin says that this form employs a number of lāsyāṅgas and a variety of rhythm and tempo, as for instance in the composition *Vilāsavati* (*NLRK.*3210-12). Viśvanātha similarly suggests the use of ten lāsyāṅgas and a variety of rhythm and tempo (*SD.* 6. 277-9), as in *Narmavati* and *Vilāsavati*. *SDām.* follows the definition of *SD.* (*SDām.* pp. 95-6).

12. Pārijātaka, pārijātalatā: This is a one-act play mentioned only by Śāradātanaya (*BhP.* p. 268) who says that it requires a number of female dancers and the performance of daṇḍarāsaka, citing as example of the type *Gaṅgātaraṅgikā*. Warder thinks there may have been some confusion between pārijātaka and daṇḍarāsaka.
13. Prakaraṇikā, prakaraṇī: This is a species of prakaraṇa (*AB.* on the *NŚ.*Vol. II, p. 436). No examples are given or found. *ND.*, which is followed by *SD.*(6.306), says that it is similar to nāṭikā but the hero should be as in prakaraṇa, including the form in its list of rūpakas (*ND.* 1959, p. 7).

14. Prasthānaka: This type is characterized by descriptive gestures. It is in two acts divided into four scenes. It mainly uses delicate movements, with occasional vigorous passages, such as the gait of an elephant, which stands for the idea of journeying abroad (*NS*. Vol. I. pp. 166, 181). It is listed in the *AP*. Abhinavagupta, Dhanika, Bhoja, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, Hemacandra, Vāgbhaṭa (who like Hemacandra simply reproduces Abhinavagupta), Sāgaranandin, Śāradātanaya, Viśvanātha and Śubhaṅkara. In their detailed descriptions of the form Abhinavagupta and Bhoja mention apasāra, that is, exit, as one of its features. *ND*. defines apasāra as interludes between dances (p. 191). *BhP*. defines it as a musical performance set to rhythm and tempo and performed in kaiśikīvṛtti (p. 262). As example it mentions *Śṛṅgāratilaka* *SD* suggests rhythm, tempo and both kaiśikīvṛtti and bhāratīvṛtti (6. 280-81). *SDām* 's definition is similar to *SD*. 's (*SDām*. p. 95). *NLRK* says that it requires many rhythm and tempo arrangements (*NLRK*. 3147-50). Both Raghavan and Warder have extensive discussions on this type (Raghavan, 1963, pp. 548-49; Warder 1972, pp. 160-61).

15. Prekṣaṇaka, preṅkhaṇaka: The term prekṣaṇaka appears in Bhāsa's *Bālacarita* and, as Warder points out, may simply mean drama (Warder, 1972, p. 139). The *Kāmasūtra* refers to it as a one-act play (*KS*. 2.10.25). The *AP* mentions preṅkhaṇa. No similar term appears in the *AB*, but Bhoja, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, Sāgaranandin, Śāradātanaya and Viśvanātha all list this type. Bhoja says that spectacles such as the immolation of Eros are characteristic of such presentations, and this view is repeated in *ND* (1959, p. 191). *SD* states that all the vṛttis are to be used in this type which it calls preṅkhaṇa (6. 286-87). *SD*. 's description

follows that of Sāgaranandin (*NLRK* .3192-7) and both texts cite *Bālivadha* as an example. *BhP.* has a confused view because it uses the account of nartanaka in Bhoja to define prekṣaṇaka (p.263). *SDām* describes the type as a play that uses all vernaculars but śaurasenī in the main (p. 92). The type is discussed in detail by Raghavan and Warder (Raghavan, 1963, p. 561; Warder, 1972, p. 144).

16. Prerāṇa: This a one-act play featuring comic action and characters. Abhinavagupta describes it as full of laughter and riddles (*AB.NŚ*.1956, Vol. I. pp. 172, 181). Among writers on alaṅkāra Abhinavagupta alone discusses it but in saṅgīta literature prerāṇa (or its variants, perāṇa or perāṇī) appears in almost every work as a form dancing (*SR*. 7.46, 1316-25; *NR*. 7. 34-58; *SSam*. 7. 217-22). The form is discussed in both Mankad and Warder (Mankad 1936, p.127-28; Warder 1972, p.144). It will be discussed in detail later in the present study in course of examining the dance forms that developed from the time of the *SR* through the medieval period.
17. Bhāṇa, bhāṇaka: This term represents both a major and a minor dramatic type. The term has caused considerable confusion in the literature of dance and drama. Its importance to the understanding of the evolution of dancing lies in the fact that though it is a type of drama it employs bold, vigorous body movements and instrumental music. As a minor dramatic type it first appears in the *AB*. (*NŚ*. 1956, Vol.I.p.181) which distinguishes it from the bhāṇa that appears in the list of major dramatic types. The major type is a satirical monologue but the minor type is a presentation that calls for vigorous body movements (*NŚ*.1956, Vol. I. p.181) and a great deal of instrumental music (*NŚ* 1956, Vol. I. p.166)

with irregular beats. Bhoja has a long discussion on this type (Raghavan 1963, pp. 451-54) which he divides into three varieties, namely, śuddha, sañkirṇa and citra. According to him it requires dancing. *ND* closely follows Bhoja and like Bhoja states that it is difficult to perform (*ND* p. 191). It is said to be of three varieties: uddhata, lalita, and lalitoddhata. *BhP.*'s description of the minor type known as bhāṇa is very long, running from page 258 to 262. It says that lāsyāṅgas form part of bhāṇaka. Later in the text (p. 266), Abhinavagupta's definition of the term is given in the middle of discussing rāsaka. Abhinavagupta's definition is reproduced also by Hemacandra and Vāgbhaṭa. Dhanika offers no definition. A variety of bhāṇaka is known as nandimālī (*BhP*, p.261, *ŚrP*. II. 424-5). Both Raghavan and Warder have substantial discussions on bhāṇa (Raghavan, 1963, pp. 551-54; Warder 1972, pp.158-59). A detailed study has been made by S. S. Janaki in her dissertation .

18. Bhāṇikā: Bhāṇikā is mentioned in *AB*, *AP*, *Śrīgāraprakāśa*, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (of Hemacandra), *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (of Vāgbhaṭa), *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* and *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. Abhinavagupta refers to the enactment of bālakriḍā (presumably of Kṛṣṇa) in bhāṇikā (*NS*.1956, Vol. I. p. 181). Bhoja says that bhāṇikā is similar to bhāṇa but that the movements are delicate (*ŚrP*.Vol II, p.467). Śāradātanaya considers lāsyāṅgas as necessary in bhāṇikā as in bhāṇa and states that the minor dramatic type known as bhāṇa has the features of bhāṇarūpaka, of which *Vīṇāvati* is an example (*BhP*. p. 262). *NLRK* prescribes both bhāratī and kaisikīvr̥tti for bhāṇikā (3160-63). *SD* gives a similar account of the type and cites *Kāmadattā* as an example (6. 308-13). Both Vāgbhaṭa and Hemacandra follow Abhinavagupta and quote him. Raghavan and

Warder discuss the type in detail (Raghavan, 1963. pp. 551-5; Warder, 1972, Vol.I. pp.159-60).

19. **Bhāṇī:** This type is mentioned the *AP*, the *avaloka* of *Dhanika*, *NLRK*, and *BhP*. In the *AP* and *NLRK* both *bhāṇī* and *bhāṇika* are discussed. *AP* offers no definition of *bhāṇī* but *NLRK* distinguishes it from *bhāṇikā* by saying that *bhāṇī* contains *lāsyāṅgas* and arouses *śṛṅgārarasa*, offering as example *Viṇāvati* (*NLRK* 3184-6). *Śāradātanaya* lists *bhāṇī* as one of the *nṛtyabhedas* (*BhP*.p. 255) but in describing it he equates it with *bhāṇikā* (p. 262). *Śubhaṅkara* (*SDām*.p.94) follows *NLRK* and *BhP*.
20. **Mallikā:** This is mentioned only by *Śāradātanaya* (*BhP*. pp. 267-8) who identifies it as the same as *maṇikulyā*, which is a mystery story. The description is not very clear but seems similar to that of *durmallikā*. It includes a jester or parasite among its characters and is in two acts. Warder discusses it in some detail (Warder, 1972, Vol. I.pp.144-5).
21. **Rāmākrīḍa:** *Abhinavagupta* briefly discusses this type which is characterized by the description of the seasons (*NS*.Vol. I, p. 181). *BhP*., the *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* of *Hemacandra* (*KAnu.H*.p. 327-29) and the *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* of *Vāgbhaṭa* (*KAnu.V*. p. 18) mention this type of minor drama, *BhP*. repeating a line from its discussion on *rāsaka* (p. 266). No other text mentions *rāmākrīḍa*.
22. **Rāsaka:** *Rāsaka* is mentioned in almost every early text. It is found in *Abhinavagupta*, *Kumārila*, *Bhāmaha*, *Dhanika*, *Bhoja*, *Rāmacandra* and *Guṇacandra*, *Hemacandra*, *Vāgbhaṭa* and appears in the *AP*, *NLRK*, *BhP*, *SD*, and *SDām*. As noted earlier in the present study (pp. 162-63), it is

treated both as a drama and as a dance in the literature. Abhinavagupta identifies it as a dramatic dance (*NS*. Vol. I.p. 181). Kumāriḷa, Bhāmaha, Dhanika and the *AP* offer no definition. According to Bhoja hallīsaka becomes rāsa when it is performed to certain defined tālas (*ŚrP*.Vol. II, p. 283). In his detailed discussion he states that piṇḍibandhas or group dances are a feature of this type and describes them (*ŚrP*.Vol. II, pp 425-6). Evidently, Bhoja sees it primarily as a dance, although he places it under padārthābhīnayātmaka prekṣyaprabandhas. Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra follow Bhoja (*ND*.1959,p. 191). Hemacandra and Vāgbhaṭa quote Abhinavagupta's view. The *Harivaṃśa* has references to rāsa (2.89.67; 93.24). *NLRK*'s definition implies the importance of verbal acting(sakalabhāṣāvībhāṣāśobhitam) but does not include dance or music (3205-9). As example it cites *Madanikākāmūka*. *BhP*.gives a highly confusing description (pp. 265-66). Śāradātanaya reproduces Abhinavagupta's quotation from the cirantanas in the middle of his own definition. From the discussion in *SD* it seems that rāsaka is a minor drama characterized by verbal acting but employing singing and dancing as well (6. 288-90). *SDām*. follows *SD* but adds that the type is also known as the kṛīdārāsaka of the gopīs (*SDām*. p. 95). Both Warder and Raghavan have long discussions on rāsaka that attempt to resolve the confusion in the texts (Raghavan, 1963, pp.561-67; Warder, 1972, pp.145,148).

The dance called daṇḍarāsaka perhaps evolved out of śamyā, as Warder has suggested (Warder, 1972, p. 152). It is a group dance performed with sticks, as we find in *Karpūramañjarī* (4.10-11). This is a feature of pārijātaka as described in *BhP*. (p. 268), which suggests that daṇḍarāsaka

and pārijātaka are one and the same. However, *BhP.* later (p. 297) equates rāsaka with latā, a variety of lāsya, and divides rāsaka into three classes, daṇḍarāsaka, maṇḍalarāsaka, and nāṭyarāsaka. A saṅgīta text, *SSam.*, describes it as a dance that requires various tālavādyas and is performed with sticks (*SSam.*6. 240-45). *NR.* describes rāsaka primarily as a piṇḍibandha, (7. 84-97); nāṭyarāsaka as mime to a song (7. 100) and daṇḍarāsaka as a group dance performed with coloured sticks(.7.101-7). All three are described as deśīrṭtas danced to music. The *Nartananirṇaya* describes rāsa and daṇḍarāsa in the similar manner putting them under the anibandha category of deśī dancing (*NN.*53a). This type of performance has survived into our times, especially in Gujarat. Raghavan has discussed rāsaka in detail (Raghavan, 1963, pp. 561-2).

23. Vāra: Bodhāyana (*Bhagavadajjukiya.*1925,p. 4.) mentions this but offers no definition. *BhP.* (p. 241) refers to a form of nāṭaka it calls nṛtyacāra (vāra being an alternative reading). Abhinavagupta mentions nāṭyadhāra (*NS.*Vol. III, p.172), which, Warder suggests, may be a scribal error. He conjectures that vāra was an ancient and obsolete type of drama which was not recorded by later writers (Warder, 1972, Vol. I. p.141). None of the available references is clear enough to indicate the nature of vāra.

24. Vilāsikā: This appears only in the *SD* which describes it as employing ten lāsyaṅgas and arousing śṛṅgārarasa. This type was evidently also known as vināyikā (*SD.* 6. 301-2, p.106, comm.). In his discussion of vilāsikā (Warder, 1972,pp.162-3) Warder derives the term from lāsikā, which he considers to be an alternate form of lāsya. He further states that lāsikā, which appears in the *Alaṅkārasaṁgraha* of Amṛtānanda, is the

same as the bhāṇī of Sāgaranandin. In *SDām*. lāsikā has the same meaning as vilāsikā mentioned in *SD* (*SDām*. p.96).

25. Śrīgadita: This term appears in the *AP* and in Dhanika, Bhoja, Rāmacandra, Hemacandra, Vāgbhaṭa, Śāradātanaya, Viśvanātha and Śubhaṅkara, but the *AP* and Dhanika do not describe it. Bhoja says that it depicts through songs and recitations the state of separation in love. *ND* follows Bhoja (1959,p. 191) as do *SDām*. (p. 95) and *NLRK* except that *NLRK* says that the performance involves mainly verbal acting and does not call for songs, an example being *Kriḍārasātala* (*NLRK*.3157-59). *BhP*. agrees that śrīgadita should mainly employ verbal acting but recommends some singing and lalita movements (p. 258). *SD* gives a definition similar to Bhoja's but adds that the presentation should frequently use the word "śrī". The example given is again *Kriḍārasātala*.. Raghavan compares śrīgadita with the Tamil kuruvañci and with the varṇam and padam of Bharatanāṭyam (Raghavan, 1963, pp. 546-7).
26. Śilpaka: This term appears in *AP*, *NLRK*, *BhP*., *SD* and *SDām*. *NLRK* says that it consists of four vṛttis and twenty-seven aṅgas (*NLRK* 3029-46). *BhP* (p. 257) and *SD* (6. 296-300) agree with *NLRK*' s description. All of them cite *Kanakāvatīmādhava* as an example. Śubhaṅkara follows them (*SDām*. p. 94).
27. Śidgaka, śiṅgaka: This type is termed śidgaka by Abhinavagupta (*NŚ*.Vol. I , p. 181) , and śiṅgaka by Hemacandra (*KAnuH*.p.327) and Vāgbhaṭa (*KAnuV*. p.18), but has the same definition in all three. Abhinavagupta says that it is a musical play full of songs ("gīyamānarūpaka" -*NŚ*.Vol. I. p.166) and that although it is a delicate

form, it makes extensive use of vigorous movements. He later quotes the cirantanas (*NS*.Vol. I. p.181) who describe it as a delicate form. The type described as śṛṅadita by Bhoja seems to be similar to ṣidgaka.

Hemacandra refers to śṛṅadita and śiṅgaka (a variant spelling of ṣidgaka) as different types but defines śiṅgaka similarly as Bhoja's śṛṅadita.

Abhinavagupta's definition of ṣidgaka is quoted in *BhP*. (p. 266) to form the definition of śilpaka, although a few pages earlier *BhP*. describes śilpaka as in *NLRK* (*BhP*. p. 257; *NLRK* 3029-46). Raghavan compares ṣidgaka with śṛṅadita (Raghavan, 1963, pp. 546-7). Warder has a long discussion (Warder, 1972, pp. 161-62) on the possible connection between this and other types of minor drama.

28. Śāṭaka, saṭṭaka: This is mentioned in the *AP*, in Hemacandra, *NLRK*, *BhP*., *SD* and *SDām*. Hemacandra, who includes it in the class of rūpakas, says that it is performed in prākṛta and is similar to a nāṭikā (*KAnuH*. p.317). The *NLRK* recommends kaiśikivṛtti for this type which it calls similar to nāṭikā, citing as example *Karpūramañjarī* (*NLRK*. 3198-3204). *Karpūramañjarī* uses śāṭaka, the prākṛt form of the term. Śāradātanaya agrees that the type is similar to nāṭikā but does not include it in the list of minor dramas or recommend kaiśikivṛtti (*BhP*.p. 244). Both *NLRK* and Śāradātanaya suggest the use of prākṛt. *SD* agrees with *BhP*. and cites *Karpūramañjarī* as an example (6. 276-7). The edited text of *SDām*. refers to śāṭaka (pp. 79, 92-3) as a type of minor drama and defines it in the same way as saṭṭaka, which is found in *BhP*. and *SD*. This text also gives (*SDām*. p. 93) śāṭaka as a reading from the India Office Library manuscript, which suggests that the two terms are alternate spellings of the same term. The term is listed by Bhoja as a rūpaka (*ŚrP*.Vol. II, pp.

421-22) and is so defined by him. In *Karpūramañjarī* (Act IV, 10-11) there is a description of the dance called *daṇḍarāsa* which is introduced by the stage direction "tataḥ praviśati carcarī." This suggests that while *śātaka* was not a dance drama, it used dance and music. Except for *NLRK* no text prescribes *kaiśikīvṛtti* as such but the common view that the type resembles *nāṭikā* implies the use of songs and dances as found in *Karpūramañjarī*

29. Sallāpa, saṁlāpa: *NLRK, BhP, SD* and *SDām.* describe this as a minor drama that does not use the *kaiśikī* and *bhāratī* vṛttis. *NLRK* suggests the *sāttvatī* and *ārabhaṭī* vṛttis as essential to the type (*NLRK* 3028). *BhP.* gives a similar definition at greater length (p. 256). *SD* (6. 291-92) agrees with *NLRK* and *BhP.*, as does *SDām.* (p. 93). The example cited by *NLRK, SD* and *SDām.* is *Māyākāpālika.*
30. Hallīśaka, hallīśaka: This is a group dance resembling *rāsaka* and is mentioned by *Vātsyāyana* (*KS.* p.154, II.10.25), by *Bhāsa* in the *Bālacarita* (Act 3), and in *AP* (338.3), *Harivaṁśa* (89.68), *AB.* (NŚ. Vol. I.p. 181), *ŚrP* (Vol. II, p. 425), *ND* (1959,p. 191), *Hemacandra* (*KAnuH.*p.327), *Vāgbhaṭa* (*KAnuV.* p.18), *NLRK* (3154-6), *BhP.* (pp. 266-7), *SD* (6. 307), and *SDām* (p. 94). *Abhinavagupta* describes it as a dance and places it under musical or dance dramas. *ŚrP.* considers it to be a minor dramatic type but defines it after *AB.* , which is quoted by *Hemacandra* and *Vāgbhaṭa.* *ND.* reproduces *Bhoja's* account (*ND.* 1959, p. 191). *NLRK* follows *Abhinavagupta* and *Bhoja* and cites *Keliraivataka* as an example (*NLRK* 3154-6). The same example is given by *BhP* which treats *hallīśaka* at some length, calling it a dramatic type that employs *geyalāsyā* and some of the technical features of drama. The technical features of

drama are mentioned also by *SD*, which gives a shorter account, stating that the type calls for *kaiśikīvr̥tti* and the use of a variety of rhythm and tempo. The example given is again *Keliraivataka*. Raghavan (1963, pp. 554-5) and Warder (1972, pp.139,152) have long discussions on the type.

These, then, are the thirty types of minor dramatic performances which came to be known as *uparūpakas* and which we find in *alaṅkāra* literature as well as related works. Some of these types involve dance and music, and these are found in the works on *saṅgīta* that begin to appear around the 13th century. Of these, only those are relevant to the present study that employ dancing, some being primarily dance forms while some are dance dramas. Minor dramatic types may thus be classified into three broad categories: first, those that use no music or dance; second, those that use music and dance; third, those that are primarily dance dramas, or musical plays, or dance performances. In the first category we may include the following: *durmallikā*, *prekṣaṇaka*, *mallikā*, *prerana* ⁴⁹ *śilpaka* and *samlāpa*. The second category includes the following: *nāṭikā*, *trotaka*, *kalpavallī*, *prakaraṇa* and *sattaka*. The third category has two subdivisions: musical plays and dance dramas. As noted above, the texts mention the following types of musical plays: *kāvya*, *prasthānaka*, *rāmākriḍa* (this may be included in the first type but its definition is not clear), *ullāpyaka* and *ṣidgaka*. The other sub-category, that of dance drama, includes the following: *goṣṭhī*, *ḍombī*, *nartanaka*, *nāṭyarāsaka*, *pārijātaka*, *vāra*, *vilāsikā*, *bhāṇaka*, *bhāṇikā*, *bhāṇī*, *rāsaka* and *hallīsaka*. Of these, the following may be considered as a separate group, for they are exclusively dance compositions: *goṣṭhī*, *ḍombī*, *rāsaka*, *nāṭyarāsaka* and *hallīsaka*. To this group belongs one of the few surviving

⁴⁹ This term later came to denote a different spectacle; see p. 189 of this thesis.

forms from this period, namely, *rāsaka* or *rāsa*, which is still practised in Gujarat and Manipur.

The use of the term *uparūpaka* thus reflects a gradually coalescing view of those forms of performing arts that required body movements that were aesthetically pleasing as well as representational. In other words, these forms possessed characteristics of both dance and drama, though some were more dance than drama and some the other way about. As our survey here shows, till the early medieval period there was a great variety of such forms, not always clearly distinguished from one another and even when so distinguished, not greatly differing from one another. With the passage of time it became evident that these forms fell into two broad divisions, both mimetic in nature but one achieving its effect primarily by the significance of body movements, the other by their form, one emphasizing the verbal representation of events and character, the other appealing to the senses through physical action. Art forms of the first kind were considered to belong to a sub-category of drama proper, hence the term *uparūpaka*, while the other forms were placed under *nṛtya*, or mimetic dance. Thus the development of the two broad categories marked a progressively clearer conception of the characteristics of dance as well as drama. It also meant that the classification of the performing arts was simplified, whereby the class names used earlier, except for *lāsya*, became part of the terminology of music rather than of drama.

The attempt to classify categories was, however, not restricted to the use of the terms *nṛtya* and *uparūpaka*. A similar trend towards definitive classification may be seen also in the attempt to distinguish the tradition of dancing described first by Bharata from the later, more broad-based and popular forms of the art.

The next two chapters will examine how this distinction came about and what it meant in terms of the content and style of performance.

Nṛtya



Chapter 5

BANDHA AND ANIBANDHA

During the period that started with Someśvara in the eleventh century and ended with Mahārāṇā Kumbhā in the fifteenth, that is, the second period of the evolution of the concept of dance, we find that the thought of these authors focused on the division of dance into two traditions, a division that was firmly entrenched by the end of this period. One tradition was termed mārḡa, and regarded as the central tradition established by Bharata, and the other deśī, the tradition which represented local and popular forms of dancing and which Bharata left out of his account. In this second period the most influential of all the authors was Śārṅgadeva who discussed deśī and continued to influence the authors in the third period of development.

In the third period, however, we find another development -- a different kind of categorization of dancing. At least one author, Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, draws our attention to another major development while describing dance traditions of different regions of his time.¹ In his work on dancing and dramaturgy, the *Nartananirṇaya*, written in the sixteenth century, he does not merely divide dance into the two traditions, but gives a full account of the deśī tradition, presenting material he evidently collected from different regions, showing the varieties of dancing that existed in his time. Quite often these descriptions offer

¹ Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala is better known in the field of music and although his work on dancing, the *Nartananirṇaya*, has been known by name, neither a critical edition nor a critical study of this work has been done so far. An account of its content has been given by the present writer in her B. Litt. thesis and her book. Bose, 1964. 1970.

full identifications of different styles. Information is given about which part of India the particular style came from, what language was used in the accompanying songs, and, at times, modes of presentation. By comparing his accounts of those styles with the styles practised today, it is possible to establish links between these styles. This text thus offers us a major breakthrough in understanding both the evolution and the continuity of the art of dance because it enables us to reconstruct the styles prevalent at a transitional period in the cultural history of India.

One important contribution of the *Nartananirṇaya* is the evidence we may draw from it to establish firmly the time of the origin of two major styles of India today, namely, Kathak and Odissi. There has always been some controversy about the evolution of these two styles. Dance historians in general are agreed that while the roots of Kathak go back to ancient Hindu culture, its present form is derived from dancing styles imported by Mughal rulers. There is no doubt that Kathak did absorb some Persian influence, but the case for that influence is overstated. This can be easily seen by comparing the detailed descriptions found in the *Nartananirṇaya* with the movements of Kathak. The style described in the *Nartananirṇaya* is, of course, not termed Kathak, a name that came into use much later, but the descriptions clearly show it to be the same as what we know today as Kathak.

The same historical perspective is lent by the *Nartananirṇaya* to the Odissi style. Odissi was in oblivion for a long time. Even during the renaissance of the dance, when Bharatanāṭyam was rediscovered and hailed as the true core of the authentic tradition of the art, Odissi remained unknown to the general public and even to many dancers and dance scholars. When eventually Odissi began to be

performed in the early 1950s, its authenticity was called into question, some critics suggesting that it had been concocted by some interested performing artists of Orissa.² But the *Nartananirṇaya* provides incontrovertible proof that as a distinct style Odissi goes back at least four centuries, although it was not then known as Odissi, a name that came into use much later, just as we find in the case of Kathak. Puṇḍarīka's discussion of these and other styles show a high degree of correspondence with present-day styles. The *Nartananirṇaya* thus marks a definite terminal point in the ancestry of today's classical Indian dancing.

The historic importance of the *Nartananirṇaya* has remained unacknowledged for two reasons: first, Puṇḍarīka has been traditionally known as an expert in music rather than dancing; secondly and surprisingly, most of the other texts of this third period, although written after the *Nartananirṇaya*, have followed the *Saṅgītaratnākara* in the main. As a result, the detailed information available in *Nartananirṇaya* has remained unexamined.³

Before we examine the technical details of the styles described in the *Nartananirṇaya*, we must consider the categorization attempted in it. Throughout the history and evolution of dancing, its literature has been given to categorizing the art in many ways. Many of the categories used at one time or another seem of doubtful use since they overlap with others or are not distinct enough to be taken as individual categories. It is for this reason, no doubt, that most of such categories have disappeared from accepted usage and have no relevance to the art as it is practised today. However, the readiness of the authors of Sanskrit dance manuals to formulate categories indicates a sustained attempt

² Bose, N. "Odissi Dance today and its Exponents" *Classical and Folk Dances of India*, part,iv. 'Odissi,' p. 51.

³ A critical edition is under preparation by the present writer.

to systematize the study of dancing by classifying its forms. One such attempt of particular historical significance is seen in the use of the terms *bandha* and *anibandha*. Applied to dancing, these terms appear first in the *Nartananirṇaya*. The author describes the two categories thus:

कार्यं तत्र द्विधा नृत्तं बन्धकं चानिबन्धकम्
 गत्यादिनियमैर्युक्तं बन्धकं नृत्तमुच्यते
 अनिबन्धं त्वनियमाद..... ॥ (NN.40a)⁴

Nṛtta can be of two kinds: *bandha* and *anibandha*. *Bandhanṛtta* is structured with *gati* etc. while *anibandha* comes from following no rule.

How these categories came into existence must be considered in the context of how dancing and its literature evolved. As we have seen in the previous chapters, in the earliest works the categories are few; it is in the later works that categories begin to multiply. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, the first and most influential of the texts on dance, drama and music, does not divide dancing into any categories. Bharata recorded only one kind of dancing: *nṛtta*, the kind that later came to be known as *mārga* or classical. He mentions the existence of popular, regional dance forms, forms later categorized as *deśī*.⁵ Bharata obviously did not find them important enough to be included in his treatise. For several centuries after Bharata, manuals on music and dancing were virtual copies of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and described nothing that was substantially new. However, as time went on, the manuals began to extend their accounts to

⁴ Textual references are to the India Office Library Manuscript, London, unless otherwise noted.

⁵ NS. 9.163-64.

include new forms and techniques of dancing. The texts began to include the *deśī* style as an individual, descriptive category around the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. The *Brhadde śī* by Mataṅga, written in the eighth century,⁶ was the first text to deal with the *deśī* style in the field of music.⁷ In the field of dance too *deśī* styles began to be mentioned around this time. And although Someśvara of the eleventh century was the first writer to give us a brief account of the *deśī* style it is not until we arrive at the *Saṅgītaratnākara* by Śārṅgadeva that we find a systematic study of both *mārga* and *deśī* dance styles as separate categories.⁸ The *Saṅgītamakaranda*, which also gives an account of one *deśī* style, may have been earlier but with a corrupt and undependably edited text we hardly get a picture clear enough to identify that style as a separate *deśī* style. However, from the description that it gives it seems likely that the style was a regional one that was practiced by prostitutes.⁹

A further subdivision occurred later when the terms *bandha* and *anibandha* were applied to types of dancing. Parallel terms with similar meanings but different forms--*nibaddha* and *anibaddha*--had already been in use in music to denote two parts of a musical composition, or *prabandha*. While both parts followed certain rules of structure and of development, *anibaddha* was comparatively loose in its structure since it was free of the regimen of *tāla*. By contrast, *baddha* was more rigorously constructed, bound as it was by the constraining patterns of *tāla*. These musical terms were first used in the

Nāṭyaśāstra :

⁶ Katz, 1983, p. 59.

⁷ अबालगोपालैः क्षितिपालैर्निजेच्छया ।

गीयते सानुरागेन स्वदेशे देशिरुच्यते ॥ (*Brhaddeśī* 13.)

⁸ SR. 7. 26-7; 749-50; 1207; 1278.

⁹ SMak. 4.

निबद्धं चानिबद्धं च येन तेन द्विधा स्मृतम् ॥ (NS.32. 28)

Nibaddha and anibaddha can be of two kinds.

Later the *Bṛhaddeśī* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara* used them and the distinction was clearly drawn in both:

निबद्धश्चानिबद्धश्च मार्गोऽयं द्विविधो मतः ।

आप्लापादि(?)निबद्धो यः स च मार्गः प्रकीर्तितः॥ (*Bṛhaddeśī*. 14)

This mārṅa is said to be of two kinds, namely,

nibaddha and anibaddha. That which is

structured by ālāpa (?) etc.is called mārṅa.

बद्धं धातुभिरङ्गैश्च निबद्धमभिधीयते ।

आलप्तिबन्धहीनत्वादनिबद्धमितीरिता ॥ (SR. 4. 5)

Nibaddha is known by being structured with

dhātus and [other] elements. Anibaddha is so

called because it is not structured with ālapti.

The distinction between nibaddha and anibaddha clearly represents one of the important principles by which ways of composing music may be differentiated. It is to this categorization that we owe the term ālāpa, which still carries the connotation of free improvisation within the given framework of a rāga.

Almost 1500 years after these terms came into use in music, Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala's work on dancing applied the terms bandha and anibandha to dancing,¹⁰ attempting to draw a distinction between categories of dancing that

¹⁰Bose, 1970. p. 5.

reflected the spirit of the distinction made in music, though the terms did not exactly correspond in form or meaning to those used in music.

Before examining Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala's use of these terms it is necessary to note that the bulk of his work was in music. It is, therefore, not surprising that when he tried to distinguish categories of dancing by using as the differentiating principle the degree of improvisation permissible, he should have borrowed terms from his primary expertise, even though the parallel was not exact and the forms of the words were different.¹¹ It would seem that this is the sense in which this distinction came to be understood after Puṇḍarīka, for the only substantial work on dancing to be written after the *Nartananirṇaya*, the *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* by Dāmodara, repeats the usage and reproduces the discussion of the terms as in Puṇḍarīka's work.¹²

Puṇḍarīka uses the terms unambiguously. Bandhanṛttas are set pieces with every movement in their structured sequences clearly specified for the dancer. Given such detailed descriptions, a dancer trained in the appropriate style of dancing could reconstruct a composition perfectly, executing all the movements down to the minutest detail in precisely the sequence prescribed. The bandh^anṛttas are, then, fully structured compositions that the dancer is required to reproduce unaltered, with no variations, no straying from the set choreography. Herein lies the significance of the term bandha, that is, a "closed" composition.

¹¹ कार्यं तत्र द्विधा नृत्तं बन्धकं चानिबन्धकम्। (NN. 40a).

निबद्धश्चानिबद्धश्च मार्गोऽयं द्विविधो मतः। (Brhaddeśī 14)

निबद्धमनिबद्धं तद् द्वेधा निगदितं बुधैः। (SR. 4. 4)

¹² Dāmodara is believed to have been a court poet of Jahangir, which places him in the 17th century; see Krishnamachariar, repr. New Delhi, 1974, p. 806.

By contrast, anibandhanṛttas are flexible in both form and content within broadly specified frameworks of aesthetic purpose. The *Nartananirṇaya* does not describe any of the anibandhanṛttas in sufficient detail to allow us to reconstruct a full composition. What then was this anibandhanṛtta ? On the basis of the scanty descriptions in *Nartananirṇaya*, anibandhanṛttas seem to be short dance-sequences, using which a dancer can choreograph her own piece. Thus, they have the same function in the dancer's choreographic design as the karaṇas of the mārṅa tradition. But their structural principle is entirely different from that of karaṇas in that they are entirely flexible as to their components and structure while karaṇas are of course rigidly set structures. The *Nartananirṇaya* does not give details about the movements constituting the anibandhanṛttas but only discusses the movements in broad, general terms.

It would seem that the anibandhanṛttas were unlike any other dance pieces described in the literature before the *Nartananirṇaya*. Did they then represent a new, hitherto unrecorded style of dancing that differed from other post-mārṅa styles in being still uncodified and therefore allowing the dancer a far greater measure of freedom? Was the author trying to create for this new style a new category since it could not be fitted into any other, inasmuch as even the relatively new, deśī styles adhered to the accepted principle of prescriptive design and this new style did not? Evidently, the author was recording two different classes of dancing, the distinction between which demanded the use of two different terms. This hypothesis, and perhaps only this would explain the use of the terms bandha and anibandha and clarify their meaning as categories, bandhanṛttas denoting dances for which there already were prescribed rules, and anibandhanṛttas denoting dances for which there were none.

That this is more than mere speculation is suggested by the history of dancing. We find that a new style of dance, still unnamed but later to be known as Kathak, was indeed taking shape at this time, and that this style placed a greater emphasis on creating dances within the general structure of movements than on following a set regimen of technical details. This new style offered a new approach to dancing and appeared on the dance scene precisely at the time when the *Nartananirṇaya* was written.

On its part the *Nartananirṇaya* describes several entirely new dances, all of them deśī and all previously unreported, although it follows the *Saṅgītaratnākara* in describing some other deśī dances. When we look closely at the technique of the dance described under the anibandha category, we begin to see certain striking similarities with the technique of Kathak. One cannot say that the style described in the *Nartananirṇaya* matches Kathak in every detail, but one may certainly view that style as the precursor to Kathak.

The historical context of the *Nartananirṇaya* makes this connection highly plausible. The text was part of the same cultural world of the Mughal court that nurtured Kathak. Indeed, the colophon states that the work was written by Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala for the delectation of the Emperor Akbar, the Mughal ruler :

अकबरनृपरुच्यर्थं भूलोके सरलसङ्गीतम् ।

कृतमिदं बहुतरभेदं सुहृदां हृदये सुखं भूयात् ॥ (NN. 53b)

In [this] world this simple saṅgīta is created [with] a lot of varieties in order to please the king Akbar. May it please the heart of the good-hearted ones.

By Akbar's time the ideals and techniques of Persian art were firmly entrenched in the cultural life of India, co-existing with varied native traditions. Puṇḍarīka declares that along with the regional styles of dancing he is describing the dance of the yavanas, in this case, the Persians:

यत्नचेष्टाविरहितं तन्नृत्यं जक्कडी मतम् ।
 पारसीकैः पण्डितैस्तूद्ग्राहादिस्वरभाषया ।
 यद् गीतं जक्कडीसंज्ञं यवनानामतिप्रियम् ॥ (NN. 53a)

That dance is known as jakkaḍī which is devoid of effort and action. The song sung by the experts from Persia using udgrāha, svaras etc. and vernacular is known as jakkaḍī which is the favourite of the yavanas.

Since modern scholars believe that Kathak is influenced by Persian dance-forms, Puṇḍarīka's statement provides a strong argument to trace the ancestry of Kathak to the style he describes. The *Nartananirṇaya* seems, thus, to be the proper textual source for Kathak. This claim becomes stronger still on examining points of technique, as I shall shortly attempt.

Two arguments help to validate the hypothesis that Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala devised the anibandha category to classify the kinds of dances that eventually evolved as Kathak. First, what we now call Kathak represented in its early days a new principle of design, because as a style largely moulded by the Persian influence it was certainly outside the framework provided by Bharata. Thus, even though it could be viewed as a regional or deśī form, it had to be distinguished by being put into a special category.

Secondly, the similarities between the techniques of Kathak and anibandhanṛttas are most suggestive. Unlike other styles, Kathak does not prescribe in detail the movements it employs. This does not mean that Kathak does not use the movements that we find in other styles. It uses all the minor movements prescribed for the different parts of the body in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* just as the other styles do. But unlike the other styles Kathak does not have set compositions consisting of body movements, which are to be rigidly followed by the dancer. In Kathak, for instance, descriptions of dances do not identify particular constituent movements by name; rather, the descriptions identify general types of movements. The parallel with the anibandhanṛttas found in the *Nartananirṇaya* is obvious. Even a brief comparison of the respective techniques and requirements of Kathak and anibandhanṛtta underscores the parallel.

The *Nartananirṇaya* has four chapters, one each on rhythm, drum, song and dance. In the chapter on rhythm, when the author specifies the tālas appropriate to the dance he describes, the technical terms that he uses, sādhanās in particular, match those used in Kathak today and listed by Nirmala Joshi in her article, "Technical terms pertaining to Dance in general and used in Kathak."¹³ These terms, which Joshi calls prāṇas, or the life of tālas, are almost identical with the different sādhanās mentioned in the chapter on tāla in the *Nartananirṇaya*. For instance, in Kathak, yati or the rhythmic arrangement of the tempo is divided into five categories, samā, srotagatā, gopucchikā, pipīlikā and mṛdaṅgī. The *Nartananirṇaya* lists the same types of yatis similar in every detail, although it includes a sixth type, kharjurikā. Another term, kuvāḍa, used

¹³ Joshi, 1963. "Technical terms pertaining to Dance in general and used in Kathak." *Classical and Folk Dances of India*, part. iii. 'Kathak,' p. 8-9.

in Kathak to denote the climax of a complex rhythmic pattern is also found in the *Nartananirṇaya*.

This similarity offers good reason to believe that the style described in the *Nartananirṇaya* was something very much like Kathak, since it required musical elements similar to those needed for Kathak. The argument becomes even more persuasive when we examine the specifics of the dance technique. But first let us briefly consider the typical characteristics of Kathak as known today.

A major characteristic of Kathak is that although like other forms of classical dancing it follows the same basic rules for the movements of the individual parts of the body, it expects the dancer to find his or her individual way to elaborate those movements within certain aesthetic condition given. A good example may be taken from Maya Rao's article, "The Hastas in Kathak": "In Kathak the body as a whole is visualised as the prime medium of expression. . . . For instance, if the dancer intends to represent the moon, not only will his hands show the Ardha-chandra Hasta, but his body will also bend in an arch to suggest the idea of a crescent moon."¹⁴ The same approach to elaborating and dramatizing basic movements is found in the *Nartananirṇaya*. The description of a dance called *lāvaṇī* includes an almost identical movement in which the dancer bends her body from her waist in *ardhacandra* :

समपादे स्थितं पात्रं कटिन्यस्तार्धचन्द्रकम् ।

कटेरुपरि तत् कायं भ्रामयेल्लावणी तदा ॥ (NN. 52b-53a)

[When]the performer stands in *samapāda*

with her waist bent in [the shape of] half-

¹⁴ Rao, 1963."Hastas in Kathak." *Classical and Folk Dances of India*, part. iii. 'Kathak,' p. 45.

moon and she rotates her body [lit : upper part from her waist], it is *lāvaṇī*.

The description of *nāmāvalī*, an *anibandhanṛtya*, strongly supports the contention that in this kind of dancing only a general guideline was provided for the dancer:

यथाभिनयसम्पन्नं विचित्रगतिसुन्दरम् ।
तीवटिग्रहभेदेन लयतालसमन्वितम् ।
नामावलीनृत्तमिदं नृत्येज्जनमनोहरम् ॥ (NN. 51b-52a)

Created with proper abhinaya, beautified with various gaits and distinguishing between *tīvaṭī* and *graha* [which are] filled with *laya* and *tāla*, this *nāmāvalīnṛtya*, which is pleasing to people should be danced.

This description, which gives the dancer broad, general directions rather than detailed, specific instructions, is typical of Kathak, in which the dancer is similarly guided. The striking feature of such a description is its lack of detail; but that is precisely the feature that makes the dance form flexible and permits the dancer the freedom to make creative choices in building an individual choreography.

Maya Rao also mentions a composition by Shambhu Maharaj, called "rang-manch ka tukra," which is performed to invoke the blessings of the presiding deity of the stage. Rao finds striking resemblance between this composition and the invocatory dance described in the *Saṅgīṭadarpaṇa*.¹⁵ As a

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

matter of fact, the dance first appeared in the *Nartananirṇaya*, from which the *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* has merely copied the description.

Two of the most distinctive movements of Kathak are chakkars and tatkars. A chakkar is a rapidly spinning movement while a tatkara means to stamp on the ground with one foot or both, and marking the rhythm with ankle bells. Chakkar can be identified as the cakrabhramarī mentioned in the *Nartananirṇaya*, which describes it as a spinning movement:

चक्रभ्रमरिकाखण्डसूच्यर्धे चक्रवद् भ्रमात् । (NN. 47b)

Cakrabhramarī [is performed] by spinning
[lit: moving round] like a wheel in the middle
of khaṇḍasūci.

It is true that the bhramarīs were known long before the time of the *Nartananirṇaya*--Bharata refers to them -- but they were not given the prominence that they receive in the *Nartananirṇaya*. Revolving movements are of course integral to all dance styles, but in classical styles other than Kathak the movements are never fast enough, nor sustained enough to achieve the aesthetic form that a chakkar creates in Kathak. It is the speed of revolution that sets it apart and it is precisely this element of fast spinning, comparable to that of the pirouette, that we find in the description of cakrabhramarīs in the *Nartananirṇaya*.

In its discussion of revolving movements the *Nartananirṇaya* also describes tirapabhramarī:

तिरपभ्रमरी तिर्यक् द्वावङ्घ्री स्वस्तिकात् परम् । (NN. 47b)

[Revolving] obliquely with both the legs after crossing them is tirapabhramarī.

A similar movement termed as tirapa is found in Kathak as well. ¹⁶

As for the tatkār, it clearly corresponds with the gharghara, of which details are given in both *Nartananirṇaya* and *Saṅgītaratnākara*. It was first mentioned in *Saṅgītaratnākara* as a feature of the deśī dance called perañī. A reference to it is also made in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*, which refers to this movement as a feature of the deśī dance named prerāṇa but gives no detail. In the *Nartananirṇaya* it is a part of cindunṛtta which is identified as a dance from the south.

देशी द्राविडदेशस्य चिन्दुरित्यभिधीयते । (NN. 49a)

The deśī [dance] from the country of the Drāviḍas is known as cindu.

The *Saṅgītaratnākara* gives the distinctive feature of gharghara as:

तत्र घर्घरिकावाद्ये वहनिर्घर्घरो मतः ॥ (SR. 7. 1304)

Of these, gharghara is known to be the special practice in making the sound of ankle-bells.

The action is further clarified in the *Nartananirṇaya*:

यत्र किंकिणीकावाद्यैराहतिर्घर्घरो मतः । (NN. 50a)

¹⁶ Vyas, 1963. "The Background of Kathak" *Classical and Folk Dances of India*, part. iii. 'Kathak,' p. 6.

Where striking [the ground] to make [lit:
with] the sound of the ankle bells [is done] it
is known as gharghara.

Six varieties of ghargharas are described in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nartananirṇaya*. These descriptions show that ghargharas closely resemble the tatkārs practised by Kathak dancers.¹⁷

Two more examples will strengthen the relationship between Kathak and anibandhanṛtta. The *Nartananirṇaya* abounds in descriptions of anibandhanṛtta that fit Kathak. A particularly persuasive example is the following:

यावनीभाषया युक्तं यत्र गीतं धृताञ्चलम् ।
कल्लादिगजराद्युक्तं त्वाहङ्गेन विभूषितम् ॥
विदध्यान्नर्त्तनं नानालयत्रयविचित्रितम् ।
कोमलाङ्गैर्यदा नृत्तं भ्रमर्यादिविराजितम् ॥
सशब्दा च क्रिया यत्र ध्रुवशम्यादिभेदतः ।
यत्नचेष्टाविरहितं तन्नृत्यं जक्कडी मतम् ॥
पारसीकैः पण्डितैस्तूद्ग्राहादिस्वरभाषया ।
यद् गीतं जक्कडीसंज्ञं यवनानामतिप्रियम् ॥ (NN.52b-53a)

Where the song is [sung by the dancer] in the
language of the yavana, holding her veil,
[words] uttered with kalla etc. and gajara etc.¹⁸
and beautified with āhaṅga, the dance should be

17 NN. 4. 842- 49. Kalyanpurkar, 1963. "The Techniques of Kathak" *Classical and Folk Dances of India*, part. iii. 'Kathak,' pp. 25-27.

18 The technical terms are not clear here. They do not occur in any other text. Musicologists could not throw any light on it either.

performed being adorned with various three layas. When [this] dance is performed with soft movements adorned by bhramarīs , where the kriyā (keeping time with hands) is done with sounded beat in accordance with the difference between dhruva and śamyā, that dance, which is devoid of effort and action, is known as jakkaḍī . The song sung by the experts from Persia using udgrāha ,svaras etc. and vernacular is known as jakkaḍī which is the favourite of the yavanas.

This is an almost exact description of the ghungat gat, one of the best known compositions in Kathak, ¹⁹ as shown by the drawings of kathak movements provided here.

The *Nartananirṇaya* describes a certain anibandhanṛtta as follows:

कुञ्चिताङ्गुलिना यत्र प्रसृताङ्गुष्ठकेन चेत् ।
 प्रसार्य जङ्घिकाकम्पं विचित्रद्रुतमाचरेत् ॥
 घर्घरीभिः समायुक्तं तदैतत् कुडुपं मतम् । (NN. 52b)
 Where [the dancer] contracts her toes [lit: one of her toes] with the big toe extended, shakes her shank after extending it with various quick [movements] and with ghargharīs [that is, tinkling her ankle bells]it is known as kudupa.

¹⁹ Rao,1963. "The Hastas in Kathak" *Classical and Folk Dances of India*, part. iii. 'Kathak,' p. 47.

Precisely this action can be recognized today in Kathak when the dancer beats a fast tattoo on the ground to create rhythmic sounds with her ankle-bells.

The correspondence between Kathak and anibandhanṛtta is important not only for discovering the roots of Kathak but also for understanding the value that came to be attached to improvisation in medieval times. In contrast with the prescriptive nature of the descriptions found in the earlier texts, those in the *Nartananirṇaya* and its contemporaries allow the dancer more structural flexibility while retaining the basic movements described by Bharata and his successors. This difference in the approach to choreography is most strikingly shown in the use of the contrasted categories, bandha and anibandha. The descriptions of the anibandhanṛttas give us a general sense of the choreography but leaves the specific movements largely to the discretion of the dancer. In contrast, Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala describes the bandhanṛttas exhaustively, specifying every movement required as well as the sequence of the movements. Allowing--indeed encouraging--the dancer to choreograph parts of a recital according to personal choice was a new approach to dancing.

There can be little doubt that the categories bandha and anibandha mark a historical point in the evolution of Indian dancing at which established traditions and new forms existed side by side. The bandha category encompassed the styles that had been firmly defined and codified by long usage. Other styles, still fluid and evolving, were placed within the anibandha category. With the passing of time, as all styles lost their unfamiliarity and became more firmly entrenched in the corpus of Indian dancing, the distinction between the categories faded, eventually making them obsolete. However, the term bandha is still in use in a

very limited way and later in this chapter we shall examine the dances to which it is applied.

The term *anibandhanṛtta* has gone entirely out of use. Why it has disappeared from the vocabulary of dancing while the term *bandha* still has a limited use needs to be considered. Undoubtedly, the main reason is historical, as explained above, but there may also be a reason related to the very nature of dancing as an art form. We noted earlier that both in music and dancing similar categories, *anibaddha* in music and *anibandha* in dancing, were formulated to denote forms that allowed the artist wide choices and architectonic individuality within broad guidelines. Such a form is entirely appropriate for music, which permits--indeed demands--a vast range of permutations of notes and improvised structures. That is why the *anibaddha* category has survived in music as has the term itself, though in popular use it is known as *ālāpa*.

But dancing is an art in which, once certain structural guidelines are accepted, the dancer cannot have anything like the degree of freedom in composing a dance that a musician has with a musical composition. A dancer may still show her creativeness in a composition by combining different sets of movements in a variety of ways or by exploring the emotional content of the composition but not with the degree of freedom that a singer or an instrumentalist enjoys. The concept of *anibandha* in dance, therefore, can not be equated with *anibaddha* in music. The creativity of a dancer is shown on an entirely different level. The frameworks of music and dance are so different that a parallel categorization is not possible. Hence the term *anibandha* became redundant in the field of dance and we find the term neither in theory nor in practice any longer.

When the term anibandha disappeared from the theory and practice of dance, the need for its converse, the category bandha, became meaningless. In most styles of dancing the term bandha is no longer found. Nevertheless, there are two present-day styles in which this term is used. These are Odissi and Manipuri. In Manipuri the term has very little significance and according to one of the most eminent teachers of this style, guru Bipin Singh, bandha is just another dance-sequence in the Manipuri repertoire, which calls for greater technical virtuosity than other sequences. Odissi is the only style today in which practising artists still use the term to mean a separate category of dance sequences. These follow the strictest possible rules of movements, sometimes producing acrobatic postures.

When we compare the bandhanṛtta found in the *Nartananirṇaya* with the bandhanṛtta as practised in the Odissi style, we find striking similarities. The bandhanṛtta of the *Nartananirṇaya* requires combinations created out of a base of sixteen karaṇas or short dance sequences;²⁰ the bandhanṛtta of Odissi requires seventeen.²¹

In Orissa the bandhanṛttas have been kept alive only by the goṭipuas (goṭi=one, pua=putra) or boy-dancers attached to some of the temples, whose numbers are rapidly dwindling. The few who are taught bandhanṛtta start their extremely rigorous training at the age of seven and perform till they are eighteen, after which their muscles no longer remain flexible enough to be able to do such acrobatic movements. The goṭipuas are dressed as girls and perform in religious festivals, though not inside the temples. These dances are generally quite

²⁰ *NN.* 4. 529-550.

²¹ Khokar, 1963. "Technique and Repertory," *Classical and Folk Dances of India*, part. iii. 'Kathak,' pp. 28-31.

acrobatic. The most famous Odissi guru of the present time, Kelucharan Mahapatra, is one of the very few living artists trained as a goṭipua. When in the course of an interview with the present author he was shown line drawings of the bandhanṛttas described in the *Nartananirṇaya*, Kelucharanji confirmed that these were indeed the sequences he was taught. According to him, these dances are physically so difficult that girls are not trained in them and that they are seldom performed even by men, the more acrobatic of the dances being performed now mainly by the Chau dancers of Mayurbhanj in Orissa. The difficulty inherent in these dances was further confirmed by another leading dancer of the Odissi style, Rani Karnaa, who said that as a female she was not trained in the bandhanṛtta by her guru.

The line drawings reproduced here will illustrate the close similarity of the bandhanṛtta of the *Nartananirṇaya* with the bandhanṛtta of the Odissi style. These drawings show remarkable similarities in the standing postures of the figures with the basic standing postures prescribed in the Odissi style: chaukā and tribhaṅgī in Odissi are comparable to vaiśākha-sthāna and agratalasañcara-pada shown by these figures from the *Nartananirṇaya*. Some of the acrobatic postures are still in use: daṇḍapakṣam, lalāṭatilakam and niśumbhitam and several others are found both in Odissi and in Chau.

To the evidence taken from bandhanṛtta I may add three particularly telling examples of correspondence between Odissi and the movements described in the *Nartananirṇaya*. The text describes the use of hand gestures to express seven principal musical notes. Each note, according to the author, is a correlative of a bird or an animal, which is represented by hand gestures, as the following passage explains:

मयूरचातकछागक्रौञ्चकोकिलदर्दूराः ।

गजश्च सप्त षड्जादीन् क्रमादुच्चारन्त्यमी ॥ (NN. 20b)²²

Peacock, rainbird, goat, heron, cuckoo, frog
and elephant are the seven (notes starting with)
ṣadja etc that should be recited in order.

[सा=मयूरः peacock; रे=चातकः rainbird;

गा=छागः goat; मा=क्रौञ्चः heron; पा= कोकिलः
cuckoo; धा=दर्दूरः frog and नि=गजः elephant.]

Secondly, there is a dance called *baṭunṛtta*, a particularly difficult dance in the repertory of Odissi, that involves both non-representational dance and mimetic dance. In the *Nartananirṇaya* we come across the description of a dance called *baṭu*. Although it is a brief description, one can see how difficult it is. It can not be a mere coincidence that the same term should not only occur both in the *Nartananirṇaya* and in Odissi but designate dances involving similarly difficult poses. The brief description in the *Nartananirṇaya* is as follows:

जानुभ्यां भूमिलग्नाभ्यां पद्भ्यां वा मण्डलाकृतिः ॥

नम्रपृष्ठं लताहस्तौ पात्रं भ्रमणमाचरेत् ।

तदासौ बटुरित्युक्तः सूर्यमण्डलवद् गतिः ॥ (NN. 53a)

When the performer revolves touching the
ground either with both the knees or with both
the legs describing a circle[while her] back is
bent [backwards] with her hands in *latā* then it
is known as *baṭu* [and its] movement is like
[moving] in the orbit of the sun.

²² Reference to this verse is to the Ms. in the Asiatic Society Library Manuscript, Calcutta.

This description, insufficient as it is, corresponds to the pattern of movements in the batu dance of Odissi. Further evidence is provided by the following description of a bandhanṛtta in *Nartananirṇaya*, a karaṇaneri:

झम्पातालः सगोपुच्छः हस्तकोऽप्यलपल्लवः ।
 पाश्वोर्ध्वजानुनी दण्डपक्षं तलविलासितम् ॥
 विद्युद्भ्रान्तं ततश्चन्द्रावर्त्तनामं निशुम्भितम् ।
 ललाटतिलकं पश्चाल्लतावृश्चिकसंज्ञकम् ॥
 नवभिः करणैरेभिः क्रमात् सव्यापसव्यतः ।
 कृत्वालीढे स्थितिर्यत्र नेरिः करणपूर्वकः ॥ (NN. 43b-44a)

[The dancer dances] in jhampātāla in gopucchayati.

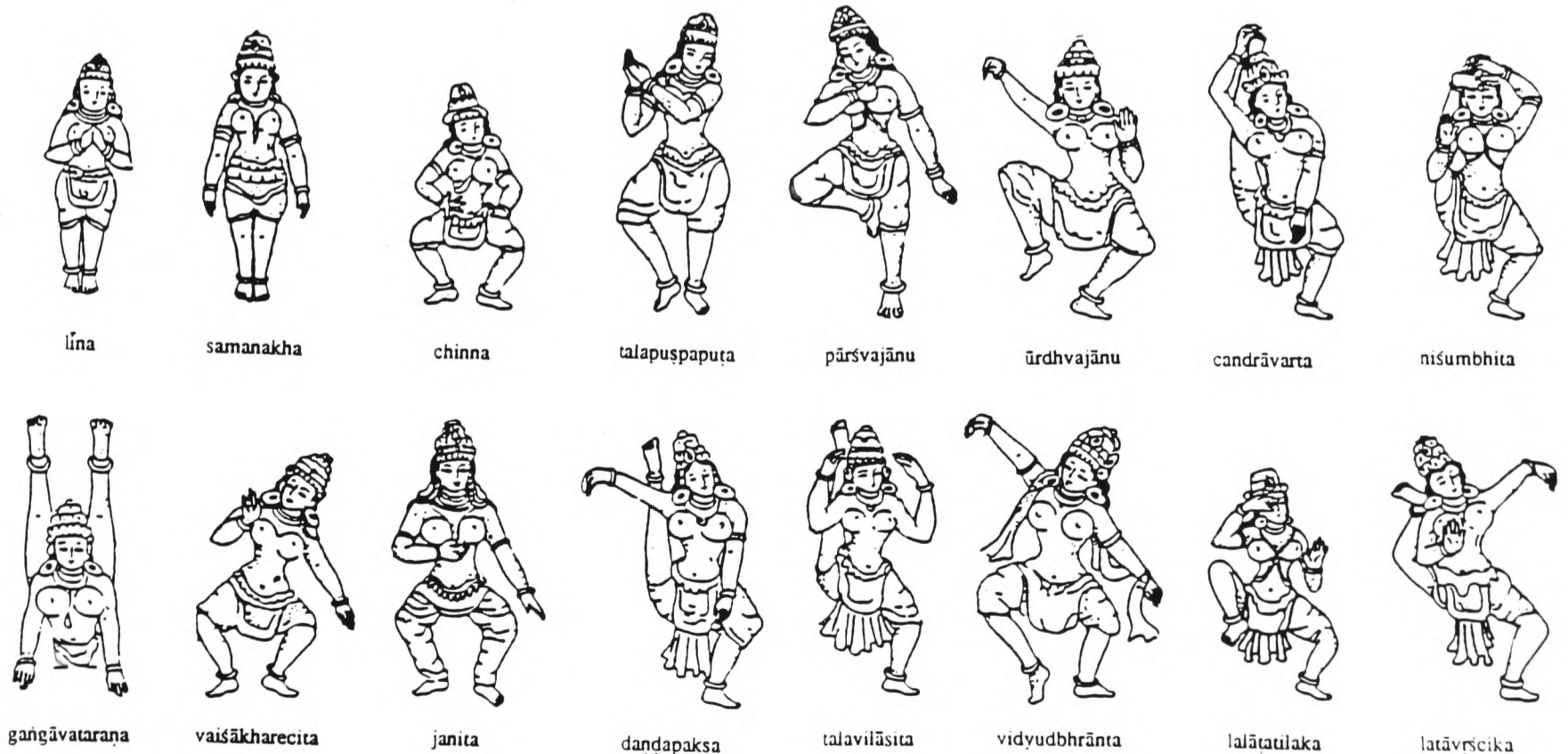
One of her hands is in alapallava. Pārśvajānu, ūrdhvajānu, daṇḍapakṣa, talavilāsita, vidyudbhrānta, candrāvarta, niśumbhita, lalaṭatilaka and latāvṛścika: where these nine karaṇas are performed one after the other facing the left and then the right in order and she finishes off standing in the āliḍha sthāna, it is Karaṇaneri.

This sequence is one of the twelve ūrupas described in the *Nartananirṇaya*. Ūrupas are sequences formed with the karaṇas prescribed for bandhanṛtta and are danced to specified varieties of yati, tāla and laya. Specific sthāna, cārī and hand gestures characterize them. Using these twelve ūrupas a dancer can reconstruct a composition as described in the *Nartananirṇaya*, which will not be far from what we see being performed by artists today. In Odissi we do find similar compositions. Such close correspondences are now proving to be of particular interest to many dancers and teachers who are trying to reconstruct older dance

forms by following the Sanskrit manuals. In Tamilnadu and Orissa, eminent dancers and teachers such as Padma Subrahmaniyam and Guru Kelucharanji are drawing upon the śāstras to choreograph their dance pieces. Dharu, a type of bandha dance from Andhra described in the *Nartananirṇaya* is being reconstructed by the famous dancer Guru Chinna Satyam in Mysore. The term dharu is used by Kuchipudi dancers of Andhra.

The categories known as bandha and anibandha therefore remain relevant not only to the dance scholar but to the practising dancer. As functional terms they may be of little use, since the distinction between codified and uncoded dance forms has largely disappeared. But the categorization attempted by Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala affords scholars valuable knowledge about a vital stage in the evolution of dancing in India, a stage which was marked by the infusion of new styles and techniques that characterized the deśī tradition.

16 Bandhanṛtta Karaṇas



Chapter 6

THE DEŚĪ TRADITION

The deśī tradition was first recorded in detail by Someśvara in his *Mānasollāsa*. As a separate, distinct tradition deśī is mentioned earlier in the *Daśarūpaka* but no details are given there. Earlier still, Bharata recognized in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* the existence of regional variations but he neither described them nor referred to them as belonging to a separate tradition called deśī.¹ In the entire period between the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Mānasollāsa* we come across only one other manual on dancing, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, and this too does not record or refer to any deśī tradition. Similarly, Abhinavagupta is silent about the deśī tradition. As we have noted earlier in the third and fourth chapters of the present study, many works of the classical period, from manuals to literary compositions, refer to a number of mimetic dances but no detailed description of a dance presentation ever appears in any of these works.

This picture changes around the eleventh and twelfth centuries when scholars begin to include the deśī tradition along with the older tradition in their manuals on dancing. With the growth of the popularity of dancing and the inclusion of the deśī as a tradition in the early medieval literature on poetics and musicology, that is, between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries, a number of manuals appear on the subject when art was flourishing in all of its branches, in music, dance, sculpture, architecture and painting. This interest in recording the

¹ NS. 9. 163-4

later styles of dancing continued through the succeeding centuries into the nineteenth.

The description of the regional tradition differs from the mār̥ga tradition in two ways: first, by putting its emphasis on the style of presentation rather than on the content of the composition, and second, by concentrating on the use of more acrobatic movements. As for the content, in structuring a dance piece the deśī tradition had very little to offer that was new. Mār̥ga and deśī cannot, therefore, be judged to be exclusive of one another in terms of their components. They should rather be seen as different stylistic approaches that grew through time into separate traditions of the same basic art form. This relationship is clearly seen in the descriptions of the two traditions in the dance manuals of the medieval period.

In the first manual of this period, the *Mānasollāsa* (early 12th century), the deśī tradition is described only briefly, but a fuller picture appears a century later in the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra*. An even more elaborate description of deśī appears still later, in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, which was written in the late thirteenth century. The *Nṛttaratnāvalī*, which came a few years after the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and which deals only with dance, provides the most elaborate description of both the mār̥ga or classical and the deśī or regional traditions of dancing. These four texts give us the first introduction to the deśī dance tradition. The deśī dance they describe is based on the framework of the tradition of Bharata, which is constructed first by laying down the groundwork of dance compositions with smaller movements and gradually progressing to build up the whole composition by forming small units consisting of individual movements and moving on to the large units of a composition. In deśī, this basic method of constructing a composition did not change, nor—generally speaking—did the

stock of body movements, but the larger units of movements included more varieties of smaller movements in the deśī tradition and these varieties of smaller movements were more acrobatic in general. Structurally, this is what changed in the appearance of a deśī dance, as we shall find in the four early works mentioned above.

To begin with, these four texts will be examined to trace the progression in the content, in the styles of presentation, and in the treatment of the subject by the authors who wrote on deśī. With the exception of the *Bharatārṇava*, the later texts of this period more or less follow the same pattern. Not all the manuals on deśī record a full dance presentation. The *Mānasollāsa*, for instance, does not give us any description of a composed dance piece. The *Saṅgītasamayasāra* is the first text to describe deśī dance pieces. Its descriptions of the dances include references to music, rhythm, tempo and styles of presentation but no detailed description of individual movements. This text introduces a new class of features of the presentation, calling them elements of deśī, which are absent in the Bharata tradition. The later texts also describe this new element in their description of the deśī tradition. The *Saṅgītaratnākara* describes dances in a similar manner with further details of the musical accompaniment. The *Nṛttaratnāvalī*'s more elaborate descriptions have more information on the technical details of presentation but not on individual movements and it repeats the emphasis on the musical accompaniment along with the rhythm and tempo employed. The component movements of a composition, however, hardly ever appear in the descriptions of the deśī tradition found in this period of our study. The task of comparing the movements constituting the mārṅa and deśī styles is thus a difficult one.

This difficulty is further compounded by the fact that not all the details of the mār̥ga style are known. By the early medieval period the tradition recorded by Bharata, was established and recognized as mār̥ga, a term first used by Dhanañjaya to distinguish between two traditions. Beside Bharata's account of the older tradition we have the only other extant record in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. In contrast, regional styles, termed as deśī, have been recorded by a number of authors who give us a varied picture of the deśī styles. These authors also describe the mār̥ga tradition but in doing so merely follow the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The earliest record of a dance presentation appears in the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* which forms the preliminary part of a dramatic presentation, that is, the part in which the gods are invoked. It includes nṛtta and abhinaya. Unfortunately, even Bharata does not give detailed descriptions of the movements to be employed in the presentation, nor does he record any specific rhythm and tempo to be used in this presentation. Nevertheless, the basic difference between the descriptions of the presentations of the two traditions, I believe, becomes apparent when we closely compare them. Bharata describes the structure of the presentation but is silent about the presentation technique or specific music. Also, he speaks only briefly on the aesthetic aspects of a presentation. On the contrary, discussing these seems to be a growing concern of the writers on deśī.

To understand Bharata's view of dancing we shall first examine how he describes the presentation in the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a performance meant for the offering of flowers, that is, puṣpāñjali, at the beginning of a play in order to please and invoke the gods. This presentation involves both abstract dance movements (that is, non-mimetic movements) with drum accompaniment, and mimetic action set to songs. Bharata describes no

presentation that is constituted exclusively of the abstract movements known as *karaṇas* and *aṅgahāras*. In describing this preliminary presentation he does not specify the names of movements to be employed. The only specific name given by Bharata is that of a posture, *vaiśākha sthāna*, mentioned in this context as the opening posture of this presentation.² He does not specify any music for the presentation as do the works on *deśī* while describing the dance presentations. Bharata leaves the actual choreography of a dance piece as well as the accompanying music to the imagination of a dancer or a choreographer. The presentation is described in the following manner: a female dancer performs *nṛtta* to the playing of drums, offers flowers, moves around, bows to the gods and mimes the meaning of a song without the accompaniment of drums. After this, she goes out and a group of dancers enter and perform various formations resembling the emblems of various gods, after which they make their exit. The main dancer enters again and repeats her performance of *nṛtta* and *abhinaya* and exits. The others again enter in the same manner as before and repeat their dance. Their performance is devoid of miming.³ All of this is repeated again. The entire presentation is a repetition of *nṛtta* and *abhinaya* by one female dancer followed by the performance of *nṛtta* by a group of female dancers.⁴ This presentation seems to be similar to what we see in the *vaṇam* of the Bharatanāṭyam style of today except for the part played by the group of dancers.⁵ However, since the description of *puṣpāñjali* lacks specific instructions for the movements or the music, we do not know which movements constituted the *nṛtta* portion, nor do

² *Vaiśākha sthāna* happens to be the basic posture of the Odissi style of today.

³ *Paryastaka* or *abhinayaśūnya* (non-representational) dance is recommended. *NS*. 4. 280; *AB*. 1956, Vol. I. p. 188.

⁴ *NS*. 4. 272-291.

⁵ Padma Subrahmaniyam, the noted performer and scholar of the Bharatanāṭyam style is experimenting with Bharatanāṭyam danced by groups of dancers.

we have any idea of the specific music or rhythm used. All that we can say is that it seems to indicate that a scope for improvisation was permitted within the prescribed framework even in Bharata's time but, as we shall see when we examine the deśī tradition, such improvisation was acceptable here in a more restricted sense than in the deśī tradition.

The analysis of the contents of the dance presentations described in the later texts seems to indicate that the dancers had greater freedom to improvise, because they were allowed to begin improvising at an earlier stage of composition than in the mārṅa tradition. Apart from this greater freedom, the emphasis on one other aspect of presentation gradually becomes more and more apparent. Not only do these authors of the early medieval period often emphasize the mimetic aspect of the presentation, they also describe the accompanying songs and music, often even specifying the tāla. The overall presentation technique, especially its aesthetic aspects, seems to be of greater concern for the writers on deśī. This approach is different from the way Bharata describes dancing. When we take a closer look at the specific dance pieces described in the later texts it seems that those who developed regional variations based their repertoire on the movements recorded in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. but combined the movements in their own ways rather than in a set pattern when forming dance units (or karaṇas) and dance-sequences (or aṅgahāras). Bharata gave directions that guided the dancer to the stage of the formation of the basic dance-units as well as the basic dance-sequences. His approach permitted the dancer only the permutation and combination of a number of the basic dance-sequences. Creativity was based on the use of such groups of basic dance sequences. However, while describing the presentation mentioned above, Bharata does not specify any dance unit, movement or sequence except for the

introductory posture of the performance. The presentation is neither described as a dance piece nor is it described as a mimed piece but as a combination of both. Nor does Bharata offer any detailed guidelines to the aesthetic qualities of the presentation, which are of far greater concern to the later authors of the early medieval period. Their interest in these qualities is seen, for instance, in their use of a variety of terms to describe this aspect of presentations, whereby they attempt to specify the aesthetic impact. Bharata does mention *sauṣṭhava* or grace and *pramāṇa* or harmony in a presentation, but he devotes little time to it. By contrast, the later authors emphasize the aesthetics of a presentation and the greater number of terms they use testifies to the rise of a more elaborate set of ideas in the field.⁶

We may now attempt to examine these later texts chronologically to see the evolution of dance-movements in the tradition as recorded by the writers on *deśī*. The *Mānasollāsa*, the earliest text on *deśī*, shows us that it follows the basic framework laid down by Bharata and this seems to be an accepted pattern through the entire history of the writings on dancing. Although Someśvara's description of the *deśī* tradition is comparatively brief, his contribution in defining the parts of the body is important. To the existing division of the body into *aṅgas* and the *upāṅgas*, he adds one more division, the *pratyaṅgas*. We find that after this text appeared, all the authors of the medieval period, except for Pārśvaḍeva in his *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* and Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in their *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, began to describe the body parts under these three divisions. However, this was only a reclassification: it did not materially change the movements. The movements of the smaller body parts, previously known as the *upāṅgas*, now came to be placed under two categories, the *upāṅgas* and the

⁶ See Bose 1970, pp. 165-66.

pratyāṅgas, while the category of major limbs, the aṅgas, remained unaltered. The descriptions of the smaller units of movements by Someśvara show us that new movements were added to the same class-name found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. but under deśī heading. For instance, in describing the basic movements of carī and sthāna, the later authors added more varieties to the tradition recorded by Bharata.

Can we not say, then, that these later authors merely added to the tradition of Bharata rather than branching out from it? In what way did they differ then and why was the tradition they described termed deśī? The answer is that the difference was on the emphasis: the deśī tradition differed from the tradition of Bharata because the deśī dances involved more leaping and acrobatic movements and the writers describing them insisted on greater attention to aesthetic qualities. No new categories were created for these acrobatic movements, although new—one might say enhanced—varieties of sthānas, cārīs and even a few karaṇas of the deśī type involving leaps and acrobatic movements appeared in the *Mānasollāsa*. The writers on deśī dances remained content with the established class-names for such movements, namely, sthānas, cārīs and karaṇas.

The texts of our period seem to have been mainly interested in recording the movements of the parts of the body and their smaller units in course of describing the new regional varieties. The descriptions of the deśī cārī, sthāna and maṇḍala occur in all the later texts but the basic dance-units or karaṇas of the deśī variety are not. As for the aṅghāras or basic dance-sequences of the deśī variety, they are described only in the *Bharatārṇava*, being absent in the other texts even when a composed dance-piece is described with the accompanying music. However, this approach of not describing the dance movements in a choreographed piece is not much different from what we find in the description

of the puṣpāñjali of Bharata. Still, the consistent absence of descriptions of the entire set of aṅgahāras in the deśī tradition tells us that the regional varieties may not have used the aṅgahāras recorded in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Instead, the deśī tradition grew in a different direction where the choreography depended less on set units of movements taken from Bharata's tradition.

The interest in acrobatic compositions that characterized the deśī tradition grew through time. We find that in later medieval times the authors attempted to describe dance pieces that often required new combinations of smaller movements to produce new varieties of dance-units or karaṇas, often involving leaps and acrobatic movements. Such dance-units are called deśī karaṇas, or quite often, utplutikaraṇas, a name that indicates that they involve leaps. The *Mānasollāsa*, the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra*, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*, all describe these deśī karaṇas. However, the *Mānasollāsa* describes only a few, whereas the later texts record a great many more.

The distinctive features of the deśī varieties of movements involving jumps and acrobatic movements become clear when the movements described in these texts are examined. To begin with, we shall take a few instances from the *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara to describe them and compare them with the tradition of Bharata. Someśvara describes the deśī karaṇa named eṇapluta where the dancer jumps and performs sūcī in the air (*Mānas.16.4.1396-97*). Again, in the deśī añcita karaṇa the dancer stands in sama and then jumps straight up (*Mānas.16.4.1384*), and in the deśī antarāлага karaṇa the dancer jumps while arching her back and keeping her head between her shanks (*Mānas. 16. 4. 1388*). In the tradition of Bharata there are some difficult and acrobatic karaṇas like gaṅgāvatarāṇa where the feet are raised with the soles turned up and the hands turned down in tripatākā while the head is bent. The whole body rests on the

hands (*NS*. 4. 168-69). Or, we may take the *vidyudbhrānta* *karaṇa*, where one foot is moved in an arc backward and then extended and arched to touch the head and the dancer revolves. (*NS*. 4. 125-26). Thus, some acrobatic *karaṇas* can be cited from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but few *karaṇas* in it involve such difficult movements. Besides, they seldom involve leaps which seems to be the most important feature of the *deśī*. On the other hand, the *deśī* *karaṇas* always contain acrobatic and leaping movements. Even in the descriptions of the *sthānas* and *cārīs* we find that the *deśī* varieties use more jumps and acrobatic movements compared to those in Bharata's tradition.⁷

We must also note that the *Mānasollāsa* is concerned only with the basic movements and a few *deśī* *karaṇas*, that is, the components of larger dance units and not with dances in their entirety. Because its interest lies in recording the smaller units of movement, it describes the *deśī* varieties of *sthāna*, *cārī* and *karaṇa*. But large compositions of any kind using these movements are not its concern.

It is not until the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* of the fourteenth century that we find any description of a complete dance. This text not only describes specific dance pieces but adds a number of new movements of the *cārī*, the *sthāna* and the *karaṇas* of the *deśī* variety, all of which involve complicated leaping movements.⁸ In the beginning of his chapter on dancing, the author Pārśvadeva mentions two kinds of presentation, *ṅṛtta* and *nāṭya*. He states that he is going to describe only *āṅgika* or body movements, a class of movements that is of particular relevance for *ṅṛtta*. When he finishes describing these movements he proceeds to describe modes of presentation and finally to fully composed dance

⁷ Ibid. chapters five and six.

⁸ *SSam*. 7.126-92.

pieces. Such pieces he calls deśīṅṛtya and not deśīṅṛtta. The four complete compositions which he describes, calling them deśīṅṛtyas, are perañā, pekkhaṇā, guṇḍalī and daṇḍarāsa (*SSam.* 7.132; 7. 217-47). Perañā may be the same as the prerañā described by Abhinavagupta but it is hard to get a full picture of latter from his cryptic description, and hence it is difficult to be certain that the two were the same. It is likely that Abhinavagupta's prerañā was not a dance proper but it may well have developed as a dance by the time when Pārśvadeva recorded it. Abhinavagupta quotes the cirantanas on a type of minor drama involving dance and music which was named prerañā and which he describes as a farcical play, full of riddles. The perañā of Pārśvadeva calls for five components, which are nṛtta, kaivāra, gharghara, vāgaḍa and gīta. He describes nṛtta as consisting of lāsya and tāṇḍava, which are based on rhythm and tempo. This definition is different from previous definitions of nṛtta found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. Nevertheless, the basic idea of nṛtta does not seem to be different. Kaivāra is praising the king by praising his ancestors. Gharghara is stamping the ground with the feet in ankle bells to mark the rhythm. Vāgaḍa is the miming of farcical or ludicrous characters.⁹ Finally, gīta, the last feature of perañā (the term gīta here is used as a technical feature peculiar to prerañā, very likely a set musical piece), denotes a song sung according to the rules of a pure or mixed rāga, complete with ālāpa (*SSam.* 7.217.-22). The details of the instrumental music to accompany are also given with the rhythm and time-beat specified(*SSam.* 7.223-25).

The other two dances, pekkhaṇā and guṇḍalī, are the most commonly described in all the texts dealing with deśī. They are described along with accompanying songs and instrumental music, rhythm and time-beat (*SSam.*

⁹ This feature resembles prerañā described in the *Abhinava Bhāratī*. (*NS.* Vol. I. .p.181).

7.225-36). These songs can be of three types ¹⁰ and all of them can be applied to the two above mentioned dances.

No song is prescribed for the last *deśī* described, called *daṇḍarāsa*, but the instrumental music along with the rhythm and tempo and the number of dancers dancing with sticks are mentioned (*SSam.* 7.240-47). The first three dance pieces described by Pārśvadeva call for abstract movements mixed with mimetic movements. *Pekkhaṇa* and *gaṇḍalī* are described with accompanying vocal and instrumental music. The fourth dance, *daṇḍarāsa*, requires no miming but is likely to draw upon some Kṛṣṇa legend, as we gather from the later texts on dancing as well as from other literature. *Daṇḍarāsa* and its connection with the Kṛṣṇa story cycle has been discussed in a previous chapter while discussing the minor dramatic types that are discussed mainly in the works on poetics.¹¹ However, the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* is silent about *daṇḍarāsa*'s connection with Kṛṣṇa. The association of Kṛṣṇa with *daṇḍarāsa* may have developed later when stories of Kṛṣṇa became popular in the western regions of India.

The *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* adds a vital piece of information to the description of the *deśī* tradition when it lists what it calls the nineteen *aṅgas* or elements of *deśī*. These elements are not physical components but modes of presentation particular to the *deśī* style. This emphasis upon the mode of presentation shows the basic difference between the writers on *deśī* and Bharata (and his immediate followers) in their respective approaches to dancing. Even though Bharata describes body movements in detail in the context of *āṅgikābhinaya* (that is, using the body in acting), he never discusses the manner

¹⁰ These are *śuddha* (pure), *citra* (varied) and *sālaga* (based on pure, *chāyālagā*>*sālaga*) *SSam.* 7. 229-34.

¹¹ See pp. 163, 192-93 of this thesis.

of performing the movements. By contrast, the description of the *deśī* aṅgas in the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* shows the reader the qualities that characterize the movements.

The terms used by Pārśvadeva are mostly in the regional languages and not in Sanskrit. Most of them refer to delicate modes. These nineteen aṅgas of *deśī*, according to Pārśvadeva, are the following: mukharasa (facial appearance created by make-up, garlands and dress), sauṣṭhava (grace produced by proper and erect stance), lali (charm), bhāva (expression), tūkalī (swinging movement in rhythm), anumāna (miming while moving in specific gatis), pramāṇa (harmony), jhaṅkā (moving the body, which is raised to the left and to the right), revā (the head and the corners of the eyes moved in emotion), surekhatva (dancing without ludicrous movements), aṅga (performance of tāṇḍava), anaṅga (performance not dependant on tāṇḍava), dhāla (expressing emotion by a female dancer), dhillāyī (delicate and relaxed slow movement or a standing relaxed posture), namani ^{1 2} (bending down with ease even while performing difficult movements), kittu (moving the arms and the breasts delicately in rhythm), tarahara (quick movements of the breasts, the motion reaching upto the arms), ullāsa (the body moved upwards following the instrumental music) and finally sthāpana (the final stance producing beauty, grace and creating a symmetry of lines with difficult movements). Pārśvadeva remarks that both nāṭya and nṛtta depend entirely on sauṣṭhava, without which beauty cannot be created (*SSam.* 7. 199-200). He also states that delicate movements are dependent specially on two features, lali and bhāva, that is, charm and expression (*SSam.* 7. 208).

^{1 2} Tavaṇi in the Trivandrum edition of the *SSam.* 6. 208.

Bharata is not entirely silent on the manner of presentation but his treatment does not emphasize it as a technical requirement. When he uses the two terms, sauṣṭhava and pramāṇa (NS.10.94), he takes them as general qualities of presentation rather than as the technical aspects of a presentation. The closest successor to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, which does not mention aesthetic qualities. Even Someśvara is silent about such qualities of presentation. Pārśvadeva, however, brings them to the forefront when he calls them deśyaṅgas or features of deśī.

The same emphasis on presentation appears in the text that comes next, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* by Śārṅgadeva. It does not use the term deśyaṅga but describes ten deśī lāsyāṅgas, that is, features of deśī lāsyā, namely, delicate modes of presentation, sometimes abstract and sometimes mimetic. These are different from the lāsyāṅgas of the Bharata tradition, regarding which Śārṅgadeva is silent. Lāsyāṅgas of the Bharata tradition, as we have mentioned earlier in chapter 3, are part of dramatic presentations and as such are not relevant in the context of dance.¹³ These lāsyāṅgas of Bharata are quite different from the nineteen deśī āṅgas described in the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra*, from the ten deśī lāsyāṅgas described in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, or from the forty-six deśī lāsyas in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*.

The diversity of the accounts of these movements shows that although the deśī tradition depended upon the body movements mentioned by Bharata and other early authors, in some cases the deśī tradition also added to the stock by considerably elaborating upon the basic movements described by Bharata. A case in point is the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra*'s inclusion of five bhramarīs or revolving

¹³ See pp. 135-137 of this thesis.

movements as a separate set of movements, which is a new addition to the dance tradition. Bharata's tradition described a bhramarī merely as a variety of cārī, which is a revolving movement performed with one leg. It seems that from the time when *Saṅgītasamayasāra* recorded bhramarī as a separate set of movements, they gained major importance and became a common feature of the deśī tradition. However, the *Saṅgītasamayasāra* does not describe the five bhramarīs that its author mentions (*SSam.* 7.193-4). The *Saṅgītaratnākara* is the first text to describe the movements of bhramarīs in detail. It is apparent that in the styles from the south bhramarīs were important features, hence their being recorded in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* and in the *Nartananirṇaya*¹⁴ In today's Indian styles, however, the styles that have retained bhramarīs are those from the north, Kathak and Manipurī, although these styles delineate bhramarīs in two different ways. Kathak has spinning movements while Manipurī has slower, revolving movements which involves covering larger space.¹⁵

Śārṅgadeva's account, again, shows how the deśī tradition was being expanded, though on the groundwork of Bharata's tradition. Besides describing the bhramarīs and deśī lāsyāṅgas, Śārṅgadeva also distinguishes between two traditions of presentation, one consisting of what he calls the śuddhapaddhati or pure method, and the other consisting of two deśī forms named perañi and gaṇḍalī. By the time Śārṅgadeva wrote his text, these two dances seem to have been established in the traditions of deśī and they remained part of the deśī technique from the beginning of the history of deśī dancing till the eighteenth

¹⁴ *SR.* 7. 775-82 ; *NR.*5. 83-99; *NN.* 47b.

¹⁵ Chakkars or spinning movements are vital to the kathak style (Kalyanpurkar, 1963. .p. 24).and revolving movements are vital to cālī, the basic dance of the Manipuri style.(Chatterjee, 1978., p. 226).

century, as evident in the literature of dancing. ¹⁶ Śārṅgadeva, like Someśvara and Pārśvadeva, describes the movements of the parts of the body following Bharata. But he adds more varieties of deśī cārīs, sthānas and karaṇas to the existing lists in the two former writers on deśī. He records nine bhramarīs and includes them in his list of deśī karaṇas.

Apart from making these additions, Śārṅgadeva demonstrates a strong concern for the overall qualities of presentation, which is expressed by his interest in rekhā, defined by him in the following lines:

शिरोनेत्रकरादीनामङ्गानां मेलने सति ।
कायस्थितिर्मनोहारी रेखा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ (SR. 7. 1216)

Rekhā is said to be the attractive position of the body [when there is a] the harmonious combination of the movements of parts of the body such as the head, the eyes and the hands.

According to Śārṅgadeva, then, rekhā is the composite image of the lines inscribed on the mind's eye by the movements of the body at any given moment.

In addition to his interest in rekhā he was also aware of the need for yet another intangible quality, one that was known as the sauṣṭhava of a presentation, about which he says:

कटी जानुसमा यत्र कूर्परांसशिरः समम् ।

¹⁶ Guṇḍalī and perañī appear in all the texts, starting with the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* and ending with the *Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha*. In my recent research trip to India I was informed that in Andhra Guru Vempati Cinnasatyam of the Kuchipudī style is trying to revive perañī, which, according to him, never really died out.

उरः समुन्नतं सन्नं गात्रं तत्सौष्ठवं भवेत् ॥ (SR. 7. 1037)

Where the waist, the knee are kept in straight
[line], the elbows, the shoulders, the head are held
straight, the chest is raised and the body rests in
sanna [=resting in a natural position], that is
sauṣṭhava.

It is clear from Śārṅgadeva's writing that by his time it was customary for theorists of dancing to speak of two separate traditions of dancing, for he speaks of the "pure" method of dancing and the deśī method. As we have seen, this distinction is also recognized by Dhanañjaya, Pārśvadeva and Śārṅgadeva's contemporary, Jāya Senāpati. The contrast between the two as he understands them is evident from his description of a dance in the pure mode and two in the deśī. The pure dance he describes is the same puṣpāñjali or flower offering that we find in Bharata. Like Bharata he starts with the arrangement of the stage and the description of the most important person among the spectators. However, unlike the puṣpāñjali Bharata describes, which is performed alternately by a single dancer and a group of dancers and which requires both nṛtta and abhinaya, Śārṅgadeva's puṣpāñjali involves only one dancer. The initial posture recommended for the dance by Śārṅgadeva is samapāda (vaiśākha sthāna in Bharata) which, incidentally, is the initial stance of the Bharatanāṭyam style today. Like Bharata, Śārṅgadeva does not offer any more details of the body movements required but says that all three kinds of nartanas (त्रिविधं नर्तनं. . .) should be applied in this presentation (SR.7.1269). Śārṅgadeva is more interested in the technical details of the musical accompaniment, music being his chief interest, and he says that the accompaniment for puṣpāñjali follows the classical tradition (SR. 7. 1260-73). The musical composition that accompanies

the presentation is described in full detail. The puṣpāñjali of Śārṅgadeva seems to have come from a tradition which may have evolved out of what Bharata had recorded in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* but is certainly different from it.

Of the two deśī styles that Śārṅgadeva places in a category distinct from the śuddhapaddhati or pure method, gaṇḍalī is described first. This dance seems to be a presentation involving the delicate lāsyāṅgas and is performed by a single dancer. Following the approach of his predecessors in the medieval period, Śārṅgadeva gives details of the accompanying vocal and instrumental music, complete with specific names of rāgas and tālas, but gives no details of the dance technique. He tells us that this dance can be performed in two different ways: either the dancer may dance to a song sung by a singer, or she may herself sing while dancing. This seems to be a graceful dance from the Karnāṭaka region. The emphasis here is on the lāsyāṅgas and the accompanying vocal and instrumental music which is described in great detail. The use of the deśī lāsyāṅga named mana in sthāya tāla (SR. 7.1215; 1288)¹⁷ is specifically recommended here. The presentation resembles the puṣpāñjali of the Bharata tradition in the alternate use of song and instrumental music but gaṇḍalī is danced by a single performer, not by a group. The performance ends with the playing of drums. It is suggested that the performer should stand still in a pose resembling a painting after ending the presentation with the concluding movement. The term for the concluding movement is kalāsa. This movement, which gained greater importance in the later texts,¹⁸ first appears in this text. It is of major importance in the kathākali style of Kerala today, which uses this term to indicate the same movement. The

¹⁷ See pp. 149, 151 of the thesis. The description does not give us any idea about the movements apart from the fact that it is supposed to be a delicate movement.

¹⁸ NRK. 4.1. 37-85 ; Nr.Adh. 1566-1611

presentation of this style of gaṇḍalī must have gained tremendous popularity at the time of Śārṅgadeva, because although he treats the entire subject of dance in a single concise chapter, only one of the seven that make up the text, he devotes as many as twenty-eight verses to gaṇḍalī. The rest of the text deals at length with music, that being his main interest (ŚR. 7.1273-1301).

The other deśī style described by Śārṅgadeva is Perañi. This is danced by a male performer as is apparent from the description of the performer's make-up. His head is shaven, with only a tuft of hair left at the top and he is supposed to smear ash over his body. The *Saṅgītasamayāsāra*, where this dance appears for the first time, is silent about the make-up. But the five features of the perañi dance are similar in both texts. However, some of the technical terms used for these features seem have been Sanskritized by Śārṅgadeva. The five features identified in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* are: gharghara (stamping the ground with the feet with ankle bells on) viṣama(karaṇas involving leaps; nṛtta in *SSam*), bhāvāśraya (imitation of comical things;¹⁹ vāgaḍa in *SSam*), kavicāra (description of the hero of high character; kaivāra in *SSam*), and gīta (refers to sālaga²⁰ songs suitable for gaṇḍalī) (ŚR. 7.1301-16). After describing the make-up for a dancer, the author describes the style of perañi dancing. One of the purposes of this dance, danced by a clean shaven male performer, seems to be to produce laughter, although the dancer's use of difficult dance steps and movements may suggest less comical intentions as well. As in describing the other two styles, Śārṅgadeva gives full details of the accompanying vocal and instrumental music, along with the rhythm and tempo in which they are to be performed.

19 This is where we find a trace of similarity between the perañi described in the later texts with prerāṇa described in the *Abhinavabhāratī*.

20 Songs are supposed to be of three types: śuddha,citra and sālaga.

The interesting point to note here is that although the style *peraṇi* seems to be a development of the *preraṇa* of Abhinavagupta, it is listed as a form of minor musical drama in the *Abhinavabhāratī*, whereas Pārśvadeva and Śārṅgadeva describe it in their chapters on dancing. *Peraṇi* is treated by these two authors as a mimetic dance (the word dance should be emphasized here) that uses a great deal of vocal and instrumental music of the *deśī* variety, and all the later texts follow in their footsteps in describing *peraṇi*, as they also do in describing *gaṇḍalī*. It is not surprising that considerable emphasis is laid on the accompanying music in describing the styles and that the authors give such full technical details of the music. Both Pārśvadeva and Śārṅgadeva are primarily interested in music, and dance is included in their discussion because the whole art of *saṅgīta* includes vocal and instrumental music as well as dance.

The next text to be considered, the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* by Jāya, is almost contemporaneous with Śārṅgadeva's *Saṅgītaratnākara*.²¹ Since Jāya's work is entirely on dance and gives an elaborate description of both classical and regional styles, we get a fuller picture of the traditions in existence in that period. Jāya describes the entire tradition of Bharata following the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which demonstrates the continuing interest in that tradition. However, Jāya's greater contribution lies in his elaborate description of the *deśī* tradition, which includes not only fifteen *deśī* *nṛtyas* but more movements of the feet, more *cārīs*, *sthānas* and *karaṇas* than in previous texts, as well as nine *bhramarīs* and forty-six *lāsyas* of the *deśī* variety. The fifteen *deśī* *nṛtyas* include *gaṇḍalī*, *peraṇī*, *preṅkhaṇa*, *rāsaka*, *carcarī*, *nāṭyarāsaka*, *daṇḍarāsaka*, *śivapriya*, *cindu*, *kanduka*,²² *bhāṇḍika*, *ghaṭisaṇī*, *carāṇa*, *bahurūpa* and *kaullāṭa*. Of these fifteen, *preraṇa*, *rāsaka*,

21 See p. 59 of this thesis.

22 A dance item found in Mohiniāṭṭam of Kerala.

carcarī, nāṭyarāsaka and daṇḍarāsaka are described in the earlier works as dance-dramas or minor dramas that involve music and dance. These are identified as dances by Jāya in *Nṛttaratnāvalī*.

The forty six deśī lāsyaas listed by Jāya include, as we have noted in chapter 1 of the present study, the deśī aṅgas of Pārśvadeva and the deśī lāsyaṅgas of Śāringadeva.²³ The aṅgas and lāsyaṅgas of the deśī variety are styles of presentation rather than specific movements which may either be vigorous or delicate. Following are the deśī aṅgas described by Jāya.²⁴ Sauṣṭhava (grace, described in *SSam.* as a deśī aṅga and in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Saṅgītāratnākara* as overall presentation technique), sthāpanā (standing posture in a graceful line (=rekhā) with a pleasant expression), rekhā (moving the body along a graceful line), dāla (moving the body simulating a drop of water on the edge of a lotus leaf being moved by a slow breeze), cāli (a delicate, slow and simultaneous movement of the feet, hands, waist and the thighs)²⁵ calāvāli (the same action done at front to a faster tempo), lali (oblique movement of the minor limbs done to rhythm and metre which is delicate and playful; it is also described as a beautiful movement generated from music and creating pleasure), ṭṛkaṇi (moving the head following the rhythm and tempo with a pleasant expression of the face),²⁶ ullāsa (a quick movement in rhythm in slow and fast tempo while expressing emotion), sukalāsa (a harmonious blend of vocal and instrumental music with dance in between performed by an experienced dancer), uroṅgaṇa (a slow or quick and graceful movement of the shoulders and the breasts to the

²³ See p. 61 of this thesis.

²⁴ The terms are not literally translated here; rather the actions denoted are briefly described.

²⁵ The term cāli is used in modern Manipuri style to indicate a similar movement which is one of the basic movements of that style.

²⁶ An important feature of the Bharatanāṭyam style.

front, back, up and down , done in succession), bhāva (a dance danced to the song and instrumental music in rhythm and then the dancer stops quickly in a joyful manner), tharahara (the quick quivering and playful motion of the breasts, which flows up to the arms), kittu (the arms, the breasts and the waist are pulsated in rhythm with delicacy), deśīkāra (regional varieties of nṛtya which are not rustic), nijāpaṇa (an easy nṛtya which is performed with graceful body movements to please the audience and in it, glances follow the hand movements), ḍillāyī (same as dhillāyī of *SSam*; full of emotion, feminine charms such as helā, full of poise, relaxed and charming), lavaṇi (namani or navani in the recent edition of *SSam*. and tavaṇi in the earlier edition of *SSam* ;²⁷ easy bending of the body even in difficult positions), gītavādyatā (following in tempo the vocal and instrumental music),²⁸ abhinaya (miming with body movements the meaning of a song expressing emotions), laya (the tempo changes to two new ones and the female dancer quickly and beautifully whirls around), komalikā (the limbs are delicately moved round in vartanā with the play of tempo and an abundance of display of emotion is recommended), oyāra (the features of nṛtya are achieved and the beautiful movements of the female dancer grow faster in rhythm), anīkī (the dancer dances flawlessly in the rhythm and tempo of the song and instrumental music), aṅghāra (delicate and amorous bending of both sides of the body in rhythm and tempo), manodharma (a dance that does not follow the prescribed rules, yet is attractive and captivating with movements of hands and other parts of the body), aṅga (a piece of nṛtta that uses lāsya movements), anaṅga (a dance danced in tāṇḍava), vivartana (karaṇas, bhramarīs, cārīs are performed following the instrumental music), jhaṅkā (with the body raised the dancer makes whirling movements to the sides and to the front), mukharasa

²⁷ *SSam*. 7. 196; 7. 211 (1977 ed.); *SSam*. 6. 208. (1920 ed.).

²⁸ Rāghavan takes this as two separate aṅgas but this does not seem to be right. (*NR*. p. 193 text).

(pleasant facial expression with make-up on), *thevā* (emotion expressed through the outer corners of the eyes), *vihasī* (a smiling face like a lotus), *dhasaka* (graceful lowering of the breasts with tremulous dance movements from time to time following the instrumental music), *tala* (the dancer follows both easy and difficult *pāṭas* or syllables of the music), *vitala* (difficult *cārīs*, *pāṭas* etc are done delicately), *rasavṛtti* (*sambhoga* or union and *vipralambha* or separation are delineated by the female dancer through appropriate movements), *maṣṇatā* (erotic sentiment or *rasa* is expressed through *nṛttahastas* and *snigdḥā drṣṭi*, that is, a gentle glance), *anumāna* (*nṛtta* is performed following the vocal and instrumental music and the vacillating mind is expressed through the movement of one eyebrow), *pramāṇa* (the harmonious blend of dance, song and instrumental music), *laṅghita* (the movements follow the features of *lāsyā* and they are characterized by small leaps with rest in between), *aṁsagati* (the dancer presents extracts of dance pieces through different exercises and other dance movements), *susandhi* (the dancer moves from one kind of rhythmic movement to another of kind of movement without the sense of disjunction), *pādapāṭa* (the *pāṭākṣaras* or the syllables of drumming is recited by the female dancer while marking the beat lightly with the feet), *gatiṣṭha* (the *nṛtta* is full of features from the *mārga* and *deśī* tradition done to the rhythm of drums and instrumental music), *caṇḍana* (an experienced dancer dances appropriately to the music with or without songs and stops, dancing in poise, and stays still like a picture). Of these, *lali* and *bhāva* seem in a general way to be important features of the overall presentation found both in the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* and in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. The importance of *sauṣṭhava* continues to be stressed in these texts as indeed in all the manuals since the time of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Of the fifteen dance compositions described in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* we have already discussed *gōṇḍalī* or *gauṇḍalī*, *preraṇi* or *peraṇi*, *preṅkhaṇa* or *pekkhaṇa*, *rāsaka*, *carcarī*, *nāṭyarāsaka* and *daṇḍarāsaka*, all of which are viewed in the literature prior to the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* either as minor dramas or as dances.²⁹ The following eight dances are new, found for the first time in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*: *śivapriya*, *kanduka*, *cindu*, *bhāṇḍikā*, *ghaṭisani*, *cāraṇa*, *bahurūpa* and *kollāṭa*. In his introduction to the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. Raghavan has discussed all fifteen dances in full, comparing them with the dance descriptions in the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara*.³⁰ Here I shall briefly touch only upon the salient points in the descriptions of the eight new dance pieces, for the descriptions of the other seven add little to the accounts in the other texts, and although the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* does elaborate upon the musical accompaniment, it prescribes no specific movements.

As the name suggests, the *deśī* dance called *śivapriya* is a śaivite dance. Drums, cymbals and musical instruments are played with this group-dance. The dancers smear their body with ashes and put on necklaces of the *rudrākṣa* beads favoured by Śiva. This dance calls for *lāsyāṅgas* which the dancers perform either by forming two lines facing each other, or in a circle (*NR.* 7. 108-12).

The next *deśī* dance described is *cindu* or *cintu* (*NR.* 7.113-16). This comes from the South and the accompanying song is in the *Drāviḍa* language. As *Jāya* points out, the main characteristics of this dance are swaying movements called *kittu* (*NR.* 7.115). This dance uses *cārī* and *lāsyāṅgas* and the author stresses the importance of *sukalāsa* or the harmonious blend of the music and dance for it (*NR.* 7.116). Raghavan points out that this dance was recorded in the

²⁹ See pp. 168-69, 197, 239 of this thesis.

³⁰ Raghavan, 1965, Introduction, pp. 134-53

Saṅgīadarpaṇa of Dāmodara and the *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi* of Vema. He also mentions that this continued to be a popular dance until at least 1935 when it was banned by legislation on account of what was considered to be its obscene character.³¹ We also find it in the *Nartananirṇaya* of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, which describes several varieties of cindunṛtta.³²

The dance named kanduka is still found in the repertoire of Mohiniāṭṭam of Kerala. This involves playing with a ball. As Raghavan points out, it is found in the *Svapnavāsavadattā* and in the *Daśakumāracarita*. He describes in detail the dance found in those books.³³ Jāya describes it as a group dance in which the dancers form lotus-like figures, wavy lines, and other formations, all executed to rhythms played on instruments. A metal or wooden ball is used by a group of female dancers, who perform lāsyāṅgas and cārīs to begin this composition like a game but develop it into a dance (NR. 7.117-24).

Next comes the Bhāṇḍika nṛtta which is a dance of the clowns who imitate the sounds of animals and their gaits. They make funny sounds and they also simulate the movements of lame persons, dwarfs and children. It is supposed to provide comic relief to enliven dull moments (NR. 7.125-28).

The name of the next dance is not very clear, as Raghavan points out, since the text refers to ghaṭisaṅī and the colophon to ghaṭisiśrī. He also mentions that the accompanying drum ghaṭisa or ghaṭasa or ghaḍasa is a variety of huḍukkā.³⁴ This is described as a dance for female dancers but a male dancer sometime performs it. The dancer is a caṇḍālī who plays the drum, holding it on her

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.148

³² *NN*. 49a-50b.

³³ Raghavan, 1965, Introduction, pp. 149-50.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.150.

shoulder while singing caryāpadas in a sweet voice. This also is a śaivite dance, dedicated to Śiva, the god of hunters, in the form of a kirāta. Other singers and players of musical instruments surround the dancer (*NR.* 7.129-33).

Cāraṇa nṛtta, the next dance described by Jāya, involves circular movements. Raghavan says that it is a style found mostly in Gujarat.³⁵ This is danced to a dohaka song and seems to be similar to the dohaka-nṛtta described by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā in his *Nṛttaratnakośa* ³⁶ This dance uses both delicate and forceful movements with appropriate bhramarīs and hand-gestures (*NR.* 7.134-36).

The dance bahurūpa is described at great length (*NR.* 7.137-46). This dance is found in a number of later texts. Raghavan has made a note of the texts that describe this dance and commented that this is still found in certain parts of India. The texts that describe this dance are the *Saṅgītamakaranda* of Veda, the *Saṅgītasāra* of Vidyāraṇya, the *Saṅgītadāmodara* of Śubhaṅkara, the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* of Puruṣottamamiśra and the *Saṅgītakeumudī* as quoted in the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* ³⁷ This dance shows a variety of characters from different places (=loka) which makes it a popular presentation. Jāya refers to it as a nāṭya performed by a group of dancers where the main performer is versatile and capable of speaking different languages. This also includes some unbecoming actions and speeches towards the end of the performance. Rāghavan refers to similar performances found in the Andhra and Tamil regions.³⁸ In the eastern part of India, in Bihar, a similar presentation during daytime used to be very

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.151. This is found in the folk dance named garbā in Gujarat. Similar revolving movements form part of the group dance of the Manipurī style.

³⁶ *NRK.* 4. 3. 120-22.

³⁷ Raghavan, 1965, Introduction, pp. 149-50; Text.p. .225.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Introduction., pp. 153.

common till the late forties, in which one character would come and perform a mime imitating various characters and their speeches and voices. These modern presentations can hardly be described as dances but the bahurūpa of Jāya seems to have contained both dance and dramatic elements. The texts originating in eastern India, such as the *Saṅgīṭadāmodara* and the *Saṅgīṭasārasaṅgraha* call bahurūpa a variety of tāṇḍava dance without describing its characteristics.³⁹

The last deśī dance described by Jāya is kollāṭa which is a pure acrobatic performance on a rope and involves swinging, wheeling round, etc. This is also performed on swords. This dance is full of leaping movements which are done to the accompaniment of drums, trumpets and cymbals(NR. 7.137-46).

Śāṅgadeva's kollāṭika seems to be similar to this dance (SR. 7.1330-1).

Raghavan refers to some of the dances still prevailing in the South that can be matched with this type of acrobatic performance.⁴⁰

Two other works on saṅgīṭa from the early medieval period, the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Saṅgīṭamakaraṇḍa*, do not describe any complete dance but they do describe some movements. The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* describes seven bhramarīs and five leaping movements, calling them utplavanas (ADar. 282-98). It also adds a number of new hand-gestures, cārīs, maṇḍalas and gaits. The *Saṅgīṭamakaraṇḍa*, as we have noted in chapter 1, describes some movements employed in a debased tradition of deśī that appears in no other work. It does not describe any complete dance piece but describes eight bhramarīs (SMak. 2. 4.), of which only one has a name in common with bhramarīs in other texts but not the description. The names of the rest of the bhramarīs do not appear in any deśī tradition recorded in any other text.

³⁹ SDām. p. 69; SSārSam. 63-69.

⁴⁰ Raghavan, 1965, Introduction, pp. 153.

The *Bharatāṅga* of Nandikeśvara (a controversial ⁴¹ and not satisfactorily identified figure) is in a way the most significant text of the medieval period, which not only offering another new deśī tradition but also being the only text to explain with the greatest possible detail the specific terms for movements needed for each dance-sequence along with its accompanying music and rhythm. The author takes the components of larger dance-units, which make up a total composition, and analyzes them systematically by giving their definitions, their divisions, the *sthānas*, *cārīs* and *karaṇas* they need, and finally the *tāla* required. He introduces a new set of *aṅgahāras*, nine in all: *lalita*, *vikrama*, *kāruṇika*, *vicitra*, *vikala*, *bhīma*, *vikṛta*, *ugratarā*, *śāntija*. Each of these *aṅgahāras* have several sub-varieties : *lalita* can be of five kinds, *vikrama* of three, *kāruṇika* of four and *vicitra*, *vikala*, *bhīma*, *vikṛta* , *ugratarā* and *śāntija* can all be of two kinds. The five varieties of *lalita* use different types of postures and three use a swaying movement termed *sulū*. Specific glances and hand-gestures are also prescribed. For *vikrama aṅgahāras* specific hand-gestures, glances, feet-movements and *maṇḍalas* are given. Different types of *kāruṇika aṅgahāras* are also described with specific hand-gestures, glances and feet movements. This *aṅgahāra* is characterized by the facial expression of *karuṇā* or compassion. The second type of this variety calls for *sulū*. *Vicitra aṅgahāras* are described with specific hand-gestures, glances and feet movements but nothing is said about facial expression. The other five *aṅgahāras* are also described in a manner similar to *vicitra*. As Nandikeśvara himself claims, *aṅgahāras* are defined, following Bharata, as combinations of *karaṇas* . But he also quotes another view which calls *aṅgahāra* a dance to be performed in the morning (*Bh.Ar.* 9. 583-85). These *aṅgahāras* do not appear in any other text. His descriptions of *śṛṅganāṭya*, another

⁴¹ See chapter 1 of the present thesis.

new category of sequence, also offers great detail. This dance-sequence is described by the author as a combination of two cārīs, one aṅgahāra and three sthānas. The cārīs are selected from both the groups of aerial (=ākāśa) and ground (=bhauma) cārīs. Śṛṅganāṭya can be of nine kinds; they are described but not named. In the first śṛṅganāṭya the movements are delineated in the following order: samaprekṣaṇacārī is performed, followed by lalita aṅgahāra and samapādā bhūmicārī. Samaprekṣaṇacārī is followed by āyatasthāna, lalita aṅgahāra by avahitthasthāna and samapāda bhūmicārī by aśvagrānta sthāna (*Bh. Ar.* 11. 643-45). The second śṛṅganāṭya begins with sārīkā cārī followed by vikrama aṅgahāra and cāṣagati cārī. Sārīkā cārī is followed by moṭita sthāna, vikrama aṅgahāra by vinivṛttasthāna and cāṣagaticārī by aindrasthāna (*Bh. Ar.* 11. 645-47). The third śṛṅganāṭya is constituted of agraplutācārī, kāruṇika aṅgahāra and sthitāvartācārī. Cāṇḍikasthāna follows agraplutācārī, vaiṣṇavasthāna follows kāruṇika aṅgahāra and samapādasthāna follows sthitāvartā bhūmicārī (*Bh. Ar.* 11. 648-49). The fourth śṛṅganāṭya starts with vidyullīlacārī followed by vicitra aṅgahāra and vicyavā bhūmicārī. Vaiśākasthāna follows vidyullīlacārī, maṇḍala sthāna follows vicitra aṅgahāra and ālīḍhasthāna follows vicyavā bhūmicārī (*Bh. Ar.* 11. 650-52). The fifth śṛṅganāṭya is characterized by khadḡabandhā cārī, vikala aṅgahāra and urudvṛttā bhūmicārī. The khadḡabandhā cārī requires pratyālīḍha sthāna, samapādasthāna in vikala aṅgahāra and svastikasthāna in urudvṛttā cārī (*Bh. Ar.* 11. 652-54). The sixth śṛṅganāṭya is constituted of rekhābandhā cārī, bhīma aṅgahāra and aḍḍitā bhūmicārī. Rekhābandhā cārī requires vardhamānasthāna, bhīma aṅgahāra requires nandīyasthāna and aḍḍitā cārī requires parṣṇipīḍasthāna (*Bh. Ar.* 11. 655-56). The seventh śṛṅganāṭya is characterized by luṭhitollalitā cārī, vikṛta aṅgahāra and vakrabandhā bhūmicārī. Ekapārśvasthāna is done in luṭhitollalitā cārī, ekajānukasthāna is done in vikṛta aṅgahāra and parivṛttasthāna is done in

vakrabandhā bhūmicārī (*Bh. Ar.11. 657-59*). The eighth śṛṅganāṭya is characterized by kuṇḍalāvartakā cārī, ugratara aṅgahāra and janitā bhūmicārī. Prṣṭhottānataḥ sthānaka follows kuṇḍalāvartakā cārī, ekapādashāna follows ugra aṅgahāra and brāhmasthāna follows janitā cārī (*Bh. Ar.11. 660-62*). The ninth and the final śṛṅganāṭya requires vicitrā cārī, śāntaja aṅgahāra and utsanditā bhūmicārī. Vicitrā cārī is followed by vaiṣṇava sthāna, śāntaja aṅgahāra is followed by śaiva sthāna and utsanditā bhūmicārī is followed by gāruḍasthāna (*Bh. Ar.11. 662-64*). The names of the aṅgahāras do not come from Bharata's tradition.

In the next chapter of this text the author describes in detail the specific tālas required for these śṛṅganāṭyas as well as specific hand-gestures used in each particular sthāna. These are specifically meant for the sthānas to be used in the śṛṅganāṭya (*Bh. Ar. 12*). In the thirteenth chapter seven different lāsya and seven different tāṇḍavas are described in detail. Some of the names of lāsya are found in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* either as deśī lāsya or as deśī dance.⁴² But the tāṇḍavas are not found in any other text. The seven pure tāṇḍavas are dakṣiṇabhramaṇa, vāmabhramaṇa, līlābhramaṇa, bhujāṅgabhramaṇa, vidyudbhramaṇa, latābhramaṇa and ūrdhvatāṇḍava. These form part of pure nāṭya and they use six different gatis which are mayūra, rājahaṁsa, kṛṣṇasāra, gaja, siṁha and śuka. In these tāṇḍavas karaṇas and cārīs are performed after the gatis. The author specifies the names of five cārīs appropriate for five specific karaṇas. The author claims that these follow Bharata's tradition (*Bh. Ar. 13. 712-25*).

⁴² *Bh. Ar. 13: 732-3SR. 7. 1206-1216; 7.1273-1302; 7.1303-1325; NR. 6. 117-173; 7.34-150.*

The deśī tāṇḍava described in this text again has five different varieties, namely, nikuñcita, kuñcita, ākuñcita, pārśvakuñcita and ardhakuñcita, and they use five specific gatis, five specific cārīs and five specific karaṇas. The seven lāsyas are described next, the use of which are supposed to enhance the beauty of cārī. They can be both pure or deśī. They are named as śuddha, deśī, prerāṇā (this is categorized as a variety of tāṇḍava in most texts), preṅkhaṇā, kuṇḍalī, daṇḍikā and kalaśa (*Bh. Ar. 13. 732-33*). We have already come across prerāṇā (peraṇi or prerāṇa in other texts), preṅkhaṇā (preṅkhaṇa or prekṣaṇa in other texts), kuṇḍalī (guṇḍalī, goṇḍalī or gaṇḍalī in other texts) and daṇḍikā (also described as daṇḍalāsyā in the same text; daṇḍarāsa in other texts). The definitions given here match those in previous sources. Kalaśalāsyā is the only new variety which is described along with karaṇa, cārī and the rhythm. The author then discusses the specific cārīs and karaṇas meant for these lāsyas and the gods ascribed to each of them. Specific gatis, cārīs, karaṇas and tālas applicable to the seven varieties of pure tāṇḍavas and five varieties of deśī tāṇḍavas are dealt with in the next chapter (*Bh.Ar.14.770-870*). At this point the author again takes up the lāsyas and describes the specific sthānas, cārīs, karaṇas and tālas applicable to them (*Bh.Ar.14.871-93*). Finally, in the whole of the last chapter the author describes the presentation of flower-offering, the puṣpāñjali (*Bh.Ar.15.894-996*). This is the only full composition that the author describes. He refers to two types of puṣpāñjali, one meant for the gods, which is termed daivika and one for human beings, which is known as mānuṣa. In the former type traditional dancing follows the puṣpāñjali and in the latter mukhacālī follows puṣpāñjali. The worshipping of different gods and semi-divine beings are prescribed for this presentation. He goes on to describe specific sthānas, specific flowers and specific karaṇas meant for each god, procedures of invoking gods, of offering flowers, of specific sides for offering flowers to each god. Then the main

presentation follows. Caccatpuṭa or dhruva tāla is prescribed. The dance starts with the recitation of the syllables: tā thai to nam, which is called alparīti when done fast. This is the most detailed description of a puṣpāñjali found in any of the texts studied here. Since parts of this text, as found and edited, are missing, we have no way of knowing whether the author had also described the Bharata tradition in the earlier part of his text. He mentions all the names of karaṇas from Bharata's tradition, which make up the dance sequences but does not describe the karaṇas. He is silent also about modes of presentation.

The *Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra* lists eight bhramarīs but gives no descriptions, nor does it mention any dance-piece. The author merely lists the movements required as in Bharata's tradition. He does not concern himself with the technique of presentation. The *Saṅgītacandra* of Vipradāsa follows the *Saṅgītaratnākara* by including the nine bhramarīs in its list of the deśī karaṇas and describing them after the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. The author's descriptions of pure and deśī styles of dancing (perañī and goṇḍalī) as well as his concept of rekhā with reference to the aesthetics of presentation follow Śārṅgadeva's treatment of the subjects. Although his descriptions of the styles are quite elaborate, he does not contribute anything new to our knowledge.

The next saṅgīta text is the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara*, which includes dance as part of dramatic presentations. This text gives us a new class of movements, calling it viṣama alaga or leaping movement which are seven in number. The author describes nine lāsyaṅgas, most of which are found in Śārṅgadeva, but two of the names are from the lists of deśī aṅgas in Pārśvadeva and deśī lāsya in Jāya (*SDām*. p. 74-5). He gives brief descriptions of four deśī dances, putting them under two categories: tāṇḍava and lāsya, each consisting of two dances. In the tāṇḍava category he includes perañī and bahrūpa and in the lāsya category he

gives two new names: churita and yauvata. He treats guṇḍalī separately and in detail. Referring to it as a dance originating in the land of Karnāṭa, he says that it is full of lāsyāṅgas and that delicate as well as forceful movements are performed by a single female dancer who sings the accompanying song herself and offers flowers on the stage. Basically, this description matches the previous descriptions of the dance found in the literature of this period (*SDām*. pp. 69;73).

The *Nṛtyādhyāya* of Aśokamalla is the earliest text to describe the deśī dance movement named kalāsa. The author also refers to śṛṅgābhinaya (*Nr.Adh.* 141; the only other text beside the *Bharatārṇava* and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* to do so) and describes thirty-seven deśī lāsyāṅgas in detail, following the *Saṅgītaratnākara* as well as the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. These lāsyāṅgas are, as we have already noted, considered to be modes of presentation. But the author does not describe full dance-compositions. We have already come across kalāsa in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and, following it, in the *Saṅgītacandra*. Kalāsa was described merely as a concluding movement in those two texts. In the *Nṛtyādhyāya* we find that a whole class of movements named kalāsa, of several varieties, has developed by the time this text was written. Kalāsa, according to the author, has six varieties: vidyut, khadga, mṛga, baka, plava and haṁsa, each consisting of several sub-varieties which the author describes in forty-six verses (*Nr.Adh.* :1566-1611).

The *Nṛtyaratnakośa* of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā, which is the last representative text of the period, describes nine bhramarīs, including them in his list of fifty-one deśī karaṇas following the *Saṅgītaratnākara*'s lead. Kumbha describes an additional thirteen bhramarīs, following another text, the *Ānandasāñjīvana* (*NRK.Vol.II.* pp 165-72). These thirteen bhramarīs are revolving movements that are found in no other text. The treatment of these movements is unusual here,

for they involve leaps while they hardly ever do so in other accounts. Another important movement that this text elaborates upon is that called kalāsa. It seems that when the *Nṛtyādhyāya* and the *Nṛttaratnakośa* were written, kalāsa, or the concluding movement was considered an important feature of presentation and that its varieties were proliferating. Like the *Nṛtyādhyāya*, *Nṛttaratnakośa* describes six kalāsas and their twenty-two sub-varieties (*NRK.Vol.II. pp.187-92*). In discussing the deśī dances, the author devotes most of his attention to the perani dance but his discussion does not yield any new information. This suggests that this particular dance had become so well established through the preceding three or four centuries that there was hardly any change in its structure (*NRK.Vol.II. pp 195-98*). The list of lāsyāṅgas includes the mārga as well as the deśī tradition. The author seems to have followed a tradition of mārga which adds two more lāsyāṅgas to the original ten. Except for a few,⁴³ his thirty-seven lāsyāṅgas of the deśī variety are the same as those found in the *Nṛtyādhyāya*, with minor changes in the terms caused perhaps by scribal errors or dialectal differences (*NRK.Vol.II. pp. 202-9*). The author describes six deśī dances, calling them nṛtyabhedas (a term used by writers on poetics to mean minor dramas employing dance and music),⁴⁴ as follows: śivapriya, rāsaka, nāṭyarāsaka, daṇḍarāsaka, carcarī and dohaka. All these varieties appear in other texts. Śivapriya and dohaka, already discussed above, are only described in this text and in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. The rest are common to most of the texts that contain material on deśī dance. The detailed descriptions of the dances do not give us any new information. The author refers to another opinion that prescribes the use of specific tālas for deśīnṛtyas, seven in number, namely,

⁴³ Larṅghita and sruvā in *Nr.Adh.* 1546; 1558 are not found in *NRK*; vilamvitam in *NRK. vol. II. p..208.* is not found in *Nr.Adh.*

⁴⁴ See.pp. 172-73 of the present thesis.

dhruva, maṅṭhaka, rūpaka, aḍḍatāla, yati, pratitāla and ekatālī and four features in a deśīrṭya: śruti, gīta, kalāsa and tāla. The author describes these seven deśī dances according to the use of different ālāpas and tālas. These dances are often described with specific hand-gestures and tempo (*NRK*. Vol.II. pp.212-13). In describing the deśīrṭyavidhi, the author directs the dancer to move around the stage with feminine grace (=hāva), holding her veil with her left hand and placing both hands in patākā (*NRK*. 4.3.132). This is a distinctive feature of the Kuchipudī style of dancing of Andhra. Following the method of Śāringadeva, the author describes the pure style and the deśī style of gauṇḍalī at great length and the descriptions concentrate on the musical aspect of the presentation (*NRK*. Vol.II. pp. 225-28).

Our next period of study begins with the *Nartananirṇaya*, by Puṇḍarīka, which describes deśī dances at great length. From this time on, we find that the emphasis in the manuals falls rather on the particulars of the dances described than on the musical elements accompanying them. In *Nartananirṇaya* the first half of the discussion on dancing follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in describing the body movements and the *Saṅgītaratnākara* in describing specific lāsyāṅgas and modes of presentation. Perhaps the author's greatest contribution, fully examined in chapter 5, lies in the categorization of dancing into bandha and anibandha which he takes as, respectively, rule-bound and relatively free compositions.⁴⁵ If we analyze the descriptions, it becomes evident that the author is aware not only of the theoretical aspects of the art of dancing but the application of specific dance-movements as well. The dances in the bandha category are discussed in greater detail than those of the anibandha class. Since these dances have been already

⁴⁵ See pp. 202-206 of this thesis. For details, see Bose, 1970, pp.149-61.

described elsewhere in detail by the present writer,⁴⁶ only a few will be described here to elucidate the degree to which the movements are defined in the text.

The bandhanṛttas can be of eleven kinds: mukhacāli, urūpa, dhuvāḍa, vidulāgava, śabdacāli, śabdaprabandha, svaramaṅṭha, gītaprabandha, cindu, dharu and dhruvapada. Of these only cindu is described in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* but none of its varieties. Mukhacāli is mentioned in the *Bharatārṇava* but no description is given there. Puṇḍarīka describes the invocatory dance, mukhacāli, involving puṣpāñjali, specifying in great detail the required hand-gestures, recakas, sthāna, gatis, cārīs, names of tālas and modes of movements. Although it is possible to reconstruct this dance following the description, surprisingly—unlike other authors of the early medieval period—Puṇḍarīka does not specify the tāla or any music for mukhacāli (NN.40a-43a). The definition of the bandhanṛtta named urūpa tells us that it is characterized by yati, tāla, laya, sthāna, cārī and hasta. It has twelve varieties which are also described in detail, with specific movements identified, including karaṇas (NN.43a-45b). One such variety called pure neri is described in the following way: this dance is danced in a slow tempo to rāsātāla where the dancer stands in caturasra. She performs rathacakrā with the appropriate gati and her hands are in patākā. Her movements are slow and to the left and to the right. This dance is featured with rekhā and sauṣṭhava. She performs bāhyabhramarī and concludes in caturasra (NN. 43a-b). Dhuvāḍas are described next. Twelve varieties of dhuvāḍas are characterized by bhramarīs at the beginning and at the end with lāgas (jumps) and bhujāṅgatrāsītā cārī is prescribed for the conclusion (NN.45b-46b). In vidulāgavas, sixteen in number, lāgas are performed by revolving once or twice with sulūs (swaying movements)

⁴⁶ See Bose, 1970 .pp.150-64 for details.

and jumps at the end(NN.46b-47b). Five bhramarīs are also described, which seems to be a required feature of this dance(NN. 47b). In śabdanṛtya the rhythm-keeper recites syllables and the dancer performs with appropriate hand-gestures, feet movements, expressing emotion and keeping rhythm with the feet (NN.47b-48a). Svarābhinaya is the miming of the seven notes of the scale with appropriate hand-gestures, glances, sthānas, head-movements and karaṇas (NN. 48a-b). Besides specific movements, svaramaṇṭhanṛtya refers to music and rhythm (NN.48b-49a). Gītanṛtya refers to types of songs to which specific movements are performed to express the meaning of the songs (NN. 49b).

Next the author starts describing dances which he specifically mentions as originating from the south. The first of its kind is cindu, originating in the land of the Drāviḍa, which is of six kinds. Unlike the previous bandhanṛttas, in describing each variety of cindu the author concentrates on the accompanying music and rhythm rather than on specific movements. At the end, he names the specific cārīs, sthānas and modes of presentation used in all the cindus (NN. 49b). The pure style of cindu is described in the following way: the accompanying song of this dance is composed in the language of the Drāviḍas. The composition includes udgrāha and dhruvapada but does not contain melāpa and ābhoga(NN. 49b-50a). Another bandha dance from the south, dharu, is described in detail with its two varieties (NN. 50b-51a).⁴⁷ The dhruvapadanṛtya is the last in the list of the bandha dances in the *Nartananirṇaya*.(NN. 51b).⁴⁸

The anibandha dances are described in two parts, the first consisting of twenty-one anibandha urūpas and the second of two anibandhanṛtyas. The

⁴⁷ Dharu is still practised in Andhra. See p. 223 of this thesis.

⁴⁸ See Bose,1970.pp.160-61.for detail.

descriptions mainly concern rhythm and tempo. As we have noted earlier,⁴⁹ this is not surprising since the emphasis in this style of dancing is on the overall presentation rather than on specific movements. In the list of anibandha dances the author includes nāmāvalī, yati, neri, sālaṅgeri, saṅkīrṇaneri, bhāvaneri, naḍaneri, kaivartana, murū, raṭṭamurū, tālarūpa, guṇḍāla, kamala, maṇḍī, muḍupa, puraṇḍarī, kuḍupa, tiryakarāṇa, lāvaṇī and vaṭuka. The neri of the anibandha type is danced to āditāla and in slow tempo and a variety of gatis are delineated in it (NN. 52a). One of the two anibandhanṛtyas comes from Persia and the other is rāsa, which includes the form called daṇḍarāsa (NN. 53a-b).⁵⁰ Rāsa is the only dance recorded by Puṇḍarīka which seems to have continued over centuries and is found even today in at least two regions of India, Gujarat and Manipur.

The *Rasakaumudī* of Śrīkaṇṭha, the next text that describes deśī, mentions ten varieties of nāṭya, and calls the first nāṭya. Of the rest, gaṇḍalī and perañi are considered deśī by all the authors who write on deśī. Nṛtya, nṛtta, tāṇḍava, lāsya, viṣama, vikāṭa and laghu are named in other texts as varieties of the art of dance but not as deśī dances as in this text. The descriptions of perañi and gaṇḍalī offer us no new material. The author's concern for aesthetics is noteworthy, particularly the concept of prāṇa or essence, which has already been discussed in the chapter 1. The *Saṅgītarpaṇa* of Dāmodara describes several deśī dance pieces following the *Nartananirṇaya*. The author also follows the categorization of bandha and anibandha offered by Puṇḍarīka. His list of dances is the same as found in the *Nartananirṇaya* but he adds some new dance pieces. His list

⁴⁹ See.p. 211 of this thesis.

⁵⁰ The Persian dance, jakkaḍī is described in the previous chapter, pp. 215-16. The description of rāsa offers no new material.

includes mukhacāli, yatinṛtya, śabdacāli, udūpa, dhruvāḍa, lāganṛtya, śabdanṛtya, sūḍanṛtya, vivartananṛtya, camatkāranṛtya, gītanṛtya, svarmaṅṭhanṛtya, dhruvanṛtā, maṅṭhanṛtya, rūpakanṛtya, ṛṭīyanṛtya, aḍḍatālanṛtya and ekatālīnṛtya (*SDar.* 7.3-7; 8-234). He gives a separate list of the deśī dances, which includes cindu, vaipota, bandha, kalpanṛtya, jakkari, deśīkaṭṭāri, perani and gaunḍalī (*SDar.* 7.235-82). The description of mukhacāli follows the pattern of the *Nartananirṇaya* 's description with a few minor changes in detail⁵¹ (*SDar.* 7.8-52). The following description of one dance named kalpanṛtya from the list of deśīnṛtyas will show the kind of directions given to the dancer for her performance: the dancer is asked to use appropriate karaṇas and sthānakas, the choice of which depends on the dancer. It is usually performed to kalpatāla (*SDar.* 7.265-67). Other dances are also described in a similar manner. In discussing the aesthetic element the author follows both Puṇḍarīka and Śrīkaṅṭha, the emphasis being on rekhā, pramāṇa and prāṇa.

The *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* of Puruṣottama Miśra is another text that gives us some instances of deśī dances. The author follows the *Saṅgītaḍāmodara* extensively and his list and descriptions of tāṇḍava and lāsya with their respective varieties, perani and bahurūpa, and sphurita and yauvata, are described after that text. He gives two sets of examples of twenty mārganāṭyas and sixteen deśīnāṭyas which include major and minor dramatic presentations, including musical plays and dance-dramas as cited by other authors. We have already mentioned in chapter 1 (p. 87) that the prakāranāṭya category to which the author refers are new. This is also described as deśīnṛtya and the type is briefly described. Of its five varieties, kāṣṭhā, jākaḍī, śāvāra, kurañjī and mattāvalī, only jākaḍī (same as jakkāḍī) is found in other texts. The description of

⁵¹ See Bose 1970, p.152. for details.

kāṣṭhānṛtya reminds us of daṇḍarāsa. In this dance, eight female dancers, described as gopanārīs, dance in circles of svastika with eight (imaginary) Kṛṣṇas. Jākadī, according to this text, is a dance in which the dancer gets intoxicated and dances to songs in the languages of Turaṣka with their hands holding peacock tails. In śāvaranṛtya the dancers dance while singing in their own language. A group of female dancers dressed as śāvarīs and adorned with clusters of guñjā dance to the songs sung in their own language in kurañjī. Mattāvalī is a dance of the Turaṣkas pretending to be intoxicated (*SNār.* 3. 31-35). The author mentions that different dances originate in different regions and are performed to songs sung in the languages that the dancers prefer. He adds another new feature to his study of dance by describing six kalāsas with their thirty-two varieties, calling them karaṇas. This classification is similar to the divisions found in the *Nṛtyādhyāya* and the *Nṛtyaratnakośa* (*SNār.* 3. 793-96). But this text offers more sub varieties in number compared to the list of twenty-two kalāsas given in the *Nṛtyādhyāya* and the *Nṛtyaratnakośa* (*Nr.Adh.* 1566-1611; *NRK.* Vol. II.pp.187-192).

The approach of Vedasūri in his *Saṅgītamakaranda*, a text which was not available to me in full, takes yet another direction. This author describes gati in a different way, prescribing not only specific movements of sthāna, cārī, hasta, śira and drṣṭi but karaṇas as well, which is a new approach, as pointed out in the first chapter (p. 91). It is clear from this author's discussion that gatis were most definitely performed elaborately and for a long span of time to give a composite image of the gait of a particular bird, animal or human being. This text also describes in great detail an opening dance-sequence, mukhacāli, after the pattern described in the *Nartananirṇaya* and in the *Saṅgītdarpaṇa*, which follows the *Nartananirṇaya*. As we have shown with examples in the chapter 1,

Saṅgītamakaranda describes some dances that are found in the *Nartananirṃaya* and in the *Saṅgītadarpaṇa*, but the author cites Kohala and the *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* as his sources (p.92). However, the descriptions are more elaborate in respect of the movements as well as the syllables recited to keep the rhythm in a dance performance.

The *Śivatattvaratnākara* of Bāsavarāja does not describe any dance but recognizes a class of dance termed deśīṛtta. The author's selection of sixteen karaṇas as the most important ones in the traditional list of hundred and eight karaṇas may be influenced by the opinion of Puṇḍarīka who also gives a list of sixteen karaṇas required for the bandhanṛttas that he describes (*NN.* 32b; *STR.* 6.6.100). The last text of the period is the *Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha* of Ghanaśyāmadāsa which originated in eastern India and records the dances which were prevalent there at his time and which seem to have continued since Śubhaṅkara wrote his *Saṅgītadāmodara*. The *Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha*, which has nothing original to offer, seems to have followed the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* closely in describing tāṇḍava with two of its varieties, peraṇi and bahurūpa, and lāsya with two of its varieties, sphurita and yauvata, which is a practice continuing from the *Saṅgītadāmodara* (*SDam.* p. 69; *SN.* 3.12-20; *SSār.Sam.* pp.63-69). The division of performances into mārganāṭyas, deśīnāṭyas and deśīṛtyas comes from the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*. The list of five deśī dances, kāṣṭhā, jākaḍī, śabda, karaṅjī and mattāvalī is again from the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* except for śabda. The *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* has śavara instead and the two dances are different (*SN.* 3.31-36; *SSār.Sam.* pp.63-69).

The reason why our study of the deśī dances begins in the early medieval period is that no work on deśī is available from an earlier period. Our survey of the texts reveals that there were several approaches to the subject by authors,

which varied according to their primary concerns. Beginning with Abhinavagupta, Dhanañjaya, Bhoja, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, Sāgaranandin, Śāradātanaya and Viśvanātha, most of the writers who wrote on poetics and dramaturgy and who included the regional varieties of performances treated dance as a part of dramatic presentation. The earlier writers on poetics before Abhinavagupta, such as Daṇḍin or Bhāmaha, also refer to dramatic performances. While they were not interested in dealing with modes of presentations they mention certain types of performances which are categorized as mimes (by Bhāmaha) and as visual presentations (by Daṇḍin).

To be distinguished from these writers was another group of writers who were primarily interested in music, most of whom belonged to the early medieval period. They emphasized in their descriptions of individual dance-pieces the accompanying music and rhythm but prescribed hardly any specific movement. A new concern also developed in this period, a concern for modes of presentation and the aesthetics of presentation. Most important among these writers are Pārśvadeva, Śārṅgadeva and Jāya. Towards the end of the early medieval period and in the late medieval period the approach to describing the dances changed. The descriptions began to include specific dance-movements and the interest in describing the accompanying music waned. So specific are some of these texts that they may be taken as manuals of dancing. The best examples are the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, the *Bharatārṇava* and the *Saṅgītamakaranda* of Vedasūri, but many others contain precise directions to be followed by practising dancers. One complete dance sequence, mukhacāli, is described in the *Nartananirṇaya* in such detail that the description may be taken as practical instruction.

This emphasis on the details of composition is thus a distinctive feature of the later texts. The details are so full that these texts may be followed as guides in reconstructing to a large extent the dances they describe. That these dances for the most part belong to the deśī tradition shows how, through time, the emphasis shifted to that tradition from the older tradition of Bharata. By the time of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala not only had the dances considered peripheral by Bharata gained enough recognition in dance literature to coalesce into a distinct tradition but that tradition had replaced Bharata's as the dominant one. The technical and structural features of the dances in this later tradition form the immediate bases of the dances of India today as noted in chapter 5. It is by taking note of these features that we may establish the links in the evolution of the dance from Bharata's time to our own, a process that was sustained, according to the evidence of the dance literature by the deposition of one tradition by another.



Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

The recorded history of the dance in India began at a time when the dance was viewed as a developed art with an already established body of technique underpinned by aesthetic principles and hallowed by a legendary origin. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* Bharata presented a tradition so fully formed that it was followed faithfully by the early writers on dancing who also accepted Bharata's selection of a particular dance style as the core of the tradition. However, in the scholarly conception of the art there was some uncertainty with regard to the place of dancing in the framework of the performing arts. Bharata considered dancing to be exclusively the art of body movements pleasing to the senses. But from fairly early times we find the recognition that there was more to dance than the beauty of form and that it could also be an art that had mimetic action for its content. This recognition was to lead to substantial changes in the understanding of the dance and to an enhancement of Bharata's conception of the art.

In Bharata's view, dancing, for which he uses the term *nṛtta*, is a non-representational art. In its relationship to drama it is seen as a subsidiary art, a decorative aid that lends beauty, not meaning, to a dramatic performance. But in the later texts dancing emerges as a more complex art form, one of whose branches is representational, or *nṛtya*, and in this sense it is a parallel to drama, not a subsidiary to it. This shift in the understanding of dancing shows that the techniques of dancing and acting came to be regarded as complementing one another within the framework of *nṛtya* and suggests that as dance evolved, it was

nṛtya that developed the more vigorously. The dance manuals thus show how the concept of dance widened to include—and indeed emphasize—the variety of mimetic purposes to which dance was put.

In addition, the view of the dance tradition handed down by Bharata also widened owing to the need for accommodating stylistic variations. Our survey of the literature of dance indicates that Bharata's account represented only a small part of the total body of dance styles of the time. When, therefore, these styles became prominent enough after Bharata, particularly in medieval times, that is, from about the eleventh century onwards, they had to be included in descriptions of dancing. Such a widening of frontiers meant a great increment of technical description in the texts. In contrast with the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the later texts offer fuller details even while they fit these details within the framework established by Bharata.

However, the distinction between the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the later texts is not merely one of detail. Of greater significance is the fact that unlike the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the later texts recognize different styles. These they distinguish from the one described by Bharata, to which they accord the distinction of being the main path or *mārga* tradition of dancing. But this idealization of Bharata's tradition cannot obscure the fact that the later texts concern themselves more and more with other styles, whose technique and structural principles are sufficiently different from the style described by Bharata—as discussed in chapters 3 to 6—to place them in a tradition different from Bharata's. The evidence of the texts shows that through the ages the emphasis of the discourse on dancing shifted away from Bharata's *mārga* tradition to the tradition that later grew up on the basis of styles known generically as *deśī*. Eventually, through this the later tradition gradually replaced the older.

The augmentation of the technique of dancing was not the only significant sign of the evolution of dancing. Equally—if not more—important were changes in the concept of the aesthetic purposes to which bodily motion was to be put, and of the role of the dancer in the creative process of dancing. In contrast with the bare descriptions of body movements in early texts, such as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāna*, medieval texts, such as the *Saṅgītasamayāsāra*, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*, emphasize the purpose of achieving through bodily motion certain imaginative effects, such as that of simulating the quiver of a drop of water on a lotus leaf, or the trembling of a flame. This emphasis on the communication objectives of dance movements was a major step in the evolution of dance concepts.

At the same time there began the tradition of allowing the dancer considerable latitude—indeed encouraging her—in the employment of body movements to create compositions that best achieve the mimetic and aesthetic ends of the performance. Again, this was a major departure from the tradition of requiring the dancer rigorously to follow the prescriptions for set compositions. This development was marked by the emergence of the categories of *bandha* and *anibandha*, that is, rule-bound and flexible regimens of dancing. The opportunities that this approach provided for artistic innovation within a secure technical framework undoubtedly contributed to the continuing vitality of the dance and was responsible for its increasing popularity through the period, as attested by the proliferation of discussions on dancing.

The works on dancing studied here thus show how Indian dancing evolved through a process of accretion and assimilation. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* sets out the principles and describes the technique of the established dance style of its time, but while it does acknowledge the existence of regional and popular dance

forms, it does not describe them, presumably because they were not developed enough or sophisticated enough to be regarded as distinct styles. Whether this neglect was general or limited to Bharata cannot be discovered, for no relevant work by other early authors, such as Kohala, Dattila or Mataṅga, is extant. But the fact that no description, however brief, of regional and popular forms appears in any literary source suggests that they could not have been of any great importance in this early period.

In the medieval period, however, regional and popular forms became part of the general discourse on dancing. It was at that stage that a clear distinction between the older tradition described by Bharata and the newly emerging styles began to be made, a distinction marked by the use of the term *mārga* for the old style and *deśī* for the new. It was in this period that rapid developments took place in dancing, as evidenced by the wealth of material on new styles and the proliferation of works on dancing. The first record of the *deśī* style appears in the *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara who describes a few *deśī* *karaṇas*. Soon after, Pārśvadeva records some *deśī* dances in his *Saṅgītasamayāsāra*. But the first full as well as systematic account of *deśī* dancing appears in the thirteenth century in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva, which was almost immediately followed by a similar but more elaborate treatment of the subject in the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* of Jāya Senāpati. Later, in the sixteenth century, Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala in his *Nartananirṇaya* records the emergence of still newer styles, many of which are identifiable with dance styles now practised in India. This text marks a watershed in the literature of the dance in India; for with it the inclusion of the *deśī* dance sequences becomes a standard feature of dance manuals. Instead of merely reiterating Bharata's description, as the early texts do, the later texts record the dances of their own time. For instance, the *Nartananirṇaya*,

which was from the Mughal period, describes a style which it says was practised by Persian dancers; from its description we can identify this style as the present day kathak, and from other historic sources we know that this style was indeed imported to India by Persian court dancers in the Mughal era. Styles such as this were not part of the tradition derived from Bharata and the heightened emphasis on these styles shows the very considerable expansion that the dance in India underwent from about the eleventh century to the seventeenth, absorbing within its fold new styles. The emergence of such styles as subjects of serious study in works such as the *Mānasollāsa*, the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, and the *Nartananirṇaya* suggests that by this time the newer dances had assumed an importance that was equal to if not greater than that of the dance described by Bharata.

But we must also bear in mind that the importance of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* remains unparalleled, not only because it set the pattern of the entire discourse on the performing arts but because it recorded the basic range of the body movements that constitute dancing. Even though the later styles varied considerably from the older in the composition of dance figures and choreography, they tended to utilize most of the basic movements found in Bharata. Through all the diversity and proliferation of dance forms the continuity of the art is thus clearly maintained.

The collation of the techniques of dancing found in textual sources demonstrates how the dance in India evolved through the continuation of old styles and the rise of new styles. Our study of technique also shows that present day classical dancing in India is grounded more directly in the tradition recorded in the later dance manuals, especially the *Nartananirṇaya*, than in the older tradition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. This suggests that those styles which had a

marginal existence in Bharata's time not only came to be admitted into the mainstream of dancing but eventually became the dominant current. The evolutionary process is therefore one of dynamic growth rather than a static survival. Through the comparative analysis of the concepts and technique of dancing the present study attempts to mark the milestones of that process.

Cakrabhamari



GLOSSARY OF SELECTED TECHNICAL TERMS

अ

अङ्कुर	pantomiming through gesture
अङ्ग	major limb, feature; a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
अङ्गहार	sequence of dance units; a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
अग्रतलसञ्चर	a foot movement
अग्रप्लुता	a deśī (q.v.), cārī (q.v.)
अञ्चित	a neck movement; an arm movement; a foot movement; a karaṇa (q.v.); an utplutikaraṇa (q.v.)
अञ्चितभ्रमरी	a whirling movement
अड्ड	a tāla (q.v.)
अड्डतालनृत्य	a bandha (q.v.), dance
अड्डिता	a bhūmicārī (q.v.)
अनङ्ग	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
अनिबद्ध	loosely constructed in comparison to nibaddha (q.v.) (as applied to a song)
अनिबन्ध	freer composition in comparison to rigidly structured (as applied to a dance)
अनिबन्धनृत्त	a pure dance with scope for improvisation
अनिबन्धनृत्य	a mimetic dance with scope for improvisation
अनीकी	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
अनुमान	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
अन्तरालग	an utplutikaraṇa (q.v.)
अपसार	exit; dance interludes in a play
अभिनय	acting, miming; a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
अर्धकुञ्चित	a deśītāṇḍava (q.v.)
अर्धनिकुट्टक	a karaṇa or dance unit
अर्धचन्द्र	a single-hand gesture
अर्धसूची	a karaṇa or dance unit
अलङ्कारशास्त्र	the manual on poetics
अलपल्लव	a single-hand gesture

अलपद्म	a single-hand gesture
अवमर्शसन्धि	a technical feature of drama
अवहित्थ	a margasthāna or a standing posture of traditional variety
अश्वक्रान्त	a margasthāna or a standing posture of traditional variety
अलग	a leaping movement
अलात	a maṇḍala (q.v.); a mārga (q.v.) karaṇa (q.v.); a deśīkaraṇa (q.v.)
अलाता	a cārī (q.v.)
अंशगति	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)

भा

आकाशचारी	a cārī (q.v.), performed in the air
आकुञ्चित	a deśītāṇḍava (q.v.)
आक्षिप्तक	a karaṇa or dance unit
आङ्गिक	related to body
आचार्य	a teacher who is conversant with both theory and practice
आट्ट	a Tamil word for drama
आदिताल	a deśī (q.v.) tāla (q.v.)
आभोग	part of a musical composition
आयतस्थान	a deśī(q.v.) sthāna (q.v.)
आरभटी	a vigorous style of presentation
आलाप	exposition
आलापचारी	the opening dance in the deśī (q.v.) tradition
आलिपल्लव	a deśī (q.v.) karaṇa or dance-unit
आलीढ	a margasthāna or a standing posture of traditional variety
आवर्त	a karaṇa or dance unit
आसीन	a feature of lāsya (q.v.)(in the Bharata tradition)
आहङ्ग	a musical element (?)
आहार्य	dress, make-up and stage accessories

उ

उक्तप्रत्युक्त	a feature of lāsya (q.v.) (in the Bharata tradition)
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उग्र	a deśī (q.v.) aṅgahāra (q.v.)
उग्रतर	same as above
उडुप	a class of deśī (q.v.) dance(of the bandha (q.v.) variety), same as urūpa (q.v.)
उत्तमोत्तमक	a feature of lāsya (q.v.) (in the Bharata tradition)
उत्प्लवन	leaping movements
उत्प्लुतिकरण	a deśī (q.v.) karaṇa (q.v.)
उत्साहवती	a mārganāṭya (q.v.) (of the deśī (q.v.) variety)
उत्सन्दिता	a cārī (q.v.)
उत्सृष्टाङ्ग	a major dramatic type
उद्ग्राह	part of a musical composition
उद्धत	forceful
उद्धतमिश्रितमसृणनृत्त	a delicate dance mixed with forceful movements
उपरूपक	minor drama
उपाङ्ग	minor limb
उपाध्याय	a teacher
उरुद्वृत्ता	a bhūmicārī (q.v.)
उरुप	same as uḍupa (q.v.)
उरूप	same as uḍupa (q.v.)
उरोङ्गण	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
उरोमण्डल	a karaṇa or dance unit
उल्मुकी	a deśīnṛtta (q.v.), same as bhillukī (q.v.)
उल्लाप्यक	a minor dramatic type
उल्लास	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
उल्लोप्यक	same as ullāpyaka

ऊ

ऊर्ध्वजानु	a karaṇa or dance unit
ऊर्ध्वताण्डव	a śuddha or pure (non-representational)tāṇḍava (q.v.)

ए

एकजानुक	a deśīsthāna (q.v.)
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एकतालीनृत्य	a bandha (q.v.) dance
एकपाद	a deśīsthāna (q.v.)
एकपार्श्व	a deśīsthāna (q.v.)
एणप्लुत	an utplutikaraṇa (q.v.)

ऐ

ऐन्द्र	a deśīsthāna (q.v.)
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ओ

ओयारक	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
ओडिशी	a classical dance style from Orissa

क

ककुभ	a rāga (q.v.)
कटिच्छिन्न	a karaṇa or dance-unit; a deśī (q.v.) dance,
कट्टरि	a deśī (q.v.) dance
कथक	a classical dance style from North India
कथाकलि	a classical dance style from Kerala
कन्दुक	a deśī (q.v.) dance; a similar dance item is found in Mohiniāttam of Kerala
कमल	an anibandha (q.v.) dance
कर्तरीमुख	a single-hand gesture
करञ्जी	a deśī (q.v.) dance
करडा	a drum
करण (नृत्य)	a basic dance-unit (coordinated movement of the hands and feet)
करण (हस्त)	a special movement of the hand
करणेरि	a bandhanṛtta (q.v.)
कर्ण	a minor drama
कर्णाटगोलक	a musical mode
कर्म (पाद)	a special movement of the leg

कर्म (हस्त)	a special movement of the hand
कलश	a deśīlāsya (q.v.)
कलास	a concluding movement
कलासकरण	a class of karaṇa (q.v.)
कल्प	a deśī (q.v.) tāla; a deśī (q.v.) dance
कल्पनृत्य	a bandha (q.v.) dance
कल्पवल्ली	a minor drama
कल्ल	a musical element(?)
कविचार	a feature of perañī (q.v.) dance, same as kaivāra (q.v.)
कारुणिक	a deśī (q.v.) aṅgahāra (q.v.)
काव्य	a poetic composition; a deśī (q.v.) dance of prakāranāṭya (q.v.) variety; a minor drama
काष्ठा	a deśī (q.v.) dance of prakāranāṭya (q.v.) variety
काहल	a drum
किङ्कीणी	ankle bell
कित्तु	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
कुञ्चित	a deśītāṇḍava (q.v.) a karaṇa or dance-unit
कुडुप	an anibandha (q.v.) dance
कुण्डलावर्तिका	a deśī (q.v.) cārī (q.v.)
कुण्डली	a deśīlāsya (q.v.); same as guṇḍalī (q.v.)
कुतप	musical ensemble
कुरञ्जी	a deśī (q.v.) dance (of prakāranāṭya (q.v.) variety)
कुवाड	a deśī (q.v.) dance
कृष्णसारगति	a gait simulating the gait of a deer
कैशिकीवृत्ति	a graceful style of presentation
कैवर्तन	an anibandha (q.v.) dance
कैवार	a feature of perañī (q.v.), same as kavīcāra (q.v.)
कैवाल	a double-hand gesture
कोमलिका	a feature of deśīlāsya
कोल्लाट	a deśī (q.v.) dance
कोल्काटिक	an acrobatic dancer
कोल्लाटिक	same as above
कोल्हाटिक	same as above
कौलाट	same as kollāṭa

क्रिया keeping the time with hands

क्ष

क्षेत्र(हस्त) position of the hand

ख

खड्ग a kalāsa (q.v.)
 खड्गबन्धा a deśī (q.v.), cārī (q.v.)
 खण्डसूची a foot movement
 खर्जुरिका a pattern of rhythm

ग

गङ्गावतरण a karaṇa or dance-unit
 गजगति a gait simulating the gait of an elephant
 गजर a musical element (?)
 गति gait
 गतिस्थ a feature of deśīlāsyā (q.v.)
 गन्धर्वरञ्जक an entertaining performer
 गर्भसन्धि a technical feature of drama
 गरवा a folk dance from Gujarat
 गरुड a māgasthāna (q.v.)
 गरुडप्लुत a karaṇa or dance-unit
 गान a song sung in regional style
 गान्धर्व (a song) in the classical mode
 गीत vocal music
 गीतकाद्यभिनयोन्मुखनृत्त a dance that mimes the meaning of a song
 गीतनृत्य a bandha (q.v.) dance
 गीतप्रबन्ध a bandha (q.v.) dance
 गीतवाद्यता a feature of deśīlāsyā (q.v.)
 गीयमानरूपक musical play
 गुण्डली a deśī (q.v.), dance

गुण्डाल	a variety of anibandha (q.v.) dance
गुल्म	a group dance (a variety of piṇḍibandha) (q.v.), a variety of nṛtyabheda (q.v.).
गोटिपुञ्ज	a boy dancer of Orissa
गोण्डली	same as guṇḍalī (q.v.)
गोष्ठी	a deśināṭya (q.v.); a minor drama
गोपुच्छिका	a pattern of rhythm
गौण्डली	same as guṇḍalī (q.v.)
गेय	(a play) to be sung
गेयपद	a feature of lāsya (q.v.) (in the Bharata tradition)
गेयरूपक	a play to be sung
ग्रह	a feature of music, the note on which the music begins
ग्राम	a group of tones

घ

घटस	a drum
घटिस	same as above
घडस	same as above
घटिसनि	a deśī (q.v.) dance
घटिसिन्ध्री	same as above
घर्घर	to stamp on the ground marking the rhythm with anklebells

च

चञ्चु	a drum
चक्कर	a spinning movement, (a feature of Kathak)
चक्रमण्डल	a karaṇa or dance-unit
चक्रभ्रमरी	a spinning movement
चच्चत्पुट	a tāla of the older tradition
चण्डन	a feature of deśī lāsya
चण्डिकस्थान	a deśī (q.v.), sthāna (q.v.)
चतुरस्र	a kind of measure; a double-hand gesture; a standing posture
चतुरश्र	same as above

चतुरस्रपद	a quartet
चन्द्रावर्त	a karaṇa or dance-unit
चमत्कारनृत्त	a bandha (q.v.) dance
चर्चरी	a song; a tāla or rhythm; a deśī (q.v.) dance
चलावलि	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
चल्लि	a dance by a female performer playing a drum called huḍukkā (q.v.)
चारण	a wandering performer; a musician; an expert in the music of ankle bells; a deśī (q.v.) dance
चारी	the movement of one leg
चालि	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.); the basic dance of the Manipuri style
चालिवड	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
चालक	a movement of the arms
चाषगति	a cārī
चिण्टु	a deśī (q.v.) dance
चिन्दु	a bandha (q.v.) dance originating in the land of Drāviḍa
चित्र	varied; a deśī dance
चित्रा	a mārganāṭya or mimetic dance of the regional variety
चित्रकलास	concluding movement of a special type
चित्रकाव्य	a minor dramatic type
चित्राभिनय	a special mode of presentation
चिल्लि	same as calli (q.v.)
चेष्टाकृत	movements of the entire body
चौका	the basic standing pose of the Odissi style, a square posture

छ

छलिक	a song, a mimetic dance
छलित	same as above
छायानाट	a musical mode
छालिक्य	same as chalika (q.v.)
छुरित	a variety of lāsya (q.v.); a deśī (q.v.) dance

छौ a regional dance from the eastern part of India

ज

जक्कडी a Persian dance categorized as anibandha (q.v.) dance, a prakāranāṭya (q.v.)
 जक्करी same as above
 जनान्तिक an aside
 जनिता a cārī (q.v.)
 जयदर्प a deśī (q.v.) karaṇa (q.v.)
 जाकडी same as jakkadī (q.v.)
 जाति a melodic type
 जुगुप्सिता a mārganāṭya (q.v.)

झ

झङ्गा a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
 झम्पाताल a deśī tāla or regional rhythm

ट

टक्क a rāga (q.v.)

ठ

ठेवा a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)

ड

डाल a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
 डिम a major dramatic type
 डिमिका a mārganāṭya (q.v.)
 डिल्लायी a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.), same as dhillāyī (q.v.)
 डोमिका a deśīṅṛta (q.v.)

डोम्बलिका	a minor drama, a dance-drama
डोम्बिका	same as above
डोम्बी	same as above
डोलपाद	a karaṇa or dance-unit, same as dolapāda (q.v.)

ढ

ढाल	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
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त

तत्कार	movements of ankle bells (a feature of Kathak)
तरहर	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.), same as tharahara (q.v.)
तल	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
तलपुष्पपुट	a karaṇa or dance unit
तलविलासित	a karaṇa or dance unit
तवणि	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.), same as navani, lavani or namani
ताण्डव	nṛtta or dance in the Bharata tradition; later taken to mean a vigorous dance
ताल	rhythmic system or cycle
तालरूपक	an anibandhanṛtta (q.v.)
तिरपभमरी	a revolving movement
तिर्यकरण	an anibandhanṛtta (q.v.)
तिवटी	a technical feature of music
तूकलि	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
तुम्बिका	a deśīnṛtta (q.v.)
तृतीयनृत्य	a bandha (q.v.)dance
तृकनि	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
तोटक	a minor drama; same as troṭaka (q.v.)
त्रिगूढक	a feature of lāsya (q.v.)(in the Bharata tradition), same as trimūḍhaka (q.v.)
त्रिपताका	a single-hand gesture
त्रिभङ्गी	a standing posture in the Odissi style, breaking the line of the body into three

त्रिमूढक	same as trigūḍhaka (q.v.)
त्रिशूल	a hand gesture
त्रोटक	a minor drama; a deśināṭya (q.v.), same as toṭaka (q.v.)

थ

थरहर	a feature of deśilāśya (q.v.), same as tarahara (q.v.)
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द

दक्षिणभ्रमण	a śuddha or pure (non-representational) variety of tāṇḍava (q.v.)
दण्डपक्ष	a karaṇa or dance-unit
दण्डरास	a deśinṛtta (q.v.)
दण्डलास्य	a deśilāśya (q.v.)
दण्डिका	same as above
दण्डिनी	a deśinṛtya (q.v.)
दासीआट्टम्	the dance of the devadāsīs of Tāmīlnāḍu
दुर्मल्ली	a minor dramatic type of deśī (q.v.) variety; a deśinṛtta (q.v.)
दुर्मिलिता	a minor dramatic type
दुर्मल्लिका	same as above
देशी	regional
देशीकट्टरि	a deśī (q.v.) dance
देशीकार	a feature of deśilāśya (q.v.)
देशीनाट्य	a dramatic presentation of the regional variety
देशीनृत्त	an abstract dance of the regional variety
देशीनृत्य	a mimetic dance of the regional variety
देशीलास्य	graceful dance of regional variety
देश्यङ्ग	a feature of deśī (q.v.) dance
द्विगूढक	a feature of lāśya (in the Bharata tradition)
द्विमूढक	same as above
द्विपदी	a metre; a song consisting of two verses; a mimetic dance
दृश्यकव्य	a poetic composition to be seen
दोलपाद	a karaṇa or dance-unit, same as ḍolapāda (q.v.)

दोहक a deśī(q.v.)dance

घ

धम्मिल्ल a special way of braiding hair
 धरु a bandhanṛtta (q.v.) from Andhra region
 धसक a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
 धातु a musical element
 धिल्लायी a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.), same as ḍillāyī (q.v.)
 धूवाड a śuddha (non-mimetic) dance; a bandhanṛtta (q.v.)
 ध्यानश्लोक pictorial/verses presenting anthropomorphic images of the musical modes
 ध्रुव a feature of music; a tāla (q.v.); a song-piece
 ध्रुवगीतनृत्य a pure(non-mimetic) nṛtta (q.v.), danced to a dhruva(q.v.) song
 ध्रुवपदनृत्त a bandhanṛtta (q.v.), danced to a dhruvapada song
 ध्रुवा a rāga (q.v.)
 ध्रुवाड same as dhūvāḍa (q.v.)

न

नट an actor
 नटन dancing
 नटसूत्र guidelines for actors
 नटीभाव emotional expression appropriate for women
 नडनेरि an anibandha (q.v.) dance
 नतजानुक an anibandhanṛtta (q.v.)
 नन्दी a sthāna (q.v.)
 नन्दिमाली a variety of bhāṇaka (q.v.)
 नमनि a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.), same as navāṇi, lavāṇi or tavaṇi
 नर्तक a male dancer
 नर्तकभाषा the special language of dancers
 नर्तकी a female dancer
 नर्तन dancing

नर्तनक	a minor drama
नवणि	a feature of deśīlāsyā (q.v.) same as namani, lavaṇi or tavaṇi
नाट	a rāga (q.v.)
नाटक	a major dramatic type
नाटिका	a minor drama; a mārganāṭya (q.v.)
नाटी	same as above
नाट्य	drama (often used as nṛtya (q. v) in the manuals)
नाट्यनृत्य	an expressive dance
नाट्यधर्मी	stylized (movement)
नाट्यरासक	a deśī (q.v) dance; a minor drama; a deśī nāṭya (q.v.)
नान्दी	an opening verse
नाद	sound
नामावली	an anibandha (q.v) dance
निकुञ्चित	a deśītāṇḍava (q.v.)
निजापण	a feature of deśīlāsyā (q.v.)
नितम्ब	a karaṇa or dance-unit
निबद्ध	rigorously constructed (applied to music)
निशुम्भित	a karaṇa or dance-unit
नीराजितपद्म	a cālaka or a special movement of the hand
नेरि	an anibandhanṛtta (q.v.)
नृत्त	a non-representational dance
नृत्तकाव्य	dance-drama
नृत्तचार	a form of drama
नृत्तप्रधानरागकाव्य	musical play with dance as its main feature
नृत्तवार	same nṛttacāra
नृत्तहस्त	hand gesture for dance
नृत्य	a mimetic dance
नृत्यकाव्य	dance drama
नृत्यभाव	a special expression used by dancers
नृत्यभेद	dance-drama
न्याय	rules

प

पताका	a single-hand gesture
पदार्थाभिनय	miming the meaning of words
पर्यस्तक	an aṅgahāra (q.v.); an non-representational dance-sequence
परिवृत्त	a deśīsthāna (q.v.)
पाट	syllables uttered with drumming or dancing to keep the rhythm
पाटमणि	striking the ground with the feet
पाटाक्षर	syllables of drumming
पाद	footwork
पादपाट	a feature of deśīlāsyā (q.v.)
पार्श्वकुञ्चित	a deśītāṇḍava (q.v.)
पार्श्वजानु	a karaṇa or dance-unit
पार्ष्णिपीड	a deśīsthāna (q.v.)
पारिजातक	a minor dramatic type
पारिजातलता	same as above
पाल	the movement of one leg, generally known as cārī (q.v.)
पिण्डी	a group dance in a cluster
पिण्डीबन्ध	group dances that form auspicious figures on the stage
पिपीलिका	a pattern of rhythm
पुरण्डरी	an anibandha (q.v.) dance
पुष्पगण्डिका	a feature of lāsyā (q.v.) (in the Bharata tradition)
पुष्पाञ्जलि	a flower-offering to the gods with dance and music
पूर्वरङ्ग	the preliminaries to a play
पृष्ठोत्तानतल	a sthāna (q.v.)
पेक्खण	a deśī (q.v.) dance
पेरण	a deśī (q.v.) dance; also a variety of tāṇḍava (q.v.)
पेरणि	same as above
प्रकरण	a major dramatic form
प्रकरणिका	a minor dramatic type; a mārganāṭya (q.v.)
प्रकरणी	same as above
प्रकारनाट्य	a deśīnṛtya (q.v.)

प्रकीर्ण	miscellaneous; performance practice (Nienhuis,1977. p.38).
प्रचार (हस्त)	a movement of the hand
प्रच्छेदक	a feature of <i>lāsya</i> (q.v.) (in the Bharata tradition)
प्रतिताल	a <i>tāla</i> (q.v.)
प्रतिमुख	progression
प्रत्यङ्ग	minor limb
प्रत्यालीढ	a <i>mārgasthāna</i> or a standing posture of the traditional variety
प्रबन्ध	a musical composition
प्रमाण	harmony; a feature of <i>deśīlāsya</i> (q.v.)
प्रवृत्ति	the means of application
प्रस्थान	a <i>deśī</i> (q.v.) dance; a minor drama
प्रहसन	a major dramatic type
प्रेक्षणक	a minor drama; same as <i>pekkhaṇa</i> (q.v.), a <i>deśī</i> (q.v.) dance
प्रेक्षण	same as above
प्रेक्ष्यप्रबन्ध	a composition to be seen
प्रेङ्खण	a <i>deśī</i> (q.v.) dance, same as <i>pekkhaṇa</i> and <i>prekṣaṇa</i> ; a <i>deśīlāsya</i> (q.v.).
प्रेरण	a <i>deśī</i> (q.v.) dance; a minor drama
प्रेरणा	a <i>deśīlāsya</i> (q.v.)
प्लव	a <i>kalāsa</i> (q.v.)

ब

बक	a <i>kalāsa</i> (q.v.)
बटुनृत्त	an <i>anibandhanṛtta</i> (q.v.); a dance item of Odissi style
बद्ध	structured, same as <i>nibaddha</i> (q.v.)
बन्धनृत्त	a set, structured and abstract dance in the <i>deśī</i> (q.v.) tradition
बन्धनृत्य	a set, structured and mimetic dance in the <i>deśī</i> (q.v.) tradition; a dance-piece called <i>bandhanṛtya</i> (q.v.)
बहुरूप	a <i>deśī</i> (q.v.) dance
बागड	a feature of <i>perani</i> (q.v.) dance; same as <i>bhāvāśraya</i>
बाह्यभमरी	a revolving movement
बिन्दु	a structural division in a play; a point marking the sudden development of secondary incidents

भ

भरतनाट्यम्	a classical dance style from Tamilnad
भद्रासन	a group dance forming an auspicious figure
भाण	a major dramatic type
भाणक	a minor dramatic type
भाणिका	a minor dramatic type
भाणी	same as above
भाण्डिका	a deśī (q.v.) dance
भाव	an expression of emotions; a feature of deśyaṅga (q.v.)
भावनेरि	an anibandha (q.v.) dance
भावाश्रय	dependant on emotional expression, a feature of perani (q.v.) dance; same as vāgaḍa (q.v.)
भिन्न	a deśī (q.v.) dance
भिल्लुकी	a deśīṅṛtta (q.v.); same as ulmukī (q.v.)
भीम	a deśī (q.v.) aṅgahāra (q.v.)
भुजङ्गत्रस्त	a karaṇa or dance-unit
भुजङ्गभ्रमण	a śuddha or non-representational tāṇḍava (q.v.)
भूमिचारी	a cārī (q.v.), performed while touching the ground
भेद्यक	a group dance (a variety of pīṇḍibandha (q.v.))
भ्रमरी	a pirouette; a spinning, revolving or whirling movement

म

मट्टनृत्य	a bandha (q.v.) dance
मणिपुरी	a classical dance style from Manipur
मण्ठनृत्य	a bandha (q.v.) dance
मण्ठक	a tāla (q.v.)
मण्डल	the combination of cārī (q.v.) movements
मण्डलस्थान	a mārgasthāna or a standing posture of traditional variety
मण्डलरासक	a variety of rāsa (q.v.) dance
मण्डी	an anibandhanṛtta (q.v.), (a variety of deśī (q.v.) dance)
मत्तावली	a prakāranāṭya (q.v.), (a deśīnāṭya (q.v.))

मधुपचारी	a deśī (q.v.) cārī (q.v.), described by Kohala who is quoted by Kallinātha in the commentary on the <i>Saṅgītaratnākara</i>
मध्यम	a musical mode
मन	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
मनोधर्म	same as mana (q.v.)
मयूरगति	a gait simulating the gait of a peacock
मल्लिका	a minor drama
मसृणता	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
मसृणमिश्रोद्धत	a vigorous dance mixed with delicate movements
महाचारी	a forceful cārī (q.v.) movement
महोद्बृत्त	a karaṇa or dance-unit
माण्डली	a deśī (q.v.) dance, same as guṇḍalī (q.v.)
मात्रा	a musical measure
मार्ग	classical or traditional
मार्गनाट्य	a traditional dramatic presentation; a regional variety of dance found in the <i>Saṅgītanārāyaṇa</i> and the <i>Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha</i>
मार्गनृत्य	an abstract classical dance
मार्गनृत्य	a mimetic dance of the classical variety that generates rasa (q.v.)
मुकुल	a hand gesture
मुख	exposition
मुखचालि	the opening dance
मुखज	pertaining to facial expression and movement
मुखरस	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
मुखराग	colouring of the face according to the character and the mood
मुडुप	an anibandhanṛtta (q.v.), (a variety of deśī (q.v.) dance)
मुडुपचारी	same as madhupacārī (q.v.), but quoted by Kumbhā as muḍupacārī (q.v.)
मुद्रा	natural grace; hand gesture for religious ritual
मुरण्डरी	an anibandhanṛtta (q.v.), (a variety of deśī (q.v.) dance)
मुरु	an anibandhanṛtta (q.v.), (a variety of deśī (q.v.) dance)
मुष्टि	a hand gesture

मूर्च्छना	the ascent and descent of svara (q.v.)
मृग	a kalāsa (q.v.)
मृगीगति	a gait like a deer
मृदङ्गी	a pattern of rhythm
मैलाप	part of a musical composition
मोटित	a mārgasthāna or standing posture of traditional variety

य

यक्षगान	a folk-dance from Andhra
यति	a pattern of rhythm; a tāla (q.v.); an anibandha (q.v.), dance
यतिनृत्य	an mimetic dance of the deśī (q.v.), variety
यन्त्र	an auspicious diagram (?); mechanical device
योनि	an auspicious diagram from by a group of dancers
यौवत	a variety of deśīlāsyā (q.v.), dance

र

रट्टमुरु	an anibandha dance
रथचक्रा	a cārī
रस	aesthetic affect
रसदृष्टि	a glance generating rasa (q.v.)
रसवृत्ति	a feature of deśīlāsyā (q.v.)
रहस्यमुद्रा	a mystical hand gesture
राग	musical mode; melodic pattern
रागकाव्य	musical play
रागदर्शनीय	musical play to be seen
राजविश्वसिनी	women of royal court
राजहंसगति	a gait simulating the gait of a swan
रामाक्रीड	a minor drama
रास	a deśī (q.v.) dance; a minor (dance) drama; an anibandhanṛtta (q.v.)
रासक	same as above
रासकाङ्क	a play about Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in a regional language

रासिका	a deśīṛṭta (q.v.)
रूपक	major drama; a bandha (q.v.) dance
रेखा	the imaginary lines described by the body in motion ; a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
रेखाबन्धा	a deśī(q.v.) cārī (q.v.)
रेचक	a movement that involve stretching
रेवा	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)

ल

लघु	a dance using minor karaṇas (q.v.); a nāṭya (q.v.)
लङ्घित	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
लढि	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
लता	a group dance (a variety of piṇḍibandha (q.v.))
लताभ्रमण	a pure (non-representational) tāṇḍava (q.v.)
लतावृश्चिक	a karaṇa or dance-unit
लय	tempo; a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
ललाटतिलक	a karaṇa or dance-unit
ललि	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
ललित	delicate; a deśī (q.v.) aṅgahāra (q.v.)
ललितोद्धत	a mixture of graceful and vigorous movements
लवणि	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.), same as navāṇi, namani or tavāṇi
लहरीचक्र	a cālaka (q.v.), (movement of the hand)
लाग	leaping movements
लागनृत्य	a bandhanṛtya (q.v.)
लाघव	dancing with delicate movements
लावणी	an anibandhanṛtta (q.v.) (a variety of deśī (q.v.) dance)
लासिका	a minor drama; a deśīnāṭya (q.v.); a deśīṛṭta (q.v.)
लास्य	originally a dramatic art, later treated as a delicate dance style
लास्याङ्ग	a feature of lāsya (q.v.)
लीन	a karaṇa or dance-unit
लीलाभ्रमण	a pure (non-representational) tāṇḍava (q.v.)
लोकधर्मी	the realistic convention of performance

लुठितोल्ललिता

a deśī (q.v.) cārī (q.v.)

ब

वक्रबन्धा

a bhūmicārī (q.v.)

वक्षस्

movement of the chest

वर्णम्

an item in Bharatanāṭyam which is a combination of mimetic and non-mimetic movements

वर्तना

movement of the arms

वर्द्धमान

a deśī (q.v.) sthāna (q.v.)

वस्तु

subject matter

वाक्यार्थाभिनय

miming the meaning of an entire sentence

वाग्गेयकार

a composer musician

वाचिक

verbal

वामभ्रमण

a pure (non-representational) tāṇḍava (q.v.)

वार

a minor dramatic type

विकट

comic dance

विकल

a deśī (q.v.) aṅgahāra (q.v.)

विकृत

a deśī (q.v.) aṅgahāra (q.v.)

विक्रम

a deśī (q.v.) aṅgahāra (q.v.)

विचित्र

a deśī (q.v.) aṅgahāra (q.v.)

विचित्रा

a mārganāṭya (q.v.)

विचित्राभिनय

various ways of acting

विच्यवा

a cārī (q.v.)

विडुलागव

a variety of bandhanṛtta (q.v.)

वितल

a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)

विदग्धा

a deśīnṛtta (q.v.)

विद्युत्

a kalāsa (q.v.)

विद्युद्भ्रमण

a pure (non-representational) tāṇḍava (q.v.)

विद्युद्भ्रान्त

a karaṇa or dance-unit

विद्युल्लीला

a deśī (q.v.) cārī (q.v.)

विनिवृत्त

a karaṇa (q.v.); a deśī (q.v.) sthāna (q.v.)

वियोगिनी

a mārganāṭya (q.v.)

विलम्बितम्

a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)

विलसन्मद	a karaṇa or dance-unit
विलासिका	a minor drama
विवर्तन	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.); a bandhanṛtya (q.v.)
विवृत्त	a karaṇa or dance-unit
विषम	an acrobatic dance
विषमताण्डव	a difficult tāṇḍava (q.v.) dance
विषमालग	difficult dance movements involving jumps
विहसी	a feature of deśīlāsya (q.v.)
वीणा	a stringed instrument
वृत्ति	style
वृन्द	vocal ensemble
वृश्चिक	a karaṇa or dance-unit
वृश्चिककुट्टित	a karaṇa or dance-unit
वृन्दक	a deśīnāṭya (q.v.)
वैतालिक	a bard; a general entertainer, a critic who is knowledgeable in music
वैपोत	a deśīnṛtya (q.v.) of the bandha (q.v.) variety
वैशाखरेचित	a karaṇa or dance-unit
वैशाख	a mārgasthāna or standing posture of traditional variety
वैष्णव	a mārgasthāna or standing posture of traditional variety
व्यञ्जना	rhetorical expression
व्यभिचारीभाव	transitory mood
व्याक्यार्थाभिनय	miming the meaning of a sentence
व्यायाम	exercise
व्यायोग	a major dramatic type

श

शब्द	a deśī (q.v.) dance
शब्दचालि	a bandhanṛtta of the deśī tradition accompanied by the utterance of musical syllables
शब्दनृत्त	same as above
शब्दनृत्य	a mimetic deśī (q.v.) dance to the utterance of syllables or notes; a bandhanṛtya (q.v.)

शब्दप्रबन्ध	a mimetic bandha (q.v.), dance of deśī (q.v.) variety
शम्या	a time beat; a mimetic group dance where dancers dance with sticks in hands; a dramatic presentation
शाखा	body movement expressing meaning
शाटक	a minor dramatic type; same as saṭṭaka (q.v.)
शान्तज	a deśī (q.v.) aṅgahāra (q.v.)
शान्तिज	same as above
शारीर	the use of body movements; one of the three components of āṅgikābhinaya (q.v.)
शावर	a prakāranāṭya (q.v.), (a variety of deśī (q.v.) dance)
शिखर	a hand gesture
शिङ्गक	a minor dramatic type
शिल्पक	a minor drama; a deśīnāṭya (q.v.)
शिल्पिनी	a deśīnṛtta (q.v.)
शिवप्रिय	a deśī (q.v.) dance
शुकगति	a gait simulating the gait of a parrot
शुद्धपद्धति	presentation of a pure (traditional) technique as conceived in the deśī tradition
शृङ्खला	a group dance (a variety of piṇḍibandha (q.v.))
शृङ्खलिका	same as above
शृङ्ग	in the context of dance refers to erotic movement
शृङ्गनाट्य	an erotic dramatic presentation of a regional variety
शृङ्गाभिनय	a mimetic movement containing erotic elements
शृङ्गार	erotic
श्रव्यकाव्य	poetic composition to be heard
श्री	a musical mode
श्रीगदित	a minor drama, a deśīnāṭya (q.v.)

ष

षिद्गक	a minor drama
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स

सङ्कीर्ण	mixed
सङ्कीर्णनिरि	an anibandha(q. v.) dance
सङ्गीत	vocal and instrumental music and dance
सङ्गीतक	a mimetic dance
सट्टक	an uparūpaka or minor drama; a deśī(q. v.)nāṭya(q. v.); same as śāṭaka(q. v.).
सत्त्व	expression (in the context of dance)
सन्दंश	a hand gesture
सन्धि	the juncture of a play (structural element of a play)
समग	a double hand gesture
समपाद	a foot movement; a mārgasthāna or standing posture of traditional variety
समपादा	a deśī(q. v.)bhūmicārī(q. v.).
समा	a pattern of rhythm
संप्रेक्षणचारी	a deśī(q. v.)cārī(q. v.).
संलापक	an uparūpaka or minor drama; a deśīnāṭya(q. v.).
सल्लापक	same as above
सात्त्विक	expressive
साधना	methods of practice
सामान्याभिनय	natural expression
सारिका	a cārī(q. v.).
सालग	music based on pure form
सालङ्गनेरि	an anibandha(q. v.)dance
सिंहगति	a gait simulating the gait of a lion
सुकलाञ्ज	a feature of deśīlāsya(q. v.).
सुकुमार	delicate
सुकुमारप्रयोग	the graceful application of dance movements
सुरेखत्व	a feature of deśīlāsya(q. v.).
सुसन्धि	a feature of deśīlāsya(q. v.).
सूक	a feature of deśīlāsya(q. v.).
सूडनृत्य	a bandha(q. v.)dance

सूची	a foot movement
सूलु	movement simulating a flame
सैन्धव	a feature of lāsya(q. v.)(in the Bharata tradition)
सौष्ठव	grace, skill; an erect stance; a deśīlāsya(q. v.)
स्कन्धक	a metre; a mimetic presentation
स्थान	posture
स्थानक	same as above; posture meant for men
स्थापना	a feature of deśīlāsya(q. v.)
स्थायीभाव	permanent mood
स्थितपाठ्य	a feature of lāsya(q. v.)(in the Bharata tradition)
स्थितावर्ता	a cārī(q. v.)
स्थिरहस्त	an aṅgahāra(q. v.)
स्निग्धादृष्टि	a soft glance
स्फुरितं	a pattern of rhythm; a deśīlāsya(q. v.)
स्रुवा	a feature of deśīlāsya(q. v.)
स्रोतोगता	a pattern of rhythm
स्वर	a musical note
स्वरमण्ठनृत्य	a bandha dance in which musical notes are mimed
स्वराभिनय	a mimetic bandhanṛtta(q. v.) of the deśī(q. v.)variety
स्वस्तिक	a double-hand gesture, a sthāna(q. v.)

ह

हल्लीश	a deśī(q. v.)nāṭya(q. v.); a deśī dance; a minor drama
हल्लीसक	same as above
हस्त	hand-gesture
हस्तनेरि	a deśī(q. v.)dance
हस्तिनी	a deśī(q. v.)nṛtta(q. v.)
हंस	a kalāsa or concluding movement
हाव	feminine movements
हासिका	a mārganāṭya(q. v.) (described as part of the deśī(q. v.)repertoire)
हेला	feminine movements
हुडुक्का	a drum

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